

RANDOLPH QUIRK

**A GRAMMAR OF**

SIDNEY GREENBAUM

**CONTEMPORARY**

GEOFFREY LEECH

**ENGLISH**

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## PREFACE

The first attempts at producing a grammar of English were made when there were less than ten million speakers of English in the world, almost all of them living within 100 miles or so of London. Grammars of English have gone on being written during the intervening 400 years reflecting a variety (and growing complexity) of needs, while speakers of English have multiplied several hundredfold and dispersed themselves so that the language has achieved a uniquely wide spread throughout the world and, with that, a unique importance.

We make no apology for adding one more to the succession of English grammars. In the first place, though fairly brief synopses are common enough, there have been very few attempts at so comprehensive a coverage as is offered in the present work. Fewer still in terms of synchronic description. And none at all so comprehensive or in such depth has been produced within an English-speaking country. Moreover, our Grammar aims at this comprehensiveness and depth in treating English irrespective

of frontiers: our field is no less than the grammar of educated English current in the second half of the twentieth century in the world's major English-speaking communities. Only where a feature belongs specifically to British usage or American usage, to informal conversation or to the dignity of formal writing, are 'labels' introduced in the description to show that we are no longer discussing the 'common core' of educated English.

For this common core, as well as for the special varieties surrounding it, we have augmented our own experience as speakers and teachers of the language with research on corpora of contemporary English and on data from elicitation tests, in both cases making appropriate use of facilities available in our generation for bringing spoken English fully within the grammarian's scope. For reasons of simplicity and economic presentation, however, illustrative examples from our basic material are seldom given without being adapted and edited; and while informal and familiar styles of speech and writing receive due consideration in our treatment, we put the main emphasis on describing the English of serious exposition.

When work on this Grammar began, the four collaborators were all on the staff of the English Department, University College London, and jointly involved in the Survey of English Usage. This association has happily survived a dispersal which has put considerable distances between us (at the extremes, the 5000 miles between Wisconsin and Europe). Common research goals would thus have kept us in close touch even without a rather large unified undertaking to complete. And

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though physical separation has made collaboration more arduous and time-consuming, it has also - we console ourselves in retrospect - conferred positive benefits. For example, we have been able to extend our linguistic horizons by contact with linguists bred in several different traditions; and our ideas have been revised and improved by exposure to far more richly varied groups of students than would have been

possible in any one centre.

It will be obvious that our grammatical framework has drawn heavily both on the long-established tradition and on the insights of several contemporary schools of linguistics. But while we have taken account of modern linguistic theory to the extent that we think justifiable in a grammar of this kind, we have not felt that this was the occasion for detailed discussion of theoretical issues. Nor do we see need to justify the fact that we subscribe to no specific one of the current or recently formulated linguistic theories. Each of those propounded from the time of de Saussure and Jespersen onwards has its undoubted merits, and several (notably the transformational-generative approaches) have contributed very great stimulus to us as to other grammarians. None, however, seems yet adequate to account for all linguistic phenomena, and recent trends suggest that our own compromise position is a fair reflection of the way in which the major theories are responding to influence from others.

As well as such general debt to our students, our contemporaries, our teachers and our teachers' teachers, there are specific debts to numerous colleagues and friends which

we are happy to acknowledge even if we cannot hope to repay. Five linguists generously undertook the heavy burden of reading and criticizing a preliminary draft of the entire book: Dwight L. BoUnger, Bengt Jacobsson, Ruth M. Kempson, Edward Hirschland and Paul Portland. His many friends who have been fortunate enough to receive comments on even a short research paper will have some idea of how much we have profited from Professor Bolinger's deep learning, keen intellect, incredible facility for producing the devastating counter-example, and - by no means least - readiness to give self-lessly of his time. The other four critics had qualities of this same kind and (for example) many of our most telling illustrations come from the invaluable files assembled by Dr Jacobsson over many years of meticulous scholarship.

Colleagues working on the Survey of English Usage have of course been repeatedly involved in giving advice and criticism; we are glad to take this opportunity of expressing our thanks to Valerie Adams and Derek Davy, Judith Perryman, Florent Aarts and Michael Black, as also to Cindy Kapsos and Pamela Miller. For comments on specific parts, we are grateful to Ross Almqvist and Ulla Thagg (Chapters 3, 4, and 12), Jacquelyn Biel (especially Chapters 5 and 8), Peter Fries (Chapter 9),

A. C. Gimson (Appendix II) and Michael Riddle (Appendix III). The research and writing have been supported in part by grants from HM Department of Education and Science, the Leverhulme Trust, the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, the Longman Group, the Graduate School Research Committee of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, the University of Goteborg, the University of Lund, and University College London.

For what Fredson Bowers has called 'authorial fair copy expressing final intention', the publisher received from us something more resembling the manuscript of Killigrew's *Conspiracy in 1638: a Foul Draught* full of 'Corrections, Expungings, and Additions'. We owe it largely to Peggy Drinkwater's unswerving concentration that this has been transformed into orderly print.

March 1972

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## PREFACE TO THE NINTH IMPRESSION

For the hundreds of improvements incorporated since the first impression, we are in large measure indebted to colleagues all over the world who have presented us with detailed comments, whether in published reviews or in private communications. In particular, we should like to express our gratitude to Broder Carstensen, R. A. Close, D. Crystal, R. Dirven, V. Fried, G. Guntram, R. R. K. Hartmann, R. A. Hudson, Y. Ikegami, R. Ilson, S. Jacobson, H. V. King, R. B. Long, Andre Moulin, Y. Murata, N. E. Osselton, M. Rensky, M. L. Samuels, Irene Simon, B. M. H. Strang, Gabriele Stein, M. Swan, J. Taglicht, Kathleen Wales, Janet Whitcut, and R. W. Zandvoort.

July 1980

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## SYMBOLS AND TECHNICAL CONVENTIONS

Since our use of symbols, abbreviations, bracketing and the like follows the practice in most works of linguistics, all that we need here is a visual summary of the main types of convention with a brief explanation or a reference to where fuller information is given.

AmE.BrE:

American English, British English (c/Chapter 1.19jf).

S,V,O,C,AtOtetc:

See Chapter 2.3 ff, 3.9/; when italicized, strings of these symbols refer to the clause types explained in Chapter 1.2ff.

a 'better GRAMmar |:

Capitals in examples indicate nuclear syllables, accents indicate intonation, raised verticals stress, and long verticals tone unit boundaries: see Appendix II.iff, 12.  
^

when DO is used:

Capitals in description indicate basic forms abstracted from the set -j of morphological variants ('we do', 'she does', 'they did',...)

\*a more better one:

A preceding asterisk indicates an unacceptable structure.

?they seem fools:

A preceding question mark indicates doubtful acceptability; combined with an asterisk it suggests virtual unacceptability.

Help me (to) write:

Parentheses indicate optional items.

Help me with my work [42]

Bracketed numerals appear after examples when required for cross-reference.

4-37;AppI,12:

Cross-references to material other than examples are given by chapter {or appendix} and section number.

Bolinger (1971a):

References to other published work (see 2.27) are expanded in the Bibliography, pp 1085jf.

(to "WXondon ^.from/tNew York Curved braces indicate free alternatives. XII

Symbols and technical conventions

best:

j Lherj

Square brackets indicate contingent alternatives; eg selection of the top one in the first pair entails selection of the top one in the second also.

{His [expensive (house insurance)]}:

Contrasting brackets can be used to give a linear indication of hierarchical structure.

[\$ju]lphew':

Square brackets enclose phonetic symbols; the IPA conventions are followed (c/Jones (1969), pp xxxiiff).

/justs/'used to':

Slants enclose phonemic transcription, with conventions generally as in Jones (1969) and Kenyon and Knott (1953), but the following should be noted:

jej as in best, /i/ bid, I'll beat, /d/ hot, /o/ law, /a/ father, juj full, lajfool, /3(r)/ bird, parentheses here denoting the possibility (eg in AmE) of 'postvocalic r\

## ONE

### THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

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The importance of English 3

The importance of English

Criteria of 'importance'

1.1

English is the world's most important language. Even at a time when such a statement is taken as a long-standing truism, it is perhaps worthwhile to glance briefly at the basis on which it is made. There are, after all, thousands of different languages in the world, and it is in the nature of language that each one seems uniquely important to those who speak it as their native language - that is, their first (normally sole) tongue:

the language they acquired at their mother's knee. But there are more objective standards of relative importance.

One criterion is the number of native speakers that a language happens to have. A second is the extent to which a language is geographically dispersed: in how many continents and countries is it used or is a knowledge of it necessary? A third is its 'vehicular load': to what extent is it a medium for a science or literature or other highly regarded cultural manifestation - including 'way of life'? A fourth is the economic and political influence of those who speak it as 'their own' language.

## 1.2

None of these is trivial but not all would unambiguously identify English. Indeed the first would make English a very poor second to Chinese (which has double the number of speakers) and would put English not appreciably in front of Hindi-Urdu. The second clearly makes English a front runner but also invites consideration of Hebrew, Latin and Arabic, for example, as languages used in major world religions, though only the last mentioned would be thought of in connection with the first criterion. By the third criterion, the great literatures of the Orient spring to mind, not to mention the languages of Tolstoy, Goethe, Cervantes and Racine. But in addition to being the language of the analogous Shakespeare, English scores as being the primary medium for twentieth-century science and technology. The fourth criterion invokes Japanese, Russian and German, for example, as languages of powerful, productive and influential communities. But English is the language of the United States which - to take one crude but objective measure - has a larger 'Gross National Product' (both in total and in relation to the population) than any other country in the world. Indeed the combined GNP of the USA, Canada and Britain is 50 per cent higher than that of the remaining OECD countries (broadly speaking, continental Europe plus Japan) put together: c/Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Main Economic Indicators, June 1971. What emerges strikingly about English is that by any of the criteria it

is prominent, by some it is pre-eminent, and by a combination of the four it is superlatively outstanding. Notice that no claim has been made for the importance of English on the grounds of its 'quality' as a language (the size of its vocabulary, the alleged flexibility of its syntax). It has been rightly said that the choice of an international language, or lingua franca, is never based on linguistic or aesthetic criteria but always on political, economic, and demographic ones.

## Native, second, and foreign language 1.3

English is the world's most widely used language. It is useful to distinguish three primary categories of use: as a native language, as a second language, and as a foreign language. English is spoken as a native language by nearly three hundred million people: in the United States, Britain, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the Caribbean and South Africa, without mentioning smaller countries or smaller pockets of native English speakers (for example in Rhodesia and Kenya). In several of these countries, English is not the sole language: the Quebec province of Canada is French-speaking, much of South Africa is Afrikaans-speaking, and for many Irish and Welsh people, English is not the native language. But for these Welsh, Irish, Quebecois and Afrikaners, English will even so be a second language:



that is, a language necessary for certain official, social, commercial or educational activities within their own country. This second-language function is more noteworthy, however, in a long list of countries where only a small proportion of the people have English as their native language: India, Pakistan, Nigeria, Kenya and many other Commonwealth countries and former British territories. Thus, a quarter of a century after independence, India maintains English as the medium of instruction for approximately half of its total higher education. English is the second language in countries of such divergent backgrounds as the Philippines and Ethiopia, while in numerous other countries (Burma, Thailand, South Korea and some Middle Eastern countries, for example) it has a second language status in respect of higher education. It is one of the two 'working' languages of the United Nations and of the two it is by far the more frequently used both in debate and in general conduct of UN business.

1-4

By foreign language we mean a language as used by someone for communication across frontiers or with people who are not his countrymen": listening to broadcasts, reading books or newspapers, commerce or travel, for example. No language is more widely studied or used as a4 The English language

foreign language than English. The desire to learn it is immense and apparently insatiable. American organizations such as the United States Information Agency and the Voice of America have played a notable role in recent years, in close and amicable liaison with the British Council which provides support for English teaching both in the Commonwealth and in foreign countries throughout the world. The BBC, like the USIS, has notable radio and television facilities devoted to this purpose. Other English-speaking countries such as Australia also assume heavy responsibilities for teaching English as a foreign language. Taking the education systems of the world as a whole, one may say confidently (if perhaps ruefully) that more timetable hours are devoted to English than any other subject.

We shall look more closely in the next section at the kind and degree of demand, but meantime the reasons for the demand have surely become clear. To put it bluntly, English is a top requirement of those seeking good jobs - and is often the language in which much of the business of 'good jobs' is conducted. One needs it for access to at least one half of the world's scientific literature. It is thus intimately associated with technological and economic development and it is the principal language of international aid. Not only is it the universal language of international aviation, shipping and sport: it is to a considerable degree the universal language of literacy and public communication. Siegfried Muller (former Director of the Languages-of-the-World Archives in the US Department of Education) has estimated that about 60 per cent of the world's radio broadcasts and 70 per cent of the world's mail are in English. The great manufacturing countries Germany and Japan use English as their principal advertising and sales medium; it is the language of automation and computer technology.

The demand for English 1.5

The teaching of English

The role of chief foreign language that French occupied for two centuries from about 1700, therefore, has been undoubtedly assumed by English - except of course in the

English-speaking countries themselves, where French is challenged only by Spanish as the foreign language most widely studied. Although patriotism obliges international organizations to devote far more resources to translation and interpreter services than reason would dictate, no senior post would be offered to a candidate deficient in English. The equivalent of the nineteenth-century European 'finishing school' in French now provides a liberal education in English, whether located in Sussex or in Switzerland. But a more general equivalent is perhaps the English-medium school organized through the state

#### The Importance of English 5

education system, and such institutions seem to be even more numerous in the Soviet Union and other east European countries than in countries to the west. More general still, of course, is the language work in the ordinary schools, and in this connection the introduction at the primary (pie-lycee, pre-Gymnasium) level of foreign language teaching has meant a sharp but almost accidental increase in English teaching and in the demand for English teachers. That is, if a foreign language is to be taught at the primary level, what other language should the French or German schools teach but English? And if children already have some English before entering secondary education, what more obvious than to continue with this particular foreign language, making any other language at secondary level a lower priority option, learned to a less adequate degree?

To take France as an example, in the academic year 1968-69, English was being learned as first foreign language by 80 per cent of secondary school pupils, the nearest rival being German with 16 per cent. When we include those who study it as their second foreign language, we have a total of over two million teenagers studying English in France, a country with a tradition for teaching several other European languages-Spanish in the south-west, Italian in the south-east and German in the northeast.

#### 1.6

##### A lingua franca in science and scholarship

We might refer also to an inquiry recently made into the use of foreign languages by the learned community in French-speaking territories. It transpired that 90 per cent found it necessary to use books in English -and this percentage included scholars whose research lay in the field of French literature. Perhaps even more significant: about 25 per cent preferred to publish their scholarly and scientific papers in English. The latter point is strikingly paralleled in Italy and Germany. About 1950, the Italian physics journal *Nuovo Cimenlo* decided to admit papers in languages other than Italian; in less than 20 years the proportion of papers published in Italian fell from 100 per cent to zero and the proportion of papers published in English rose from zero to 100 per cent. A German example: between 1962 and 1968 alone the proportion of articles published in English in *Physikalische Zeitschrift* rose from 2 per cent to 50 per cent. In both these cases, the change may in part be due to the editors' acceptance of papers by American, British and other English-speaking physicists, but for the most part one would surely be right in thinking that it reflects the European scientists' desire to share their research most efficiently with their colleagues all over the world

by means of the twentieth-century lingua franca. Telling evidence of this is provided by the European journal *Astronomy and Astrophysics* in which two-thirds of the contributions by French scientists are in English, and by the official publication of the Agence Internationale de l'energie Atomique, Nuclear Fusion, where all articles are in English, despite the fact that the Agency is subsidized by the French Government.

1.7

### International character of English

For the foregoing observations, we have deliberately drawn heavily on the work of an outstandingly qualified Frenchman, Denis Girard, Inspecteur Regional de l'Academie de Paris, in order to insure ourselves against the danger of overstating the importance of English, and to assure ourselves of seeing English measured in terms of international values. Not that one is tempted to do otherwise. English, which we have referred to as a lingua franca, is pre-eminently the most international of languages. Though the mention of the language may at once remind us of England, on the one hand, or cause association with the might of the United States on the other, it carries less implication of political or cultural specificity than any other living tongue (with French and Spanish also notable in this respect). At one and the same time, it serves the daily purposes of republics such as the United States and South Africa, sharply different in size, population, climate, economy and national philosophy; and it serves an ancient kingdom such as Britain, as well as her widely scattered Commonwealth partners, themselves as different from each other as they are from Britain herself.

But the cultural neutrality of English must not be pressed too far. The literal or metaphorical use of such expressions as case law throughout the English-speaking world reflects a common heritage in our legal system; and allusions to or quotations from Shakespeare, the Authorized Version, Gray's Elegy, Mark Twain, a sea shanty, a Negro spiritual or a Beatles song - wittingly or not - testify similarly to a shared culture. The Continent means 'continental Europe' as readily in America and even Australia and New Zealand as it does in Britain. At other times, English equally reflects the independent and distinct culture of one or other of the English-speaking communities. When an Australian speaks of fossicking something out (searching for something), the metaphor looks back to the desperate activity of reworking the diggings of someone else in the hope of finding gold that had been overlooked. When an American speaks of not getting to first base (not achieving even initial success), the metaphor concerns an equally culture-specific activity - the game of baseball. And when an Englishman says that something is not cricket (unfair), the allusion is also to a game that is by no means universal in the English-speaking countries.

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Grammar and the study of language

Types of linguistic organization

1.8

Sounds and spellings

The claim is, therefore, that on the one hand there is a single 'English language' (the grammar of which is the concern of this book), but that on the other there are recognizable varieties. Since these varieties can have reflexes in any of the types of organization that the linguist distinguishes, this is the point at which we should outline these types of organization (or 'levels' as they are sometimes called), one of which is 'grammar'. When someone communicates with us by means of language, he normally does so by causing us to hear a stream of sounds. We hear the sounds not as indefinitely variable in acoustic quality (however much they may be so in actual physical fact). Rather, we hear them as each corresponding to one of a very small set (in English, /p/, /t/, /n/, /j/, /s/...) which can combine in certain ways and not others. For example, in English we have spin but not \*psin, our use of the asterisk here and elsewhere in this book denoting non-occurring or unacceptable forms. We similarly observe patterns of stress and pitch. The sounds made in a particular language and the rules for their organization are studied in the branch of linguistics known as phonology, while their physical properties and their manner of articulation are studied in PHONETICS.

Another major method of linguistic communication is by visual signs, that is, writing; and for English as for many other languages there has been developed an alphabetic writing system with symbols basically related to the individual sounds used in the language. Here again there is a closely structured organization which regards certain differences in shape as irrelevant and others (for example capitals versus lower case, ascenders to the left or right of a circle - b versus d) as significant. The study of graphology or orthography thus parallels the study of phonology in several obvious ways. Despite the notorious oddities of English spelling, there are important general principles: eg combinations of letters that English permits (tch, qu, ss, oo) and others that are disallowed (\*pfx, \*qi, \*yy) or have only restricted distribution (final v or j occurs only exceptionally as in Raj, spiv).

## 1.9

Lexicology, semantics, grammar

Just as the small set of arabic numerals can be combined to express in writing any natural numbers we like, however vast, so the small set of sounds and letters can be combined to express in speech or writing respectively an indefinitely large number of words. These linguistic units enable

able people to refer to every object, action and quality that members of a society wish to distinguish: in English, door, soap, indignation, find, stupefy, good, uncontrollable, and so on to a total in the region of at least half a million. These units of language have a meaning and a structure (sometimes an obviously composite structure as in cases like uncontrollable) which relate them not only to the world outside language but to other words within the language (good, bad, kind, etc). The study of words is the business of lexicology but the regularities in their formation are similar in kind to the regularities of grammar and are closely connected to them (cf App 1.1 ff). Meaning relations as a whole are the business of semantics, the study of meaning, and this therefore has relevance equally within lexicology and within grammar.

There is one further type of organization. The words that have been identified by sound or spelling must be combined into larger units and it is the complex set of rules

specifying such combination that we refer to as grammar. This word has various common meanings in English (as in other languages: cf: grammaire, Grammatik) and since it is the subject matter of this book some of its chief meanings should be explored.

The meanings of 'grammar' 1.10

Syntax and inflections

We shall be using 'grammar' to include both syntax and the inflections (or accidents) of morphology. The fact that the past tense of buy is bought (inflection) and the fact that the interrogative form of He bought it is Did he buy it ? (syntax) are therefore both equally the province of grammar. There is nothing esoteric or technical about our usage in this respect: it corresponds to one of the common lay uses of the word in the English-speaking world. A teacher may comment

John uses good grammar but his spelling is awful

showing that spelling is excluded from grammar; and if John wrote interloper where the context demanded interpreter, the teacher would say that he had used the wrong word, not that he had made a mistake in grammar. So far so good. But in the education systems of the English-speaking countries, it is possible also to use the term 'grammar' loosely so as to include both spelling and lexicology, and we need to be on our guard so that we recognize when the word is used in so sharply different a way. A 'grammar lesson' for children may in fact be concerned with any aspect of the use, history, spelling or even pronunciation of words.

When grammar is prefixed to school (as it is in several English-speaking countries, though not always with reference to the same type of

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school), the term reflects the historical fact that certain schools concentrated at one time upon the teaching of Latin and Greek. This is the 'grammar' in their name. No serious ambiguity arises from this, though one sometimes comes upon the lay supposition that such schools do or should make a special effort to teach English grammar. But there is a further use of 'grammar' which springs indirectly from this educational tradition. It makes sense for the lay native speaker to say

Latin has a good deal of grammar, but English has hardly any

since the aspect of Latin grammar on which we have traditionally concentrated is the paradigms (model sets) of inflections. This in effect meant that grammar became identified with inflections or accidents, so that we can still speak of 'grammar and syntax' in this connection, tacitly excluding the latter from the former. And since all of the uses of 'grammar' so far illustrated might appear in the speech or writing of the same person, the possibilities of misunderstanding are very real.

1.11

Rules and the native speaker

Nor have we completed the inventory of meanings. The same native speaker, turning his attention from Latin, may comment:

French has a well-defined grammar, but in English we're free to speak as we like

Several points need to be made here. To begin with, it is clear that the speaker cannot now be intending to restrict 'grammar' to inflections: rather the converse; it would seem to be used as a virtual synonym of 'syntax'.

Secondly, the native speaker's comment probably owes a good deal to the fact that he does not feel the rules of his own language - rules that he has acquired unconsciously - to be at all constraining; and if ever he happens to be called on to explain one such rule to a foreigner he has very great difficulty. By contrast, the grammatical rules he learns for a foreign language seem much more rigid and they also seem clearer because they have been actually spelled out to him in the learning process.

But another important point is revealed in this sentence. The distinction refers to grammar not as the observed patterns in the use of French but to a codification of rules compiled by the French to show the French themselves how their language should be used. This is not grammar 'immanent' in a language (as our previous uses were, however much they differed in the types of pattern they referred to), but grammar as codified by grammarians: the Academy Grammar. There is no such

The English language  
Academy for the English language and so (our naive native speaker imagines) the English speaker has more 'freedom' in his usage.

1.12

The codification of rules

The 'codification' sense of grammar is readily identified with the specific codification by a specific grammarian:

Jespersen wrote a good grammar, and so did Kruisinga and this sense naturally leads to the concrete use as in Did you bring your grammars ?

and naturally, too, the codification may refer to grammar in any of the senses already mentioned. A French grammar will be devoted very largely to syntax, while accidents of intellectual history in the nineteenth century lead one to treat without surprise the fact that an Old High German grammar (or an Old English grammar) may well contain only inflections together with a detailed explanation of how the phonological system emerged.

The codification will also vary, however, according to the linguistic theory embraced by the author, his idea of the nature of grammar per se rather than his statement of the grammar of a particular language:

Shaumjan has devised a grammar interestingly different from Chomsky's

It is important to realize that, in the usage of many leading linguists, this last sense of grammar has returned to the catholicity that it had in the Greek tradition more than two thousand years ago, covering the whole field of language structure. Thus, in the framework of formal linguistics, contemporary generative grammarians will speak of 'the grammar' as embracing rules not only for syntax but for phonological, lexical and semantic specification as well.

1.13

Grammar and other types of organization

Progress towards a more explicit type of grammatical description is inevitably slow and the whole field of grammar is likely to remain an area of interesting controversy. While theoretical problems are not the concern of this book, our treatment cannot be neutral on the issues that enliven current discussion. For example, we would not wish to assert the total independence of grammar from phonology on the one hand and

lexico-semantics on the other as was implied in the deliberate oversimplification of 1.8/. Phonology is seen to have a bearing on grammar

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even in small points such as the association of initial /5/ with demon-strativeness and conjunction (this, then, though, etc: 2.13). It is seen to bear on lexicology, for example, in the fact that numerous nouns and verbs differ only in the position of a stress (App 1.43, App II.5):

That is an 'insult They may insult me

But most obviously the interdependence of phonology and grammar is shown in focus processes (cf the connection between intonation and linear presentation: 14.2-7), and in the fact that by merely altering the phonology one can distinguish sets of sentences like those quoted in App 11.20.

The interrelations of grammar, lexicology and semantics are still more pervasive. To take an obvious example, the set of sentences

John hated the shed John painted the shed Fear replaced indecision

have a great deal in common that must be described in terms of grammar. They have the same tense (past), the same structure (subject plus verb plus object), will permit the same syntactic operations as in

The shed was painted by John

Did John paint the shed?

It was John that painted the shed

Up to a point they will also permit the permutation of their parts so that the abstraction 'subject - verb - object' appears to be an adequate analysis:

John replaced the shed John hated indecision

But by no means all permutations are possible:

\*Fear painted the shed •Fear hated indecision •John replaced indecision

To what extent should the constraints disallowing such sentences be accounted for in the grammatical description? Questions of this kind will remain intensely controversial for a long time, and little guidance on the problems involved can be given in this book (c/however 7.37-38).

1.14

Grammar and generalization

Our general principle will be to regard grammar as accounting for constructions where greatest generalization is possible, assigning to lexi-12 The English language cology constructions on which least generalization can be formulated (which approach, that is, the idiosyncratic and idiomatic). The gradient of 'greatest' to 'least' in the previous sentence admits at once the unfortunate necessity for arbitrary decision. Confronted with the correspondences:

He spoke these words He wrote these words

The speaker of these words The writer of these words

we will wish to describe within grammar the way in which items in the first column can be transformed into the shape given them in the second. But this will leave us with second column items such as

0

The author of these words

for which there is no first-column 'source'. This particular example, we may agree, raises no semantic problem: there is merely a lexicological gap in the language - no verb \*auth. But we have also first-column items for which there is no second-column transform:

He watched the play    <->■                    0

Here we cannot account for the constraint in terms of a lexical gap, but we may be very uncertain as to whether it is a problem for lexicology or grammar (c/App 1.24).

One further example:

He spattered the wall with oil

He smeared the wall with oil

He rubbed the wall with oil

He dirtied the wall with oil

•He poured the wall with oil

It is not easy to decide whether we should try to account within grammar for the imbalance in relating items from such a set to alternative predication forms (12.62/):

He spattered oil on the wall

He smeared oil on the wall

He rubbed oil on the wall

\*He dirtied oil on the wall

He poured oil on the wall

The question is not merely how minimally general must a rule be before it ceases to be worth presenting within grammar but one of much deeper theoretical concern: what, if anything, ultimately distinguishes a rule of grammar from a rule of semantics? Provided that we can remember at all times that such questions remain matters for debate, no harm is done by offering - as we do in this book - some provisional answers.

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Varieties of English and classes of varieties

1.15

Having established, subject to these important qualifications, the extent to which we may speak of different types of linguistic organization such as phonology, lexicology and grammar, we may now return to the point we had reached at the beginning of 1.8. What are the varieties of English whose differing properties are realized through the several types of linguistic organization ?

A great deal has been written in recent years attempting to provide a theoretical basis on which the varieties of any language can be described, interrelated and studied: it is one of the prime concerns of the relatively new branch of language study called sociolinguistics. The problem is formidable, we are far from having complete answers, and all attempts are in some degree an oversimplification. It may help now to consider one such oversimplification for the purposes of this book. First, an analogy. The properties of dog-ness can be seen in both terrier and alsa-tian (and, we must presume, equally), yet no single variety of dog embodies all the features present in all varieties of dog. In a somewhat similar way, we need to see a common core or nucleus that we call 'English' being realized only in the different actual varieties of



the language that we hear or read. Let us imagine six kinds of varieties ranged as below and interrelated in ways we shall attempt to explain.

## THE COMMON CORE OF ENGLISH

### VARIETY CLASSES

Region:

Education and social standing:

Subject matter:

Medium:

Attitude:

Interference:

VARIETIES WITHIN EACH CLASS •M) R-2\* R31 \*Mt ■ ■ •

Ei, Ea, E3, Ei(...

\_\_\_\_\_ \

Si, S2, S3, S4,...

\*\_ \_

\_\_\_\_\_ \*

Mi, Ma,..-

i. \_

\_\_\_\_\_ -J-

\_\_\_\_\_ ---

/ A3, A4,.. -.

Ai, A2,

\*. \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Ij) 'ai \*3i14 The English language

The fact that in this figure the 'common core' dominates all the varieties means that, however esoteric or remote a variety may be, it has running through it a set of grammatical and other characteristics that are present in all others. It is presumably this fact that justifies the application of the name 'English' to all the varieties. From this initial point onwards, it will be noted that nothing resembling a noded tree structure is suggested: instead, it is claimed by the sets of braces that each variety class is related equally and at all points to each of the other variety classes. We shall however return and make qualifications to this claim. The classes themselves are arranged in a meaningful order and the justification will become clear in what follows.

Regional variation

1.16

Varieties according to region have a well-established label both in popular and technical use: 'dialects'. Geographical dispersion is in fact the classic basis for linguistic variation, and in the course of time, with poor communications and relative remoteness, such dispersion results in dialects becoming so distinct that we regard them as different languages. This latter stage was long ago reached with the Germanic dialects that are now Dutch, English, German, Swedish, etc, but it has not

been reached (and may not necessarily ever be reached, given the modern ease of communication) with the dialects of English that have resulted from the regional separation of communities within the British Isles and (since the voyages of exploration and settlement in Shakespeare's time) elsewhere in the world.

Regional variation seems to be realized predominantly in phonology. That is, we generally recognize a different dialect from a speaker's pronunciation or accent before we notice that his vocabulary (or lexicon) is also distinctive. Grammatical variation tends to be less extensive and certainly less obtrusive. But all types of linguistic organization can readily enough be involved. A Lancashire man may be recognized by a Yorkshireman because he pronounces an /r/ after vowels as in *stir* or *hurt*. A *middy* is an Australian measure for beer - but it refers to a considerably bigger measure in Sydney than it does in Perth. Instead of / *saw* it, a New Englander might say / *see* it, a Pennsylvanian / *seen* it and a Virginian either / *seen* it or / *seed* it, if they were speaking the natural dialect of their locality, and the same forms distinguish certain dialects within Britain too.

Note

The attitude of native speakers to other people's dialect varies greatly, but, in general, dialects of rural and agricultural communities are regarded as more pleasant than

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dialects of large urban communities such as New York or Birmingham. This is connected, of course, with social attitudes and the association of city dialects with variation according to education and social standing (1.13) rather than region.

1.17

It is pointless to ask how many dialects of English there are: there are indefinitely many, depending solely on how detailed we wish to be in our observations. But they are of course more obviously numerous in the long-settled Britain than in the more recently settled North America or in the still more recently settled Australia and New Zealand. The degree of generality in our observation depends crucially upon our standpoint as well as upon our experience. An Englishman will hear an American Southerner primarily as an American and only as a Southerner in addition if further subclassification is called for and if his experience of American English dialects enables him to make it. To an American the same speaker will be heard first as a Southerner and then (subject to similar conditions) as, say, a Virginian, and then perhaps as a Piedmont Virginian. One might suggest some broad dialectal divisions which are rather generally recognized. Within North America, most people would be able to distinguish Canadian, New England, Midland, and Southern varieties of English. Within the British Isles, Irish, Scots, Northern, Midland, Welsh, South-western, and London varieties would be recognized with similar generality. Some of these - Irish and Scots for example - would be recognized as such by many Americans and Australians too, while in Britain many people could make subdivisions: Ulster and Southern might be distinguished within Irish, for example, and Yorkshire picked out as an important subdivision of northern speech. British people can also, of course, distinguish North Americans from all others (though not usually Canadians from Americans), South Africans from Australians and

New Zealanders (though mistakes are frequent), but not usually Australians from New Zealanders.

1.18

#### Education and social standing

Within each of the dialect areas, there is considerable variation in speech according to education and social standing. There is an important polarity of uneducated and educated speech in which the former can be identified with the regional dialect most completely and the latter moves away from dialectal usage to a form of English that cuts across dialectal boundaries. To revert to an example given in a previous section, one would have to look rather hard (or be a skilled dialectologist) to find, as an outsider, a New Englander who said *see* for *saw*, a Pennsylvanian who said *seen*, and a Virginian who said *seed*. These are forms that tend to be replaced by *saw* with schooling, and in speaking to a stranger a dialectal English speaker would tend to use 'school' forms. On the other hand, there is no simple equation of dialectal and uneducated English. Just as educated English (/ *saw*) cuts across dialectal boundaries, so do many features of uneducated use: a prominent example is the double negative as in *I don't want no cake*, which has been outlawed from all educated English by the prescriptive grammar tradition for hundreds of years but which continues to thrive in uneducated speech wherever English is spoken.

Educated speech - by definition the language of education - naturally tends to be given the additional prestige of government agencies, the learned professions, the political parties, the press, the law court and the pulpit - any institution which must attempt to address itself to a public beyond the smallest dialectal community. The general acceptance of 'BBC English' for this purpose over almost half a century is paralleled by a similar designation for general educated idiom in the United States, 'network English\*'. By reason of the fact that educated English is thus accorded implicit social and political sanction, it comes to be referred to as Standard English, and provided we remember that this does not mean an English that has been formally standardized by official action, as weights and measures are standardized, the term is useful and appropriate. In contrast with Standard English, forms that are especially associated with uneducated (rather than dialectal) use are often called 'substandard'.

1.19

#### Standard English

The degree of acceptance of a single standard of English throughout the world, across a multiplicity of political and social systems, is a truly remarkable phenomenon: the more so since the extent of the uniformity involved has, if anything, increased in the present century. Uniformity is greatest in what is from most viewpoints the least important type of linguistic organization - the purely secondary one of orthography. Although printing houses in all English-speaking countries retain a tiny element of individual decision (*realize*, *-ise*; *judg(e)ment*; etc), there is basically a single, graphological spelling and punctuation system throughout: with two minor subsystems. The one is the subsystem with British orientation (used in all English-speaking countries except the United States) with distinctive forms in only a small class of words, *colour*, *centre*, *levelled*, etc. The other is the American subsystem: *color*, *center*, *leveled*, etc. In Canada, the British subsystem is used for the most part,

but some publishers (especially of popular material) follow the American subsystem and some a mixture (color but centre). In the American Mid-West, some newspaper publishers (but not book publishers) use a few additional separate spellings such as thru for through. One minor

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orthographic point is oddly capable of Anglo-American misunderstanding: the numerical form of dates. In British (and European) practice \*7/U/72' would mean '7 November 1972', but in American practice it would mean 'July 11 1972'.

In grammar and vocabulary, Standard English presents somewhat less of a monolithic character, but even so the world-wide agreement is extraordinary and - as has been suggested earlier - seems actually to be increasing under the impact of closer world communication and the spread of identical material and non-material culture. The uniformity is especially close in neutral or formal styles (1.27) of written English (1.25) on subject matter (1.24) not of obviously localized interest: in such circumstances one can frequently go on for page after page without encountering a feature which would identify the English as belonging to one of the national standards.

National standards of English 1.20

British and American English

What we are calling national standards should be seen as distinct from the Standard English which we have been discussing and which we should think of as being 'supra-national', embracing what is common to all. Again, as with orthography, there are two national standards that are overwhelmingly predominant both in the number of distinctive usages and in the degree to which these distinctions are 'institutionalized': American English and British English. Grammatical differences are few and the most conspicuous are widely known to speakers of both national standards; the fact that AmE has two past participles for get and BrE only one (3.68), for example, and that in BrE the indefinite pronoun one is repeated in co-reference where AmE uses he (4.126) as in

One cannot succeed at this unless

fonei . . \he J

tries hard

Lexical examples are far more numerous, but many of these are also familiar to users of both standards: for example, railway (BrE), railroad (AmE); tap (BrE), faucet (AmE); autumn (BrE), fall (AmE). More recent lexical innovations in either area tend to spread rapidly to the other. Thus while radio sets have had valves in BrE but tubes in AmE, television sets have tubes in both, and transistors are likewise used in both standards. The United States and Britain have been separate political entities for two centuries; for generations, thousands of books have been appearing annually; there is a long tradition of publishing descriptions of both AmE and BrE. These are important factors in establishing and institutionalizing the two national standards, and in the relative absence of such

!] 18 The English language

conditions other national standards are both less distinct (being more open to the influence of either AmE or BrE) and less institutionalized.

1.21

Scotland, Ireland, Canada

Scots, with ancient national and educational institutions, is perhaps nearest to the self-confident independence of BrE and AmE, though the differences in grammar and vocabulary are rather few. There is the preposition *outwith* 'except' and some other grammatical features, and such lexical items as *advocate* in the sense 'practising lawyer' or *bailie* 'municipal magistrate' and several others which, like this, refer to Scottish affairs. Orthography is identical with BrE though *burgh* corresponds closely to 'borough' in meaning and might almost be regarded as a spelling variant. But this refers only to official Scots usage. In the 'Lallans' Scots, which has some currency for literary purposes, we have a highly independent set of lexical, grammatical, phonological and orthographical conventions, all of which make it seem more like a separate language

than a regional dialect.

Irish (or Hiberno-) English should also be regarded as a national standard, for though we lack descriptions of this long-standing variety of English it is consciously and explicitly regarded as independent of BrE by educational and broadcasting services. The proximity of Britain, the easy movement of population, and like factors mean however that there is little room for the assertion and development of separate grammar and vocabulary. In fact it is probable that the influence of BrE (and even AmE) is so great on both Scots and Irish English that independent features will diminish rather than increase with time.

Canadian English is in a similar position in relation to AmE. Close economic, social, and intellectual links along a 4000-mile frontier have naturally caused the larger community to have an enormous influence on the smaller, not least in language. Though in many respects (*zed* instead of *zee*, for example, as the name of the letter 'z'), Canadian English follows British rather than United States practice, and has a modest area of independent lexical use (*pogey* 'welfare payment', *riding* 'parliamentary constituency', *muskeg* 'kind of bog'), in many other respects it has approximated to AmE, and in the absence of strong institutionalizing forces it seems likely to continue in this direction.

1.22

South Africa, Australia, New Zealand

South Africa, Australia and New Zealand are in a very different position, remote from the direct day-to-day impact of either BrE or AmE. While in orthography and grammar the South African English in educated use

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is virtually identical with BrE, rather considerable differences in vocabulary have developed, largely under the influence of the other official language of the country, Afrikaans. For example, *veld* 'open country', *koppie* 'hillock', *dorp* 'village', *konfyt* 'candied peel'. Because of the remoteness from Britain or America, few of these words have spread: an exception is *trek* 'journey'.

New Zealand English is more like BrE than any other non-European variety, though it has adopted quite a number of words from the indigenous Maoris (for example, *whore* 'hut' and of course *kiwi* and other names for fauna and flora) and over the past

half century has come under the powerful influence of Australia and to a considerable extent of the United States.

Australian English is undoubtedly the dominant form of English in the Antipodes and by reason of Australia's increased wealth, population and influence in world affairs, this national standard (though still by no means fully institutionalized) is exerting an influence in the northern hemisphere, particularly in Britain. Much of what is distinctive in Australian English is confined to familiar use. This is especially so of grammatical features like adverbial *but or* or the use of the feminine pronoun both anaphorically for an inanimate noun (*Job... her*) and also impersonally and non-referentially for 'things in general':

The job's still not done; I'll finish her this arvo, but

(... it this afternoon, however.) 'Are you feeling better?' 'Too right, mate; she'll be jake.'

(\*... Absolutely, old man; everything will be fine.)

But there are many lexical items that are to be regarded as fully standard : not merely the special fauna and flora (kangaroo, gumtree, wattle, etc) but special Australian uses of familiar words {paddock as a general word for 'field', crook 'ill', etc), and special Australian words (bowyang 'a trouser strap', waddy 'a bludgeon', etc).

1.23

Pronunciation and standard English

This list does not exhaust the regional or national variants that approximate to the status of a standard (the Caribbean might be mentioned, for example), but the important point to stress is that all of them are remarkable primarily in the tiny extent to which even the most firmly established, BrE and AmE, differ from each other in vocabulary, grammar and orthography. We have been careful, however, not to mention pronunciation in this connection. Pronunciation is a special case for several reasons. In the first place, it is the type of linguistic organization (1.8) 20 The English language

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which distinguishes one national standard from another most immediately and completely and which links in a most obvious way the national standards to the regional varieties. Secondly (with an important exception to be noted), it is the least institutionalized aspect of Standard English, in the sense that, provided our grammar and lexical items conform to the appropriate national standard, it matters less that our pronunciation follows closely our individual regional pattern. This is doubtless because pronunciation is essentially gradient, a matter of 'more or less' rather than the discrete 'this or that' features of grammar and lexicon. Thirdly, norms of pronunciation are subject less to educational and national constraints than to social ones: this means, in effect, that some regional accents are less acceptable for 'network use' than others; c/

1.16 Note.

Connected with this is the exception referred to above. In BrE, one type of pronunciation comes close to enjoying the status of 'standard': it is the accent associated with the English public schools, 'Received Pronunciation' or 'RP'. Because this has traditionally been transmitted through a private education system based upon

boarding schools insulated from the locality in which they happen to be situated, it is importantly non-regional, and this - together with the obvious prestige that the social importance of its speakers has conferred on it - has been one of its strengths as a lingua franca. But RP no longer has the unique authority it had in the first half of the twentieth century. It is now only one of the accents commonly used on the BBC and takes its place along with others which carry the unmistakable mark of regional origin - not least, an Australian or North American or Caribbean origin. Thus the rule that a specific type of pronunciation is relatively unimportant seems to be in the process of losing the notable exception that RP has constituted.

Note

The extreme variation that is tolerated in the pronunciation of English in various countries puts a great responsibility upon the largely uniform orthography (1.19) in preserving the intercomprehensibility of English throughout the world. A 'phonetic' spelling would probably allow existing differences to become greater whereas - through 'spelling pronunciation\*' with increased literacy - our conventional orthography not merely checks the divisiveness of pronunciation change but actually reduces it.

1.24

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Varieties according to subject matter

Varieties according to the subject matter involved in a discourse have attracted linguists' attention a good deal in recent years. They are sometimes referred to as 'registers', though this term is applied to different types of linguistic variety by different linguists. The theoretical bases for considering subject-matter varieties are highly debatable, but certain broad truths are clear enough. While one does not exclude the possibility that a given speaker may choose to speak in a national standard at one moment and in a regional dialect the next - and possibly even switch from one national standard to another - the presumption has been that an individual adopts one of the varieties so far discussed as his permanent form of English. With varieties according to subject matter, on the other hand, the presumption is rather that the same speaker has a repertoire of varieties and habitually switches to the appropriate one as occasion arises. Naturally, however, no speaker has a very large repertoire, and the number of varieties he commands depends crucially upon his specific profession, training, range of hobbies, etc.

Most typically, perhaps, the switch involves nothing more than turning to the particular set of lexical items habitually used for handling the topic in question. Thus, in connection with repairing a machine: nut, bolt, wrench, thread, lever, finger-tight, balance, adjust, bearing, axle, pinion, split-pin, and the like. 'I am of course using thread in the engineering sense, not as it is used in needlework', one says. But there are grammatical correlates to subject-matter variety as well. To take a simple example, the imperatives in cooking recipes: 'Pour the yolks into a bowl', not 'You should' or 'You must' or 'You might care to', still less 'The cook should ...' More complex grammatical correlates are to be found in the language of technical and

scientific description: the passive is common and clauses are often 'nominalized' (13.34/); thus not usually

1 twin—11

You can rectify this fault if you insert a wedge ... but rather Rectification of this fault is achieved by insertion of a wedge ...

More radical grammatical changes are made in the language of legal documents:

Provided that such payment as aforesaid shall be a condition precedent to the exercise of the option herein specified ...

and the language of prayer: Eternal God, Who dost call all men into unity with Thy Son ...

It need hardly be emphasized that the type of language required by choice of subject matter would be roughly constant against the variables (dialect, national standard) already discussed. Some obvious contingent constraints are however emerging: the use of a specific variety of one class frequently presupposes the use of a specific variety of another. The use of

The English language of a well-formed legal sentence, for example, presupposes an educated variety of English.

Note

Some subject matter (non-technical essays on humanistic topics, for example) invites linguistic usages that we shall refer to as literary; others (law, religion) involve usages that are otherwise archaic, though there is a strong trend away from such archaism in these fields. Poetry also frequently uses archaic features of English, while 'literary' English must sometimes be described as poetic if it shows features that are rare in prose. By contrast, technical or learned writing, in showing a close relation to a particular subject matter (psychology, electronics, or linguistics, for example), is often pejoratively referred to as jargon, especially when technical language is used too obtrusively or to all appearances unnecessarily.

Varieties according to medium

1.25

The only varieties according to medium that we need to consider are those conditioned by speaking and writing respectively. Since speech is the primary or natural medium for linguistic communication, it is reasonable to see the present issue as a statement of the differences imposed on language when it has to be couched in a graphic (and normally visual) medium instead. Most of these differences arise from two sources. One is situational: the use of a written medium normally presumes the absence of the person(s) to whom the piece of language is addressed. This imposes the necessity of a far greater explicitness: the careful and precise completion of a sentence, rather than the odd word, supported by gesture, and terminating when the speaker is assured by word or look that his hearer has understood. As a corollary, since the written sentence can be read and re-read, slowly and critically (whereas the spoken sentence is mercifully evanescent), the writer tends to anticipate criticism by writing more concisely as well as more carefully and elegantly than he may choose to speak.

The second source of difference is that many of the devices we use to transmit language by speech (stress, rhythm, intonation, tempo, for example) are impossible to



represent with the crudely simple repertoire of conventional orthography. They are difficult enough to represent even with a special prosodic notation: cf App 11.21. This means that the writer has often to reformulate his sentences if he is to convey fully and successfully what he wants to express within the orthographic system. Thus instead of the spoken sentence with a particular intonation nucleus on John (App II. 14)

John didn't do it one might have to write

It was not in fact John that did it.

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Note

The advantages are not all on one side, however; the written medium has the valuable distinctions of paragraph, italics, quotation marks, etc, which have no clear analogue in speech (App III.1 ff).

1.26

As with varieties according to subject matter, we are here dealing with two varieties that are in principle at the disposal of any user of English as occasion may demand, irrespective of the variety of English he uses as a result of region and education. But again there are contingent constraints : we do not expect less educated speakers to perform in written English with the facility that educated speakers acquire. This indeed is what a great deal of education is about.

There are contingent constraints of another kind. Some subject-matter varieties of English (legal statutes especially) are difficult to compose except in writing and difficult to understand except by reading. Other varieties are comparably restricted to speech: the transcript of a (radio) commentary on a football match might have passages like this;

Gerson to Pele"; a brilliant pass, that. And the score still: Brazil 4, Italy 1. The ball in-field to - oh, but beautifully cut off, and ...

On the other hand, a newspaper report of the same game would be phrased very differently.

Varieties according to attitude 1.27

Varieties according to attitude constitute, like subject-matter and medium varieties, a range of English any section of which is in principle available at will to any individual speaker of English, irrespective of the regional variant or national standard he may habitually use. This present class of varieties is often called 'stylistic', but 'style' like 'register' is a term which is used with several different meanings. We are here concerned with the choice of linguistic form that proceeds from our attitude to the hearer (or reader), to the subject matter, or to the purpose of our communication. And we postulate that the essential aspect of the non-linguistic component (that is, the attitude) is the gradient between stiff, formal, cold, impersonal on the one hand and relaxed, informal, warm, friendly on the other. The corresponding linguistic contrasts involve both grammar and vocabulary. For example:

Overtime emoluments are not available for employees who are non-resident... Staff members who don't live in can't get paid overtime ...

While many sentences like the foregoing can be rated 'more formal' or<sup>24</sup> The English language

'more informal' ('colloquial') in relation to each other, it is useful to pursue the notion of the 'common core' (1.15) here, so that we can acknowledge a median or unmarked variety of English (see 1.35 Note), bearing no obvious colouring that has been induced by attitude. As in

This student's work is now much better and seems likely to go on improving and thousands of sentences like it. On each side of this normal and neutral English, we may usefully distinguish sentences containing features that are markedly formal or informal. In the present work, we shall for the most part confine ourselves to this three-term distinction, leaving the middle one unlabelled and specifying only usages that are relatively formal or informal.

Note

A further term, slang, is necessary to denote the frequently vivid or playful lexical usage that often occurs in casual discourse, usually indicating membership of a particular social group.

1.28

Mastery of such a range of attitudinal varieties seems a normal achievement for educated adults, but it is an acquisition that is not inevitable or even easy for either the native or the foreign learner of a language. It appears to require maturity, tact, sensitivity and adaptability - personality features which enable the individual to observe and imitate what others do, and to search the language's resources to find expression to suit his attitude. The young native speaker at the age of five or six has broadly speaking one form of English that is made to serve all purposes, whether he is talking to his mother, his pets, his friends or the aged president of his father's firm. And although even this can cause parents twinges of embarrassment, it is understood that the invariant language is a limitation that the child will grow out of.

The foreign learner is in a somewhat similar position. Until his skill in the language is really very advanced, it is attitudinally invariant, though the particular variety on which he is 'fixed' is much less predictable than that of the native child. If much of his practice in English has been obtained through textbooks specializing in commercial training, his habitual variety will be very different from that of the learner who has done vacation work helping on a farm. These are extreme examples, but it is a commonplace to notice an invariant literary, archaic flavour in the speech of foreign students, and even a Biblical strain in the students from some parts of the world. Better this no doubt than an excessively informal usage, but in any case just as the native child's youth protects him from criticism so does the overseas student's accent inform his listeners

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that there are respectable reasons for any inappropriateness in the language variety he uses.

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The three-way contrast is not of course adequate to describe the full range of linguistic varieties that are evoked by differences of attitude. Martin Joos considers that we should at least add one category at each end of the scale to account for the extremely distant, rigid (he calls it 'frozen'). variety of English sometimes found in written instructions, eg

Distinguished patrons are requested to ascend to the second floor and to account also for the intimate, casual or hearty - often slangy ■\* language used between very close friends (especially of similar age) or members of a family, or used when a speaker feels for any other reason that he does not need to bother what the listener (or reader) thinks of his choice of language. We might thus match the foregoing example with

Up you get, you fellows!

We are thus now in possession of a potential five-term distinction: (rigid) - formal - normal - informal - (familiar)

One final point on attitude varieties. As with the English dictated by subject matter and medium, there are contingency constraints in the normal selection of attitudinal variety. Just as statute drafting (subject matter) normally presupposes writing (medium), so also it presupposes a particular attitude variety: in this case 'rigid'. Similarly it would be hard to imagine an appropriate football commentary on the radio being other than informal, or a radio commentary on the funeral of a head of state being other than formal, though both are in the same medium (speech).

Varieties according to interference 1.30

Varieties according to interference should be seen as being on a very different basis from the other types of variety discussed. It is true that, theoretically, they need not be so sharply distinguished as this implies. We might think of the 'common core' (1.15) in native speakers being distorted' in one direction where a person is born in Ohio and in another direction if he is born in Yorkshire. The differences in their English might then be ascribed to the interference of Ohio speech and Yorkshire speech respectively on this common core.

But in more practical terms we apply 'interference' to the trace left by someone's native language upon the foreign language he has acquired. Indeed, to be still more severely practical, we apply it only to those traces<sup>26</sup> The English language

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of the first language that it is pedagogically desirable to identify and eradicate. Otherwise, we should be applying an identical classification to linguistic situations that are sharply different: on the one hand, the recognizable features of Indian English or West African English (undoubtedly inherited from one generation to another) which teachers may be trying to eradicate and replace with speech habits more resembling BrE or AmE; and on the other hand, the recognizable features of Irish English (many of which are the reflexes of Irish Celtic), which are also passed on from one generation to another but which are approved by teachers as fully acceptable in educated Irish use.

1.31

The important point to stress is that the English acquired by speakers of other languages, whether as a foreign or as a second language (1.3-4), varies not merely with the degree of proficiency attained (elementary, intermediate, advanced, let us say) but with the specific native language background. The Frenchman who says 'I am here since Thursday' is imposing a French grammatical usage on English; the Russian who says 'There are four assistants in our chair of mathematics' is imposing a

Russian lexico-semantic usage on the English word 'chair'. Most obviously, we always tend to impose our native phonological pattern on any foreign language we learn. The practised linguist is able to detect the language background of his English pupil and this has obvious implications for language teaching in devising drills that will be directed to helping students with the problems that give them the greatest difficulty. At the opposite extreme are interference varieties that are so widespread in a community and of such long standing that they may be thought stable and adequate enough to be institutionalized and regarded as varieties of English in their own right rather than stages on the way to a more native-like English. There is active debate on these issues in India, Pakistan and several African countries, where efficient and fairly stable varieties of English are prominent in educated use at the highest political and professional level.

1.32

### Creole and Pidgin

At an extreme of a different kind, there are interference varieties which have traditionally been used chiefly by the less prosperous and privileged sections of a community but which have also been stable over several generations. Political, educational and sociolinguistic thought vacillates as to whether such creolized forms of English (as in Sierra Leone or the Caribbean) should be institutionalized or not. Would Creole speakers benefit from the self-assurance this might give, or (since the elite in their society would still learn a more international English in addition) would the danger be that this would tend to perpetuate their underprivileged status? Here is a sample of Jamaican Creole in an orthography that already suggests partial institutionalization:

Hin sed den, 'Ma, a we in lib?' Hie sie, 'Mi no nuu, mi pikini, bot duon luk fi hin niem hahd, ohr eni wie in a di wohld an yu kal di niem, hin hie unu.' Hin sed, 'Wei Ma, mi want im hie mi a nuu mi.' 'Land nuu, masa! Duo no kal di niem, hin wi kom kil yu.' Hin sie, 'Wei Ma, hin wi haf fi kil mi.' [See Note a]

Creole is normally the principal or sole language of its speakers, being transmitted from parent to child like any other native language. Moreover, for all its evidence of interference from other languages, it is usually more like ordinary English than Pidgin is and gives less impression of being merely a drastic reduction of ordinary English.

Pidgin is technically distinguished from Creole by being essentially a 'second' language (1.3), used rather to replace a native language for restricted public (especially commercial) purposes than to conduct family affairs and talk to one's children. In New Guinea an attempt has been made to raise the status of Pidgin (and its speakers) by institutionalization as 'Neomelanesian'; a public press, local administration and some education both secular and religious are conducted in it. Here is a sample from the Neomelanesian version of St Mark's Gospel ('Gud Nius Mark i Raitim'), Chapter 13, verse 13:

Na olman bai i bel nogud long yufela bilong nem bilong mi. Tasol man i stap strong oltaim i go i kamap long finis bilong em, disfela i ken stap gud oltaim. [See Note b]

In this case (as distinct from the Creole example) it would be very difficult to spell the passage in conventional orthography, and this is an interesting indication that we

are here beyond the limits where it is reasonable to speak of a variety of English.  
Note

[a] He said then, 'Ma, and where does he live?' She says, 'I don't know, my child, but don't look hard for his name, or anywhere in all the world that you call the name, he will hear you.' He said, 'Well, Ma, I want him to hear me and know me.\* 'Lord, no, master! Do not call the name: he will come and kill you.' He says, ' Well, Ma, he will have to kill me.'

t\*) And everyone will feel badly towards you on account of my name. But anyone who stays strong right till the end, this person will remain in well-being For ever,

Relationship between variety classes 13

presenting the table of varieties in a schematic relationship in 1.15, 28 The English language

reference was made to each stratum of varieties being equally related to all others. In principle, this is so. A man may retain recognizable features of any regional English in habitually using a national standard; in his national standard, he will be able to discourse in English appropriate to his profession, his hobbies, a sport; he could handle these topics in English appropriate either to speech or writing; in either medium, he could adjust his discourse on any of these subjects according to the respect, friendliness or intimacy he felt for hearer or reader. And all of this would be true if he was proficient in English as a foreign or second language and his usage bore the marks of his native tongue. Clearly, as we review this example, we must see that the independence of the varieties is not solely a matter of principle but also, to a large extent, a matter of actual practice.

But to an at least equally large extent the independence does not hold in practice. We have drawn attention to contingent constraints at several points (for example, in 1.29). Let us attempt to see the types of interdependence as they affect the varieties system as a whole. To begin with, the regional varieties have been explicitly connected with the educational and standard varieties. Thus although there is 'independence' to the extent that a speaker of any regional variety may be placed anywhere on the scale of least to most educated, there is interdependence to the extent that the regional variety will determine (and hence it dominates in the table, 1.15) the educational variety: a person educated in Ohio will adopt educated AmE not BrE. There is an analogous connection between the interference variety and the regional and educational variety: someone learning English in Europe or India is likely to approach a standard with BrE orientation; if in Mexico or the Philippines, an AmE orientation.

1.34

Next, the subject-matter varieties. Certain fields of activity (farming and ship-building, for example) are associated with specific regions; clearly, it will be in the (especially uneducated) dialect of these regions and no others that the language of daily discourse on such activities will be thoroughly developed. In other fields (medicine, nuclear physics, philosophy) we will expect to find little use of uneducated English or the English of a particular region. In discussions of baseball, AmE will predominate but we will not expect to find the vocabulary or grammar specific to AmE in reports of cricket matches.

Since writing is an educated art, we shall not expect to find other than educated English of one or other national standard in this medium. Indeed, when we try on occasion to represent regional or uneducated English in writing, we realize acutely how narrowly geared to Standard

Varieties of English and classes of varieties 29

English are our graphic conventions. For the same reason there are subjects that can scarcely be handled in writing and others (we have mentioned legal statutes) that can scarcely be handled in speech.

Attitudinal varieties have a great deal of independence in relation to other varieties: it is possible to be formal or informal on biochemistry or politics in AmE or BrE, for example. But informal or casual language across an 'authority gap' or 'seniority gap' (a student talking to an archbishop) presents difficulties, and on certain topics (funerals) it would be unthinkably distasteful. An attempt at formal or rigid language when the subject is courtship or football would seem comic at best.

1.35

Finally, the interference varieties. At the extremes of Creole and Pidgin there is especial interdependence between the form of language and the occasion and purposes of use. Indeed, the name Pidgin (if it is from 'business') perhaps confesses that it is of its nature inclined to be restricted to a few practical subjects. Creole is usually more varied but again it tends to be used of limited subject matter (local, practical and family affairs). As to English taught at an advanced intellectual level as a second or foreign language, our constant concern must be that enough proficiency will be achieved to allow the user the flexibility he needs in handling (let us say) public administration, a learned discipline such as medicine with its supporting scientific literature, and informal social intercourse. The drawback with much traditional English teaching was that it left the foreign learner more able to discourse on Shakespeare than on machinery - and chiefly in writing at that. A swing towards a more 'modern' approach is hardly welcome if it concentrates on colloquial chit-chat, idioms and last year's slang. Attempts to teach a 'restricted' language ('English for engineers') too often ignore the danger in so doing of trying to climb a ladder which is sinking in mud: it is no use trying to approach a point on the upper rungs if there is no foundation.

Our approach in this book is to keep our sights firmly fixed on the Common core which constitutes the major part of any variety of English, however specialized, and without which fluency in any variety at a higher than parrot level is impossible. What was said in 1.27 about an unmarked variety in respect of attitude applies also to the varieties conditioned by the other factors such as medium, subject matter and interference. Only at points where a grammatical form is being discussed which is associated with a specific variety will mention be made of the fact that the form is no longer of the common core. The varieties chiefly involved on such occasions will be AmE and BrE; speech and writing; formal and informal. 30

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Notes

The distinction between 'marked' and 'unmarked' relates to the differing degrees of inclusiveness, specificity and neutrality that two related linguistic forms may have,

For example, while he and she are opposed as masculine and feminine respectively, the former can be regarded as unmarked in comparison with the latter since he can include 'feminine' more readily than she can include 'masculine' (as in 'Ask anyone and he will tell you').

#### Varieties within a variety 1.36

Two final points need to be made. First, the various conditioning factors (region, medium, attitude, for example) have no absolute effect: one should not expect a consistent all-or-nothing response to the demands of informality or whatever the factor may be. The conditioning is real but relative and variable. Secondly, when we have done all we can to account for the choice of one rather than another linguistic form, we are still left with a margin of variation that cannot with certainty be explained in terms of the parameters set forth in 1.15 and discussed in subsequent paragraphs.

For example, we can say (or write)

He stayed a week or He stayed for a week Two fishes or Two fish

Had I known or If I had known

without either member of such pairs being necessarily linked to any of the varieties that we have specified. We may sometimes have a clear impression that one member seems rarer than another, or relatively old-fashioned, but although a rare or archaic form is likelier in relatively formal rather than in relatively informal English, we cannot always make such an identification. It might be true for the plural cacti as opposed to cactuses, but it would hardly be true for beer enough as opposed to enough beer, where the former is rarer but probably more used in informal (or dialectal) speech.

#### 1.37

It may help to see variation in terms of the relationships depicted opposite, where both the verticals represent a 'more-or-less' opposition. The upper pole of the first vertical corresponds to the features of greatest uniformity, such as the invariable past tense of bring in the educated variety of English, or the many features characterizing the main stable common core of the language, such as the position of the article in a noun phrase. The lower pole of the first vertical corresponds to the area of fluctuation illustrated in 1.36. The second vertical represents the situation in which, on the other hand, an individual may indulge in such a

fluctuation (/ wonder whether one moment and / wonder if a little later),

and on the other hand, there may be fluctuation within the community as a whole (one member appearing to have a preference for We didn't dare ask and another a preference for He didn't dare to ask: c/3.21). This appears to be a natural state of affairs in language. All societies are constantly changing their languages with the result that there are always coexistent forms, the one relatively new, the other relatively old; and some members of a society will be temperamentally disposed to use the new (perhaps by their youth) while others are comparably inclined to the old (perhaps by their age). But many of us will not be consistent either in our choice or in our temperamental disposition. Perhaps English may

relatively

uniform

t

Any given variety of English-----  
variation in individual's  
usage

t

relatively-diverse  
variation in  
community's  
usage

give rise to such fluctuation more than some other languages because of its patently mixed nature: a basic Germanic wordstock, stress pattern, word-formation, inflection and syntax overlaid with a classical and Romance wordstock, stress pattern (App II.4), word-formation (App 1.3) -and even inflection and syntax. The extent to which even highly educated People will treat the Latin and Greek plurals in data and criteria as singulars or will use different to and averse to rather than different from and averse from - and face objections from other native speakers of Eng-»sh - testifies to the variable acknowledgement that classical patterns of "flection and syntax ('differre ab\ 'aversus ab') apply within English grammar. It is another sense in which English is to be regarded as 'the most international of languages' (1.7) and certainly adds noticeably to32 The English language the variation in English usage with which a grammar must come to terms.

Bibliographical note

On English in relation to other languages, see British Council (1969), pp 7-22- Girard (1970); Halls (1969); Muller (1964).

On linguistics and the teaching of English, see Lyons (1968); Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens (1964); Nickel (1971).

On varieties of English, see Avis (1967); Branford (1970); Crystal and Davy (1969) ■ Hall (1966); Joos (1967); McDavid-Mencken (1963); Quirk (1972); Spencer (1971)-Turner (1966).

TWO

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Parts of the sentence

2.1

Subject and predicate

In order to state general rules about the construction of sentences, it is constantly necessary to refer to smaller units than the sentence itself. Our first task must therefore be to explain what these smaller units are that we need to distinguish, confining our attention for the present to a few sentences which, though showing considerable variety, are all of fairly elementary structure.

Traditionally, there is a primary distinction between subject and predicate:

John carefully searched the room

The girl is now a student at a large university

His brother grew happier gradually

It rained steadily all day

He had given the girl an apple

They make him the chairman every year

[1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6]

Although such a division obviously results in parts which are (in these examples) very unequal in size and dissimilar in content, it is of course by no means arbitrary. As will be seen in 14.10/, the subject of the sentence has a close general relation to 'what is being discussed', the 'theme' of the sentence, with the normal implication that something new (the predicate) is being said about a 'subject' that has already been introduced in an earlier sentence. This is of course a general characteristic and not a denning feature: it is patently absurd in relation to sentence [4], for example. Another point is that the subject determines concord. That is, with those parts of the verb that permit a distinction between singular and plural (3.54ff), the form selected depends on whether the subject is singular as in [2], the girl is, or plural as in [6], they make. Furthermore, it is important to distinguish the subject since it is the part of the sentence that changes its position as we go from statement to question(c/2.18#, 7.55#):

Did John carefully search the room? Did his brother grow happier gradually ? Did it rain steadily all day ? Had he given the girl an apple ?

[1q] [3q] [4q] [5q]

## 2.2

### Operator, auxiliary, and predication

In contrast with the subject, there are few generalizations that we can usefully make about the predicate since - as [1-6] already make clear - it tends to be a more complex and heterogeneous unit. We need to subdivide it into its constituents. One division has already been suggested in [1q], [3q], [4q] and [5q]; this distinguishes auxiliary as operator (as in [5q]) and the special operator-auxiliary DO (as in [1q], [3q], [4q]) on the one hand from what we may call the predication on the other. The distinctions may be illustrated as follows:

sentence

subject

predicate

auxiliary

and operator

He had

Ha'd he

predication

given the girl an apple given the girl an apple?

[51 [5q]

This particular division of the sentence is especially important for understanding how interrogative and negative forms of sentences are formed (2.18\_#", 7.41/, 7.56), how certain adjuncts are positioned (8.7), and how certain types of emphasis are achieved (14.7, 14.25), for example. Since the verb phrase may have several auxiliaries (in which case the first is the operator) or none, as in [1], [3], [4], [6] (in which case dq is introduced when an operator is required), and since moreover the verb be - and frequently also (especially in BrE) have - can act as operator, it is best to defer further discussion of the roles and relationship of operator and auxiliary to 3.5 ff.

### Verb, complement, object, adverbial 2.3

Instead, we shall turn to an alternative division of predicate into four important and for the most part obviously distinct units. We shall ignore the further possibility of regarding them rather as divisions of the predication, and-more importantly - we shall for the present ignore the fact that some adverbials should be regarded as having a relationship with the whole sentence rather than with a part such as the predicate; see 8.2-6 on disjuncts and conjuncts. The four units are verb, complement, object, and adverbial, 36 The sentence: a preliminary view

here abbreviated as V, C, O, A; together with the subject (S), they constitute the elements of sentence (and clause) structure:

John (S) carefully (A) searched (V) the room (O) [1]

The girl (S) is(V) now (A) a student (C) at a large university (A) [2]

His brother (S) grew(V) happier (Q gradually (A) [3]

It (S) rained (V) steadily (A) all day (A) [4]

He (S) had given (V) the girl (O) an apple (O) [5]

They(S) make(V) him(O) the chairman (C) every year (A) [6]

Even these few examples illustrate some important facts about the units which are distinguished in them. First, there is only one subject and one verb in each sentence,

whereas there can be more than one object as in [5], and more than one adverbial, as in [2] and [4]. Secondly, there are striking regularities about the relative position of elements: subject first, verb second, object and complement in a post-verb position. The adverbial is clearly less tied: we see that it can appear finally, as in [2], [3], [4], [6]; between subject and verb as in [1]; [2] shows a further possibility, and we shall see later (8.7) that this is best seen as between operator or auxiliary and predication. In addition (as in the present sentence and as further illustrated in 2.11), an adverbial may be placed initially. The full range of possibilities is presented in 8.7.

When we come to examine (2.11) the kinds of structure that can function as one of these elements of sentence structure, we shall see that considerable variety is possible in each case. Already however we might notice that there is particularly great heterogeneity about S, O, C, and A (though S and O appear to have the same range of possibilities). The variety can of course be much greater even than has been illustrated thus far. Indeed S, O, and A can themselves readily have the internal constituents of sentences:

She(S) saw(V) that [ft (S) rained (V) alt day (A)] (O) [7]

His brother (S) grew(V) happier (C) when [kb friend (S) arrived (V)] (A) [8]

That [she (S) answered (V) the question (O) correctly (A)] (S) pleased (V) him(O) enormously (A) [9]

The italicizing is intended to emphasize the similarity between subordinate (or dependent) clauses and independent sentences. At the same time this and the bracketing can interestingly suggest that when in [8] and that in [7] and [9] operate as A, O, and S respectively (though this is only partly true) while more importantly being themselves 'expanded' by the dependent clauses. We shall in fact treat such items as part of the dependent clauses when we come in 11.8-12 to examine the whole problem of subordinating clauses within other clauses.

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2.4

Complements and objects

Quite apart, however, from the differences in internal structure between one element and another, there are other differences already illustrated in [1-9] that must concern us immediately. For example, the relation between the room in [1] and the other elements in that sentence is very different from the relation between the girl in [5] and its fellow elements, though both are labelled 'object'. Even more obviously, perhaps, the two elements labelled 'object\*' in [5] play sharply distinct roles in this sentence. We need in fact to distinguish two types of object and two types of complement in the sentences so far illustrated:

.. /direct object (Od) ODirect \indirect object (Od) complement

^ complement (C) object complement (Co)

The direct object is illustrated in

John carefully searched the room (Od) He had given the girl an apple (Oa)

[I]

[51

and in 7.14 and 7.19 we shall attempt semantic generalizations characterizing the function of the direct object. Meantime it should be understood that the direct object is by far the more frequent kind of object, and that with most ditransitive verbs (2.5) it must always be present if there is an indirect object in the sentence. Example [5] illustrates also the indirect object:

He had given the girl (O) an apple

[5]

As here, the indirect object almost always precedes the direct object; it is characteristically (though by no means always) a noun referring to a person, and the semantic relationship is often such that it is appropriate to use the term 'receptive'. Loosely, one might say in most cases that something (the direct object) tends to be done for (or received by) the indirect object.

Turning to complements, we may illustrate first the subject complement;

The girl is now a student (Ca) at a large university His brother grew happier (C) gradually

[2] [3]

Here the complements have a straightforward relation to the subjects of their respective sentences such that the subject of [2] is understood as being a 'girl student' and the subject of [3] a 'happier brother'. The sentence: a preliminary view 'object complement' can be explained as having a similar relation to a direct object (which it follows) as the subject complement has to a subject:

They make him the chairman (CD) every year

[6]

That is to say, the direct object and object complement in this example, '\*him the chairman', correspond to a sentence like [2] having a subject and a subject complement:

He is the chairman (C8)

The parallel between object complement and subject complement holds also in that the former can often be realized by the same range of units as the latter:

They made him happier (Co) He is happier (C9)

Note

On the replacement of the indirect object by a prepositional phrase, see 6.37, 7.6, 14.40.

Categories of verb 2.S

There are different types of verb corresponding closely to the different types of object and complement. Sentences such as [2] and [3], which have subject complements, have intensive verbs and all other sentences have extensive verbs. The latter are intransitive if as in

It rained steadily all day

[4]

they do not permit any of the four object and complement types so far distinguished (see Note a). Extensive verbs are otherwise transitive. All transitive verbs take a direct object; some in addition permit an indirect object, and these will be distinguished as ditransitive. A few verbs take an object complement as in [6] and these will be referred to as complex-transitive. It is necessary to make this additional

terminological distinction for a number of reasons. In the first place, as we saw in 2.4, the relation holding between direct and indirect object is very different from that between direct object and object complement, the latter relation being identical to the \* 'intensiveness' holding between subject and subject complement. Secondly, although the relations between verb and direct object are identical whether the verb is transitive or ditransitive, the relations between a complex-transitive verb and its direct object are usually very different. This may be illustrated with the verb

Parts of the sentence 39

make which will allow all three possibilities, transitive, ditransitive, and complex-transitive:

She made a cake She made him a cake She made him a hero

[10] [11] [12]

Between [10] and [11] where made is transitive and ditransitive respectively, the relation with a cake is constant irrespective of the indirect object him introduced in [11]. In [12], where a hero is object complement, the relation between made and its direct object him is quite different from that obtaining between made and the direct object a cake in [10] and [11],

Note

[a] The verb rain permits a 'cognate object' (7.19): 'It's raining big drops'; also metaphorically, 'He rained blows on his opponent'.

[b] The difference is further illustrated by the fact that [12] permits variants as follows, with identical meaning: 'She made him into a hero', 'She made a hero out of him', whereas [11] is susceptible of variation in a quite different way: 'She made a cake for him'.

2.6

But distinctions between verbs need to be drawn not only in relation to object- and complement-types but also in relation to whether they themselves admit the aspectual contrast of 'progressive' and 'non-progressive' (see 3.39 J?). Thus it is possible to say

John carefully searched the room or John was carefully searching the room

His brother grew happier gradually or His brother was growing happier gradually

It rained steadily all day or It was raining steadily all day

But it is not possible to use the progressive in

The girl is now a student at a large university \*The girl is now being a student...

She saw that it rained all day ♦She was seeing that it rained ...

John knew the answer

•John was knowing the answer

[1] [3] [4]

[2]

[7]

[13]

When verbs (either habitually or in certain uses) will not admit the progressive, as in [2], [7], [13], they are called stative. When they will admit it, as in [1], [3], [4], they are called dynamic. It is normal for verbs to be dynamic and even the minority that are almost always stative can usually be given a dynamic use on occasion. See further, 2.16. 40 The sentence: a preliminary view

We may now sum up the verb distinctions that have been drawn so far, leaving further elaboration till later (7.2-7):

verb

'stative

finitive

[extensive (& transitive) ('intensive (.dynamic^

u

be as in [2] jfcnowasin[13]

grow as in [3] searchasia [1]

give as in [5] make as in [6] rain as in [4]

(monotransitive

{transitive^ Ldi transitive complex-transitive intransitive Categories of adverbial 2.7

Next we may take a preliminary look at adverbials. This is an extremely complex area of English grammar and a proper treatment must be deferred to Chapter 8. Here we need be concerned only with such distinctions as are necessary to explain some of the chief restrictions in constructing the simplest sentences. We may begin by looking at [2] again, which has two adverbials:

The girl is now a student at a large university [2]

We can omit elements from this and continue to have grammatical sentences:

The girl is a student at a large university [2i]

The girl is a student [2ii]

The girl is now a student [2iii]

The girl is at a large university [2iv]

but not if we leave only

•The girl is now [2v]

On this evidence we may say that the adverbials now and at a large university belong to different classes and it seems natural to label them 'time' and 'place' respectively. But we must not be misled into thinking of this distinction as referring in simple literal terms to time and place. By a process of metaphor, language allows us to map abstract notions on to outlines otherwise concerned with the physical world. In neither at a disadvantage nor at nine o'clock is there any question of being 'at' a place, but on the basis of [2iv] and [2v] we may class the former as 'place' and the latter as 'time', since

She is at a disadvantage is a grammatical sentence while ♦She is at nine o'clock

Paris of the sentence 41

is not. Such subclasses of adverbial will however be considered in more detail in 8.10 jf.

2.8

Consider now the fact that the adverbial carefully in [1] could be replaced by many others, making acceptable sentences in each case:

John searched the room

carefully slowly

noisily sternly [without delay

But if these same adverbials were inserted in sentences which had stative verbs, the sentences would become unacceptable:

The girl is now a student..

She saw this...

John knew the answer ...

^'carefully \*slowly •noisily •sternly

•without delay

It is clear that we again have a subclass of adverbials. Because the verbs with which they can occur allow the progressive, the aspect of on-going activity, it is appropriate to refer to them as 'process'.

We should note further that there is a class of adverbials like completely which are permissible before the verb in some sentences but not in others; for example

He completely searched the room but not \*She completely made a cake

We may call these 'amplifying intensifiers' in contrast to adverbials like certainly which can be inserted in all sentences; for example

He certainly searched the room She certainly made a cake

Adverbials of this latter type may be called 'emphasizing intensifiers'. Leaving aside as 'other' those that we have not yet characterized, we have so far distinguished the following types of adverbial:

place

time adverbial ■ process

intensifier other<sup>42</sup> The sentence: a preliminary view

2.9

Some types of subject

Consideration of subtypes of subject must be left until 7.14-18, but it will have been noticed already that in the illustrative sentences several sharply different kinds of subject have been encountered and that some of them are obviously tied to the type of verb or type of sentence as a whole. For example, we have seen the 'impersonal' subject in [4] and should note that sentences about the weather containing verbs like rain or snow are virtually restricted to having it as subject. Again, if we compare the unacceptability of such sentences as (a) with the acceptability of (b):

r\*The girl

(a) J\*His brother [\*The university

("The play

(b) < His marriage [The examination

we must recognize in (b) a subclass of 'eventive' nouns as subject.

[tomorrow

i next week [at two o'clock

2.10

Types of sentence structure

Additional distinctions like those made in 2.8-9 need serve for the present only to help us bear in mind at the outset that the summary of sentence-structure rules that now follows is a deliberate oversimplification which ignores not only many of the important qualifications to be described in later chapters but also some of the distinctions already glimpsed in the present one. Each line constitutes a pattern which is illustrated by means of a correspondingly numbered example which contains just

those obligatory and optional (parenthesized) elements that are specified in the formula.

(A place

V statJ 1^

[ext& trans: Od

Tint: C.

J

[14] [15]

[16] [17T

fmono :0a

LVdyn^

UxtJ [complex: "oaC0 [20] Untransitive [21]J

(A

(A

place)

(A

time)

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She is in London (now) [14]

She is a student (in London) (now) [15]

John heard the explosion (from his office) (when he was locking the door) [16]

Universities (gradually) became famous (in Europe) (during the Middle Ages) [17]

They ate the meat (hungrily) (in their hut) (that night) [18]

He offered (her) some chocolates (politely) (outside the hall) (before the concert) [19]

They elected him chairman (without argument) (in Washington) (this morning) [20]

The train had arrived (quietly) (at the station) (before we noticed it) [21]

Note

Among the less important patterns ignored in this formula are V stative as ditrans (He owes me some money) and as complex-trans (She thinks him brilliant) and the obligatory A with V dynamic intrans (He lives In London) and trans (She put the vase on the table). See 7.2 ff.

2,11

Element realization types

We noted in 2.3 that these functional elements in sentences could be realized by linguistic structures of very different form. The structures realizing the verb element are in some ways the most straightforward since here it is a question always of a verb phrase. There is however considerable variety and complication even here. The verb phrase may, as in all the examples used so far, be 'finite' (showing tense, mood, aspect and voice) or 'non-finite' (not showing tense or mood but still capable of



indicating aspect and voice): c/"3.10. Consider the following initial adverbial which takes the form of a clause with non-finite verb, having been challenged:

Having been challenged rudely in the street, John was angry [22]

Whether finite or non-finite, the verb phrase can consist of one word, as in [1] and most other illustrative sentences so far, or of more than one word, in which case the phrase consists of a 'head verb' preceded by one or more 'auxiliary verbs' as with the non-finite verb phrase in [22] and the finite verb phrases in the following:

He had given the girl an apple He has been challenged rudely He may be growing happier

The subject of a sentence may consist of a 'clause' as in [9], but<sup>44</sup> The sentence: a preliminary view

usually of a 'noun phrase', a variable and potentially highly complex unit which will be examined further in Chapters 4 and 13. It may consist of a pronoun, as in [4] and [5], for example, or of a single common or proper noun as in [17] and [16] respectively. But it may be an indeterminately long structure having a noun as head, preceded by other words such as an article, an adjective, or another noun, and followed by a prepositional phrase or by a relative clause; it is by no means uncommon to find all such items present in a noun phrase:

The new gas stove in the kitchen which I bought last month has a very efficient oven

Again, a subject may be a nominal relative (11.20).

Subject complements, direct objects and object complements may be realized by the same range of structures as subjects, but subject and object complements have the additional possibility of being realized by adjectival phrases (having an adjective as head), as in [3] and

She made him very much happier

Indirect objects, on the other hand, have fewer possibilities than subjects, and their realizations are chiefly noun phrases, as in [5] and [19]; unlike direct objects and subjects (cf [1] and [9] respectively) they cannot be realized by Mar-clauses.

Finally, adverbials can be realized by adverbial phrases (having an adverb as head) as in [1], [4]; by noun phrases as in [4] and [6], all day and every year; by prepositional phrases - that is, structures consisting of a noun phrase dominated by a preposition - as in [2], at a large university; and by clauses as in [8], where we have a finite-verb clause as adverbial, or [22], where we have an adverbial non-finite-verb clause.

Parts of speech

2.12

It will have become clear from the preceding section that the structures realizing sentence elements are composed of units which can be referred to as parts of speech, a traditional scheme in terms of which members of the Indo-European group of languages have been analysed since classical times. It may be helpful to present some examples of the parts of speech or 'form classes' as they are commonly distinguished in English

(a) noun - John, Toom, answer, play

adjective - happy, steady, new, large, round adverb - steadily, completely, really, very, then verb - search, grow, play, be, have, do

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(b) article ~ the, a(n)

demonstrative - that, this pronoun - he, they, anybody, one, which preposition - of, at, in, without, in spite of conjunction - and, that, when, although interjection - oh, ah, ugh, phew

Even so short a list of examples raises several important questions. First, we should notice that the examples are listed as words (see Note), in their 'dictionary form' and not as they often appear in sentences when they function as constituents of phrases: thus the singular room and not the plural rooms, the simple happy and not the comparative happier, the infinitive (or uninflected) grow and not the past grew, the subject form he and not the object form him.

Note

From even the few examples given, it can be seen that a part-of-speech item may consist of more than a single word. This is especially common in the case of complex prepositions (6.5), such as in spite of, out of, etc and multi-word verbs (12.19 ff), such as look at, stand out (compare the related adjective outstanding, again one part of speech but this time one word also). Equally, however, we may look upon a part of speech as being downgraded to become less than a word: for example, the adverb out in the adjective outstanding, the adjective black in the noun Morkbird, or (from this viewpoint) the noun spite and the prepositions in and on/in the preposition in spite of. Despite the uncertainty as to what constitutes a compound (App 1.44.0") and despite the lack of universal correspondence between the orthographic word, the 'grammatical' word, and the 'lexical item', parts of speech are frequently called 'word-classes'.

2.13

Secondly, some of the examples appear as more than one part of speech (play as noun and verb, that as demonstrative and conjunction) and more of them could have been given additional entries in this way (round can be noun, verb, adjective, adverb, and preposition). This is a highly important feature of English, and further attention will be drawn to it in App I. 31-43. Similarly, we should notice a direct correspondence between most adjectives and adverbs, the latter usually consisting of the former plus -ly. Less obviously, there is an important correspondence between all words beginning /θ/ (the, that, then, for example) and many of those beginning wh~ (which, when, for example): basically the former are relater or indicator words and the latter interrogative words, but the secondary functions cannot be summarized so easily (cf especially 428 #, 5.48, 10.63 ff).

Thirdly, though this book cannot be concerned with English phonology, it must be pointed out that interjections frequently involve the use of sounds that do not otherwise occur in English words. Thus ugh is

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the spelling of an exclamation often pronounced something like [ax] or [ax] and whew or phew is pronounced [ʃju] or even [ʃ:] though the 'acft-laut' /x/ and the bilabial fricative /β/ are not phonemes in standard AmE or BrE. This observation is not without significance in considering the general status of interjections which

though meaningful are integrated within neither the grammatical structure nor the lexicon of the language.

## 2.14

### Closed-system items

The parts of speech in 2.12 were listed in two groups, (a) and (b), and this introduces a distinction of very great significance. Set (b) comprises what are called 'closed-system' items. That is, the sets of items are closed in the sense that they cannot normally be extended by the creation of additional members: a moment's reflection is enough for us to realize how rarely in a language we invent or adopt a new or additional pronoun. It requires no great effort to list all the members in a closed system, and to be reasonably sure that one has in fact made an exhaustive inventory (especially, of course, where the membership is so extremely small as in the case of the article).

The items are said to constitute a system in being (i) reciprocally exclusive: the decision to use one item in a given structure excludes the possibility of using any other (thus one can have *Ike book* or *a book* but not *\*a the book*); and (ii) reciprocally denning: it is less easy to state the meaning of any individual item than to define it in relation to the rest of the system. This may be clearer with a non-linguistic analogy. If we are told that a student came *third* in an examination, the 'meaning' that we attach to 'third' will depend on knowing how many candidates took the examination: 'third' in a set of four has a very different meaning from 'third' in a set of 30.

## 2.15

### Open-class items

By contrast, set (a) comprises 'open classes'. Items belong to a class in that they have the same grammatical properties and structural possibilities as other members of the class (that is, as other nouns or verbs or adjectives or adverbs respectively), but the class is 'open' in the sense that it is indefinitely extendable. New items are constantly being created and no one could make an inventory of all the nouns in English (for example) and be confident that it was complete. This inevitably affects the way in which we attempt to define any item in an open class: while it would obviously be valuable to relate the meaning of *room* to other nouns with which it has semantic affinity (*chamber, hail, house,...*) one could not define it as '*not house, not box, not plate, not indignation,...*', as one might define a closed-system item like this as '*not thai*',

Of course, in any one phrase or sentence the decision to select a particular word at one place in the structure obviously imposes great constraints on what can be selected at another. But it is essential to see that in an arrangement like the following there is in principle a sharp difference between the number of possibilities in columns i, iii, and iv ('closed') and the number in ii and v ('open'):

>

w

(John)	sit	by	at this fountain
may	. stare		that tree
will			_____

must	read	from	_____	window
	hurr	alon		blackbo
_____	y	g		ard
	:	on		girl path

The distinction between 'open' and 'closed' parts of speech must be treated cautiously, however. On the one hand, we must not exaggerate the ease with which we create new words (c/App I.I/): we certainly do not make up new nouns as a necessary part of speaking in the way that making up new sentences is necessary. On the other hand, we must not exaggerate the extent to which parts of speech in set (b) of 2.12 are 'closed': new prepositions (usually of the form 'prep + noun+prep' like by way of) are by no means impossible.

But there is a yet more important caveat. Although they have deceptively specific labels, the parts of speech tend in fact to be rather heterogeneous. The adverb and the verb are perhaps especially mixed classes, each having small and fairly well-defined groups of closed-system items alongside the indefinitely large open-class items. So far as the verb is concerned, the closed-system subgroup is known by the well-established term 'auxiliary', though as we shall see in Chapter 3, auxiliaries themselves are of sharply different types. With the adverb, one may draw the distinction broadly between those in -ly that correspond to adjectives (complete-ly) and those that do not (now, there, forward, very, for example). But this is an oversimplification and in any case the latter items, the closed-system ones, comprise several subsets with overlapping membership and there is little by way of a well-established framework within which to describe them; discussion must therefore be deferred until Chapters 5 and 8.

## 2.16

### Stative and dynamic

The open classes have some notable general characteristics. We have just seen that adverbs of the productive class are in a one-to-one relation with adjectives. We shall see in App 1.23 ff, 1.34 jf that there are

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### 48 The sentence: a preliminary view

regular word-formation processes giving a comparable one-for-one relation between nouns and adjectives, and between nouns and verbs. For the rest, it is useful to see nouns, adjectives, and verbs in connection with the opposition of stative and dynamic introduced in 2.6. Broadly speaking, nouns can be characterized naturally as 'stative' in that they refer to entities that are regarded as stable, whether these are concrete (physical) like house, table, paper, or abstract (of the mind) like hope, botany, length. At the opposite pole, verbs can be equally naturally characterized as 'dynamic'; they are fitted (by their capacity to show tense and aspect, for example) to indicate action, activity, and temporary or changing conditions. These relations between the open classes can be summarized thus:

- adjective

stative noun



But 50 has a more important pro-function in modern usage, namely, to replace - along with the 'pro-verb' do-a predication (cf 2.2): She hoped that he would search the room carefully before

her arrival but he didn't do so [28]

Here do so replaces all the italicized portion, the head verb search and the rest of the predication, as is shown below; see also 9.80,10.54^".

sentence

subject

he he

auxiliary

and operator

would didn't

predication

search the room carefully, do so<sup>50</sup> The sentence: a preliminary view

Frequently however the pro-predication is achieved by the operator alone or sometimes by adding (especially in BrE) a relevant form of the pro-verb do after it;

a: 'He didn't give her an apple' b: 'Yes, he did' , [291]

They suspected that he had given her an apple and he

had {done} [30]

Finally, it may be briefly observed that the use of the pro-forms greatly facilitates sentence connection as in [29], the conjoining of sentences to form 'compound sentences' as in [25] or [30], and the subordination of one sentence within another to form 'complex sentences' as in [24]. These sentence developments will be examined in Chapters 10 and 11.80-86.

Sentence processes

Questions 2.18

Wft-questioiis

The pro-forms we have been considering may be regarded as having the general meaning 'We know what this item refers to, so I need not state it in full'. In 2.13 attention was drawn to correspondences of the then-when type, and we may now consider the wA-words of English (see Note b) as a special set of pro-forms diametrically opposed to the others in having the general meaning 'It has not been known what this item refers to and so it needs to be stated in full'. This informal statement will account for the use of wA-forms in questions:

Mary is in London Mary is there Where is Mary ?

But the paraphrase of the wA-forms is broad enough to help explain also their use in subordinate clauses such as the relative clause postmodifiers in noun phrase structures (cf 13.7 Jf):

The place where Mary lives is London

Through the use of wA-forms we can ask for the identification of the subject, object, complement or an adverbial of a sentence. Thus in relation to [6] we have:

They (i) make him (ii) the chairman (iii) every year (iv) [6]

Who makes him the chairman every year? [6i]

Whom do they make the chairman every year? [6ii]

What do they make him every year? [6iii]

When do they make him the chairman? [6iv]

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It will be noticed that in each case the wA-form is placed in first position and that unless this is questioning the subject, as in [6i], when the verb follows in its normal second position (2.3), the wA-form is followed by the operator (2.2,2.17) which in turn is followed by the subject and predication. The full rules for wA-questions will however be given in 7.63-67 when it will also be explained for instance why the form what (rather than whom) is used in [6iii]. For the present, we should point out that not all subjects, objects, complements or adverbials can be elicited by wA-questions (and even [6iv] above would be unusual in relation to [6]):

It rained steadily all day

(q: What rained steadily all day?

[4] ?

His brother grew happier gradually [3]

/q: What did his brother grow gradually?

\a: Happier John carefully searched the room [1]

fQ: How did John search the room? i: Carefully

Nor can the verb element be so elicited:

They make him the chairman every year [6]

}: What do they him the chairman every year? i: Make

We can however elicit the predication (2.2):

He had given the girl an apple [5]

y. What had he done?

k: Given the girl an apple They make him the chairman every year

[6]

i: What do they do? I.A: Make him the chairman every year

Finally, just as some wA-questions are impossible, so there are wh-questions for which there is no corresponding statement form, notably the greeting 'How do you do?'

Note

[a] Despite the fact that the answer to [6i] would be a plural subject, the question here (as normally) poses the 'unmarked' singular: Who makes.. .?(On 'marking\*', see 1.35 Note).

[61 The wA-forms include not only which, when, why, where, etc but also, less obviously, a few items pronounced with initial jhl, some having wh- in spelling (who, whose, whom), and one not (how).

ey

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[c] Interrogation involving 'echo questions' has few of Ac restrictions exemplified here (c/7.8ljn. Thus:

'His brother is whAt?' 'Happy\*', and even: 1 It wmAt yesterday T ' Rained\*.

2.19

Yes-no questions

Beside wA-questions, which elicit information on particular parts of a sentence, there are questions which seek a yes or no response in relation to the validity of (normally) an entire predication:

Did John search the room ?

Such questions normally open with an operator which is then followed by the subject and the predication (2.2). The only alternative is to retain the statement organization of the sentence and to mark it as a question by intonation (App II. 13) or punctuation, according as one is speaking or writing:

John searched the room?

Yes-no questions may however be focused upon some part of the sentence, and this may be achieved by a grammatical focus process (14.18) or prosodically (by stress and intonation): Was it John that searched the room ? Was it the room that John searched?

Did j6hn search the room ?

tf

The fact that such alternatives exist indicates the possibility of ambiguity in the normal yes-no question, particularly in writing, where there is no prosody to guide us. Clearly, the validity of

John carefully searched the room

[1 ]

is destroyed for the sentence as a whole as soon as any part of it is questioned. Is it the case that someone carefully searched the room, but that it was not John? Or that John searched the room, but not carefully? Or that John carefully searched something, but not the room ? Or that John did something carefully to the room but did not search it? Moreover, the validity may be destroyed in respect of more than one part: someone searched the room, but not carefully, and it was not John.

2.20

The focus of a question

In fact the first illustrative question in this chapter,

Did John carefully search the room?

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would be unlikely to occur for two reasons. First, if we did not know whether John had searched the room, we would not try to find out in the same breath whether he had searched it carefully. Second, if a yes-no question were to be asked with all the elements of [lq] in it, the adverbial carefully would be placed finally:

Did John search the room carefully?

This would carry the implication that only the degree of care was being questioned. (On the 'focus' of interrogation, see also 7.56 Note b.)

Our examples have led up to some important general truths about yes-no questions. To avoid ambiguity in locating the basis of challenged validity, questions are either kept short, introducing one factor at a time,

Is this the room ? Did anyone search it? Was it John? Did he do it carefully ?

or they are made unambiguous by grammatical or prosodic focusing, as in

Is this the room that John searched carefully? Did John search this room carefully?

or they are presumed to challenge the predication as a whole or the final element of the sentence, as in



Did John search the room?  
Did John search the room carefully?  
Did John search the room carefully last week?

Negation

Assertion and non-assertion

2.21

There are close analogies to the foregoing discussion when we turn to negation. While a yes-no question normally challenges the validity of a predication as a whole, negation rejects it. And like yes-no questions, negative sentences involve the operator, requiring the insertion of not (or the affixal contraction -n't) between the operator and the predication:

John did not search the room The girl isn't a student

As with yes-no questions, too, ambiguity may arise about the basis of the disclaimed validity if one merely introduces the negative particle into a sentence with as many elements as [2],

The girl isn't now a student at a large university<sup>54</sup> The sentence: a preliminary view unless one uses prosodic or grammatical focus to resolve the ambiguity. The girl was a student at one time but not now; she is still at a large university but is not a student there; she is at a university but it isn't large. More simply, we keep negations (like yes-no questions) short or accept the presumption that if the negation does not apply to the predication as a whole it applies to the last element. Thus

John didn't search the room carefully

would be presumed to state only that his searching the room was not careful. On this issue of 'scope', see 7.49.

There is a yet more important similarity between questions and negations, a semantic one which brings further grammatical links in its train. A sentence such as

He offered her some chocolates [31]

is an assertion. Now a sentence can be non-assertive in one of two ways: by being negative or by being a question. We do not therefore have two independent systems positive : negative declarative : interrogative

but rather an interrelated system in which assertion involves both 'positive' and 'declarative' while non-assertion has a subsystem either 'negative' or 'interrogative'.

The relationship may be diagrammed thus: ("assertion - positive and declarative sentences

5 ^1 , - . j fpositive

(interrogative-\*v

[.negative

l^non-assertion<

[negative

Note

This is of course a special technical use of 'assertion'; in ordinary speech, negative sentences can be regarded as assertions: 'I did not steal it' was his constant assertion.

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While it is right to show 'interrogative\*' as lying between the upper extreme 'positive and declarative' and the lower extreme 'negative', it is important to recognize that 'interrogative' has a closer relationship to 'negative' in springing like it from the 'non-

assertion' node. Evidence for this is not difficult to find. As compared with the some'oi the positive-declarative [31], we find any in the corresponding question and negation: Did he offer her any chocolates? [31q]

He didn't offer her any chocolates [31n]

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This discussion (like the diagram in 2.21) ignores, however, the type of negation which is a denial or contradiction of the positive; in such a case, some could be retained:

He did not offer her some chocolates

Note

The contrast between assertive and non-assertive forms can be realized in other grammatical relations than here illustrated (e/7.44). For example, \*He needs to take the exam' (\*' He need take the exam') beside the non-assertive' Need he take the exam?', He need not take the exam'. It can also be realized lexically; compare:

I agree that he offered her some chocolates I deny that he offered her any chocolates

2.23

Negation and question

Questions, like statements, can be positive or negative; to [31], [31q]

and [31n], we can add

Didn't he offer her any chocolates?

[31qn]

But since, as we saw in 2.21, interrogative is not in an equal relation to both positive-declarative and negative, we should not expect positive and negative questions to contrast identically to positive and negative statements. This could not be so because the interrogative in [31q] must cancel out or neutralize the positive in [31] in being non-assertive as opposed to assertive. The result is that a 'positive' question like [31q] is neutral as to the answer that is expected: it may be 'yes' or 'no' with equal probability. But equally the interrogative in [31qn] neutralizes the negative in [31n] with the result that this question form has been developed in English as a way of showing a speaker's surprise that the context has implied that the answer is 'no'. See further 7.58, but e/'also 2.26 where the negative yes-no question is related to exclamation.

From the special way in which the imbalance between positive and negative works in yes-no questions, it may come as no surprise to realize that there are severe restrictions on the use of iv/i-questions with negatives at all (see 7.65 Note). Compare Where is Mary? •Where isn't Mary?

At the end of 2.18, we noted the non-occurrence of a statement corresponding to 'How do you do?' yes-no questions beginning 'Would you mind...?', used as polite requests, likewise have no assertion form -■though (a final point of parallel between negative and interrogative) they56 The sentence: a preliminary view

have a corresponding negative statement form, used as a tentative expression of desire:

I wouldn't mind a cup of coffee. Shall we stop at the next village?

(\*I would mind a cup of coffee. Let's drive on.).

Note

Of course, rebuttal or echo utterances can derive pungency from flouting linguistic restrictions:

'Where's Mary?' 'Where Isn't Mary! In Chicago last week, Paris now,...' '1 Would you mind closing the window?' 'Yes I would mind! \*

2.24

Other processes

Interrogation and negation may be thought of as 'sentence processes': they are ways in which we may think of ourselves as taking a ready-made statement (and even a question like 'Who is John?' presupposes a statement 'John is X') and giving it a different dimension of meaning largely by replacing or adding constituents. There are other such processes though hardly of such general application. The element 'object' (direct or indirect) may be permuted to become 'subject' in a focus-shifting process involving the passive voice (3.12/, 12.1-18,14.8/). Thus beside:

EH

[5]

John carefully searched the room

we can have: The room was (carefully) searched (by John)

Beside: He had given the girl an apple

we can have

An apple had been given (the girl) (by him)

or

The girl had been given an apple (by him)

And beside: They make him the chairman every year

we can have:

He is made the chairman (every year) (by them)

In all of these examples, parentheses as usual mark optional items. We cannot, however, make the object complement or the adverbials the subject of a passive sentence:

[6]

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•The chairman is made him (every year) (by them) ♦Every year is made him the chairman (by them)

Limitations of a different kind arise in relation to the process which relates a statement to a command by the use of the imperative (7.72-77):

Search the room! Give the girl an apple! Don't give the girl an apple!

Although, as we see, the imperative can be positive or negative, it is restricted - unlike the other sentence processes - to present tense verbs and to sentences whose subject, usually unexpressed, is you (but see 7.73):

(You) give the girl an apple! \*(We) give the girl an apple! ♦Gave the girl an apple!

There are also restrictions on the use of the imperative with verbs that are normally stative (2.6):

•Know the answer!

Exclamation

## 2.25

Out of context, examples like 'Search the room!', 'Give the girl an apple!' could be parts of a sentence echoed exclamatorily, in which case no restrictions on person or tense apply:

a : John gave the girl an apple

b : Gave Ike girl an apple I How kind he is! [32]

The last part of [32] introduces us, however, to a more tightly organized type of exclamation involving wA-forms in a way not dissimilar to their role in questions (2.18). Corresponding to the exclamation at the end of [32] there must be the sentence

He is (very) kind [33]

where the parenthesized very reminds us that the adjective phrase expressing the subject complement allows an indication of degree to be stated. It is this 'indicating' part that is replaced by how in [32] when the adjective phrase is moved to initial position much as it would be in a question

How kind is he ? [34]

except that the declarative word-order is retained:

How kind he is! •here is a further important difference. As a positive-question (cf 2.22), 58 The sentence: a preliminary vi«w

example [34] is neutral as to whether a high or a low degree of kindness is involved; the exclamatory use of u>A-forms always indicates that the degree is high of whatever is the variable quality. These exclamations resemble the corresponding tvA-questions, however, in virtually disallowing negation (c/2.23):

•How kind he isn't!

## 2.26

A further interesting relation between question and exclamation is to be observed in the fact that the negative yes-no question can be used exclamatorily:

Isn't he kind!

Unlike the actual corresponding yes-no question (which would be expressing surprise at the anticipated answer 'No'), this exclamation has a falling nuclear tone (App 11.12) on kind, is confident of agreement in the form of a confirmatory 'Yes', and - as with How kind - implies a high degree of the adjective quality.

It will be clear from the discussion so far that the exclamation process is essentially concerned with degree and we must defer fuller discussion to 7.78/when we can make use of the grammar and semantics of gradability which will be studied in Chapter 5. In the meantime, we may merely ponder the implications of

What a present he had given the girl! •What the girl he had given a present!

[35] [35a]

Since [35] would be as unacceptable as [35a] if it began 'What the present...', we see that a noun phrase needs 'indefiniteness' (4.30) if it is to permit exclamation: in other words, that indefiniteness in the noun phrase corresponds to degree potential in the adjective phrase. The indefiniteness, moreover, leaves open for the context alone to make clear what the variable quality is whose high degree is being exclaimed. Thus,

according to context, [35] could mean 'What a very good present ...' or 'What a very bad present he had given the girl'.

2.27

Relation to later chapters

The purpose of this chapter has been to explore the structure of the English sentence in such a way as to provide, as it were, a small-scale map of the topics to be explored in some detail in the main body of the book. As with any small-scale map, most of the details have had to be ignored and complicated contours have been smoothed out and simplified. But to

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compensate for the disadvantages in this degree of distortion, the chapter is intended to have the advantages of the geographical analogue as well. In other words, it is hoped that the details which have not been ignored are more important for English grammar as a whole than those that have. And the possibility of achieving at the outset an overview of the major features of English grammar (to which the reader will doubtless wish to return from time to time during his study of subsequent chapters) will make it easier to understand the larger-scale exposition of individual features that will now preoccupy us.

Before returning to consider the sentence in more detail in Chapter 7, we must study the special characteristics of the separate units which can enter sentence structure as elements. Thus, Chapter 3 presents the grammar and semantics of the verb phrase and Chapter 4 examines nouns, pronouns, and the basic structure of the noun phrase. Chapter 5 studies the grammar and semantics of adjectives and adverbs, while Chapter 6 is devoted to the relations expressed by prepositions and prepositional phrases.

In the light of these detailed studies, Chapter 7 then re-examines the structure of the simple sentence and its processes, as they affect all elements except the adverbial. The complex matter of adverbials, however, requires separate treatment, and Chapter 8 is devoted to it. Chapter 9 moves into a different dimension, in presenting topics - ellipsis, coordination, and apposition - which affect units of widely ranging degrees of complexity. Their study leads naturally to the links which relate one sentence to another (Chapter 10) and to the subordination of one or more sentences within another (Chapter 11).

Chapter 12 follows up Chapter 3 with more attention to the verb phrase, and to special classes of verb, together with problems relating to voice, phrasal and prepositional verbs, and complementation. Similarly, Chapter 13 follows up Chapter 4 in exploring the full complexity that is possible for the noun phrase to attain in taking within itself the structures separately examined in earlier chapters. Chapter 14 also involves a knowledge of the whole grammar as described in preceding chapters, but this time with a view to presenting the various ways in which individual parts of a sentence can be arranged for focus, emphasis, and thematic presentation.

The three Appendices deal with aspects of English which, though strictly, peripheral to grammar, nevertheless impinge upon it at various points necessitating frequent reference in the body of the book to the topics concerned. They are word-formation

(App I); stress, rhythm, and intonation (App II); and finally, the system of punctuation (App III).

Each of the chapters and appendices ends with a bibliographical note Si guidance on further reading relevant to the material just pre-60 The sentence: a preliminary view

sented. We concentrate in such notes on references to recent contributions, particularly by way of learned monographs and articles. This means that we assume, normally without further recommendation, that the reader will consult the major grammarians of the past, whose works are of course cited in the general Bibliography, pp 1085 ff: for example, the compendious studies by Curme, Jespersen, Kruisinga, Poutsma, Sweet, Visser, and others, to which (as well as to the bibliography by Scheurweghs, 1963-8) all succeeding grammarians are heavily indebted.

Bibliographical note

Some recent contributions of particular relevance to the outline of grammar presented in Chapter 2: Gleason (1965), especially Part Two; Lyons (1968), especially Chapters 4 and 5; Schopf (1969), especially Chapter 3. An earlier work providing an introductory study of great interest is Sapir (1921), especially Chapters 4 and 5.

## THREE

### THE VERB PHRASE

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Verb classes

3.1

Sentences consist of subject and predicate, and the predicate consists of

auxiliary and predication (cf 2.1 ff): He (S) will (auxiliary) give the girl an apple (predication)

We will now take a closer look at the auxiliary verb and that part of the predication which constitutes the verb phrase. Let us begin by examining the following sentences:

- |  |     |
|--|-----|
| He should see the play                           | [1] |
| He had seen the play                             | [2] |
| He was seeing the play                           | [3] |
| He saw the play                                  | [4] |
| He happened to see the play                      | [5] |
| He expected to see the play                      | [6] |
| He expected that he would see the play           | [7] |
| He expected to have to be forced to see the play | [8] |

We will subject the first six sentences to a few tests in order to see how they behave in various grammatical environments.

Some operational tests

3.2

The normal question forms would be these:

- |                                 |      |
|---------------------------------|------|
| Should he see the play ?        | [1q] |
| Had he seen the play ?          | [2q] |
| Was he seeing the play?         | [3q] |
| Dirfhe see the play?            | [4q] |
| Did he happen to see the play ? | [5q] |
| Did he expect to see the play ? | [6q] |

Sentences 1-3 have inversion, ie the subject and the first verb of the predicate change places. Sentences 4-6 have a periphrasis with do where do is introduced to act as a 'dummy' first verb in the verb phrase.

3.3

The second test is negation with not;

He shouldn't see the play He hadn't seen the play He wasn't seeing the play

He didn't see the play

He didn't happen to see the play

He didn't expect to see the play

[In] Pn] [3o] [4n] [5n] 64 The verb phrase

Verb classes 65

Again, sentences 1-3 differ from the remaining three in having an enclitic negation, n't (a contracted form of the negative word nor), affixed to the first element of the original verb phrase. As in questions, sentences 4-6 take DO-periphrasis.

Note

Whereas there is no negative sentence such as

•He saw not lthe play we do have an acceptable negative sentence

He expected not to see the play



(though with no contracted form \*expectedn't). This negation, however, is associated with to see rather than with the preceding verb. This is obvious from the natural periphrasis with a (/ia(-c)lause as object:

He expected that he wouldn't see the play which need not be synonymous with

He didn't expect that he would see the play Furthermore, the natural syntactic break occurs before not:

He expected in fact not to see the play \*He expected not in [act to see the play

By contrast, whereas

\*He saw not the play was rejected above,

He saw not the play but the film

is acceptable. The reason is that the negation goes with the noun phrase rather than with the verb:

~It was not the play but the film that he saw.

3.4

Thirdly, consider how the verb is replaced by a pro-form with so:

He should see the play He had seen the play He was seeing the play He saw the play

He happened to see the play He expected to see the play \_

Sentences 1-3 have their original first verb as pro-form, whereas sentences 4-6 require a form of do (see 9.80, 10.52 ff).

3.5 Auxiliaries

These tests give the same results and indicate that the verb phrases in sentences 1-3 are radically different from the verb phrases in sentences

and so

should [Ipro]

she

had she [2pro

]

was [3pro;

she

did she [4pro;

did she [5pro;

did she [6pro;

4-6. Should, had, and was represent the class of auxiliary verbs. They are, as the name implies, 'helping verbs', ie they have no independent existence as verb phrases, but only help to make up verb phrases, which consist of one or more other verbs, one of which is a lexical verb. The auxiliaries make different contributions to the verb phrase: do is only an empty carrier in certain sentence processes, whereas be and have contribute aspect, and the modal auxiliaries contribute modality (expressing such concepts as volition, probability, and insistence). Note that do, be, and have can also be used as lexical verbs, eg: Do it! Auxiliaries will be discussed in 3.17^".

3.6 Operators

Although the auxiliaries have different functions in the verb phrase, they have one important syntactic function in common when they occur initially in the finite verb phrase (3.10):

Will he ask any questions 7

Is he asking any questions ?  
 Is he asked any questions?  
 Has he asked any questions?  
 Has he been asking any questions ?  
 Will he have been asked any questions ?

The first auxiliary of the verb phrase is isolated from the rest of the predicate no matter how complex the verb phrase is. For this purely syntactic function of the auxiliaries we will use the generic term operator. Since the lexical verbs be and (sometimes in BrE) have also take

sentence  
 subject  
 auxiliary                      predication  
 aux 1      au'x 2    aux 3      aux 4  
 = operator

might      have      been      being questioned by the  
 police66    The veib phrasa

inversion without DO-periphrasis, the term operator will also be used for them:

Is she a pretty girl 7  
 Has she any money 7 (BrE)

(The variant constructions with have are discussed in 3.18.) The complex verb phrase of He might have been being questioned by the police (3.13) is thus analysed, within its sentence, as shown in the diagram,/) 65.

### Semi-auxiliaries and lexical verbs

#### 3.7

Sentences 4-6 reveal differences under voice transformation, where active sentences are transformed into passive sentences (with the same or at least very nearly the same meaning; see 12.2).

The play was seen

The play happened to be seen Xbyhim)

"The play expected to be seen)

[4pass] [Spass] [6pass]

It is clear that the verb phrase in sentence [4pass] consists of an auxiliary (was) and a lexical verb (see). Under voice transformation, [5] and [6] are differentiated, the first verb in [5] being shown by this test to be similar to an auxiliary. Unlike expect (which is a lexical verb), happen belongs to the class of semi-auxiliaries. It is sufficiently subordinate to the head of the verb phrase (see) to admit its object (the play) to become the subject of a passive construction. There are of course perfectly acceptable passive sentences with expect:

The play was expected to be seen by him He was expected to see the play It was expected of him to see the play It was expected that he would see the play

These passive sentences, however, are entirely different in meaning from the original sentence

He expected to see the play whereas the two sentences

He happened to see the play

The play happened to be seen by him

are close in meaning, expect is in fact the head of a verb phrase which has as its object another verb phrase (to see). What we have here, then, is not one but two predications. The difference between sentences 6-8 which we gave at the outset of the chapter

He expected to see the play

He expected that he would see the play

He expected to have to be forced to see the play

Verb classes 67

[6] [7] [8]

is only to be found in the different realizations of the object clause: in [6] and [8] it is non-finite (a (o)-infinitive clause), in [7] finite (a that-clause).

The object-function of the infinitive clause of [6] is also manifest from the fact that it has a pro-form with it. Compare [5] and [6] in this respect:

\*He happened it He expected It.

ppro/ir] [6pro/ft]

3.8

semi-auxiliaries, for example happen (as in sentence 5), are like lexical verbs (such as expect in sentence 6) in that they do not take inversion or negation with not without DO-periphrasis; nor do they have so pro-form without do ((/however the concatenative subset below):

Should the boy see the play 7

Did the boy Happen to see the play 7

Did the boy expect to see the play ?

The boy shouldn't see the play

The boy didn't happen to see the play

The boy didn't expect to see the play

The boy should see the play and so should his parents The boy happened to see the play and so did his parents The boy expected to see the play and so did his parents

Semi-auxiliaries are like auxiliaries in that they form a unit with the infinitive (ie their head) which is sufficiently close to admit of the transformation from active to passive in the head:

The play should be seen by the boy The play happened to be seen by the boy

Auxiliary and semi-auxiliary verbs allow the passive only in the non-finite head, and cannot be made passive themselves:

(•should I

The play wasn'ti "happened to >be seen by the boy {expected to J

{Should, of course, could not in any case be made passive, since it has no Past participle form, see 3.22.) 68 The verb ptirasa

In the class of semi-auxiliaries there is, however, a subset of 'conca-tenative' verbs with be or have as a first element: be going to, have to, etc. Since be, and sometimes

have (in BrE especially), share the characteristics of auxiliaries whether they are auxiliaries proper (as in *Is he coming tonight ?*) or lexical verbs (as in *Is he your favourite ?*), semi-auxiliaries whose first element is one of these verbs admit of inversion, negative with not, and so pro-form without do:

*Is the boy going to see the play ?*

*The boy isn't going to see the play*

*The boy is going to see the play, and so are his parents*

There are however certain restrictions on the use of some verbs in this subset (see Note below).

Among the semi-auxiliaries we can distinguish two subclasses depending on whether they can appear in an equivalent extraposed clause, cf 14.36 (Subclass if) or not (Subclass i):

*The boy {teDded, \tobelate*

*I seemcdj*

■ *ItJ* , *Ithat the boy was late*

*^seemed J*

### SEMI-AUXILIARIES

Subclass i	Subclass ii
BE ABOUT TO	BE CERTAIN TO
BE APT TO	BE (UN)LIKELY TO
BE BOUND TO'	APPEAR TO
BE GOING TO	HAPPEN TO
BE LIABLE TO	SEEM TO
BE SURE TO	TURN OUT TO, etc
BE TO" had\d	
betterj"best"	
HAVE TO b	
HAVE GOT TO"	
come to ('happen to')	
FAIL TO GET TO	
TEND TO, etc	

The three classes, auxiliary verbs, semi-auxiliary verbs, and lexical verbs, are shown in Fig "h:\. The auxiliaries are further discussed in 3.17-22. For the morphology of the semi-auxiliary set which includes one of the primary auxiliaries be and have, see 3.18-19. The morphology of the

Varb

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verbs

auxiliary verbs

primary auxiliary

periphrastic

DO

HAVE

aspectual {  
 \_ passive  
 BE

modal	can	could
	may	might
auxiliary	shall	should
	will	would
		'll, 'd
		used to
		must
	ought	
	to	
	need	
	dare	

semi-auxiliary verbs-

HAVE TO,

BE ABOUT TO, ...

lexical verbs-

WALK, PLAY, PROCRASTINATE,

Fig 3:1 Verb classes

other semi-auxiliary verbs is the same as that of lexical verbs (see 3.9, 3-54 ff).

Note

to] The (apparent) passive form of be bound to has no active analogue:

He was bound to be a failure •Somebody bound him to be a failure

[61 Unlike have to, be about to, etc, the semi-auxiliary verbs be to and have got to exist only in simple forms; they have, for example, no infinitives (c/3.29 3.33, 3.34):

{have to "I beaboutto Lgotobednow •have got Xo'

70 The verb phrase

have to behaves like have in being capable of functioning both as an auxiliary and as a lexical verb in questions and negative sentences (3.18). It has variants both with and without DO-periphrasis:

/Have you to leave ? (especially BrE)

\Do you have to leave?

/You haven't to leave (especially BrE)

\You don't have to leave

Do-periphrasis is normally used in AmE, and is the more frequent construction in BrE as well.

[e] The normal spoken form of You'd better stay is /ju beto(r) sta/ and the standard negative is You'd better not stay. By contrast, 'd rather, which is negated similarly (He'd rather not stay), is not a semi-auxiliary since it does not accept voice transformation:

He,d/better\eat breakfast j^^ 9 o'clock: LratnerJ

Breakfast had\^"r [be eaten before 9 o'clock.

Forms and combinations of verbs

3.9

The normal English verb has five forms: the base, the -s form, the past, the -ing participle, and the -ed participle. Examples of these forms and an indication of their functions are given in Table 3:1. Regular lexical verbs have the same -ed inflection for both the past and the past participle {called, see 3.57). Irregular lexical verb forms vary from three (eg:put,puts,putting, see-3.63 J?") to eight (be, am, is, are, was, were, being, been, see 3.19). The modal auxiliaries are defective in not having infinitive ("to may), -ing participle (\*maying), -ed participle (?mayed)t or imperative (\*mayl). See further 3.20^".

Table 3:1

VERB FORMS

FORM

SYMBOL EXAMPLE FUNCTIONS

(1)base

call (a) all the present tense except  
 drink 3rd person singular\*: I/you/  
 put we/they call

(b) imperative: Call at once!

(c) subjunctive: He demanded that she call him

(d) infinitive; the bare infinitive: He may call; and the to-infinitive: He wants her to call

Forms and combinations of verbs 71

Table 3:1

continued

FORM	SYMBOL	EXAMPLE	FUNCTIONS
(2) -s form (3rd person singular present)	V-s	calls drinks puts	3rd person singular present tense: He/she/it calls
(3) past participle	V-edx	called drank put	past tense: He called yesterday
(4) -ing participle (present participle)	V-ing	calling drinking putting	(a) progressive aspect (be+ V~ing)b: He's calling you (b) non-finite -ing clauses: Calling a spade a spade
(5) -ed participle (past participle)	V-eda	called drunk put	(a) perfective aspect (have+ \'-eds): He has drunk the water (b) passive voice (be+\-ed^f: He is called

Nota

[a] For ' 1st, 2nd, 3rd person', see 4.108.

[6] keep, keep on, 00 on, oo on and on may also be considered progressive auxiliaries (3.39 ff), and so also continue, stop, start, cease:

He keeps asking questions all the time [e] GET may also be used as a passive auxiliary (c/12.3): He got killed In the war.

3.10

Finite and non-finite verb phrases compared

The verb forms operate in finite and non-finite verb phrases, which are distinguished as follows:

(1) Finite verb phrases have tense distinction, ie present and past tense to express grammatical time relations (see 3.23 ff):

(2) Finite verb phrases can occur as the verb phrase of a main clause. There is person and number concord between the subject and the finite verb (c/7.23 and 7.31).

Concord is particularly 'overt' with be (c/3.19):

I am I You are I.

He is there J

72 The verb phrase

With most lexical verbs overt concord is restricted to a contrast between 3rd and non-3rd person singular present (3.54 ff):

Hz reads V,

m Mae paper every morning

They read) \*'■'■'

With the modal auxiliaries there is, however, no overt concord:

I

You

He

We

They

can play the cello

(3) Finite verb phrases have mood, which indicates the speaker's attitude to the predication. In contrast to the 'unmarked' indicative mood, we distinguish the 'marked' moods imperative, to express a command (see 7.72 ff), and subjunctive, to express a wish, recommendation, and so forth (see 3.16). Both the imperative and the present subjunctive consist of the base form of the verb:

Come here at once!

The committee suggests that he come in tie and jacket

(4) Finite verb phrases have a finite verb form, ie either an operator or a simple present or past tense form.

The infinitive {(to) call}, the -ing participle (calling), and the -ed participle (called) are the non-finite forms of the verb. In main clauses, they can occur only where a finite verb is first element in the verb phrase. However, they can occur in other elements in the main clause, such as subject and object. Compare these two sets:

FINITE VERB PHRASES He smokes

He is smoking Smoke!

NON-FINITE VERB PHRASES To smoke like that must be dangerous I hate him smoking He entered the office, smoking a big cigar.

### 3.11

Simple finite verb phrases

The finite verb phrase is simple when it consists of only one verb, which may be imperative (see 1.11ff), present, or past (see 3.16, 3-24 jf):

Work harder! He works hard He worked hard

Forms and combinations of verbs 73

The verb phrase is complex when it consists of two or more verbs, as in

John has worked hard

John may work hard

John may have been working hard

Note

beware is used in the imperative and in complex verb phrases with modal auxiliary:

Beware of the dog! You should beware of pickpockets here

Thus it is not used in simple declarative or interrogative sentences:

\*We beware of girls \*Do you beware of girls?

### Complex finite verb phrases 3.12

These are of four basic types:

Type A (modal/periphrastic) consists of a modal or periphrastic auxiliary + the base of the verb-phrase head. For example: He must examine.

Type B (perfective) consists of the auxiliary have + the -ed/participle of the verb-phrase head. For example: He has examined.

Type C (progressive) consists of the auxiliary BE + the -ing participle of the verb-phrase head. For example: He is examining.

Type D (passive) consists of the auxiliary BE+the -ed participle of the verb-phrase head. For example: He is examined.

### 3.13

These four verb types can also enter into various combinations with each other:

AB: He may have examined

AC: He may be examining

AD: He may be examined

BC: He has been examining

BD: He has been examined

CD: He is being examined ABC: He may have been examining ABD: He may have been examined ACD: He may be being examined BCD: He has been being examined

ABCD: He may have been being examined

In these strings the different complex verb phrase types are 'telescoped\*' into one another. This means that combinations of the basic types form

### 74 The verb phrase

structures where the head of the first also functions as auxiliary of the second, and so forth. For example, ABD has the following structure:



A, consisting of the auxiliary may+the base have, +  
 B, consisting of the auxiliary have+the -ed participle been, +  
 D, consisting of the auxiliary be+the -ed participle examined, where have is shared by A and B and be(eri) is shared by B and D.

The order in which the four types can form combinations is indicated by the alphabetical symbols (A, B, C, D) which label them. A cannot follow B, B cannot follow C or D, etc, but gaps are allowed: AC, AD, ACD, BD, etc. Fig 3:2 gives a graphic representation of how the finite verb phrase (simple or complex) is built up in a left-to-right progression.

present tense"]  
 ] complex verb . f periphrastic aux"] +in-  
 v phrase

Imodal aux Jfinitive

Type B: perfective aux (have) + -ed participle

\>Type C: progressive aux (be) +-ing participle

i

a Type D: passive aux (be) b

+ -ed participle Fig 3:2 The structure of the finite verb phrase

!!!

First, the selection of present or past tense for the first element; then the selection of none, one, two, three, or four of the complex verb phrase types as indicated by the direction of the arrows. This outline of the structure of complex verb phrases is an oversimplification, which does not account for all the linguistic facts. It does not, for example, cover He may be about to be getting fed, but such phrases can, as we shall see in 3.14, be related to these basic types.

Some of the types of complex verb phrase are uncommon but grammatical; thus while

They might have been being examined

is very unlikely to be used, it has a structure that is undoubtedly acceptable in a way that is not the case with, for example,

•They have may being being examined.

Forms and combinations of verbs 75

3.14

There are long strings of verbs that do not fit our analysis of the complex verb phrase into the four types A, B, C, and D. For example, a string like would seem to have been eating cannot be analysed as AABC. One defining criterion of modal auxiliaries was that they cannot co-occur with one another in the verb phrase. However, there is no such restriction for semi-auxiliaries (3.8). This means that they can combine freely with auxiliaries (including modal auxiliaries) or other semi-auxiliaries into long concatenated verb phrases, for example:

Your wife might have happened to call you up The sampling volume would have to be increasing This problem seems to have to be dealt with.

3.15

Non-finite verb phrases

Unlike finite verb phrases (see 3.10), non-finite verb phrases have no tense distinction or imperative mood, and cannot occur in construction with a subject of a main clause (cf 11.5):

\*He to do it easily But:

He did it easily

It was easy for him to do it

Since modal auxiliaries have no non-finite forms (infinitive or participle) they cannot occur in non-finite verb phrases. However, the aspect and voice auxiliaries have (Type B) and be (Types C and D) have no such restriction. If we relate the structure of the non-finite verb phrase to that of the finite verb phrase (3.13), we can tabulate them as follows:

	INFINITIVES	PARTICIPLES
simple	to examine	examining
	B to have examined	having examined
	C to be examining	*being examining*
	D to be examined	being examined
	compl BC to have been having	been
ex	examining	examining
	BD to have been having	been
	examined	examined
	CD to be being *being	being
	examined	examined*
	BC ? to have been ? having been being	
	D being	
	examined*	examined11

Note

to] Examining is used for the unacceptable \*being examining and being examined for \*being being examined. 76 The verb phrase

[b] The last two non-finite verb phrases to have been being examined and having beta being examined arc felt by speakers to be awkward.

3.16

The subjunctive

The subjunctive is not an important category in contemporary English and is normally replaced by other constructions. It can be described in three separate statements:

(a) The mandative subjunctive in (/iar-clauses has only one form, the base (V); this means there is lack of the regular indicative concord between subject and finite verb in the 3rd person singular present, and the present and past tenses are indistinguishable. This subjunctive is productive, to the extent that it can be used with any verb in subordinate that-clnuses when the main clause contains an expression of recommendation, resolution, demand, surprise, and so on (We demand, require, move, insist, suggest, ask, etc that...). The use of this subjunctive occurs chiefly in formal style (and especially in AmE) where in less formal contexts one would rather make use of other stylistic devices, such as (o-infinitive or should+infinitive. In each of the following pairs the more formal subjunctive construction is given first.

(We ask that the individual citizen watch closely any developments in this matter ] We ask the individual citizen to watch closely any developments in this matter

{It is necessary that every member inform himself of these rules It is necessary that every member should inform himself of these rules

["There was a suggestion that Brown be dropped from the i team [There was a suggestion to drop Brown from the team

(b) The formulaic subjunctive also consists of the base (V) but is only used in clauses in certain set expressions which have to be learnt as wholes (see 7.86):

Come what may, we will go ahead

God save the Queen!

So be it then!

Suffice it to say that...

\ Auxiliaries 77

Be that as it may... Heaven forbid that...

(c) The fF£SE-suBJUNCTiVE is hypothetical in meaning and is used in conditional and concessive clauses and in subordinate clauses after optative verbs like wish (see 11.69). This subjunctive is restricted to one form: were. It occurs in the 1st and 3rd person singular past of the verb be, matching the indicative was, which is the more common in less formal style:

„ T (were) . , IfW J-nch,...

I, was J

\wgtc\

If she< Mo do something like that,... Vivas J 6

He spoke to me as if U Ideaf {was J

. . , -{were} , , I wish l< Wead {was J

Note

Only were is acceptable in 'As it were' (=so to speak); were is usual in 'If I were you'.

Auxiliaries

The primary auxiliaries (do, have, and be)

3.17

Do

The periphrastic auxiliary do is the most neutral or 'auxiliary-like' of all the auxiliaries. It has no individual meaning but serves as a 'dummy' operator (3.6) in sentence processes such as those described in 2.18 (see further pro-forms in 10.52).

The auxiliary DO has the following forms:

NON-NEGATIVE

UNCONTRACTED NEGATIVE

CONTRACTED

NEGATIVE

(do /du/ \does /dA past did

present

do not does not did not

don't /dount/

doesn't  
didn't

There is also a lexical verb do (' perform \*, etc) which has the full range of forms, including the present participle doing and the past participle done (see 3.70):

What have you been doing today? I haven't done much, I'm afraid

78 The verb phrase

Auxiliaries 79

**Table 3:2**  
**DO-PERIPHHRASIS**  
(The modal auxiliary *can* is given for comparison with *DO*)

	positive	negative	interrogative	negative-interrogative	tags	emphatic or persuasive
imperative	<i>Wait!</i>	<i>Don't wait!</i>				<i>DO wait!</i>
present	<i>He waits</i>	<i>He doesn't wait</i>	<i>Does he wait?</i>	<i>Doesn't he wait?</i>	{ He waits, doesn't he? He doesn't wait, does he?}	<i>He DOES wait</i>
	<i>He can wait</i>	<i>He can't wait</i>	<i>Can he wait?</i>	<i>Can't he wait?</i>	{ He can wait, can't he? He can't wait, can he?}	<i>He CAN wait</i>
past	<i>He waited</i>	<i>He didn't wait</i>	<i>Did he wait?</i>	<i>Didn't he wait?</i>	{ He waited, didn't he? He didn't wait, did he?}	<i>He DID wait</i>
	<i>He could wait</i>	<i>He couldn't wait</i>	<i>Could he wait?</i>	<i>Couldn't he wait?</i>	{ He could wait, couldn't he? He couldn't wait, could he?}	<i>He COULD wait</i>

DO-periphrasis is required in the following cases (see Table 3:2; for have and be, see 3.18 and 3.19):

(a) In sentences negated by not where the verb is imperative (7.76), simple present, or simple past:

He didn't like mathematics However, there is no DO-periphrasis in non-finite verb phrases:

\* \_ . ""g,,,,. ^mathematics, he gave it up \* Doing not liking)

r

\*t- j Vwould be shameful

mTo do not go)

(b) In questions involving inversion where the verb is in the simple present or past tense (7.56, 7.63):

Did he stay long 7 What did he say!

There is no DO-periphrasis

(0 in positive wA-questions beginning with the subject:

What happened? Who came first?

(ii) in yes-no questions without inversion: HejaWthat?

(c) In tag questions and substitute clauses where the verb is simple present or past tense (see 1.59 jf and 10.52ff):

He knows how to drive a car, doesn't he?

(d) In emphatic or persuasive constructions where the verb is simple present, simple past, or imperative (7.77,14.7,14.47):

He did say he would be here at nine, didn't he? Do sit down!

(e) In sentences with inversion caused by certain introductory words such as the negative adverbs never, hardly, etc when the verb is in the simple present or past tense (see 8.18, 8.66, 14.16):

Never did he think that the book would be finished

80 The v«rb phrase

Auxiliaries 81

3.1S Have

The aspect auxiliary have combines with past participles to form perfective complex verb phrases (Type B, 3.12). have has the following forms:

CONTRACTED NEGATIVE

NON- UNCONTRACTED CONTRACTED

NEGATIVE NEGATIVE NEGATIVE

NON-NEGATIVE

UNCONTRACTED NEGATIVE

---

base	have, 've	have not, 've haven't
		not

-s form	has,'s	has not, 's hasn't
		not

past	had,'d	had not,'d hadn't
		not

-ing form	having	not having
-----------	--------	------------

-ed	had {on\y as
-----	--------------

participle	a
------------	---

lexical verb)

Note

There is also a transitive lexical verb have which in some uses can be constructed either as an auxiliary (without DO-periphrasis) or as a lexical verb (with Do-periphrasis). In the stative sense (3.40) of possession have is often (especially in BrE) constructed as an auxiliary. AmE prefers the DO-construction:

. (haven't ~\ . . H. , , ^any books \don't haveJ

In dynamic senses (receive, take, experience, etc) have in both AmE and BrE normally has DO-periphrasis:

Does he have coffee with his breakfast?

Did you have any difficulty getting here?

The DO-construction is required in such expressions as Did you have a good time?

There is also the informal have got, where have is constructed as an auxiliary, which is frequently preferred (especially in BrE) as an alternative to have. It is particularly common in negative and interrogative sentences. As a further alternative for expressing negation, we have the negative determiner no:

I have no books

I haven't got any books.

3.19

Be

The auxiliary be has two functions: as aspect auxiliary Type C, and as passive auxiliary Type D (see 3.12). be is unique among English verbs in having eight different forms:

base	be		
present	1st person singular present	am	not, ain't"
	3rd person singular present	is, 's	is not, 's not isn't
	2nd person present, 1st and 3rd person plural present	are, 're	are not, 're aren't
past	1st and 3rd person singular past	was*	was not wasn't in,
	2nd person past, 1st and 3rd person	were*	were not weren't

	plural past	
-ing form	being	not being
-ed participle	been	

Note

[a] be is the only verb in English to have a special form for the 1st person singular of the present (am) and two distinct past forms (was, were). In the subjunctive (see 3.16) the 1st and 3rd person singular past forms are the same as in the plural (were, were not, weren't).

[f>] Aren't t is widely used in BrE, but there is no generally acceptable contracted form for am not in declarative sentences. Ain't (AmE) is considered by many to be substandard; as well as serving as a contracted am not, it is used also for isn't, aren't, hasn't, and haven't.

[e] For the aspectual functions of be and have, see 3.37 ff, and for the passive construction with be, see 12.2.

[d] Lexical verb be may have do-periphrasis in persuasive imperative sentences:

Do be quiet! and regularly has the periphrasis with negative imperatives:

Don't be silly! But DO-periphrasis does not occur elsewhere with Be:

He isn't lazy — \*He doesn't be lazy Is she a student? — 'Does she be a student?

82 The verb phrase

The modal auxiliaries 3.20

The modal auxiliaries are the following:

NON-	UNCONTRACTED
NEGATIVE	NEGATIVE

CONTRACTED NEGATIVE

(can	cannot, can not	can't	
\could	could not	couldn't	
(may	may not	{mayn't}"	
\might	might not	mightn't	
(shall	shall not	shan't*	
\should	should not	shouldn't	
(will	will not	won't	
(\ll	•ll not	__e	
l (would	would not	wouldn't	
	'dnot	__0	
must	must not	mustn't	
		/mAsnt/	
ought to	ought not to	oughtn't toa	
used to	used not to	usedn't to	
		/jusDt/	

{ needf { dare)"	need not dare not	{ didn't use to) needn't (daren't)
---------------------	----------------------	--

Note

[a] Mayn't is restricted to BrE, where it is rare.

[b] Shan't is rare in AmE.

[c] There are no contracted negative forms of 'II and V since they are themselves contractions. These forms are braced with will and would because / and ' d can always be expanded to will and would (except, of course, when 'd=had, see 3.18).

[d] Ought regularly has the /^-infinitive, but AmE occasionally has the bare infinitive in negative sentences and in questions (although should is commoner in both cases):

You oughtn't smoke so much Ought you smoke so much ?

[e] dare and need as non-negative auxiliaries occur chiefly with inversion (see 3.21).

3.21

Marginal modal auxiliaries

used /just/ always takes the ro-rafinitive and occurs only in the past tense. It may take DO-periphrasis, in which case the spellings didn't used to and didn't use to both occur. The interrogative construction used he to is especially BrE; did he used to is preferred in both AmE and BrE.

dare and need can be constructed either as modal auxiliaries (with

Auxiliaries 83

the bare infinitive and without any inflected -s form) or as lexical verbs (with the to-infinitive and with the inflected -s forms). The modal verb construction is restricted to non-assertive contexts (see 2.21), ie mainly negative and interrogative sentences, whereas the lexical verb construction can always be used and is in fact the more common, dare and need as auxiliaries are probably rarer in AmE than in BrE.

MODAL AUXILIARY CONSTRUCTION

LEXICAL VERB CONSTRUCTION

positive negative interrogative negative-interrogative

He needn't go now JVeWhegonow?

He needs to go now

He doesn't need to go now

Does he need to go now ?

Needn't he go now ? Doesn't he need to go now ?

Note

[a] ' Non-assertive contexts' are not confined to overtly negative and/or interrogative sentences but can also be present in adverbials, eg: He need do it only under these circumstances, He need do it but once; in determiners, eg: He need have no fear, No soldier dare disobey; in pronouns, e^: No one dare predict the result; or even implicitly, eg: All you need do ii,...(' You need do no more than...').

[Bi Bleeds between the two constructions occutand seem to be widely acceptable in the case of dare:

We do not dare speak



[e] The passive raises problems with some auxiliaries. For example, dare does not accept the voice transformation (3.7): . (The boy daren't leave the car \\*The car daren't be left by the boy

However, this does not mean that dare cannot occur in passive verb phrases: I dare not be seen with her

but only that there is no direct active-passive clause relation (12.2.0"), as there is with most auxiliaries:

(The boy shouldn't leave the car

\The car shouldn't be left by the boy

Sometimes there are shifts in their range of meaning (see 3.43 ff) as in:

("John could drive the car (ability or possibility)

\The car could be driven by John (possibility only)

(I shall read the book tonight (future or speaker's volition)

\The book shall be read tonight (speaker's volition only)

3.22

The three criteria we have used to define auxiliaries are inversion, negation, and the use of pro-forms (see 3.2-4). However, modal auxiliaries, as distinct from the primary auxiliaries do, have, and be, have some additional morphological and syntactic characteristics. 84 The verb phrase

(1) Modal auxiliaries are all followed by the infinitive, which is bare except with ought and used:

You ought to comb your hair sometime He used to read for hours on end

(2) Modal auxiliaries can only occur as the first (finite) element of the verb phrase but not in non-finite functions, ie as infinitives or participles:

MODAL PRIMARY LEXIC  
AL

AUXILIA AUXILIARY VERB  
RY

"to may to have {eaten) to eat

\*(is) (is) being eating

mayng (eaten)

\*(is) (has) been eaten

mayed (eaten)

(3) Modal auxiliaries are not inflected in the 3rd person singular of the present tense (where lexical verbs have the -s form, see 3.55):

You) .4 YaaBkeV

TT ymay wnte TI ... >to write

He } \* He likes }

(4) Both the present and past forms of the modal auxiliaries can be used in present tense sequence (c/3.52):

I think hfrj . , <tay now \might)

i.i.- 1 t. (hasto "I . I think he-< 4. , Vstay now \\*had to) J

Time, tense, and aspect

### 3.23

Time is a universal concept with three divisions:

PAST TIME

PRESENT TIME

FUTURE TIME

The concept is universal in that the units of time are extra-linguistic: they exist independently of the grammar of any particular language. In our use of language, however, we make linguistic reference to these extra-linguistic realities by means of the language-specific category of tense.

### Tense 3.24

English has two tenses: present tense and PAST tense. As the names imply, the present tense normally refers to present time and past tense to past time:

Time, tense, and aspect 85

She Is quite well today Yesterday she was sick.

### 3.25

Simple present

The simple present and past tenses have various uses.

(1) PRESENT WITHOUT REFERENCE TO SPECIFIC TIME IS used

where there is no limitation on the extension of the state through the present into the past and future time. This category includes 'eternal truths', which do not refer specifically to the present but are general timeless statements. We may distinguish two related types (see the figure below):

(a) Universal time statements, particularly associated with sta-tive verbs (see 3.40):

Two and two make four The albatross is a big bird Onions smell

(b) Habitual time statements, particularly associated with dynamic verbs (see 3.40).

They often have adverbs like every day, etc:

We go to France every year He loves going to the theatre

In fact, however, it is possible to have stative or dynamic verbs with both (a) and (b); dynamic verbs, used in either of these ways, imply repetition of the event

STATIVE

DYNAMIC

Two and two make four

John knows the answer

The sun sets in

the west We cycle to work

every day

UNIVERSAL TIME

HABITUAL TIME

This is by far the most important group of uses of the present tense.

(2) The instantaneous simple present is used only with dynamic verbs which signify an event simultaneous with the present moment. Some typical uses are the following:

commentaries: Mooiepasses the ball to Charlton demonstrations: I now place the turkey in the oven exclamations: Here comes the winner! performative declarations:

We acknowledge your letter

86 The verb phras\*

(3) SIMPLE PRESENT WITH FUTURE TIME REFERENCE (cf 3.31) can be used

(a) when there is a temporal adverbial in the clause:

The plane leaves for Chicago at eight o'clock

(b) in conditional and temporal clauses introduced by if, unless, after, before, as soon as, when, etc (see 11.68):

He'll do it if you pay him

I'll let you know as soon as I hear from him

(4) SIMPLE PRESENT WITH PAST TIME REFERENCE is USED With,

for example, the 'communication verbs' tell, hear, learn, write, etc to express the persistence in the present of the effect of a past communication:

John tells me that you have been abroad (roughly=\*... has told...')

3.26

Simple past

The basic meaning of the simple past tense is to denote definite past time, ie what took place at a given time or in a given period before the present moment. It is found with adverbs referring to past time: / spoke to him last week. There are, however, some exceptional cases in which the past tense does not have to refer to past time.

(1) In indirect (reported) speech past tense in the reporting verb tends to make the verb of the subordinate clause past, too. This phenomenon is called back-shift (see 11.74).

Direct speech: I am here

You look well

{ You say you are I think you look here well

You said you were I thought you here looked well

(2) attitudinal past is related to the attitudes of the speaker rather than to time. In the following pairs, the past tense is more polite than the present tense:

n.. Would you want to see me now ?

.(wonder \c ,, ,

M , ,Kyou could help me [wondered)

(3) hypothetical past is used in some subordinate clauses, especially if-clauses:

Time, tense\*, and aspect

If I were you,...

,,, (was I If U Van opera singer,... \were) ^ 6 '

If you loved me, you wouldn't say that.

Note

If I were an opera singer (see 3.16) is considered preferable by many speakers.

Some means of expressing future time 3.27

There is no obvious future tense in English corresponding to the time/ tense parallel for present and past. Instead there are a number of possibilities of denoting future time. Futurity, modality, and aspect are closely related, and future time is rendered by means of modal auxiliaries or semi-auxiliaries, or by simple present or progressive forms.

3.28

Auxiliary verb construction

shall+infinitive (in 1st person only; chiefly BrE).

will or 'll+infinitive in all persons, including 1st person.

He will be here in half an hour I'll do it for you

The future and modal functions of these auxiliaries can hardly be separated (c/3.46/). Although shall and, particularly, will, are the closest approximation to a colourless, neutral future, they do not form a future tense comparable to the present and past tenses. Shall in the sense of future is restricted to the 1st person in Standard BrE, whereas will can be used in the same sense in all persons throughout the English-speaking world. Prescriptive usage has exerted considerable influence in the direction of using shall.

The auxiliary construction is also used to refer to a statement seen in the past from a point of orientation in the future:

They will have finished their book by next year.

3.29

Be going to + infinitive

This construction denotes future and intention (cf 3.46). Its general meaning is 'future fulfilment of the present'. Looked at more carefully, 88 The verb phrase

be going to has two more specific meanings, of which one, 'future of present intention', is used chiefly with personal subjects:

When are you going to get married?

The other meaning is 'future of present cause', which is found with both personal and non-personal subjects:

She's going to have a baby It's going to rain

Both these suggest that the event is already 'on the way', be going to is not generally used in the main clause of conditional sentences, will'll or shall being preferred instead:

If you leave now, you'll never regret it

•If you leave now, you are never going to regret it.

3.30

Present progressive

The present progressive refers to a future happening anticipated in the present. Its basic meaning is 'fixed arrangement, plan, or programme':

The orchestra is playing Mozart

Since the progressive is used to denote present as well as future, a time adverbial is often used to clarify in which meaning the verb is being used:

now

They are washing the dishes-j.

The present progressive is especially frequent with transitional dynamic verbs like arrive, come, go, land, start, stop, etc, which refer to a transition between two states or positions:

The plane is taking off at 5.20

The President is coming to the UN this week.

3.31

Simple present

The simple present is regularly used in subordinate clauses that are conditional (introduced by if, unless, etc) or temporal (introduced by as soon as, before, when, etc; see 11.68):

What will you say if I marry my boss? The guests will be drunk before they leave

The use of the simple present in main clauses may be said to represent a marked future aspect of unusual definiteness, in that it attributes to the

Time, tense, and aspect 89

future the same degree of certainty one normally associates with present and past events. It is used for statements about the calendar:

Yesterday was Monday, today is Tuesday, and tomorrow is Wednesday

and to describe immutable events or 'fixtures':

When is high tide?

What time is the football match?

Both the simple present and the progressive (3.30) are often used with dynamic transitional verbs: arrive, come, leave, etc, both having the meaning of 'plan' or 'programme':

The train . . . >tonight from Chicago.

3.32

Auxiliary verb construction + progressive

The auxiliary verb construction (3.28) can be used together with the progressive infinitive to denote a 'future-as-a-matter-of-course': will/shall + BE + V-ing. The use of this combination avoids the interpretation (to which will, shall, and be going to are liable) of volition, insistence, etc:

He'll do his best (future or volitional interpretation possible) He'll be doing his best (future interpretation only)

This complex construction can be used to convey greater tact and consideration than the simple auxiliary construction does:

When will you be putting on another performance?

(be putting on) e

When will you

(come?)

\be

coming,

Be about to + infinitive

This construction expresses near future, ie imminent fulfilment:

We are (just) about to leave,

334

Be to + infinitive

This expresses (a) arrangement, (b) command, or (c) pre-destined future:

(a) We are to be married soon There's to be an investigation 90 The verb phrase

(b) You are to be back by 10 o'clock

(c) If he's to succeed in his new profession,...

3.35

### Future time in the past

Some of the future constructions just discussed can be used in the past tense to express time which is in the future when seen from a viewpoint in the past

(1) auxiliary verb construction with would (rare; literary narrative style)

The time was not far off when he would regret this decision

(2) be going to+infinitive (often with the sense of unfulfilled intention')

You were going to give me your address

(3) PAST PROGRESSIVE

I was meeting him in Bordeaux the next day

(4) be TO+iNFiNiTiVE(formal = 'was destined to'or'arrangement')

He was later to regret his decision

The meeting was to be held the following week

(5) be about to ('on the point of)

He was about to hit me.

### Aspect 3.36

Aspect refers to the manner in which the verb action is regarded or experienced. The choice of aspect is a comment on or a particular view of the action. English has two sets of aspectual contrasts: perfective/ non-perfective and progressive/non-progressive.

The tense and aspect categories can be combined in various ways, so that we get the following system of contrasts in the complex verb phrase:

SYMB	NAME	EXAMPLE
OL		
TypeB	present perfect	he has examined
	past perfect	he had examined
TypeC	present progressive	he is examining
	past progressive	he was examining
TypeB	present perfect	he has been
C	progressive	examining
	past perfect	he had been
	progressive	examining

Time, tense, and aspect 91

perfective

337

present perfect

The present perfect indicates a period of time stretching backwards into some earlier time. It is past with 'current relevance':

simple past: John lived in Paris for ten years present perfect: John has lived in Paris for ten years

The simple past of the first sentence indicates that the period of residence in Paris has come to a close. The perfective aspect here denotes that John still lives there at the moment of speaking (although there is no implication that his residence there will continue). Compare also the following pairs of sentences:

/His sister has been an invalid all her life {ie she is still alive) \His sister was an invalid all her life {ie she is now dead)

["For generations, Nepal has produced the world's greatest soldiers (ie the nation of Nepal must still exist) | For generations, Sparta produced Greece's greatest warriors

(ie the. state of Sparta may no longer exist)

/Peter has injured his ankle and it's still bad \Peter has injured his ankle but now it's better

The choice of perfective aspect is associated with time-orientation and consequently also with various time-indicators (lately, since, so far, etc). It is therefore helpful to consider these two together. Here are some examples:

#### ADVERBIALS WITH SIMPLE PAST

(refer to a period now past)

I saw him

yesterday (evening) a week ago earlier this week last Monday the other day at four o'clock in the morning on Tuesday

ADVERBIALS WITH PRESENT PERFECT (refer to a period stretching up to the present)

so far hitherto up to now

I haven't seen him

since Monday since last week since I met you lately 92 The verb phrase

#### ADVERBIALS WITH EITHER SIMPLE PAST OR PRESENT PERFECT

(today

(saw \.. I this month \have seen) | this year

[recently

There is also a difference statable in terms of definiteness (4.28 ff). In the following examples the past implies definite reference and the perfect indefinite reference:

Did you hear Segovia play ? (' on a certain occasion') Have you heard Segovia play ? (' at any time')

### 3.38

Past perfect

The past perfect has the meaning of past-in-the-past:

John had lived in Paris for ten years (when I met him)

In some contexts the simple past and the past perfect are interchangeable, eg:

(came \

ate my lunch after my wife< , . vhome from her shopping 1 3  
[had come I rr °

Here the conjunction after is sufficient specification to indicate that the arrival from the shopping expedition had taken place before the eating, so that the extra time indication by means of the past perfect becomes redundant.

The perfect can be combined with the progressive (see 3.39) into present perfect progressive {has been examining) and past perfect progressive (had been examining).

Progressive

3.39

Progressive aspect indicates temporariness - an action in progress instead of the occurrence of an action or the existence of a state:

simple present: Joan sings well present progressive: Joan is singing well

These two sentences have the same tense but different aspect. Notice the meaning difference between them: Joan sings well refers to Joan's competence as a singer, that she has a good voice; Joan is singing well refers to her performance, that she is singing well on a particular occasion. The simple/progressive aspectual contrast also applies in the past tense:

Time, tense, and aspect 93

simple past: Joan sang well past progressive: Joan was singing well

In addition to process and continuation, there are a number of other concomitant meanings or overtones that go with the progressive aspect, such as limited duration, incompleteness, simultaneity, vividness of description, emotional colouring, and emphasis. Compare the following contrastive pairs of sentences:

John plays the banjo John is playing the banjo

The professor types his own letters (and always has)

The professor is typing his own letters (these days)

John always comes late

John's always coming late

INDEFINITE TIME temporariness: 'John's activity at this particular moment is playing

the banjo\* habitual activity of the professor

limited duration: the progressive suggests that the professor's activity is of limited duration

CHARACTERISTIC ACTIVITY, allows

an objective tone CHARACTERISTIC ACTIVITY,

necessarily occurring with adverbs like always and continually. It imparts a subjective, emotionally coloured tone.

I read a book completion:	the speaker t
that	reached h
	e
evening	end of the book before the t
	end of h
	e
	evening

I was reading a incompleteness: there is no book

that evening	implication that the reading
	was
	completed in the course of
	the
	evening

Note



Besides the regular progressive auxiliary be, the verbs keep (on), go on, etc (3.9 Note 6) have a similar function:

3.40

Dynamic and stative verbs

In 2.6 it was noted that some verbs can occur with progressive aspect (We was writing a letter) but that others cannot do so ('He was knowing 94 The verb phrase the answer). The distinction between verbs in dynamic use (as with write) and stative use (as with know) is a fundamental one in English grammar, and it is also reflected in a number of other ways than in the progressive. For verb categories, we may mention the imperative (7.72 Jf), the 'pseudo-cleft sentence' (see 14.21/) with do pro-form, and the causative construction (see 12.52JT); for adverbial categories we may mention manner adverbs requiring an animate subject (such as reluctantly, see 8.42) and the for... sake construction. Although the classes of adjectives will be discussed in detail in 5.37 \_#", we will here draw attention to the parallel dynamic/stative distinction that also holds for adjectives. The table below shows the verbs learn and know and the adjectives careful and tall as complements of the copula be.

GRAMMATICAL

FEATURE

DYNAMIC

STATIVE

progressive I'm learning the language

I'm being careful

•I'm knowing the language •I'm being tall

imperative

pseudo-cleft sentence with a DO pro-form

Learn the language! Be careful!

"Know the language! •Be tall!

What I did was (to) learn the language What I did was to be careful

•What I did was (to) know

the language \*What I did was to be tall

causative construction

manner adverb requiring an

animate subject

I persuaded her to learn

the language I persuaded her to be careful

\*I persuaded her to know

the language •I persuaded her to be tall

I learned the language

only reluctantly I was careful only reluctantly

\*I knew the language only

reluctantly \*I was tall only

reluctantly

for... sake

construction

I learned the language

for my fiancée's sake I was careful for my fiancée's sake

\*I knew the language for

my fiancée's sake \*I was tall for my fiancée's

sake

3.41

Classes of lexical verbs

Although it is convenient to speak of 'dynamic' and \* 'stative' verbs, it is important to note that it would be more accurate to speak of 'dynamic'

Time, tense, and aspect 95

and 'stative' uses of verbs, have and be, for example, can be used either way - with the expected consequences, such as aspectual constraints:

(is having a good time ('is experiencing') \*is having] , „ ^ ° >a good car (possesses )

(

>a

Marvi" being a good girl today ('is behaving well') ^\is a good girl ('is by nature a good girl')

The progressive aspect will be related to seven subclasses of verbs: A1-5 are dynamic and B1-2 are stative verb uses. Starting with the classes that are most likely to occur in the progressive, we have:

[A] DYNAMIC VERBS

[A1] activity verbs: abandon, ask, beg, call, drink, eat,

HELP, LEARN, LISTEN, LOOK AT, PLAY, RAIN, REMIND, READ, SAY, SLICE, THROW, WHISPER, WORK, WRITE, etc.

["The guests were playing cards round the dining-room table

guests always played cards after dinner /We ate dinner (together every day) \We were eating dinner (when my friend arrived)

[A2] PROCESS VERBS: CHANGE, DETERIORATE, GROW, MATURE,

slow down, widen, etc. Both activity and process verbs are frequently used in progressive aspect to indicate incomplete events in progress.

/The weather changed (overnight)

\The weather was changing (as I woke up)

[A3] VERBS OF BODILY SENSATION (ACHE, FEEL, HURT, ITCH,

etc) can have either simple or progressive aspect with little difference in meaning.

ioha

\wasfeeling }

hetteT and decided to S°to work

[A4] TRANSITIONAL EVENT VERBS (ARRIVE, DIE, FALL, LAND,

leave, lose, etc) occur in the progressive but with a change of meaning compared with simple aspect. The progressive implies inception, ie only the approach to the transition, Compare the following pairs:

t, . (arrived The train

[was am  
 was arriving  
 The old man  
 (died

\was dying 94 The verb phrase

the answer). The distinction between verbs in dynamic use (as with write) and stative use (as with know) is a fundamental one in English grammar, and it is also reflected in a number of other ways than in the progressive. For verb categories, we may mention the imperative (7.72 ff), the 'pseudo-cleft sentence' (see 14.21/) with do pro-form, and the causative construction (see 12.52 jf); for adverbial categories we may mention manner adverbs requiring an animate subject (such as reluctantly, see 8.42) and the for... sake construction. Although the classes of adjectives will be discussed in detail in 5.yjff, we will here draw attention to the parallel dynamic/stative distinction that also holds for adjectives. The table below shows the verbs learn and know and the adjectives careful and tall as complements of the copula be.

GRAMMA TICAL FEATURE	DYNAMIC	STATIVB
progressive	I'm learning the language I'm being careful	•I'm knowing the language •I'm being tall
imperative	Learn the language! careful!	•Know the language! *Betall!

pseudo-cleft sentence with a DO pro-form

What I did was (to) learn the language  
 What I did was to be careful

•What I did was (to) know the language  
 •What I did was to be tall

causative construction

manner adverb requiring an animate subject

I persuaded her to learn the language  
 I persuaded her to be careful

\*I persuaded her to know the language  
 \*I persuaded her to be tall

I learned the language only reluctantly  
 I was careful only reluctantly

\*I knew the language only reluctantly  
 \*I was tall only reluctantly

for... sake construction

I learned the language for my fiancée's sake  
 I was careful for my fiancée's sake

•I knew the language for  
my fiancée's sake \*I was tall for my fiancée's sake

3.41

Classes of lexical verbs

Although it is convenient to speak of 'dynamic' and \* 'stative' verbs, it is important to note that it would be more accurate to speak of 'dynamic'

Time, tense, and aspect 95

and 'stative' uses of verbs, have and be, for example, can be used either way - with the expected consequences, such as aspectual constraints:

(is having a good time ('is experiencing'))

John "is having} , , , ,

I. >a good car (' possesses')

(is being a good girl today ('is behaving well')) : a good girl (' is by nature a good girl')

The progressive aspect will be related to seven subclasses of verbs: A1-5 are dynamic and B1-2 are stative verb uses. Starting with the classes that are most likely to occur in the progressive, we have:

[A] DYNAMIC VERBS

[A1] ACTIVITY VERBS: ABANDON, ASK, BEG, CALL, DRINK, EAT, HELP, LEARN, LISTEN, LOOK AT, PLAY, RAIN, REMIND, READ, SAY, SLICE, THROW, WHISPER, WORK, WRITE, etc.

["The guests were playing cards round the dining-room

< table

[The guests always played cards after dinner

f We ate dinner (together every day)

e were eating dinner (when my friend arrived) ' .

[A2] process verbs: change, deteriorate, grow, mature, slow down, widen, etc. Both activity and process verbs are frequently used in progressive aspect to indicate incomplete

events in progress.

/The weather changed (overnight)

\The weather was changing (as I woke up)

[A3] VERBS OF BODILY SENSATION (ACHE, FEEL, HURT, ITCH, etc) can have either simple or progressive aspect with little difference in meaning.

John-jJ ... 1-better and decided to go to work

[A4] TRANSITIONAL EVENT VERBS (ARRIVE, DIE, FALL, LAND,

leave, lose, etc) occur in the progressive but with a change of meaning compared with simple aspect. The progressive implies inception, ie only the approach to the transition. Compare the following pairs:

— . . . (arrived The tram

[was arriving

The old man (d'e'\*J . [yvas dying 96 The verb phrase

[A5] MOMENTARY VERBS (HIT, JUMP, KICK, KNOCK, NOD, TAP,

etc) have, little duration, and thus the progressive aspect powerfully suggests repetition.

The child UH' . v. . ' .... ^ [was jumping(=several times)

Of course, the progressive aspect does not always imply repetition with these verbs, eg The man was jumping off the bus when the policeman caught him

#### [B] STATIVE VERBS

[B1] VERBS OF INERT PERCEPTION AND COGNITION: ABHOR, ADORE, ASTONISH, BELIEVE, DESIRE, DETEST, DISLIKE, DOUBT, FEEL, FORGIVE, GUESS, HATE, HEAR, IMAGINE, IMPRESS, INTEND, KNOW, LIKE, LOVE, MEAN, MIND, PERCEIVE, PLEASE, PREFER, PRESUPPOSE, REALIZE, RECALL, RECOGNIZE, REGARD, REMEMBER, SATISFY, SEE, SMELL, SUPPOSE, TASTE, THINK,

understand, want, wish, etc. Verbs of this class characteristically occur with that- or w/i-clauses and do not normally occur in progressive aspect. (Cf non-agentive subject, 7.16/.)

.(understand ~t, ., .

l<± , , >that she is coming i\*am understanding) b

The same verbs with other uses belong of course to other classes, eg

I am thinking of her all the time (activity verb)

I see ('understand') what you mean I am seeing ('pay a visit to', activity verb) the doctor today

(I (can) smell perfume

\I am smelling the perfume (activity verb)

[B2] relational verbs: apply to (everyone), be, belong

TO, CONCERN, CONSIST OF, CONTAIN, COST, DEPEND ON, DESERVE, EQUAL, FIT, HAVE, INCLUDE, INVOLVE, LACK, MATTER, NEED, OWE, OWN, POSSESS, REMAIN (a bachelor), REQUIRE,

resemble, seem, sound, suffice, tend, etc. These verbs are usually impossible in progressive aspect.

/He owns a big car

\\*He is owning a big car

/His actions deserve some comment

\\*His actions are deserving some comment

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("This book belongs to my wife \\*This book is belonging to my wife

3.42

Perfect progressive

The perfect progressive denotes a temporary situation leading up to the present moment. The progressive overtones of incompleteness and emotional colouring can also be found.

simple perfect: John has lived in New York since 1970 perfect progressive: John has been living in New York since 1970

The meaning difference is slight, but the use of the progressive indicates that the speaker considers John's residence in New York to be temporary. Compare also:

Who's eaten my dinner? (there is nothing left of it) Who's been eating my dinner?

(ie there is some left; also more readily suggests disapproval)

The meanings of the modal auxiliaries

### 3.43

So far the modal auxiliaries have been considered only in respect of their syntactic and morphological properties. We will now make a schematic survey of their chief meanings. (For the meanings of the modals in negative and interrogative sentences, see 7.52 and 7.62.)

### 3.44

Can/could

#### CAN

---

(1) Ability	He can speak English but he can't write
=be able to	it very well ('He is able to speak/
=be capable of	capable of speaking...')
=know how to	

---

(2) Permission	— „ il smoke in here? MayJ
be allowed to	
=be permitted to	('Am I allowed to smoke in here?')

(Can is less formal than may in this sense)

---

(3) Possibility	Anybody can make mistakes
= it is possible	The road can be blocked ('It is possible
that	to block the road')
(theoretical possibility;	
c/Vmaj>=factual	The road may be blocked ('It is possible
possibility)	that the road is blocked')

---

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#### COULD

(1) Ability

I never could play the banjo

(2) Permission

Could I smoke in here ?

(3) Possibility (theoretical or factual, cf: might)

That could be my train The road could be blocked

Note

Ability can bring in the implication of willingness (especially in spoken English):

Can Could

Wou do me a favour?

### 3.45 May/might

#### MAY

(1) Permission =be allowed to = be permitted to In this sense may is more formal than can. Instead of may not or rare mayn't, mustn't is often used in the negative to express prohibition.

You may borrow my car if you like

("mustn't You < are not allowed to >borrow my car

[may not

(2) Possibility He may never succeed (' It is possible  
— it is possible that\to that he will never succeed')

May=factual possibility (cf: can = theoretical possibility)

MIGHT

---

(1) Permission Might I smoke in here?

(rare; c/3.52)

---

(2) Possibility What you say might be true

---

Not\*

[a] May (= \*possibility") is replaced by can in questions, and normally also in negative sentences:

This may be true

~ Can this really be true ? —This can't be true

TtiB meanings of the modal auxiliaries 99

Note the difference in meaning between:

He may not be serious ~He can't be serious ('It is not possible that he

('It is possible that he is serious')

is not serious')

[b] There is a rare use of may as a 'quasi-subjunctive\* auxiliary, eg to express wish, normally in positive sentences (c/7.86,11.72 Note b):

May the best man win!

May he never set foot in this house again!

3.46 Shall/should

shall (volitional use; cf3.27 ff)

(1) Willingness on the part of the speaker in 2nd and 3rd person ('weak volition\*).

Restricted use.

He shall get his money

You shall do exactly as you wish

(2) Intention on the part of the speaker, only in 1st person ('intermediate volition').

Especially BrE.

I shan't be long

We shall let you know our decision

We shall overcome

(3) a Insistence ('strong volition'). Restricted use. b Legal and quasi-legal

You shall do as I say He shall be punished The vendor shall maintain the equipment in good repair

Of these three meanings it is only the one of intention ('intermediate volition') that is widely used today. Shall is, on the whole and especially outside BrE, an infrequent

auxiliary with restricted use compared with should, will and would. It is only in the first person singular of questions that it cannot be replaced by will:

Shain, , ,  
\* wnr comeatonce"

In the first person plural, eg What/^\lwe drink?

shall asks for instructions, and will is non-volitional future (especially in AmE). Will Ifwe has become increasingly common not only in contexts of non-volitional futurity {Will I see you later ?), but also in sentences expressing helplessness, perplexity, etc:  
What will I do?H 100 The verb phrase

How will I get there?

Which will I take?

This usage is predominantly AmE but examples may be found in BrE too. A similar meaning is also conveyed by be going to:

What are we going to do ?

SHOULD

(1) Obligation and logical necessity (=ought to)

You should do as he says They should be home by now

(2) 'Putative' use after certain expressions, eg: it is a pity that, I am surprised that (see 11.72,12.35#)

It is odd that you should say this to me I am sorry that this should have happened

(3) Hypothetical use (1st person only and especially BrE) in the main clause with a con-ditional subclause (=would)

fahoufcTI love tQ abfoad tf ^ I,would J had the chance

(4) Tentative condition in conditional clauses

If you should change your mind, please let us know

3.47 Will/would

(1) Willingness ('weak volition') unstressed, especially 2nd person. 'Downtoners' like please may be used to soften the tone in requests

He'll help you if you ask him Will you have another cup of coffee ? Will you (please, kindly, etc) open the window?

(2) Intention ('intermediate volition'). Usually contracted 'II; mainly 1st person

I'll write as soon as I can We won't stay longer than two hours

(3) Insistence ('strong volition\* = insist on). Stressed, hence no \*// contraction. An uncommon meaning

He 'will do it, whatever you say ('He insists on doing it,..')

(C/He 'shall do it, whatever you say =' I insist on his doing it')

The meanings of the modal auxiliaries 101

(4) Prediction

Cf the similar meanings of other expressions for logical necessity and habitual present. The contracted form /is common

(a) Specific prediction:



f will "1. . . , , TM \_ I ,, I be finished

The game< must } .

. ,, by now

(should J J

(b) Timeless prediction:

will float

\_ . J-on water

floats J

(c) Habitual prediction:

He'll (always) talk for hours if you give him the chance

WOULD

(1) Willingness ('weak volition')

Would you excuse me?

(2) Insistence ('strong volition')

It's your own fault; you 'would take the baby with you

(3) Characteristic activity

Every morning he would go for a long walk (ie it was customary)

John ■ would make a mess of it (informal='it was typical')

(4) Hypothetical He would smoke too much if

meaning in main I didn't stop him

clauses

(5) Probability That would be his mother

3.48 Must

(1) Obligation or compulsion in the present tense (= bb

OBLIGED TO, HAVE TO) ;

except in reported speech, only had to (not must) is used in the past. In negative sentences needn't, don't have to, not be obliged to are used (but not must not, mustn't which=/nU be allowed to). See 3.21, 3.45, 7.52

You must be back by 10 o'clock Yesterday you had to be back by 10 o'clock

Yesterday you said you-| [be

back by 10 o'clock

("needn't You< don't have to ^be back by

[are not obliged to 10 o'clock

^

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(2) (Logical) necessity

Must is not used in sentences with negative or interrogative meanings, can being used instead

Must can occur in superficially interrogative but answer-assuming sentences

There-L . i-be a mistake ihas to j

but; There cannot be a mistake

Mustn't there be another reason for his behaviour ?

### 3.49 Ought to

Obligation and logical necessity

You ought to start at once  
They ought to be here by now

Note

Ought to and should both denote obligation and logical necessity, but are less categorical than must and have to. Ought to is often felt to be awkward in questions involving inversion, and should is preferred.

### 3.50

Used to /justs/

A state or habit that existed in the past but has ceased (cf: would, and formerly or once+past)

He used to fish for hours

He used to be "1

He was formerly >an excellent golfer

He was once

The modal auxiliaries in relation to tense and aspect

### 3.51

Future time

Since modal auxiliaries cannot combine with other modal auxiliaries, they cannot be used with will/shall to denote future (see 3.28):

•He will may leave tomorrow

In many contexts, the modal auxiliaries have inherent future reference, both in their present and past forms:

leave tomorrow

Compare this with the use of the present (but not the past) form of lexical verbs to denote future time:

„ ("leaves!

I\*left "tomorrow

The modal auxiliaries in relation to tense and aspect 103

Present and past tenses

Only some of the modals have parallel uses in the present and past tenses:

PRESENT

PAST

can

may

shall

will!!!

must

ought to

need

dare

could

could (might)

should  
wouldj'd  
(had to)  
used to  
dared

He can speak English now            He couldn't come yesterday  
He'll do anything for                He wouldn't come when I asked  
money                                    him yesterday

The usual past tense of may denoting permission is could:

Today, w«    Vstay the whole afternoon l    VmayJ

Yesterday, weJ \_ . . >only stay for a few minutes

The following modals are not used in the past tense except in reported speech: must, ought to, and need (but c/3.21). Had to serves as the past of both must and have to: fmust l, .to/l

\h dt pcavemaburryesterday

•must •ought to •needn't 7daren't dared not did not dare

-leave now

Yesterday the children

go out and play

■

He said the children'

must ought to needn't daren't dared not didn't dare

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In fact, all the pasftense forms are used with verbs of reporting in the past tense (11.77):

{the guests would be late the road might be blocked the children could go out and play

In addition to their regular past tense function, the past forms of the modal auxiliaries occur in present tense environments with meanings that differ somewhat from those of the present forms. There is a difference between the first and second member of the following pairs:

'ability'

,-. tjj-you recommend a good book? Could)

'permission'

r^htr askyoU t0 sPealc , ... , Will \you be good enough to come and see me as

Would) soon as you can?

'possibility' Itj m." \ Utart raining tomorrow

In these cases the past forms do not express past time but greater consideration, politeness, or tentativeness than the corresponding present forms. This is an example of the hypothetical use of the auxiliaries (cf the hypothetical past in 3.26).

3.53

## Perfective and progressive aspects

The perfective and progressive aspects are normally excluded when the modals express 'ability' or 'permission' and also when shall or will express volition. These aspects are freely used, however, with other modal meanings; eg

'possibility' He may have missed the train

He can't be swimming all day 'necessity' He must have left his umbrella on the bus

You must be dreaming 'prediction' The guests will have arrived by now

John will still be reading his paper

The morphology of lexical verbs

### 3.54

We will consider lexical verbs under two heads: regular (such as call) and irregular (such as drink). What they have in common is the five forms BASE, -S FORM, -ING PARTICIPLE PAST, and -ED PARTICIPLE

BASE •INGSOV.

M

agree agreeing

pass passing

push pushing

weep weeping

(see Table 3:1 in 3.9). The distinction between regular and irregular verbs is based on the extent to which the last two forms are predictable from the base.

### 3.55

•s and -ing forms of all lexical verbs

Two of the forms, the -s form and the -ing form, are predictable from the base (V) of both regular and irregular lexical verbs except modal auxiliaries (which are not inflected in the 3rd person singular present and lack both participles; see 3.22). The -ing form of both regular and irregular verbs is formed by adding -ing /in/ to the base.

The ~s form of both regular and irregular verbs (sometimes spelled ~est cf 3.62) is also predictable from the base. It has three spoken realizations: /iz/, /z/, and /s/; so also, the contracted forms of has and is (3.18/). /iz/ after bases ending in voiced or voiceless sibilants, eg

BASE

-SFORM

-/s/ pass passes

-/z/ buzz buzzes

-Itfj catch catches

-jdzl budge budes

-111 push pushes

-Izl camouflage camouflages

\*f

/z/after bases ending in other voiced sounds, «y i;'

&

-HI call calls

^

calls robs tries

.?'(■>■

-/b/ rob

Exceptional forms are:

rfo /du/ rfoea /dAz/

jay /sei/ says /sez/

/s/ after bases ending in other voiceless sounds, eg

-/t/ cut cuts

-/k/ lock locks

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Regular lexical verbs 3.56

Regular lexical verbs have only four different forms:

(V) base call like try

(V-ing) -ve participle catting liking trying

(V-s) -storm calls likes tries

(y-ed) past/-£D participle called liked tried

The reason why they are called regular is that we can predict what all the other three forms are if we know the base of such a verb. This is a very powerful rule, since the base is the form listed in dictionaries and the vast majority of English verbs belong to this regular class. Furthermore, all new verbs that are coined or borrowed from other languages adopt the regular pattern, eg

xerox ~ xeroxing ~ xeroxes - xeroxed

Note

[a] The assimilation process is less marked in the case of nouns, where foreign plurals are often kept, sometimes with an alternative native ending (see 4.74):

antenna—anttnnaelantennas cherub—cherublmleherubs

[b] Both regular and irregular verbs have, as we have seen, predictable -Ing participles and -s forms. The difference between regular and irregular verbs is therefore restricted to \-ed. As the past (V-erfi) and the -ed participle (V-«fa) are identical in all regular verbs, it will be convenient to refer to them as the -ed form (V-ed) without subscripts.

3.57

The past and the -ed participle

The past and the -ed participle (V-ed) of regular verbs have three realizations:

HI after bases ending in voiceless sounds other than /t/, eg

/id/ after bases ending in the alveolar stops jdj and /t/, eg

BAS y-ed

E

pad padde

d

•N pat patted

/d/ after bases in voiced sounds other than /d/, eg

base V-ed

-/ou/ mow mowed

-jzj buzz buzzed

-/dʒ/ budge budgeted

BAS V-ed

E

- pass passe

W d

■ pack packe

N d

The spelling of regular verb inflections

3.58

The regularity accounted for so far applies only to the pronunciation of lexical verbs. The following rules apply to the spelling of the inflections:

GENERAL RULE:

The -jform is written s: look ~ looks The -ing form is written ing: look ~ looking

The -ed form is written ed: look ~ looked

exceptions: There are four types of exception to these rules, resulting in doubling of consonant, treatment of -y, deletion of an e, and addition of an e.

3.59

Doubling of consonant

(a) Final base consonants except x are doubled before -ing and -ed when the preceding vowel is stressed and spelled with a single letter:

bar

beg

permit

prefer

occur

barring

begging

permitting

preferring

occurring

barred begged

permitted preferred occurred

There is no doubling when the vowel is unstressed or written with two letters (as a digraph):

enter entering entered

visit visiting visited

dread dreading dreaded

(b) Bases ending in certain consonants are doubled also after single unstressed vowels:

humbug humbugging humbugged

traffic trafficking trafficked

-g -c  
 -gg--ck- 108  
 The verb phrase

BrE, as distinct from AmE, breaks the main rule also with respect to certain other consonants, -/->■-//-, -m -\*■ -mm-, -p -> -pp-: signal signalling signalled (BrE) "\

signal	signaling	signaled	(AmE) I
travel	travelling	travelled	(BrE) [
travel	traveling	traveled	(AmE)J
program(me)	programming	programmed	(BrE) program
programed	(AmE)J		programing
worship	worshipping	worshipped	(BrE) "1
worship	worshiping	worshipped	(AmE)/

Most verbs ending in -p, however, have the regular spellings in both BrE and AmE, eg:

developed enveloped galloped gossiped  
 developing  
 enveloping  
 galloping  
 gossiping

Note

In computer technology AmE usually has programmed.

develop envelop gallop gossip

3.60

Treatment of -y

(a) In bases ending in a consonant+y, the following changes occur -before the -s and -ed inflections:

, . (-ie before -s: carry ~ carries

(consonant + ) -y ->• < .... . ,

v 1,-1 before -ed: carry ~ earned

The past of the following two verbs has a change -y -> -i also after a vowel:

lay ~ laid pay ~ paid

f Contrast:

play played

stay ^stayed, etc

Say~said has the same change of spelling but, in addition, a change of vowel /ei/ -\*■ /e/, which makes it an irregular verb (see 3.66).

(b) In bases ending in -ie, the following change occurs before the -ing inflection:

(die'

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3.61

## Deletion of -e

If the base ends in a mute -e, it is regularly dropped before the -ing and -ed inflections:

abate abating abated create creating created .shave shaving shaved

Verbs with bases in -ee, -ye, and -oe are exceptions to this rule in that they do not drop the -e before -big; but they do drop it before -ed, as do also forms in -ie (tie~tied):

-ee: agree agreeing agreed

-ye: dye dyeing dyed

-oe: hoe hoeing hoed

Also: singe singeing singed

## Note

Compare dye~dyeing with die~dying and singe\* /sirjin/-  
~ singing

## 3.62

### Addition of -e

The addition of -e occurs in bases ending in sibilants in the following cases:

(a) Unless the base is already spelled with a final mute -e, the -s suffix is spelled -es  
refuse ~refuses fish ~fishes

(b) An -e is added in two irregular verbs ending in -o, do and go, before the -s suffix (note also the change in the pronunciation of the vowel in does)

do I da/~ does /dAz/ go ~goes

## Irregular lexical verbs 3.63

Irregular lexical verbs are like regular verbs in having -s forms and -ing forms predictable from the base (see 3.10jf). But they differ from regular verbs in the following ways:

(a) Irregular verbs either do not have the predictable -ed inflection (find~found~found) or, if there is an alveolar suffix, break the rule in 3.57 for a voiced suffix (eg: mean ~ meant /t/, in contrast to 110 The verb phtasa

clean~cleaned /d/, ■ burn-\*burnt /t/, which is in variation with the regular burned/d/),

(b) Irregular verbs typically, but not necessarily, have variation in their base vowel. The reason for this phenomenon, called 'gradation\*' or 'ablaut', is historical, and it is a characteristic of Indo-European languages in general:

find found found choose chose chosen write wrote written

(c) Irregular verbs have a varying number of distinct forms. Since the -s form and the -ing form are predictable for regular and irregular verbs alike, the only forms that need be listed for irregular verbs are the base (V), the past (V-erfi), and the past participle (V~ed2). These are traditionally called 'the principal parts' of a verb. Most irregular verbs have, like regular verbs, only one common form for the past and the -ed participle, but there is considerable variation in. this respect, as the table shows:

base	Y-ed1	\-ed3	
all alike	cut	cut	cut
V-erf^V-erfa	meet	met	met



V=V-erf3	come	came	come
all different	speak	spoke	spoken

### Irregular verb classes 3.64

The 200-odd irregular English verbs can be classified on the basis of criteria derived from these characteristics. Since it is impractical to account for both pronunciation and spelling together, only pronunciation will be considered in setting up the classes of irregular verbs. The criteria to be used are the following:

- (a) V-identity: V-edi^V-et/a, eg: met
- (b) suffixation in V-«rfr and/or V-ed2, including not only alveolar suffixes (dreamt) but also nasal suffixes (shaken)
- (c) vowel identity: the base vowel is kept unchanged in the other principal parts, eg: put

Table 3:3 shows that these three criteria divide irregular verbs into seven classes:

Class 1 has three pluses, which indicates that a verb like burn is very close to a regular verb. The only difference is that burned has an irregular variant burnt with a voiceless suffix after a voiced sound.

This morphology qMmicil wt» 111

Table

3:3

### IRREGU VERB

### LAR CLASSES

CLASS	EXAMPLE	V-erf IDENTITY SUFFIXATION	VOWE L IDENTI TY
Class 1 (3.65)	BURN	+	+ +
Class 2 (3.66)	BRING	+	+ —
Class 3 (3.67)	CUT	+	+ +
Class 4 (3.68)	MEET	+	
Class 5 (3.69)	MOW	±	+ +
Class 6 (3.70)	KNOW	+	
Class 7 (3.71)	SWIM	-	- -

Class 2 has no vowel identity, eg: teach ~ taught. Many of the verbs in these two classes manifest some differences between BrE and AmE. For example, in Class 1a (3.65), AmE prefers the regular /d/ variants and BrE the /t/ variants of burnedjburnt, learned!learnt, etc- Similarly, in Class 2, AmE favours the regular dreamed and BrE the irregular dreamt with vowel change and voiceless suffix.

Class 3 has all principal parts identical (as in Aft).

Class 4 has V-ed identical with change of base vowel without suffixation (strike~struck).

Class 5 has a past suffix in -ed and two past participle suffixes, one alveolar and the other nasal (sawed and sawn). Most verbs have vowel identity.

Class 6 has three different principal parts, usually with a nasal V'ed3 suffix (break ~ broke ~ broken).

Class 7 is the class of irregular verbs that is the most irregular: V-crffj and V-Ci/a are different; there is no suffixation but change of the base vowel (come ~ came ~ come).

Most remote of all is go~went~gone which has an altogether different V-e^i root.

Although we will not further define the differences among the verbs of each class, the verbs will be grouped together as (a), (b), (c), etc for mnemonic reasons. Parentheses, for example (dwelled), are used around less common forms. \*R\* denotes the existence also of regular variants.

Note

[a] The variation between /d/ and /i/ in Classes 1 and 2 applies to verbal uses; AmE has, for example, burnt toast, burnt umber. All the burnt wood would mean 'wood with a burnt appearance'; all the burned wood would mean 'wood that has been consumed'.

[6] The following list contains most of the irregular verbs in present-day English, but is not meant to be exhaustive. For example, it does not include very unusual or archaic verbs like gird, or verbs with irregular forms that have very restricted use and hence are better dealt with in the dictionary, for example proven for proved, as in a proven record and not proven (used as a legal term); shaven in adjectival uses (a shaven chin) but otherwise regularly shaved {He has shooed). 112 The verb phrase 3.65

Class 1 {burn, etc)

Characteristics:

\-edi is identical with V-ed3

Suffixation is used but voicing is variable

Vowel identity in all the parts

V-ed

COMMBNTS

la own

dwe

ll

lear

n

sme

ll

spel

l

spill

spoi

l

(burnt

{burned (R) (dwelt

{(dwelled) <\$) (learnt

{learned (R) (smelt

{smelted (R) (spelt \spelled (spilt {spilled (spoilt {spoiled (R)

For Class 1a verbs, the regular /d/-form is especially AmE and the /t/-form especially BrE

a learned /id/ man (adj)

(R) (R)

1b bend build lend rend send spend

bent

built

lent

rent

sent

spent

Also unbend restricted use

1c have make

had

made

-s form: has

Note

There is a tendency to associate -(forms in Class 1a more with V-ed3 than with \-edi, and with V-edi when there is least implication of duration:

He spelt it/has spell it like this on only one occasion.

3.66

Class 2 (bring, etc) Characteristics:

V-erfj is identical with V-eda

Suffixation is used but voicing is variable

Change of base vowel

The morphology of lexical verbs 113

V-ed

COMMENTS

---

(bereft	\-eda	bereaved : 'left
	usually=	

2a oereave	{(bereaved)	desolate'
(R)		

cleave cleft Also V-ed! =  
 clove and  
 V-eda=cloven

creep crept

deal dealt /e/

(dreamt /e/ especially BrE

dream {dreamed /i/ especially AmE

feel (R) felt

flee fled

keep kept

kneel (knelt R especially AmE

{(kneeled)

(R)

(leant /e/ especially BrE

lean {leaned lij especially AmE

(R)

leap (leapt hi especially AmE

{leaped [il

(R)

leave left

mean meant /e/

sleep slept

sweep swept

weep wept

---

2 beseech besought restricted use

b

bring brought

buy bought

catch caught

seek sought

teach taught

think thought

---

2c lose /u/ lost

---

2 MB sold /ou/

d

tell told /ou/

---

2e hear heard /3(r)/

---

2f say jeij said /e/ -s form: says /e/

---

114 The verb phrase

3.67

Class 3 (cut, etc) Characteristics: All three parts V, V-edu and Y-eda are identical

No suffix or change of the base vowel

V&ndV-ed comments

V-ed

1 he morphology of lexical verbs 115 COMMENTS

bet

bid (Also V-ed! = bade,  
V-ed=bidden) burst cost

cost

cut

kit

hurt

knit

let

put

quit

rid

set

shed

shit

shut

slit

split

spread /e/

sweat /e/

thrust

wed

wet

Also in BrE: betted (R) Also overbid, underbid, etc

Also broadcast, forecast (both

sometimes also R) cost (trans) is R = 'estimate the cost of

Usually R: knitted

AhoR: quitted Also R: rided Also upset R='putinashed' Not in polite use

Also R: sweated

Also R: wedded Also R: wetted

3.68

Class 4 (meef, etc)

Characteristics: V~edL is identical with V-ed3 No suffixation Change of base vowel

---

4a	bleed	bled	
	breed	bred	
	feed	fed	Also overfeed, etc
	hold	held	Also behold, uphold, withhold, etc
	lead	led	Also mislead
	meet	met	
	read /i/	read /e/	
	speed	sped	Also R: speeded

---

^- cling      clung

-			
—			
4b	dig fling hang	dug flung hung	Also overhang. Also R {hanged) when='put to death'
	sling slink spin stick sting strike	slung slunk spun Stuck stung struck	Archaic span as V-edi  Literal=*hit'; for metaphorical strike see Class 6 Ca
	string swing win wring	strung swung won wrung	
4c	bind find grind wind	bound found ground wound	Also unbind  Also rewind, unwind
4d	light	(lit {lighted (R)	
	slide	slid	
4c	sit spit	sat spat	AmE also V-ed=spit
4f	get	got	AmE also gotten for \-eda in certain senses of the word, eg 'acquire', 'cause', 'come' Also R when='polish' (especially AmE)
	shine	shone	Also overshoot
	shoot	shot	
116	The verb phrase		
V	V-ed	comments	
4	fight	fought	
g			
4	stand	stood	Also misunderstand, understand, withstand, etc
h			

---

4i stride	strode	\-eda stridden)	rare; also
		bestride	

---

3.69

Class 5 (mow, etc) Characteristics: V-e<4 has two suffixes, one alveolar which is identical with V-erfi,

the other nasal No change of the base vowel for N-edj.

V            V-ed,        \-ed2

#### COMMENTS

hew            hewed

mow           mowed

saw            sawed

sew /ou/      sewed

shear          sheared

show          showed

sow /ou/      sowed

strew /u/     strewed

swell          swelled

fti

(hewn

\hewed (R) (mown

\mowed (R) (sawn

\sawed (R) (sewn

\sewed (R) (shorn

{sheared (R) (shown

\(showed) (R) (sown

\sowed (R) (strewn \strewed (R)

(swollen        a swollen head (person is ill)

\sweUed (R) a swelled head (person is conceited)

Sometimes spelled shew, shewed, shewn

3.70

Class 6 (know, etc) Characteristics:

\-edL and \-eda are different. In all but two verbs, the latter has a nasal suffix

The morphology of lexical verbs 117

There is a range of base vowel changes and the verbs have been ordered according to vowel patterning: in A, V-edi and V-ed2 have the same vowel in B, V and \'-eds have the same vowel in C, all three parts have different vowels in D, all three parts have the same vowel in E, V-erfi and V-eda have different vowels

6Ba

6Aft break choose freeze speak steal

weave

6Ab bear

swear

tear

wear

hide

6Ad forget

tread

6Ae lit

blow grow know throw

forbid give

6Bd draw

broke chose froze spoke stole f(a)wok\*

wove

bore

swore

tore

wore

6Ac bite bit

chide chid

hid

forgot trod

lay

blew grew

knew threw

(forbade \forbad gave

v-ed.

COMMENTS

broken

chosen

frozen

spoken —

stolen

\d)wokem

(fl)wj\*(«O«/(R)

wake usually Class 6: woke ~ woken; awaken usually R

borne

sworn

torn

worn

She has borne six children (But: He was born in 1955)

Also forbear Also forswear

bitten (chidden \ehid

(hidden

V-«& sometimes=6tt MsoK=-chided



forgotten trodden

Also beget

lain

'be horizontal'

blown grown known

thrown

ALSO OUtgrOW

Also overthrow

forsake forsook forsaken

shake shook shaken

take took taken

Also mistake, overtake

undertake

forbidden given

Also forgive

drew

drawn

Also withdraw 118 The verb phrase

smite

strike

strive write

6Cb fly

6Cc da

beat

V				COMMENTS
6B fall	fell	fallen		Also te/atf
«				
6B eat	, fBrE/e/	1/		
f		eaien		
6B see	saw	seen		
r				
6B slay	stew	stain		
h				
6C drive	drove	driven		Also override
a ride	rode	ridden	—	Also arwe, which
rise		risen	is	..
smote				
struck				
smitten				
stricken				
strove	wrote			
striven	written			
flew				
flown				
did				

done

beat

beaten

m

dive

thrive

(dived (R) Xdove

throve

dived

thrived

metaphorical; The question arose... Archaic except metaphorical in V-erfa, <!f -  
smitten with her charms

Stricken virtually only in passive and as metaphorical adj {stricken by arthritis}; see  
Class 4b

AlsoR=Kriuei/

Also underwrite

i>

Also outdo, overdo, undo, etc

y-edi dove is AmE only; the verb is R in BrE and often in AmE

Normal forms in both AmE and BrE; also R, especially in AmE

3.71

Class 7 {swim, etc)

Characteristics: V-et^ and Y-ed3 are different No suffixation Change of base vowel

The morphology of lexical verbs 119

V-ed3

COMMENTS

7a

be bega

gin n

dri drank

nk

rin rang

g

shr (shra

ink nk

\shru

nk

sin sang

g

sin sank

k

spr spran

ing g

begun drunk rung

shrunk  
 sung sunk sprung  
 stunk  
 drunken, adj shrunken, adj  
 sunken, adj  
 y-edt also sprung in  
 AmE Occasionally V-ed<sub>i</sub> =  
 stunk

	swim	swam	swum		
7	come	came	ran	come	Also become,
b	run			run	overcome Also overrun
7c	go	went		gone	Also undergo

3.72

Irregular verbs: alphabetical order  
 verb class page

ARISE

AWAKE

BE

BEAR

BEAT

BECOME

BEFALL

BEGET

BEGIN

BEHOLD

BEND

BEREAVE

BESEECH

BESTRIDE

BET

bid

BIND BITE

bleed

BLOW BREAK BREED

6Ca 118

6Aa 117

aux 80

6Ab 117

6D 118

7b 119

6Be 118

6Ad 117

7a 119

4a lb

2a

2b

4i

3

3

4c

115 112 113 113 116 114 114 115 6Ac 117 4a 115 6Ba 117 6Aa 117

verb

4a

115

BRING

BROADCAST

BUILD

BURN

BURST

BUY

CAN

CAST

CATCH

CHIDE

CHOOSE

CLEAVE

CLING

COME

COST

CREEP

CUT

DEAL

DIG

DIVE

DO

DRAW

class page

2b

3

lb

la

3

2b

aux

3

2b

113 114 112 112 114 113 97 114 113 6Ac 117 6Aa 117 2a 113 4b 115 7b 119 114  
113 114

3

2a

3

2a 4b 6E

113 115

118

6Cc 118

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verb

class page

verb

class page

verb

DREAM

DRINK

DRIVE

DWELL

EAT

FALL

FEED

FEEL

FIGHT

FIND

FLEE

FLING

FLY

FORBEAR

FORBID

FORECAST

FORGET

FORGIVE

FORSAKE

FREEZE

GET

GIVE

GO

GRIND

GROW

HANG

HAVE

HEAR  
HEW  
HIDE  
HIT  
HOLD  
HURT  
KEEP  
KNEEL  
KNIT  
KNOW  
LEAD  
LEAN  
LEAP  
LEARN

2a U3 7a 119 6Ca U8 1a 112 6Bf 118 6Be 118 4a 115 2a 113  
4g 116 4c 115 2a 113 4b 115 6Cb 118 6Ab 117 6Bc 117 3  
114 6Ad 117 6Bc 117 6Bb 117 6Aa 117 4f 115 6Bc 117 7c 119 4c  
115 6Ba 117 4b 115 1c 112 2e 113  
5 116  
6 Ac 117 3 114 4a 115 3 114 2a 113 2a U3 3 114 6Ba  
117 4a 115 2a 113 2a 113 1a 112

LEAVE  
LEND  
LET  
LIE  
LIGHT  
LOSE  
MAKE  
MAY  
MEAN  
MEET  
MISLEAD  
MISTAKE  
MISUNDERSTAND  
MOW  
OUTDO  
OUTGROW  
OVERBID  
OVERCOME  
OVERDO  
OVERFEED  
OVERRIDE  
OVERRUN  
OVERTAKE  
PUT

QUIT  
READ  
REND  
REWIND  
RID  
RIDE RING RISE RUN

SAW  
SAY  
SEE  
SEEK  
SELL SEND SET SEW

2a

1b

3

6Ae

4d

2c

1c

aux

2a

4a

4a

6Bb

4h

5

6Cc

6Ba

3

7b

6Cc

4a

6Ca

7b

6Bb

3

3

4a

1b

4c

3

6Ca

7a

6Ca

7b

5

2f

6Bg

2b

2d

1b

3

5

113 112 114 117 115 113 112 98 113 115 115 117 116 116 118 117 114 119 118 115  
118 119 117 114 114 115 112 115 114 118 119 118 119 116 113 118 113 113 112  
114 116

SHAKE

SHALL

SHEAR

SHED

SHINE

SHIT

SHOOT

SHOW

SHRINK

SHUT

SING

SINK

SIT

SLAY

SLEEP

SLIDE

SLING

SLINK

SLIT

SMELL

SMITE

SOW

SPEAK

SPEED

SPELL

SPEND

SPILL

SPIN

SPIT

SPLIT

SPOIL



SPREAD  
SPRING  
STAND  
STEAL  
STICK  
STING  
STINK  
STREW  
STRIDE  
STRIKE

clas pag  
s e

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6Bb 117

aux 99

5 116

3 114

4f 115

3 114

4f 115

5 116

7a 119

3 114

7a 119

7a 119

4e 115

6Bh 118

2a 113

4d 115

4b 115

4b 115

3 114

la 112

6Ca 118

5 116

6Aa 117

4a 115

la 112

lb 112

la 112

4b 115

4e 115

3 114

la 112

3 114

7a 119

4h 116  
6Aa 117  
4b 115  
4b 115  
7a 119  
5 116  
4i 116  
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TEAR	6Ab	117
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UNDERBI	3	114
D		
UNDERG	7c	119
O		
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AND		
UNDERT	6Bb	117
AKE		
UNDO	6Cc	118
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UPHOLD	4a	115
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WEAR	6Ab	117
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WITHHOL	4a	115
D		
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ND		
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### Bibliographical note

See Jespersen (1909<sup>19</sup>), especially Paris IV, and VI, Chapters 2-5; Palmer (1965); Poutsma (1926-29), especially Part 11.2.

On verb classes and forms and combinations of verbs, see Kajita(1968); Khlebnikova (1965); Slang (1968), especially Chapter 9; Svartvik (1966), especially Chapter 2; Twaddell(1960).

On tense and aspect, see Allen (1966); Close (1970); Closs and Waterhouse (1969); Crystal (1966); Diver (1963); G. Lakoff(1966); McCawley(1970); McIniosh (1966); Ota (1963); Quirk (1970).

On the meanings of the modal auxiliaries, see Boyd and Thome (1969); Ehrman (1966); Leech (1969a, 1971); and Huddleston (1971), Chapter 7.

On the morphology of lexical verbs, see Kingdon (1957).

## FOUR

### NOUNS, PRONOUNS, AND THE BASIC

#### NOUN PHRASE

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. ■i'iko. b

yi'<:.... /ji »-

205 206 208 211 211 213 213 214 216 217 218 219 220 220 221 222 225

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4.1

' Basic noun phrase' defined

The noun phrase is that element in the sentence which typically functions as subject, object, and complement (7.8#). Consider the subject in the following sentences;

(a) The girl (b)The pretty girl

(c) The pretty girl in the corner is my sister

(d) The pretty girl who is standing in the corner

(e) She

Sentences (a-d) are alike in having the same noun (girl) as noun-phrase head. In (a) it has the simplest structure, consisting of only the definite article and the head; in (b) it has a premodifying adjective (pretty); in (c) it has, in addition, a postmodifying prepositional phrase (in the corner); in (d) it consists of a premodifying adjective, a head and a postmodifying relative clause (who is standing in the corner); in (e) it consists of only one word (she), which is one of a closed set of grammatical words called personal pronouns. Such pronouns can 'replace' nouns, or rather noun phrases, since they cannot occur with determiners such as the definite article, premodification, or (normally, c/13.5 Note a) postmodification:

◆The pretty she ?She in the corner

Since noun phrases of the types illustrated in (b-d) include elements that will be dealt with later in this book (adjectives, prepositional phrases, clauses, etc), it will be

convenient to reserve until Chapter 13 the treatment of the noun phrase incorporating such items. The present chapter will be restricted to 'basic noun phrases' consisting of pronouns and numerals (4.106-129) and of nouns with articles or other closed-system items that can occur before the noun head including predeterminers like *dt*, determiners like *these*, 'ordinals' like *last*, and quantifiers like *few* (4.13-27):

All these last few days

Nouns

Noun classes

4.2

Pro per/common, count/mass nouns

Nouns have certain characteristics that set them apart from other word- \**bottte* the bottle a bottle

\**some* bottle bottles

bread the bread \**a* bread

*some* bread \**bread*\$

John \**the* John \**a*John

\* *some* John \**Johns*

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classes. For example; they can form plurals (*book* ~ *books*) and take articles (*the book* ~ *a book*). However, this is not true of all nouns: there are no forms \**educations* or \**homeworks*, or \**a* *harm* or \**a* *chess*. It is important, both for semantic and grammatical reasons, to distinguish between different subclasses of nouns. Consider the possibilities of the nouns *cake*, *bottle*, *bread*, and *John* in a sentence such as / like ... occurring with the following determiners and the plural:

zero (or no) article: *cake*

definite article: *the cake*

indefinite article: *a cake* indefinite

quantitative: *some cake*

plural: *cakes*

Nouns like *John*, *Paris*, *Mississippi* are proper nouns. They do not have the full range of determiners and lack article contrast (*Paris* ~ \**The Paris*, *The Hague* ~ \**Hague*, *The Andes* ~ \**An Ande*). Proper nouns will be further discussed in 4.40<sup>^</sup>. The remaining words in the table are all common nouns. *Bottle*, which takes definite and indefinite articles and admits a plural form, is an example of a count noun. *Bread*, which takes zero article as well as definite article and indefinite quantifier, but does not have a plural form, is a mass noun. *Cake* combines the properties of *bottle* and *bread*, and is consequently both a count and a mass noun-Note

[a] A mass noun like *bread* can be 'reclassified' as a count noun involving a semantic shift so as to denote quality: 'kind of', 'type of, as in *What breads have you got today?* (see 4.5, App 1.40).

[b] Although in sentences such as *I like cake*, *I like John*, the two nouns look superficially alike in terms of article usage, we will say that *cake* has 'zero article' but that *a*/*in* has 'no article'. The label 'zero' is appropriate in the case of common nouns which have article contrast (*cake* as opposed to *a cake* and *the cake*). Proper nouns



have no article contrast if we disregard cases like the John I mean is tall (see 4.36(b)), and will therefore be said to have 'no article'.

#### 4.3

##### Nouns with dual membership

The distinction according to countability into count nouns and mass nouns is basic in English. Yet, the language makes it possible to look upon some objects from the point of view of both count and mass, as in the case of cake:

,... a cake, two cakes, several cakes,... \some cake, another piece of cake,...

#### Nouns 129

There are many such nouns with dual class membership. Often they have considerable difference in meaning in the two classes

##### COUNT NOUNS

have pleasant experiences

read an evening paper

She was a beauty ('a beautiful woman')

have confidential talks hear an irritating sound ('noise') see two little lambs press clothes with an iron

##### MASS NOUNS

have a great deal of experience wrap up a present in brown paper Beauty is to be admired

dislike idle talk travel faster than sound eat New Zealand lamb use tools made of iron  
The same meaning distinction that exists between the count noun lamb (the animal) and the mass noun lamb (the meat) is achieved by lexical means in a few other pairs, for example:

see a nice little pig eat two large loaves chop trees in the wood saw (many) sheep in the field

buy Danish pork buy some French bread import Canadian timber hasn't (much) mutton for dinner

The distinction between count and mass can be paralleled by a similar distinction in abstract nouns:

Will they have much difficulty in their new jobs? They have had very few difficulties so far

Cutting across the grammatical count/mass distinction we have then a semantic division into concrete (material) and abstract (immaterial) nouns (see Fig 4:1), though concrete nouns are mainly count and abstract mainly mass.

common ■

nouns/

count

mass

concrete: bun, toy,... abstract: difficulty, worry,..

concrete: iron, butter,... abstract: music, homework,

proper

Fig 4:1 Noun classes

John, Paris, ... 130 Nouns, pronouns, and the basic noun phrase

Nouns 131

#### 4.4 Countability

We have noted that mass nouns do not have a plural. It is, however, more accurate to say that they are invariable and lack number contrast:

Music is  $\{1, \dots, * \}$  my favourite hobby • Musics are  $\{j, * \}$

As the term 'mass' implies, the notion of countability (of 'one' as opposed to 'more than one') does not apply to mass nouns. Count nouns, which can be counted {one pig, two pigs, several pigs,...}, show the speaker as able to distinguish these items as separable entities. Mass nouns, on the other hand, are seen as continuous entities (much pork, \*onepork, 'few pork,...) and show the speaker as regarding these substances or concepts as having no natural bounds. They are subject to division only by means of certain 'gradability expressions'.

Not\*

[a] It may be noted that, apart from a tendency for concrete nouns to be count and abstract nouns to be mass, there is no obvious logical reason for the assignment of various English nouns to the count or mass noun class. In some languages, nouns like applause and Information are count nouns. We list a few that are grammatically different in some languages:

Your behaviour leaves much to be desired I dislike homework on Sundays The workmen are making slow progress What lovely sunshine we are having today!

Also: anger, applause, chaos, chess, conduct, courage, dancing, education, harm, hospitality, leisure, melancholy, moonlight, parking, photography, poetry, publicity, research (as in do some research), resistance, safety, shopping, smoking, violence, weather, etc.

[b] It can be argued that weather is neither count (\*a weather) nor mass ("o lot of weather). Yet we have a lot of good weather, some bad weather.

Gradability

43

Both count and mass nouns are subject to gradability in two respects: quality and quantity. The quality aspect is expressed chiefly by kind or sort:

a new kind of pencil a delicious sort of bread

The expression of quantity by means of certain 'partitives' (a piece of, a bit of, a loaf of, etc) is different and should be seen as being imposed subsequently :

two loaves of bread

two kinds of loaves of bread

There are three types of 'partitives' which are used to express quantity of mass nouns: measures, typical partitives, and general partitives.

nouns a

4.6

## Measures

The measure partitives relate to precise quantities. (Suitable mass are given in brackets.)

length: a foot of (water)

a yard of (cloth)

a mile of (cable)

area: an acre of (land)

volume: a pint of (beer)

iof/(petrol, BrE)

\(gas, AmE) a quart of (milk) weight: an ounce of (tobacco) a pound of (butter) a ton of (coal)

4.7

## Typical partitives

With many nouns, there is a typical partitive appropriate to each specific case. In the tables, the typical partitive is preceded by one of the more general partitives discussed in 4.8. Nouns which can also be count nouns are denoted by 'C'

### (a) Concrete mass nouns

(heavy) armour	a\ ., H)farmour i Vsuit J
(Danish) bacon	a-J .. J-of bacon
(brown) bread	aj^of bread
(Christmas) cake (C)	a< ., lof cake Lshce J
(white) chalk (C)	afee}of chalk
132 Nouns, pronouns, and the basic noun phris*	Concrete mass nouns continued
(nut) chocolate (C)	a-  f Vof chocolate Ibar J
(brown) coal (C)	a\? lofcoal
(antique) furniture	\ p ., , loffurniture (an article;
(green) grass	a{blade}Ofsgrass
(dry) ice (Q	a{blSk}ofice
(arid) land (C)	\strip J
(prime) meat	a-J . rof meat ^roastj
(Swedish) paper (C)	a{£"}of paper
(long) rice	/bit 1 , . a-{ . 1-of rice LgramJ
just) rubbish (also abstract)	a{hip}Ofmbbish

(brown) sugar | I lumpj

(b) Abstract mass nouns

abuse ('insult')	a word of abuse	C='misuse'
advice	a <sub>1</sub> piece of advice	
business ('commerce')	an item of business	C='shop*'
information	a piece of information	
interest (finance)	an amount of interest	C='hobby'
news	a piece of news	nd : news is singular (see 4.52)
work ('job')	a piece of work	C='product'
evidence	a piece of evidence	
fever	an attack of fever	I
passion	a fit of passion	^alsoC
research	a piece of research	i

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4.8

General partitives

These are not, like typical partitives, restricted to specific lexical items.

They have been illustrated together with the typical partitives in 4.7.

a piece of chalk/coal/advice,... (the 'unmarked' and most widely

used partitive) a bit of grass/trouble,... an item of information/news,... (chiefly with abstract nouns)

Note

It is manifest from the placing of premodifiers in noun phrases consisting of a partitive+o/+mass noun that some 'typical\*' partitives are felt to form a closer unit with (the mass noun than 'measure' and 'general\*' partitives (c/13.72): a hot cup of coffee; a good stroke of luck; a large pair of gloves; a nice glass of whisky.

Words in -ing: a survey 4.9

Reference was made in 2.13 to the way one part of speech could share features with another. It is important to realize that between the pure noun in We found some

paintings and the pure verb in Brown painted his daughter, there is a gradient which merits careful study:

Some paintings of Brown's (ie some paintings that Brown owns) [1 ] Brown's paintings of his daughter (ie paintings owned by Brown, depicting his daughter but painted by someone else) [2]

Brown's paintings of his daughter (ie they depict his daughter and were painted by him) [3]

The painting of Brown is as skilful as that of Gainsborough (/e Brown's (a) finished product, or (b) technique of painting, or (c) action of painting) [4]

Brown's deft painting of his daughter is a delight to watch (ie it is a delight to watch while Brown deftly paints his daughter) [5]

Brown's deftly painting his daughter is a delight to watch (= [4c], [5] in meaning) [6]

I dislike Brown's painting his daughter (ie I dislike either (a) the fact or (b) the way Brown does it) [7]

I dislike Brown painting his daughter (= [7a]) [8]

I watched Brown painting his daughter (ie: either I watched Brown as he painted or I watched the process of Brown('s) painting his daughter) [9]

Brown deftly painting his daughter is a delight to watch (-[4c], [5]) [10] 134 Nouns, pronouns, and the basic noun phrase

Nouns 135

Painting his daughter, Brown noticed that his hand was shaking {ie while he was painting) [U]

Brown painting Ms daughter that day, I decided to go for a walk (ie since Brown was painting) [22]

The man painting the girl is Brown {ie who is painting) [13]

The silently painting man is Brown {ie who is silently painting) [14]

He is painting his daughter [15]

4.10

Deverbal nouns

In [1], [2] and [i]t v/e could replace paintings by pictures or photographs; it is thus a perfectly regular concrete count noun (4.2), related only to the verb paint by word-formation (App I.2I). We shall refer to such nouns as deverbal.

4.11

Verbal nouns

In [4] and [5] painting is also a noun as can be seen by the definite article in [4] and not only by the genitive premodifier in [5] but by the adjective premodifier deft (as compared with deftly in [6]). But it is an abstract mass noun (4.2) of the kind that can be formed from any verb by adding -ing and inserting of 'before the noun phrase that corresponds to subject if the object is not expressed:

Brown paints ~ the painting of Brown

or before the noun phrase that corresponds to object if this is expressed: They polish the furniture ~ their polishing of the furniture

We shall refer to such forms as verbal nouns. We shall examine further in 4.93<sup>^</sup>, XZ.11ff, and 13.64 the important correspondence between the -s and o/-genitives and the relations of possession, subject and object, among others. Thus the painting of Brown can have at least three meanings: a picture representing Brown; Brown's work or skill as a painter; and the process of painting Brown by someone else. It should be noted that we could not replace painting in [4] or [5] by picture or photograph.

Note

One expects the name in [4] to be that of an artist of some reputation if the o/-phrase is to be used; otherwise the -s genitive would be more natural to convey this meaning: Jack's painting is nearly as impressive as Gainsborough's

4.12

Participles

In [6] and [7], the genitive premodifier Brown's is used, but in place of the adjective in [5] we have the adverb deftly, and in place of the (/)-phrase we have the noun phrase his daughter directly following painting just as though it was the object of a finite verb phrase as in [15]. Traditionally this mixture of nominal and verbal characteristics has been given the name \*gerund', while the uses of painting in [8-15] have been distinguished as those of the (present) participle'. This traditional distinction is made, irrespective of whether the structure in which the -ing item occurs is operating in the nominal function of [8] and [9], in which 'gerunds' also operate, as in [6] and [7], or in the adverbial function of [11] and [12], where 'gerunds' cannot operate; that is to say, where a genitive premodifier is unacceptable:

◆Brown's painting his daughter that day, I decided to go for a walk

Where no premodifier appears, genitive or otherwise, the traditional view held painting to be gerund in

Painting a child is difficult

where the item is in a structure functioning nominally (in this case, as subject), but it was considered a participle if the same structure functioned adverbially as in

Painting a child, I quite forgot the time No such categorial distinction however was made between

To paint a child is pleasant and

»

To paint a child, I bought a new canvas

where the italicized item was traditionally regarded as an 'infinitive' in both.

In this book we shall disregard the distinction between gerund and participle, classing the -ing items in [6-15] as participles. In [6-13], the participle is in each case the non-finite verb or a non-finite clause; in [14] the participle is a premodifier in a noun phrase (13.44 jf); in [15] it is the head of a finite verb phrase QAOjf). The simplification in terminology, however, must not let us ignore the complexity of the different participial expressions as we move along the gradient to the 'most verbal' end at [15], 136 Nouns, pronouns, and the basic noun phrase

Determiners 4.13

We have seen that different classes and forms of nouns require different articles. If we consider the articles in relation to the count noun pen and the mass noun ink, we have this situation:

SINGULAR

PLURAL

Note

The forms of the definite and indefinite articles depend on the initial sound of the following word. There is one unstressed and one stressed set.

(i) The unstressed definite article is always written the but is pronounced /fls/ before consonants and /&/ before vowels. The indefinite article is a /a/ before consonants and an /an/ before vowels. Note that it is the pronunciation, not the spelling, of the following word that determines their form:

the/fen

COUN MASS

T

the pen	the ink
a pen	ink
the pens	
pens	

There is divided usage before some words that are written with initial A, depending on whether h is pronounced or not:

a(n>fhote]

^.historical novel

(ii) The stressed forms are often italicized in print. In speech the distinction with regard to the quality of the following sound is neutralized for the definite article:

the !5ij\.

J-boy, car,...

the /fiin

["■j, m,... .. rant, hour,...

a /ei/ ) an /sen/J ' .

The stressed definite article is often used to indicate excellence or superiority in some respect, as in

He would be the man for you to know

The demonstration will be the event this week.

4.14

The use of the articles is not the only possibility for 'determining' nouns: the

a no

whatf

this

every

each

either

pen

t This what is the interrogative, as in What book do you want ? As intensifier, what may co-occur with the indefinite article: What a book I bought such: 5.57, 13.68.

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These words, and some others, are called determiners. They form a set of closed-system items (see 2.14/) that are mutually exclusive with each other, ie there cannot be more than one occurring before the noun head. Both \*a the boy and \*a some boy are ungrammatical. The determiners are in a 'choice relation', ie they occur one instead of another. In this respect they are unlike all, many and pretty which are in a 'chain relation', ie occurring one after another: ..;

All the many pretty houses

The articles are central to the class of determiners in that they have no function independent of the noun they precede. Other determiners (like some) are also independent pronouns:

Here

. f\*the I some

. fthe ink I want-4 . ,

I^some ink

Furthermore, the articles have no lexical meaning but solely contribute definite or indefinite status to the nouns they determine. Yet the dependence is not unilateral. A count noun like boy, for example, is, on its own, only a lexical item. It requires an 'overt' determiner of some kind to assume grammatical status. The articles will be discussed in 4.28-47 and the other determiners in the sections dealing with the pronouns (4.106-128).

Note

[a] There are two exceptions to the rule that count nouns cannot occur without a determiner.

(i) Parallel structures: Man or boy, I don't like him (c/4.38) (ii) Vocatives: Come here, boy!

[ft] Coordinated noun-phrase heads can share a determiner placed before the first head:

the boys and girls

the radios, tape-recorders and television sets in this shop

[c] The indefinite article «(n) may be described as an unstressed numeral parallel to stressed one (4.126) in

I want J icigar \one/ °^

[d] A(n) means 'a certain', 'a person giving his name as' in A Mr Johnson came to see you last night.

4.15

Just as we have noted in 4.13 that there are certain co-occurrence restrictions between articles and nouns, we will find additional restrictions when we consider determiners as a whole. The definite article can occur 1 38 Nouns, pronouns, and the basic noun phrase

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with all three noun classes but the zero and indefinite articles cannot. Similarly, for the other determiners, we have, for example,



fpen no< pens ink

I!

but no complete paradigms for

("pen

this< \*pens [ink

[pen

either^ \*pens [•ink

f\*pen enoughts pens

[ink

#### 4.16

The following figures show that there are six classes of determiners with respect to their co-occurrence with the noun classes singular count (such as pen), plural count (such as pens), and mass nouns (such as ink).

SINGULAR PLURAL

COUN MASS

T

pen	ink
pens	

[A]

--	--

[B]

the

Possessive (my, our, your, his,

her, its, their, see 4.116) no

whose whichever) whatever)

some /sAm/ (stressed) any (stressed)

zero article

some /sm/ (unstressed)

any (unstressed)

enough

PJ

[E]

[F]

--	--

7	
---	--

\_\_\_\_\_



this that  
 these those  
 every each either neither  
 much  
 Note

Many of the determiners have alternative constructions (cf. 4.19):

Enough (of the) cake was left to satisfy her

^ \ (of the) books will do

U the boob]

Will do

Each

acMbook itherj J

Either

Closed-system premodifiers

4.17

The articles have been shown to be intimately connected with the nouns they determine, and the class of determiner has been defined as a set of closed-system items that are mutually exclusive with the articles. In addition to determiners, there is a large number of other closed-system items that occur before the head of the noun phrase. These items, which will be referred to as closed-system premodifiers, form three classes (predeterminers, ordinals, and quantifiers) which have been set up on the basis of the possible positions that they can have in relation to determiners and to each other. Within each of the three classes, we will make distinctions according to their patterning with the classes of singular count, plural count, and mass nouns (4.2 jf).

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Note

>?-

We will also include here some premodifiers that consist of constructions with open-class items and commute to some extent with closed-system premodifiers, eg: three times {cf: archaic thrice), a large quantity of (cf: much).

Predeterminers

4.18

Predeterminers are unique among the premodifiers in occurring before the determiners. They are (a) all, both, and half; (b) the multipliers double, twice, three times, etc; and fractions like one-third, one-fifth, etc. Predeterminers are mutually exclusive: 'all both, 'half double.

Note

'Restrictives' like ^iur, only, especially, etc also occur before determiners (Only the best cars are exported), but they have no special relation to noun-phrase structure,

since they can also modify verbs and adjectives, etc and may be dealt with more suitably in 8.13 ff:

{a boy feeling sick a little sick sleepy

4.19

All, both, half

These have restrictions on co-occurrence with determiners and noun

heads, as is shown in Fig 4:2.

SINGULAR COUNT NOUNS

half

a

this, that

all

the, my,...

life

PLURAL COUNT NOUNS

half

the, my, ... these, those

all both

article

pens

MASS NOUNS

half

the, my, ... this, that

all

<fi article

ink

Fig 4:2 All, both, half

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These predeterminers can thus occur only before articles or demonstratives but, for obvious semantic reasons, none of them can occur with the following 'quantitative' determiners: every, {n}either, each, some, any, no, enough (but see Note).

All, both, and half have ^/-constructions, which are optional with nouns and obligatory with personal pronouns:

all (of) the meat            all of it

both (of) the students    both of them half (of) the time            half of it

With a quantifier following, the o/-construction is preferred (especially in AmE):

all of the many boys All three can be independent nominate:

All "I

Both [-passed their exams

HalfJ

All and both (but not half) can occur after the head. With pronouns this is the only possible position (in addition to the prepositional construction):

si fall 1

;ibothjpassed

their exams

The students! fall They

The zero article is used for generic reference (4.33/):

All men are created equal (generic reference)

All the men in the mine wore helmets (specific reference)

The predeterminer both and the determiners either and neither are not plural proper but 'dual', ie they can only refer to two. Compared with the numeral two, both is emphatic:

Both (the)\ The two y

All is rare with singular concrete count nouns {?I haven't used all the pencil) though it is less rare with, contrastive stress: I haven't read ALL the book, where book is treated as a kind of divisible mass noun. The normal constructions would be all of the book or the whole book.

Before certain singular temporal nouns, all is used with the zero article in variation with the definite article: all {the) day /morning /night. The zero construction is normal in negative contexts: I haven't seen him alt day. 142 Nouns, pronouns, and the basic noun phrase

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Note

There is an adverbial use of half in emphatic negation where it can precede enouf A.- He hasn't-l , Venoughmoneyl \nearlyj

4.20

Double, twice, three/four.. . times

The second type of predeterminer includes double, twice, three times, etc, which occur with plural count and mass nouns and with singular count nouns denoting number, amount, etc:

double their salaries

twice his strength

three times this amount

Three, four, etc times consists of the open-class item times, and is thus not a proper closed-category premodifier. Double, twice, three times, etc have no analogue with o/-construction:

•double of the amount

Furthermore, unlike all and both, these predeterminers cannot occur after the noun head:

\*The amount double is what he asked for

Three, four, etc times as well as once can co-occur with the determiners a, every, and each, and (less commonly) per to form 'distributive' expressions with a temporal noun as head:

once twice three"! four >times

every I

heach f

l j

day

week

month

year

decade

Sometimes (at least in AmE) the occurs in other distributive expressions; five dollars the head

4.21

One-third, two-fifths, etc

The fractions one-third, two-fifths, three-quarters, etc, can also be followed by determiners, and have the alternative ^/-construction: He did it in one-third (of) the time it took me

Not\*

All is not mutually exclusive with fractions when it serves as a mass modifier: 'They cut out two-thirds of it.' All two-thirds of it ?'

4.22 Ordinals

Ordinals include the ordinal numbers {first, second, third, etc; see 4.129) as well as (an)other, next, and last. These words are 'post-determiners', ie they must follow determiners in noun-phrase structure, but they precede quantifiers (see below 4.25/) and adjectives (see 5.41 (b)).

There appear to be two kinds of patterning (see Fig 4:3). First, next, last, and another ('in addition') can, optionally, co-occur with ordinal numerals and/ew before plural count nouns, whereas second, third, and the other ordinals which cannot be followed by any quantifiers modify singular count nouns.

this, that (singular)

the, my, ... (singular or plural)

these, those (plural)

! another

Fig 4:3 Ordinals. (Dotted lines indicate optional items).

Cardinal numbers and quantifiers 4.23

Cardinal numbers and quantifiers are mutually exclusive, ie we cannot have, for example, 'five many or 'three plenty - they follow determiners but precede adjectives.

4.24

Cardinal numbers

Cardinal numbers are one (with singular count nouns) and two, three, four, etc (with plural count nouns) (see 4.2,4.129):

Give me just one good reason for your decision All (the) four brothers are sailors

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Quantifiers

4.25

CLOSED-SYSTEM QUANTIFIERS

The closed-system quantifiers are many (with the comparatives more and most), few {fewer, fewest), little (less, least), and several(cf 4.123-125).

There are too many mistakes in your essay

He is a man of few words

, (little(notmuch\*) T,



took< , v ..... ,, ' ,. ^butter Only a little ( some ))

He

One group of quantifiers modifies plural count nouns, the others mass nouns (Table 4:1). The quantifier *several* usually occurs with zero article: *several charming fisherman's cottages*. There is also a homonymous adjective ('separate', 'distinct') as in the several members of the Board.

Table 4:1

CLOSED-SYSTEM QUANTIFIERS

	positive	comparative	superlative		
	<i>a</i> <i>the</i> <i>my, ...</i> <i>whose</i> <i>these/those</i>	{ <i>great</i> <i>good</i> } <i>many</i> <i>few</i> ('not many') <i>a few</i> ('some') <i>several</i>	<i>more</i> <i>fewer</i> — —	<i>most</i> <i>fewest</i> — —	
		<i>the</i> <i>my, ...</i> <i>whose</i> <i>this/that</i> <i>a little</i> ('some')	<i>little</i> ('not much')    <i>more</i>	<i>less</i>    <i>most</i>	<i>least</i>     

Note

[a] The quantifier *little* should be distinguished from the homocymoos adjective *little* ('small') which has no co-occurrence restrictions with numerals or count nouns: *five little girls*.

[b] *Much* can never occur with articles and is therefore a determiner (c/4.13#).

[c] *Many* and *few* can also be used pTztically. *his few friends* ~ *his friends who are few* (in number).

[d] *A few* and *a little*, as in *a few friends* and *a little music*, cannot be analysed as consisting of the indefinite article *a* plus the quantifiers *few* and *little*, since the indefinite article does not occur with plural count and mass nouns ("*a friends*", "*a music*"). There is also a semantic difference: *few* and *little* are negative, *a few* and *a little* positive (or at least neutral) terms:

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He has *few* ('not many') friends »nd *little* ('not much') money He ha» *a few* (\*&ome\*) friends and *a little* ('some') money.

4.26

OPEN-CLASS QUANTIFIERS

Open-class quantifiers constitute three groups according to their patterning with noun classes (see Table 4:2).

Open-class quantifiers consist of heads like *lot*, *deal*, and *number* with an *of*-phrase as postmodification. The reason for including them here after closed-system quantifiers is to draw attention to semantic and syntactic similarities between the two classes. Quantitative expressions, whether they are determiners, or closed-system quantifiers, or open-class quantifiers, are mutually exclusive:

*fmuch John got< plenty of sympathy but little help*  
[a great deal of J

Furthermore, the superficial quantitative head of the noun phrase which includes an open-class quantifier may show signs of subordination to the noun of the *o/-*phrase, manifested by violation of strict concord (see 7.30):

*Aloto*

•*was I were*

*if people-;, A large number of people-!:*

?*was were.*

*last night*

Table 4:2

## OPEN-CLASS QUANTIFIERS

1 *Jstudents >of<*

, *I 1money lots J ^*

(all informal)

*a*

*the*

*my,...*

*thisjthat*

*some*

*a{8reat\deal [good)*

(*large\quantity \smallj\amount*

*of money*

*a*

7	
---	--

*the*

(*great) large \number of students good]*

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The open-class quantifiers that occur with mass nouns have both structural and semantic relations with the partitives that have been discussed in 4.5<sup>^</sup>in connection with gradability of mass nouns:

GENERAL PARTITIVES

TYPICAL PARTITIVES

*fa piece")*

*a bit >of material [an itemj*

*a slice of cake a roast of meat a loaf of bread a bowl of soup*

a bottle of wine  
 fan acre of land  
 measures < a spoonful of medicine ( \_ a pound of butter  
 4.27

Premodification structures

The classification of the predeterminers according to their relative position and patterning with noun classes allows us to construct rather complex structures of premodification, as for example:

UBJE CT						PREDIC ATE
prede- ter- miner	deter- mine r	ordin- al	cardi- nal/ quant- ifier	open- class premo- di-fier	head	
Half	my	first	two	new	salary	is spent
Both	these	last	little	Danis	days	were
AU	the			h	butter I had	hectic is gone

Examples such as these which are constructed to illustrate the possibilities that are available will tend to seem rather strained. Here, as in so many other fields of English grammar, the language provides a range of possibilities, not all of which are normally made use of to the theoretical limit.

Premodification by means of open-class items (adjectives, participles, inflected genitives, nouns, adverbial phrases, and sentences) will be discussed in 13.44 #, where they can be related to all types of modification in the complex noun phrase.

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Reference and the articles

<,\*«!\*

Specific/generic reference

4.28

In discussing the use of the articles, it is essential to make a distinction between specific and generic reference. If we say

A lion and two tigers are sleeping in the cage

the reference is specific, since we have in mind specific specimens of the class 'tiger'.

If, on the other hand, we say

Tigers are dangerous animals

the reference is generic, since we are thinking of the class 'tiger' without special reference to specific tigers.

We have noted in 3.39j that dynamic verbs admit of the aspectual simple/progressive contrast depending on the manner in which the action of the predication is viewed:

John always sings in the shower (habitual activity) John is singing in the shower now (temporary activity)

With stative verbs, however, the aspectual contrast does not apply: cnows

John-t"." "" . ^Russian |,\*is knowingj

Similarly in the noun, the distinctions that are important for count nouns with specific reference between definite and indefinite and between singular and plural disappear



with generic reference. This is so because generic reference is used to denote what is normal or typical for members of a class. Consequently, the distinctions of number and definiteness are neutralized since they are no longer relevant for the generic concept. Singular or plural, definite or indefinite can sometimes be used without change in the generic meaning (c/4.33):

The German"! ■ ...

A German ['« a good musician

: good musicians

The Germans'!

Germans ja

At least the following three forms of tiger can be used generically:

The tiger), ,

A tiger |1S a dangerous animal

Tigers are dangerous animals 148 Noun, pronouns, and the basic noun phrase

HoM

However, there may be a difference in presupposition denoted by the articles in generic use. We may compare the following four sentences:

Dwarfs are a popular theme in literature Hobgoblins are a popular theme in literature

The dwarf is a popular theme in literature TThe hobgoblin is a popular theme in literature

The indefinite form here seems to imply 'if they exist', while the definite form implies 'extant'.

4.29

The connection between the dynamic/stative dichotomy and the specific/generic dichotomy is not just one of parallelism but of interdependence, as appears in the following examples:

generic reference/simple aspect

(simple aspect

specific reference

I progressive

aspect

generic reference/simple aspect (simple aspect

specific reference^

progressive [ aspect

The tiger lives in the jungle

The tiger at this circus performs

twice a day The tiger is sleeping in the cage

The English drink beer in pubs

The Englishmen (who live here) drink beer in the garden every day

The Englishmen are just now drinking beer in the garden

4.30

Number, aspect, and definiteness compared

Generalizing the points that have been made above about the parallelism between certain verb and noun categories, we can best display this parallelism by using diagrams of the same type as we used for noun classes:

la	2
lb	

Cell la seems in all cases to be the 'unmarked', and lb the 'marked' term for the gradable systems: singular/plural, simple/progressive, indefinite/definite form. Cell 2 symbolizes the neutralization of the unmarked

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and marked distinction in the left-hand column. Figs 4:4-6 show, respectively, the situation for number (see further 4A8jf), aspect (see further 3.36.\$\*) and definiteness (see further 4.35 ff).

Fig Number	4:4	count nouns: singular number	mass nouns: singular number
		count nouns: plural number	

Fig Aspect	4:5	dynamic verbs: simple aspect	stative verbs: simple aspect
		dynamic verbs: progressive aspect	

Fig Definiteness	4:6	specific reference: indefinite form	generic reference: indefinite,
		specific reference: definite form	zero, or definite article

4.31

Systems of article usage

After this consideration of some general grammatical relationships in the noun and the verb, we may now return to the problems of the articles by setting up two different systems of article use depending on the type of reference. Cf: Fig 4:7 with Figs 4:4 and 4:6.

DEFINITE

INDEFINITE

SPECIFIC REFERENCE

a tiger	(some)
(some) tigers	ink

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GENERIC REFERENCE

the tiger a	ink
tiger	
tigers	

Fig 4:7 Type of reference

With definite specific reference, the definite article is used for all noun classes:

Where is the pen " ]

Where are the pens VI bought 7

Where is the ink J

With indefinite specific reference, singular count nouns take the indefinite article a(n), while plural count nouns and mass nouns take zero article or, usually, the 'light quantitative article' some (and any in non-assertive contexts, see 4.127): / want a pen/some pens/some ink. With generic reference, the distinctions for number and definiteness are neutralized with count nouns. With mass nouns, only the zero article is possible:

; tiger is") igeris I

The A tiger Tigers are I Music is J  
beautiful

4.32

Generic, specific, and unique reference

In addition to the two types of reference with common nouns (specific and generic), we have a third type with proper nouns: unique reference. Generic reference will be dealt with in 4.33-34, specific reference in 4.35-39 (see further 10.65 ff), and unique reference in 4.40-47. ottttni\*.

Generic reference 4.33

Nationality words and adjectives as head

In the second set of examples in 4.29 there is a lexical change from the English (generic reference) to the Englishmen (specific reference). The English belongs to a class of noun phrases with adjectives as head (see 5.20 ff) that have generic reference. There are two kinds of adjectives that can act as noun-phrase head (see the discussion of 'conversion', App 1.33):

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(a) plural personal {the French=the French nation; the rkh = those who are rich), for example,

the Chinese the blind the French the poor the Japanese the rich

(b) SINGULAR NON-PERSONAL ABSTRACT (the evil= that which is evil), for example,

the evil the unusual

the good the useful

The lexical variation in a number of nationality words, as between an Englishman/ several Englishmen! the English, depending on type of reference, appears from Table 4:3.

Where nationality words have no double form (like English, Englishman), the+plural can be both generic and specific:

The Finns are industrious

The Finns that I know are industrious

Table 4:3

NATIONALITY WORDS

name of		specific reference		generic reference
cnuntrv	fr			
contine	nt	singular	plural {two,..	..) plural
China	Chinese	a Chinese*	Chinese	the Chinese
Japan	Japanese	a Japanese	Japanes e	the Japanese
Portuga l	Portugue se	a Portugues e	Portugu ese	the Portuguese
Switzer land	Swiss	a Swiss	Swiss	the Swiss
Vietna m	Vietname se	a Vietname se	Vietnam ese	the Vietnamese
Israel	Israeli	an Israeli	Israelis	the Israelis
Pakista n	Pakistani	a Pakistani	Pakistan is	the Pakistanis
Africa	African	an African	Africans	the Africans
Americ a	American	an American	America ns	the Americans
Asia	Asian	an Asian	Asians	the Asians
Australi a	Australian	an Australian	Australi ans	the Australians
Italy	Italian	an Italian	Italians	the Italians
Russia	Russian	a Russian	Russian s	the Russians
Belgiu m	Belgian	a Belgian	Belgian s	the Belgians
Brazil	Brazilian	a Brazilian	Brazilia ns	the Brazilians
Europe	European	a European	Europea ns	the Europeans
German y	German	a German	German s	the Germans <sup>6</sup>
Greece	Greek"	a Greek	Greeks	the Greeks
Hungar	Hungaria	a	Hungari	the

y KT	n	Hungaria n	ans	Hungarians
Norway	Norwegi an	a Norwegia n	Norweg ians	the Norwegians

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pronouns, and phrasa  
Table continued  
4:3  
NATIONALITY  
WORDS

name of countr y or contin ent		specific reference		generic reference
adjective		singular	plural {two,..	..) plural
Denm ark	Danish	a Dane	Danes	the Danes/ (Danish)
Finlan d	Finnish	a Finn	Finns	the Finns/ (Finnish)
Poland	Polish	a Pole	Poles	the Pofes/(Polish)
Spain	Spanish	a Spaniard	Spaniards	the Spaniards/ (Spanish)
Swede n	Swedish	a Swede	Swedes	the Swedes/ (Swedish)
Arabia	Arabic*	an Arab	Arabs	the Arabs
Englan d	English	an English man	English men	("Englishmen \the English
France	French	a Frenchma n	French men	/Frenchmen \the French
Holland the LDutch Netherlands	] J	a Dutchman	Dutchm en	/Dutchmen \the Dutch
Ireland	Irish	an Irishman	Irishme n	/Irishmen \the Irish
Wales	Welsh	a Welshman	Welshm en	/Welshmen \the Welsh

Britain

British

a Briton'

Britons

/Britons Ithe British

("Scots a Scotsman Scotsmen

Scotland i Scottish a Scot Scots

[(Scotch)1 (a Scotchman) (Scotchmen)

Scotsmen

the Scots (Scotchmen) (the Scotch)

Note

[a] Chinaman is rare in educated use.

[b] The segment -man in German is not a masculine gender suffix (as in Englishman); there are no 'Germen or 'Gerwomen.

[c] Grecian refers chiefly to ancient Greece: a Grecian urn.

[d] Arabic is used in Arabic numerals (as opposed to Roman numerals) and in the Arabic language; he speaks Arabic fluently. But Arabian brown, an Arabian camel, an Arab(ian) horse.

[e] A Britisher is a colloquial (especially AmE) variant of Briton.

[/] The inhabitants themselves prefer Scots and Scottish to Scotch, which however is commonly used in such phrases as Scotch terrier, Scotch whisky, Scotch plaid, Scotch eggs, Scotch pancakes, etc. But the Scottish universities, the Scottish Highlands, a Scottish accent, etc, for denoting nationality rather than type.

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A

Mass nouns and plural count nouns

When they have generic reference, both concrete and abstract mass nouns, and usually also plural count nouns, are used with the zero article:

{wine, wood, cream cheese,... music, chess, literature, history, skiing,... takes, games, long walks,...

prepositional postmodification by an o/^phrase usually requires the definite article with a head noun which thus has limited generic reference:

("the wine(s)1

He likes-J the music >of France [the lakes J

Similarly, the wines of this shop is an instance of limited generic reference, in the sense that it does not refer to any particular wines at any one time. Note that the postmodification with an o/-phrase is more restrictive than with other prepositions:

Mrs Nelson adores

Venetian glass the glass of Venice •glass of Venice the glass from Venice glass from Venice

This type of postmodification structure should be compared to the frequent alternative with an adjectival premodification. In comparison with some other languages English tends to make a liberal interpretation of the concept 'generic' in such cases, so that the zero article is used also where the reference of the noun head is restricted by premodification.

## MASS NOUNS

Canadian paper

Chinese history Trotskyite politics American literature

(the paper of Canada \paper from Canada the history of China the politics of Trotsky  
the literature of America

## PLURAL COUNT

### NOUNS

Restoration comedy the comedy of the

Restoration

Japanese cameras (the) cameras from Japan Oriental women the women of  
the Orient

The zero article is also used with other plural nouns that are not unambiguously  
generic:

Appearances can be deceptive

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Circumstances are always changing

Events have proved wrong

Matters have gone from bad to worse

Prices are always rising

Things aren't what they used to be.

### Specific reference 4.35

#### Indefinite/definite reference

The indefinite form is taken to be the 'unmarked' term in the system of definiteness  
because it is natural to consider indefinite as being basic to definiteness. Definite can  
be shown to be secondary to indefinite in sentences like

John bought a TV, a tape-recorder, and a radio, but returned the radio

The definite article with radio is dependent on the earlier mention of a radio.

Similarly, the sentence

The radio John bought is Japanese

where the noun-phrase head radio has a postmodifying relative clause,

can be related to the following two sentences:

John bought a radio + The radio is Japanese The indefinite article is not normal if the  
relative clause is restrictive. ?A radio John bought is Japanese

The indefinite article is, however, by no means unusual in sentences such as the  
following:

A cat John bought was ill when he got it A book I want has been acquired by the  
library A girl who makes me weak in the knees has just come into the room

On the other hand, no indefinite form is needed in the italicized phrases of the  
following sentences despite the fact that the nouns have not been mentioned before:

John came home from work. First he read the paper for a while, then he got up from  
the chair and turned on the radio.

There is no need to state that John had bought a paper and that there were a chair and  
a radio in his sitting-room. These things are part of the

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cultural situation and can be taken for granted. We can thus make a distinction between linguistic and situation reference.

436

Linguistic reference: anaphoric/cataphoric the Linguistic reference is anaphoric or cataphoric (cf 10.63 Jf).

(a) The anaphoric determiner is bound to an earlier mention of the same noun. Thus the noun with the determiner has backward reference to this antecedent, and there is co-reference between the two nouns. If we say

John ordered a book and the book has just arrived

the two occurrences of book refer to the same book. This is not the natural interpretation of

John ordered a book and a book has just arrived

which implies non-identity between the two occurrences of book. It is only in the former case, where there is co-reference, that the pronoun it can replace the second noun phrase. Like anaphoric the, the referential personal pronouns are definite forms. (Note however non-referential pronouns such as one; see 4.126,10.65.)

(b) The cataphoric determiner has forward reference to a postmodifying prepositional phrase or relative clause, for example,

the wines of France

The wines« , , \_ ,

Lthat France produces

The interdependence between the determiner and the relative clause is particularly obvious with names (which do not normally have a determiner in isolation):

The Philadelphia which Mr Johnson knows so well is a heritage of colonial times can be seen as derived from

Philadelphia is (in part or in a certain aspect) a heritage of

colonial times Mr Johnson knows (this part or aspect of) Philadelphia so well

4.37

Situational reference

Situational reference involves the use of the with nouns whose reference is immediately understood by the users of the language. When we talk of 156 Nouns, pronouns, and the basic noun phrase

the moon the presupposition is that, in our experience or field of interest, there is only one moon. We may call this use of the article the index-i c a l the. It may be seen as relatable to the cataphoric the by ellipsis (the moon ~ the moon of the Earth, the stars ~ the stars that are visible) where the postmodification is so obvious as to be superfluous, but naturally there is no reason to postulate such an elliptic process underlying each occurrence of indexical the.

One type of indexical the includes the sun, the moon, the earth, the sky, the air, which are concepts common to mankind as a whole. Because of this uniqueness they are very close to proper nouns based on count nouns (which however require capital initial letter): The Bible, the Lord, the United States, etc (4.46).

Another type of indexical the is more specific, being restricted to a particular society, nation or other locative expression. The climate may refer to the climate of a meteorological area, the press to the press of a country, etc. This type includes



the ballad the press the drama the radio the film the telephone

Situational reference may be seen as involving both concrete and abstract uses of the nouns. In the sentences

He turned on the radio

What's on the radio tonight?

the first use of radio is concrete and the second abstract. In the case of television the abstraction normally involves the zero article. Compare

„ .. , (the television He turned on-^ „ ,  
 ^television

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t.71. .. (the television^ . Ll\_ What s oik., .. Monight?

^television J

4.38

Common nouns with zero article

There are a number of count nouns that take the zero article in abstract, or rather specialized use, chiefly in certain idiomatic expressions (with verbs like be and go and with prepositions like at, by, etc):

go to school (an institution)

go into/take a look at,... the school (a building)

The following list gives a number of expressions with zero article in the left-hand column; for comparison, the right-hand column shows some of the nouns used with the definite article.

go by car be in bed

sit in/look at,... the car

make/sit on,... the bed

SEASONS	spring	the spring
	summer	the summer
	/autumn	the autumn (BrE)
	\fall	the fall (AmE)
	winter	the winter
SOME	bed	-----, lie
		down on the bed
'institutions'	church	admire the church
(often with	prison	walk round the
at, in, to,		prison
etc,		
c/6.15)	be in")	hospital redecorate the
	goto/	(especially hospital
		BrE)
	class	
	(especially	
	AmE)	

beat\ goto/	school	drive past the school
	college	
	sea	look out towards the sea
	university	be at/go to/study at the university (preferred by many, especially in AmE)
	be at/go home	
	be in/leave town	approach the town

means of travel] transport leave (With by) >by- comej	bicycle	sit on the bicycle	be on the bus
	bus car	sleep in the car	
	boat train	sit in the boat take the/a train	
	kplane	be on the plane	

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TIMES OF THE DAY AND NIGHT	at dawn/daybreak, when day breaks	during the day
	at sunrise/sunset	admire the sunrise/ sunset
(particularly with at, by, after, before)	at/around noon/ midnight at dusk/twilight	in the afternoon see nothing in the dusk
	at/by night (by) day and night before morning came evening came on after night fell .	wake up in the night in the daytime (rather in/during the morning in the evening style) in the night

MEALS	breakfast	the breakfast was good
	brunch	(especially AmE)

have		lunch	
before		tea	he poured the tea
at	>	(especially himself	
after		BrE)	
stay for		cocktails	
		(especially	
		AmE)	
		dinner	prepare (the) dinner
		supper	
dinner	will	be	the dinner given in
served			
at 6.30			honour of the guests
			was magnificent

---

ILLNESSE	appendicitis	the plague
S	anaemia	(the) flu
	diabetes	(the) measles
	influenza	(the) mumps

---

PARALLEL	arm in arm	he took her by the
STRUCTURES		arm
	hand in hand	What have you got in
		your hand 7
	day by day	
	teaspoonful by	
	teaspoonful	

man to man face to face from dawn to dusk from beginning to end  
 from right to left from west to north husband and wife whether you are mason or  
 businessman

from the beginning of the day to the end of it

keep to the right he lives in the north

439

1

Article usage with common nouns in an intensive relation Unlike many other languages, English requires the definite or indefinite article with the count noun complement in an intensive relation (see 7.2/, 12.30#, 12.67 ff; cf: That was fun, etc, 5.11). With indefinite reference, the indefinite article is used:

(i) intensive

complementation

, (was I fa mason >John i became x a businessman remained a micro-bioloel

[remainedj [a micro-biologist

(ii) complex-transitive")

{found John considered John to i ... regarded John as  
 a fool  
 a genius  
 an intellectual  
 a scientist a scholar  
 a linguist

r.:t\ 1 ... i fwas looked upon  
 (ui) complex-transitive 1 y  
 complementation ijohn< ^, ^ ,, .. I I was taken to be  
 (passive verb) I 4 . ,  
 ' \* I^was taken for

The complement of turn, however, has zero article:  
 John started out a music student before he turned linguist. Definite reference requires the definite article:

- (i) John was ~\
  - (ii) Mary considered John Uhe genius of the family (iii) John was looked upon as j
- However, the zero (or definite) article is used with the noun com- 160 Nouns, pronouns, and the basic noun phrase  
 plement after copulas and 'naming verbs', such as appoint, declare, elect, when the noun designates a unique office or task:
- (i) John is (the) captain of the team
  - (ii) They elected Kennedy") ,. ,, \_ ,, ,, ,, \_
  - (iii) Kennedy was elected } (the> PMutart of the United States

Note  
 There is hardly any meamng difference between the following two examples, the latter having an adjective complement:

I took him  
 . /for \ Tan American ('as being an American citizen') \tobej \American ('as being of American nationality')

Unique reference: proper nouns 4.40  
 Proper nouns are names of specific people (Shakespeare), places (Milwaukee), countries (Australia), months (September), days (Thursday), holidays (Christmas), magazines (Vogue), and so forth. Names have 'unique' reference, and (as we have seen in 4.2) do not share the characteristics of common nouns. In particular, they lack articles, or rather article contrast (Paris~\*The Paris, The Hague ~\* Hague™\* A Hague). Proper nouns are written with initial capital letters. So also, frequently, are a number of common nouns with unique reference, which are therefore close to proper nouns, eg: fate, fortune, heaven, hell, nature, paradise.

However, when the names have restrictive modification to give a partitive meaning to the name (c/"4.36), proper nouns take the (cataphoric) definite article.

UNIQUE MEANING  
 during Easter  
 in Elizabethan England  
 in Denmark  
 Chicago

Shakespeare

### PARTITIVE MEANING

during the Easter of that year  
in the England of Queen Elizabeth  
in the Denmark of today  
the Chicago I like (= 'the aspect of  
Chicago') the young Shakespeare

Proper names can be reclassified as common nouns, in which case they assume the characteristics of count nouns, ie take articles and plural number:

Shakespeare (the author)

/a Shakespeare ('an author like S.') \Shakespeares ('authors like S.')

There are also some other cases of proper nouns with article (4.46-47) but we will first consider some regular examples.

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Proper nouns with no article

4.41

The following list exemplifies the main classes of proper nouns that take no article in accordance with the main rule (4.40):

Personal names (with or without titles; 4.42) Temporal names (4.43)

(a) Festivals

(b) Months and days of the week

Geographical names (4.44)

(a) Continents

(b) Countries, counties, states, etc

(c) Cities, towns, etc

(d) Lakes

(e) Mountains

Name + common noun (4.45) 4.42

### PERSONAL NAMES

Personal names with or without titles (cf apposition, 9.160<sup>^</sup>)

Dr Brown

President Kennedy Mr and Mrs Johnson Professor and Mrs Smith Private Walker

Lord Nelson

Note the following exceptions:

the Emperor Napoleon

(but: Emperor Haile Selassie) the Duke of Wellington

The article may also precede other titles, including Lord and Lady in formal use.

Family relations with unique reference behave like proper nouns:

Lady Churchill

Cardinal Spellman

General MacArthur

Captain O'Connor

Inspector Harris

Judge Darling (mainly AmE)

the Lord (God) (the) Czar Alexander (the) Rev John Smith

Father (Daddy, Dad, familiar) is here Mother (Mummy, Mum, familiar) is out Uncle  
will come on Saturday

Compare: The father was the tallest in the family 162 Nouns, pronouns, and the  
basic noun phrase

4.43

#### TEMPORAL NAMES

(a) Names of festivals: Christmas (Day) Easter (Sunday) Good Friday

Independence Day Whit(sun) (mainly BrE) Passover

(b) Names of the months and the days of the week: January, February,... Monday,  
Tuesday,..

Note that the days of the week have plurals (/ hate Mondays); along with next and  
last + a noun, they have zero article when they are connected with a point of time  
implicit in the linguistic or situ-ational context. Compare:

... .. (on Sunday We'll leave< , \* (next month

He left

for the next Sunday

He left

Went

C/He left on a Sunday (without reference to a particular Sunday)

4.44

#### GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

(Cf apposition, 9.162)

(a) Names of continents (normally no article also with premodifying  
adjective)

(North) America (Medieval) Europe

(Central) Australia (East) Africa

Note Antarctica but the Antarctic, like the Arctic

(b) Names of countries, counties, states, etc (normally no article with premodifying  
adjective)

(Elizabethan) England (French) Canada (modern) Brazil (industrial)  
Staffordshire

(west) Scotland (northern) Arkansas

Note Argentina but the Argentine, the Ruhr, the Soar, the Sahara, the Ukraine, the  
Crimea, (the) Lebanon, (the) Congo; the Midwest; the Everglades (and other plural  
names, see 4.47).

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(c) Cities and towns (normally

(downtown) Boston (ancient) Rome

Note The Hague; the Bronx; (of) London)

(d) Lakes

Lake Windermere Lake Michigan

(e) Mountains

Mount Everest Mount Vernon Mont Blanc

Note the Mount of Olives

no article with premodifying word)

(central) Brussels (suburban) London

the City, the West End, the East End

(Lake) Ladoga Silver Lake

(Mount) Snowdon

Vesuvius

Ben Nevis

4.45

NAME+COMMON NOUN

Name + common noun denoting buildings, streets, bridges, etc. Hampstead Heath

Windsor Castle

Oxford Street

Buckingham Palace

Madison Avenue

Westminster Abbey

Park Lane

Canterbury Cathedral

Portland Place

Kennedy Airport

Bredon Hill

Paddington Station

Piccadilly Circus

Epping Forest

Leicester Square

Hampton Court

Westminster Bridge

Scotland Yard

Note the Albert Hall, the Mansion House, the Haymarket, the Strand, the Mall (street names in London); the Merrit Parkway, the Pennsylvania Turnpike; (the) Oxford Road as a proper name but only the Oxford road to denote 'the road leading to Oxford'.

Note

Names of universities where the first part is a place-name can usually have two forms: the University of London (which is the official name) and London University. Universities named after a person have only the latter form: Yale University, Brown University, etc.

Proper nouns with definite article

4.46

Most of the proper nouns which take the definite article turn out to be

only apparent exceptions to the main rule if we consider them in relation 164

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to the rules of English noun-phrase structure as a whole. Many proper nouns are common nouns with unique reference. The New York Tithes, the Suez Canal, the British Museum, etc are perfectly regular in taking the definite article, since they are basically premodified count nouns (cf the long canal, the interesting museum, etc). The difference between an ordinary common noun and a common noun turned name is that the unique reference of the name has been institutionalized, as is made overt in

writing by initial capital letter. The following structural classification illustrates the use of such proper nouns with the definite article:

WITHOUT MODIFICATION The Guardian

WITH PRBMODIFICATION

the Suez Canal the English Channel the National Gallery the Socialist Bookshop the Ford Foundation

WITH POSTMODIFICATION the House of Commons the Institute of Psychiatry the Bay of Fundy

The Times

The Washington Post the Brains Trust the American Civil War the Ohio University Press the British Broadcasting Corporation (the BBC)

•

the Cambridge College of Arts

and Technology the District of Columbia

ELLIPTED ELEMENTS

The original structure of a proper noun is sometimes unclear when one element has been dropped and the elliptic form has become institutionalized as the full name:

the Tate (Gallery) the Atlantic (Ocean) the Mediterranean (Sea)

the Mermaid (Theatre) the (River) Thames the Majestic (Hotel)

■

4.47

The following classes of proper nouns are used with the definite article:

(a) Plural names (in general)

the Wilsons (= 'the Wilson family') the Netherlands the Midlands

the Hebrides, the Shetlands, the Canaries (or the Canary

Islands), the Bahamas the Himalayas, the Alps, the Rockies (or the Rocky Mountains), the Pyrenees

Note Kensington Gardens, Burnham Beeches

(b) Geographical names

Rivers: the Avon, the Danube, the Euphrates, the Potomac, the Rhine, the Thames

Seas: the Pacific (Ocean), the Baltic, the Kattegatt Canals: the Panama Canal, the Erie Canal

(c) Public institutions, facilities, etc

Hotels and restaurants:

the Grand (Hotel), the Waldorf Astoria, the Savoy Theatres, cinemas, clubs, etc:

the Criterion, the Globe, the Athenaeum Museums, libraries, etc:

the Tate, the British Museum Note Drury Lane, Covent Garden

(d) Newspapers: The Economist, The New York Times, The Observer,

The Providence Journal

After genitives and possessives the article is dropped: today's New York Times.

But note that magazines and periodicals normally have the zero article: Language, Life, Time, Punch, English Language Teaching, New Scientist.



Number 4.48

The English number system has two terms: singular, which denotes 'one', and plural, which denotes 'more than one'. There is number concord between subjects and finite verbs, ie a singular subject requires a singular verb and a plural subject requires a plural verb: the bird is flying/the birds are flying (3.10, 7.23). invariables cannot change their number but are either singular (gold) or plural (cattle). The singular category includes common mass nouns (4.2) and proper nouns (4.40 ff). Count nouns are variable nouns and can occur with either singular or plural number (boy ~ boys).

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	mass nouns: gold	(4.49)
	concrete	
singular	mass nouns: music	(4.50)
	abstract	
invariables'	proper nouns Henry	(4.51)
	some nouns ending in -s news	(4.52)
-	abstract adjectival heads the beautiful	(4.53)
	summation scissors	(4.54)
	plurals	
plural	other pluralia in -s thanks	(4.55)
	tantum	
invariables	some proper nouns the Netherlands	(4.56)
	unmarked plural nouns cattle	(4.57)
	personal adjectival heads the rich	(4.58)
regular{+la!	horse horses]	
plurals] + 'z'	boy boys >	(4.60-63)
	cat cats j	
f/e/^w+/z/	bath baths ")	
	-VOICING* /f/ -> calf calves >	(4.65)
	/v/ + /z/	
	[/s/-*/z/+/iz/ house housesj	
-	N_____, -foot feet	(4.66)
	MUTA _____	
	TIO	
	— AL_____ - ox oxen	(4.67)
	HVPL _____	
	UR	

	—	[sheep	sheep	
	ZERO	_____	1	
irrc		<	Chinese	(4.68-
-		Chines	>	73)
		e		
-		[series	series	
gular			J	
plura				
ls				
	I'''	radius	radii	
	-us	- corpus	corpora	(4.75)
	+< -ora		>	
	[-era	genus	genera	J
	■a	- larva	larvae	(4.76)
	*--ae			
	-urn	-y- stratum	strata	(4.77)
	a			
	■ex\	matrix	matrice	(4.78)
	^.ice,		s	
	-IX J			
FOREIGN	J	thesis	theses	(4.79)
	-is	-		
	*■ -es			
	-on	*- criterio	criteria	(4.80)
	a	n		
	-eau	-t- -eaux	tableau	(4.81)
	tableau		x	
	zero	corps	corps	(4.82)
	(spelling			
	only)			
	-O	tempo	tempi	(4.83)
	*■-!			
	base	+ - cherub	cherubi	(4.84)
	im		m	

Fig 4:8 Number classes

Fig 4:8 gives an overview of the different number categories and their relationships. The numbers on the right-hand side indicate the section where the particular type is discussed.

[a] In addition to singular and plural number, we may distinguish dual number in the case of bath, either, and neither (4:13 ff, 4.127/) since they can only be used with reference to two. Compare

Number of people

1 One ~j

2 Both >of the. students passed 3,4,... All J

On reference to three or more, see 4.122.

[A] Unlike some languages where plural implies 'two or more', English makes the division after 'more than one' (cf 13.71):

I" one day

, I one and a half days I can stay on I yj two days

[one or two days

But:

I'll buy a pound and a half I stay a day or two

:>  
>.- ,

#### Singular invariable nouns 4.49

##### Concrete mass nouns

Concrete mass nouns have no plural: gold, silver, uranium, etc. Reclassifications of mass nouns as count nouns have specific meanings, for example butters ('kinds of butter') and a beer ('a glass or can of beer').

(See 4.2 Note a, App 1.40.)

■

#### 4.50

##### Abstract mass nouns

These also have no plural: music, dirt, homework, etc. See, however, injustices, etc (4.3, App 1.40).

#### 4.51

##### Proper nouns

These take a singular verb and are typically invariable: Henry, the Thames, etc (4.40 ff).

#### 4.52

##### Invariable nouns ending in ~s

Note the following classes which take a singular verb, except where otherwise mentioned:

(a) news: Here is the 10 o'clock news

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(b) soME diseases: measles, German measles, mumps, rickets, shingles. Some speakers also accept a plural verb with words like mumps.

(c) subject names in -ics (usually with singular verb): classics, linguistics, mathematics, phonetics

Similarly: athletics, ceramics, ethics, gymnastics, politics, tactics (tactics requires/require concentration of troops)

(d) soME games: billiards, bowls (especially BrE), darts, dominoes, draughts (BrE), checkers (AmE), fives, ninepins But: a billiard-table, a bowling-alley, a dart-board, a draught-board

(e) some proper nouns: Algiers, Athens, Brussels, Flanders, Marseilles, Naples, Wales; the United Nations and the United States have a singular verb when considered as units.

#### 4.53

##### Abstract adjectival heads

Abstract adjectival heads take a singular verb (the beautiful= that which is beautiful; see 4.33): the beautiful, the evil, the good.

fc Hiln In

Plural invariable nouns 4.54

Summation plurals

Tools and articles of dress consisting of two equal parts which are joined constitute summation plurals. The noun of which they are head can be made singular and countable by means of a pair of: a pair of scissors.

bellows braces (BrE)

binoculars flannels

pincers knickers

pliers

scales (\*a balance")

scissors

shears

tongs

tweezers

glasses ('spectacles')

spectacles (but a spectacle case)

Note

[a] Pyjamas Ipajamas is the only garment here with a separate top and bottom. \b\  
Many of the 'summation plurals' can take the indefinite article, especially with  
ptemodification: a garden shears, a curling-tongs, etc (c/zero plurals, 4.6Sff),

braces (BrE)

flannels

knickers

pants

pyjamas (BrE), pajamas (AmE)

(but a pyjama cord) shorts

suspenders (but a suspender belt) tights trousers (but a trouser leg)

Nouns 169

4.55

Other 'pluralia tantum' in -s

Among other 'pluralia tantum' (ie nouns that only occur in the plural), the following nouns end in -j. In many cases, however, there are forms without -s, sometimes with difference of meaning and sometimes merely in premodification.

the Middle Ages

amends (make every/all possible

amends) annals

the antipodes archives

arms (' weapons', an arms depot) arrears ashes (burn to ashes)

auspices

banns (of marriage)  
bowels  
brain(s) ('the intellect', ht's got  
good brains, beside a good brain) clothes /klouz/  
the Commons (the House of  
Commons) contents customs (customs duty, customs  
house)  
dregs (coffee dregs) earnings entrails fireworks (also fig: there were plenty  
of fireworks at the staff meeting) funds (' money', for lack of funds)  
goods (a goods train)  
greens  
guts ('bowels'; also familiar: he's got  
the guts to do it) heads (heads or tails ?) holidays (summer holidays, BrE)  
cigarette ash, ash-tray, Ash Wednesday  
bowel-movement  
cloths /kID6s/ which is the plural of cloth  
the silver content of a coin  
regular homonym: a relief fund ('a sum of money for a particular purpose')  
regular mass noun in cat-gut  
a holiday camp 170 Nouns, pronouns, and the basic noun phrase  
Nouns 171  
letters (a man of letters) lodgings (a lodgings bureau)  
looks (he has good looks)  
the Lords (the House of Lords)  
manners  
means (man of means, a means test)  
minutes (the minutes of a meeting)  
oats  
odds (in betting)  
outskirts  
pains (take pains, be at pains) particulars (take down the particulars) premises  
( 'building' in official style:  
' There is a suspect on the premises') quarters, headquarters  
regards  
remains  
riches  
savings (a savings bank, a savings  
account)  
spirits ('mood': to be in good spirits) spirits ('alcohol': to drink spirits) stairs (a flight  
of stairs) suds  
surroundings sweepstake(s) tails (heads or tails?) thanks troops  
tropics  
valuables  
wages (to earn high wages)  
wits (live by one's wits)

a lodging house, a poor  
 lodging give somebody a hard look  
 but' I have a question about minute No 54'; regular homonym: in a minute (=60  
 seconds)  
 oatmeal; oatcake (especially Scots)  
 regular homonym: bodily pain  
 premise (in logic)  
 but the Latin quarter  
 ('district') win the regard of all  
 He showed a kindly spirit Alcohol is a spirit staircase, stairway  
 a sweepstake-ticket  
 a troop carrier, troop movement; regular homonym: a troop of scouts  
 the Tropic of Cancer  
 a wage-earner, a wage-packet (BrE), a living wage, a good/poor/high wage  
 homonyms, count: He is a great wit; mass singular: His speech had wit  
 4.56  
 Some proper nouns  
 (On the definite article, see  
 4.46/)

ITEMS	EXCEPTIONS
the East/West Indies	
the Hebrides (also in 'the Hebrides Overture') the Highlands	
the Midlands	
the Netherlands (the Netherlands government)	
a Highland terrier/bling/ character the Midland region	

4.57

Invariable      unmarked  
 plurals

ITEMS	EXCEPTIONS
cattle	
clergy	sometimes singular: The clergy is to blame for the birth control problem
gentry people	homonym    count:    the English- speaking peoples
police vermin	
youth (the youth of a nation)	homonym    count:    The police

arrested two youths (4.65)

4.58

Personal adjectival heads

Personal adjectival heads take a plural verb (the rich = those who are wA.4.33) 172

Nouns, pronouns, and the basic noun phrase

the helpless the needy the poor

the (very) rich

the sick

the weary, etc

Variable nouns 4.59

Variable nouns have two forms: one singular and one plural. The singular is the unmarked form that is listed in dictionaries. For the vast majority of variable nouns, the plural is fully predictable from the singular, i.e. they form the regular plural. If the plural cannot be predicted from the singular, it is an irregular plural.

Regular plurals

4.60

The regular plural is formed by means of an -s suffix (the 's plural').

The realization of this ~s noun suffix in speech and writing follows the same rules as the 3rd person singular verb suffix -s and, in speech, as the contracted forms of is and has (3.18/) as well as the genitive (4.96): see 3.55.

4.61

THE PRONUNCIATION OF THE REGULAR PLURAL

In speech, the regular plural has three different pronunciations (/ɪz/, ʒz/, ʒs/) depending on the final sound of the base.

/ɪz/ after bases ending in sibilants:

j&l horse -\*■ horses                      J3J mirage -> mirages

jzj size -> sizes                      /tj/ church -\*■ churches

/J/ rush -crushes                      j&sj language ^languages

\z\ after bases ending in vowels and voiced sounds other than /z/, ʒz/, j

bed -\*• beds                      hero -\*■ heroes

/s/ after bases ending in voiceless sounds other than /s/, /J/, /tj/:

bet -\*■ bets                      month ~> months

4.62

THE SPELLING OF THE REGULAR PLURAL

The -s suffix is written -s after most nouns including nouns ending in silent e {college ~ colleges).

Nouns 173

There are several classes of exceptions:

(a) addition of E. The ending is spelled -es after nouns ending in sibilants, unless the noun is written with a silent e:

s gas -\*■ gases    -ch    porc ->■

h                      porches

z buz -\*■ buzzes -sh bush -y  
 z bushes  
 X■bo -\*■ boxes -ze size -s-  
 x sizes

(b) TREATMENT OF - Y

(after vowel: days (but nouns in -quy)av/ij have -quies) I in proper nouns: the two Germanys, the Kennedys I in stand-bys, lay-bys, and drys (informal AmE [ 'prohibitionists']) -ies otherwise after consonant: spy -\*■ spies

(c) doubling of consonant in a few words

fez -> fezzes quiz -\*■ quizzes  
 bus -> busses (AmE, also buses)

Doubling also occurs in some abbreviations:

p ->pp (pages)  
 l -\*■ ll (lines)  
 MS -> MSS (manuscripts)

(d) apostrophe (\*s) in some cases:

letters: dot your Vs

numerals: in the 1890's or 1890s abbreviations: two MP's or MP's  
 three PhD's or PhDs The variant without apostrophe is on the increase.

The regular plural suffix of nouns in -o has two spellings: -os and -oes. In the following cases the spelling is -os:

(a) after a vowel: bamboos, embryos, folios, kangaroos, radios, studios, zoos; exceptions are goes and noes

(b) in proper names: Filipinos, Neros, Romeos, Eskimos, </4.7G Note

(c) in abbreviations: kilos (<kilogramme), photos (<photograph), pros (<professional); cf also pianos and taxis, though these are scarcely regarded any longer as abbreviations

In other cases there is considerable vacillation, as the following sample shows. Less common forms are parenthesized. 174 Nouns, pronouns, and the basic noun phrase Noun\* 175

	-OS	-oes
concerto	concertos	
dynamo	dynamos	
quarto	quartos	
solo	solos (c/"4.83, soli)	
soprano	sopranos	
tango	tangos	
tobacco	tobaccos	
archipelag	archipelagos	archipelagoes
o		
banjo	banjos	banjoes
buffalo	buffalos	buffaloes
cargo	cargos	cargoes
command	commandos	commandoes
o		



Dago	Dagos	Dagoes
flamingo	flamingos	(flamingoes)
halo	halos	haloes
motto	(mottos)	mottoes
tornado	tornados	tornadoes
volcano	volcanos	volcanoes
echo		echoes
embargo		embargoes
hero		heroes
Negro		Negroes
potato		potatoes
tomato		tomatoes
torpedo		torpedoes
veto		vetoes

4.63

### COMPOUNDS

Compounds form the plural in different ways.

#### (a) PLURAL IN FIRST ELEMENT

attorney general

notary public (especially

AmE) passer-by mother-in-law

grant-in-aid man-of-war coat of mail

attorneys general (more usually

as (c) below) notaries public

passers-by

mothers-in-law (also as (c) informally) grants-in-aid men-of-war coats of mail

#### (b) PLURAL IN BOTH FIRST AND LAST ELEMENT

gentleman farmer                      gentlemen farmers

manservant                              menservants

woman doctor                          women doctors

#### (c) plural in last element (ie normal)

assistant directors boy friends fountain pens woman-haters breakdowns close-ups

grown-ups sit-ins

lay-bys (nb: spelling) stand-bys (NB: spelling) take-offs gin-and-tonics forget-me-

nots (mouthfuls \mouthsful ('spoonfuls \spoonsful

assistant

director

boy friend

fountain pen

woman-hater

breakdown

close-up

grown-up

sit-in

lay-by (BrE)

stand-by  
 take-off  
 gjn-and- tonic  
 forget-me-not  
 mouthful  
 spoonful

#### Irregular plurals 4.64

Irregular plurals are by definition unpredictable. Whereas the plurals /iz/ in horses, /z/ in dogs, and /s/ in cats can be inferred from the final sound in the singular of the nouns, there is no indication in the written or spoken forms of, say, ox, sheep, and analysis to suggest that their plurals are oxen, sheep, and analyses. The particular plurals of these nouns have to be learned as individual lexical units. In many cases where foreign words are involved, it is of course helpful to know about pluralization in the relevant languages, particularly Latin and Greek. On the pattern of analysis -> analyses we can infer the correct plurals:

axis -"axes  
 basis -\* bases  
 crisis -\*■  
     crises,  
     etc

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But we cannot rely on etymological criteria: plurals like areas and villas, for example, do not conform to the Latin pattern (areae, villae). See 4.76.

#### 4.65

#### VOICING + -.S PLURAL

Some nouns which in the singular end in the final voiceless fricatives /θ/, /f/, and /s/ have voicing to /ð/, /v/, and /z/, respectively:

(a) -th /θ/ -► -ths /ðz/      bath      baths  
 (b) -Ae)/f/ -\*•-«»/vz/      calf      calves  
 (c) -s /s/ -\*• -ses /ziz/      house      houses

The voicing of -s words occurs only in house. There is considerable indeterminacy between voicing and non-voicing in many words ending in

SINGULAR      PLURAL

/fa/      /S:

(a) nouns in -iA/0/

---

regular plural is normal

after a consonant+//i;	berth	berths	
	birth	births	dluom
	earth	earths	
	hearth	hearths	If
	length	lengths	

---

regular plural often occurs

also after a vowel + r/j: cloth cloths

death	deaths
faith	faiths
heath	heaths
moth	moths
sloth	sloths

---

double forms in:	oath	oaths	oaths
	sheath	sheaths	sheaths
	truth	truths	truths
	wreath	wreaths	wreaths

---

only voicing + -s plural in:	bath	baths
	mouth	mouths
	path	paths
	youth	youths

---

Nouns 177

(b) nouns IN -(e)/f/:

SINGULAR	PLURAL
----------	--------

/θ/	/vz/
-----	------

regular plural is normal:

belief

chief

cliff

proof

roof

safe

beliefs

chiefs

cliffs

proofs

roofs

safes

double forms in:

dwarf handkerchief hoof scarf wharf

dwarfs handkerchiefs hoofs scarfs wharfs

dwarves handker-chieves hooves

scarves wharves

only voicing+-s plural in:

calf

elf

half

knife

leaf

life

loaf  
self  
sheaf  
shelf  
thief  
wife  
wolf  
calves  
elves  
halves  
knives  
leaves  
lives  
loaves  
selves  
sheaves  
shelves  
thieves  
wives  
wolves

Note

The painting term still life has a regular plural; still lifes.

4.66

#### MUTATION

Mutation involves a change of the medial vowel in the following seven nouns:

foot      feet      also forefeet

tooth     teeth

goose     geese

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louse     lice

mouse    mice

man      men

woman    women

menservants but man-eaters (see 4.63)

Note

[a] Postman: 'postmen and Englishman! Englishmen h&ve no distinction in speech between singular and plural.

[&] Mongoose and German are not related to goose and man, respectively, and have regular plurals: mongooses, Germans.

4.67

#### THE-EN PLURAL

This occurs in three nouns:

brother    brethren

child ox Note Penn

children oxen

brethren (with mutation) = 'fellow members of a religious society'; otherwise regular

brothers (with vowel change /ai/ -> /i/)

pence (irregular) in British currency: Here is ten pence ■ennies (regular) for individual coins: Here are ten pennies

#### ZERO PLURAL 4.6S

Some nouns have the same spoken and written form in both singular and plural. Note the difference here between, on the one hand, invariable nouns, which are either singular (This music is too loud) or plural (All the cattle are grazing in the field), and, on the other, zero plural nouns, which are variable in taking both singular and plural verb (This sheep looks smalt, AH those sheep are mine).

4.69

#### Animal names

Animal names often have zero plurals. They tend to be used partly by people who are especially concerned with animals, partly when the animals are referred to in mass as food or game. With animal names that have two plurals, the zero plural is the more common to denote hunting quarries, eg: We caught only a few fish, whereas the regular plural is used to denote different individuals, species, etc: the fishes of the Mediterranean. When usage is variable, this has been indicated in the lists below, where minority forms are parenthesized.

Nouns 179

	SINGUL	PLURAL	
	AR		
		regular	zero
Animal names that have the regular plural include the following:	bird	birds	
	cow	cows	
	dog	dogs	
	eagle	eagles	
	hawk	hawks	
	hen	hens	
	lark	larks	
	monkey	monkey	
	rabbit	s	
		rabbits	
	sparrow	sparrow	
		s	
The following have both plurals:	may elk	elks	(elk)
	crab	crabs	(crab)
	antelope	antelope	antelope
		s	
	duck	ducks	duck
		(farm-	(wild)

	yard)	
reindeer	reindeer	reindeer
	s	
fish	fishes	fish
Souder	flounder	flounder
	s	
herring	herrings	herring
pike	(pikes)	pike
trout	(trouts)	trout
carp	(carps)	carp
deer	(deers)	deer
moose	(mooses	moose
	)	

---

The following have	grouse	grouse
only the		
zero plural:	sheep	sheep
	plaice	plaice
	salmon	salmon

---

#### 4.70

Nationality names

Zero plurals occur with names in -ese:

Ceylonese Chinese

Japanese

Lebanese Portuguese

Vietnamese 180 Nouns, pronouns, and the basic noun phrase

Also: Sioux

Note

Certain nationality and tribal names are sometimes used without -s:

Bedouin(s), Eskimo(s), Navaho(s)

#### 4.71

Some quantitative and partitive nouns

Preceded by a numeral or other indication of number, these frequently have zero plurals. In general, the zero forms are relatively informal except as premodifiers (two hundred books), when there is usually no alternative form (see Note).

REGULAR PLURALS

two

several many

five

a few

eight

two

several

ten

five

/dozen glasses \dozen of these glasses /hundred books \hundred of these books  
thousand insects /million people \million billion stars ton of coal brace of partridges  
head of cattle yoke of oxen hundredweight (of coal)  
(especially BrE) ten gross of nails ten stone (BrE weight) five foot two  
\(normal if six pound fifty/ numeral follows)  
dozens of glasses  
hundreds of books  
thousands of insects millions of people five millions billions of stars eight tons of  
coal  
five feet six pounds

Not\*

Nouns denoting measure, quantity, etc, normally have zero plural when they are pre-modifiers in noun phrases, eg:

a ten-pound note	a five-second pause
a five-dollar bill	a ten-minute conversation
a twelve-inch ruler	a two-hour exam
a four-foot ladder	a sixty-acre farm
a six-mile wait	a five-yard space
a six-lane highway	a six-cylinder car

Nouns 181

4.72

Nouns in -s

The following nouns invariably end in -s:

alms (rare except in live on alms, an alms-house)

barracks (an army barracks)

gallows (a/two gallows)

headquarters (a busy headquarters, the headquarters is/are here)

innings (a long innings, two innings, BrE in cricket; AmE has the

regular an inning~two innings in baseball) links ('grassy land near the sea': a golf-links; the normal term is

a golf course)

means (language is a means of communication) works (a gasworks, an ironworks, several waterworks)

Note

Die (in the expression the die is cast) is no longer recognized as being connected with dice, which also belongs here: one dice/two dice, or perhaps one of the dice for the singular. (Die 'engraved stamp for coining, etc') has the regular plural dies.)

4.73

Nouns in -es

A few nouns in -es /iz/ or /rɪz/, for example, series, species, have the same form in singular and plural: this series is..., the two species are...

Although historically foreign, these zero plurals are probably not felt to be 'foreign' in the same way as, for instance, basis~bases.

FOREIGN PLURALS

4.74

Foreign plurals often occur in variation with regular plurals. The arrangement in \.15ff\ is not intended to serve as a guide to the plural formation of all such problematic words. For this a dictionary must be consulted. One rule-of-thumb is that foreign plurals often occur in technical usage, whereas the -s plural is the most natural in everyday language; cf: formulas (general) ^formulae (in mathematics), antennas (general and in electronics)~an(ennae (in biology).

Our aim here will be to survey systematically the main types of foreign plurals that are used in present-day English and to consider the extent to which a particular plural form is obligatory or optional. For practical purposes, the lists are general and are not restricted to words that originate from the languages mentioned in the headings.

For the various noun endings, the order will be to start with the native plural, then list words with both native and foreign plurals, and end with 182 Nouns, pronouns, and the basic noun phrase

words that have only foreign plurals. This will display the scale character of the language: the most open and the most closed types of plural formation occur as poles with the mixed types in between. This classification also seems realistic in view of frequent lack of agreement on the plural formation of many words. Within each of the three classes, the nouns have been listed in alphabetical order.

4.75

Nouns in -us /as/

[Latin) REGULAR (-uses)

FOREIGN

aonus	bonuses	
bus	buses; busses (especially AmE)	
campus	campuses	
chorus	choruses	
circus	circuses	
genius	geniuses	
ignoramus	ignoramuses	
impetus	impetuses	
minus	minuses	
prospectus	prospectuses	
vims	viruses	
cactus	cactuses	cacti
crocus	crocuses	croci
focus	focuses	foci
fungus	funguses	fungi
isthmus	isthmuses	isthmi
nucleus	nucleuses	nuclei
radius	radiuses	radii
stylus	styluses	styli
syllabus	syllabuses	syllabi



terminus	terminuses	termini
corpus	(corpuses)	corpora
alumnus		alumni
bacillus		bacilli
locus		loci /-s~l
stimulus		stimuli
genus		genera

---

#### 4.76

Nouns in -a /a/

-ae I'll {Latin}

REGULAR (-135)

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foreign (-ae jif)

---

area	areas	
arena	arenas	
dilemma	dilemmas	
diploma	diplomas	
drama	dramas	
encyclopedi	encyclopedias	
a		
era	eras	
idea	ideas	
panacea	panaceas	
panorama	panoramas	
quota	quotas	
retina	retinas	
sofa	sofas	
sonata	sonatas	
umbrella	umbrellas	
villa	villas	
antenna	antennas	antenna
		e
formula	formulas	formula
		e
nebula	nebulas	nebulae
vertebra	vertebras	vertebra
		e
alga		algae
alumna		alumnae
larva		larvae

---

#### 4.77

Nouns in -um /am/ -> -a /a/  
(Latin)

	regular (-urns)	FOREIGN (-fl)
album	albums	—
asylum	asylums	—
chrysanthemum	chrysanthemurns	
museum	museums	
aquarium	aquariums	aquaria
curriculum	(curricuiums)	curricula
forum	forums	(fora)
medium	mediums	media

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Nouns in -um /am/ -\* -a /a/ {Latin) continued REGULAR (-U)

FOREIGN (-a)

memorandum	memorandums
moratorium	moratoriums
stadium	stadiums
symposium	symposiums
ultimatum	ultimatums
addendum	
bacterium	
corrigendum	
desideratum	
erratum	
ovum	
stratum	

memoranda

moratoria

(stadia)

symposia

(ultimata)

addenda

bacteria

corrigenda

desiderata

errata

ova

strata

—

Note

Datum is much less common than its original Latin plural data ('information, especially information organized for analysis'), which in English is usually constructed as a plural (These data are inconclusive), but often also as a singular, especially in scientific contexts (This data is inconclusive). The regular English plural datums occurs in the sense of 'a point', etc used as a reference in surveying.

4.78 Nouns in

in {"?\*j -\* -ices /isiz/ {Latin)  
 ((-exes)] REGULAR-^ \ . ' >

FOREI (-GN ices)		
apex index	apexes indexes	apices indices
vortex	vortexes	vortices
appendix	appendixes (anatomical)	appendices (in books)
matrix	matrixes	matrices
codex		codices

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4.79

Nouns in -is /is/ -\*■ -es /iz/ (Greek)

	regular (-ises)	FOREIGN (-es)
metropolis	metropolises	
analysis		analyses
axis		axes
basis		bases
crisis		crises
diagnosis		diagnoses
ellipsis		ellipses
hypothesis		hypotheses
oasis		oases
parenthesis		parentheses
synopsis		synopses
thesis		theses

Note

Bases can be either the plural of base (pronounced / 'beisiz/ or the plural of bath (pronounced /'bei,siz/).

Nouns in -on /an/

- -a ffl (Greek) REGULAR (-O)

FOREIGN (-a)

demon	demons
electron	electrons
neutron	neutrons
proton	protons
automaton	automatons      automata
ganglion	ganglions      (ganglia)
criterion	criteria
phenomenon	phenomena

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4.81

Nouns in -cau /oo/ -> -eaux /ouz/ (French; only the spelling is irregular in English.)

	regular (-eaus)	foreign (-eaux)
trousseau /usou/	trousseaus	trousseaux
plateau	plateaus	plateaux
portmanteau (rather rare)	portmanteaus	portmanteaux
bureau	bureaus	bureaux
tableau	(tableaus)	tableaux
cf also adieu /ju/	adieux	adieux

4.82

Some nouns in -s and -x have zero (French; the zero plural is restricted to writing. The plural is regular in speech.)

chamois /'ʃrawo/

chassis /'ʃsi/

corps /ka(r)/

faux pas /pa/

patois /'pstwa/

4.83

Nouns in -o juj

4 juj (Italian)

REGULAR (-(M))

FOREIGN (-I)

soprano	sopranos
virtuoso	virtuosos      (virtuosi)

libretto	librettos	(libretti)	
solo	solos	(soli)	
tempo	tempos	(tempi)	
(graffito)		graffiti	[usually
		plural]	

Not\*

Confetti (from Italian confetto, which is not used in English) takes a singular verb.

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4.84

jfotms with -im plurals (Hebrew)

REGULAR (-S)

FOREIGN (-i

cherub seraph kibbutz

cherubs

seraphs

(cherubim) (seraphim) kibbutzim

Gender

445

In the same way as we have 'time' in nature and 'tense' in the grammar of the verb (3.23), we have a similar relation between 'sex' and the 'gender' of the noun. English makes very few gender distinctions. Where they are made, the connection between the biological category 'sex \* and the grammatical category 'gender' is very close, insofar as natural sex distinctions determine English gender distinctions. (Compare this with, for example, the neuter gender for 'girl' in German: das Mddchen.)

It is further typical of English that special suffixes are not generally used to mark gender distinctions. For example, English cousin corresponds to both the French masculine cousin and the feminine cousine. Nor are gender distinctions made in the article. (Compare the with Ger-

personal^

/animate

non-personal (

1 inanimate-

GENDER

CLASSES

A masculine

B feminine /

,C dual "D common

{

E collective

F masculine higher animal

-G feminine higher

animal H higher organism

I lower animal J inanimate

EXAMPLES PRONOUN

SUBSTITUTION

uncle aunt doctor  
 baby family  
 bull  
 coif  
 ship  
 ant\  
 box)  
 who - he who-she who - he/she  
 (who- he/she I ?it \ which - it  
 (whick-it \who - they  
 (which-it \(?who)-he  
 (which - it \(?who) -she  
 which - it/she  
 which - it  
 Fig 4:9 Gender classes

\_ 188 Nouns, pronouns, and the basic noun phrase  
 man derjdiejdas or French lejla.) English gender is, however, reflected in the hejshejit set of 3rd person personal pronouns. English gender may be generally described as covert in contrast to the overt gender system of many languages. Some pronouns are gender-sensitive (the personal he, she, it and the relative who, which) but others are not (some, these, etc; see 4.109). The combinations of gender-sensitive pronouns (and, in addition, they) that substitute for singular nouns give us a set often gender classes as illustrated in Fig 4:9.

Note

If number of invariable nouns was also taken into account, additional classes would have to be set up for nouns like people (they - who), dirt {it - which), etc

Nouns 189  
4.86

#### IA/B] Personal masculine/feminine nouns

These nouns are of two types. Type (i) has no overt marking that suggests morphological correspondence between masculine and feminine, whereas in Type (ii) the two gender forms have a derivational relationship. The derivational suffixes are not productive, however. We cannot except jocularly, for example, form clerk}\*clerkess on the host/hostess pattern (c/App 1.22).

[A] PERSONAL MASCULINE

[B] PERSONAL  
FEMININE

(i) morphologically unmarked for gender

bachelor  
 brother  
 father  
 gentleman  
 king

man  
monk  
uncle  
spinster  
sister  
mother  
lady  
queen  
woman  
nun  
aunt  
(ii) morphologically marked for  
gender  
bridegroom  
duke  
emperor  
god  
hero  
host  
steward  
waiter  
widower  
bride  
duchess  
empress  
goddess  
heroine  
hostess  
stewardess  
waitress  
widow

Some masculine/feminine pairs denoting kinship have common (dual) generic terms, for example, parent for father I mother, and child for son/ daughter as well as for boy/girl. Some optional feminine forms (poetess, authoress, etc) are no longer in normal use, being replaced by the dual gender forms (poet, author, etc).

4.87

[C] Personal dual gender

This is a large class including, for example, the following:

artist	friend	person
chairman	guest	professor
cook	inhabitant	servant
criminal	librarian	speaker
doctor	musician	student

enemy      neighbour      teacher  
fool        novelist        writer  
foreigner   parent        etc

For clarity, it is sometimes necessary to use a 'gender marker': boy friend  
girl friend

man servant male student

woman servant female student

The dual class is on the increase as more and more positions in society are opened up to both sexes. For example, engineer and nurse are now dual gender, but were not formerly. With reference to the 'marked' sex, it is, however, still necessary to use a gender marker:

a male nurse an engineer

a nurse

a female engineer

No rational rules can be given for whether a noun should have dual gender distinction or not. It seems, for example, quite arbitrary that guest and servant should be dual in contrast to host/hostess and waiter/waitress.

4.88

ID] Common gender

Common gender nouns are intermediate between personal and non-personal. The wide selection of pronouns (who-hers/he/it) should not be understood to mean that all these are possible for all nouns in all contexts. A mother is not likely to refer to her baby as it, but it would be

\_ 190 Nouns, pronouns, and the basic noun phrase

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quite possible for somebody who is emotionally unrelated to the child or is ignorant of or indifferent to its sex.

4.89

[E] Collective nouns

These differ from other nouns in taking as pronoun substitutes either singular (it) or plural (they) without change of number in the noun (the army: it/they; cf: the armies: they) (cf 7.25). Consequently, the verb may be in the plural after a singular noun:

The committee-j      [discussing the proposal

T,    [-decided to reject the proposal by a vote of five to two

There are nuances in meaning between the different substitution choices. The singular and plural choices are by no means in complete free variation. The distinction made within collective nouns may appear to be one of number rather than gender. However, it also involves gender, since the difference in substitution reflects a difference in attitude: the singular stresses the non-personal collectivity of the group and the plural the personal individuality within the group. English gives the speaker many such choices to express his attitude to the content of his message.

We may distinguish three subclasses of collective nouns: (a) specific, (b) generic, and (c) unique (see 4.32).



- (a) specific
- (b) GENERIC
- (C) UNIQUE

---

army	the aristocracy	the Arab League
clan	the bourgeoisie	(the) Congress
class	the clergy	the Kremlin
club	the elite	the Papacy
committee	the gentry	Parliament
crew	the intelligentsia	the United Nations
crowd	the laity	the United States
family	the proletariat	the Vatican
Sock	the public	
gang		
government		
group		
herd		
jury		
majority		
minority		

---

#### 4.90

[F/G] Higher animals

These are divided into masculine/feminine:

[F]	MASCULINE	[G]	FEMININE
	ANIMAL		ANIMAL
	buck		doe
	bull		COW
	cock		hen
	dog		bitch
	gander		goose
	lion		lioness
	stallion		mare
	tiger		tigress

A further class might be set up, 'common higher animals', patterning with which - it, (Iwho) - he/she, to account for horse, cat, tiger, etc when no sex distinction is made or known. (In such cases, he is more common than she.)

#### 4.91

[H] Higher organisms

These include ships, countries, and other entities towards which an affectionate attitude is expressed by a personal substitute:

'What a lovely ship.' 'What is she called?'

The proud owner of a sports car may refer to it as she (or perhaps as he if the owner is female).

Note

Names of countries have different gender depending on their use. (i) As geographical units they are treated as neuter: 'Looking at the map we see France here. It is one of the largest countries of Europe.' (ii) As political/economic units the names of countries are often feminine: 'France has been able to increase her exports by 10 per cent over the last six months.' 'England is proud of her poets.' (iii) In sports, the teams representing countries can be referred to as they {cf collective nouns, 4.89): 'France have improved their chance of winning the cup.'

4.92

U/J] Lower animals and inanimate nouns

Lower animals do not differ from inanimate nouns in terms of our present linguistic criteria, ie both snake and box have which and it as pronouns. Still, sex differences can be indicated by a range of gender markers for any animate noun where they are felt to be relevant: 192 Nouns, pronouns, and the basic noun phrase

male frog he-goat dog-otter cock-pheasant

female frog she-goat bitch-otter hen-pheasant

We make no claim for the categories 'higher/lower animals' to parallel the biological classification. Some animals require finer gender distinctions in the language than others. This can be attributed to a number of factors. The layman normally has no knowledge about the sex of animals like ant, herring, snake, spider; or, even if he does, it may not be a fact that he wants or needs to indicate. This is only likely to happen with the animals that man, \*the speaking animal', has the closest connections with (in particular the domesticated animals).

Case 4.93

Common/genitive case

Case is a grammatical category that can express a number of different relationships between nominal elements. English nouns have a two-case system: the unmarked common case (boy) and the marked genitive case (boy's); six pronouns have in addition an objective case, thus presenting a three-case system, where common case is replaced by subjective and objective case (he~him, c/4.107).

The 'central' but far from the only use of the genitive is to express possession. The construction is indeed sometimes called the 'possessive' case and the traditional name of the pronouns with genitive function is 'possessive' pronouns. We may compare

The children' Their toys

While it seems useful to retain the term 'possessive' for this set of closed-system words, it should be borne in mind that the label does not adequately apply to all uses of them. Possessive pronouns will be dealt with in 4.116.

4.94

The meanings of the genitive

The genitive constructions in 4.93 are related to the same basic sentence structure:

The children"!,

>have new toys

The meanings of the genitive can best be shown by such sentential or phrasal analogues. The following include the more common meanings of the genitive, and we add, for comparison, a corresponding use of the o/-genitive where this is possible.

## GENITIVES

### ANALOGUES

(a) possessive genitive (cf 13.27) my son's wife Mrs Johnson's passport my money  
cf the gravity of the earth

my son has a wife

Mrs Johnson has a passport

I have money

the earth has gravity

---

(b) subjective genitive

the boy's application            the boy applied

his parents' consent            his parents consented

my departure                      I departed

cf the dip of the compass    the    compass    needle  
needle                              dipped

---

(c) genitive of origin

the girl's story                    the girl told a story

the general's letter            the general wrote a letter

your telegram                    you sent a telegram

---

(d) objective genitive

the family's support            (...) supports the family

the boy's release                (...) released the boy

her promotion                    (...) promoted her

cfa. statement of the facts    (...) stated the facts

---

(e) descriptive genitive

a women's college                a college for women

a summer's day                    a summer day/a day in  
the summer

a doctor's degree                a    doctoral    degree/    a  
doctorate

cow's milk                         milk from cows

cf an absence of ten days    the    absence    lasted    ten  
days

---

### Note

In the 'appositive genitive', where the two noun phrases are equated denotatively, the -j genitive is now archaic: Dublin's fair city. The o/-genitive is generally used (cf 13.27):

the City of York~York is a city

the pleasure of meeting you ~ meeting you is a pleasure 194    Nouns, pronouns. On the basic noun phrase

4.95

The -s and o/-genitives

As we have seen in 4.94, it is reasonable to regard the genitive as having two forms:

(a) the inflected genitive ('the -s genitive') indicated in writing by apostrophe+s suffix or apostrophe only, after the modifying noun: modifying noun phrase + 's + head noun-phrase.

the children's toys

somebody's fault

the body's temperature

(b) the periphrastic genitive ('the of-genitive') consisting of the modifying noun phrase in a prepositional phrase after the head noun phrase: head noun phrase + of+ modifying noun phrase.

the toys of the (youngest) children the fault of somebody (or other) the temperature of the body

We speak here of 'noun phrases' rather than of 'nouns' since both the modifier and head may have modification:

the naughty children's beautiful toys the beautiful toys of the naughty children the Museum of Modern Art's new Director

The last example illustrates the 'group genitive' (4.102,13.64) where the inflection is added to the last word of the postmodification instead of the head {Museum}. It is, however, the noun head that determines the choice of genitive. In the following sentences, only those with the personal noun head (4.85) can take the -s genitive irrespective of modification:

The director's books

◆The bookshelf's books

The director of the museum's books

\*The bookshelf of the museum's books

It will therefore be both convenient and relevant to discuss the genitive in terms of nouns rather than noun phrases.

The -s genitive must clearly be included in a discussion of 'case'. However, it is not obvious that the c/-phrase should be included here, since the ^/-genitive is not an inflection but a structure of postmodification:

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is mistaken

premodification: The Administration's policy

(of the Administration that the Administration

postmodification; The policy I has adopted

I adopted by the [ Administration

It seems, however, useful to highlight the functional similarity of the -s form and the o/-phrase by calling them both 'genitives'. Of has become conventionalized as the chief preposition of the periphrastic genitive, which accounts for the name 'o/-genitive' (cf 6.45). Other prepositions can be used in a similar function:

the Ambassador's secretary

the secretary-1 >the Ambassador

the door! ,, >his dressing-room Itoj

Further discussion of the genitive is deferred to the chapter on the complex noun phrases (13.27) where the periphrastic genitive will be seen in relation to other types of postmodification.

4.96

The forms of the -s genitive

The -s genitive has different realizations in the two media. In writing there are two forms: one with apostrophe plus s (boy's) and the other with apostrophe only (boys'). In speech there are four forms: /rʒ/, /jz/, /s/, and zero. See fig 4:10.

Since the genitive inflection has the same speech form as the regular plural, it is necessary to make a distinction between those modifying nouns that have the -s plural and those that do not, ie singular nouns and irregular plurals not ending in s (eg: children, see 4.67). Regular -s plurals have the zero genitive (written with apostrophe only: dogs', cats', horses'). Other nouns regularly take /rʒ/ if they end in sibilants (horse's), /jz/ if they end in other voiced sounds (dog's), and /s/ if they end in other voiceless sounds (cat's). (See Note.)

The zero form is also used with other than plural nouns:

(a) With Greek names of more than one syllable:

Socrates' /-tɪz/ wife Xerxes' /-sɪz/ army Euripides' /-dɪz/ plays

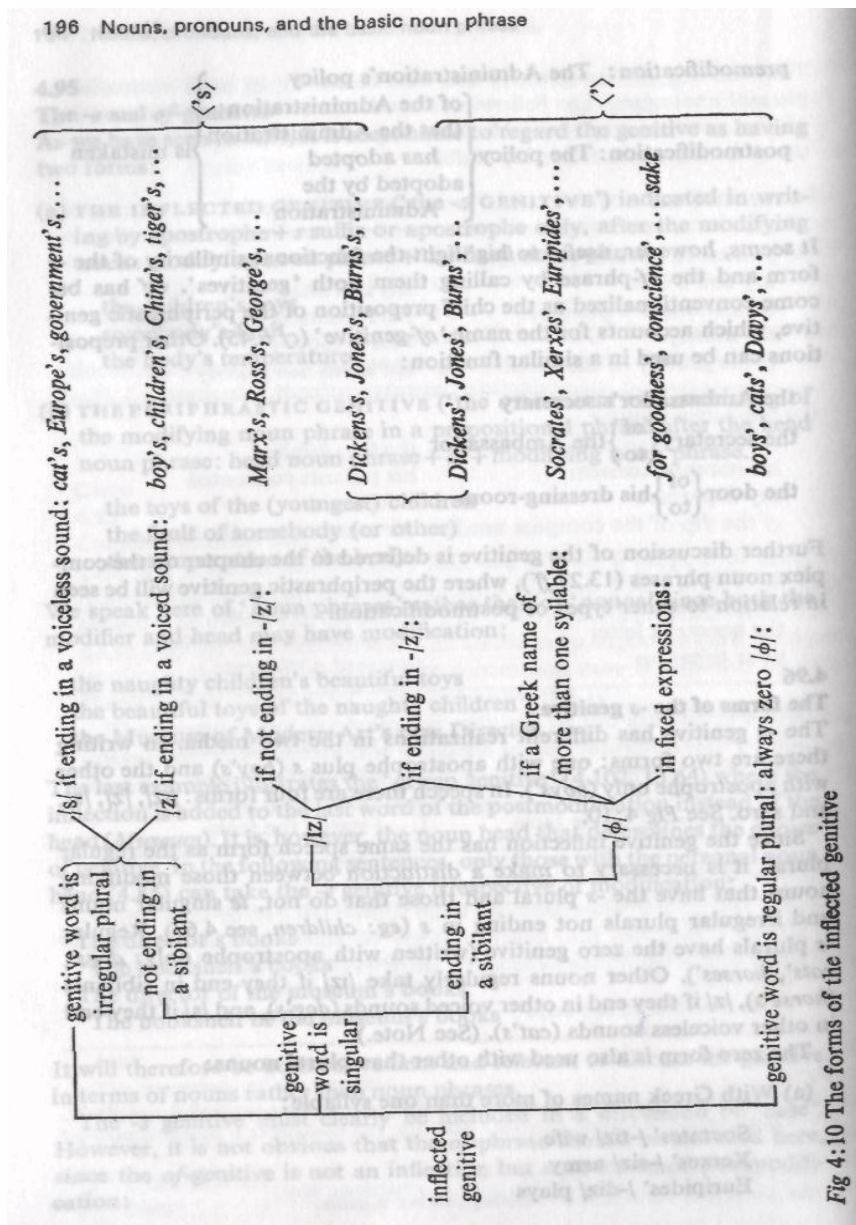


Fig 4:10 The forms of the inflected genitive

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(b) In many other names ending in the voiced sibilant /z/ where, in speech, zero is a (less common) variant of the regular /iz/ genitive. There is vacillation (to say the least) both in the pronunciation and spelling of these names, as well as inconsistencies between the two media. The normal pronunciation appears to be the /iz/ form, but the normal spelling with apostrophe only. (The minority forms are given in parenthesis.)

SPOKEN FORMS /ɪz/ (bɜːnz) !bɜːnziz/ /(dɪkɪnz) 'dɪkɪnziz/

WRITTEN FORMS

tw\* Burns' (Burns's) poems wri't     Dickens' (Dickens's) novels Jones' (Jones's)  
car

1. rasa

Jesus and Moses normally have the zero form of the spoken genitive but are written Jesus' and Moses' (as well as Jesus's and Moses's).

Names ending in other sibilants than -/z/ have the regular /iz/ genitive:

Ross's /-siz/ theories

(c) In fixed expressions with for..., sake where zero is used for euphony:

for goodness' sake for conscience' sake

It will be seen that the rules for the pronunciation of the genitive -s suffix as /iz/, /z/ and /s/ are identical with the rules for the pronunciation of the -s suffix in the plural of nouns (4.61) and in the 3rd person

REGULAR -S PLURAL

IRREGULAR PLURAL

IN US

o

Z

H

common genitive

common

genitive

singul ar	plur al
/bDI/	
/bmz/	
singul ar	plur al
boy	boys
boy's	boys '

common genitive

common genitive

singul ar	plural
/tjadd/	/tjddran /
/tjaild z/	/tjddran z/
singul ar	plural
child	children
child's	children 's

Fig 4:11 The inflected genitive in speech and writing

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singular present of verbs (3.55). The effect of this syncretism is that, for example, /boiz/ can correspond to any one of the following three written forms (see Fig 4:11):

- (i) Boys, ie plural number/common case
- (ii) Boy's, ie singular number/genitive case
- (Hi) Boys', ie plural number/genitive case

## Note

There is a difference between the genitive, where the ending is added to the last word of the noun phrase, and the plural, where the ending is added to the head (see further 4.102):

the King of Denmark's

the Kings of Denmark

Choice of the •# genitive 4.97

Selection of the -s genitive can best be described in relation to the gender classes represented by the noun which takes the -s suffix. Generally speaking, the -s genitive is favoured by the classes that are highest on the gender scale (see 4.85), ie animate nouns, in particular persons and animals with personal gender characteristics. Although we can say either the youngest children's toys or the toys of the youngest children, the two forms of the genitive are not normally in free variation. We cannot say, for example, \*the roof's cost or \*the hat of John. The main factor governing the choice of the one or the other genitive form is the animate, or rather personal quality of the modifying noun. Nouns denoting persons, whether proper names (John's car) or ordinary count nouns (the student's car), can always take the inflected genitive. It can also be used with animals. The rule-of-thumb here is that the higher animals are more likely to have the -s genitive than the lower animals (see 4.90).

the moth's wings the dog's life

(the wings of the moth) (the life of the dog)

## 4.98

The following four animate noun classes normally take the -s genitive, but the o/-genitive is also possible in most cases; see 4.100.

(a) personal names: Segovia's pupil

George Washington's statue

(b) personal nouns: the boy's new shirt

my sister-in-law's pencil

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(c) collective nouns: the Administration's policy

the government's conviction the majority's platform the party's elder statesmen the company's working capital the nation's social security

(d) higher animals: the horse's neck

the farm dog's bark the lion's tail the tiger's stripes

The inflected genitive is also used with certain kinds of inanimate nouns:

(e) GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES:

continents: Europe's future

China's development

the United States' attitude

Minnesota's immigrants

Maryland's Democratic Senator

Rhode Island's colonial period cities/towns: Hollywood's studios

London's water supply universities: Harvard's Linguistics Department



(0 'locative nouns' denote regions, heavenly bodies, institutions, etc. They can be very similar to geographical names, and are often written with initial capital letter.

the earth's interior

countries:

stales:

the Church's mission the hotel's entrance the hall's open window a country's population the city's cosmopolitan

atmosphere the town's taxpayers

the world's economic

organization

the nation's chief waterways the Club's pianist the Gallery's rotunda fountain the school's history

(g) TEMPORAL NOUNS

the decade's events a day's work a week's holiday a moment's thought

(h) nouns of 'special interest to human activity' the brain's total solid weight the game's history the mind's general development the concerto's final movement

this year's sales today's business the theatre season's first big event 200 Nouns, pronouns, and the basic noun phrase

the body's needs science's influence on our

society my life's aim in freedom's name the strike's end the treaty's ratification duty's call the poll's results love's spirit

the play's philosophy

the book's true importance

the novel's structure

a word's function

the car's performance on

the road

the ship's surgeon television's future the wine's character the machine's construction

Note

JVOIS

It seems that genitives other than possessive (see 4.94) have greater restrictions on the 'personal' quality of the modifying noun than the possessive genitive has.

Compare:

The man's 1 ..... —.

•The cow's /nottcm8 it was unexpected

The man's hanging \*The dog's butchering

4.99

So far, the -s genitive constructions have been identified by reference to certain classes of the modifying noun: personal, collective, temporal, etc. There are some constructions with the inflected genitive which can best be described in terms of specific lexical noun heads. These include the following, of which the set (a) permit of while the examples with length, reach, throw, and worth in (b) are 'idiomatized' and do not permit an ^/-genitive:

(a) (He stood at) the edge of the water but

(b) \*(People don't get) the worth of their money (a)

edge: the water's edge the river's edge end; at his journey's end

at his wits' end surface; the water's surface for ... sake: for charity's sake for God's sake

(b) length: at arm's length

reach: within arm's reach throw: at a stone's throw worth: their money's worth

IO1MH

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Choice of the o/-genitive 4.100

The o/-genitive is chiefly used with nouns that belong to the bottom part of the gender scale (4.85), ie with nouns denoting lower animals and with inanimate nouns. Inanimate nouns regularly take the o/-genitive, but, as we have noted (4.97-98), a great many occur with the -s genitive. This is the case with, for example, geographical names {China's history}, locative nouns (the city's traffic problems), and temporal nouns (this week's events). In addition, there are numerous other inanimate nouns which can often take the -s genitive. They may be characterized as 'being of special interest to human activity', denoting parts of the body (brain, mind, etc), cultural activities (orchestra, play, etc), means of transport (ship, radio, etc), and so forth.

4.101

What we have said does not mean, however, that such inanimate nouns cannot be constructed with the o/'-genitive. The following nouns, for example, will equally well admit both genitive constructions:

the car's engine the book's title the town's population the earth's interior

the engine of the car the title of the book the population of the town the interior of the earth

The -s genitive is hardly acceptable in the following phrases;

?the wheel's hub ?the house's windows ?the ditch's depth

the hub of the wheel

the windows of the house the depth of the ditch

But while the -s genitive is not fully acceptable with these nouns, it frequently is with the corresponding pronoun: the depth of the ditch~its depth, the windows of the house ~ its windows.

There is considerable overlap in the uses of the two genitives. Although either may be possible in a given context, one of them is, however, generally preferred by native speakers for reasons of euphony, rhythm, emphasis, or implied relationship between the nouns.

The use of the -s genitive is very common in headlines, where brevity is essential. Furthermore, the -s genitive gives prominence to the modifying noun. Compare:

HOLLYWOOD'S STUDIOS EMPTY

THE STUDIOS OF HOLLYWOOD EMPTY 202 Nouns, pronouns, and the basic noun phrase

The first makes a better headline, since it is not only shorter but also gives prominence to Hollywood. Similarly, of the following two genitives, the second has a more 'natural' balance than the first:

the excellent performance of the car on the road the car's excellent performance on the road

4.102

The group genitive

This is the name of a construction where the s suffix is added to the last element of a noun phrase consisting of a postmodified or coordinated noun head (see 4.95 (b), 13.64):

my son-in-law's bicycle somebody else's car in a month or two's time Beaumont and Fletcher's plays the King of Denmark's court

the University of Minnesota's

President the Museum of Modern Art's

Director an hour and a half's talk

With coordinated noun phrases, a distinction is made between the coordinated genitive of (a) and the group genitive of (b):

(a) John's and Mary's books (some are John's and some are Mary's)

(b) John and Mary's books (all are jointly owned)

With one or both heads a pronoun, ambiguity can arise {cf'9.104/), even where the coordinations are acceptable:

\*John and her books

7John's and her books"! (ambiguous M

His and her books J

"Her and his books

His books and hers (unambiguously (a))

(a) and

4.103

The elliptic genitive In this construction, the head is not expressed but it is explicit or implicit in the context:

. My bicycle is better than John's

My car is faster than John's His memory is like an elephant's John's is a nice car, too.

Pronouns 203

4.104

The local genitive

This is restricted to certain institutionalized expressions where no head needs to be mentioned. It is used in the following three cases:

(a) For normal residence:

my aunt's the Johnsons'

(b) For institutions such as public buildings (where the genitive is usually a saint's name):

St Paul's (Cathedral) St James's (Palace)

(c) For a place where business is conducted:

the barber's the chemist's (BrE)

the butcher's the druggist's (AmE)

the grocer's

Note

In some cases the institutionalization is carried so far that the apostrophe is dropped and with it any connection with the genitive construction (cf 13.27 jf): Selfridges, Harrods. With the disappearance of the small shopkeeper, the genitive of type (c) is frequently confused with the plural: They took the rug to the cleaners.

#### 4.10S

##### The double genitive

The double genitive consists of the combined inflected and periphrastic genitives, usually with a partitive meaning (13.30). The postmodifier must be definite and personal:

a work of Milton's ('one of

Milton's works') a friend of his father's

this great nation of ours several pupils of mine a friend of my parents'

#### Pronouns

##### Characteristics of pronouns 4.106

Pronouns share several characteristics, most of which are absent from nouns. As their name implies, they 'replace' nouns, or rather whole noun phrases, since they cannot generally occur with determiners such as the definite article or premodification (see further, however, 4.126 ff, 13.5 Note a): ^

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the men tall men

•the they ♦tail they

The main differences between pronouns and nouns are the following:

(1) Pronouns constitute a closed system, whereas nouns form an open class. (For the 'closed system'/'open class' distinction, see 2.14/).

(2) Many pronouns have certain morphological characteristics that nouns do not have:

(a) Case-contrast for subjective/objective case, for example I/me > he/him, who/whom (see 4.107).

(b) Person-distinction: 1st/2nd/3rd person, as in I/you/he (see 4.108).

(c) Overt gender-contrast: masculine/feminine/neuter in the 3rd person, as in he/she/it (see 4.109).

(d) Morphologically unrelated number forms, as in I/we, he/they (compared with the typical regularity of nouns; boy ~ boys, etc).

In addition, pronouns have a number system different from that of nouns (4.110). Before dealing with the different subclasses of pronouns, we will discuss common characteristics in relation to the categories case, person, gender, and number.

#### 4.107

##### Case

Nouns and most pronouns in English have only two cases: common case (children, somebody) and genitive case {children's, somebody's, see 4.93 ff). However, six pronouns have an objective case, thus presenting a three-case system, where 'common' case is replaced by subjective and objective case. There is identity between genitive and objective her and partial overlap between subjective who and objective

who (see 4.118/). The genitives of personal pronouns are, in accordance with grammatical tradition, called 'possessive pronouns'.

subjective

objective

genitive

4.108

me my

we us our

he

him

his

she her her

they

them

their

who

who(m)

whose

Sal, possessive, and reflexive pronouns have, unlike nouns, distinctions of person (see Table 4:5).

Pronouns 205

1st person = the speaker (singular // plural we, etc) 2nd person =the person(s) addressed {you, etc) 3rd person ='the rest', ie one or more persons or things mentioned, etc (singular he\she\it, plural they, etc).

English makes no difference between singular and plural number in the 2nd person except for reflexive pronouns:

Richard, you ought to be ashamed of yourself Children, you ought to be ashamed of yourselves

2nd person you is also used in the indefinite sense of 'one', and 3rd person plural they in the sense of 'people in general' (c/4.126 (c)):

You can never hear what he's saying They've had no serious accidents this year.

4.109 Gender

The 3rd person singular of personal, reflexive, and possessive pronouns is further distinguished by overt (natural) gender (see 4.85 ff): masculine he/him/himself/his, feminine she/her/herself/hers, neuter it/jitself/its (see Table 4:5). Relative pronouns also manifest a distinction between personal {who, whom) and non-personal (which) (see 4.118).

4.110

Number

The number system of pronouns is different from that of nouns (see 4.48Jf). The personal pronoun we in the first person does not denote 'more than /' (cf: the boy ~ the boys) but '/plus one or more others'. Table 4:4 indicates some combinations. The following bundles of two or three features of person occur: 1st+2nd ('inclusive w' = /and you), 1st + 3rd ('exclusive we'=I and he, etc), 1st+2nd+3rd, and 2nd + 3rd. In such cases the reflexive pronoun selection is determined by person order in the

bundle, ie 1st person takes precedence over 2nd and/or 3rd, and 2nd takes precedence over 3rd.

Note, however, that the sequential order of subject items makes no difference to the choice of reflexive pronoun:

You and I and John"]

John and I and you >will never give ourselves up

John and you and IJ 208 Nouns, pronouns, and the basic noun phrase

Table 4:4

#### DISTINCTIONS OF NUMBER AND PERSON IN PRONOUNS

In feature bundles of more than one person, the superordinate feature which selects the reflexive pronoun is circled.

1st

person

2nd

3rd

examples with reflexive pronouns

£				
+	—	~	/	gave myself 'up
—	+	—		You ought to be ashamed of
				yourself, Richard!
(He hurt himself				
—	—	+	<	She hurt herself
[it hurt itself				
—	+	—		You ought to be ashamed of
yourselves, children!				
©	+	—		We complimented ourselves too
soon, John ('inclusive we')				
©	—	+		We shave ourselves with electric
razors, John and I ('exclusive we')				
©	+	+		You, John and / worked
ourselves to death while he played golf				
—	©	+		You and ZoAn shouldn't bother
yourselves about it				
—	—	+		77^ helped themselves to coffee
and cakes				

4.111

Subclasses of pronouns

The class of 'pronouns' includes a number of heterogeneous items, many of which do not share all the above features. For example, somebody has no person-distinction (no 1st and 2nd person); no subjective/ objective case contrast; and no overt gender-contrast for person (masculine/feminine). Yet it is included among our pronouns, since it does not occur with determiners and is a closed-system item. The point we want to make here is that all the characteristic features which single out the pronoun class from the noun class are not shared by all its members. Personal, possessive, and

reflexive pronouns may be called the 'central' pronouns, since they share those features we have mentioned as

Pronouns 207

characteristic of pronouns as compared with nouns: in particular, they manifest person and gender contrast. Although these 'central' pronouns fill different syntactic functions, they have obvious morphological characteristics in common. This is also the reason why the possessives like my, your, etc have been given in the table, although they are determiners and cannot function alone instead of nouns, but only together with nouns (see 4.13 ff). Fig 4:12 shows the different subclasses of pronouns and gives references to sections where they are discussed. Many pronouns have the double function of determiners and nominals

pronouns

- 'central'

- personal (4.112): I/me, we/us, you, ... - reflexive (4.113-15): myself, ourselves, ... -

possessive (4.116): my /mine, our/ours, ... ■ relative (4.117-19): "the B' A series, (Aa), zero

- interrogative (4.120): the wh series

- demonstrative (4.121): this/these, that/those

— positive

indefinite

— negative: 12 Pronoun subclasses

- universal

assertive

- each (4.122) jilt (4.122) - the every series (4.122)

the plural group (4.124) the paucal group (4.124)

^ several/enough (4.125)

- one (4.126)

- non-assertive

the some series (4.127) the any series (4.127)

either (4.127) - the no series (4.128)

- neither (4.128) 208 Nouns, pronouns, and the basic noun phrase

(which may be either fully independent or in construction with an of-phrase), for example,

Which bus goes

Which is the bus >to Chicago?

Which of these buses goes?

It will be convenient to deal with all such closed-system items with both determiner and nominal functions in the following sections on pronouns.

4.112

Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns have two sets of case forms: subjective and objective (cf 4.107 and Table 4:5): //me, we/us, he/him, she/her, they/them; you and it are exceptional in showing no such distinction. Subjective personal pronouns function as subject and

sometimes as subject complement; objective personal pronouns as object, prepositional complement, and sometimes as subject complement.

Notes to Table 4:6

[a] Note the following special uses of we:

(i) The obsolete 'royal' we (= \*J) used by a single person, as in We are not interested in the possibilities of defeat (Queen Victoria),

(ii) The so-called 'editorial' we, now formal and somewhat old-fashioned, is used by a single individual, as in As we showed a moment ago,... said by a lecturer instead of As I showed a moment ago,... This use of we is prompted by a desire to avoid I, which is felt to be a little egotistic. ('Editorial' here is not applied to the fully justified use of we with reference to the consensus of an editorial board or other collective body.)

(iii) Another use of we can be seen in As we saw in Chapter 3, where we replaces you, which is felt to be too authoritative. We seeks to identify the writer and the reader as involved in a joint enterprise; compare We now turn to a different problem with Let's turn to a different problem.

[b] Us has almost obligatory contraction to's in let's {Let's go!} but not where let= 'permit': Please Us go without you!

[c] 2nd person in restricted (religious) language	singular	thou	thee	thyself	thy	thine
	plural	ye IUI you	you (ye)	yourself es	your	your s

[d] Sometimes in familiar use: 'em, as in Kill 'em!

[e] In addition to the reflexive pronouns in Table 4:5 there is the chiefly formal oneself which is the reflexive form of one (see 4.126), but is also used with indefinite reference in non-finite clauses, eg; To starve oneself Is suicide.



PERSONAL, REFLEXIVE, POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS						
	PERSONAL PRONOUNS		REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS <sup>e</sup>	POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS		
	subjective case	objective case		determiner function	nominal function	
1st person	singular	<i>I</i>	<i>myself</i>	<i>my</i>	<i>mine</i>	
	plural	<i>we<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>ourselves</i>	<i>our</i>	<i>ours</i>	
2nd person <sup>c</sup>	singular	<i>you</i>	<i>yourself</i>	<i>your</i>	<i>yours</i>	
	plural					
3rd person	singular	masculine	<i>himself</i>	<i>his</i>		
		feminine	<i>herself</i>	<i>her</i>	<i>hers</i>	
	plural	neutral	<i>itself</i>	<i>its</i>		
			<i>they</i>	<i>themselves</i>	<i>their</i>	<i>theirs</i>

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### FUNCTION

#### SUBJECTIVE CASE

#### OBJECTIVE CASE

subject

subject complement

object

prepositional complement

He was late It was he

It was him

I saw him at the station We cannot manage without him

As the table above shows, both subjective and objective case forms can be used for subject complement. Although the prescriptive grammar tradition stipulates the subjective case form, the objective case form is normally felt to be the natural one, particularly in informal style. However, the choice occurs chiefly in this restricted

and infrequent construction with final pronouns, ie in 'object territory'. In the more natural construction with anticipatory it, the subjective case form normally occurs:

It was he who came

The objective case form is preferred in familiar style in verbless sentences, eg

'Who's there?'-'Me'

After words which are indisputably prepositions, like without, over, at, etc, there is no question about using any other case form than the objective (but see Note below and 6.4):

him

•he

We couldn't manage without-! „ After but, except, than, and as, however, there is vacillation {cfA.\ 14 (e)}:

Nobody-! u W 'm lean solve our problems J lexcept/ \,?he J

./more intelligent than\she 1 \as intelligent as Jher

The reason for the vacillation is that than and as can be analysed either as prepositions, which require the objective case forms, or as conjunctions with ellipited predicates, which require the subjective case forms, as becomes apparent when no ellipsis occurs:

TI . fmore intelligent than she is. He is4 . , ,. ° . . Las intelligent as she is.

Note

The prescriptive bias for the subjective forms may account for hypercorrect uses of them, as in between you and I. Another reason is that you and I is felt to be a unit, which can remain unchanged, particularly with the distance between the preposition

Pronouns 211

and /. C/also Let you and I do it! He says she saw you and I last night, which are not uncommon in informal conversation.

Reflexive pronouns 4.113

Reflexive pronouns end in -self (singular) and -selves (plural). These suffixes are added to the determiner possessives (myself, ourselves; yourself, yourselves), objective case personal pronouns (himself, itself, themselves) or their joint form (herself). See Table 4:5.

As the name implies, these pronouns 'reflect' another nominal element of the sentence, usually the subject, with which it is in co-referential relation (c/7.34):

subject and object

He shaved himself

subject and indirect object

He allowed himself no rest

subject and subject complement

He is always himself

subject and prepositional complement

He looked at himself

(He couldn't come himself {He himself couldn't come

subject and apposition

Reflexive pronouns have two distinct uses: non-emphatic and emphatic.

4.114

Non-emphatic use

Non-emphatic use of the reflexive pronouns occurs in the following cases:

(a) With obligatorily reflexive verbs, ie verbs which always require reflexive object, such as absent oneself (from), avail oneself (of), betake oneself, pride oneself (on);  
She always prides herself on her academic background

Also behave virtually belongs to this set since it can take no other than a reflexive object: Behave (yourselves) now!

(b) With optionally reflexive verbs, ie verbs where the reflexive pronoun may be left out with little or no change in meaning, such as adjust (oneself), dress (oneself), prove (oneself to be competent), shave (oneself), wash (oneself)

(c) With 'non-reflexive verbs' where the reflexive pronouns are used to denote co-reference in contrast with non-co-referential objects:  
(himself).

in the mirror 212 Nouns, pronouns, and the basic noun phrase

Here, himself is co-referent with the subject he, whereas him must refer to another person.

(d) The reflexive pronouns are also used as prepositional complements, where there is a close connection between the verb and the prepositional phrase (cf12A9ff); for example:

Mary could stand for hours looking at herself in the mirror

Do look after yourself!

She did not know what to do with herself

He thinks too much of himself

He takes too much upon himself

In prepositional adverbial phrases expressing spatial relationship, usually between concretes, the objective personal pronouns are used despite co-reference with the subject:

He looked about him

Have you any money on you ?

She had her fiance beside her

They placed their papers in front of them

They held firecrackers behind them

We have the whole day before us But reflexive pronouns are often preferred when the reference is emotionally to a person's self. In such cases, the spatial relationship is often expressed by within, inside, etc:

He winced inside himself

She was beside herself with rage (reflexive obligatory)

These rules do not, however, account for all the data. There is considerable vacillation in this area, as the following examples show:

She's built a wall of Russian books around her(self) Holding her new yellow bathrobe around her(self) with both

arms, she walked up to him Mason stepped back, gently closed the door behind him(self),

turned and walked down the corridor They left the apartment, switching out the lights, and pulling the spring lock shut behind them

(e) In a further non-emphatic use the reflexives, in variation with personal pronouns, occur after as, like, but, except and elements of coordinated noun phrases (c/4.112):

For somebody like-, f Mbis is a big surprise

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My brother and-j ., >went sailing yesterday

Note

Id the last example, the use of myself is fell by many speakers to be a hyperurbanism, a genteel evasion of /.

4.115

Emphatic use

Reflexive pronouns in emphatic use occur in apposition, have heavy stress and, unlike reflexive pronouns in non-emphatic use, have greater positional mobility:

I wouldn't kiss her myself I myself wouldn't kiss her Myself, I wouldn't kiss her

Of course, reflexive pronouns in reflexive use can also have emphatic stress:

He thinks of himSELF but not of me

4.116

Possessive pronouns

These consist traditionally of two series: the attributive (my, your, etc) and the predicative, nominal {mine, yours, etc). (For coordination of possessive pronouns, see 4.102, 9.104/.) In our classification, however, the former series belongs to the determiners, since they are mutually exclusive with the articles (see 4.13). They have been included in Tablet: 5 for a convenient summary statement of related forms. Compare the two types of possessives with the genitive of nouns which is identical in the two functions:

Mary's

my daughter's ^book

her

["Mary's

the book is< my daughter's [hers

Unlike many other languages, English uses possessives to refer to parts of the body and personal belongings, as well as in several other expressions:

He stood at the door with his hat in his hand

Mary has broken her leg

Don't losej>OKr balance!

They have changed their minds again! 214 Nouns, pronouns, and irie basic noun phrase

The definite article is, however, usual in prepositional phrases concerned with the object, or, in passive constructions, the subject:

She took me by the hand

Somebody must have hit me on the head with a hammer

T must have been hit on the head with a hammer.

Relative pronouns 4.117

Relative pronouns introduce relative clauses postmodifying nominal heads. Compare the three different types of noun-phrase postmodification: relative clause, participial clause, and prepositional phrase (which will be discussed in 13.5).

Pronouns 215

{ which is lying on the table"!  
lying on the table                      >is Mary's  
on the table                                  J

The relative pronoun which has anaphoric reference to the noun phrase (the antecedent) the book, which is postmodified by the entire relative clause.

4.118

There are two types of relative clauses: restrictive and non-restrictive. Restrictive relative clauses are closely connected with their heads prosodically and denote a limitation on the reference of the antecedents. Non-restrictive clauses are parenthetical comments (indicated by separate tone units in speech and by commas in writing) which do not further define the antecedent. Restrictive relative clauses:

This is not something that would disturb me anyway

John was the best student / ever had

Non-restrictive relative clauses:

It's all based on violence, which I hate

They operate like politicians, who notoriously have no sense of humour at all

The difference between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses will be further discussed in 13.3, 13.8 ff. For the present, we only need to mention this difference in relative clause function and indicate that it affects the choice of relative pronoun, as appears in Table 4:6.

Table 4:6

RELATIVE PRONOUNS

	restrictive	and non-	restrictive
	restrictive		only
	personal	non-	personal
		personal	and non-
			personal
subjective case	who	which	that
objective case			that, zero
genitive case	whose	of which	
preposition+	prep+whom	prep +	
relative		which	
pronoun			
relative	who\m\...	which...	(that . . .
pronoun	prep	prep	prep
preposition			\zero...
			prep

#### 4.119

Relative pronouns include two series: wA-pronouns (who, whom, whose, which, and what), and that or zero. Compare:

[which") I'd like to see the car^ that [you bought last week

Neither series has number or person contrast. However, the wA-series has gender contrast for who/which (personal/non-personal, respectively), and case contrast for who/whom/whose (subjective/objective/genitive, respectively).

As Table 4:6 shows, whose, unlike who and whom, has both personal and non-personal reference. The distribution of who overlaps with that of whom in certain functions. Whom is the obligatory relative pronoun as complement immediately following a preposition. Who is quite frequent in familiar use in variation with whom as object and as prepositional complement when the preposition is end-placed and thus separated from the relative pronoun. Compare:

This

is a man

(whom1) | who [ I that

you should know 216 Nouns, pronouns, and the basic noun phrase

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This is the man

to whom you spoke

whom1) ,

Won spoke to who y

that "1 , , \_\_\_\_ Wou spoke to

What differs from the other relative pronouns in that it 'contains' its antecedent (=that which): What I mean is this ... It also has determiner function:

I'll do what little I can

C/I'll do the little (that) I can.

#### 4.120

Interrogative pronouns

These are formally identical with the wA-series of relative pronouns, but are functionally different. They have either attributive, determiner function (which, what, and whose, see 4.16) or nominal function (who, whom, whose, which, what). Who, whose, and whom have only personal reference. The case distinctions are the same as those of relative pronouns, except that the objective use of who is much more general. Unlike relative pronouns, however, which and attributive what may have both personal and non-personal reference (see further 7.63).

Who is missing?

Which is your car?

What is your opinion 7

Whose is this car?

Who(m) did you stay with?

With whom did you travel ? (formal)

Which and what have different uses: which is used with both personal and non-personal nouns but is selective, in that it has anaphoric or cataphoric definite reference (cf 4.36), whereas what has indefinite reference:

Which girls do you like best? What books do you like best?

Which here implies that the choice is made from a limited number of known girls or books, whereas what implies 'what kind of'. Like many other determiners (eg: both and all), which has an alternative of-phrase construction:

4.121

### Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns have number contrast and both determiner and nominal function. The general meanings of the two sets can be stated as 'near' and 'distant' reference (cf 10.65 ff):

singular plural

'near' reference: this these

'distant' reference: that those

Demonstrative pronouns have several uses. In (a), (b), and (c) below the two sets this/these and that/those are contrastive; in (d) and (e) there is no such contrast, and only one of the sets is used in either.

(a) Anaphoric or cataphoric reference (cf 4.36) with optional one Jones (although the plural one is rarer than the singular one):

{this (one) that (one) U g X

these (ones) those (ones)

(b) Deictic ('pointing') use (cf: here ~ there, now ~ then, today ^yesterday/tomorrow, etc):

... my friend Charlie Brown That

But as object or complement, the demonstratives can only have non-personal reference. Compare these two pairs:

That").

He is

the chairman

- that

Which (of the) do you like best? (books)

They made-4, the chairman is

(c) Discourse reference (cf 10.63):

This is what I mean... (with either anaphoric or cataphoric

reference, but especially the latter) That is what I mean ... (with only anaphoric reference)

(d) Determinative use (only that/those, which is non-contrastive):

That which is, that is.

What upsets me most is his manners

Those who are lazy will never pass

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That which is very formal. There is no personal singular \*that who where, instead, other constructions are used. For example:

Anyone is anybody who is... The person is... People who are...

a: Note that He who ... is archaic.

(e) Emotive use of this in informal style (sometimes with a presupposition of familiarity 'we both know'):

Don't mention this wretched business again!

You know this fellow Johnson ...

■J?

It gives you this great feeling of open spaces and clean air

Then I saw this girl...

Then I got this letter from Grace...

In very familiar style, this can occur entirely cataphorically as determiner:

Well, I'll tell you a story. There was this inventor ...

4.122

!

Universal pronouns

These comprise each, all, and the every series (Table 4:7)

Table 4:7

UNIVERSAL PRONOUNS

		COUNT		MASS
		personal	non-personal	
singular	nominal	everyone everybody one each	everything every one each	
	determiner			all (the) ink
plural	nominal/ determiner	all (the) boys/pens		

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Each refers to two or more, ie it can be dual or plural, and has individual reference. Thus:

There were two boys who called and I gave an apple to  
 r 1,\*everybody

There were three boys who called and I gave an apple to  
 r ^everybody

There is, however, a meaning difference between each and everybody. Each entails reference to something in the context, whereas everybody does not:

1 walked into the room and gave an apple to  
 everybody

Every one, each (one), and all have o/-constructions. Every and each can have a singular or plural pronoun for co-reference:

Every one"

Each >of the students should haveJ, Ir iown books

Each one J \*-hls >



Every can also be used with plural expressions such as every two weeks, every few months.

All has been said to have 'determiner function' since it can occur immediately before a noun. As we have seen in 4.19, however, it is actually a predeterminer, since it can be followed by determiners. Compare the different possible uses of all:

All boys

^!! th,e.?)Of Want to become football players All of the boys

All J

There are two -s genitives: everyone's and everybody's. Every and combinations with every refer to three or more, and have collective reference.

?. BIOB3

Like each (one) and every one above, everyone and everybody are often taken Sfpnhl » would be easier for all if everybody minded his/their own business. -«t

Assertive pronouns 4.123

Assertive pronouns consist of five groups: the multal group (much, "any, more, most); the paucal group {little, less, least; few, fewer, fewest); c several/enough group; one; and the some group (some, somebody, someone, something).

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4.124

Multal and paucal groups

The multal and paucal groups can be seen as antonyms with similar distributions (Table 4:8).

Table 4:8

MULTAL AND PAUCAL GROUPS MULTAL PRONOUNS

PAUCAL PRONOUNS

singular

count

plural

many~\ more >pens most)

mass

much") more >ink most)

count

few

(a)

fewer (the) fewest

>pens

mass

less

{the) least J

Sink

Besides the regular fewer chances (with count nouns) and less noise (with mass nouns), less also occurs (despite prescriptive pressure) with plurals, eg: This roof has fewer I less leaks than our old one, You have fewerjless marbles than me. Only less is used in expressions denoting periods of time, sums, etc:

less than two weeks less than \$1000

4.125

Several and enough

Several and enough have both determiner and nominal function. They can take the o/- construction. Several occurs only with plural count function. As determiner, enough may have either pre- or post-nominal position. The distribution is shown in Table 4:9.

Table 4:9

SEVERAL AND ENOUGH

	COUNT	MASS
singular		enough
plural	several enough	

Pronouns 221

John has made several mistakes in his essay

, (enough food/books ? HaVeyOUgOt|food/books enough? Yes, we have enough

4.126 One

One has several different uses.

(a) numerical one when used with animate and inanimate singular count nouns is a stressed variant of the indefinite article a(n), which is unstressed and has only determiner function. It is in contrast with the dual two and both and the plural numerals three, four, etc; several; and indefinite some (Table 4:10).

Table 4:10

NUMERICAL ONE AND CONTRASTS

	COUNT
singular	(the) one [stressed] a(n) [unstressed]
dual	both (the) [stressed] (the) two
plural	(the) three, four,... several some [unstressed]

DETERMINER FUNCTION

NOMINAL FUNCTION

one of the boys/pens

both two

[of the boys/pens

three"! --. ,

>ol the boys/pens somej

' '\*

(the) one!« ,

a j-boy/pen

both (the)\. , (the)two/boys/pens (the) three"! . , somejboys/peris

(The) one is also in contrast with the other in the correlative construction:

One went this way, the other that way 222 Nouns, pronouns, and the basic noun phrase

Note that there is a somewhat formal or old-fashioned use of one meaning 'a certain\*' before personal proper names:

I remember one Charlie Brown at school

(b) replacive one (cf 10.46) is used as an anaphoric substitute for a singular or plural count noun. It has the singular form one and the plural ones. Replacive one can take determiners {the, this, my, which, each, etc) and modifiers (Table 4:11).

Table 4:11

### REPLACIVE ONE

Pronouns 223

	COUNT
singular	{the} one
plural	(the) ones

'I am looking for a particular book on syntax.' -

'Is this the one you mean?' 'Yes, I'd like a drink, but just a small one.' -

'I thought you preferred large ones.'

(c) indefinite one means 'people in general', in particular with reference to the speaker. This use of one is chiefly formal and is often replaced by the more informal you:

., ,, \ think they would run a later bus than that! You dj ' '

Indefinite one has the genitive one's and the reflexive oneself (see Table 4:5, Note e).

In AmE repetition of co-referential one is characteristically formal, he or (informally) you being preferred instead:

One should always be careful in talking about<, . ^finances

One can't be too careful, cam ' '

### 4.127

The somejany series and either

It is convenient to treat the assertive some series together with the non-assertive any series and either. The distributions are given in Table 4:12-Some, any, and either can have both determiner and nominal function and take the o/-construction; the others have only nominal function.

### THE SOME/ANY SERIES AND EITHER

ASSERTIVE			NON-ASSERTIVE		
count		mas	count		mas
personal	non-person		personal	ncc-person	

		al			al
singular	somebody someone either	something either	some	anybody anyone either	anything either
plural	some			any (see 4.127 Note b)	any

John bought some apples Did John buy any apples? Didn't John buy any apples ?  
John didn't buy any apples

With reference to the distinction made in 2.2! /between assertion and non-assertion, we can see that there is parallel distribution between assertive some and non-assertive any:

assertive

non-assertive/interrogative/positive

non-assertive/interrogative/negative

non-

assertive/negative

Besides not, the negative context which brings about non-assertion may consist of:

(a) the negatives never, no, neither, nor

(b) the 'incomplete negatives' hardly, nearly, almost, little, few, least, but, only, seldom, etc

(c) the 'implied negatives' just, before; fail, prevent; reluctant, hard, difficult, etc; and comparisons with too

Compare the following assertive/non-assertive sentences:

r \*. /John will always manage to do something useful

\John will never manage to do anything useful n^ /There was a good chance somebody would come

\There was little chance anybody would come

f John was eager to read something about the war (c) < John was reluctant to read anything about the war

(John was too lazy to read anything about the war

. Although the main 'superficial' markers of non-assertion are negative, 'errogative, and conditional clauses, it is the 'deep', basic meaning of ! whole sentence which ultimately conditions the choice of the some • the any series. See further 7.44. For

example, in the sentence 224 Nouns, pronouns, and the basic noun phrase

Freud probably contributed more than anyone to the understanding of dreams

P

..e

of \*—

tion', see 7.57):

TVH.f8omebody\telephone last night? U1°\anybody J

Vanyooay j

The difference between these last two can be explained in terms of different presuppositions: somebody rather suggests that the speaker expected a telephone call, whereas anybody does not. In making an invitation or an offer, it is for the same reason polite to presuppose an acceptance:

Would you like some wine?

The following examples further illustrate the use of the some series|in superficially non-assertive contexts:

If someone were to drop a match here, the house would be on fire in two minutes

But what if somebody decides to break the rules? Will somebody please open the door? Why don't you ask something else t Conversely, the any series is used with stress in superficially assertive sentences with the special meaning of 'no matter who, no matter what':

He will eat anything

Anyone interested in addressing the meeting should let us know

Any offer would be better than this, [a] Somebody, someone, anybody, anyone often occur with their in co-referenc\* ((/7.36): Somebody lost kisttheir raincoat

[b] It should be noted that any and stressed some can also be singular count: How dots any of us know you ate telling the truth? any dog might bite a child if teased.

There was some book (or other) published on the subject last year.

### Numerals 225

4.128

### Negative pronouns

These include the no series and neither (but c/also little and few). Neither has both determiner and nominal function; no has determiner function; the rest only nominal function (see Table 4:13; for concord, see 7.36).

Nobody] No one. None J None have  
?come yet

None of the students

fhas \ 'havej

■failed

,, ... /of the (two) students), . . . .

Neither-^ ... ' mas failed

[^student j

Nothing has happened yet Nothing of this has come about!

,, ,,, fof the accusations'). , Neither-^ .. ks true

i,accusation J

That's none of your business!

Table 4:13

### NEGATIVE PRONOUNS

	COUNT		MASS
	personal	non-personal	
singular	no no one nobody neither	nothing (of) neither (of) none (of)	no none (of)

	(of) none (of)			
plural		no none (of)		

4.129

### Numerals

The numerals consist of cardinal numbers (one, two, three, etc) and ordinal numbers (first, second, third, etc). They are given in Table 4:14, which has been arranged to bring out the systematic nature of the English numerals.

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The typographical distinctions in Table 4:14 draw attention to the fact that cardinal numbers for 1 to 13, 15, 20, 30, 50, 100, 1000, etc are unsystematic and have to be learnt as individual items. Cardinal numbers from 14 to 99 are largely systematic, since they are formed by adding endings to the other numbers. There are two sets of such derivative numbers: 14 to 19 are formed by the ending -teen; 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90 are formed by the ending -ty. Compare the series: four ~ fourteen ~ forty (Note ou ~ o shift) five ~ fifteen ~ fifty (Note v ~ /shift) six ~ sixteen ~ sixty seven ~ seventeen ~ seventy, etc

Ordinal numbers for 1 to 3 are unsystematic (first, second, third). The rest are formed by adding -th to the cardinal numbers. Cardinal numbers ending in ~y change to -re before -th:

fourteenth          forty ~ fortieth  
 ■ fifteenth          fifty ~ fiftieth  
 - sixteenth          sixty ~ sixtieth  
 four - fourth five -i fifth six ~ sixth  
 fourteen  
 fifteen sixteen

Table 4:14

### NUMERALS

0 nought,

1 one

2 (wo

3 three

4 four

5 five

6 sis

7 seven

8 eight

9 nine

10 ten

11 eleven

12 twelve  
 13 thirteen  
 14 fourteen  
 15 fifteen  
 16 sixteen  
 17 seventeen  
 18 eighteen  
 19 nineteen  
 20 twenty  
 21 twenty-one  
 22 twenty-two  
 23 twenty-three  
 24 twenty-four

1st first 2nd second 3rd third 4th fourth 5th fifth 6th sixth 7th seventh 8th eighth 9th ninth 10th tenth 11th eleventh 12th twelfth 13th thirteenth 14th fourteenth 15th fifteenth 16th sixteenth 17th seventeenth 18th eighteenth 19th nineteenth 20th twentieth 21st twenty-first 22nd twenty-second 23rd twenty-third 24th twenty-fourth

Table 4:14 continued NUMERALS

25 twenty-five  
 26 twenty-six  
 27 twenty-seven  
 28 twenty-eight  
 29 twenty-nine  
 30 thirty 40 forty 50 fifty 60 sixty 70 seventy 80 eighty 90 ninety  
 100 one hundred  
 101 one hundred and one  
 102 one hundred and two, etc  
 1,000 one thousand  
 1,001 one thousand (and) one, etc 2,000 two thousand  
 10,000 ten thousand 100,000 one hundred thousand 1,000,000 one million

Numerals 227

25th twenty-fifth 26th twenty-sixth 27th twenty-seventh 28th twenty-eighth  
 29th twenty-ninth 30th thirtieth 40th fortieth 50th fiftieth 60th sixtieth 70th seventieth 80th eightieth 90th ninetieth 100th (one) hundredth 101st (one) hundred and first 102nd (one) hundred and second 1,000th (one) thousandth 1,001st (one) thousand and first 2,000th two thousandth 10,000th ten thousandth 100,000th (one) hundred thousandth 1,000,000th (one) millionth  
 1,000,000,000  
 1,000,000,000,000  
 1,000,000,000,000,000  
 1 + 18 zeros

BRITISH SYSTEM

one thousand million one billion  
one thousand billions one trillion  
1+24 zeros      one quadrillion 1+30 zeros      one quintillion

#### AMERICAN SYSTEM

one billion one trillion one quadrillion  
one quintillion one septillion one nonillion

#### Note

[a] The symbol "0" has different spoken forms:

naught, naught /not/ cipher /saifs/, eg

the figure nought (in mathematics)

,03 = 'point nought three' zero /'zi(3)rou/ (in mathematics and for temperature), eg

It's five degrees below zero o /ou/, eg

Dial 7050 /sevn oo faiv ou/ and ask for extension 90 /nam ou/ (in telephone numbers)

603.09=/siks oo 6ri point oo nam/

nil /nil/, nothing, eg

The result of the match was 4-0 (four (goals to) nil; especially BrE)

Brazil won 4-0 (four (to) nothing). love (in tennis), eg

Norway leads by 30-0 (thirty love) in the first puny of the second leg 228      Nouns, pronouns, and the basic noun phrase

[b] With hundred, thousand, etc, one has an unstressed variant o:

} hundred

[c] Unlike the y -\* fe(j) change in nouns and verbs (4.62,3.60), this change y -\* k(lh) adds a syllable. Compare: the sixties /'siksiti/, the sixtieth j'siksiti:fl;

[a] The numerals trillion, quadrillion, etc are rare, and they tend to be known only by specialists in relevant fields.

#### Bibliographical note

See Jespersen (1909-49), especially Part II, Chapters 2-9; Kruisinga (1931-3Z), especially Part 11,2; Poutsma (1926-29), especially Part ILIA, IB; Strang (1968), especially Chapters 7 and 8.

On noun classes, see Bolinger (1969).

On reference and the articles, see Christophersen (1939); Powell (1967); Robbing (1968); Sloat (1969); Smith (1964); Sørensen (1958a and b).

On gender, see Kanekiyo (1965).

On pronouns, see Duškova (1965); Jackendoff (1969); Jacobsson (1968a and b);

R. Lakoff (1969a); Postal (1966). \*

## FIVE

### ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS

#### 5.1 Introduction

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## 5.1

### Introduction

The adjective and the adverb have traditionally been considered parts of speech and these terms are currently used to denote English word-classes, although grammars may vary to some extent in what is to be included under each of the terms. Because of their general currency, it is convenient to continue to refer to adjectives and adverbs as English word-classes, but we must be aware that they do not constitute well-defined classes and, moreover, that neither class is homogeneous.

### Characteristics of the adjective

## 5.2

Since we wish the class of adjectives to comprise items that have a similar syntactic function, rather than merely a resemblance in form, we cannot tell whether a word is an adjective by looking at it in isolation. We cannot do so because the form of a word does not necessarily indicate its syntactic function. As we have pointed out (2.13), an item may belong to more than one class, the classic example being round as in a round of golf (noun), They round the corner (verb), a round object (adjective), He came round to see us (adverb), They sat round the table (preposition). Some suffixes are indeed found only with adjectives, eg: -ous (App 1.28), but many common adjectives are like round in having no identifying shape, eg: good, hot, little, young, fat. Nor can we identify a word as an adjective merely by considering its potentialities for inflection or affixation. It is true that many adjectives inflect for the comparative and superlative, eg: great, greater, greatest. But many do not allow inflected forms, eg: disastrous, \*disastrouser, \*disastrousest (5.74). Moreover, a few adverbs can be similarly inflected, eg; {He worked) hard, harder, hardest (5.76). It is also true that many adjectives provide the base from which adverbs are derived by means of an -ly suffix, eg: adjective happy, adverb happily (App 1.30). Nevertheless, some do not allow this derivational process; for example, there is no adverb \*oldly derived from the adjective old. And there are a few adjectives that are themselves derived from an adjective base in this way, eg: kindly, an item functioning also as an adverb.

## 5.3

ves:

Four features are generally considered to be characteristic of adjecti

(1) They can freely occur in attributive position (5.17), ie they can premodify a noun, eg: happy in the happy children. 232 Adjectives and adverbs

(2) They can freely occur in predicative position (5.17), ic they can function as subject complement, eg: old in The man seemed old-, or as object complement, eg: ugly in He thought the painting ugly

(2.4).

(3) They can be premodified by the intensifier very, eg: The children arfi very happy (5.51).

(4) They can take comparative and superlative forms whether in-flectionally, eg: The children are happier now, They are the happiest people I know, or by the addition of the premodifiers more and most (periphrastic comparison), eg: These students are more intelligent, They are the most beautiful paintings I have ever seen (5,68).

S.4

However, not all words that are traditionally regarded as adjectives possess all of these four features. Moreover, some of the features apply to words that are generally considered to belong to other classes. Let us look at a few examples of different types of adjectives, including some borderline cases, and at the same time extend our treatment to take account of words that are generally assigned to the traditional classes of adverb and noun. For this purpose, we have selected eight words, to each of which we apply five criteria. The first four of the criteria are an exploration of the four features that are considered characteristic of adjectives, while the fifth criterion introduces a feature that is characteristic of nouns. Since words can belong to more than one class, we place them in the context of a sentence, so that it should be clear which use of the words is being tested.

(a) John is hungry

(b) The universe is infinite

(c) Bob is an utter fool

(d) His reply was tantamount to an ultimatum

(e) Their house is ablaze

(f) Peter is abroad

(g) The meeting is soon

(h) His favourite meat is lamb

Note that while an attempt has been made to provide sentences that are similar syntactically, some differences are unavoidable. For example, utter in (c) could not be placed predicatively.

The five criteria:

(1) The item can function in attributive position: the... N.

Characteristics of the adjective 233

(2) The item can function in predicative position following the intensive verb seem :  
The N seemed....

(3) The item can be premodified by the intensifier very.

(4) The item can accept comparison, ie the comparative and superlative forms, whether inflected or periphrastic.

(5) The item can function as direct object, eg: Hike ... or Hike

a{n}\_\_\_For this criterion to apply, either the indefinite article or the zero article must be available.

The results of the application of the criteria are displayed in Table 5:1.

Table 5:1

CRITERIA FOR ESTABLISHING ADJECTIVE CLASSES

attributive	predicative	comparis	direct
-------------	-------------	----------	--------

	VERY		on		object
	with SEEM				
( hungry	+	+	+	—	
a +					
)					
( infinite	+	-	-	-	i
b +					
)					
( (rf/er	-	-	-		
c +					
)					
( tantamount	+		-		
d —					
)					
( ablaze	+		-		
« —					
)					
( abroad	-	-	-	-	
0 —					
( soon	-	+	+	-	
8 —					
)					
( lamb	—	—		+	
h +					
)					

The first four words in the leftmost column of Table 5:1 would be regarded by all grammarians as adjectives: hungry, infinite, utter, tantamount, while abroad and soon would be unhesitatingly assigned to the adverb class, and lamb to the noun class. However, ablaze is on the borderline between the adjective and adverb classes. If we examine the four undoubted adjectives in relation to the five criteria, we see what distinguishes them from the words that are assigned to other classes:

- (i) Adjectives can function attributively (criterion 1) and/or predicatively after seem (criterion 2).
- (ii) Adjectives cannot function as direct object if they are required to take the indefinite article or the zero article (criterion 5).

We can therefore include ablaze in the adjective class, since we can have Their house seemed ablaze

where ablaze is functioning predicatively after seem, and we cannot have ablaze as direct object:

\*I like ablaze 234 Adjectives and adverbs

or

\*I like an ablaze

We can see from Table 5:1 that criteria 3 and 4 - acceptance of pre-modification by very and the ability to take comparison - have no diagnostic value for the present purpose. These two features generally coincide for a particular word, and are

determined by a semantic feature, the gradability of an item. Gradability is a semantic feature that cuts across word-classes. Many adjectives are gradable, just as many adverbs are gradable. And these two classes use the same features to realize the gradability of an item, in particular premodification by very and comparison (5.70 jf). Hence, these two features neither distinguish adjectives from adverbs, nor are found in all adjectives.

On the other hand, adjectives are distinguished positively by their ability to function attributively and/or their ability to function predicatively after intensive verbs, including seem. It is reasonable to suggest that those that function both attributively and predicatively are central to the class of adjectives, while those that are limited to one or other function are peripheral adjectives. Therefore, of the five adjectives given in Table 5:1, hungry and infinite are central adjectives, while utter, tantamount, and ablaze are peripheral adjectives.

Note

[a] Adjectives can function as direct object if they take a definite determiner:

He will feed the hungry but not otherwise:

\*He will feed a hungry

\*He will feed hungry

Under the same condition they can also function as subject, indirect object, and complement of a preposition (5.20-23). For convenience in framing the criterion, only one of the functions - direct object - is mentioned in criterion 5. But see 5.20 Note/.

16] The attributive use of the noun lamb is exemplified in lamb chops. Nouns are commonly used attributively (5.11, 13.57/, App 1.44 ff). The apparent exceptions to the test for adjective status - attributive nouns and nouns appearing predicatively after seem - are discussed in 5.11.

The adjective and other word-classes

5.6

We now consider briefly some examples of overlapping between the adjective class and other word-classes. The overlapping may be due to syntactic features central to other classes but displayed by some adjectives, or to features central to the adjective class but displayed

The adjective and other word-classes 235

by some members of other classes. The three relevant word-classes are adverbs, nouns and participles.

Adjective and adverb

5.7

We have referred above (5.5) to ablaze as a borderline case between the adjective and adverb classes. Certain words beginning with a- have constituted a problem in classification for grammarians, some assigning them to the adjective class and others to the adverb class. These a-words function predicatively, but only a few can be freely used attributively. As we can see from Table 5:1, adverbs like abroad and soon can also be used predicatively. In actual fact, only a relatively small number of

adverbs can function predicatively, namely, certain place and time adverbs (8.46, 8.73). But even these adverbs are used predicatively only after be, while adjectives can be used with other intensive verbs as well. Hence, we specifically insisted on the intensive verb seem in criterion 2 for Table 5:1. With respect to their ability to be used predicatively with both be and another intensive verb such as seem, we can therefore contrast the a- adjective asleep and the adjective subject, on the one hand, with the a- adverb abroad and the adverb there, on the other:

(asleep subject to fits abroad there {asleep subject to fits 'abroad •there

Notice the contrast between the a- adverbs in

{aboard abroad around away

and the a- adjectives in the same sentence-frame:

;\*afraid •alert \*asleep \*awake

W adjectives are unacceptable as part of the predication after verbs of

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motion. A- adverbs, however, are acceptable and denote direction after such verbs. The sentences with a- adjectives are acceptable insofar as the adjectives can be interpreted not as part of the predication but as supple-mentive adjective clauses (5.24). For example, we might be able to interpret He went afraid as 'He was afraid as he went'. Common a- adjectives are ablaze, afloat, afraid, aghast, alert, alike, alive, alone, aloof,

ashamed, asleep, averse, awake, aware

Alert and aloof are freely used attributively. Some of the other a- adjectives occasionally function attributively, though normally only when they are modified: the half-asleep children, the fully awake patient, a somewhat afraid soldier, a really alive student ('lively'), a eery ashamed girl.

Note

[a] The acceptable alternative for adverbs to the unacceptable seem construction requires to be after seem. It is also available for adjectives: (asleep

The patient seemed to bJ ^ "'^ [there

[b] Like the adverbs in He was downstairs and He was outside, abroad can be recalled by a question introduced by the interrogative adverb where: Where Is he?-Abroad. Others among the a- adverbs, eg: around and away, are less likely to be the sole response of a where question, though they can supply the information requested by where:

Where is he? He is-T

[c\ Notice the contrast between the a- adjective in

They looked asleep and the a- adverb in

They looked away

With asleep, looked is an intensive verb, synonymous with seemed. With away, it is an intransitive verb, similar in meaning and use to glanced.

[d] Alike requires reference to conjoined noun phrases or to a plural noun phrase; John and Mary are alike. He thought them alike.

[e] Some a- adjectives freely take premodification by very and comparison, eg: afraid, alert, alike, aloof, ashamed, and averse. Others do so marginally, eg: asleep

and awake. Alive to in the sense 'aware of' can be premodified by very and compared. Some of the a- adjectives can also be premodified by very much (particularly afraid, alike, ashamed, aware), and aware can be premodified by (very) well too. These modifiers are characteristically taken by many verbs (c/5.15 Note, 5.36).

faround \\_away

The adjective and other word-classes 237

If] Alone is perhaps a marginal adjective. Unlike the a- adverbs, it does not denote position or direction. When it is synonymous with solitary ('without companionship') rather than with by ... -self, it is acceptable to at least some speakers with seem and very {He seemed alone. He is very alone}.

5.8

Certain items that function as adjectives are also used to define in some way the process denoted by the verb, which is a typical use of adverbs (8.34). An example is quick in He came back quick. If in its adverbial use the item is not restricted to a position after the verb or (if present) the object, it undoubtedly belongs to both the adjective and adverb classes. For example, long and still, which commonly function as adjectives, are in pre-verb position in the following sentences and must therefore be adverbs:

Such animals have long had to defend themselves

They still can't make up their minds whether to go or not

Furthermore, the item clearly represents two different words if there is a semantic difference between the words in the two uses, as with long and still. But in a number of other cases, neither difference applies.

In many such cases, the adjective form and a corresponding -ly adverb form can be used interchangeably, with little or no semantic difference, except that some people prefer the adverb form:

, (loud and clear He spoke- {, ,, , , , [loudly and clearly

T. . . , (slow (especially AmE)

He drove the car < , ,, J ' [slowly

She buys her clothes (cJW!p. [cheaply

u . \_ i (Quick

He came back < . ,, [quickly

M

[2] [3]

[4]

In other cases there is no corresponding adverb form of the same lexical item, so that only the adjective form is available:

He always talks big (informal)

[5]

They are running \_/a<

They are working late

We finished early today

They will come round afterwards (replaced by around in AmE)

ne adverbs lately and roundly do not correspond to the adjective forms 238

Adjectives end adverbs

late and round in the above sentences. Only a limited number of adjectives have adverbial uses. Contrast with sentences marked [1-5]:

•He spoke brief and frank •He drove the car clever •She buys her clothes careful \*He came back sudden \*He always talks arrogant

[1a] [2a] [3a] [4a] [5a]

Adjective forms like slow differ from the corresponding adverb forms in several ways:

(i) The adjective form, if admissible at all, is restricted to a position after the verb or (if present) the object:

He slowly drove the car into the garage He drove the car slowly into the garage \*He slow drove the car into the garage (?)He drove the car slow into the garage

It is similarly restricted in a nominalization realized by a participle clause containing a direct object:

John's slowly driving the car annoyed his wife John's driving the car slowly annoyed his wife ♦John's slow driving the car annoyed his wife (?)John's driving the car slow annoyed his wife

(ii) The adjective form cannot be the focus of a cleft sentence, though this is possible for some corresponding adverbs:

It was slowly that he drove the car into the garage ♦It was slow that he drove the car into the garage

But if the adjective forms are coordinated, they can sometimes (and for some speakers) be the focus of a cleft sentence:

It was loud and clear that he spoke.

Note

[a] For the use of adjectives to express the result of the process denoted by the verb, eg: That powder washed the clothes white, see 5.17.

[b] For the use of adjectives as the sole realization of a verbless clause, eg: Nervous, the man opened the letter, see 5.24-27.

[c] In certain uses of smell and feel there is considerable idiolectal variation, and perhaps also fluctuation in the usage of the same individual, between the adjective and adverb forms:

■

The flowers smell

beautiful 7beautifully

fbad ^Tbadly

HefelK y - ('health'or'guilty'/'unhappy'sense)

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With smell, the variation depends on the particular item:

{good \*well sweet ?sweetly



There are prescriptive objections to the adverb form for these items with smell with 'recipient' meaning (7.16) and to badly with feel. With feel and smell, the adverb form is used to express intensity of feelings:

("strongly"! He fclK deeply About it

[keenly J

It smells strongly of garlic

The adjective keen has the different sense of "enthusiastic" when it can also complement be :

HeJ Mceen about it Iwasj

Notice the physical sense of strong in

He< ^strong \wasj

The use of adverb forms after 'recipient' TAsrE seems much less common and would be unacceptable to many speakers:

(good |

The food tastes<

marvellous

L?marvellousiy

After 'recipient' look and sound, it is normal to use adjective forms. There is a distinction in meaning between the adjectives good and well (5.35) after 'recipient'look:

He looks good ('He has a good appearance') He looks well ('It looks as if he is well1)

5.9

A few items that normally function as adverbs can also be used attributively, like adjectives, eg: the then chairman. More such items are available to postmodify noun phrases, eg: the sentence below. Since only a relatively few adverbs are involved, it is simplest to list the adverbs with these potentialities. (See 5.61jf.) Alternatively, we can analyse then in the 'hen chairman as a peripheral adjective like utter (5.4/, Table 5:1), and consider then and other adverbs used attributively as belonging to both the adverb and adjective classes.

Adjective and noun 5.10

Some items can be both adjectives and nouns. For example, criminal is an adjective in that

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(a) it can be used attributively: a criminal attack

(b) it can be used predicatively: The attack seemed criminal to us But criminal also has all the characteristics of a noun, since it can be

(a) subject of a clause: The criminal pleaded guilty to all charges

(b) subject complement: He Uprobably a criminal

(c) object: They have arrested the criminal

(d) inflected for number: one criminal, several criminals

(e) inflected for the genitive case: the criminal's sentence, the criminals' views

(f) preceded by articles and other determiners: a criminal, that criminal

(g) premodified by an adjective: a violent criminal

We must therefore say that criminal is both an adjective and a noun, and the relationship between the adjective criminal and the noun criminal is that of conversion (App 1.35). The italicized nouns in the following sentences are like criminal in this respect, since they often function as adjectives:

There was only one black in my class

He is investigating the ancients' conception of the universe

The Almighty's ways are often strange

The king greeted his nobles

You won't find many classics in our library

We need to distinguish the above instances of conversion, where the items are fully nouns, from adjectives functioning as the heads of noun phrases (5.20-23).

Note

In *Hu* attack was criminal, criminal is undoubtedly an adjective, since there is do article contrast (\*His attack was a criminal, 'His attack was the criminal) or number contrast. In a criminal attack, it also appears to be an adjective (roughly 'a brutal attack') and is not equivalent to (say) 'an attack by a criminal' {cf 5.11). It is presumably also an adjective in criminal law ('law relating to crime', cf: civil law, commercial law) and in both senses of criminal lawyer fa lawyer specializing in criminal law' and 'a lawyer who is criminal1). See 5.34.

5.11

Nouns commonly function attributively, as premodifiers of other nouns (13.57/):

the city council      a love poem

a stone wall          August weather

In this function, the attributive nouns resemble adjectives. However, the basically nominal character of these premodifiers is shown by their

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correspondence to prepositional phrases with the noun as complement:

the council of the city      a poem about love

a wall (made) of stone      weather (usual) in August

Such a correspondence is not available for attributive adjectives:

the urban council      a long poem a thick wall          hot weather

though we can sometimes use a postmodifying prepositional phrase with a related noun as complement, eg: a long poem ~ a poem of considerable length.

Like adjectives, nouns can function predicatively after intensive verbs, in particular after be:

That man is a fool

The noise you heard was thunder

She became a nurse

He turned traitor

Some nouns can even function both attributively and predicatively. Moreover, these nouns are like adjectives in that they do not take number variation. The nouns denote

material from which things are made or style (c/the corresponding classes of adjective, 5.41):

that concrete floor - that floor is concrete those pork pies ~ ?those pies are pork Worcester porcelain — this porcelain is Worcester

It can be argued that these nouns have been converted to adjectives (App 1.38).

Some nouns can also appear predicatively after seem, one of the diagnostic criteria for adjectives:

He seems a fool

His friend seems very much an Englishman Your remark seems nonsense to me My stay there seemed sheer bliss

These are indeed very close semantically to adjectives (foolish, English, Nonsensical, blissful). The closeness is of course greatest for mass nouns such as nonsense, fun and bliss, since, like adjectives, they do not take "Umber variation. Moreover, they can appear without an overt deter-"fcner. On the other hand, unlike adjectives functioning as heads of noun leases (5.20 ff), these mass nouns take the zero article when they function (say) as direct object:

I like nonsense

He experienced bliss. 242 Adjectives and adverbs

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[a] Attributive nouns can be coordinated with adjectives, eg: weekly and morning newspapers, city and suburban houses, but it seems that such conjoining\* are normally only possible when there is an elliptical head ('weekly newspapers and morning newspapers', 'city houses and suburban houses'), but not otherwise (\*a city and pleasant house), c/9.100/. Where both premodifiers are nouns, ellipsis need not be involved, eg: a glass and concrete house ('a house made of glass and concrete'), a cheese and cucumber sandwich ('a sandwich containing cheese and cucumber\*)- These become ambiguous in the plural (9.121), eg: cheese and cucumber sandwiches ('each of the sandwiches contains cheese and cucumber' or 'cheese sandwiches and cucumber sandwiches').

[b] The nouns that can most easily appear predicatively after seem are those that are gradable, that is to say the nouns that can be intensified by intensifying adjectives (3.31). However, some speakers, while accepting in this function mass nouns and singular count nouns, find plural nouns dubious:

They seem fools

?His friends seem very much Englishmen

Material nouns, which are not gradable, are also dubious after seem:

That floor seems concrete Those pies seem pork

[c] In informal usage (especially AmE), fun seems to have been fully converted into an adjective and can even accept very as premodifier: That was a very fun party.

Adjective and participle

5.12

There are many adjectives that have the same form as participles in -ing or -ed (or the variants of -ed):

His views were very surprising The man seemed very offended They include forms that have no corresponding verbs:

The results were unexpected His children must be downhearted All his friends are talented His lung is diseased These adjectives can also be attributive:

his surprising views the offended man the unexpected results his downhearted children his talented friends his diseased lung

When there are no corresponding verbs (\*unexpected, \*downheart, \*talent, 'disease), the forms are obviously not participles.

In some cases there are corresponding verbs but the -ed participle is not interpreted as passive. The passive interpretation is excluded, of course, if the corresponding verb can be used only intransitively:

the escaped prisoner ('the prisoner who has escaped') the departed guests ('the guests who have departed')

But even in other instances, the passive interpretation is virtually impossible or is not obligatory:

a grown boy ('a boy who has grown (up)') the faded curtains ('the curtains which have faded') the retired manager ('the manager who has retired' or 'the manager who has been retired')

Only with some of these is the predicative use allowed:

The curtains are faded

Her father is now retired

Her son is grown (dubious in BrE, but full-grown or grown-up is

fully acceptable) \*The guests are departed (c/the reverse in The guests are gone <-

'the gone guests') "The prisoner is escaped

Sometimes there is a corresponding verb, but it has a different meaning. We can therefore have ambiguous sentences where the ambiguity depends on whether we have a participle or an adjective:

She is (very) calculating (But her husband is frank) - adjective She is calculating (Don't disturb her while she is doing the

arithmetic) - participle

They were (very) relieved (to find her at home) - adjective They were relieved (by the next group of sentries) - participle

Notice that we can replace be by seem only with the adjectives.

Nota

"\*unexpected corresponds to the -ed participle of expect plus the negative particle:

""expected ~ not expected

""W, unlike expected, unexpected can be premodified by very, so that we can

^su that the morphological change has introduced a semantic/syntactic change.

HW(.Situat'on is less clear for the morphologically negative forms unwritten (eg: im-1 «ni>) and unbroken (eg: unbroken succession), which resemble the positive

"» m not accepting very. But see 5.15 Note.

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### 5.13

Often the difference between the adjective and the participle is not clear-cut, and lies in the verbal force retained by the latter. The verbal force is explicit for the -ing form

when a direct object is present. Hence, the following -ing forms are participles that constitute a verb phrase with the preceding auxiliary (3.12):

His views were alarming his audience

You are frightening the children

They are insulting us Similarly, the verbal force is explicit for the -ed form when a by agentive phrase with a personal agent (6.41, 12.14/) is present, indicating the correspondence to the active form of the sentence:

The man was offended by the policeman We are appreciated by our students She was misunderstood by her parents

For both participle forms, modification by the intensifier very is an explicit indication that the forms have achieved adjective status:

His views were very alarming You are very frightening The man was very offended  
?We are very appreciated

We might therefore expect that the presence of very together with an explicit indicator of verbal force would produce an unacceptable sentence. This is certainly so for the -ing participle form:

•His views were very alarming his audience

However, with the ~ed participle form, there appears to be divided usage, with increasing acceptance of the co-occurrence of very with a by agentive phrase containing a personal agent: ?The man was very offended by the policeman In the absence of any explicit indicator, the status of the participle form is indeterminate.

For the -ed form in

The man was offended

the participle interpretation focuses on the process, while the adjective interpretation focuses on the state resulting from the process. For the •ing form the difference is perhaps clearer. If in the sentence

John is insulting

the participle interpretation is selected, then the sentence expresses that John is in the process of giving insults and we expect an object, while if

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the adjective interpretation, the sentence points to a characteristic of John, cf; John is rude.

A participle interpretation is unlikely for some -ing forms if an object is absent, because the verb is normally transitive:

He is surprising (IHe surprises) He is interesting (IHe interests) It is exciting {lit excites) It is tempting (it tempts)

Note

[a] -ed participle forms accepting very can generally retain very when they co-occur with a by-agentive phrase containing a non-personal agent (12.14/):

I'm very disturbed by your attitude We were very pleased by his behaviour

[b] If the adjective is used dynamically (5.38, 2.16, 3.40), it also focuses on the process, eg:

John is being rude Don't be rude.

5.14

The participle sometimes reaches full adjective status when it is compounded with another element, which sometimes results in a sharp difference of meaning:

He is looking (at a painting)    He is (very) good-looking

The eggs are boiled hard        The eggs are (very) hard-boiled

He was bitten (by a snake)      He was (very) frost-bitten

It is breaking (his heart)        It is (very) heart-breaking

When an adjective or adverb is the first element of the compound, the intensifier can be interpreted as related to the first element rather than to the compound as a whole.

Note

Sometimes the passive participle cannot be used in environments where the compound adjective is admitted. For example, the verb speak does not allow a personal noun such as man as direct object, and hence we cannot have in the passive

\*The man was spoken

But we can have well-spoken in place of spoken: The man was well-spoken

Similarly, the verb behave does not take a direct object (except the reflexive) and therefore we cannot have a passive:

The boy was behoved "t we can have an adjective compound: The boy was well-behaved. 246 Adjectives and adverbs

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5.15

It is not only participles allowing the intensifier very that can be attributive (Z.5\ff), as the following examples show:

her crying children    the married couple

the winning team      his published work

the boiling water      the captured prisoner

Note

Very intensifies gradable adjectives and gradable adverbs. Gradable verbs are intensified by other intensifying adverbs (8.19#), though these are often themselves premodified by very, eg: very much, very well. The relevance of the test on whether the participle forms accept very depends on whether the words are gradable, since, as we have seen (5.5), not all adjectives are gradable. Hence, if the corresponding verb allows (say) very much while the participle form disallows very, we have a good indication that the form in question is a participle rather than an adjective:

She loved him very much He was very much loved (by her) He was loved very much (by her) \*He was very loved.

5.16

A few adjectives are differentiated from participles by taking the -en suffix where participles with the same base have the -ed suffix (shaved) or are without a suffix (drunk, shrunk):

shaven, drunken, shrunken

For a few others, mostly ending in a voiceless consonant, there is no difference between adjective and participle in spelling, but there is in pronunciation. Whereas the vowel of the participle suffix -ed is not pronounced, the suffix is treated in the adjective as a separate syllable pronounced /id/:

blessed, crooked, dogged, learned, ragged

Note

The suffix of aged is pronounced as a separate syllable, /id/, when the word is predicated of a personal noun or modifies it {The man is aged, an aged man), but not, for example, in an aged wine.

Syntactic functions of adjectives

5.17

Attributive and predicative

The major syntactic functions of adjectives are attributive and predicative. These are termed the major syntactic functions, since a word that cannot function either attributively or predicatively is not recognized as an adjective (5.5).

Adjectives are attributive when they premodify nouns. Attributive adjectives appear between the determiner (4.13^\*) and the head of the noun phrase:

the beautiful painting

a mere child

his main argument

predicative adjectives can be

(a) subject complement: there is co-reference between subject and subject complement, the two being in an intensive relationship (7.6):

Your daughter is pretty He is careless

(b) object complement: there is co-reference between direct object and object complement, the two being in an intensive relationship;

I consider him foolish He made his wife happy

They are not only subject complement to noun phrases, but also to clauses. They can be complement when the subject is a finite clause:

That tie needs it is obvious Whether he will resign is uncertain

or non-finite clause:

To drive a car is dangerous To play so hard is foolish Driving a bus isn't easy Playing chess is enjoyable

Similarly, adjectives can be object complement to clauses:

, .., fwhathedid T, ... I consider-^ . ■ 1 j rfoolish

^playing so hardj \*

The adjective functioning as object complement often expresses the result of the process denoted by the verb (7.14):

He pulled his belt tight [6]

He pushed the window open [7]

He writes his letters large [8]

result of the process can be stated for each sentence:

His belt is tight [6a]

The window is open [7a]

His letters are large [8a]

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Note

The verbs in [6]-[8] have a causative meaning. For example, 161 can be paraphrased

He caused his belt to be tight by pulling it Some verbs used in this type of construction primarily express cause:

She made him happy ('She caused him to be happy')

The news turned his hair white ('The news caused his hair to be white')

The analogy with adverbs can be seen in the resultative effect of an adverb such as out in

He pushed the window out ('He caused the window to be out by pushing it\*')

Compare this sentence with [7] above.

Postpositive 5.18

Adjectives can sometimes be postpositive, ie they can sometimes follow the noun or pronoun they modify. A postposed adjective (together with any complementation it may have, c/5.19) can usually be regarded as a reduced relative clause.

Complex indefinite pronouns ending in -body, -one, -thing, -where (4.122, 13.37) can be modified only postpositively:

Anyone (who is) intelligent can do it

I want to try on something (that is) larger

Of course, adjectives that can occur only attributively (5.30 Jf) are excluded :

•something (which is) main •somebody (who is) mere

Postposition is obligatory for a few adjectives, which have a different sense when they occur attributively or predicatively. The most common are probably elect ('soon to take office') and proper ('as strictly defined'), as in

the president elect

the City of London proper

In several compounds (mostly legal or quasi-legal) the adjective is postposed, the most common being

court martial            body politic

attorney general        postmaster general

heir apparent            notary public (AmE)

Postposition (in preference to attributive position) is usual for a few

a. adjectives (5.7) and for the four adjectives absent, present, concerned, involved, which normally do not occur attributively in the relevant sense:

The house (which is) ablaze is next door to mine

The boats (which were) afloat were not seen by the bandits

The men (who were) present were his supporters

The people (who were) involved were not found

Some postposed adjectives, especially those ending in -able or -ible, retain the basic meaning they have in attributive position but convey the implication that what they are denoting has only a temporary application. Thus, the stars visible refers to stars that are visible at a time specified or implied, while the visible stars refers to a category of stars that can (at appropriate times) be seen. We have a similar distinction between the temporary and the permanent in rivers navigable and navigable rivers, actors suitable and suitable actors. With a singular noun, postposition is common in a construction with only: the only actor suitable.

Note



Attributive present has the same sense as postposed present in the stereotyped expression present company excluded (where perhaps it has been transposed from its usual position because the participle has occupied that position) and in expressions that seem to be based on it (eg: excluding present company, if we exclude present company). In AmE, attributive and postposed in w/et/and concerned have the same sense if the head of the noun phrase is party or parties: the involved party, the concerned parties.

### 5.19

For most adjectives postposition is possible if there is complementation of the adjective:

The boys (who were) easiest to teach were in my class [9]  
 They have a house (which is) larger than yours [10]  
 I know the actor (who is) suitable for the part [11] Students (who are) brave enough to attempt the course deserve to succeed [12] There are many men there (who are) not old enough to be your father [13]

On the other hand, if the adjective is alone or merely premodified by an intensifier, postposition is not normally allowed:

The soldiers (rather) timid approached their officer  
 However, if the noun phrase is generic and indefinite, coordinated adjectives or adjectives with some clause element added can be postposed, though such constructions are not very frequent:

Soldiers timid or cowardly don't fight well 250 Adjectives and adverbs

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Soldiers normally timid don't fight well A man usually honest will sometimes cheat don't fight well

The more usual forms are

Timid or cowardly soldiers

Soldiers who are timid or cowardly)

Soldiers who are normally timid don't fight well

A man who is usually honest will sometimes cheat

The adjective of an adjective phrase can often be preposed, leaving its complementation in postposition. Thus, equivalent to sentences marked [9] and [10] are

The easiest boys to teach were in my class They have a larger house than yours Pa] [10a]

Brave enough students deserve to succeed A brave enough student deserves to succeed

If there is no complementation of the adjective and the adjective is modified by such adverbs as enough or too, the adjective with its modifier may be preposed:

On the other hand, if there is complementation and the adjective has such a modifier, preposing of the adjective and its modifier is often excluded :

"Brave enough students to attempt the course deserve to succeed • A brave enough student to attempt the course deserves to succeed

But the adjective and its modifier may even then be preposed if they are placed before the indefinite article, though this construction seems possible only if the adjective phrase is part of the subject complement:

He is (not) j

too timid

brave enough

a student to attempt the course.

Note

[a] A few set phrases allow both attributive and postpositive positions with little or no semantic difference, perhaps (the most common being positive proof- proof positive. Postposition is more usual in the set phrase the answer pure and simple and obligatory for the set phrase from lime immemorial.

[b] We find the postposition of adjectives in poetry in cases where attributive position is the norm elsewhere in the language.

[c] Galore and (AmE) aplenty are postposed obligatorily:

There were presents galore Both are restricted to informal speech.

Head of a noun phrase 5.20

Adjectives can function as heads of noun phrases (4.53, 4.58), and (like all noun phrases) can be subject of the sentence, complement, object, and complement of a preposition. Adjectives as noun-phrase heads do not inflect for number or for the genitive case and they must take a definite determiner. Three types of adjectives function as noun-phrase heads.

[A] All adjectives qualifying personal nouns can be noun-phrase heads:

The poor are causing the nation's leaders great concern There is a lack of communication between the young and the

old

The innocent are often deceived by the unscrupulous The extremely old need a great deal of attention We will nurse your sick, clothe your naked, and feed your

hungry

The young in spirit enjoy life The rich will help only the humble poor The very wise avoid such temptations The wise look to the wiser for advice The old who resist change can expect violence

These adjectives have generic reference and take plural concord. Hence, the poor cannot denote one person. (In contrast, the noble and the black, when used as nouns, can have singular reference: 5.10.) It is often possible to add a general word for human beings such as people and retain the generic reference, in which case the definite determiner is normally omitted, but the use of the adjective as head of the noun phrase is probably more common. The adjective can itself be modified, usually by restrictive modification (13.5).

Note

[o] We must distinguish these from cases of contextually-determined ellipsis (9.89, 10.79):

The young students found the course difficult, the older found it easy

Here, the older is elliptical for the older students.

Wi Some of the above sentences illustrate the modification of the adjective. Pre-modification by adverbs (the extremely old, the eery wise) seems to be easier than premodification by adjectives (the humble poor). Postmodification by relative clauses (the old who resist change) seems easier than postmodification by prepositional phrases (the young in spirit). Notice also that inflected comparison forms of the adjective are possible (the wiser). Inflection for comparison and modification by adverbs are indications of the adjective status of these noun-phrase heads, while modification by adjectives is more typical of nouns and modification by relative clauses is normally an indication of noun status. Avoidance of modifies- 252  
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tion by adjectives is probably related to the fact that this type of adjective as noun-phrase head tends to accept only restrictive modification. Premodifying adjectives with this noun-phrase head are normally interpreted as non-restrictive. For example, the wretched poor would not normally be taken as a subclass of poor people, whereas with its premodifying adverb the wretchedly poor would be so taken.

[c] In the young in spirit it is clear that the adjective itself is postmodified by a prepositional phrase, since the general noun cannot be postmodified by in spirit (\*t/e people in spirit who are young). On the other hand, in the young of London it is arguable that the prepositional phrase is postmodifying a general noun that has been ellipited, since we can say the people of London who are young. Similarly, We can argue that the relative clause in the old who resist change is postmodifying an ellipited general noun {the people who resist change who are old}. Since people is not the only noun we can supply (for example we could insert persons instead), such ellipsis must be weak ellipsis (9.7).

[d] The determiner the with these adjectives is the generic the (4.28 ff).

[e] Adjectives functioning as heads of noun phrases should be distinguished from nouns that are converted from adjectives, eg: criminal (5.10). The latter can be inflected for number and for the genitive and can usually take indefinite determiners.

(/) Although adjectives functioning as noun-phrase heads generally require a definite determiner, they can function as such without a determiner if they are conjoined: \*He is acceptable to old \*He is acceptable to young He is acceptable to both old and young. See 4.14 Note a.

5.21

[B] Some adjectives denoting nationalities (4.33) can be noun-phrase heads:

You British and you French ought to be allies

The clever Swiss have preserved their neutrality for centuries

The industrious Dutch are admired by their neighbours

The adjectives in question are virtually restricted to words ending in -(i)sh (British, Cornish, Danish, English, Irish, Spanish, Turkish, Welsh), -ch {Dutch, French) and -ese (Chinese, Japanese, Maltese, Portuguese), with Swiss as an exception in not belonging to any of these groups. The adjectives refer to the nations. As with type [A] in 5.20, these noun phrases have generic reference and take plural concord. Unlike type [A], these cannot be modified by adverbs. They can be modified by adjectives,

which are normally non-restrictive, ie: the industrious Dutch is interpreted as the Dutch, who are industrious,... (13.3, 13.46).

Note

[a] Some names of nations appear with or without an uninflected plural (4.70 Note), eg: Eskimo, Navaho, Bantu. The uninflected form is used as the head of a noun phrase.

[b] Postmodifying prepositional phrases and relative clauses can be either restrictive or non-restrictive:

The Irish (who live) in America retain sentimental links with Ireland The Polish, who are very rebellious, resisted strongly

[c] These adjectives are sometimes used not to refer to the nation as a whole but to some part of it, for example, troops or tourists:

The French invaded England in 1066 The British retain control of the bridge The Chinese are staying in the hotel opposite

Except for the type exemplified in the last sentence the reference is to the power of the nation.

[d] You British and you French can also be analysed as having you as head and the names of the nationalities as noun phrases in restrictive apposition (9.160 ff).

5.22

Names of languages (some of them identical with the adjectives listed in 5.21) are used as full nouns. They can take possessive pronouns and a restricted range of adjectives:

He doesn't know much English

Russian is a difficult language

He speaks excellent English

My Spanish is very poor (' My knowledge of the Spanish

language is very poor') I can't understand his difficult German ('the difficult German

that he is speaking')

5.23

[C] Some adjectives have abstract reference when they function as noun-phrase heads. They include, in particular, superlatives, in which case we can sometimes insert thing in its abstract sense:

The latest (thing, news) is that he is going to run for election

The very best (thing) is yet to come

He ventured into the unknown

He admires the mystical

He went from the extremely sublime to the extremely ridiculous

These take singular concord. A few are modifiable by adverbs. Note

are a number of set phrases in which an adjective with abstract reference is complement of a preposition (6.1 Note), eg; {He left) for good, (He enjoyed it) to the Ml. in short. 254 Adjectives and adverbs

Supplementive adjective clause 5.24

Adjectives can function as the sole realization of a verbless clause or as the head of an adjective phrase realizing the clause. One such type of verbless clause is the supplementive adjective clause (11.48/):

Nervous, the man opened the letter [14ai]

The man, nervous, opened the letter [14b]

The man opened the letter, nervous [14c]

As the above examples demonstrate, the supplementive adjective clause is mobile, though (partly to avoid ambiguity) it usually precedes or (less usually) follows the subject of the superordinate clause. When it follows the subject, as in [14b], it is in some respects like a non-restrictive relative clause (13.14/):

The man, who was nervous, opened the letter

But the adjective clause suggests that the man's nervousness was shown, whereas the relative clause does not convey that implication. The difference is because the adjective clause is related to the predication as well as to the subject (5.25). Furthermore, unlike the relative clause, the adjective clause is mobile and (with the exception discussed below) its implied subject is the subject of the sentence. Thus, while we have

The man restrained the woman, who was aggressive we do not have as its equivalent

\*The man restrained the woman, aggressive

However, if the supplementive adjective clause contains additional clause constituents, its implied subject can be a noun phrase other than the subject of the sentence:

{quiet (now) in her daughter's lap now quiet \*quiet

Other examples of supplementive adjective clauses:

Long and untidy, his hair played in the breeze [15]

The man, quietly assertive, spoke to the assembled workers [16]

Unhappy, she returned to work [17]

Glad to accept, the boy nodded his agreement [18]

Anxious for a quick decision, the chairman called for a vote [19] Not\*

In the case of participle clauses, the implied subject can be other than the subject of the sentence;

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5.25

Under certain conditions an adverb may replace, with little change of semantic force, an adjective functioning as a supplementive adjective clause. Thus, instead of [14a] we might have

Nervously, the man opened the letter

Like the adjective, an adverb with this function (8.41 ff) refers to the subject, though it normally does so specifically in relationship to the action that he is performing. The adjective refers to the subject without explicit reference to the action, but unless otherwise stated, the characterization is only temporary in its application. For example, nervous in [14a] does not imply that the man is characteristically nervous. But an explicit time indicator can be introduced and in that case the semantic neutralization between adjective and adverb does not take effect:

Always nervous, \ ^ man d ^ ktteM

Always nervously,)

With the adjective, the man's nervousness is generalized; with the adverb, it is stated only with respect to his opening of letters.

Note

An adverb cannot be substituted under certain conditions:

(i) if (obviously) there is no corresponding adverb, eg: long in [15]. (ii) if the adjective takes complementation or modification not allowed for the adverb, eg-116], [18], [19].

The more likely interpretation of unhappily if it replaced unhappy in [17] - 'it was sad that' - makes the adjective a preferable cho'ce.

5.26

The implied subject of a suppiementive adjective clause can be the whole of the superordinate clause:

Strange, it was she who initiated divorce proceedings [20]

Most important, his report offered prospects of a great profit [21] More remarkable still, he is in charge of the project [22]

For example, [20] is semantically equivalent to: That it was she who initiated divorce proceedings is strange. These clauses relate to the superordinate clause like comment clauses introduced by what (11.65). For "ample, for [20]:

She glanced with disgust at the cat, islr'^dout on the rug  
\jnewmg plaintively

is strange, it was she who initiated divorce proceedings

The few adjectives that can be used for this purpose convey the attitude that what is being said is in some measure strange, eg: curious, funny, dd, strange, surprising. A few others seem possible if they are premodi- 256 Adjectives and adverbs

Syntactic functions of adjectives 257

fied by more or most, as in [21] and [22]; This type of adjective clause must precede its superordinate clause.

Note

A corresponding adverb can be substituted for the adjective with little or no difference in effect as with strangely for strange in [20]:

Strangely, it was she who initiated divorce proceedings The adjective, unlike the adverb, allows a that- or how- clause to follow:

/that it turned out that way ^trmge\how she still likes him

\* ,, , fthat it turned out that way \*StrangelyA, , , , , . w J Uiow she still likes him

This is because the adjective is elliptical for an exlrposed construction (14.36#) or perhaps a pseudo-cleff construction (14.21):

It is strange how she still likes him What is strange is how she still likes him

The adverb is more mobile than the adjective, though the adjective can be transposed from initial to end posilion if thgre is a sufficient pause:

He even lied to his wife. Strange!

But in that case it seems as if it must be an exclamation ('How strange!') and constitutes a separate sentence.

## 5.27

### Contingent adjective clause

A special type of supplementive adjective clause is the contingent adjective clause, which expresses the circumstance or condition under which what is said in the superordinate clause applies:

Enthusiastic, they make good students (= When enthusiastic, . . .)

[23] Whether right or wrong, he always comes off worst in an argument  
because of his inability to speak coherently [24]

When ripe, these apples are sweet [25]

As with the supplementive adjective clause that we have described earlier (5.24<sup>^</sup>), the implied subject of the contingent adjective clause is normally the subject of the superordinate clause, but the clause is not equivalent to a non-restrictive relative clause. A subordinator is often present, as in [24] and [25], but it is sometimes omitted, so that instead of [25] we can have

Ripe, these apples are sweet

When the implied subject is the subject of the superordinate clause, it is normal to put the adjective initially, as in [25a], but it is not uncommon to put it finally in spoken English. If a subordinator is present, there is no problem in positioning the clause finally even in written English:

These apples are sweet when ripe [25a]

The implied subject of the contingent clause can also be the object of the superordinate clause, though only a few adjectives are available for this use:

He sells them new

We can drink it hot

You must eat it when fresh

[26] [27] [28]

The adjective then usually comes finally and could be regarded as a complement (cfl.2 Note a). A subordinator is also often present, as in [28]. If the subject of the superordinate clause is passive, the adjective normally appears finally:

\*Ripe, the apples were picked The apples were picked ripe

just as it normally does in an active form of the sentence, where the implied subject is the object of the superordinate clause:

\*Ripe, they picked the apples They picked the apples ripe

In informal spoken English, an adjective clause whose implied subject is the object of the superordinate clause can occur initially, though the position would be avoided if ambiguity resulted:

Hot, I can't drink coffee

The implied subject can also be the whole of the superordinate clause (which would be realized in the subordinate clause by the pro-form it):

If (it is) possible, the dog should be washed every day When (it is) necessary, he can be taken to the doctor

But the subordinator cannot then be omitted.

See 11.44 ff for further discussion of adjective clauses and other verb-less clauses, as well as of non-finite clauses that require similar treatment.

Note

WJ Corresponding adverbs cannot replace adjectives in contingent adjective clauses. [24] is ambiguous between the more probable interpretation of the adjective clause as conditional and the other possibility that it is a non-contingent supple-mentive clause with the superordinate clause as its implied subject (5.26). In the latter interpretation, adverbs - whether rightly or wrongly - can replace the adjectives. 258 Adjectives and adverbs

[b] The contingent clause is elliptical (9.9), with ellipsis of the subject or object (implied from the superordinate clause) and of an appropriate form of be, and (if not present) of the subordinator.

## 5.28

Exclamatory adjective sentences

Adjectives that can be complement when the subject is a finite clause (5.17) can alone or as head of an adjective phrase be exclamations:

How good of you!

How wonderful!

Excellent!

These need not be dependent on any previous linguistic context, but may be a comment on some object or activity in the situational context (c/7.79, 7.88).

Note

Since 'missing' elements cannot be uniquely recovered, there is no need to regard these exclamations as elliptical. See 9. IS ff for exclamations that are to be considered elliptical, though the ellipsis is not dependent on the linguistic context, eg: Sony!

Subclassification of adjectives

According to syntactic function 5.29

One important way in which adjectives can be subclassified is according to the syntactic function they can perform. (For a morphological sub-classification, see App 1.21 ff.) The two main syntactic functions of adjectives are their use as attributives and as predicatives. Thus, adjectives can be subclassified according to whether they can function as:

(1) both attributive and predicative, eg a hungry man-v the man is hungry

(2) attributive only, eg

an utter fool~\*the fool is utter

(3) predicative only, eg

\*a loath woman~the woman is hath to admit it

This would be a very simple subclassification, requiring the listing of all adjectives in three separate subclasses, if only each item had just one value. However, many items have more than one syntactic and/or semantic value. These syntactic-semantic homonyms complicate the task of separating adjectives into these three subclasses.

Most adjectives can be both attributive and predicative. They constitute the central adjectives (5.5) and no more need be said about them.

Subclassification of adjectives 259



We turn now to consider the characteristics of the peripheral adjectives, those that are restricted to attributive or to predicative use. The restrictions are not always absolute, and sometimes vary with individual speakers.

### Attributive only 5.30

In general, adjectives that are restricted to attributive position or that occur predominantly in attributive position do not characterize the referent of the the noun directly. For example, old can be either a central adjective or an adjective restricted to attributive position. In that old man (the opposite of that young man), old is a central adjective, and we can say That man is old. On the other hand, in the usual sense of an old friend of mine (a friend of old, a longstanding friend), old is restricted to attributive position and cannot be related to My friend is old. In this case old is the opposite of new (recently acquired). The person referred to is not being identified as old: it is his friendship that is old. Similarly, the attributive adjective in the wrong candidate does not refer to the wrongness of the person but to the mistake in identifying the person as a candidate. Adjectives that characterize the referent of the noun directly are termed inherent, those that do not are termed non-inherent.

However, some non-inherent adjectives occur also predicatively. In part, non-inherent adjectives appear to be excluded from predicative position because of pressure from homonyms that commonly occupy that position, as with old. But the reasons for the restriction are not always clear. For example, both a new student and a new friend are non-inherent, yet only the former can be used predicatively:

That student is new \*My friend is new

Some of the factors that are involved in the restriction will emerge in the course of an identification of the types of adjective that are restricted to attributive position. Note A few words with strongly emotive value which will not be further discussed are restricted to attributive position, though the scope of the adjective clearly extends to (he Person referred to by the noun, eg: you poor man, my dear lady, that wretched woman. Th all involve non-restrictive modification (13.3, 13.50).

531

### intensifying adjectives

k adjectives have a heightening effect on the noun they modify or ^

### 260 Adjectives and adverbs

the reverse, a lowering effect. At least three semantic subclasses of intensifying adjectives can be distinguished (cf%.19ff):

emphasizers

amplifiers

downtoners

Emphasizers have a general heightening effect; amplifiers scale upwards from an assumed norm; downtoners have a lowering effect, usually scaling downwards from an assumed norm.

downtoners, of which there are relatively few (eg: slight in a slight effort, feeble in a feeble joke), can be ignored for our present purpose, since they are generally central adjectives. emphasizers are generally attributive only. Examples include:

pure ('sheer') fabrication a real ('undoubted') hero sheer arrogance the simple truth a certain winner a clear failure a definite loss mere repetition

a sure sign a true scholar

an outright lie plain nonsense

The situation is more complicated for amplifiers. They are central adjectives if they are inherent and denote a high or extreme degree; a complete victory ~ the victory was complete great destruction ~ the destruction was great On the other hand, they are attributive only (a) when they are non-inherent:

a complete fool — \*the fool is complete

a firm friend ~ \*the friend is firm (asterisked in the relevant sense)

Complete refers to the completeness of the folly, and ^rw to the firmness of the friendship.

(b) when they are used as emphasizees, conveying principally emphasis rather than degree. For example, total in total nonsense is emphatic, while in total destruction it has a literal application ('the destruction of everything'). Hence the contrast: total nonsense ~ \*the nonsense was total total destruction ~ the destruction was total

Examples of adjectives as amplifiers that are attributive only: the absolute limit a great supporter a close friend a perfect idiot

Subdnstfi cation of adjectives 261

a complete fool an extreme enemy his entire salary a firm friend

a strong opponent total nonsense utter folly the very end

Many intensifying adjectives can be related to intensifying adverbs 19#)

It is utter folly to do that ~ It is utterly folly to do that It was a clear failure ~ It was clearly a failure He is a true scholar — He is truly a scholar

Notice that several of them have homonyms that can occur both attributively and predicatively, eg

I drank some pure ('clean') water ~ The water is pure Those are real flowers — Those flowers are real, not artificial

Examples of intensifying adjectives occurring predicatively include:

The disaster was complete His condemnation was extreme His folly was great The earthquake was strong Their victory is certain

Some intensifying adjectives are not found predicatively: mere, sheer, utter.

Note

Many adjectives can be used as intensifies, usually with severe restrictions on the nouns they modify, eg: a great fool ('very foolish'), a great baby ('very babyish'), a great friend ('very friendly'), a big fool ('very foolish'), a big baby ('very babybh'), but not \*a big friend('very friendly\*). These are also restricted to attributive position.

S.32

Restrictive adjectives

Restrictive adjectives restrict the reference of the noun exclusively, particularly or chiefly. Examples, within noun phrases, include:

a certain person the precise reason

his chief excuse the principal objection

the exact answer the same student

the main reason the sole argument

the only occasion the specific point

a particular child      the very man

Again, some of these have homonyms. For example, certain in a certain person is a restrictive (equivalent to 'a particular person'), while in 262 Adjectives and adverbs a certain winner it is, as we saw in 5.31, an intensifier (equivalent to 'a sure winner'). In John is certain that she will take it, it is semantical!; related to the intensifier, but it is equivalent to sure in the sense of 'confident' and is limited to predicative position. Some restrictive adjectives can be related to restrictive adverbs (8.13/):

That was the precise reason ~ That was precisely the reason It is the main reason ~ It is mainly the reason

Not\*

Notice the use of very as a restrictive adjective rather than as a degree intensifier adverb:

You are the very man I want Compare with restrictive adverbs:

You are precisely (exactly) the man I want Very as an intensifying adjective is exemplified in 5.31.

### 5.33

Related to adverbials

Some adjectives that are attributive only can be related to adverbials but do not fall within the two types that have been discussed. These non-inherent adjectives include: my former friend ~ formerly my friend an old friend ~ a friend of old past students ~ students in the past a possible friend ~ possibly a friend lbs present king ~ the king at present an occasional visitor ~ occasionally a visitor an apparent defeat ~ apparently a defeat Some require implications additional to the adverbial: the late president ~ till lately the president (now dead) the former reason ~ the reason stated formerly If the adjectives premodify agentive nouns, the latter suggest as well a relationship to the verb base or to an associated verb: a hard worker ~ someone who works hard a big eater ~ someone who eats a lot a good thief ~ someone who thievs well Many of these adjectives have a temporal meaning. We might include with them acting ('for the time being') as in the acting chairman.

### Subclassification of adjectives 263

Note

Not all instances like good /Afe/involve a restriction to attributive position. Possible conflict with homonyms seems a contributory factor. Thus a good thief h analogous to a good writer, a good student, or a good detective in that in all four instances good refers to the ability of the person in respect of the reference of (he noun - good as a thief, good as a writer, etc. However, the last three instances of good can be used predicatively in the same sense:

That writer is good That student is good That detective is good and similarly:

That writer is bad That student is weak That detective is bad

Nevertheless, we normally cannot use these adjectives predicatively in the intended sense when the noun is pejorative:

a good thief ~ 'that thief is good a poor liar ~ 'that liar is poor a bad liar ~ \*that liar is bad

On the other hand, one thief might well say of another That thief is good, but in that case he is not using thief pejoratively. Cf: He is good at stealing, but bad at lying.

5.34

Denominal adjectives

Some adjectives derived from nouns are restricted to attributive position.

They include:

a criminal lawyer ~ a lawyer specializing in criminal law an atomic scientist ~ a scientist specializing in atomic science a woollen dress ~ a dress made of wool

The first two examples contain agentive nouns with a denominal adjective (non-inherent) referring to the activity of the agent, while the third example contains an adjective denoting material. The same item may also be a central adjective. For example, a criminal lawyer can be a lawyer who is criminal, in which case criminal is a central adjective (5.10).

Predicative only 535

Adjectives that are restricted or virtually restricted to predicative Position are most like verbs and adverbs. They tend to refer to a (possibly temporary) condition rather than to characterize. Perhaps the most

»common are those referring to the health or lack of health of an animate being:

faint ill (especially BrE) well unwell

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Subclassification of adjectives 265

However, some people use ill and (to a lesser extent) unwell as attributives too.

Not\*

Sick (especially to AmE) is the exception among these 'health' adjectives in that its attributive use is very common: the sick woman ~ the woman is sick

5.36

A larger group comprises adjectives that can take complementation (12.34 ff).

Among them are

able (to)

fond (of)

afraid (that, of, about)

glad (that, to, about, of)

answerable (to)

happy (that, to, with, about)

averse (to, from)

loath (to)

aware (that, of)

subject (to)

conscious (that, of)

tantamount (to)

Some of these adjectives must take complementation and many normally do. Many of these adjectives closely resemble verbs semantically:

He is afraid to do it ~ He fears to do it They are fond of her ~ They like her That is tantamount to an ultimatum ~ That amounts to an

ultimatum

Able to is equivalent to the modal auxiliary can in the ability sense (3.44). Some of these adjectives that are restricted to attributive position have homonyms that can occur both predicatively and attributively, eg: the conscious patient ~the patient is conscious. With others, the semantic distinction between the restricted item and its homonym is more subtle, eg: The man is happy~a happy man compared with The man is happy to do it, where happy is closer to glad or pleased than to its homonym. With some adjectives that take complementation there appears to be no semantic distinction, and we must say that they can freely occur in both positions, eg: eager, indignant, surprised.

Note

[a] Most of the a- adjectives are predicative only (5.7). As can be seen, several of them

can take complementation.

[6] It is not usually possible for the adjective to be complement if the subject is undefined, and hence the oddness of

•A street is wide (c/14.27)

The exception is with the generic use of the indefinite article (4.28 ff): A tiger is dangerous.

Semantic subclassification

537

Some of the semantic distinctions that we are about to make have already been mentioned because they have syntactic correlates.

Three semantic scales are applicable to adjectives. It is important to realize that we are dealing with scales rather than with a feature that is present or absent. That is to say, not all the realizations of a feature are available in each case. Furthermore, there may be idiolectal variations in the recognition of a feature or in the acceptability of its realizations.

5.38

(I) Stative/dynamic

Adjectives are characteristically stative. Many adjectives, however, can be seen as dynamic (2.16, 3.40). In particular, most adjectives that are susceptible to subjective measurement (5.41) are capable of being dynamic. Stative and dynamic adjectives differ in a number of ways. For example, a stative adjective such as tall cannot be used with the progressive aspect or with the imperative: \*He's being tall, \*Be tall. On the other hand, we can use careful as a dynamic adjective: He's being careful, Be careful. (For other differences see 3.40.) Adjectives that can be used dynamically include:

abusive, adorable, ambitious, awkward, brave, calm, careful, careless, cheerful, clever, complacent, conceited, cruel, disagreeable, dull, enthusiastic, extravagant, faithful, foolish, friendly, funny, generous, gentle, good, greedy, hasty, helpful, impatient, impudent, irritable, irritating, jealous, kind, lenient, loyal, mischievous, naughty, nice, noisy, obstinate, patient, playful, reasonable, rude, sensible, serious, shy, slow, spiteful, stubborn, stupid, suspicious, tactful, talkative, thoughtful, tidy, timid, troublesome, unfaithful, unscrupulous, untidy, vain, vicious, vulgar, wicked, witty.

5J9

[H] Gradable/oon-gradable

Most adjectives are gradable, that is to say, can be modified by adverbs which convey the degree of intensity of the adjective. Gradability includes comparison:

tall taller tallest

beautiful more beautiful most beautiful and other forms of intensification:

very young

so plain

extremely useful

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Because gradability applies to adverbs as well as adjectives, the subject is considered below in relation to both classes (5.70/).

All dynamic adjectives are gradable. Most stative adjectives {tall, old} are gradable; some (principally 'technical adjectives' like atomic scientist and hydrochloric acid and adjectives denoting provenance, eg: British) are non-gradable (c/5.41, 5.70).

5.40

[III] Inherent/non-inherent

The distinction between inherent and non-inherent adjectives has been discussed above (5.30). Most adjectives are inherent, that is to say, characterize the referent of the noun directly. For example, the inherent adjective in a wooden cross applies to the referent of the object directly: a wooden cross is also a wooden object. On the other hand, in a wooden actor the adjective is non-inherent: a wooden actor is not (presumably) a wooden man.

Gradable adjectives are either inherent, as in a black coat, or non-inherent, as in a new friend. Dynamic adjectives are generally inherent, though there are exceptions; for example, wooden in The actor is being wooden is both dynamic and non-inherent. Table 5:2 gives examples of adjectives that illustrate the various possibilities with respect to the three semantic distinctions that we have been discussing.

Table 5:2

### SEMANTIC SUBCLASSIFICATION OF ADJECTIVES

stative	gradable	inherent	
-	+	+	brave (man)
+	+	+	black (coat) normal
ADJECTIVE TYPE			
+	+	—	new (friend)
+	-	+	British (citizen)

Note

In a dull teacher, the adjective dull is non-inherent, since a dull teacher is not necessarily a dull man. However, in the following sentence dull is being used dynamically and is now inherent:

The teacher is being dull

In this case the process of being dull is ascribed to the teacher, but the truth-value of what is said applies if we replace the teacher by another designation for the person:

That man "I... , , , i-is being dull. Mr Jones I

#### 5.41

##### Semantic sets and adjectival order

Apart from the semantic distinctions discussed in 5.38-40, semantic sets have been proposed to account for the usual order of adjectives and for their co-occurrence (13.65 jf):

- (a) intensifying adjectives (5.31), eg: a real hero, a perfect idiot
- (b) post-determiners (4.22,\$"), including restrictive adjectives (5.32), eg: the fourth student, the only occasion
- (c) general adjectives susceptible to subjective measure, eg: careful, naughty, lovely
- (d) general adjectives susceptible to objective measure, including those denoting size or shape, eg: wealthy, large, square
- (e) adjectives denoting age, eg: young, old, new
- (f) adjectives denoting colour, eg: red, black
- (g) denominal adjectives denoting material (5.34), eg: a silken handkerchief, a metallic substance, and denoting resemblance to a material, eg: metallic voice, silken hair, cat-like stealth
- (h) denominal adjectives denoting provenance or style, eg: a British ship, a Parisian dress

##### Characteristics of the adverb

#### 5.42

Because of its great heterogeneity, the adverb class is the least satisfactory of the traditional parts of speech. Indeed, it is tempting to say simply that the adverb is an item that does not fit the definitions for other parts of speech. As a consequence, some grammarians have removed certain types of items from the class entirely and established several additional classes rather than retain these as subsets within a single adverb class.

The most common characteristic of the adverb is morphological: the majority of adverbs have the derivational suffix -ly. Both the -ly suffix and the less common -wise suffix (clockwise, moneywise) are productive suffixes by means of which new adverbs are created from adjectives (and to a minor extent from participles) and from nouns respectively. But as we noted (5.2), some adjectives have an -ly suffix, while many words that we would undoubtedly wish to place in the traditional adverb class {eg: often, here, well, now) lack this termination. (For adverb suffixes, see App 1.30.)

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There are two types of syntactic functions that characterize the traditional adverbs, but an adverb need have only one of these:

- (1) clause constituent
- (2) modifier of adjective and adverb

##### Clause constituent

#### 5.43

An adverb may function in the clause itself as adverbial, as a constituent distinct from subject, verb, object, and complement (2.3). As such it is usually an optional element and hence peripheral to the structure of the clause (7.4):

John always loses his pencils  
I spoke to him outside  
Perhaps my suggestion will be accepted  
They may well complain about his appearance  
I quite forgot about it  
He may nevertheless refuse to accept our excuse

There are, of course, differences between the adverbs in the above sentences, most obviously the differences in their position and in their relationship to other constituents of the sentence. For example, quite is normally restricted to the position given to it in its sentence.

Note

The adverb may itself be modified, in which case the adverb phrase as a whole functions as adverbial:

John nearly always loses his pencils  
They may very well complain about his appearance.

5.44

Adjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts

The functions of the adverb as a clause element are examined in Chapter 8. For the present we merely outline the three classes that are discussed in that chapter:

adjuncts

disjuncts

conjuncts

adjuncts are integrated within the structure of the clause to at least some extent. An adverb demonstrates its integration within clause structure, and hence that it is an adjunct, if it conforms to at least one of the following conditions (see further, 8.3):

Characteristics of the adverb 269

(1) If it cannot appear initially in a negative declarative clause marked off from the rest of the clause by comma punctuation or its intonational equivalents (App III.9/, App II.12j<sup>^</sup>). The more mobile an adverb is, the less it is tied to the structure of the clause. Its independence is demonstrated if it can appear initially set off from the rest of the clause, and particularly if its position is not affected by the clause process of negation.

(2) If it can be contrasted with another adverbial in alternative interrogation, since this shows that it can be the focus of clause interrogation (7.68/):

Are they waiting outside or are they waiting inside?

(3) If it can be contrasted with another adverbial in alternative negation, since this shows that it can be the focus of clause negation (7.51):

I didn't see him beforehand, but I did see him afterwards. Examples of adjuncts:

They are waiting outside

We haven't yet finished it

Proudly, he showed his diploma to his parents

I can now understand it

He spoke to me about it briefly

disjuncts and conjuncts, on the other hand, are not integrated within the clause. What has been said about adjuncts applies to them in reverse:



(1) They can appear initially in a negative declarative clause marked off from the clause by punctuation or its intonational equivalents:

Frankly, he isn't tired.

(2) They cannot be contrasted with another adverbial in alternative interrogation:

◆Is he tired probably or is he tired possibly ?

(3) They cannot be contrasted with another adverbial in alternative negation:

\*He isn't tired probably, but he is tired possibly.

Semantically, disjuncts express an evaluation of what is being said either with respect to the form of the communication or to its content. Examples of disjuncts:

Briefly, there is nothing more I can do about it

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Frankly, I am tired

Fortunately, no one complained

They are probably at home

She wisely didn't attempt to apologize

Semantically, conjuncts have a connective function. They indicate the connection between what is being said and what was said before.

Examples of conjuncts:

We have complained several times about the noise, and yet he does

nothing about it All our friends are going to Paris this summer. We, however, are going to London I have not looked into his qualifications yet. He seems very intelligent, though

If they open all the windows, then I'm leaving I didn't invite her. She wouldn't have come, anyway.

5.45

Modifier

An adverb may function as a modifier of an adjective or of another adverb:

They are very happy

He is stupid enough to do it

It was a remarkably good show

She drives too quickly

They play so very well

He gave a far more easily intelligible explanation

[29] [30] [31] [32] [33] [34]

In this function, the adverb premodifies except for enough, which (as adverb) can only postmodify, as in [30]. The item being modified may itself function as a modifier. For example, the adjective good premodifies the noun show in [31], while the adverb far premodifies the adverb more in [34] and the adverb very the adverb well in [33]. In both [31] and [34] the adverb is within a noun phrase. The structure of the noun phrase in [34] is the more complicated of the two, with a hierarchy of modification that can best be displayed by a tree diagram:

more

easily intelligible explanation

The adverb and other wcd-classes 271

This second characteristic function of adverbs will receive detailed attention later in this chapter (5.51 ff), though it should be immediately pointed out that not all adverbs that modify adjectives will also modify adverbs (c/5.54), and furthermore some adverbs may modify phrases -noun phrases and prepositional phrases.

The most conspicuous example of an adverb that functions only as a modifier of adjectives and adverbs and not as a sentence element is very.

Note

For very as an adjective, see 5.31 /.

The adverb and other word-classes

5.46

We now briefly consider some examples of overlapping between the adverb class and other word-classes. Similarities between adverbs and adjectives have been discussed earlier (5.1 ff). The other relevant word-classes are conjunctions and prepositions. We also take into account certain words (other than conjunctions and some conjuncts) that must be positioned initially, but these are not traditionally recognized as separate word-classes.

5.47

Conjunct and conjunction

A few conjuncts, eg: so, yet, resemble coordinators (coordinating conjunctions) both in being connectives and in certain syntactic features (cf 9.29 ff). In particular, these conjuncts cannot be transposed with their clause in front of the preceding clause. Thus, the order of the following two clauses (with the conjunct so in the second clause) is fixed:

We paid him a very large sum. So he kept quiet about what he saw.

If we invert the order of the clauses, the relationship between the two clauses is changed and so must now refer to some preceding clause:

So he kept quiet about what he saw. We paid him a very large sum.

However, the conjuncts differ from coordinators in that they can be preceded by a coordinator:

We paid him a very large sum, and so he kept quiet about what he saw.

The restriction on the order of clauses distinguishes the conjuncts from subordinators, which are also connectives. For example, a clause introduced by the subordinator because can precede or follow the superordinate clause without disturbing the relationship between the two clauses:

He will help us because we offered to pay him.

Because we offered to pay him, he will help us. For further treatment of conjuncts, see 8.89 JT.

5.48

Adjunct and conjunction

A few subordinators can be seen to be a fusion of conjunction and pro-adjunct, in particular where (place at or place to), when (time), how (manner), why (reason).

Where and when introduce adverbial clauses (11.27/):

He saw themJ .. . It they were in New York

l, at the tune(s) at whichj

..., [where 1,.

IB<<°|to the placed) to whichT\* \*>

WU 8° {tohS places) at which}\*\* food is good

He'll stay< ... , , ... lit is comfortable l.at the place(s) at wbjchj

Where and when, and to a lesser extent why, are also used as relatives (13.7, 13.14):

the reason-! - y .. , Ihedidit l^for whichj

Where, when, why, and how are all used to introduce nominal clauses (11.18, 11.20):

T, fwhere T, . , .

Iknowi , .. , , ^he is staying [at which placej J  
rJ

I wonder-^ \*""". ■ ■ \_ .■ rhe was here |,at which timej

I realize(\*hy - ... lhe did it

Lthe reason for wntchj

Thatwasi^\* . , . Vthey treated her Lthe way in wnichj

The adverb and other word-classes 273

These four wh- words are also used as interrogative pro-adjuncts (7.63#):

Where 1. , . „

, . , Ms he staying/ At what placej J &

When

At what timej

here?

Why

For what reason

ime}Washe

[•did he do i

How

In what way

r[did they treat her?

The function of where, when, and how as pro-forms for adjuncts is clearly demonstrated in the few cases where a verb requires complementation by an adjunct:

•She put it [35]

•He lived [36]

•They treated her (unacceptable in the sense ' behaved towards her') [37]

These sentences become acceptable if an adjunct of the appropriate type is added:

She put it there

He lived then

They treated her well

[35a] [36a]

[37a]

But complementation can also be provided by the appropriate subordinators, evidence that they are functioning as pro-adjuncts:

He found it where she put it [35b]

I wonder when he lived [36b]

I saw how they treated her [37b]

In a sentence such as I put it where he could find it one could argue that where is functioning as an adjunct in both clauses, which have been made to overlap by the subordinator:

I put it there  
there he could find it

On the other hand, it is equally possible to argue that the obligatory complementation of a place adjunct is satisfied by the whole clause of Place rather than by where. The same reasoning applies to the obligatory complementation for treat provided by manner and comparison clauses (11.41):

trt. . .jl- fas he deserved She treated him .. , .  
as though he were a stranger

Note

[a] Most of the other wh- words are pro-forms for noun phrases, which can clearly function as clause constituents: who, whom, which (7.63/). [6] There do not appear to be any verbs which require complementation that would be satisfied by why.

5.49

Reaction signal and initiator

Apart from conjunctions and some conjuncts, certain other items must be positioned initially. They are important because of their high frequency in spoken English and some are restricted to the spoken language. These can be assigned to two small classes:

(1) reaction signals (7.88), eg: no, yes (including variants such as yeah or yep), m (including variants such as km, mhrri)

(2) initiators (7.89), eg: well, ah, ah

These can be distinguished from disjuncts since the latter are mobile. They can be distinguished from conjuncts because they can serve as response utterances. Reaction signals normally serve only as response utterances. Initiators can serve both as response utterances and as initiators of conversations.

5.50

Adjunct and preposition

There are several different types of combinations of verbs plus particles (12.19 ff). If the verb is intransitive, we can recognize the particle as a prepositional adverb (c/"6.9/) functioning as adjunct, eg

The men looked on

She is growing up quickly

The airliner has taken off

The prisoner broke down after many hours of interrogation

■ When a noun phrase follows the particle, it sometimes appears as if we have a prepositional phrase, with the particle as preposition:

He took in the dog [38a]

However, the adverbial nature of the particle in such phrasal verbs (12.24) is generally shown by its mobility, its ability to follow the noun phrase:

He took the dog in [38b]

Adverb as modifier 275

Similarly,

They turned down the suggestion They turned the suggestion down They turned on the light They turned the light on

[39a] [39b] [40a] [40b]

In contrast, the preposition must be followed by its complement:

They took to John quickly [41a]

◆They took John to quickly [41b]

He is relying on our help [42a]

\*He is relying our help on [42b]

He believed in their promises [43a]

\*He believed their promises in [43b]

The instances we have mentioned so far are not to be confused with examples like

He walked past [44a]

He walked past the car [44b]

\*He walked the car past [44c]

He was moving about [45a]

He was moving about the town [45b]

•He was moving the town about [45c]

It is possible to regard past in [44a] and about in [45a] as prepositions with some generalized ellipsis of the noun phrase (6.9/).

Adverb as modifier

Modifier of adjective 5.51

An adverb may premodify an adjective:

That was a very funny film

He is quite right

It is EXTREMELY good of you

He made the examination extraordinary y easy

There was a somewhat uneasy silence as we waited

She has a really beautiful face

One adverb - enough - postmodifies adjectives: His salary wasn't high enough.

Most commonly, the modifying adverb is an intensifier (cf 5.31, •"ff), whether an emphasizer, conveying primarily emphasis and not 276 Adjectives and adverbs

Adverb as modifier 277

scaling (eg: really), or an amplifier, denoting a high degree (eg: very), or a downtoner, suggesting an incomplete or low degree (eg; somewhat). The most frequently used modifier, both of adjectives and of adverbs, is very. Other intensifiers include:

so large pretty good rather quiet unusually tall

terribly awkward quite wrong unbelievably fat amazingly calm

Many intensifiers are restricted to a small set of lexical items, eg: deeply

(anxious), highly (intelligent), strikingly (handsome), sharply (critical).

Many intensifiers can modify adjectives, adverbs, and verbs alike.

Note

In informal speech, kind of and sort of are used as downtoners for premodification of various parts of speech, including (especially AmE) adjectives and adverbs:

He is kind of clever

He spoke SOST of proudly.

5.52

Adjuncts (5.44, 8.8<sup>^</sup>) when made premodifiers tend to retain their general meaning:

an easily debatable proposition (=a proposition that can be easily debated)

his quietly assertive manner

On the other hand, disjuncts (8.78 j?"") tend to become intensifiers, eg: surprisingly good, unnaturally long, incredibly beautiful, unusually easy. Thus surprisingly good in

He made a surprisingly good speech

can be paraphrased as 'He made a speech that was good to a surprising extent'.

Note

We need to distinguish the adverb as premodifier of adjective from the adjunct constructed with a verb-participle. For example, a surprisingly worded letter is 'a letter that is worded in a surprising manner' since worded is a passive participle and not an adjective. Ambiguity arises when the form can be either a participle or an adjective. Thus, his peculiarly disturbed friend can be either 'his friend who has been disturbed in a peculiar manner', in which case disturbed is verbal and peculiarly an adjunct, or 'his friend who is disturbed to a peculiar extent', in which case disturbed is adjectival and peculiarly its premodifier, C/the difference in aspect and implied 'permanence' (13.53).

5.53

Apart from intensifiers, adverb premodifiers may be 'viewpoint' (cf SAW, eg politically expedient ('expedient from a political point of view')

ARTISTICALLY justifiable THEORETICALLY SOUND TECHNICALLY possible economicall Y weak ETHICALLY Wrong

Adjectives are premodified by a few other adverbs that cannot easily be categorized, though they too seem often to have some intensifying effect (but cf: easily in 5.52);

OPENLY hostile easily Justifiable readily available

They tend to modify deverbal adjectives, ie adjectives derived from verbs (App 1.29).

Note

There does not seem to be justification for setting up a class of 'viewpoint adjectives' analogous to the class of viewpoint adverbs. The viewpoint semantic element in the sentences below comes from the noun that the adjective modifies:

It doesn't make economic sense

His financial position is precarious

My personal point of view hasn't been taken into account.

SM

Modifier of adverb

An adverb may premodify another adverb:

They are smoking ver y heavily

They didn't injure him that severely

I have seen so very many letters like that one

He spoke extremely quickly

He played surprisingly well

I expect them pretty soon

As with adjectives, the only postmodifier is enough: He spoke cleverly enough

Adverbs modifying other adverbs can only be intensifiers. Thus though we have the manner modification by quietly in quietly assertive we cannot have it in

\*He spoke quietly assertively<sup>278</sup> Adjectives and adverbs

And, similarly, the modification by a viewpoint adverb (5.53) in theoretically sound does not have a corresponding theoretically soundly:

•He reasoned theoretically soundly

Notice that this is not merely a stylistic objection to the juxtaposition of two words ending in -ly, since

He reasoned extremely soundly is acceptable, where extremely is an intensifier

A similar set of intensifiers is used for both adjectives and adverbs.

A few intensifying adverbs, particularly right and well, premodify particles in phrasal verbs:

He knocked the man right out

They left him well behind.

Note

The intensifier ever forms a compound with wh- words, eg: wherever, whenever, however. It also intensifies wh- words that have no adverbial function.

5.55

Modifier of preposition

The few intensifying adverbs that can premodify particles in phrasal verbs (5.54) can also premodify prepositions or (perhaps rather) prepositional phrases (6.55):

The nail went right through the wall

His parents are dead against the trip

He made his application well within the time.

5.56

Modifier of determiner, predeterminer, postdeterminer

Intensifying adverbs (including downtoners) can premodify indefinite pronouns (4.122,127), predeterminers (4.18 if), and cardinal numerals (4.24):

nearl Y everybody came to our party

They recovered roughl y half their equipment

He received about double the amount he expected

virtually all the students participated in the discussion

They will stay pull y ten weeks (' for ten full weeks')

over two hundred deaths were reported

I paid more than ten pounds for it

Adveib as modifier 279

The indefinite article can be intensified when it is equivalent to the unstressed cardinal one:

I didn't have more than a dollar on me

They will stay for about a week

almost a thousand demonstrators attended the meeting

With the ordinals and superlatives, a definite determiner is obligatory for premodification:

We counted approximately the first thousand votes She gave me almost the largest piece of cake.

Note

We might add here the premodification of the same: They did it in much the same way.

Modifier of noun phrase

5.57

In informal style, a few intensifiers may premodify noun phrases and precede the determiner in doing so. The most common of these among adverbs are quite and (especially BrE) rather. Though not adverbs, such and what are included for comparison (13.68).

He had quite a party

He was quite some player

They were quite some players

They will be here for quite some time

He is such a fool

They are such thieves

what a mess they made

what babies they are

It was rather a mess.

Note

[o] Others may be interpreted as not specifically modifying the noun phrase, since they are mobile. For example in

He was really some player

transposition of really to pre-verb position does not seem to affect the meaning, provided that the appropriate intonation pattern is given. Transposition of quite is not possible. For many people, plural noun phrases are not premodified by rather:

Vets rather a fool ?\*They are rather fools.

1°] If the noun is not gradable, then rather cannot be used unless a gradable adjective is present. And in that case rather is intensifying the adjective. Positions before

Adjectives and adverbs

the adjective and before the determiner are both possible, with little or no semantic difference:

•It is rather a table It is rather a big table It is a rather big table.

[d] For the relationship between adverbs like only and also and noun phrases, see

5.58

Kind of and sort of/(both informal) can precede or follow the determiner,



though more usually the latter:

He gave sort of a laugh He gave a sort of laugh

Other of phrases precede the determiner, if present:

I had a bit of a shock

They asked A heck of a lot (familiar)

They gave me A hell of a time, (familiar)

Note

In familiar style, the wh- words as interrogatives can be postmodified by certain set prepositional phrases, eg:

who ~| (on earth what U (in) the heck where j \Jiri) the hell

Omission of the preposition in the last two examples is preferred by some and obligatory for others.

5.59

Some disjuncts and conjuncts (5.44) occasionally appear within the noun phrase, not modifying the noun phrase but related to a modifying adjective phrase:

A cure has now been found for this fortunately very rare disease

('a disease that is fortunately very rare') He wrote an otherwise extremely good paper (\*a paper that is otherwise extremely good')

Similarly, the viewpoint adjuncts (5.53) that appear after the noun phrase are related to the premodifying adjective within the phrase:

A good paper editorially can also be a good paper commercially, y The more usual form for the sentence is An editorially good paper can also be a commercially good paper.

Adverb as modifier 281

5.60

The noun phrase is perhaps postmodified by an adjective or adverb in a number of phrases of measure:

John is ten years old ('of age')

Peter is five feet tall ('in height')

They stayed up all night long

The lake is two miles across

The sun shines in our country all the year round

They dug ten feet DOWN

But it is arguable that at least in some cases the converse is true, that is to say the adjective or adverb is premodified by the noun phrase. For example:

... fa week ago "1. ... .."

I met him , ° w=earlierby a week) La week before/v J ' .

Contrast with these I met him the week before (=the previous week)

where before seems to be a postmodifier (5.61). Analysing the noun phrase as premodifier is supported for some of the instances given above by the fact that the noun phrases can be evoked as responses to questions with premodifying pro-form

How:

How old is John ? Ten (years) How tall is Peter? Five feet

On the other hand, only the adverb can be omitted in some cases, a fact that indicates it is the modifier in those cases:

The sun shines in our country all the year (round).

Note

All the year round and the whole year round are fixed expressions. We cannot, for example, have \*all the month round or \*the whole month round.

5.61

Some adverbs signifying place or time postmodify noun phrases (13.36):

place: the way ahead, the direction back, the hall downstairs, the noise backstage, his trip abroad, his journey home, the sentence below, the photo above, your friend here, that man there, his return home, the neighbour upstairs.

time : the meeting yesterday, the meal afterwards, the day before, their stay overnight. 282 Adjectives and adverbs

The time adverbs appear to be limited to those denoting a point of time or a period of time (c/8.56<sup>^</sup>).

In some of the phrases the adverb can also be used as a premodifier (5.63):

the downstairs hall, the backstage noise, his home journey, the above photo, the upstairs neighbour

Note

Many of these postmodifying adverbs can be used predicatively with be, eg: The noise is backstage, The sentence is below, The meeting was yesterday. The meal was afterwards,

5.62

Indefinite pronouns, wh- pronouns, and wh- adverbs are postmodified by else: someone else, all else, who else. Else also postmodifies compounds with where: somewhere, anywhere, everywhere, nowhere.

5.63

Premodifier of noun

A very few adverbs premodify nouns within the noun phrase (13.45): the away games, the then president, the above sentence, in after years. Then and above are probably the most common. The occasional use of other adverbs is felt as ad hoc: the now generation, the now cigarette.

Note

In such expressions as inside information and outside door, the premodifiers are probably felt to be full adjectives, converted from adverbs. See also 5.9.

5.64

Adverb as complement of preposition

A number of adverbs signifying time and place function as complement of a preposition. Of the place adverbs, here and there take the most prepositions: along, around, down, from, in, near, on, out {of}, over, round, through, under, up. Home can be the complement of at, from, near, toward(s). The other place adverbs are restricted to the preposition from:

from

above

abroad

below

downstairs

indoors

Correspondence between adjective and adverb 283

from'

inside outdoors outside upstairs within without

■ ■

Time adverbs most commonly taking prepositions are shown below

PREPOSITIONS

ADVERBS

lately recently

then

today

yesterday

now tomorrow

tonight

after

afterwards

later

always

ever

once

Note

E«l The preposition of sometimes occurs with now and late.

I\*] The expression for ner and ever is typical of Biblical and liturgical styles of English. It is curious that analogous reduplicated phrases are virtually restricted to informal use: for months and months, for years and years.

Correspondence between adjective and adverb

5.65

We have earlier observed (5.42) that adverbs are regularly, though not

Qvariably, derived from adjectives by suffixation. There is another sense

>n which adjectives and adverbs are related, apart from the morphological284

Adjectives and adverbs

relationship. A correspondence often exists between constructions containing adjectives and constructions containing the corresponding adverbs. The simplest illustration is with adverbs equivalent to prepositional phrases containing a noun or noun phrase that is a generic term (10.5) and the corresponding adjective as premodifier:

He liked Mary considerably [46a]

He liked Mary to a considerable extent [46b]

He spoke to John sharply [47a]

He spoke to John in a sharp manner [47b]

He wrote frequently [48a]

He wrote on frequent occasions [48b]

Politically, it is a bad decision [49a]

From the political point of view, it is a bad decision. [49b]

5.66

We have also noted some instances when either the adjective or the adverb forms appear, with little or no semantic difference (5.8, 5.25, 5.26). But normally, the adjective and its corresponding adverb are in complementary distribution; that is to say, they appear in different environments and are not contrastive:

his frequent visits: his visits are frequent «■ he visits frequently his brilliant explanation of the process: his explanation of the process was brilliant — he explained the process brilliantly her incredible beauty: her beauty is incredible ~ she is incredibly beautiful

Note

In some non-standard varieties of English, the adjective form appears more frequently in the type of construction exemplified in 5.8:

He doesn't talk proper He spoke to John sharp He comes here frequent However, these are unacceptable in Standard English.

5.67

There are many cases where a construction with the adverb form seems basic to an understanding of the corresponding construction with the adjective form (c/13.49).

(1) The adjective-noun sequence may imply a process or a time relationship, with a corresponding clause containing an adverb. We can point to differences in grammar and meaning in the interpretation of a beautiful dancer:

a beautiful dancer ~ a dancer who is beautiful

Correspondence between adjective and adverb 265

a beautiful dancer ~ a person who dances beautifully (who does a beautiful dance or beautiful dances)

In the second interpretation the adjective refers to the process part of an agentive noun. Other examples are:

a hard worker an eventual loser a frequent visitor a heavy eater a light sleeper

We should include here cases where the agentive noun lacks an agentive suffix: a former student, a good thief. Similarly, there are instances where the noun normally lacks a corresponding verb, but where the reference is to the process part of the noun's meaning:

a good soldier (one who acts well in his role as a soldier) a poor mother the present mayor an apparent enemy

Many of these adjectives can occur only attributively in this use. They belong to the class of adjectives that were referred to earlier as non-inherent (5.30, 5.33).

(2) Analogous correspondences do not have this restriction to attributive position:

He loved her deeply ~ his deep love for her He writes legibly ~ his legible writing

He will probably apply for it ~ his probable application for it Surprisingly, he decided to leave ~ his surprising decision to leave

Whereas in the sentential construction we have the adverb, in the nominalization we have the adjective.

(3) The adjective may refer to an implied process associated with a concrete object:

a fast car (a car that one drives fast)

a fast road

a good typewriter

(4) Most intensifying adjectives (c/5.31) can be seen as related to adverbs:

total nonsense - it is totally nonsense a clear failure ~ it is clearly a failure  
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a true scholar ~ he is truly a scholar

a real idiot ~ he is really an idiot Many of these can occur only attributively in this use. (5) Many restrictive adjectives (e/5.32) can be seen as related to adverbs :

the main reason \*■ it was mainly the reason

the precise argument ~ it was precisely the argument

Most of these can occur only attributively.

Comparison and intensification

5.68

Comparison refers to

(1) the inflected forms in -er and -est (5.73),

(2) their periphrastic equivalents in more and most,

(3) the similar, lesser and least degrees of comparison for which there are no inflected forms available and for which we most commonly use the premodifiers as, less, least.

The potentiality for inflections gives us three forms for many adjectives and for a few adverbs, as exemplified by the adjective young:

ABSOLUTE COMPARATIVE SUPERLATIVE

young younger youngest

The comparative is used for a comparison between two, while the superlative is required where more than two are involved. The superlative is sometimes used for a comparison between two, 'He is the youngest (of the two brothers)', but this use is considered loose and informal by

many. Too in the sense 'more than enough' might also be mentioned here:

It's too long ('longer than it should be')

He speaks too quickly ('more quickly than he should speak')

Note

[a] More and most have other uses in which they are not equivalent to the comparison inflections. Notice the paraphrases in the following two uses of more:

He is more than happy about it (=He is happy about it to a degree that is

not adequately expressed by the word happy) He is more good than bad (=It is more accurate to say that he is good than

that he is bad)

The uninflected form cannot be substituted in this function: "He is better than bad

(But cf: It is worse than useless, He is worse than bad.) Most in

She is most beautiful

is not the superlative in BrE, though it can be in AmE. In BrE, the sentence can only mean she is extremely beautiful and not that she is more beautiful than all others.

This absolute sense of most is common in AmE too. Absolute most is restricted as to the adjectives with which it occurs, perhaps premodifying only those expressing subjective rather than objective attitudes (5.41):

She is most unhappy \*She is most tall

In BrE most is a superlative only when preceded by the definite article: She b the most beautiful (woman)

or when the basis of comparison (5.69) is made explicit by a postmodifying prepositional phrase, eg:

(that) most beautiful of women

In both AmE and BrE there is a tendency to use absolute most with a preceding definite article to express an even higher degree:

Isn't she the most beautiful woman? ('an extremely, extremely beautiful woman')

as compared with 'a most beautiful woman'. [b] In Australian English, too is common in the sense 'absolutely' in responses:

a: He's clever. b: Too right, he is. (=That is absolutely true)

Too can be a synonym of extremely in informal (perhaps even gushy) speech:

It's too kind of you That's too true

It is also commonly used (especially in AmE) as a synonym of very in negative sentences:

I don't like it too much I don't feel too good.

5.69

Basis of comparison

we can make the basis of comparison explicit. The most common ways of doing so include correlative constructions introduced by than (correlative to more, less) and by as (correlative to as), and prepositional Phrases with of:

[50a]

[50b] [51a]

than Bob (is)

■ v----- s

John behaves/politely than Bob (does) John is as stupid as Bob (is) 288

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John behaves as politely as Bob (does)

John is the more stupid of the (two) boys

Of the (two) boys, John behaves the more politely

John is the most stupid of the (three) boys

Of the (three) boys, John behaves the most politely

WWW

[51b]

[52a] [52b] [53a] [53b]

The basis of comparison can also be shown by the noun which the adjective premodifies:

John is the more stupid boy (formal; more commonly 'John is more stupid than the other boy\*') [54a]

John is the most stupid boy [54b]

For comparative constructions, see 11.53jf.

Note

[a] The prepositional phrases in [521 and [53] can be either initial or final. Final position is more frequent, especially when the construction contains the adjective.

[b] Note the obligatory presence of the before more and most in [52] and 153].

[c] Some standard of comparison may be implicit in the use of the absolute form of the adjective, and in such cases the basis of comparison can also be made explicit:

He is stupid for a child of his age. See also 5.33 Note.

Gradability

5.70

The types of intensifiers modifying adjectives and adverbs have been mentioned earlier (5.51, 5.52, 5.54). Here we are concerned with restrictions on their use analogous to those for comparison. In general, amplifiers and comparatives are allowed by the same range of adjectives and adverbs, those that are gradable (5.39). The range for emphasizees and those downtoners not expressing degree (eg: virtually) is much wider, as we can see from their co-occurrence with a non-gradable adjective such as non-Christian:

("definitely"!

^Ln- Christian 1 "more

[\*very

There are also restrictions on the use of particular intensifiers, and these can sometimes be stated in semantic terms:

/happy ('subjective', c/5.41) mo Vtall ('objective', c/5.41)

fwrong(>negat:vc>)

Comparison and intensification 289

Derfectly {natural(<po8itivel). \*^ L\*unnatural (\* negative')

Amplifiers and comparatives are available for adjectives that refer to a quality that is thought of as having values on a scale. They are also available for adverbs that refer to a manner or to a time that is thought of in terms of a scale. Thus, in

John is English

the adjective English does not allow amplifiers or comparatives if it refers to John's nationality, which is not a quality of John. However, if English refers to the way he behaves, they are admitted:

.. . fvery English Johnis-< \_ , -... .. \_ ... imore English than the English

Similarly, original cannot normally be intensified or compared in the original manuscript: it does not refer to a quality and there can be only one original manuscript. On the other hand, if original refers to the quality of the work, it may be intensified or compared: a more original book. We may compare the two uses with that of the corresponding adverb:

He always writes very originally

\*He came from Cleveland very originally

The time adjunct originally cannot be intensified or compared, since it refers to a point of time.

Note

[a] There are exceptions to the co-occurrence of a particular intensifier with a semantic class of adjectives. For example, though utterly tends to co-occur with 'negative' adjectives, utterly reliable and utterly delightful are common. People vary in the exceptions they allow.

[6] This is the more original manuscript is a possible sentence. The sentence has broadened the qualitative range of original to include qualities that relate to manuscript sources; for example, to suggest that the manuscript belongs to a series that is closer to the original than other series.

5.71

Certain types of adjectives and adverbs that generally do not accept intensification or comparison are listed:

- (1) Conjuncts (5.44, 8.89 #): \*very therefore, "more nevertheless.
- (2) Some intensifiers (for adjectives, 5.31; for adverbs, 5.51, 5.52, 5-54 ff, Z.\9ff): \*very really, \*very utter folly, \*more somewhat.
- (3) Restrictives (for adjectives 5.32; for adverbs, 8.13 #"): 'extremely only, "the very main reason. 290 Adjectives and adverbs
- (4) Additives (for adverbs, 8.13#): "very additional, \*morealso.
- (5) Adjectives denoting provenance (5.41) but not when they refer to style: \*a very British army, \*a more Parisian citizen (cf: a very British attitude).
- (6) Most adjectives or adverbs referring to time when (for adverbs, 8.57 ff): \*the extremely present occasion, \*very then.
- (7) Adjectives or adverbs referring to definite frequency of time (for adverbs, 8.61 ff): "very daily, \*more once.
- (8) Most adjectives or adverbs indicating time relationship (for adverbs, 8.68/): \*veryprevious, "extremely already.
- (9) Most adjectives or adverbs referring to place (for adverbs, 8.45 ff): \*very here, "more below. But there are exceptions. The adjectives bottom and top may take degree intensifies including very. Some place adjectives and adverbs may take degree in-tensifiers but not very: extreme right, due east, far south.
- (10) Some adjectives and adverbs expressing an extreme degree never take intensifiers or comparison: "more utterly). But others are in divided usage (8.24): Ivery completely), Imore perfectly).

S.72

Unmarked term in 'How' questions and measure phrases How is used as a pro-form for degree intensifiers of the adjective or adverb in questions and exclamations:

How efficient is he? How efficiently does he work? How beautiful she is! How beautifully she dances!

'Measure' adjectives that cover a scale of measurement and have two terms for opposite extremes of the scale use the upper extreme as the 'unmarked' term in How questions and with the measurements. That is to say, the use of the upper extreme does not assume that the upper extreme is applicable:

a: How old is your son? b: He's three months (old).

How old is he ? is equivalent to What is his age ?, while He's three months old is equivalent to His age is three months.

Adjectives that are used as the unmarked term in How questions and with measurements are listed, with the marked term given in parenthesis:

old (young)	deep (shallow)
tall (short)	high (low)
wide (narrow)	thick (thin) long (short)



Other adjectives are used as the unmarked term for premodification by interrogative *How* but are not used with measurements. They include:

Comparison and

fat (thin)	strong (weak)
big (small)	bright (dim)
large (little)	heavy (light) far (near)

Some adverbs also use an unmarked term in *How* questions. They include the italicized words in:

How much does she like him ?

How often did they complain ?

How quickly does he do his homework?

How far did he drive?

Note

[a] If we use the marked term, as in *How young is John ?* we are asking a question that presupposes that John is young, whereas the unmarked term in *How old is John ?* does not presuppose that John is old. Notice that neither term is neutral in exclamations:

*How young he is!* (' He is extremely young') *How old he is!* (' He is extremely old')

[b] Full and empty can be used equally, although *How full* is commoner than *How empty*: half full ~ half empty; three-quarters full ~ three-quarter\* empty.

Inflection of adjectives for comparison

5.73

The inflectional suffixes are *-er* for the comparative and *-est* for the superlative:

wide ~ wider ~ widest young ~ younger ~ youngest low ~ lower ~ lowest

A small group of highly frequent adjectives have their corresponding comparatives and superlatives formed from different stems:

good ~ better ~ best bad — worse \*\*■ worst

/ "further ~ furthest

\ farther ~ farthest

*Old* is regularly inflected as *older*, *oldest*, but in a specialized use, restricted to human beings in family relationships, the irregular forms *elder*, *eldest* are normally substituted:

My *elder* brother is an artist His *eldest* son is still at school

However, *older than* is used rather than '*elder than*.

far^

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With adjectives taking the regular inflections, certain regular changes in spelling or pronunciation may be introduced in the base of the adjective when the suffixes are added.

CHANGES IN SPELLING

(1) Final base consonants are doubled when the preceding vowel is stressed and spelled with a single letter (e/3.59):

b

big -- bigger ~ biggest sad ~ sadder <v saddest

(2) In bases ending in a consonant +y, final y is changed to i (3.60):

angry ~ angrier ~ angriest

early ~ earlier ~ earliest

(3) If the base ends in a mute -e, it is dropped before the inflectional suffix (3.61):

pure ~ purer ~ purest brave ~ braver ~ bravest

w v The same applies if the base ends in -ee (c/ 3.61):

free ~ freer ~ freest CHANGES IN PRONUNCIATION

(1) A disyllabic base ending in /r/ normally loses its second syllable;]-before the inflection:

simple: /simp]/ ~ /sunplsf]/ ~ /simphst/ humble: jh\mb]l ~ /hAmblafr/ - /hAmbhst/

(2) For speakers that do not give consonantal value to a final r in spelling, the /r/ is pronounced before the inflection:

rare: /res/ ~ /rears/ ~ /resnst/

Note

f1

[a] We//('in good health') and i!l(' in bad health', especially BrE) are inflected Ue good and bad respectively for the comparative:

,, , , rbetter He feels-{'

Worse

But people may associate better and worse solely with good and 6ai/respectively in the health sense. Thus, He is better is equivalent to He is well again. [6] Elder in elder statesman is not a comparative. In this use of elder there is no corresponding old or eldest.

j2

S.74

Monosyllabic adjectives that are commonly used can freely form their comparison by inflection. Many disyllabic adjectives can also do so,

Comparison and intensification 293

though like most monosyllabic adjectives they have the alternative of the periphrastic forms:

(politer

,, , , , Ipolitest

His children are mOre polite

[the most polite ffunnier

, . , , I funniest

My jokes are<

.

more funny [the most funny

Other adjectives can only take periphrastic forms:

freluctanter I \*reluctantest

WeH more reluctant t0 sa? :

[the most reluctant (of all)J

C\*beautifuller m ^■• «oD

. I •beautifullest Herdressis] more beautiful

(the most beautiful t \_ ,

Common disyllabic adjectives that can take inflected forms are those ending in an unstressed vowel, /(/ or /a(r)/:

(1) -y: funny, noisy, wealthy, friendly

(2) -ow: hollow, narrow, shallow

(3) -le: gentle, feeble, noble

(4) -er, -ure: clever, mature, obscure

Common adjectives outside these four categories that can take inflectional forms include:

common, handsome, polite, quiet, wicked

Note

Disyllabic participle forms ending in -ing or -ed do not take inflections: \*tiringer, \*woundeder

S.7S

Most adjectives that are inflected for comparison can also take the periphrastic forms with more and most. With more, they seem to do so more easily when they are predicative and are followed by a than clause:

John is more mad than Bob is<sup>294</sup> Adjectives and adverbs

It would be difficult to find a man more brave than he is

He is more wealthy than I thought

Periphrastic forms are, however, abnormal with a number of monosyllabic adjectives, including those listed above as forming their comparison irregularly:

good

small

great

thick hard (physically) thin

high

tight

low

well

old

wide quick

bad

big

black

clean

fair (in colour)

far

fast

Note

There seems to be no problem in using the periphrastic forms with any adjective in the comparative construction formed with the correlative the:

The more old he is, the more wise he becomes Good and bad, however, appear to require inflected forms.

5.76

Inflection of adverbs for comparison

For a small number of adverbs (none of them formed by adding -ly, with the exception of badly), the inflected forms used for comparison are the same as those for adjectives (5.73). As with adjectives, there is a small group with comparatives and superlatives formed from different stems. The comparatives and superlatives are

identical with those for the corresponding adjectives (5.73), for the determiner much (4.16), and the quantifier little (4.25):

well ~ better ~ best

badly ~ worse ~ worst

little ~ less ~ least

much ~ more — most

. [further - furthest \farther - farthest

Adverbs that are identical in form with adjectives take inflections, following the same spelling and phonetic rules as for adjectives, eg: early, late, hard, slow, fast, quick, long. Soon, which has no corresponding adjective, is frequently used in the comparative (sooner), but is not common in the superlative (soonest). Some find the superlative unacceptable or at least very informal, but it seems perfectly acceptable as a pre-modifier of certain adjectives, eg:

the soonest possible date, the soonest available time

Comparison and intensification 295

Now

Badly is not an exception in the most important respect. The inflections are not added to the -ly form of badly but to a substituted stem.

5.77

Premodification of comparatives and superlatives

The comparatives of both adjectives and adverbs, whether inflected or periphrastic, can themselves be premodified by amplifying intensifiers (c/5.54, 8.19, 8.23^), the words in parenthesis being additional intensifiers of these intensifiers;

that" (so) (very) / "1"\*1 [ better

(all) the far a lot

lots

sooner

'more \careful less /carefully

Some of these intensifiers can be repeated indefinitely for emphasis:

very very ... much sooner

much much ... more careful

far far ... more carefully

so so ... much better (repeated so in BrE only)

so very very ... much better

Generally, however, the repetition is permissible only if the repeated items come first or follow so:

so very very much... better •very much much ... better

A number of noun phrases (most of them informal) are also available for the degree intensification of comparatives:

a hell of a lot (familiar)

a heck of a lot (familiar) better

a damn sight (familiar) sooner

a good deal | more "1 careful

a great deal less /carefully

a good bit

Similarly, many downtoners (c/5.51,8.19, 8.29 ff) may premodify the comparatives:

rather

better

sooner

more "1 careful

less /carefully

somewhat scarcely

hardly a little a (little) bit,

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The inflectional superlative may be premodified by the degree intensifier very: the very best, the very least. If very premodifies the superlative, a determiner is obligatory:

She put on her very best dress

They are working the very least they can

The analytic superlative is not normally premodified by the intensifier very: \*the very most careful man.

Bibliographical note

Some recent contributions of relevance to adjectives in general: Bolinger (1961); Bolinger (1965), pp 139-180; Halliday (1967-68); Lees (1960b); Teyssier (1968); Vendler (1968).

On the position of adjectives, see particularly Bolinger (1967b); Jacobsson(1961); on stative and dynamic adjectives, see Schopf (1969); on the comparison of adjectives, see Bolinger (1967c); on the intensification of adjectives and adverbs, see Bolinger (1972); on adverbs in general, see Chapter E below.

## SIX

### PREPOSITIONS AND PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

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Prepositional phrase

6.1

Preposition and prepositional complement

A prepositional phrase (see 2.11 /) consists of a preposition followed by a prepositional complement, which is characteristically either a noun phrase or a clause (wft-clause or V-ing clause) in nominal function:

**PREPOSITIONAL COMPLEMENT**

certainty the bus-stop what he said signing a peace treaty

**PREPOSITION**

with at

from by

Note

Exceptionally (mainly in idioms), an adverb (5.64) or an adjective may function as prepositional complement: at once, be/ore long, in there, until now, since when, at least, at worst, in brief. In addition, even prepositional phrases can on occasion act as prepositional complements (6.8 Note).

6.2

That-clauses and infinitive clauses

TAdr-clauses and infinitive clauses, although they frequently have a nominal function in other respects, do not occur as prepositional complements. Alternations between the presence and absence of a preposition are observed in cases like:

(He was surprised at her attitude | He was surprised at what he saw | He was surprised that she noticed him | He was surprised to see her

[They persuaded him of 'the need for more troops | They persuaded him of how many troops they needed | They persuaded him that they needed more troops | They persuaded him to send for more troops

Such alternations show that the preposition which normally follows certain verbs and adjectives is omitted before a f/iaf-clause or infinitive clause (see 12.34<sup>^</sup>). Further examples of verbs and adjectives which can have either prepositions or fAaf-clauses are:

ask {for), conceive {of), decide (on), convince (of), inform (of), insist (on), remind (of/about), tell (of/about), be afraid (of), be ashamed (of), be aware (of), be sorry (about), be sure (of): see also 5.36.

n300 Prepositions and prepositional phrases

Note

la] This restriction on the use of \*fej/-clauses can frequently be bypassed, if necessary

by the construction the fact that; I gather, from the fact that he hasn't written for more money, that he has

found a job

They persuaded him of the fact that they needed more troops [b\ Combinations such as except that, but that (=except that), and in that are considered compound conjunctions, not combinations of prep+that (11.9).

6.3

Postposed prepositions

Normally a preposition must be followed by its complement; but there are some circumstances in which this does not happen, because the complement has to take first position in the clause, or else is absent through ellipsis:

h<sup>^</sup>-questions: Which house did you leave it at? (7.63) relative clauses: The old house which I was telling you about

is empty (13.8/) Wff-CLAUSES: What I'm convinced of/is that the world's population will grow to an unforeseen extent (11.18,11.20) exclamations: What a mess he's got into! (7.78/)

passives: She was sought after by all the leading impresarios of the day (14.8)

infinitive clauses: He's impossible to work with (14.23)

-ing clauses: He's worth listening to

As the examples show, the preposition in such cases frequently takes a final position in the clause, a position much criticized in the past as contrary to 'good grammar'. A prejudice against such postposed prepositions remains in formal English, which offers (for relative clauses and for direct or indirect questions) the alternative of an initial preposition:



It was a situation from which no escape was possible This construction is often felt, however, to be stilted and awkward in informal English, especially in speech, and indeed in some cases (7.64 Note a) the postposed preposition has no proposed alternative.

Simple and complex prepositions

6.-4

Simple prepositions

Most of the common English prepositions, such as at, in and for, are simple, ie consist of one word. Other prepositions, consisting of more

Simple and complex prepositions 301

than one word, are called complex. The following is a comprehensive list of simple prepositions (F = formal):

aboard, about, above, across, after, against, along, alongside, amid (F) (or amidst F), among (or amongst rare), apropos (of), around, as, at, atop (AmE, F), before, behind, below, beneath, beside, besides, between, beyond, but, by, despite, down, during, for, from, in, inside, minus, notwithstanding, of, off, on (or upon F), opposite, out (AmE), outside, outwith (Scots = except), over, past, per, plus, re (F), round, since, than, through, throughout, to, toward (AmE), towards (BrE), under, underneath, until (or till), up, via, with, within, without.

In addition to this list, there are a few words which behave in many ways; like prepositions, although they have affinities with verbs or adjectives:

except, excepting, bar, barring, concerning (F), considering, following, including, granted, pending (F), less, like, near, save (archaic), unlike, worth

He gave us all bar (= 'except') three of the sketches

Granted his obsequious manner, I still think he's ambitious enough

to do the job Two gold-hilted swords, each worth £10,000, were sold at Sotheby's last Monday.

6.5

Complex prepositions

Most complex prepositions are placeable, according to their form, into one of three categories:

[A] ad verb + prep: along with, apart from (BrE), asidfrom (AmE),

as for, as to, away from, into (cf 6.7), off of (AmE), on to (or

onto), out of, together with, up to, etc. IB]

VERB/ADJECTIVE/CONJUNCTION/etc+PREP: exceptfor,

owing to, due to, but for, because of, etc. [C] PREP<sub>i</sub> + NOUN + PREP<sub>a</sub>: by means of, in comparison with,

instead of, etc.

In C, which is by far the most numerous category, the noun in some complex prepositions is preceded by a definite or indefinite article:

in the light of; as a result of

This category may be further subdivided according to which prepositions function as Prept and Prepa:

w + noun + of : in case of, in charge of, in view of, in need of, in302 Prepositions and prepositional phrases

spite of, in front of, in lieu of, in favour of, in place of, in face of, in aid of, in quest of, in respect of, in search of, etc M+NOUN+ with: in contact with, in common with, in line with, in

accordance with, etc

B r+NOUN4- of: by means of, by way of, by virtue of, by dint of, etc ow+noon+of: on account of, on behalf of, on top of, on pain of, on the strength of, etc

other types: at variance with, in exchange for, in return for, in addition to, in relation to, at the expense of, for the sake of, in\with regard to, with respect to, at the hands of, etc

Note

Monosyllabic simple prepositions are normally unstressed; polysyllabic prepositions (whether simple or complex) are normally stressed. In complex prepositions, the stress falls on the word (adverb, noun, etc) preceding the final preposition.

6.6

'Cohesiveness' of complex prepositions

Strictly speaking, a complex preposition is a sequence that is indivisible both in terms of syntax and in terms of meaning. However, there is no absolute distinction between complex prepositions and constructions which can be varied, abbreviated and extended according to the normal rules of syntax. Rather, there is a scale of \*cohesiveness' running from a sequence which behaves in every way like a simple preposition (eg: in spite of [the weather]), to one which behaves in every way like a set of grammatically separate units (eg: on the shelf by [the door]). Nine indicators of syntactic separateness are listed below.

(a) Prepa can be varied

on the shelf at [the door] but not eg: "in spite for, etc

(b) The noun can be varied as between singular and plural

on the shelves by [the door] but not \*in spites of

(c) The noun can be varied in respect to determiners

on shelves by [the door] but not \*in a\the spite of

(d) Prepi can be varied

under the shelf by [the door] but not \*for spite of

(e) Prepa+complement can be replaced by a genitive

on the surface} ,, ,, . , . .«,. .

, . >oj the table ~ on its surface but not \*w its spite

(f) Prepa+ complement can be omitted

on the shelf 'but not \*in spite (g) Prepa+complement can be replaced by a demonstrative

of that shelf but not \*in that spite

Simple and complex prepositions 303

(h) The noun can be replaced by nouns of related meaning on the ledge by [the door] but not \*in malice of

(i) The noun can be freely premodified by adjectives

on the low shelf by [the door] but not \*in evident spite of

In all these respects, in spite of 'qualifies' as a complex preposition, whereas on the shelf by does not.

As examples of sequences which lie between these two poles, we may take in quest of, in search of, in comparison with, and in defence of as showing progressively less of the character of a preposition and more of the character of a free syntactic construction.

In quest of is slightly less cohesive than in spite of in that it has property (h) (cf: in search of).

In search of is less cohesive still, in having property (f) (cf; in search) as well as property (h) (cf: in quest of).

In comparison with goes further, in that it has property (d) (cf: byj through comparison with) as well as properties (f) (cf: in comparison) and (h) (cf: in common with).

In defence of goes yet further, having four of the properties of a free construction, viz: (c) (cf: in the defence of), (e) (cf: in her defence), (h) (cf: in support of), and (i) (in keenlstubbornjboldletc defence of).

On the other hand, all these types might reasonably be considered 'complex prepositions', in that they have more in common with in spite of than with on the shelf by.

## 6.7

Boundary between simple and complex prepositions The boundary between simple and complex prepositions is also an uncertain one. Orthographic separation is the easiest test to apply, but anomalies such as writing into as one word and out of as two merely emphasize the arbitrariness of the distinction between one and more than one word.

A test that can be applied to most cases is that a preposition when simple is identical in form to its corresponding prepositional adverb (by "by, etc: 6.9-10); a complex preposition, on the other hand, loses its final element when transferred to the function of adverb (apart from~ apart: 6.10 Note).

As the remainder of this chapter will chiefly illustrate simple prepositions, it may be valuable to give here a few instances of the use of complex prepositions:

In terms of money, her loss was small. Two men were interviewed at Bow Street Police Station in connection with a theft from an Oxford Street store. 304 Prepositions and prepositional phrases

How many delegates are in favour q/"this motion?

His biography of Eisenhower is in many places at variance with

the official reports. In line with latest trends in fashion, many dress designers have been

sacrificing elegance to audacity.

Legal English is notable for complex prepositions, the foUowing being among those found mainly in legalistic or bureaucratic usage: in case of, in default of, in lieu of, on pain of, in respect of.

## 6.8

Syntactic function of prepositional phrases

Prepositional phrases may function as:

(a) Adjunct (6.34 ff):

The people were singing on the bus

(b) Postmodifier in a nounphrase (13.25<sup>^</sup>):

The people on the bus were singing

(c) Complementation of a verb (6.51-54):

We were looking at his awful paintings

In this and the following function, the preposition is more closely related to the preceding word, which determines its choice, than to the prepositional complement.

(d) Complementation of an adjective (6.51-54);

I am sorry for his parents

(e) Disjunct (6.47-50):

He did, in all fairness, try to phone the police

(f) Conjunct (6.47-50):

On the other hand, he made no attempt to help the victim or apprehend her attacker

Of these functions, those of adjunct and postmodifier are the most common. As conjuncts, prepositional phrases are largely limited to idiomatic or stereotyped phrases: of course, in a word, with respect, in conclusion, at any rate, etc.

Prepositions and prepositional adverbs 305

Note

Like adverbs (5.64), prepositional phrases may occasionally take a nominal function eg as subject of a clause, or even as prepositional complement:

Between six and seven will suit me He crawled out from under the table.

Prepositions and prepositional adverbs

6.9

A prepositional adverb (5.50) is a particle which shares the form, but not the syntactic status, of a preposition. It is capable of standing alone as an adjunct, disjunct, conjunct, postmodifier, etc without the addition of a prepositional complement:

A car drove past the door (past is a preposition) A car drove past (past is a prepositional adverb)

In the examples below, the adverb is respectively (a) an adjunct, (b) a postmodifier:

(a) Despite the fine weather, we stayed in all day

(b) The day before, I had spoken to him in the street

The following is a full list of (simple) prepositional adverbs:

aboard, about, above, across, after, against<sup>^</sup>, along, alongside, apart, around, before, behind, below, beneath, besides, between, beyond, by, down, for, in, inside, near, notwithstanding, off, on, opposite, over, outside, past, round, since, through, throughout, to (in a few idioms such as to and fro), under, underneath, up, within, without (only in phrases such as votes for and against)

All, with the exception of without and the conjuncts besides and notwithstanding, are primarily adjuncts of time or place.

Both prepositions and adverbs commonly appear in idiomatic combinations with a preceding verb; eg: make for, make up, make up for. Here, however, we shall pay attention only to their meaning and syntactic behaviour as individual items, idiomatic usage being a concern of the dictionary rather than of the grammar. Discussion of phrasal verbs (ie combinations of verb and adverb which behave syntactically or semantically as a single unit) is postponed to 12.19^ Note

Adverbs normally receive stress, whereas simple prepositions (especially monosyllables) normally do not: He thrust 'in his hand <in=adverb) is thus distinct from Be swam in the take (fn = unstressed prep). Similarly:

Which prisoner did (hey inarch 'in ? (where in is adverb)

Which uniform did they march in? (where friris preposition)и306 Prepositions and prepositional phrases

6.10

Usually a prepositional adverb can be explained as a prepositional phrase from which the complement, having a definite understood meaning, has been deleted (c/5,50,8.57 Note d): Is Mary around ? (= 'around the house/building, etc') There's a bus behind ( = 'behind us/the car/house, etc') Poor George nearly fell off(=lofithe horse/bus/roof, etc') I haven't seen him Since (= 'since that day/time, etc')

However, adverbs do not always correspond to equivalent prepositional usages: eg there is no equivalent preposition for the adverbs over and off

in

At last the war's over

He's going off on his travels again.

Note

Note

If it corresponds to a complex preposition, an adverb is not identical in form to the preposition, being without the final word: out of~ out: away from ~ away, etc. There is also a category of 'complex adverb', since prepositional phrases such as in favour, on top, and in return have the role of adverb in relation to the complex prepositions in favour of, on top of, in return for, etc.

Prepositional meanings

6.11

In the most general terms, a preposition expresses a relation between two entities, one being that represented by the prepositional complement. Of the various types of relational meaning, those of place and time are the most prominent and easy to identify. Other relationships such as instrument and cause may also be recognized although it is difficult to describe prepositional meanings systematically in terms of such labels. Some prepositional uses may be elucidated best by seeing a preposition as related to a clause; eg; The man with the red beard (6.46) ~ The man who has the red beard; my knowledge ofHindi (13.28/) ~ / know Hindi.

In the survey of prepositional meanings to which most of this chapter is devoted, place and time relations will be dealt with first, and will be followed by a more cursory exemplification of other relations such as 'cause', 'goal' a\*nd 'origin'. So

varied are prepositional meanings that no more than a presentation of the most notable semantic similarities and contrasts can be attempted here.

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Place

6.12

Prepositional phrases of place are typically either adjuncts (relating an event or state of affairs to a location) or postmodifiers (relating some 'object' to a location); they may also act as obligatory 'predicative' adjuncts following the verb be, as in *Maggy is in the kitchen* (see 2.10).

Fig 6:1 indicates relations of meaning between a number of prominent prepositions of place.

destinati on	positi on	destinati on	position
to —>x	at •X	(away) from X—▶	away from X •
on	on	off	off •
in ) (to   	in     m	ou t of {   	out of     l'

DIMENSION-TYPE 0

(point)

DIMENSION-TYPE 1/2

(line or surface)

DIMENSION-TYPE 2/3 (area or volume)

POSITIVE

NEGATIVE

:1 Some prepositions of place

Note

Io] Some of the prepositions in the above diagram can be replaced by other prepositions with the same meaning: upon is a formal equivalent of on; inside and within can substitute for in, and outside for out of.

V>] On to is of restricted use in AmE; it is sometimes spelt as a single word: onto.

6.13

Simple position and destination: at, to, etc

Between the notions of simple position (or static location) and destination (movement with respect to an intended location) a cause-and-effect relationship obtains: 308 Prepositions and prepositional phrases

## DESTINATION

Tom went to Cambridge. Tom fell on (to) the floor. Tom dived in (to) the water.

## POSITION

as a result: Tom was at Cambridge as a result: Tom was on the floor as a result: Tom was in the water

A prepositional phrase of 'position' can accompany any verb, although this meaning is particularly associated with verbs of stative meaning (2.6, 3.40), such as be, stand, live, etc; the meaning of 'destination' generally (but by no means always - see 6.22) accompanies a verb of dynamic 'motional' meaning, such as go, move, fly, etc.

### Note

In many cases (especially in colloquial English), on and in may be used for both position and destination: He dived in the water; He fell on the floor. But there are various restrictions on the interchangeability of on with on to and in with into: eg in BrE, locomotive verbs such as walk, slide, swim require on to and into for destinational meaning. Causative verbs such as place, stand, lay, sit, on the other hand, do not combine with on to, on to, and into at all:

("She sat the baby on to the chair \ She sat the baby on the chair

6.14

Negative position: away from, off, etc

The negative prepositions away from, off, and out of may be defined

simply by adding the word not to the corresponding positive preposition: Tom is away from Cambridge (=Tom is not at Cambridge) The books were off the shelves (=The books were not on the

shelves) He's out of the office (= He's not in the office)

6.15

Dimension-types: at-on-in, etc

The dimension-type of a preposition is the dimensional property ascribed, subjectively speaking, to the location denoted by the prepositional complement.

One may compare the three phrases at the door, on the door, and in the door. In the phrase at the door, the door is envisaged as a dimensionless location, a vague 'point on the map', and no details concerning its shape or size come into focus. This is dimension-type 0. The phrase on the door, on the other hand, makes us see the door as a two-dimensional thing, ie a surface. On, in fact, can indicate a location of either one or two dimensions (a line or a surface). This is therefore dimension-type 1/2. With in the door, the door is seen as a three-dimensional object, an object having volume. In can also be applied to two-dimensional loca-

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tions which are seen as 'areas' (typically enclosed or bordered pieces of territory) rather than 'surfaces'. (This, like the other distinctions involving dimension-types, is psychological or perceptual, rather than 'real'.) In, therefore, belongs to dimension-type 2/3.

It is clear from the foregoing that the same object can be viewed in terms of any of three dimension-types:

The manager stood at the door

There was a new coat of paint on the door

There was woodworm in the door  
Further examples of each type are:

DIMENSION-TYPE 0:

at the shop at the bus-stop

DIMENSION-TYPE 1/2:

line: (The city is situated) on the River Thames on the boundary on the coast

at the North Pole at the end of the road

DIMENSION-TYPE 2/3: area: in the world in the village in the park

surface: (A notice was pasted) on the wall on the ceiling on my back

volume: in a box

in the bathroom in the cathedral

The contrast between on (= 'surface') and in (= 'area') has various implications according to context, as these examples show:

On the window: The frost made patterns on the windows  
(window=glass surface)

In the window/mirror: A face appeared in the window/mirror  
(window, mirror = framed area)

Jon the field: In the field:

Jon the island: In the island:

The players were practising on the field

(field = surface for sports) Cows were grazing in the field

(field = enclosed area of land)

He was marooned on a desert island

(viewed as a mere space) He was born in Long Island (viewed as an inhabited interior)

opposition between at (dimension-type 0) and in (dimension-type 2/3) Prepositions and prepositional phrases

2/3) can also cause difficulty. In is used for continents, countries, provinces, and sizeable territories of any kind; but for towns, villages, etc, either at or in is appropriate, according to point of view: at in Stratford-upon-Avon. A very large city, such as New York, London, or Tokyo, is generally treated as an area: He works in London, but lives in the country. But one could treat it as a point on the map if global distances were in mind: Our plane refuelled at London on its way from New York to Moscow.

With buildings, also, both at and in can be used. The difference here is that at refers to a building in its institutional or functional aspect, whereas in refers to it as a three-dimensional structure:

at school (BrE) \in school (AmE) He's at school (=in BrE) He's actually inside the building - not, eg on the playing fields') So too at in Oxford; at home but in the house.

Note

[a]

On the zero article in at school etc, see 4.38.

(61 In some cases it may be more difficult to explain the use of a preposition in terms of dimension-type: at the seaside (cf: on the coast); in the world (cf: on (the) earth).



Even here, however, the implications of at, on, and In are felt to be different. At the seaside suggests a point of contact with the sea, rather than a one-dimensional coastline. On the earth sees the world as a surface [eg as a geologist might see it) rather than as a place where people live.

[c] When a place is being regarded as a destination rather than a position, it is more natural to see it vaguely as a geographical point than as an area. Hence the more frequent use of to than of into in reference to countries etc: The gypsies came to England in the fifteenth century (contrast The gypsies were in England).

[d] In addition to the prepositions mentioned, against, about, and around are commonly used as prepositions of simple position or destination: against in the sense 'touching the side surface of (He's leaning against the wall); about and around in the sense of 'in the vicinity of (He's been snooping about/around the place all day).

[e] Two additional meanings of on as a preposition of position are 'hanging from\*'  
The apples are still on the tree and 'on top of'

Humpty Dumpty sat on the wall

We may see these as extending the basic meaning of on to include the most obvious static relationship of contiguity between a smaller and a larger object.

6.16

Relative position: by, over, under, etc

Apart from simple position, prepositions may express the relative position of two objects or groups of objects: He was standing by his brother (= 'at the side of)

Prepositional meanings 311

I left the keys with my wallet (= 'in the same place as')

Above, below, over, under, on top of, underneath, beneath express relative position in a vertical direction, whereas in front of and behind represent it in a horizontal direction. Fig 6:2 depicts the relations expressed by 'X is above Y', 'Z is behind Y', etc.

The antonyms

above	X
over	
on top of	
behind	in front of
Z	Y
	Z
below	
wider	
underneath	
beneath	X

Fig6:2 Vertical and horizontal direction

above and below, over and under, in front of and behind are not positive and negative, but converse opposites:

The picture is above the mantelpiece = The mantelpiece is below the picture  
The bus is in front of the car = The car is behind the bus

Over and under as place prepositions are roughly synonymous with above and below respectively. The main differences are that over and under tend to indicate a direct vertical relationship and/or spatial proximity, while above and below may indicate simply 'on a higher/lower level than':

The castle stands on a hill above (rather than over) the valley  
The doctor and the policeman were leaning over (rather than above) the body when we arrived

Underneath and beneath are less common substitutes for under; beneath 's formal in style. Underneath, like on top of, generally indicates a contiguous relation.

Note

■\*tner prepositions of relative position are beside, near (to), between, amidst). 312  
Prepositions and prepositional phrases

6.17

Relative destination: by, over, under, etc

As well as relative position, the prepositions listed in 6.16 (but not, generally, above and below) can express relative destination: The bush was the only conceivable hiding-place, so I dashed behind it  
When it started to rain, we all went underneath the trees  
This use is distinct from that denoting passage behind, under, etc (6.18).

6.18

Passage: by, over, under, etc

With verbs of motion, prepositions may express the idea of passage (ie movement towards and then away from a place) as well as destination. With the prepositions listed in 6.16, this occurs in sentences like:

He jumped over a ditch

Someone ran behind the goal-posts

In sentences like the last, or like The ball rolled underneath the table, there is an ambiguity: we can supply either the meaning of 'passage' (= 'the ball passed under the table on the way to some other destination') or the meaning of \* 'destination' (— 'the ball rolled under the table and stayed there').

Note

A triple ambiguity may in fact arise with the above sentences, or more clearly with A mouse scuttled behind the curtain, which may be interpreted not only in the senses of 'passage' and 'destination', but also in the static sense, implying that the mouse stayed (scuttling back and forth) behind the curtain all the time.

6.19

Passage: across, through, past

The sense of 'passage' is the primary locative meaning attached to across (dimension-type 1/2), through (dimension-type 2/3) and past (the 'passage' equivalent of by which may also, however, be substituted for past in a 'passage' sense). Note the parallel between across and on, through and in in Fig 6:3.

across the grass

DIMENSION-TYPE 1/2                    ^                    on the grass

DIMENSION-TYPE 2/3    jLUMHU in the grass    UUIHW through the grass

Fig 6:3 On and across, in and through

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The upper pair treat the grass as a surface, and therefore suggest short grass; the lower pair, by treating the grass as a volume, suggest that it has height as well as length and breadth - that is, that the grass is long. There is a meaning of over corresponding to across in this sense: The bail rolled over/across the lawn.

6.20

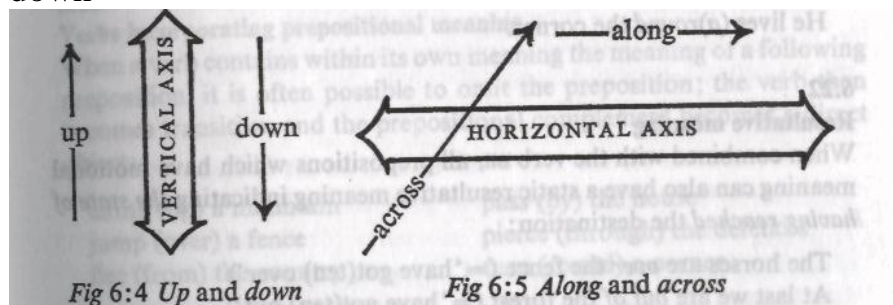
Movement with reference to a directional path: up, down, along, etc

Up, down, along, across (in a slightly different sense from that of 6.19), and (a)round, with verbs of motion, make up a group of prepositions expressing movement with reference to an axis or directional path. Up and down contrast in terms of vertical direction, while along (= 'from one end towards the other') contrasts with across^ (= 'from one side to another') in terms of a horizontal axis.

1

up

down



—along-

HORIZONTAL AXIS

>

Fig 6:4 Up and down

Fig 6:5 Along and across

But up and down are also used idiomatically in reference to a horizontal axis:

... .. f down the road He hves- { ..

Ijip the coast

I walked up and down the platform

Up and down here express the notion of 'along', and need not have any vertical implications.

With (a)round, the directional path is an angle or a curve:

We ran up the hill

We ran (a)round the corner

Toward(s) is in a category of its own, having the meaning 'in the direction of'.

6.21

Orientation: beyond, over, past, etc

Most prepositions listed in 6.16 and 6.20 can be used in a static sense of orientation. This brings in a third factor apart from the two things being^

314 Prepositions and prepositional phrases

spatially related: viz a 'point of orientation', at which (in reality or imagination) the speaker is standing. Beyond (= 'on the far side of') is a preposition whose primary

meaning is one of orientation; furthermore, over, past, across, and through can combine the meaning of 'beyond' with more specific information of dimension-type etc on the lines described in 6.19:

He lives across the moors (ie 'from here') The village past the bus-stop/f/irougA the wood, etc Up, down, along, across, and (d)round (see 6.20) are used orientationally with reference to an axis in

The shop down the road (ie towards the bottom end of...) His office is up/down the stairs (ie at (or towards) the top of...) There's a hotel across/along the road (ie on the other side/towards

the other end of...) He lives (a)round the corner.

6.22

Resultative meaning

When combined with the verb be, all prepositions which have motional meaning can also have a static resultative meaning indicating the state of having reached the destination: The horses are over the fence (= 'have got(ten) over') At last we are out of the forest (= 'have got(ten) out') Resultative meaning is not always distinguishable out of context from other static meanings; its presence is often signalled, however, by certain adverbs (already, just, at last, (not) yet, etc), and it is characteristically found with negative prepositions from, out of, etc or with prepositions of 'passage' such as across, through, and past.

6J3

Pervasive meaning: all over, throughout, etc

Over (dimension-type 1/2) and through (dimension-type 2/3), especially when preceded by all, have pervasive meaning (either static or motional): That child was running all over the flower borders Qiaos reigned all through the house

Throughout, substitutable for all through, is the only preposition whose primary meaning is 'pervasive\*'. Occasionally the 'axis' type prepositions of 6.20 are also used in a pervasive sense: There were crowds (all) along the route They put flowers (all) around the statue.

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6.24

Seven senses of over

Let us now see how one preposition (over) may be used in most of the senses discussed:

position: A lamp hung over the door

destination: They threw a blanket over her

passage: They climbed over the wall

orientation: They live over (= 'on the far side of) the road

resultative: At last we were over the crest of the hill

pervasive (static): Leaves lay thick (all) over the ground pervasive (motion): They splashed water (all) over me.

6.25

Verbs incorporating prepositional meaning

When a verb contains within its own meaning the meaning of a following

preposition, it is often possible to omit the preposition; the verb then becomes transitive, and the prepositional complement becomes a direct object:

climb (up) a mountain jump (over) a fence flee (from) the country

pass (by) the house

pierce (through) the defences

turn (round) a corner

6.26

Metaphorical or abstract use of place prepositions

Many place prepositions have abstract meanings which are clearly related, through metaphorical connection, to their locative uses. Very often prepositions so used keep the groupings (in terms of similarity or contrast of meaning) that they have when used in literal reference to place.

One may perceive a stage-by-stage extension of metaphorical usage in such a series as:

(i) in shallow water (purely literal)

(ii) in deep water (also metaphorical = 'in trouble')

(iii) in difficulties (the noun is not metaphorical, but the preposition is)

(iv) in a spot (= 'in a difficult situation': the preposition is analogous to that of (iii), but another locative metaphor is introduced by the noun. The result is a phrase that could not occur in a literal sense, because at a spot (dimension-type 0) would be appropriate instead.) 316 Prepositions and prepositional phrases

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Examples in relation to the literal meanings art:

in/out of; amid (rare)/amidst position -\*■ state, condition:

in/out of danger; in difficulties; to keep out of trouble; amidst

a mass of troubles enclosure -> abstract inclusion:

in books; plays; in a group; party; in/out of the race

above/below/beneath vertical direction -\* abstract level:

to be above/below someone on a list; above/below one's income; such behaviour is beneath (not below) him; he's above such behaviour

UNDER

vertical direction -\*■ subjection, subordination: under suspicion; orders; compulsion; he has a hundred people working under him

up/down

movement on vertical axis -\*■ movement on list or scale: up/down the scale; up/down the social ladder

to/from

starting point/destination -\*• originator/recipient: a letter I present from Browning to his wife (6.37/)

beyond/past/over

resultative meaning; physical ->■ abstract:

beyond/past endurance; beyond/past hope; beyond/past recovery; we're over the worst

between/among(st)

relative position -> abstract relation between participants: a fight\match between ...; quarrel\agree among(st) ourselves; relationship I contrast I affinity between two things

Note

[a] Over and under act as intensifiers, rather than as prepositions, with the meanings 'more than' and 'less than' in expressions of measure: The car was travelling (at) over/under sixty miles per hour.

A few prepositions (chiefly in and out of) can operate in an apparently converse relationship. For example:

The horse is in foal (= The foal is in the horse's womb)

The office is out of envelopes (= There are no envelopes in the office)

C/also (a ship) in ballast. Out of breath.

Time

6.27

A prepositional phrase of time usually occurs as adjunct or postmodifier, but it can occasionally be itself the complement of a temporal preposition (c/"6.8 Note): a voice from out of the past. The temporal uses of prepositions frequently suggest metaphorical extensions from the sphere of place similar to the metaphorical extensions discussed in 6.26.

6.28

Time when: at, on, in

Thus at, on, and in as prepositions of 'time when' are to some extent parallel to the same items as positive prepositions of position (6.12), although in the time sphere there are only two 'dimension-types', viz 'point of time' and 'period of time'.

At is used for points of time (chiefly clock-time) {at ten o'clock, at 6.30 pm, at noon, etc); also, idiomatically, for holiday seasons (at the weekend (BrE), at Christmas, at Easter - referring to the season of Christmas/Easter, not the day itself); and for the phrases at night, at the/that time, etc.

On is used with phrases referring to days (on Monday, on the following day, on May {the} first); otherwise in or, less commonly, during is used to indicate periods of time: in the evening, during Holy Week, in August, in the months that followed, in summer, in 1969, in the eighteenth century, etc.

Note

On Monday morning, on Saturday afternoon, on the following evening, etc illustrate an exceptional use of on with a complement referring to a part of a day, rather than a whole day. This use also extends to other cases where the time segment is a part of a day which is actually mentioned: on the morning of 1st June, etc. But with phrases like early morning, late afternoon it is normal to use in: in the late afternoon of 15th September.

6.29

Duration

: for, etc

Duration is expressed by for:

to camped there for the summer (ie from the beginning to the end of the summer)

Contrast:

'e camped there in the summer-Oe probably not for the whole summer) 318  
Prepositions and prepositional phrases

Frequently-used idiomatic phrases of this kind are for now, for ever and for good ('for ever').

Also, over, (all) through, and throughout have a durational meaning parallel to their pervasive meaning in reference to place (6.23):

We camped there over the holiday

We camped there throughout) the summer

Over normally accompanies noun phrases denoting special occasions (such as holidays and festivals), and so generally refers to a shorter period of time than throughout).

From ... (o is another pair of prepositions whose locative meaning is transferred to duration. The American alternative expression (from) ... through is useful in avoiding the ambiguity as to whether the period mentioned second is included in the total span of time:

We camped there (from) June through September (AmE)

(=up to and including September) We camped there from June to (or till) September (BrE)

(=up to [?and including] September)

6.30

Before, after, since, and until;till

These are conjunctions as well as prepositions (see 11.27). As prepositions, they occur almost exclusively as prepositions of time, and are followed by either (a) a temporal noun phrase (eg: before next week), (b) a subjectless W-ing clause (eg: since leaving school), or (c) a noun phrase with a deverbal noun (App 1.24, 34) or some other noun phrase interpreted as equivalent to a clause:

until the fall of Rome (= 'until Rome fell')

before the war (= 'before the war started or took place')

since electricity (= 'since electricity was invented')

Informally, until is sometimes preceded by up: up until last week.

631

Between, by, and up to

Other prepositions of time are between, by, and up to:

I'll phone you between lunch and three o'clock

By the time we'd walked five miles, he was exhausted

Up to last week, I hadn't received a reply.

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Absence of prepositions of time 632

In many cases, a preposition of time is absent, so that the temporal adjunct takes the form of a noun phrase instead of a prepositional phrase (see 8.57.?):

I saw him last Thursday

I'll mention it next time I see him

This year, plums are more plentiful than in any year I can remember

Every summer she returns to her childhood home

Prepositions of time when are always absent immediately before the deictic (or 'pointing' - cf 4.121b) words last, next, this, and that; and the quantifying words some and every; also before nouns which have 'last', 'next', or 'this' as an element of their meaning: [saw himyester-dayjtoday; I'll see him tomorrow evening.

The omission of the preposition is optional with deictic phrases referring to times at more than one remove from the present, such as (on) Monday week (BrE), (in) the January before last (in AmE the in has to be omitted here), (on) the day before yesterday; also with phrases which identify a time before or after a given time in the past or future: (in) the previous spring, (at) the following weekend, (on) the next day. Thus, both the following alternatives are acceptable:

/We met on the following day \We met the following day /We met on that day \We met that day

On the whole, the sentence without the preposition tends to be more informal and more usual. Non-deictic phrases containing the must have the preposition: We met on the dayfin the spring. Note

lfll In AmE and in very informal BrE, the omission of the temporal preposition goes further; one frequently hears sentences such as I'll see you Sunday, in which the preposition on is omitted before a day of the week standing on its own. Another type of omission (characteristic of AmE) is in initial position preceding a plural noun phrase:

Sundays we go into the country

The preposition is generally not omitted before the BrE inverted word-order phrases (on) Sunday next, (in) January last, etc.

n addition, the preposition/or is often omitted in phrases of duration: we stayed there (for) three months<sup>320</sup> Prepositions and prepositional phrases The snowy weather lasted (for) the whole time we were there (For) a lot of the time we just lay on the beach The omission almost invariably takes place with phrases which begin with all, such as all day, all {the) week:

We stayed there all week (not "for all week)

In other cases, however, the omission is impossible: for example, with many 'event' verbs: / haven't spoken to him for three months (not \*j haven't spoken to him three months). Initial position in the clause also seems to discourage omission: For 600 years, the cross lay unnoticed.

Note

[a] When they occur initially, the phrases for ages, for days, for years, etc cannot be abbreviated by omission of the preposition: \* Years we've waited. H>1 Temporal phrases such as a month ago, all ihe year round, all {the) night long end with an adverb, and in form they are more like phrases of measure {cf: 10,000 feel up; 3 miles across: 5.60) than prepositional phrases. There is thus no question here of an omitted preposition. Other meanings: prepositional phrase chiefly as adjunct

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Ranges of meaning

There follows now a survey of the more important prepositional usages apart from those of time and place. Meanings are elucidated by paraphrase, by antonymy, or



grammatical transformation. Fields of meaning are classified according to whether they chiefly involve the prepositional phrase as adjunct, postmodifier, disjunct, or complementation to verbs or adjectives. Fields of prepositional meaning are notoriously difficult to classify, and in some cases it is better to think of a range or spectrum of meaning first as a single category, then as broken up into separate overlapping sections. First, therefore, we deal with two important spectra which may be visualized as follows: t

k \* (6.35-38)

◆manner

for

why

(6.39^2)

instrument]

agentive

.stimulus

f tow

cause

reason

motive

purpose

destination I

\*. | target J

We may refer to these spectra, for brevity, as causes-purpose and MEANS~ agentive respectively. In part, our reason for putting various meanings under a single heading is that some of them have, as a UnkinS element, association with particular prepositions and w/i-words: *fif* and *why* in the first case, *with* and *how* in the second.

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After these important areas of meaning, we turn to lesser areas which are not so easily brought together under general headings.

Cause-purpose

6.35

Cause, reason, motive: because of, etc

At one end of the spectrum of cause ~ purpose, we have prepositions expressing either the material cause or the psychological cause (motive) for a happening:

Because of the drought, the price of bread was high that year. Richard and Ben, on account of their wide experience in climbing,

were voted leaders of the expedition. ] hid the money, for fear of what my parents would say. The survivors were weak from exposure and lack of food. Some support charities out of duty, some out of a sense of guilt;

rarely is human, compassion the chief motive. He said it for fun, but they took him seriously.

On account of is a more formal alternative to because of as an expression of cause or reason. The other three prepositions are mainly restricted to the expression of motive, ie psychological cause: from gratitude!kindness, out of gratitude!kindness, etc. For is

found with a relatively small number of expressions: for fear, joy, sorrow, etc. Phrases of cause, reason and motive answer the question 'Why ...?'

### 6.36

Purpose, intended destination: for

He'll do anything for money

Everyone ran for safety

For the journey, they packed three large picnic baskets of food

He died for his country

The uses of for illustrated above have in common a notion of 'purpose', as we see from the possibility of paraphrasing them by a clause (in order) to-, (see 11.39): for money-'in order to gain money', for safety='in order to reach safety', etc. To express intended destination, for is used with verbs such as run, start, head, leave, and set out: He set out for London, etc.

Phrases of purpose or destination answer the questions 'Why ...?', 'What... for?', 'Where ... for?', or 'Who ... for?'. They frequently occur as postmodifiers, as well as adverbials: the scenery for the play, etc. 322

### 6.37

Recipient, goal, target: for, to, at

When for is followed by noun phrases denoting persons or animals, the meaning is rather one of 'intended recipient':

He laid a trap for his enemies

He made a beautiful doll for his daughter

So used, the for phrase can often be equated with an indirect object (see 7.6, 12.60):

He made his daughter a beautiful doll; She cooked him a dinner.

In contrast to the notion of 'intended recipient' expressed by for, the preposition to expresses 'actual recipient' in sentences such as:

He sold the car to his next-door neighbour

Here again there is a transformational relationship with the indirect-object construction (7.6):

He gave

[gave]

the book to my friend <-> I lent my friend the book [sold]

[sold]

At, in combinations such as aim at (where the prepositional phrase is complementary to the verb), expresses intended goal or target:

After aiming carefully at the bird, he missed it completely. A vicious mongrel was snapping at his ankles

As the first sentence shows, the intended goal need not be achieved. A contrast in many cases {kick at, swipe at, charge at, bite at, catch at, shoot at, chew at) may be drawn between this use of at, in which some idea of 'aim' is implied, and the direct object construction, which indicates attainment of the goal or consummation of the action as planned. He shot at the Commander-in-Chief means something very different from He shot the Commander-in-Chief: to the first one could add 'but

missed him', whereas one could not do the second. In other cases, where the verb is intransitive, to must be used if the attainment of the goal is to be stressed: He ran at me. He ran to me.

Note

There is a significant difference between at and to when combined with verbs of utterance such as roar, bellow, shout, mutter, growl: He shouted at me suggests that I am being treated merely as a target (eg of abuse), while He shouted to me implies that the shouter is communicating with me, ie that I am the recipient of the message. A' here usually suggests hostility.

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6.38

Source, origin: from

The converse of to (= 'goal') is from (= 'source'):

Bill lent the book to me \*-\* I borrowed the book from Bill From is also used with reference to 'place of origin\*':

He comes from Austria (=he is Austrian) I'm from Madrid

This type of prepositional phrase occurs not only as an adjunct, but as a postmodifier: the man from Mars; a friend of mine from London.

Means-agentive 6.39

Manner: with, in.

. manner. like

We were received with the utmost courtesy The task was done in a workmanlike manner Like a pestilence, the army swept through the city, leaving nothing but desolation behind (ie 'In the manner of a pestilence ...')

Note that like can have the meaning of 'manner' with extensive verbs (2.5); with intensive verbs, its meaning is purely that of 'resemblance': Life is like a dream. This meaning is common with disjuncts (8.7&ff) in sentences whose main verb may be extensive; contrast:

He writes poetry like his brother (manner) Like his brother, he writes poetry (resemblance)

Manner phrases, like manner adverbs, can sometimes be evoked by the question 'How ...?', especially if the sense of 'means' is effectively excluded:

a: How did he speak? B: He spoke like a child.  
K L with great skill.

6.40

Means, instrument: by, with, without

By can express the meaning 'by means of':

I usually go to work by bus/train/car/boat

The thief must have entered and left the house by the back door

By working the pumps, we kept the ship afloat for another 40 hours

phrases of means answer the question 'How... ?'.

with, on the other hand, expresses instrumental meaning:

He caught the ball with his left hand Someone had broken the window with a stone

[1]

[2] 324 Prepositions and prepositional phrases

There is a correspondence between these sentences (which normally require a human subject and a direct object) and sentences containing the verbose; He used his left hand to catch the ball; Someone had used a stone to break the window. There is also an alternative construction in which the noun phrase denoting the instrument becomes the subject: His left hand caught the ball; A stone has broken the window. (On 'instrumental' subjects, see 7.15.)

For most senses of with, including that of instrument, without expresses the equivalent negative meaning: I drew it without a ruler (ie 'I did not use a ruler to draw it').

Phrases of instrument, like those of means, answer the question 'How...?'.  
a : How did he do it ? b : With an axe.

#### Note

[a] Mode of transport is expressed by on as well as by: on the bus: the trainja shipla plane are not purely locative phrases (location in such cases would be expressed by in rather than on - see 6.IS), but rather indicate the condition of being 'in transit'. Thus, I go to work on the bus is an alternative to I go to work by bus. But although one can say / met Peter on the bus, one cannot say \*/ met Peter by bus: the meaning 'by means of' is here inappropriate. On is used instead of by in the phrases on foot, on horseback. Notice the absence of the article in these phrases, as well as in by bus, etc (see 4.38).

[6] O/is used with the verb die in He died of hunger etc. This meaning is poised between 'cause' and 'means': on the one hand, one speaks of the 'cause of death' {cf: He was suffering from hunger); on the other hand, this type of phrase would be evoked by the question How did he die? (or What did he die of.'} rather than my did he die?  
6.41

Instrument, agentive: with, by

Converting now the sentences with instrumental subject ([1] and [2] above, c/7.15) into the passive, we obtain:

The ball was caught with/by his left hand The window has been broken by a stone

In the passive, that is, the instrument may be expressed by a fcy-phrase, and is thus treated as parallel to an agentive (7.14).

While the 'instrument' is the inert and normally inanimate cause of an action, the 'agentive' is its animate (normally human) initiating cause. Where either of these could occur as subject of an active sentence, there is a corresponding passive sentence, in which the agentive or instrument is expressed by a i^phrase:

We were observed by a passing stranger («-> A passing stranger observed us)

Prepositional meanings 325

The crops have been ruined by frost (<-> Frost has ruined the crops)

The difference between instrumental phrases containing with and by is a fine one:

He was killed by an arrow He was killed with an arrow

Either of these sentences could describe the same incident. The difference is that the with phrase always implies an agentive: ('Someone killed him with an arrow'), whereas a Ay-phrase does not. This follows from the fact that the iy-phrase

corresponds, in transformational terms, to the subject of an active sentence. One could say *We were driven indoors by the rain*, but not \* *We were driven indoors with the rain*, as there is no conceivable agentive (except God) for the action in the second sentence. The agentive by-phrase also occurs as a postmodifier to signify authorship: *a picture by Degas, a novel by Tolstoy*, etc.

Note

[a] More generally, both the 'instrumental' and 'agentive' by-phrase are said to express the 'agent' (as they are in 12.2 ff). One of the reasons why we distinguish them here is that they cannot be coordinated, or collapsed, by coordination, into a single prepositional phraser \**He was killed by a man and (by) an arrow*. If however different processes are involved, coordination is possible:

The area was ravaged by floods and by guerrilla forces

\b\ Outside the passive clause proper, agentive and instrumental by-phrases can occur after adjectives which are past-participial in form and passive in meaning: *I was very alarmed by the news he brought* *The child was unwanted by its parents*

The intensifier *very* and the prefix *un-* here are indicators of the adjectival status of the participle (5.13).

[e] The *fcj'*-phrase may indicate either 'means' or 'instrument' in a sentence such as *The news was confirmed by a telegram* (either 'Someone confirmed it by means of a telegram' or 'A telegram confirmed it'). Since the instrumental sense is tied to a passive verb phrase, only the 'means' interpretation is possible with active verbs:

*The news came by telegram.*

6.42

Stimulus: at

The relation between an emotion and its stimulus (normally an abstract stimulus) can often be expressed by *at*:

*I was alarmed at his behaviour*

This may be compared with the instrumental use of *by*: *I was alarmed by his behaviour*<sup>320</sup> Prepositions and prepositional phrases

Both of these can be treated as passive equivalents of *His behaviour alarmed me*, and the noun phrase following *at* may be treated as a 'quasi-agent'. Further exemplification of this use of *at* is given in 6.54 and 12.16.

Note

A number of other prepositions may introduce 'quasi-agent'.s\* after certain participles:

*I'm worried about this* (c/*This worries me*)

*He's interested in history* (c/*History interests him*)

*His plans were known to everyone* (c/*Everyone knew his plans*)

6.43

Accompaniment: with

Especially when followed by an animate complement, *with* has the meaning 'in company with' or 'together with':

*I'm so glad you're coming with us*

*Jock, with several of his noisy friends, was drinking and playing poker till after 2 am*

In the second sentence, the with phrase serves a function very close to coordination with and: 'Jock and several of his noisy friends were ...'.

An example of a phrase of accompaniment occurring as postmodifier is:

Curry with rice is my favourite dish

In this sense, as in most other senses, without is the negative of with: They're going without us; You never see him without (ie' unaccompanied by') his dog.

6.44

Support, opposition: for, with, against

Are you for or against the plan ? (ie Do you support or oppose the plan?)

Remember that every one of us is with you (= 'on your side') It is prudent to go with rather than against the tide of public opinion For conveys the idea of support, with that of solidarity or movement in sympathy; against conveys the contrary idea of opposition. In this use, there is no negative without contrasting with with.

Other meanings: prepositional phrase chiefly as postmodifier of noun phrase

6.45

Genitive of

The most common English preposition, of, occurs chiefly as a post-

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modifying genitive in noun phrases, and is most conveniently discussed in the chapter on the complex noun phrase (13.27-29). The relation of the genitive of-phia.se to the -s genitive (or inflected genitive) is explained in 4.94 ff. Here we merely give some exemplification of the extremely varied uses of of, with analogous sentences or phrases:

a typewriter of my father's (my father has a typewriter)

the courage of the man (the man has courage)

the envy of the world (the world envies...)

the trial of the conspirators (... tries the conspirators)

the virtue of thrift (thrift is a virtue)

a flock of sheep (sheep make up the flock)

a glass of water (the glass contains water)

seven of my friends (... amounting to seven)

people of the Middle Ages (people who lived in the Middle Ages)

the house of my dreams (the house which I see in my dreams)

6.46

'Having': of, with, without

In the case of the second example above, the relationship of 'having' be in the opposite direction:

can

the courage of the man - a man of courage

the tremendous force of the wind ~ a wind of tremendous force

the distinction of the performance - a performance of distinction

In the right-hand examples, it is the notional subject of have, not its notional object, that is the head of the noun phrase. This way round, of is limited to the expression of abstract attributes, and the notion of 'having' is more generally expressed by with:

a man with a red nose (' who has a red nose\*')

an industrialist with a house on the Costa Brava (' who has a house\_\_')

a woman with a large family a box with a carved lid

aai

As elsewhere, the negative of with is without:

a play without any faults ('a play with no faults')

women without children ('childless women')

the house without a porch ('... which has no porch')

The correspondence between phrases with with or without and relative323  
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clauses with have applies also to clauses in which have is followed by a quasi-clausal object (14.31 jf):

the girl with a boyfriend in the navy (\*-> ... who has a boy friend  
in the navy)

the factory with its chimney smoking a room with its door open

The above phrases with quasi-clausal complements are unlike any other kind of prepositional phrase, and could reasonably be regarded as verb-less or non-finite clauses (IIAff), with and without thereby being treated as conjunctions rather than prepositions. With and without followed by quasi-clausal complements may occur as adjunct as well as postmodifier:

He wandered in without shoes or socks on

With so many essays to write, I doubt if I shall have time to visit you

Here, the fuller clausal equivalent is a participial adverbial clause (11.48 jf), not a relative clause:

Having so many essays to write, I doubt if I shall have time to visit you.

Other meanings: prepositional phrase chiefly as disjunct  
or conjunct

6.47

Concession: in spite of, despite, for+all, with+all, notwithstanding I admire him, in spite of his faults.

Despite strong pressure from the government, the unions have refused to order a return to work.

Xall his boasting and ostentatious training, he was knocked out T J in the first round by a man lighter than himself.

Thomas Carlyle, notwithstanding his tedious rhetoric, is a master of the sublime in prose style.

In spite of is a general-purpose preposition of concession; despite is rather more formal, and forwith all more colloquial. The combinations for all and with all (all being an obligatory predeterminer with this meaning) are rather restricted in their use. Notwithstanding is formal and rather legalistic in style.

6.48

Reference: with regard to, with reference to (formal), as to (BrE), as for

With reference to your letter of April 29th, I confirm my Directors' agreement to advance a further sum of £200.

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With regard to education, it's one of the most backward places in the country. As for the burglar, he escaped through the attic window.

As to and as for (= 'returning to the question of...') are less formal than the other complex prepositions in this group. As to and with regard to can be used in postmodifying phrases as well as in disjuncts: I'd like to know your opinion as to/with regard to the burglar's behaviour.

Other prepositions within the same general area of meaning are regarding, in regard to, with respect to, in respect of, and on the matter of.

6.49

Exception: except for, with the exception of, apart from, excepting, except, but, bar, barring

We had a very pleasant time, except for the weather.

With the exception of James, none of us had any money.

The worst period of my life, apart from the war, was when I was out of work. They were all rescued (excepting) the captain, who stayed behind to safeguard the vessel. Finally, we had packed everything but the typewriter.

Except for, with the exception of, and apart from are used primarily in disjuncts. Except, excepting, and but, on the other hand, function generally (in the case of but exclusively) in postmodifying phrases: all except two; any time but now; etc. Thus but cannot occur initially as a preposition: \*But me, everyone was tired. The prepositional phrase, in such constructions, is often separated from its noun head, and post-posed to the end of the clause (cf 14.41):

Everyone but me was tired ~ Everyone was tired but me

Further, the noun phrase must contain a determiner or indefinite pronoun of absolute meaning (positive or negative): no, any, every, each, nobody, anywhere, everything, etc. Hence one may say all but one, but not, eg: \*some but one, or 'many but one. Bar and barring are rarer substitutes for except and excepting.

Note

[a] Prepositions of exception quite often have a clause or prepositional phrase as complement (c/6.8 Note):

except in the south-east apart from when I last spoke to you in addition to trying to swim except for what I ordered

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This is an indication of their marginal status as prepositions: they are in 4th ways parallel to the quasi-prepositional words of comparison as and than; more than in the south-east; as recently as when I last spoke to you. fc

[b] The combination all but is used colloquially as an intensifier

He all but (= 'very nearly') strangled me

[c] But as a preposition has to be distinguished from but as a conjunction (9.28 J?).

Both the resemblance and the contrast between the two functions are brought out



in:

everyone had a good time but John

6.50

Negative condition: but for

It is to be noted that but for is not used in the sense of exception, but rather that of 'negative condition': But/or Gordon, we should have lost the match (ie 'If it hadn't been for Gordon...', 'If Gordon hadn't played as he did ...', etc).

Other meanings: prepositional phrase chiefly as complementation of verb or adjective  
6,51

Subject matter: about, on

He told me about his adventures

He's lecturing on new techniques of management

With the meaning 'on the subject of, concerning', about and on can combine with a considerable range of verbs and adjectives (12.34), including:

teach (someone) about

read about

hear about

quarrel about

keep quiet about

tell (someone) about

inform (someone) about

find out about

be reasonable about

speak about/on

argue about/on

hold forth about/on

lecture about/on

preach about/on

confer about/on

write about/on

communicate about/on

be knowledgeable about/on

learn about

On is reserved for deliberate, formal linguistic communication (speaking, lecturing, writing, etc), and is therefore inappropriate for verbs like read, quarrel, and teach, which do not necessarily involve the subject of

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the sentence in using language; also for verbs like chat (informal) and gossip (informal), which denote the inconsequential use of language. Thus He spoke on butterflies would suggest he was making a formal speech: He spoke about butterflies would probably refer to an informal conversation or casual allusion.

This difference of meaning occurs also with postmodifying phrases, in which on and about (= 'on the subject of') are quite extensively used:

a book about/on butterflies a talk about/on antiques a discussion about/on drugs a word about/on the garden

a story about a princess ignorance about sex the facts about Suez a fuss about nothing

These two prepositions are used similarly introducing adverbials following the verb

bb:

Ton

This book is-^ . ^stamps.

.Is

Note

[a] O/is is a somewhat rarer and more literary alternative to about in tell ...of; speak of; talk of; inform ...of; etc. Both about and t>/are possible with ihlnk, but with a difference of meaning: He thought about the problem='He pondered/considered the problem'; He thought of the problem—' He brought the problem to his mind'.

[b] A less usual alternative to about and on is concerning, which is formal to the point of being rather stilted: a dispute concerning land rights.

6.52

Ingredient, material: with, of, out of

After verbs of 'making', with indicates an ingredient, whereas o/and out

of signify the material or constituency of the whole thing:

You make a cake with eggs (ie 'eggs are one of the ingredients') He made the frame (out) of wood (ie 'wood was the only material')

The same contrast of meaning is seen with build and construct:

The terminal was built/constructed with reinforced concrete The terminal was built/constructed (out) of reinforced concrete

also enters into expressions such as paved with brick, filled with water, loaded with hay.

Of (used with nouns denoting 'material') is found in a postmodifying function as well as in adverbials: a bracelet of solid gold, a table of polished oak (ie 'made/consisting of polished oak'); here it may also be used metaphorically: a man of steel; a heart of stone. 332 Prepositions and prepositional phrases

6.53

Respect, standard: at, for

Just as we saw in 5.68/that we could not say This boy is bigger without relating the comparative adjective explicitly or implicitly to a standard of comparison, so a gradable adjective without the comparative form implies some standard or norm: big means something different in This elephant is big, This cat is big, since 'big for an elephant' presupposes a larger scale, and a larger norm, than 'big for a cat'. We can make the norm explicit by a for phrase:

He's not bad for a youngster (ie considering he is a youngster) That dog is long-legged for a terrier

A further way in which a prepositional phrase may specify the meaning of a gradable adjective is to use *at* to introduce the respect in which the adjective is appropriate to its noun phrase (see 12.34):

He's good/clever/brilliant at organizing things He's bad/hopeless/terrible at games

These two prepositional uses are not restricted to adjectival complementation: they occur also in a number of other grammatical roles, as the following examples show:

I'm a complete dunce at mathematics

She's getting on very well at her job

For art Englishman, he speaks foreign languages remarkably well

It's a dreadfully expensive toy for what it is.

## 6.54

Reaction: *at*, *to*

A sentence such as *Their rejection of the offer surprised me* presents, by means of a straightforward subject-verb-object construction, the relationship between an event, an emotional reaction, and the person who undergoes the reaction. The same relationship can be expressed by the passive: *I was surprised by their rejection of the offer* or, alternatively, by the passive with the preposition *at* replacing the agentive preposition *by*: *I was surprised at their rejection of the offer*. Here *at* (as we saw in 6.42) signals the relation between the emotive reaction and its stimulus. *Surprised* in this context is a participial adjective (note that it can be preceded by *very*, see 5.13), and it is with such adjectival forms that *at* (= 'stimulus') characteristically combines (see 12.34):

alarmed at amused at

disgusted at delighted at

Modification of prepositional phrases 333

Less commonly, verbs and non-participial adjectives have this construction :

laugh at be angry at

rejoice at be glad at

Another way to state the same idea is to let the main clause represent the event acting as a 'stimulus', and to let the reaction be expressed by the preposition *to* followed by an abstract noun of emotion: *To my annoyance, they rejected the offer*. *To my annoyance* in this context is an attitudinal disjunct, comparable with adverbs such as *surprisingly* (8.82-85).

Yet another way of putting it is to use a *fo*-phrase to identify the person reacting: *To me, their rejection of the offer was a surprise*. In this last sense, *to* is not limited to emotive reactions; it applies equally to intellectual or perceptual responses:

*To a mind based in common sense, his ideas are utterly*

*incomprehensible* *It looked to me like a vast chasm*

In this last case the *ro*-phrase is not a disjunct, but an adjunct.

Note

[a] The idea of 'stimulus' is sometimes expressed by other prepositions, in place of at: resentful of, disappointed with, sorry about, worried about, etc. At has, moreover, a common alternative in about: annoyed at/about, pleased at [about, etc.

[6] In BrE, with (rather than a/is used when the 'stimulus' is a person or object rather than an event: I was furious with (not at) John; I was delighted with (not at) the present. But in AmE, / was furious/angry/irritated John is quite usual. With event-ive nouns (2.9), at is generally acceptable: / was furious at John's behaviour.

6.55

#### Modification of prepositional phrases

It is worth noting that prepositional meanings (particularly of time and place) are subject to modification as regards degree and measure, and that prepositions may therefore (like many adjectives and adverbs) be preceded by intensifiers (5.55). The following are representative examples:

I left it just (= 'a little way') inside the garage

He had wandered right (= 'completely') off the path

Now their footsteps could be heard directly above my head

I'm all (= 'thoroughly') in a muddle

She's badly out of sorts

Few people are completely against public ownership<sup>334</sup>      Prepositions and prepositional phrases

There is doubt in such cases as to whether the intensifier should be treated as applying to the whole prepositional phrase, or to the preposition alone. Occasionally, the possibility of placing the intensifier after the whole phrase suggests that it is the phrase as a whole that is qualified: Few people are against public ownership completely.

#### Position of prepositional phrases

6.56

#### Position of adverbial prepositional phrases

To conclude the chapter, something will be said about the position of prepositional phrases, though their position as adverbials is further discussed in Chapter 8.

In most cases apart from adverbials, the syntactic function of a prepositional phrase virtually determines its position. A postmodifying phrase, for example, normally follows directly the element it postmodifies (although discontinuous postmodification sometimes occurs - 13.72J?). As an adverbial, however, the prepositional phrase is mobile, and for convenience, one may distinguish its three major positions in the sentence as initial, medial, and final or end position (8.7).

For the adjunct, end position (ie after the verb and complement/object if any) is the most frequent, but initial position is also quite commonly assumed, especially with phrases of time:

I saw him again on Friday-On Friday, I saw him again Initial position (before the subject) is unusual, however, for phrases having a close connection with the verb, eg phrases of destination following a verb of motion:

Into the room he strode

Such unusual orderings, where they occur, are to be treated as instances of 'marked theme' (14.11), and may be recognized as such by the fact that a comma cannot be inserted between the prepositional phrase and the subject: \*Into the room, he strode.

With disjuncts and conjuncts, the priority is in the opposite direction; the more common position is before the subject, though both are acceptable:

In my opinion, the wrong decision was made The wrong decision was made, in my opinion

For adverbial prepositional phrases in general, the medial or parenthetical position is the least usual; it is likely to be used only with short

Position of prepositional phrases 335

phrases, or where factors such as focus and the complexity of the sentence make the other positions undesirable or impossible:

She could, of course, have phoned from the office They arrived at a village from which the inhabitants, /or- /car of enemy reprisals, had fled in panic

The most acceptable medial positions are after the subject; after the operator; between verb and complement or object; between indirect and direct object; between object and object complement:

His sister at that time was studying medicine His sister was at that time studying medicine His sister became, in time, a qualified doctor She found the work, on the whole, satisfying and enjoyable

To these we may add the position between conjunction and subject in coordinate or subordinate clauses, since although they precede the subject, adverbials in this position have the character of a parenthesis, and may be treated as medial:

The airliner was preparing to land when, to everyone's horror, a man with a gun rushed to the front of the plane, waving his arms and shouting.

6.57

Relative position of prepositional phrases

A set of prepositional phrases with the same function may occur in sequence, notably as adverbials or as postmodifiers:

I spoke to him in secret in the corridor after dinner for a very good reason The father of three in the corner with the bluejacket has been trying to catch your eye for some time

The structure of the first sentence can be elucidated by bracketing as follows:

<{[(I spoke to him) in secret] in the corridor} after dinner) for a very good reason

That is, generally speaking, the phrases are placed in order of close relationship to the verb, those forming the complementation of the verb coming first, and conjuncts or disjuncts coming last. As the bracketing shows, the adverbial phrase applies to everything in the preceding subject or predicate, including any preceding adverbials.

Since an initial 336 Prepositions and prepositional phrases

adverbial generally applies to the whole of the sentence that follows it, it would be natural, in a re-ordering of the sentence, to transfer the final adverbial rather than any other to initial position:

For a very good reason, I spoke to him in secret in the corridor after dinner

Similarly, successively deleting the outermost prepositional phrase, we might re-order as follows:

After dinner, I spoke to him in secret in the corridor In the corridor, I spoke to him in secret In secret, I spoke to him

With postmodifying phrases, an analogous general principle holds: phrases are placed in order of their closeness of relationship to the head (13.39 ff). On the whole, o/-phrases precede other phrases, eg those introduced by prepositions of place.

Note

In a noun phrase, a sequence of phrases modifying the same head must be distinguished from a successive embedding of phrases such that one is a postmodifier within the prepositional complement of another (see 13.39c). Both analyses are possible for:

(i) [(The girl in the armchair) with the pretty legs] (ii) [The girl in (the armchair with the pretty legs)]

where (i) means 'The girl who is in the armchair and who has the pretty legs'; and (ii) means 'The girl who is in the armchair which has the pretty legs'.

#### 6.58 Exceptions

Where there is no significant difference in the closeness of two prepositional phrases to the verb or to the noun head, the ordering often does not matter. Thus the man in the corner with the bluejacket could be re-ordered with no difficulty or change of meaning as the man with the blue jacket in the corner

The ordering from 'logically innermost' to 'logically outermost' is sometimes violated; but if this happens, the phrase placed in an abnormally early or late position is usually marked off by intonation or punctuation as a parenthesis or afterthought:

I spoke to him for a very good reason, after dinner.

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#### Bibliographical notes

Detailed documentation of English prepositional usage is to be found in Aksenenko (1956); Hill (1968); Poutsma (1926-9), Part II.2, Chapter 60.

Theoretical treatments of the roles of prepositions are provided by Bennett (1968); Bugarski (1969); Fillmore (1969); Rosenbaum (1967a), especially pp 81-99, on the function of prepositions in clausal complementation.

The following are studies of more limited aspects of English prepositions: Leech (1969a), Chapter 8, on prepositions of place; Lindkvist (1950), on the locative uses of in, at, on, and to; Quirk and Mulholland (1964), on complex prepositions; Jacobson (1964), on the position of prepositional phrases.

## SEVEN

### THE SIMPLE SENTENCE

#### 7.1-7 Clause patterns

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Clause patterns

7.1

Simple and complex sentences

We return now to the theme of 2.1-10: the structure of the simple sentence. Sentences are either simple (containing just one clause) or complex (containing more than one clause), a clause being a unit that can be analysed into the elements S(ubject), V(erb), C(omplement), O(bject) and A(dverbial) identified in 2.1 and 2.3. Thus a complex sentence containing two clauses can be analysed twice over into such elements, once for the independent clause (11.3) and once for the dependent clause included within the main clause:

A

vt

quickly shut the door before the animal could escape

dependent clause

main clause

Further discussion of complex sentences is deferred to Chapter 11; it is advisable at this stage, however, to become used to the distinction between a sentence and a clause, so that it is seen that S, V, O, C, and A are elements of clause structure rather than elements of sentence structure.

The present chapter is restricted not only to the simple sentence, but also to those aspects of the simple sentence chiefly involving S, V, O, and C. The adverbial, as a clause element more detachable and more mobile than the others, will be considered separately in Chapter 8.

7.2

Clause types

At this stage we need a restatement in more detail of the clause patterns of 2.10, ignoring the stative/dynamic distinction of the verb (3.40 ff) and excluding from consideration complementation by a clause I want him to go, I know that he's there, etc

which is to be dealt with in 12.47 ff. This account of clause types also has a rather different emphasis from that in 2.10, in that we are interested only in elements which (in a certain sense explained in 7.3 below) are obligatory following a given type of verb. The clause types in their simple declarative form are:

(1) Type SVC S V,

Mary is  
' intensive \*--BnbJect-comp

fkind

la nurse

(2) Type SVA

(3) Type SV

(4) Type SVO

(5) Type SVOC

(6) Type SVO A

(7) Type SVOO

•> 'Intenalvo

Mary is

fhere

\in the house

Sv \*Intrina

The child was laughing

O V monatrana '-direct

the ball

lot '■'objeet-oc

/wrong \a fool

" \*oopleiE-tnma

l put

" 'dltrana

She gives

monotrana

Somebody caught

a \* complsji.trftaB '-dlrs

We have proved him

the plate on the table

Oindireot OdlrBot

me expensive presents

The general picture is quite simple; there are:

SV

SV+\A\

[o] fci

SVO+iA

[o]

Cutting across this sevenfold division are the main verb classes: 'ntransitive (followed by no obligatory element); intensive (followed by C, or ADi,M); and transitive (followed by Oa). Subcate-

a two-element pattern three three-element patterns

three four-element patterns<sup>344</sup> The simple sentence

goies of S, V, C, and A are defined in 2.3 ff; abbreviations commonly used in this chapter are Oa (direct object), Oi (indirect object), CB (sub. ject complement), and Co (object complement).

Note

[a] It is possible to have a clause with the structure S V O, Os Q., but the Co in such cases is always optional: She gave us our coffee black; I sold him the ear almost new. We may therefore treat these as belonging to Type SVOO, and there is no need to add an eighth clause-type SVOOC. A similar optional C, can occur after an S VOA pattern: They dragged him home blind drunk, (See 5.27.)

[b] CQ and Aw.0. sometimes precede O( in Types SVOC and SVOA: We have proved wrong the Prime Minister himself; He took from his pocket a handful of gleaming coins. (See 14.39.)

[c] Most obligatory adjuncts are Apiu« but there are quite a number of cases in which the term 'place', even in a broad metaphorical sense, does not apply:

He is without a job We kept him off cigarettes They treated him kindly.

[d] There is also a rare clause pattern S V O[ C,,: John made Mary a good hatband (te 'John was a good husband to Mary').

7.3

Complementation

The elements Od, C, and A in the above patterns are obligatory elements of clause structure in the sense that they are required for the complementation of the verb. By this we mean that, given the use of a particular verb in a particular sense, the sentence is incomplete if one of these elements is omitted eg; \*Iput the book (Type SVOA) and \*He resembled (Type SVO) are unacceptable. In some cases, certainly, a direct object or object complement in one of these patterns may be considered grammatically optional:

He's eating - c/He's eating an apple (Type SVO) He made her career - c/He made her career a success (Type SVOC) Many grammarians treat such cases as the first above in terms of the omission or deletion of the object with a transitive verb. Our approach, however, will be to regard this as a case of conversion (App 1.31), whereby a word such as eat is transferred from the transitive to the intransitive category. Thus He's eating is an instance of clause-type SV rather than of SVO (with optional deletion of the object).

Note

[a] To justify treating object-omission as a matter of conversion, we may notice that it is idiosyncratic, in the sense that it applies to some transitive verbs but not to others:

They're hunting deer - They're hunting but They're chasing cats - 'They're chasing

Clause patterns 345

Also, one can find 'nonce' object-omissions, which again points to a word-formation process (App I.I, App 1.2 Note a) rather than a syntactic process. Thus (\*) John is licking today is a highly improbable sentence for which one could (as with all nonce-formations) think up an interpretation if one tried hard enough (eg a situation in which two people are alternately employed in licking and sticking stamps on letters).

Conversions from one verb category to another, including from transitive to intransitive verbs, are exemplified in App 1.41. rfc1 A similar approach may be made to cases where the indirect object is omissible: She gives expensive presents - cf She gives her friends expensive presents

(Type SVOO)

But here the case for conversion is not so strong, and one may regard the indirect object with many verbs as an optional element similar in status to an optional adverbial.

[c] With live in the sense 'reside' there is an obligatory adverbial of place, while with live in the sense 'be alive' there is a virtually obligatory adverbial of time:

He lives in China

He lived in the nineteenth century

live is therefore an intensive verb, rather than an intransitive verb.

7.4

Optional adverbials

The patterns of 7.2 can be expanded by the addition of various optional adverbials. For example (optional adverbials are bracketed):

Type SK: (A) S V (A)

(Sometimes) she sings (beautifully)

Type SIM: (A) S V (A) A

(In America) narrow ties are (currently) out of fashion.

Type SVOO: S v (A) V O

O

She has (kindly) sent us some photographs

Sometimes, as in the last example, an adverbial intervenes between two parts of the verb phrase (8.7).

7.5

Transformational relations

One way of distinguishing the various clause types is by means of 'transformational' relations, or relations of grammatical paraphrase.

Semantically, Types SV, SVC, and SVA are close, as is shown by occasional equivalences of the following kind:

SV<->SVC,

The baby is sleeping <-> The baby is asleep

Two loaves will suffice <-> Two loaves will be sufficient<sup>346</sup> The simple sentence

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SVC^SVA

He is jobless <-> He is without a job

On the whole (14.45), English prefers to avoid the plain SV pattern where alternatives are available.

Clauses containing a noun phrase as object are distinguished by their ability to be converted into passive clauses, the object noun phrase assuming the function of subject (V^, = passive verb phrase):

Type SVO: A number of people saw the accident (S V On) <-\*■ The accident was

seen by a number of people (S VpM, [A]) Type SVOC: Queen Victoria considered him a genius (S V O,, Co) ♦\*» He was

considered a genius by Queen Victoria (S Vpaas C9 [A]) Type SVO A:

An intruder must have placed the ladder there (S V OfI A^ ) «-\* The ladder must have been placed there by an intruder {S Wnn AI00 [AD

Type SVOO: My father gave me this watch (S V O, Oa)«->»

(I was given this watch by my father (S VWM Od [A]) \This watch was given me by my father (S VPMS Oi [A])

As Type SVOO clauses have two objects, they often have two passive forms, as shown above - one in which the direct object becomes subject, and another (more common) in which the indirect object becomes subject. Further discussion of the active-passive relationship is found in 12.2#.

As the formulae show, the passive transformation converts clauses of types with an object into equivalent types without the object (or, in the case of SVOO, without one of the objects). Thus the passive He was considered a genius of SVOC They considered him a genius is closely parallel to SVC (He seemed a genius), except for the passive verb phrase. In all passive clause types, the agentive 6v-phrase (6.41), incorporating the subject of the corresponding active clause, has the status of optional adverbial. (It is marked [A] in the above examples.)

This equivalence shows that the O and the C of an SVOC clause are in the same relation to one another as the S and C of an SVC clause. This relation is expressed, wherever it is expressed at all, by an intensive verb, and we may therefore call it, for further reference, an intensive relationship. The intensive relationship is important in other aspects of grammar apart from clause patterns. It underlies, for example, relations of apposition (9.130#).

Further, we may extend the concept of 'intensive relationship' to the relation of subject to adverbial and object to adverbial in SVA and SVOA patterns respectively. (For SVOA patterns, see 8.54, 8.73.)

SVOO clauses can be transformed into SVOA clauses by the substitution of a prepositional phrase following the direct object for the indirect object preceding it (12.62):

She sent Jim a card \*-\*■ She sent a card to Jim She left Jim a card \*->» She left a card for Jim

To and for, in their recipient senses (6.37), are the prepositions chiefly involved, but others, such as with and of, are occasionally found:

I'll play you a game of chess«->»I'll play a game of chess withj  
against you

She asked Jim a favour <-> She asked a favour of Jim Note

[a] There are some exceptions to the passive transformation with Type SVO; eg:

John had the book <-- "The book was had by John (7.16,12.5).

[b] More acceptable than the second passive transformation of Type SVOO is the equivalent transformation of SVOA:

Some flowers had been brought him is less natural than

Some dowers had been brought for him In some cases the former type seems quite unacceptable:

"Sonne fish had been caught /bought/cooked us

E<1 There are, however, some recipient (o-phrases and /or-phrases which cannot be transformed into indirect objects: He suggested the idea to Bill; He reviews book for The Guardian; etc. A borderline case is: Tactfully he would explain him what "«\* "hat (Matamud).

## 7.6

### Intensive relationship

An SVOC clause is often equivalent to a clause with an infinitive or that-clause (12.47 \_#"):

. , ... (I imagined her to be beautiful

I imagined her beautiful\*^\* < .. . , jL . , , ,.- ,

J \l imagined that she was beautiful

## 7.7

### Multiple class membership of verbs

1 must be borne in mind that one verb can belong, in various senses, to a number of different classes (App 1.41), and hence enter into a number 348 The simple sentence of different clause types. The verb get is a particularly versatile one, being excluded only from Type SV: Type SVC: He's getting angry Type SVA: He got through the window Type SVO: You'll get a surprise Type SVOC: He got his shoes and socks wet Type SVOA: He got himself into trouble Type SVOO: He got her a splendid present

Through the multiple class membership of verbs, ambiguities can arise: I found her an entertaining partner, like She called him a steward, could be interpreted either as SVOC or as SVOO.

Clause elements syntactically defined

## 7.8

For a fuller appreciation of the clause patterns just outlined, we need to know, of course, on what grounds the elements subject, verb, complement, object, and adverbial, are to be identified. The identification of the verbal element presents no problem, as this is the only function in which a finite verb phrase can occur. For the other elements, the following criteria should be of use.

## 7.9

### Subject A subject

(a) is a noun phrase (4.1 ff) or a clause with nominal function (11.14);

(b) occurs before the verb phrase in declarative clauses, and immediately after the operator (2.2, 3.6) in question clauses;

(c) has number and person concord, where applicable (7.23, 7.31), with the verb phrase.

### Note

Exceptions to (b), viz: H'ft-questions without inversion and declarative clauses with inversion, are discussed in 7.64 and 14.14-16.

## 7.10 Object

An object (direct or indirect)

(a) like a subject, is a noun phrase or clause with nominal function;

- (b) normally follows the subject and the verb phrase;
- (c) by the passive transformation, assumes the status of subject (7.5).

Clause elements semantically considered 349

An indirect object, where both objects are present, precedes the direct object, and is semantically equivalent to a prepositional phrase (7.6); a direct object may occur without an indirect object, but not vice versa (except in the second passive transformation of SVOO clauses).

Note

[f] Thematic objects (14.11) are an exception to (b), as are wfi-objects in questions and exclamations (7.64, 7.78). [b] Exceptions to (c) are considered in 12.4 ff.

7.U

Complement

A complement (subject or object)

- (a) is a noun phrase, an adjective phrase, or a clause with nominal function;
- (b) follows the subject, verb phrase, and (if one is present) object;
- (c) does not become subject through the passive transformation.

Note

Exceptions to (b) are noted in 7.64, 14.11, and 14.39.

7.12

Adverbial

An adverbial (see 8.1)

- (a) is an adverb, adverb phrase, adverbial clause, noun phrase, or prepositional phrase;
- (b) is generally mobile, ie is capable of occurring in more than one position in the clause;
- (c) is generally optional, ie may be added to or removed from a sentence without affecting its acceptability.

Note

An exception to (c), the obligatory adverbial of the SVA and SVOA patterns, is mentioned in 7.2/.

Clause elements semantically considered

7.13

Participants

-Wrm of meaning, every clause describes an event or state in which a n°er of participants (normally one, two or thrde) are involved. For aDIPlE, the clause A boy stole the apple contains a verb phrase describ-350 The simple sentence  
ing the nature of the action itself, a subject denoting an agentivb participant (or 'doer'), and a direct object denoting an affected participant (or 'victim'). As it is the S, O, and C elements of the clause that mainly express these participant roles, the meanings of verb and adverbial will not be studied in this section; (the semantics of adverbials is given fuller attention in Chapter 8).

Note

We are not concerned with clausal subjects and objects in 7.13-22.

7.14

Agentive, affected, recipient, attribute

The most typical semantic role of a subject is agentive: that is, the animate being instigating or causing the happening denoted by the verb:

John opened his eyes

The most typical function of the direct object is that of the affected participant: a participant (animate or inanimate) which does not cause the happening denoted by the verb, but is directly involved in some other way:

Many M.P.s criticized the Prime Minister I've broken a plate

The most typical function of the indirect object is that of recipient (or 'dative' participant); ie of animate being passively implicated by the happening or state:

I've found you a place

It may be observed that although I've found a place for the magnolia tree and I've found a place for Mrs Jones appear to be equivalent utterances, only the second can be transformed into a clause with indirect object: I've found Mrs Jones a place, not \*I've found the magnolia tree a place. This is because the magnolia tree is not animate and therefore does not qualify for the recipient role.

The role of the subject complement is that of attribute of the subject, whether a current or existing attribute (with stative verbs) or one resulting from the event described by the verb (with dynamic verbs).

current attribute: He's my brother; He seems unhappy;

We lay quiet; We felt cold; She remained silent; It reads clear. resulting attribute: He became restless; He turned traitor;

He fell ill; The clothes washed clean (12.23 ff).

Clause elements semantically considered 351

The role of the object complement is that of attribute of the object, again either a current or resulting attribute:

CURRENT attribute: I ate the meat cold; I prefer coffee black; I imagined him dead; I got the truck home safe; I judged him a fool.

resulting attribute: They elected him President; Ke knocked me senseless; He drove me mad; He painted the wall blue; She's growing her hair long; The heat turned the milk sour (12.67 ff). Note

la] An object complement, as its name implies, cannot refer to an attribute of the subject. It follows, therefore, that the final element of each of these three sentences is something other than an object complement:

He ran the shop single-handed

He drove the damaged car home completely undismayed

He was educated a Protestant

In fact, the elements in italics are best classified as verbless adverbial clauses consisting only of a noun phrase or adjective phrase (see 11.51). Their adverbial status is shown (i) by the possibility of omitting them without rendering the clauses unacceptable, and (ii) by the possibility (in the first two examples) of preposing them: Single-handed, he ran the shop.



[b] With quite a number of verbs (see 12.68), a complement noun phrase may be converted into an oj-phrase of the same meaning by the insertion of as:

I count him as my best friend.

Some verbs, like regard, allow only the as construction. Thus the following sentences illustrate three possibilities: as necessary, as impossible, and as possible:

I regard him as my friend (not \*I regard him my friend)

I think him my friend (not \*I think him as my friend)

I count him my friend (or I count him as my friend)

[c] There is a parallel, in meaning, between a complement and the obligatory 'predicative' adverbial of the SVA and SVOA patterns. I prefer my chicken in wine and I imagined myself in long trousers are close to I prefer my chicken cold and / imagined myself happy.

7.15

Agentive and instrumental subject

Although it is possible to state, as in 7.14, the typical role of a clause lenient, the elements S and O are more versatile in meaning than has generally been considered. Accordingly, we turn now to lesser (but nevertheless important) functions of these two elements. Apart from its agentive function, the subject frequently has an instrumental role; that is, it expresses the unwitting (generally inanimate) Material cause of an event:

avalanche destroyed several houses<sup>352</sup> The simple sentence

With intransitive verbs, the subject also frequently has the affected role elsewhere typical of the object:

Jack fell down

The pencil was lying on the table

We may also extend this latter function (although the name affected is not ideal for the purpose) to subjects of intensive verbs:

The pencil was on the table

It is now possible to see a regular relation, in terms of clause function, between adjectives or intransitive verbs and the corresponding transitive verbs expressing causative meaning:

John/The key opened the door Terrorists blew up the dam I am growing my roses

Someone has felled the tree The frost has killed the flowers Someone raised an arm

Satfactsfl \*

[I] The door opened The dam blew up My roses are growing

(II) The tree has fallen The flowers have died An arm rose

[III] The road became narrower They narrowed the road I got angry

His manner angered me

He (almost) went blind The sun (almost) blinded him

[IV] The soldiers marched They marched the soldiers

(home) (home)

My dog was walking I was walking my dog

Joe stood (against the wall) They stood Joe (against the wall) While in many cases (Group I) the identical verb performs both transitive and intransitive roles without a

change of form, in other cases (Group II) the intransitive verb has to be replaced by another verb, which may resemble it in spelling and pronunciation. In Group III, an adjective X is matched by a causative verb (of the same, or slightly different, form) with the meaning 'cause to be X'. Group IV, on the other hand, shows that the subject of an intransitive verb may itself be agentive, in which case the switch to a causative construction entails changing that element into an 'affected' one; thus we understand from They stood Joe against the wall that Joe reached that position without the help of his own volition.

Nottt

la] One of the reasons for separating agentive from instrumental subjects is that the Clause elements semantically considered 353

two cannot be coordinated. We can say The gamekeeper wounded him and A gun wounded him but not The gamekeeper and a gun wounded him (cf 6.41 Note a).

[b] The boundary between agentive and affected subjects is not clear, except on the grounds of whether an element of causation or volition is present. Some verbs allow both interpretations: Suddenly he jumped might suggest an involuntary action (eg after being stung by a wasp) or a deliberate one. A phrase of purpose (eg: in order to attract attention) can be added only to the agentive type.

[el There are quite a few triplets showing a combination of the relations in Groups I and ni; eg: open (adj); open (intrans verb)='become open'; open (trans verb)='cause to be open'.

7.16

Recipient subject

The subject may also have a recipient (or 'dative') role with verbs such as have, own, possess, benefit {from}, as is indicated by the following relation:

Mr Smith has bought/given/sold his son a radio -\*■ So now his son has/owns/possesses the radio

The perceptual verbs see and hear also require a 'recipient' subject, in contrast to look at and listen to, which are agentive. The other perceptual verbs taste, smell, and feel have both an 'agentive' meaning corresponding to look at and a 'recipient' meaning corresponding to see:

Foolishly, he tasted the soup

\*Foolishly, he tasted the pepper in the soup

The adverb foolishly requires the agentive; hence the second sentence, which can only be understood in a non-agentive manner, does not make sense. Verbs indicating a mental state may also require a 'recipient' subject:

I thought you were mistaken {cf It seemed to me ...}

I liked the play (cf The play pleased me/gave me pleasure)

Normally 'recipient' subjects go with stative verbs (2.6, 3.40ff). Some of them (notably have and possess) have no passive form:

They have a beautiful house \*-\* \*A beautiful house is had by them Note

\* Passive form of have occasionally occurs in idioms: A good time was had by all; \* you ever been had? (colloquial) < = tricked; also with sexual meaning). Possess °\* & a Passive in the rare biblical sense of He was possessed by devils.

7.17

J-ocative and temporal subject 1 other clauses, the subject has the locative function of designating the 354 The simple sentence

place of the state or action, or the temporal function of designating its time:

London is foggy ('It's foggy in London') [1]

My tent sleeps four people ('Four people can sleep in my tent') [2] This path is swarming with ants ('Ants are swarming all over this path') [3]

This jar contains coffee ('There's coffee in this jar\*') [4]

Yesterday was a holiday ('It was a holiday yesterday') [5]

Again, verbs following locative subjects normally have no passive or progressive form:

The bag holds seven pounds «-» "Seven pounds are held by the bag

«-\*■ 'The bag is holding seven pounds

One may distinguish temporal subjects from 'eventive nouns\*' mentioned in 2.9:

The match is tomorrow, etc.

7.18

Empty it subject

Finally, a subject may lack semantic content altogether, and consist only of the meaningless 'prop\*' word it:

It's raining/snowing/drizzling, etc

It's getting dark

It's cold in here

It was sunny/fine/cool/stormy, etc yesterday (' Yesterday was sunny', etc) It's Sunday tomorrow (=\*Tomorrow is Sunday\*)

These are clauses in which no participant is required for the completion of the verb's or adjective's meaning; there is accordingly no participant role for the subject to perform, except where optionally, the subject position is assumed by a locative or temporal phrase. In such cases, the clause with 'prop' subject is an alternative to some of the clauses, such as [1] and [5], under 7.17. The 'prop\*' subject occurs mostly in clauses concerning time or weather.

Note

On fit as a personal pronoun, see 4.112. The \* prop' subject it as discussed here must W distinguished from the ' anticipatory' it of sentences like It was nice seeing you (14.36). where the ' prop' subject is a replacement for a postponed clausal subject ( ■ Seeing you was nice).

Clause elements semantical I y considered 355

Locative and effected object

7.19

We turn now to roles of the direct object. Apart from the affected object (7.14), semantic types of direct object are the locative object and the effected object. Examples of the 'locative object' are:

We walked the streets ('We walked alongjthrough the streets')

He swam the river ('He swam across the river')

He passed the notice ('He passed by the notice')

The horse jumped the fence (\*... jumped over the fence')

There are similar uses of such verbs as turn, leave, reach, surround, penetrate, mount, cross, climb (see further examples in 6.25). Superficially, these objects may look like adverbials with an omitted preposition (cf: We stayed three days, etc, 6.32/). In most cases their status as objects is clear, however, from their ability to assume subject role in a corresponding passive clause: The fence was jumped by the horse, etc.

An effected object is one that refers to something which exists only by virtue of the activity indicated by the verb:

Baird invented television John has painted a new picture I'm writing a letter

With agentive subject and an affected object, one may always capture part of the meaning of a clause (eg: X destroyed Y) by saying 'X did something to Y'; but this does not apply to an effected object - Baird invented television does not imply 'Baird did something to television'.

One may include in this category also the type of object (sometimes called 'cognate') which repeats, partially or wholly, the meaning of the verb:

sing a song act a part

■ dream a dream

... think some unkind thoughts ... fight a good fight ... die a miserable death

"The object of ran a race might also be classed as a cognate 'effected' object, although it is like a locative object in being replaceable by a prepositional phrase: ran in a race. In expressions of this kind, the prepositional alternative is preferable, if not obligatory, if some other element intervenes after the verb:

He ran the 100 metres but: He ran well in the 100 metres He played the piano but: He played jazz on the piano. Note

\*\*1 There are rare cases in which it is the meaning of the subject, rather than of the object, that is presupposed by the verb: The frost froze hard; The sun was selling; His eye winked at me. In such cases one may speak of a 'cognate subject'. [b] A more dubious category of object consists of phrases of extent or measure, as in

He ran a mile It costs ten dollars It weighs almost a ton

As these clauses do not generally permit the passive transformation, there is reason to analyse them as SVA rather than SVO. However, the final element behaves at least marginally like a direct object, as is shown by question forms with What alongside How much:

What does it weigh ? How much does it weigh ?

The ambiguity of sentences such as We ate a lot, which may be SVO or SVA, is discussed in 8.33.

7.20

A third type of effected object takes the form of a verbal noun preceded by a common verb of general meaning, such as do, make, have, take, give. This construction is often more idiomatic, especially in colloquial English, than an equivalent construction with an intransitive verb (see further 14.45):

He did little work that day ('He worked little that day')

He made several attempts to contact me ('He attempted several times to contact me') The prisoner made no comment He's having a bath/a holiday (BrE)/a smoke He took a rest/a vacation (AmE)/a dislike to het/a dive into the water

He gave a jump/a yell, etc The car gave a jolt/a bang/a lurch

Have and take in these examples have agentive subjects (have being the typical British, and take the typical American form), while give usually has an involuntary force and therefore accompanies an 'affected' subject. He gave a jump contrasts with He took a jump in suggesting that he could not help the action. (Take, however, has an 'affected' subject in He took a fall/a beating, etc.)

7.21

Affected indirect object

There is only one exception to the rule that the indirect object has the role of recipient': this is when give (or sometimes related verbs like pay,

owe) has an 'effected' object as direct object and an 'affected' object as indirect object:

I gave the door three kicks ('I kicked the door three times')

I paid her a visit ('I visited her')

I owe you a treat ('I ought to treat you')

These clauses, as the paraphrases make clear, are equivalent to clauses with a direct object as 'affected' object.

Note

The use of give etc above may be compared with the use of receive, get, and have in a parallel passive sense: / hadjgotReceived a shock; The table hadlgotjreceived a wipe. There is also an interesting equivalence of They gavejshot each other glances and They exchanged glances ("They glanced at each other").

7.22 Summary

As a summary of these functions, we finally present in Table 7:1 the chief participant functions for each clause type, with example sentences. Although, as the table shows, the semantic functions of the elements (particularly S and O) are quite varied, there are certain clear restrictions, such as that the object cannot be 'agentive' or 'instrument'; that a subject (except in the passive) cannot be 'effected'; that an indirect object can have only two functions - those of 'affected' and 'recipient'. The assignment of a function to the subject seems to have the following system of priorities:

If there is an 'agentive', it is S; if not,

If there is an 'instrument', it is S; if not,

If there is an 'affected', it is S; if not,

If there is a 'temporal' or 'locative', it may be S; if not,

The prop word it is S.

Naturally, where the passive transformation applies, it transfers the role of the direct or indirect object to the subject.

Note

The above treatment of sentence elements does not include discussion of clauses as ». O, and C. 358 The simple sentence

Table 1:1

PARTICIPANT FUNCTIONS

Type            S        V        O,    Oa    C.  
example

SVC

SVA

sv

svo

svoc

SVOA

svoo

aff

aff

agent

agent

toe

temp

svooc

nten

inten

mien

nten

nten

nten

nten

ment

gent t"

gent instr

ec

gen instr agen

oc

agen

aff

agen agen nstr

agen

in ten nten

ntr ntr nlr

mono mono mono mono mono mono mono mono mono

comp comp comp comp

cotnp

agent

instr

rec

agent agent

agent agent

corn] com] comp

ditr ditr

ditr ditr

curr

result

curr

result

curr

curr

curr

aff

aff aff rec rec loc aff eff eff

She's happy.

He became a man.

He sat tight.

He turned traitor.

The Sahara is hot.

Last night was warm.

It's windy.

aff aff aff

aff eff

loc He was at school.

loc He kept out of trouble.

curr

aft

aff

aff

eff

:urr

esuit

esult

He was working.

The curtains disappeared.

It's raining.

He caught the ball. The stone hit me. He has a car. We rewarded John. The will benefits us all. He climbed a mountain. The bus seats thirty. I took a bite. I gave a gasp.

loc loc loc

curr result

He declared me a criminal. I made her my secretary. The sun dries it yellow. I found it strange. I took a swim naked.

He placed it on the shelf. A car knocked it down. I prefer them on toast.

I bought her a gift. She gave her hair a brush(ing).

I bought him those fresh. I gave it a wipe clean.

bbre.iauor.s: Subject); V(erb)\O, (indirect object); O, complement); Co (objec. complement); A(dverb.al); aftXected) 1 ejected); locfative);temporal); rec(ipient);  
™no(transitive); compde\* transitive); dittf.ndt.ve) rcsult(ing attribute)]

current a

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Subject-verb concord

7.23

Concord

Concord can be broadly defined as the relationship between two grammatical elements such that if one of them contains a particular feature (eg plurality) then the other also has to have that feature. The most important type of concord in English is concord of number between subject and verb. The normally observed rule is very simple:

A singular subject requires a singular verb A plural subject requires a plural verb

On number in the verb phrase and noun phrase, see 3.10 and 4.48 ff; the English verb inflections (except for the verb be) only make a distinction of number in the 3rd person present. Hence sentences (1) and (2) are grammatical, while (3) and (4) are not;

(1) The window is open

(sing + sing)

(2) The windows are open (plur+plur)

(3) \*The window are open (sing+plur)

(4) 'The windows is open (plur+sing)

A clause in the position of subject counts as singular for purposes of concord: How you got there doesn't concern me; To treat them as hostages is criminal. The same is true of prepositional phrases, etc acting as subject; After the meeting is the time to speak, etc. Nominal relative clauses on the other hand, since they are equivalent to noun phrases (11.14), may have plural as well as singular concord: What were once human dwellings are now nothing but piles of rubble. Note

['] In fact, it is possible to generalize the rule of concord to 'A subject which is not definitely marked for plural requires a singular verb\*'; that is, to treat singular as •he'unmarked'form, to be used in neutral circumstances, where no positive indication of plurality is present. This would explain, in addition to clausal and adverbial subjects, the tendency in informal speech for is/wo\* to follow the Pseudo-subject There in existential sentences such as

There's hundreds of people on the waiting list (14.26).

V>1 Apparent exceptions to the concord rule arise with singular nouns ending with the -i of the plural inflection (measles, billiards, mathematics, etc 4.52), or conversely plural nouns lacking the inflection {cattle, people, clergy, etc 4.57):

Measles is sometimes serious Our people are complaining

I'M Plural words and phrases (including coordinate phrases, see 7.26) count as singular if they are used as names, titles, quotations, etc (see further 9.164): Crime and Punishment is perhaps the best-constructed of Dosloyevsky's novels; but The Brothers Karamazov is undoubtedly his masterpiece. 360 The simple sentence

"The Cedars' has a huge garden.



"Senior Citizens' means, in common parlance, people over sixty.  
(The titles of some works which are collections of stories, etc, however, hover between singular and plural: The Canterbury Tales exist\exists in many manuscripts)  
Such noun phrases can be regarded as appositional structures with a deleted singular head: The book ' Crime and Punishment', The expression 'Senior Citizens', etc.

7.24

Principles of grammatical concord, notional concord, and proximity

The rule (7.23) that the verb matches its subject in number may be called the principle of grammatical concord. Difficulties over concord arise through conflict between this and two other principles (or, if a weaker term is preferred, 'tendencies'), the principle of notional concord and the principle of proximity. 'Notional concord' is agreement of verb with subject according to the idea of number rather than the actual presence of the grammatical marker for that idea. Thus the government is treated as a plural idea in The government have broken all their promises (BrE), as is shown not only by the plural verb have, but also by the pronoun their. The principle of 'proximity' denotes agreement of the verb with whatever noun or pronoun closely precedes it, sometimes in preference to agreement with the headword of the subject:

No one except his own supporters agree with him One in ten take drugs

These principles and their interaction will be illustrated below in three areas where concord causes some problems: where the subject contains (a) a collective noun head (4.89); (b) coordination; and (c) an indefinite expression of amount.

English speakers are often uncertain about the rules of concord. School grammarians have insisted rather rigidly on grammatical concord, with the result that people often carry in their minds a conflict between this rule and the rule of notional concord, which tends to prevail over it in colloquial English.

7.25

With collective nouns

In BrE, collective nouns, notionally plural but grammatically singular, obey notional concord in examples such as:

The public are tired of demonstrations

The audience were enjoying every minute of it

[61 PI

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The Crown have a good case (legal) [g]

Our Planning Committee have considered your request [9]

Although singular and plural verbs are more or less interchangeable in these contexts, the choice is based, if on anything, on whether the group is being considered as a single undivided body, or as a collection of individuals. Thus plural is more likely than singular in [7], because consideration is being given to the individual reactions of members of the audience. Contrastingly, the singular has to be used in sentences like:

The public consists of you and me [10]

The audience was enormous [1]

The crowd has been dispersed [12]

My company is opening a new factory [13]

In contrast to [11], The audience were enormous, if it occurred, would refer to an audience of enormous people. On the whole, the plural is more popular in speech, whereas in the more inhibited medium of writing the singular is probably preferred. It is generally safest for a foreign learner, when in doubt, to obey 'grammatical concord\*.

In AmE, in contrast, collective noun subjects almost always go with a singular verb. But even in AmE, a plural verb may be preferred when a plural seems obligatory elsewhere in the sentence:

The audience are raising their hands to signify their approval. Note

[a] An incidental point: when a noun referring to a collection of people has plural concord, it antecedes wholwhomltheylthem rather than whichtit. Cf:

a family who quarrel amongst themselves

a family which dates back to the Norman Conquest

V>\ Naturally, when a collective noun subject occurs in the plural, plural concord is unavoidable: The audiences were enormous.

With coordinated subject 7.26

When a subject consists of two or more noun phrases coordinated by <"id, a distinction has to be made between appositional (cf 9.96) and non-appositional coordination.

Under non-appositional coordination we include cases that can be treated as an implied reduction of two clauses. These have a verb in the Plural:

Tom and Mary are now ready («-> Tom is now ready and Mary is

now ready) What I say and what I think are my own affair (\*-\* What I say

is ... and what I think is.. .^ 362 The simple sentence

Conjoinings expressing a mutual relationship, even though they can only indirectly be treated as reductions of clauses in this way, also take a plural verb:

Your problem and mine are similar (<-> Your problem is similar to mine and mine is similar to yours)

With the less common appositional coordination, however, no such reduction is possible at all, for the coordinated structures refer to the same thing. Hence a singular verb is used:

This temple of ugliness and memorial to Victorian bad taste was erected at the Queen's express wish and under her supervision

The two opening noun phrases here both refer to one object (say the Albert Memorial in London). The following example, however, is ambiguous, and could have either a singular or plural verb:

His aged servant and the subsequent editor of his collected papers

jwas \wjth him at his death-bed

\werej

The question is: are the servant and the editor the same person, or two different people? Some latitude is allowed in the interpretation of abstract nouns:

Your fairness and impartiality -I. Ibeen much appreciated

There is doubt whether the fairness and impartiality represent two qualities or one. Invoking the principle of notional concord, we may use either singular or plural, depending on whether unity or separateness is uppermost in the mind.

Note

[a] The correlatives both ...and... (9.123) occur only in non-appositional coordination: Both your fairness and your impartiality have been appreciated. (But cf 9.100).

[b] The principle of 'notional concord' also explains:

The hammer and sickle was flying from the flagpole Danish bacon and eggs makes a good solid English breakfast The Bat and Ball sells good beer  
where, despite coordination, the subject names a single flag, a single meal, and a single pub respectively. See also 9.121.

[c] Arithmetical sums illustrate non-appositive coordination with the possibility of a singular verb: Two and two make!makes four- Cf other numerical expressions: Ten times five is fifty; Sixty people means a huge party. The practice is different however, with Two fives are ten.

Subject-verb concord 363

7.27

Returning now to non-appositional coordination, we note that even a single noun head with coordinate modifiers may imply two separate sentences (c/9.100), with the result that a plural verb may follow a singular mass noun subject quite legitimately:

Good and bad taste are inculcated by example

(\*-> Good taste is... and bad taste is ...) American and Dutch beer are both much lighter than British

(\*-\* American beer is ... and Dutch beer is ...)

If the noun head is countable, of course, a plural form is expected:

Rodriguez' and Bristow's cars were badly damaged («-\* Rodrigueuz' car was ... and Bristow's car was ...)

A similar collapsing of coordinate subjects into a single structure is observed when the subject is a clause:

What I say and think are no business of yours (=What I say is ... and what I think is...)

Alongside this there is the equivalent sentence with a singular verb: What I say and think is no business of yours

In this case, the coordination belongs solely to the subordinate clause (= 'That which I say and think ...').

7.28

The rules are different for subject phrases coordinated with (either...) or:

Either the Mayor or his deputy is bound to come [14]

What I say or what I think is no business of yours [15]

Either the strikers or the bosses have misunderstood the claim [16]

Either your brakes or your eyesight is at fault [17]

Either your eyesight or your brakes are at fault [18]

All these involve non-appositive coordination but, because of the disjunctive meaning of or, the verb form appropriate to one of the coordinate members on its own is chosen. With two singular subject phrases, as "i [H] and [15], the verb is singular.

With two plural subject phrases [16], the verb is plural. A dilemma arises with examples [17] and [18], where one phrase is singular and the other is plural; but this is generally solved by recourse to the principle of 'proximity', i.e. whichever phrase comes last determines the number of the verb. 364 The limplo sanWnce

Note

[a] The negative correlatives neither... nor, although disjunctive in meaning, behave in colloquial speech more like and than like or as regards concord (cf 9.56):

Neither he nor his wife have arrived  
is more natural in spoken idiom than

Neither he nor his wife has arrived,  
the form recommended by traditional grammar. This preference is probably connected with the use of the plural verb with neither as a determiner or pronoun (7.29); but it may also reflect notional concord in that logically 'neither X nor Y can be interpreted as a union of negatives :\* both (not-X) and (not-Y)'.  
[b] Sometimes in speech the preposition with/A is treated as if it were a conjunction like and, giving rise to plural concord:

One man with his wife, both looking very anxious, were pleading with a guard to let them through

This kind of mistake (for it would generally be classed as such) is natural in view of the similarity of meaning between this sentence and the equivalent sentence with and. Here the tendency towards notional concord (the idea of plurality in the subject is transferred to the verb) prevails over strict grammatical concord.

[c] The quasi-coordinators as well as, rather than, more than, and as much as (9.129), behave like prepositions rather than conjunctions when they occur in the subject:

The Minister, as well as/rather than/more than/as much as the trades unions, is responsible for the present impasse

As with with (7.28 Note b), however, there may be occasional counter-instances in which notional concord prevails.

[d] In contrast, the coordinating correlatives not... but and not only . . .but (9.59) behave like or; the latter of the two subject noun-phrases determines the concord: Not (only) one, but all, of us are hoping to be there.

[e] The mixed expressions one or two and between one and two follow the principle of proximity in having plural concord. Grammatical concord is usually obeyed for more than:

More than a thousand inhabitants have signed the petition More than one person has protested against the proposal

Thus although more than one person is notionally plural, a singular verb is preferred because [one] person operates as head of a singular noun phrase.

With indefinite expressions of amount 7.29

Another area of ambivalence, with regard to subject-verb concord, is that of indefinite expressions of amount, especially the determiners no and any and the matching indefinite pronouns.

It has been seen (4.127/) that no and any have both a mass and a countable use:

mass: So far no money has been spent on repairs countable: No person of that name lives here

## Subject-verb concord 365

In both these cases the verb is singular. But the second sentence can be made plural, in which case a plural verb is required:

countable: No people of that name live here

Any more odds and ends you can find are welcome

Any and none used as pronouns likewise have singular and plural meanings:

mass: I've ordered the cement, but none (of it) has yet arrived

countable: I've ordered the shrubs, but none (of them) have/has yet arrived

In the latter sentence, grammatical concord (or at least that version of it enshrined in prescriptive grammars) insists that none is singular; but notional concord (since the shrubs would scarcely have arrived singly) invites a plural verb. Has is therefore more conventionally 'correct', but have is more idiomatic in speech. These comments may be extended to neither and either as indefinite pronouns:

I sent cards to Mavis and Margery but neither (of them) has/have replied; in fact, I doubt if either (of them) is/are coming

If a prepositional phrase with a plural complement follows the indefinite construction, a plural verb is favoured not only because of notional concord but because of the proximity rule:

none of them are ... either of the girls are ...; etc.

### 7.30

The same proximity principle may lead to plural concord even with the indefinites each, every, everybody, anybody, and nobody, which are otherwise unambivalently singular:

Nobody, not even the teachers, were listening Every member of that vast crowd of 50,000 people were pleased to see him

Although these sentences might well be uttered in casual speech, or inadvertently written down, most people would probably regard them as ^grammatical, because they flatly contradict grammatical concord. For such cases, where the proximity principle overrules grammatical concord, the term attraction is often used.

Other, more acceptable, instances of attraction arise with singular nouns of kind and quantity ([19] and [22] only informal):

Those kind/sort/type of parties are dangerous [19] ^

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Plenty of People have applied for the job [20]

The majority of them are Moslems [21]

Loads/heaps/lots/gallons of the stuff is going to waste {22}

[19] illustrates a "idiomatic anomaly: there is lack of number concord between the noun and the determiner those, as well as with the verb. This awkwardness can be avoided by rephrasing Parties of that kind... etc. [20] and [21] show the nominally singular phrases a large number of, etc being treated as plural and as equivalent to many and most. {A large number ... has applied would be a very pedantic adherence to grammatical concord.) The opposite phenomenon, singular attraction, is observed in [22], where phrases like lots of/are treated as if equivalent to singular much.

Relevant aspects of noun-phrase structures are discussed in 4.26, where the possibility of regarding locutions such as a number o/as pre-modifiers is noted.

Note

[a] Although each is singular when a head or premodifier

Each child has an ice-cream it can be postposed to plural noun phrases: The children each have an ice-cream

(See 9.123.)

[b] The proximity principle, if taken to mean that agreement is determined by whatever immediately precedes the verb, can explain a singular verb in cases of inversion or of an adverbial quasi-subject: Where's the scissors ?; Here's John and Mary; There's several bags missing (7.63/, 14.15,14.26). As what precedes the subject here is not marked for plural (7.23 Note a), the singular verb follows by attraction. These are colloquial examples; in formal English ore would be substituted.

7.31

Concord of person

As well as concord of number, there is concord of person (3.10, 3.19, 4.108) between subject and verb: I am your friend (1st person singular concord)

He knows you (3rd person singular concord)

He knows you

Following the principle of proximity, the last noun phrase of a coordinate subject (where the coordinator is or, either... or, or neither ... nor) determines the person of the verb:

Neither you, nor I, nor anyone else knows the answer

Either my wife or I am going Because of the awkwardness of this device, a speaker may avoid it by

Other types of concord 367

using a modal auxiliary which is invariable for person, eg: Either my wife or I will be going.

Note

[a] There is also concord of 2nd person singular pronouns and verbs (4.112 Note c) in archaic English: Thou, Lord, hast redeemed us.

[6] Some speakers feel that Either you or I are going is more natural than Either you or I am going.

[c] In cleft sentences (14.18), a relative pronoun subject is usually followed by a verb in agreement with its antecedent: It is I who am to blame. But 3rd person concord prevails (in informal English) where the objective case pronoun me is used: It's me who's to blame.

7.32 Summary

It is difficult to summarize the system of subject-verb concord in English, but one may risk the following generalizations:

[A] The principle of grammatical concord is the safest one to follow in formal usage, as it has the sanction of teaching tradition and authority.

[B] The principle of notional concord is that which is most natural to colloquial English.

[C] The principle of proximity, despite its minor decisive role in cases where the other two provide no guidance, is generally felt to lack validity on its own, and has more of an auxiliary role in supporting notional concord in colloquial speech.

Grammatical and notional concord generally work in harmony together; it is only in the few difficult cases that the rules-of-thumb above need to be invoked.

Other types of concord

7.33

Subject-complement concord

Subject-complement concord of number (but not of person) exists between S and C in clauses of type SVC (7.2); thus [23] and [24] are grammatical, whereas [25] and [26] are not:

The child was an angel [23] \*The child was angels [25]

The children were angels [24] \*The children were an angel [26]

This type of concord arises naturally from the denotative equivalence of subject and subject complement. There are, however, exceptions: What we need most is books

[27] 368 The si m pi e sante n ce

That man is nuts/crackers ('mad', slang - especially BrE) [28]

Good manners are a rarity these days [29]

Those chairs are reproduction (especially BrE) [30]

The next few bars are pure Tchaikovsky [31]

ffU° ■ 1

„· -·, , a nuisance

Chlldrcncanbe| good company

I an investment j

All these sentences except the first (where what is ambivalent with respect to number) contain a subject complement which, although nominal in form, has a function closer to that of an adjective than of a noun (cf 5.11). There is often no singular/plural contrast; for example, Those men are crackers does not have a singular form \*That man is a cracker.

There is an equivalent type of concord between object and object complement in SVOC clauses: eg, He thinks children angels is acceptable, but not \*He thinks children an angel.

This type of concord is, in fact, common to all cases of 'intensive' relationship (7.6).

Note

[a] For [27] and (in BrE) for [29] above there are variants in which the number of the verb is in agreement with the complement: What we need most are books: Good manners is a rarity these days. These are probably ascribable to the workings of notional concord, the idea of plurality being dominant in the first and that of singularity in the second. One could argue, from the apparent 'anticipatory con\* cord', that such sentences are instances of inversion (14.15), and should be analysed C, V S rather than S V C.. This argument is difficult to sustain, however, since inversion does not take place in parallel circumstances elsewhere: \*The committee are we and \* Us is the committee are both deviant sentences.

[b\ There can be failure of subject-complement concord in BrE when the subject is a singular collective noun (e/7.25): The Bennett family were remarkable musicians.

7.34

Subject-object concord

Subject-object concord of number, person and gender is necessary, as well as subject-complement concord, where the second element is a reflexive pronoun (4.113 ff): He injured himself in the leg {but not: \*She injured himself in the leg} He hasn't been himself for weeks (ie 'He hasn't felt well') (but not: \*She hasn't been yourself for weeks)

The same concord relation holds when the reflexive pronoun occurs in other functions (eg as prepositional complement), or when the reflexive genitive his own, etc is used:

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She's making a sweater for herself They're ruining their own chances.

Nota

In BrE, collective noun subjects permit, as one might expect, plural concord: The Moy congratulated themselves on, if not a victory, at least an avoidance of defeat; similarly everybody and everyone: Everybody crossed themselves.

Pronoun concord

7.35

The relation between the reflexive pronoun object and its subject may be seen as a special case of the concord between a pronoun and its antecedent, ie the noun phrase for which it may be regarded as a substitute (see further 10.43). This type of concord may extend beyond clause boundaries. Thus the relative pronouns who, whom and which agree with their antecedent in the superordinate clause in gender, the first two being personal, and the last non-personal (4.117 ff):

The bag which I saw ... [33]

The man who(m) I saw... [34]

Whose can be used with either animate or inanimate antecedents:

The house whose rafters were burnt... [35]

The man whose purse he stole ... [36]

There is a feeling, however, that whose is more appropriate to personal antecedents, and some speakers cannot use an expression such as [35] without some feeling of uneasiness.

3rd person personal pronouns agree with their antecedents both in number and (in the case of the 3rd person singular pronouns he, she, and it) in gender:

John hurt his foot [37]

Beatrice hurt her foot [38]

John and Beatrice hurt their feet [39]

The climbers hurt their feet [40]

The violation of concord in the case of non-reflexive personal pronoun substitutes does not lead (as it does in the case of reflexive pronouns) to an unacceptable sentence, but to a different interpretation. One may compare [37] and [38] with:

John hurt her foot [41]



where the suggestion is that John hurt someone else's foot (the someone else having been previously mentioned). That is, in [41], her cannot be a substitute for John but may be one for some other noun phrase. 370 The simple sentence

7.36

English has no sex-neutral third person singular pronoun (ie one that expresses the common meaning of he and she), and so the plural pronoun they is often used informally (especially in BrE), in defiance of number concord, as a substitute for the indefinite pronouns everyone, everybody, someone, somebody, anyone, anybody, no one, nobody.

Everyone thinks they have the answer [42]

Has anybody brought their camera? [43]

No one could have blamed themselves for that [44]

The plural pronoun is a convenient means of avoiding the dilemma of whether to use the he or she form. The same dilemma can arise with coordinate subjects and with some indefinite noun phrase subjects, but here, resort to the evasive device of the plural pronoun is perhaps not so acceptable:

? Either he or his wife is going to have to change their attitude ? Not every drug addict can solve their problem so easily The use of they in sentences like [42-44] is frowned upon in formal English, where the tendency is to use he as the 'unmarked' form when the sex of the antecedent is not determined. The formal equivalent of [42] is therefore:

Everyone thinks he has the answer [42a]

The same choice is made in referring back to a singular noun phrase with a personal noun of indeterminate gender as head:

Every student has to make up his own mind [45]

Although this use of he often sounds pedantic, there is no obvious alternative to it, in formal English, except the rather cumbersome device of conjoining both male and female pronouns:

Every student has to make up his or her own mind [45a]

We have noted (7.25) that singular collective nouns have plural subject-verb concord in cases where the speaker thinks of the group as made up of separate individuals. The same principle extends to pronoun concord:

The government are cutting their losses (BrE) [46]

The government is cutting its losses Although there is no number contrast in relative pronouns, this distinction can be expressed by the choice of who (personal, ie the group thought of as a set of individuals) as opposed to which (non-personal, ie the group as an indivisible abstraction).

Selection restrictions 371

Thus corresponding to [46] and [47], we may have:

The government, who are cutting their losses (BrE) The government, which is cutting its losses

(but not: 'The government, who is cutting their losses)

[46a] [47a]

Selection restrictions

737

Apart from concord, there are other ways in which the choice of one element within a sentence may affect the choice of another.

The men scattered                      not    \*The man scattered  
 Police dispersed the rioters       not    \*Police dispersed the rioter  
 The cars collided  
 not    \*The car collided

Each of the above pairs shows how a particular verb requires a particular type of subject or object: collide (unless accompanied by a with-phrase) requires a plural subject; scatter and disperse require a plural 'affected' participant (7.14) - ie a plural subject when used intransitively or a plural object when used transitively.

Rules governing the kind of subject, object, or prepositional complement occurring with a particular verb come under the heading of selection restrictions. They differ from rules of concord, in that they do not involve two elements sharing the same feature, but one element projecting on to another a feature which is necessary for its meaningful use. That it is 'plurality' as a semantic feature rather than as a strictly grammatical feature that is in question here is shown by the possibility of substituting a collective singular for the plural noun: The crowd scattered and The police dispersed the mob are acceptable sentences.

Other features commonly entering into selection restrictions are:

„The glass contains water 'concrete' vs 'abstract': iT, 6 , , . . .

L\*The glass contains kindness

'>„\_ . . . - ■ . , fA pedestrian saw me animate' vs 'inanimate':-L., . ,

\\*A lampshade saw me

'h.irv., ' t l , fFinally we got married human vs 'non-human': ■ {, \_ . ; . \*

^Finally the snakes got married

>ese restrictions are frequently violated in poetry and in other imaginative uses of language. The incongruity, in such cases, indicates that the ^aker/writer intends us to make sense of his words at some deeper level, eg by metaphorical interpretation. In poetry, leaves may dance, °rs may bless, fears may lurk or linger.

### 372 The simple sentence

Selection restrictions apply not only to verbs, but to other word-classes, notably adjectives and prepositions. The oddity of The music U too green is explained by the requirement that green should be in an intensive relationship with a concrete noun. That of \*until the town is accounted for by a rule that until requires a temporal prepositional complement.

738

In spite of their importance in explaining what makes a 'correct English sentence', there is no need to dwell further here on selection restrictions, as they are more a matter of meaning than of syntax. Also, one may assume that similar restrictions on the semantic level occur in all languages, and therefore do not need to be stated specifically for English.

There is one type of selection restriction, however, which is specific to a particular word in a particular language, and helps to distinguish that word from its close synonyms. The two verbs eat and feed, used intransitively, tend to require personal and non-personal subjects respectively. Thus Janet and Joe are eating implies that Janet and Joe are 'persons'; whereas Janet and Joe are feeding implies that they are babies or animals. Details of such restrictions are to be sought (although they are not always found) in dictionaries, and in particular in dictionaries of synonyms.

The vocative

739

A vocative is a nominal element added to a sentence or clause optionally, denoting the one or more people to whom it is addressed, and signalling the fact that it is addressed to them:

John, I want you (voc S V J)

It's a lovely day, Mrs Johnson (S V Cs voc)

And Yofj, my friends, will have to work harder (& S voc V A) (On the intonation markings, see App 11.12 Jf.) These three sentences show how a vocative may take an initial, medial, or final position in the sentence; in its optionality and freedom of position, it is more like an adverbial (or, more precisely, like a disjunct - see 5.44) than any other element of clause structure.

Intonationally, the vocative is set off from the rest of the clause either by constituting a separate tone-unit or by forming the 'tail' or post-

The vocative 373

nuclear part of a tone unit (App 11.12). The most characteristic intonations are shown above: fall-rise for an initial vocative; rise for a medial or final vocative.

7.40

In form a vocative may be

- (1) a single name with or without title (9.166 .#): John, Mrs Johnson, Dr Smith, etc.
- (2) The personal pronoun you; eg: Behave yourself, you. (This is markedly impolite.) Or an indefinite pronoun; eg: Get me a pen, somebody.
- (3) Standard appellatives, usually nouns without pre- or postmodification (not even the possessive pronoun):

family relationships: mother, father, uncle: or more familiar forms like mom(my) (AmE), mum(my)(BrE), dad(dy), auntie

endearments: (my) darling\dear\love\honey (AmE), etc TITLES of respect: sir, madam, My Lord, Your Excellency,

Your Majesty, ladies and gentlemen, etc markers OF profession or status : doctor; Mr/Madam

Chairman; Mr President; (Mr) Prime Minister; Father (for priest); Bishop, etc

These are also used as titles of respect.

(4) A nominal clause (very occasionally): Whoever said that, come out here.

(5) Items under (1), (2), or (3) above with the addition of modifiers or appositive elements of various kinds:

(1) My dear Mrs Johnson; young John

(2) You with the red hair .you over there. Less impolite and more jocular in tone are appositives like you boys; you (young) fellows (familiar); you guys (familiar AmE)

(3) Oldman/fellow (familiar); young man/woman

One obvious function of a vocative in English is to seek the attention of the person addressed, and especially to single him out from others who may be within hearing. A second function, less obvious but certainly no » important, is to express the attitude of the speaker towards the ^dressee.

Vocatives are generally used as a positive mark of attitude, to signal Clther respectful distance or familiarity (varying from mild friendliness l° intimacy). 374 The simple sentence

In addressing someone one knows by name, last name preceded by title (Mr Jones, Miss Smith, Dr Robinson, etc) is a politely formal manner of address, while first name (John, Mary, etc) indicates friendly familiarity. It is now much easier to be 'on Christian name terms' (BrE) or 'on a first name basis' (AmE) than formerly; address by family name alone (which used to indicate friendly male comradeship, as in Holmes and Watson) is rarely heard today, except in special situations (armed forces, school).

Forms of address to strangers in English are limited. Sir and especially Madam are too formal to be used other than to someone clearly senior or superior to oneself in age, status, etc. As isolated vocatives, Mister and Missis are substandard, and Miss is little better in BrE, although it is somewhat more generally used in AmE, Professional vocatives are also used sparingly nowadays and are generally reserved for people of highly respected status (eg doctors, clergy). In BrE, for example, there is a large variety of familiar (not necessarily disrespectful) vocatives for strangers, varying from the bus conductress's dear, duck or love to the transport-driver's mate, skip or jock; but these are not in educated use. It is worth bearing in mind, therefore, that there is a whole area of neutral interchange where no vocative is used or felt to be necessary.

Note

To gain the attention of a stranger, a speaker of English often relies on Excuse me (BrE) or I beg your pardon (AmE) rather than a vocative.

Negation

Negation with operator and do-periphrasis

7.41

The negation of a simple sentence is accomplished by inserting the word not between the operator and the predication (2.2, 3.6): POSITIVE  
NEGATIVE

The attempt has succeeded ~ The attempt has not succeeded We may win the match  
~ We may not win the match I'm coming ~ I'm not coming

We have been defeated ~ We have not been defeated What is meant by 'operator' here (as for questions) is either the first auxiliary verb of a complex verb phrase or be or (especially in BrE) have as the verb in a simple verb phrase. Thus the negation of I'm thirsty is I'm not thirsty; one BrE negation of He has a car is He hasn't a car (3.18 Note). In colloquial English, the negator occurs in an enclitic contracted form -n't. Contracted negative forms of auxiliaries are listed in 3.20.

## Note

[o] Some positive clauses normally have no negation; for example. He is sure to succeed ~ \*He isn't sure to succeed (cf: He is bound to succeed" - He isn't bound to succeed). However, they can be negated as a denial of a previous positive statement:

A: He is sure to succeed.

B: No, he

/is not\ \ isn't J

sure to succeed.

in which case there would be contrastive focus on the negative particle or on the operator with the enclitic negator.

[b] This chapter discusses negation as a syntactic process within the clause, rather than a process of word-formation. Negative affixes (un-, in-, non-, a-, -less), despite some affinities with the clause negator not {eg: That is not true - That is untrue), are dealt with in App 1.11.

## 7.42

A problem arises with the negation of a clause which contains no auxiliary; /e a clause whose verb is a simple present or past tense form (apart from be) like give, gives, or gave. English overcomes this problem by introducing the substitute or 'dummy' auxiliary do, which, like modal auxiliaries, is followed by the bare infinitive:

She sees me every week «v She doesn't see me every week They understand my problem ~ They don't understand my

problem The stranger sat down ~ The stranger didn't sit down

Do-periphrasis is discussed in more detail in 3.17.

## 7.43

## Abbreviated negation

In circumstances where it is possible to abbreviate the operator by the use of a contracted form enclitic to the subject (3.17 ff), two colloquial forms of negation are possible:

Someone's not coming ~ Someone isn't coming We're not ready ~ We aren't ready

They've not caught him ~ They haven't caught him Sam'll not miss us ~ Sam won't miss us

He'd not notice anything ~ He wouldn't notice anything Note

E<sup>o</sup>l As there is no contracted form of am not, I'm not coming has no alternative of the kind given in the right-hand column above. Another consequence of this gap is that there is no universally accepted colloquial question form corresponding to the stiltedly formal Am I not beautiful? The contraction aren't is sometimes substituted (especially in BrE), but with some feeling of awkwardness: Aren't I beautiful? In AmE, ain't has considerable currency in both declarative and interrogative use.

I Restrictions on certain negative forms, especially mayn't, mustn't, oughtn't, daren't and needn't, are noted in 3.20 and 7.52. 376 The simple sentence

## Negation 377

## 7,44

## Non-assertive forms and negative forms

The negative particle not or -n't is frequently followed (not necessarily directly) by one or more of the non-assertive items listed in the third column below (non-assertive pronouns are discussed in 4.127; see also 2.21).

### SYNTACTIC CLASS

#### ASSERTIVE

#### NON-ASSERTIVE

#### NEGATIVE

(1) determiner

(2) determiner

(3) pronoun

(4) pronoun

(5) pronoun

(6) pronoun

(7) pronoun

(8) process adverb

(9) place adverb

(10) time adverb

(11) timeadverb

(12) timeadverb

(13) extent adverb

(14) intensifier

(15) additive

adverb

some

(one or the other)

some

(one or the other)

something

somebody

someone

somehow

somewhere

(informal AmE -

someplace) sometime(s)

already still

(to some extent) somewhat as well, too

any

either

any

either

anything

anybody

anyone

(in any way)

anywhere  
 (informal AmE -  
 anyplace) ever (informal AmE -  
 anytime) yet  
 any more/longer at all any (the) either  
 no  
 neither none neither nothing nobody no one (in no way) nowhere  
 never  
 no more/longer  
 no, none the  
 (See 7.44 Note)

The combination of not with a non-assertive form can be replaced, in most instances, by the negative word in the right-hand column; there are consequently two negative equivalents of each positive sentence:

/We haven't had any lunch \ We've had no lunch fHe didn't see either man ~ < He saw neither man

- (1) We've had some lunch
- (2) He saw one man or the other
- (3) We've had some
- (4) He saw one or other of the men
- (unusual) /We haven't had any "\We've had none
- (He didn't see either of the men He saw neither of the men
- (5) I've bought something for you
- (6) I was speaking to somebody
- (7) I was speaking to someone
- (8) I was somehow surprised
- (9) I've seen them somewhere
- (10) He sometimes visits us
- (11) They've arrived already
- (12) He's still at school
- (13) I can help (to some extent)
- (14) I'm (somewhat) wiser now
- (15) Her mother's coming, too

'I haven't bought anything  
 for you I've bought nothing for you  
 {I wasn't speaking to anybody I was speaking to nobody f I wasn't speaking to ~<  
 anyone  
 [i was speaking to no one  
 {I wasn't in any way surprised I was in no way surprised 'I haven't seen them  
 anywhere I've seen them nowhere  
 (unusual)  
 (He doesn't ever visit us \* kHe never visits us They haven't arrived yet 'He's not at  
 school any-  
 ' I^more

He's at school no longer

(unusual) I can't help at all 'I'm not any (the) wiser now

no "I . 11 .i\_ r wiser now I, none thej

Her mother's not coming either

In all cases (except possibly that of never), the combination of not (-n't) and the non-assertive word is more colloquial and idiomatic than the negative variant. The absence of a negative word for yet, at all, and either means that there is only one negative version in examples 11, 12, and 15. Note

" is not quite true to say that there is no negative word corresponding to the adverb "her; neither and nor both occur as negative additive adjuncts, but only in an initial Position with negative inversion (14.16):

He couldn't speak, (and) neither could he walk

He couldn't speak, nor could he walk

He couldn't speak, and he couldn't walk either^

378 The simple sentence

All these sentences mean the same, but the first two are somewhat literary in tone, while the last is decidedly colloquial.

7.45

Negative intensification

There are various ways of giving emotive intensification to a negative. For example, by any means and (informally) a bit are common alternatives to at all as non-assertive expressions of extent. Negative determiners and pronouns are given emphasis by at all, whatever: I found nothing at all the matter with him; You have no excuse whatever. Never is repeated for emphasis, or else combined with an intensifying phrase such as in (all) his/her etc life: I'll never, never go there again; I've never in all my life seen such a crowd. The combinations not one and not a (single) are emphatic alternatives to no as a countable determiner (see 7.50 Note). Other familiar and emotively coloured expressions of negation are exemplified by

I didn't sleep a wink

He didn't give me a thing

I don't care a damn whether we win or lose.

7.46

Initial negative element

The non-assertive form associated with negation cannot precede not in the sentence; therefore there is no alternative construction to the simple negative form when that form occurs in a subject or initial adjunct.

**NEGATIVE SUBJECT**

No one listens to me (?\* Anyone doesn't listen to me) Nothing came of it (?\* Anything didn't come of it) None of us were ready (?\* Any of us weren't ready) Not one bottle was left

(Negative subjects can also be formed with the word not as a predeterminer, in the combinations not all, not every, not everyone, not much, not many, etc: Not all economists agree with you.) negative adjunct (in rather formal or literary style) Never will I make that mistake again



Nowhere have we seen the results more clearly than in Europe Not until yesterday did he change his mind

These examples illustrate the inversion (reversal of subject and operator) that occurs with an initial negative element (14.16). The unacceptability of the normal clause order (\*Never I will make ... etc) should be noted-

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Note

[o] The sequences no/ a little/few, not infrequently, (a) not unattractive (woman), etc do not form negative subjects or adjuncts in the sense discussed here. The effect of not here is merely a local one (7.50 Note), reversing the already negative force of the following expression. Such 'double negative' phrases are devices of understatement ; / was not a little worried means, in fact, 'I was quite worried' \*.

[b] Not yet does not occur initially with a finite verb, and no longer and no more do so only in highly literary style: 'Not yet have I seen him.

[e] If tiny, anyone etc is posimodified, it can precede not in the sentence. For example:

Anyone who does that isn't honest.

7.47

More than one non-assertive form

If a clause contains a negative element, it is usually negative throughout, from the occurrence of the negative to the end, or at least until the beginning of a final adjunct. This means that after a negative, the non-assertive forms must normally be used in place of every assertive form that would have occurred in the corresponding positive clause:

I've never travelled anywhere by air yet

I haven't ever been on any of the big liners, either

No one has ever said anything to either of us

Not many of the refugees have anywhere to live yet

The non-assertive forms even occur in positive subordinate clauses following a negative in the main clause:

Nobody has promised that any of you will be released yet That wouldn't deter anyone who had any courage

Assertive forms, however, are equally likely in such cases; and more generally, assertive forms do occur following a negative, so long as they fall outside the scope of negation (7.49).

Note

[°] Occasionally two negatives occur in the same clause: I can't not obey ('I have to obey'); Not many people have nowhere to live ('Most people have somewhere to live'); No one has nothing to offer to society ('Everyone has something to offer to society'). These sentences are somewhat like the 'double negative' of logic, in that each negator has its separate value and it is possible to find paraphrases, like those just given, which cancel out each negative, leaving an entirely positive sentence.

' 1 \*Q substandard English, however, there is an entirely different kind of 'multiple negation', where more than one negative form is used, but the meaning is that of a single negative: No one never said nothing (Standard English No one ever said any-

l<sup>^</sup>ing). The explanation of this construction is that substandard English chooses a negative word wherever Standard English would choose a non-assertive word after a negative. <sup>^</sup>

378 The simple sentence

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Negation 379

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7.48

Seldom, rarely, etc

In addition to the negative words discussed so far, there are several words which are negative in meaning, but not in appearance. They include seldom and rarely (adverbs meaning 'not often' - 8.61) scarcely and hardly (adverbs meaning 'almost. .. not/no' - 8.29/) little and few (determiners or adverbs meaning 'not much' and 'not many' respectively - in contrast, a little and a few are positive-

4.25 Note d)

only (determiner or adverb meaning 'no more/other than' - 8.13<sup>^</sup>) barely (adverb meaning 'only just' - 8.29/) For three reasons these are treated as negative forms:

(1) They are followed by non-assertive rather than assertive forms:

I seldom get any sleep

I've spoken to hardly anyone who disagrees with me

Few changes in government have ever taken so many people

by surprise Only two of us had any experience at sailing

(2) When in pre-subject position, they normally cause subject-operator inversion:

Rarely does crime pay so well as Mr Benn seems to think Scarcely ever has the British nation suffered so much obloquy Little need I dwell upon the joy of that reunion The inversion, as before, is literary or rhetorical in tone.

(3) They are followed by positive rather than negative tag-questions (7.59-60):

She scarcely seems to care, does she?

Note

[a] Seldom arid rarely, unlike the other negative words mentioned here, may themselves come under the scope of another negative:

He doesn't visit us rarely

('It isn't rarely that he visits us')

[b] In addition to the words discussed, verbs, adjectives, oc prepositions with negative meaning can govern non-assertive forms:

He denies I ever told him I forgot to ask for any change Unaware of any hostility

Without any delay Against any changes

Non-assertive forms may also be used in putative clauses (11.72): It's odd that he should ever notice it.

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7.49

of negation

let us consider more carefully the relation between negative words and the non-assertive words that they govern.

A negative form may be said to govern (or determine the occurrence of) a non-assertive form only if the latter is within the scope of the negation, ie within the stretch of language over which the negative meaning operates. The scope of the negation normally extends from the negative word itself to the end of the clause, or to the beginning of a final adjunct. The subject, and any adjuncts occurring before the predication, normally lie outside it. (The operator is sometimes within, and sometimes outside, the scope - see 7.52 below.) There is thus a contrast between:

I definitely didn't speak to him ('It's definite that I did not')

I didn't definitely speak to him ('It's not definite that I did')

(The scope is marked by the horizontal bracket.) When an adverbial is final, however, it may or may not lie outside the scope (c/8.8):

[48]

I wasn't Listening all the time

I \_\_\_\_\_ I

I wasn't listening all the time

I \_\_\_\_\_ I

[49]

The difference of scope, which is here marked by intonation, reflects an important difference of meaning: [48] means 'For the whole time, I wasn't listening', and [49] means 'It is not true that I was listening all the time'.

If an assertive form is used, it must lie outside the scope; therefore [50] and [51] below parallel [48] and [49]:

I didn't listen to some of the speakers

[50]

I didn't listen to any of the speakers

[51]

As we have seen (7.47), the scope can sometimes extend into a subordinate clause: I didn't know that anyone was coming.

7.50

Cause, local, and phrasal negation

- may distinguish clause negation discussed above from local negation, where the scope of the negation does not extend beyond a particular word or phrase. The difference is illustrated in the following:

clause neg: Nothing agrees with me more than oysters (ie 'Oysters agree with me as much as - indeed, more than - anything else') 382 The simple sentence

Negation 383

local neg: Nothing agrees with me more than oysters (ie 'Eating nothing agrees with me more than eating oysters')

Local negation may possibly be explained as negation of a clause condensed into a phrase; here, for instance, nothing can be interpreted 'eating nothing'. Strictly, the second sentence is not a negative sentence at all, but a positive sentence containing a negative word: this we see from the possibility of adding a negative tag question (7.59): Nothing agrees with me more than oysters, doesn't it. The type of negative phrase already noted in 7.46 Note a (eg: a not unattractive woman; his not very handsome face) may also be classed as local negation.

Note

Yet another minor type of negation, phrasal negation, must be allowed for. This is the type which is grammatically restricted to a single phrase, but semantically applies to a whole clause. It is thus the opposite of local negation, which is grammatically similar to but semantically unlike clausal negation:

Not a word came from his lips (c/No word ...)

He gave me not even a moment to collect my thoughts

Not five men survived the journey

Not here functions as a predeterminer in the italicized noun phrases; but it has the effect of negating the whole clause. Phrasal negation, which has emphatic meaning, is often combined with negative inversion (14.16).

7.51

Focus of negation

In describing negative clauses, it is important to identify not only the scope of negation, but the information focus. Marked information focus (14.3) applies to negative clauses in a special way: a special or contrastive nuclear stress falling on a particular part of the clause indicates not only that the contrast of meaning implicit in

the negation is located at that spot, but that by implication the rest of the clause can be understood in a positive sense:

didn't attack the Labour Government (ie: 'Someone attacked ..., but it wasn't Harry')  
Harry didn't attack the Labour Government (ie: 'He did something to the Labour Government but he didn't attack it')

Harry didn't attack the Labour Government (ie: 'He attacked some government, but it wasn't the Labour one')

(The typical intonation of such clauses is the contrastive fall + rise.) The scope and focus are interrelated in such a way that the scope must include the focus. From this it follows that one way of signalling the extent of the scope is by the position of the focus. Indeed, since the scope of negation is often not unambiguously signalled at all, placing the information focus in a special position is a primary way of indicating that a special extension of the scope of negation has been made. One example of this is when, atypically, the scope of the negation is extended to include a subordinate clause of reason:

I didn't leave home, because I was afraid of my father

I didn't leave home because I was afraid of my father  
I \_\_\_\_\_ I

[52]

[53]

With more usual intonation, [52] allots a separate tone unit to each clause, and so places the because-clause outside the scope of the negative. (This interpretation can also be singled out by a comma in writing.) But [53] extends a single tone unit over both, and places a contrastive fall+rise on father. The effect of this is to place negative focus on the because-clause, so that the main clause is understood positively. The meanings are entirely different:

'Because I was afraid of my father, I didn't leave home' [52]

'I left home, but it wasn't because of my father that I did so' [53]

Intonation may be crucial also in marking the extension of the scope backwards to include the subject: an atypical phenomenon found in subjects which contain one of the 'universal' items all or every:

[54] [55]

All cats don't like water (ie 'All cats dislike water') all cats don't like water (ie 'Not all cats like water')

J

[54] has the normal negative scope, while [55] has contrastive (fall + rise) information focus on the subject, signalling its inclusion within the scope. The construction of [54] is, in fact, unusual: more common is the Paraphrase with a negative subject: No cat likes water. Note

That the negative word not itself has the focus, the scope may be restricted to that \*d, as in the denial sentence:

I did not offer her some chocolates

(It is not true that I offered her.. .\*)

e Eame effect is achieved by focus on a negative operator (14.7): I IqH offer her some chocolates.

of modal auxiliaries

negation of modal auxiliaries requires some attention, in that here e scope of the negation may or may not include the meaning of the3S4 The simple sentence auxiliary itself. We therefore distinguish between auxiliary negation and main verb negation:

AUXILIARY NEGATION: may not (^'permission') You may not go swimming ('You are not allowed ...')

cannot, can't (in all senses) You can't be serious ('It is not possible that'...')

You caa't go swimming (' You are not allowed ...') She can't ride a bicycle (' She is not able to ...')

need not, needn't You needn't pay that fine ('You are not obliged ...')

It needn't always be my fault ('It is not necessary that...')

MAIN VERB NEGATION! may not(= ' possibility') They may not bother to come if it's wet (' It is possible that they

will not bother to come ...') will not, won't (all senses)

Don't worry, I won't interfere ('I'm willing not to interfere')

He won't do what he's told ('He insists on not doing ...')

They won't have arrived yet (' I predict that they've not arrived

I-----1 yet')

shall not, shan't (all senses)

Don't worry, you shan't lose your reward ('I'm willing to see

that you don't lose your reward') I shan't know you when you return (' I predict that I will not

'-----1 know ...")

must not, mustn't (= \* obligation')

You mustn't keep us all waiting ('You'll oblige me by not

keeping us waiting') ought not, oughtn't (both senses) You oughtn't to keep us waiting ('obligation')

Statements, questions, commands, exclamations 385

Certain auxiliaries (can and need) follow the pattern of auxiliary negation, while others (will, shall, must) follow that of main verb negation. May belongs to the former group in its 'permission' sense, but to the latter group in the sense of 'possibility'. Mustn't is not used at all (and must not only rarely) in the 'necessity' sense; the gap is filled by can't in the sense of 'impossibility'. Thus the negation of You must be telling lies

is You can't be telling lies

The auxiliary negation of must is often needn't, which has the two meanings of non-obligation and non-necessity:

A: Must we pack now ? B: No, we needn't till tomorrow.

Because of the diametric opposition of meaning between 'permission' and 'obligation', an odd-seeming equivalence exists between may not ('non-permission') and mustn't ('obligation-not-to'):

\_/You mustn't go swimming today \You may not go swimming today

On the whole, the past tense negative auxiliaries (mightn't, couldn't, wouldn't, shouldn't) follow the same negative pattern as their present tense equivalents, subject to the provisions described in 3.43. #". Note

As the above list shows, it is not normal for the same auxiliary to be used in the same meaning with two different kinds of negation. Occasionally, however, one meets an ambiguity which resides solely in the interpretation of the scope of negation. With a special emphatic pause before not, one might say You may 'not go swimming, meaning 'I permit you not to go' rather than 'I do not permit you'. From this possibility of unorthodox interpretation, acceptable instances of two negators in the same clause sometimes arise: You can't not admire him ('It is impossible not to admire him') is a sentence containing both auxiliary and main verb negation. More natural ways of expressing the same idea would be You can't (help) but admire him or You can't help admiring him.

Statements, questions, commands, exclamations

7.53

He oughtn't to be long ('necessity')

final classification

Simple sentences may be divided into four major syntactic classes, whose use correlates with different communicative functions:

(1) statements are sentences in which the subject is always present and generally precedes the verb:

386 The simple sentence

John will speak to the boss today

On exceptional statements not containing a subject, see 9.19/. (2) questions are sentences marked by one or more of these three criteria:

(a) the placing of the operator in front of the subject:

Will John speak to the boss today ?

(b) the initial positioning of an interrogative or wA-element:

Who will you speak to ?

(c) rising 'question' intonation:

You will speak to the boss ?

(3) commands are sentences which normally have no overt grammatical subject, and whose verb is in the imperative mood (3.10):

Speak to the boss today

(4) exclamations are sentences which have an initial phrase introduced by what or how, without inversion of subject and operator:

What a noise they are making!

Of these classes, the statement is by far the most important, and the exclamation the least important. When referring not to sentences but to clauses (which at this stage means 'main clauses'), we use the adjectives corresponding to these four types: (1) declarative, (2) interrogative, (3) imperative, and (4) exclamatory. There are also some minor sentence types, which will be considered

in

7,54

Functions of discourse



The functions of discourse associated with these four classes are:

- (1) statements are primarily used to convey information.
- (2) questions are primarily used to express lack of information on a specific point, and (usually) to request the listener to supply this information verbally.
- (3) commands are primarily used to instruct somebody to do something.
- (4) exclamations are primarily for expressing the speaker's own feelings.

Statements, questions, commands, exclamations 387

Two factors mar the neatness of the above account of the relations between sentence classes and discourse functions. First, the functions overlap: for example, the single sentence I'd love a cup of tea not only conveys information, but expresses a feeling and even (by implication) urges action on the listener. Secondly, the syntactic classes do not by any means correspond one-to-one with the discourse functions: What on earth are you doing! is a question as regards form, but an exclamation as regards function; / wonder if you'd kindly open the window? is a statement according to form, but a command according to function. It is as well to bear such discrepancies in mind, since the sentence classes as considered in this chapter are defined grammatically rather than con-textually.

Up to this point, the sentences discussed have been mainly statements. The remainder of the chapter will be devoted to questions, commands, and exclamations, as well as to a number of residual classes of minor utterance.

Questions: yes-no type 7.55

Questions can be divided into three major classes according to the type of answer they expect. Those that expect the answer yes or no, such as Have you been to Paris ?, are yes-no questions; those that contain a 'wh-element' (who? what? how? etc) and expect a reply supplying the missing information posited by that element are wA-questions: What is your name? A third type of lesser importance is the alternative question, which expects as an answer one of two or more alternatives mentioned in the question: Would you like st£ak or CHlcxen? (7.68/).

7.56

Yes-no questions

Yes-no questions, which we will consider first, are usually formed by placing the operator (2.2,2.18/) before the subject, and using 'question intonation' (rise or fall-I-rise, see App 11.13-15):

STATEMENT

(S - Op - predication)

Frank is writing a book

The boat has left

Our team was BEATen

He could have broken his leg

I'll be WArring for you

QUESTION

(Op - S - predication) Is Frank writing a book? Has the boat left? Was our team BEATen? Could he have broken his

If 11

Will you be w Airing for me? statement contains a straightforward present tense or past tense QUESTION

(Op do - S - predication) Did the bus arrive late ? Do his methods bring success ? Does he like Dickens?

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verb without an operator, the same applies here as in the case of negation (7.42), ie DO-periphrasis (3.17) is introduced:

STATEMENT

(S - predication)

The bus arrived late

His methods bring success

He likes Dickens

Again, be and sometimes have (in BrE only) count as operator even when they occur without a following main verb, so that the whole verb is placed in front of the subject:

The Joneses are late again ~ Are the Joneses late again?

I have the exact change ~ Have you the exact change ? The American form of this last question (also current in BrE) is: Do you have the exact change ? (see 3.18 Note).

Obviously, 1st and 2nd person pronouns are exchanged for one another when a question is converted into an equivalent statement:

Do you like it? Yes / do.

Note

la] Declarative questions (7.61) are exceptional in not requiring subject-operator inversion.

[b] By placing the nuclear stress in a particular part of a yes-no question, we are able to 'focus' the interrogation on a particular item of information which, unlike the rest of the sentence, is assumed to be unknown (c/focus of negation, 7.51). Thus the focus falls in different places in the following otherwise identical questions:

Was he a famous actor in those days ?

CI know he was once a famous actor - but was it then or later 1') Was he a famous actor in those days ?

('I know he was an actor in those days -but was he a famous one?')

7.S7

Positive orientation

Another typical characteristic of yes-no questions (except of declarative questions) is the use of the non-assertive forms any, ever, etc that we have already seen in operation in negative statements:

STATEMENT

QUESTION

Someone called last night

Did anyone call last night?

The boat has left already

Has the boat left yet ?

I live somewhere near Dover

Do you live anyj'M'Aere near Dover"

I suppose some of the class will

Do you suppose any of the class ask some boring

questions will ask any boring questions ?

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Non-assertive forms, like the do auxiliary, point to common ground between questions and negative statements. This ground is not hard to explain: clearly a

question has neutral polarity, in the sense that it leaves open whether the answer is positive or negative. Hence questions like negatives belong to the class of 'non-assertions' (2.21).

On the other hand, a question may be presented in a form which is biased towards a positive or negative answer. A question has positive orientation, for example, if it uses (as sometimes happens) assertive forms in preference to non-assertive forms:

Did someone call last night ? (' Is it true that someone called last night')

Has the boat left already ? Do you live somewhere near Dover ?

These questions indicate that the speaker has reason to believe that the answer is yes: he merely asks for confirmation of that assumption. They are frequently used in making an offer: Would you like some cake ?

7.58

Negative orientation

The opposite case of negative orientation is found in questions which contain a negative form of one kind or another:

Can't you give us any hope of success ? (' Is it really true that you can't...?')

[56]

Isn't your car working ?

[57]

Does no one believe me ?

[58]

Negative orientation is complicated, however, by an element of surprise or disbelief which adds implications of positive meaning. Thus [57] means ' Do you really mean that your car isn't working ? I had assumed that it was.' Here there is a combining of a positive and a negative attitude, which one may distinguish as the old assumption (positive) and new assumption (negative). Because the old assumption tends to be identified with the speaker's hopes or wishes, negative orientated questions often express disappointment or annoyance:

Can't you drive straight ? (' I'd have thought you'd be able to, but

apparently you can't') Aren't you ashamed of yourself? (' You ought to be, but it appears

you're not') Hasn't the boat left yet? (' I'd hoped it would have left by now, but it seems that it hasn't')

390 The simple sentence

A second type of negative question combines not (the formal signal of negative orientation) with the assertive items which are the formal signals of positive orientation:

Didn't someone call last night?

[59]

Hasn't the boat left already ?

[60]

Such questions are similar in effect to type [I] tag questions (7.59), or alternatively to statements showing disbelief: 'Surely someone called last night!'

A different ordering obtains in negative questions according to whether the full or enclitic negative particle is employed; -n't precedes the subject, whereas not follows it:

Didn't they warn you?

Did they not warn you?

As the second construction is rather formal, however, the enclitic negative particle is usually preferred in informal spoken English.

Note

[a] The exclamatory negative question {eg: Isn't she ci^ver!) is discussed in 7.70.

[b] The adjunct either only occurs in questions in the company of a negative:

i—., , > he recognize you either? I^LHan tj

[c] Although a negative subject of a statement cannot be replaced by mw+non-assertive form (7.46), the same restriction does not apply to negative questions, where the subject follows the clause negator not. Two question forms therefore correspond to the single positive form No one believes me: Does no one believe me ? and Doesn't anyone believe me ?

Tag questions 7.59

A further type of question which conveys positive or negative orientation is the tag question appended to a statement:

The boat has already left, hasn't it?

You aren't throwing these shoes away, are you?

The rules for forming the most common type of tag question are:

(1) The tag question consists of operator+subject (an enclitic negative particle preceding the subject, a full particle following it) i" that order: is he? isn't he? can't I? will you? could you not? did they not ?

(2) The operator is the same as the operator of the preceding statement:

He likes his job,

DOESN'the?

I haven't met you, have I ?

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(Where the statement contains no operator, use is made of do/ doesjdid, as for question formation in general: He knows you, doesn't he ?)

(3) The subject of the tag is a pronoun which either repeats, or appropriately substitutes for, the subject of the statement.

(4) If the statement is positive, the tag is negative, and vice versa.

(5) The nuclear tone of the tag occurs on the auxiliary, and is either rising or falling.

Four main types of tag question emerge from the observance of these rules:

RISING TONE

FALLING TONE

P]

positive+Neoative He likes his j6b, DOESn'the?

PI]

NEOATIVE+positive He doesn't like his job. He doesn't like his  
does he ? job, does he 7 "

The meanings of these sentences, like their forms, involve a statement and a question; each of them, that is, asserts something then invites the listener's response to it. Sentence [I], for example, can be rendered 'I assume he likes his job; am I right?'. [II] means the opposite: 'I assume he doesn't like his job; am I right ?'. Clearly these

sentences have a positive and a negative orientation respectively. A similar contrast exists between [III] and [rV]. But it is important, again, to separate two factors: an assumption (expressed by the statement) and an expectation (expressed by the question). On this principle, we may distinguish the four types as:

[L] Positive assumption+neutral expectation [II] Negative assumption + neutral expectation

[III] Positive assumption+positive expectation

[IV] Negative assumption+negative expectation

The tag with the falling tone, it will be noted, invites confirmation of the statement, and has the force of an exclamation rather than a genuine question. In this, it is like (though perhaps not so emphatic as) exclamatory yes-no questions with a falling tone (7.70): Isn't it gorgeous father! etc. Note

"« tag normally mirrors the subject and auxiliary of the independent clause of a complex sentence. There are exceptions, however, with verbs like suppose when they \*<\* introduced by a 1st person subject and followed by a i"

\* suppose you're not serious, are you?

(not »i suppose you're not serious, don't IT) 392 The simple sentence

A further stage of irregularity is introduced in cases of transferred negation (U.79): / don't suppose he's serious, is he ? Here, the subject of the tag is taken from the that clause, but the absence of negation from the tag is explained with reference to the negative particle of the independent clause, which applies semantically to the that-clause.

7.60

There is a further, less common, type of tag question in which both statement and question are positive:

Your car is outstanding, is it ?

You've had an Accident, have you?

The tag always has a rising nucleus, and the situation is characteristically preceded by oh or so, indicating the speaker's arrival at a conclusion by inference, or by recalling what has already been said. The tone may sometimes be one of sarcastic suspicion:

So that's your little game, is it?

Very occasionally, one encounters an equivalent type of tag question in which both statement and tag are negative:

Oh, so you haven't touched a drop for years, HAVEN't you? We may thus add two further, less usual, types of tag question to the earlier four types:

[V] positive+POSITIVE So he likes his job, doesn't he?

[VI] negative+negative So he doesn't like his job, does he?

7.61

Declarative questions

Not all yes-no questions have subject-operator inversion. The declarative question is a type of question which is identical in form to a statement, except for the final rising question intonation:

You've got the explosive 7

They've spoken to the ambassador, of course?

You realize what the risks are? Boris will be there, I suppose? He didn't finish the race?

Declarative questions have 'positive orientation' (or 'negative orientation'), as is observed from the necessity of using assertive or negative forms:

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not non-assertive forms: \*The guests have had anything to eat?

They are similar in force to type [I] or type [II] tag questions, except for a rather casual tone, which suggests that the speaker takes the answer yes (or no) as a foregone conclusion.

Note

[a] A second interrogative use of the statement construction is for echo questions (7.81-83).

[b] A tag question may be added to a declarative question:

You've got the explosive, have you? Only the rising tone on explosive distinguishes this from type [V] tag questions.

7.62

Yes-no questions with modal auxiliaries

The formation of yes-no questions with modal auxiliaries is subject to certain limitations and shifts of meaning. The modals of 'permission' (may especially BrE, and can) and of 'obligation\*' (must, especially BrE, and have to) involve the speaker's authority in statements and the listener's authority in questions;

The guests have had<sup>7</sup> to eat<sup>7</sup>

'Leave now? ('Will you permit me ...') b: Yes, you- [■] ('/will permit you,..')

(Must I, ... '... '...')  
i: 'Do I have to/leave now? ('Are you filing me...')

b: Yes, you're telling me ('/am telling you ...')

This means the question form anticipates the form appropriate for the answer.

A similar switch from listener to speaker takes place with shall ('volition') which (especially in BrE) implicates the speaker's will in statements, but the listener's will in questions:

You shall suffer for this ('/intend to make you suffer ...!') Shall I switch off the television? ('Do you want me to...?')

The direct-question use of shall, however, is virtually restricted to first person subjects. With we, it has both exclusive and inclusive senses:

Shall we carry your suitcases? ('Would you like us to ,...?')

Shall we have dinner? ('Would you like us [including you] to .. ,?\*) 394 The simple sentence

May ('possibility') is not employed at all in questions; can (or more commonly, in AmE, could) takes its place:

a: 'I've missed the bus?' b: Yes, the Jr\* , ^

'Could I have fought have.'

Need (in BrE) is a non-assertive auxiliary in clauses where the corresponding positive form is must. Hence in questions:

a: (BrE) Need it happen? (c/AmE/BrE: Does it have to happen?)

,, ..(must. b: Yes, iK.

\has to.

If, on the other hand, must had occurred in a's question, it would have had 'positive orientation': 'Is it a fact that it must happen?'. Compare Need it ever happen ? with Must it always happen ?, where the assertive form has to be retained.

Questions: w/>-type

Wft-questions

7.63

The second major category of question to be considered is the wh\* question.

W/i-questions are formed with the aid of one of the following simple interrogative words (or Q-words): wholwhomjwhose, what, which (4.120) when, where, how, why (5.48)

As a rule,

(1) the Q-element (ie clause element containing the Q-word) comes first in the sentence (apart from some conjuncts and disjuncts);

(2) the Q-word itself, moreover, takes first position in the Q-element. The only exception to the second principle is when the Q-word occurs in a prepositional complement. Here English provides a choice between two constructions, one formal and the other colloquial. In formal style, the preposition precedes the complement, whereas in colloquial style, the complement comes first and the preposition is left 'trailing' at the end of the sentence:

On what did you base your prediction? (formal) What did you base your prediction on (colloquial) We may perhaps express this difference more neatly by saying that col-

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loquial English insists that the Q-word comes first, while formal English insists that the Q-element as a whole comes first.

Note

fal There is also a group of informal intensificatory Q-words whoever, whatever, whichever, whenever, wherever, and however. These are more usually, however, spelled as two separate words: who ever, etc (and so are distinguished from the subordinating wA-words whenever, whoever, etc-11.12). The two parts of why ever are never run together as a single word: Why ever didn't he tell me ? Various other ways exist of intensifying the emotive effect of a wA-question:

Who on earth opened my letter ?

Who the hell are you ?

What in heaven's name do you think you're doing?

The last two examples illustrate the impolite use of intensification.

[b] On factors affecting the choice between who and whom, see 4.119/, 13.12.

[c] The final preposition construction is less desirable when the preposition is remote from its complement, or when it is syntactically closer bound to the complement than to the verb. Awkward sentences like What time did you tell him to meet us at? are generally avoided. The awkwardness reaches comic proportions when combined with

other constructions involving final particles (6.3, 6.9-10): What did you bring this book to be read to out of up for?

7.64

The following are sentences in which the Q-element operates in various clause functions:

- Who ever opened my Lfrirter? (Q-element: S) [61]  
Which books have you l6nt him ? (Q-element: Oa) [62]  
Whose beautifulanrtQUES are these? (Q-element: Cfl) [63]  
How wide did they make the BtboKcase ? (Q-element: Co) [64]  
When will you come back? (Q-element: Aame) [65]  
Where shall I put the GLAsses? (Q-element: ApiB06) [66]  
Why are they always comPLAiNing? (Q-element: AreM01]) [67]  
How did you m£nd it? (Q-element: AprMesa) [68]  
How much does he care? (Q-element: A,,.^.^) [69]  
How long have you been wining? (Q-element: AduraMon) [70]  
How often do you visit New y6rk? (Q-element: Afrfli[nBocy) [71]

As the examples indicate, falling intonation, not rising intonation, is usual for wA-questions: see App 11.12.

We see above that normal statement order of elements is upset in wh-questions not only by the initial placing of the Q-element, but by the inversion of subject and operator in all cases except that in which the ^-element is subject, where the rule of initial Q-element takes precedence over the rule of inversion.

Subject-operator inversion is the same in its application to wh-ques-Ons as in its application to yes-no questions: if there is no operator in<sup>396</sup> The simple sentence the equivalent statement, do is introduced as substitute operator in the question, be (and sometimes, in BrE, have) counts as an operator even when a main verb: How are you ? Noto

[a] Adjuncts of instrument, reason, and purpose are normally questioned by the prepositional constructions:

What shall I mend it with ?

What did you do that for?

Although the latter could be replaced by Why did you do thai ?, it has no alternative with a preposed preposition: "For what did you do that ? In this respect it is like informal questions with be followed by a final preposition: What was it like ? (but not \*Like what was it ?).

[b] Abbreviated questions consisting of Q-word and final preposition (which in this construction regularly bears nuclear stress) Where from/to? What for/with? Who with/by ? are as popular in colloquial speech as questions consisting of the Q-word only: Where? Who? Why?. There is a common abbreviated negative question Why not? (10.61).

[c] Although there is no verbal Q-word for English, the content of the verbal element can be questioned by what as the object of the generalized agentive verb do, or as subject of happen :

a: What are you doing? ' b: I'm reading.

a : What have you done to/with my book ? b : I've hidden it.



a: What's happening? b: It's snowing.

[d] An indirect object cannot act as Q-element: instead of \*Who(m) did you give the present ?, the equivalent prepositional complement construction is used: Who{m) did you give the present to? or To whom did you give the present?

[e] In wfi-questions of the SVC pattern, it is possible to distinguish between noun phrases as S and C by signals of case and concord, where these apply: Which is me? (Q-element as S - said, for example, when looking at a photograph) contrasts with Which am I? (Q-element as Q).

7.«S

### Presuppositions

Every wA-question may be matched with a statement called its presupposition. This is a statement which, in place of the Q-element, contains an indefinite expression such as somebody. The presupposition, which is assumed to be true by whoever uses the question, preserves of course normal statement ordering. Hence, if we list the presuppositions corresponding to some of questions [61-71] above, it will clarify the syntactic ordering of tvA-questions in relation to statements:

### PRESUPPOSITIONS

Someone opened my letter

You have lent him some of the books

You will come back sometime

You mended it somehow

You visit New York sometimes

[61a] [62a] [65a] [68a] [71a]

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### Note

The relation between a wA-question and its presupposition shows why negative questions of this type (except for why questions) are rare. While there is an acceptable presupposition for why questions;

Why didn't he do it ?~ He didn't do it for some reason there is no such correspondence with other question words:

•Where didn't he do it?~\*He didn't do it somewhere

The reason for the oddity of this last sentence is that somewhere is normally replaced by anywhere following a negative (see 7.44). On the other hand, for some reason is accepted following a negative because it is a disjunct, and therefore normally outside the scope of negation.

7.66

### Pushdown Q-element

In the questions with a postposed preposition we have already studied, the Q-element is a part of the main clause only indirectly, being a prepositional complement, which is part of an adjunct, which in turn is part of the main clause. Here are other instances where the Q-element is embedded further down in the constituent structure of the sentence:

(1) Q-element as prepositional complement within noun phrase (in informal English):

(Which professor did he marry the daughter of? \The daughter of which professor did he marry?)

(2) Q-element as element of nominal object clause:

/ What would you like me to buy ? \How long did he tell you he waited ?

The phenomenon illustrated by (1) and (2) can occur not only in direct questions, but in other circumstances where an element is fronted (7.78, 11.55, 14.12 Note a, 14.19).

We call the initial element in such cases a pushdown element.

Q-elements combining the embedding Types (1) and (2) are also possible:

Which mountain do they say they tried to climb to the top of ?

It is also possible to repeat the same type of embedding a number of times; in the following example, the Q-element is a prepositional complement in a prepositional complement in a prepositional complement in a prepositional complement:

Which professor did he marry the daughter of the stepson of the former wife of?

-и398 The simple sentence

Improbable as such a sentence is, it seems to be acceptable by the rules of English. On the other hand, there are clear and apparently arbitrary limits to what can be a Q-element. Elements of indirect questions, for example, are debarred this function; likewise elements of relative and adverbial clauses:

How long can you be sure they waited? (Q in indirect statement) \*How long can you be sure whether they waited? (Q in indirect

question) \*How many teams are you glad because we beat? (Q in adverbial clause) \* Which park did we listen to the man who was speaking in?

(Q in relative clause)

Note

[a] A type of sentence quite often heard in impromptu speech is one of the 'forbidden' types of Relative clause above, with a pronoun inserted to stand proxy for the Q-element at the point in the dependent clause where, in statement order, it would occur:

Who else did you notice whether they passed the exam ?

Though ungrammatical by ordinary rules of wft-question formation, (these sentences are obviously found useful in filling in the gaps left by started sentences such as those above.

[b] When a Q-element is the subject of an indirect statement, the omission of the normally optional introductory that is obligatory:

Who do you think did it ? not \*Who do you think that did it?

7.67

More than one Q-element

There can be more than one Q-element in the same simple sentence: Who said what to whom ? In such sentences, only one Q-element is moved to the front, the others remaining in their normal position. There is a choice, however, as to which Q-element is fronted, and this means that the same question can be put in more than one way. From the presupposition

You have hidden something somewhere

[72]

we can move to either of these questions:

What have you hidden where ? [73]

Where have you hidden what? [74]

[72] could also form the presupposition of a question containing only one Q-word. In that case, the other indefinite expression would remain in its assertive form:

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Where have you hidden something? ; [75]

Another (rare) possibility would be the substitution of the non-assertive form:

Where have you hidden anything?

[76]

which would mean 'I don't know whether you've hidden anything, but if you have, where is it?'. Both types of wA-question illustrated by [75] and [76] are unusual, as are also wA-questions containing a negative, except where the Q-word is why: Why don't you speak ?

Alternative questions

7.68

The alternative question has already been defined in 7.55. There are two types, of which the first resembles a yes-no question, and the second a wA-question:

Would you like CHocolate, vanilla, or STRAWberry (ice-cream) ? [77] Which ice-cream would you like? CHocolate, vanilla, or STRAWberry? [78]

The first type differs from a yes-no question only in intonation; instead of the final rising tone, it contains a separate nucleus for each alternative: a rise occurs on each item in the list, except the last, on which there is a fall, indicating that the list is complete. The difference of intonation between alternative and yes-no questions is important, in that ignoring it can lead to misunderstanding - as the contrast between these replies indicates:

alternative: a : Shall we go by bus or train ? b : By bus. yes-no: a: Shall we go by bus or train? b: No, let's take the car.

The second type of alternative question is really a compound of two separate questions: a wA-question followed by an elliptical alternative question. Thus [78] might be taken as a reduced version of:

Which ice-cream would you like? Would you like CHocolate, vanilla, or STRAWberry ?

Any positive yes-no question can be converted into an alternative question by adding or not ? or a matching negative clause:

yes-no: Are you coming? alternative- (Are you coming or not?)

- (Are you coming or not?)

'\Are you coming or AREN't you (coming) ?

[79]

[80a]

[80b] 400 The simple sentence

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The alternative variant, by spelling out the negative aspect of the question, is rather petulant in tone, but is otherwise indistinguishable in meaning from the yes-no question.

7.69

The structure of alternative yes-no questions follows the pattern of clausal coordination (9.61 jf)! that is, two or more separate questions are collapsed together, wherever convenient, by ellipsis:

Did fraly win the World Cup or (did) Brazil, (win the World Cup) ?

(Brackets here enclose ellipited elements.) Often the remaining part of a second or subsequent alternative question is fronted to the appropriate position in the first question:

Did fraly or Brazil, win the World Cup?

This type of fronting is also possible for the vacuous negative alternative in [80] above:

Are you or AREn't you coming?

Where there is no repeated structure, no ellipsis is possible, and so the second question appears in its full form:

Is it RAring or has it si6pped?

Minor types of question

7.70

Exclamatory question

We turn now to two minor question types: the exclamatory question, and the rhetorical question. ('Echo questions', which in fact need not be questions in form, will be described later in 7.81-83.)

First, we consider the exclamatory question, which is a question in form, but is functionally like an exclamation (7.78/).

The most characteristic exclamatory question is a negative yes-no question with a final falling instead of rising tone:

Hasn't she gr6wn!

Wasn't it a marvellous concert!

These invite the listener's agreement to something on which the speaker has strong feelings. The meaning, contrary to appearances, is vigorously positive.

A positive yes-no question, also with a falling tone, is another (but less common) way of expressing a strong positive conviction:

'Am 'I HtrNGry! 'Did 'he look anNOYED! 'Has 'she gr6wn! Both operator and subject usually receive emphatic stress.

Here we meet the oddity of pairs of sentences which contrast in terms of negation, but which have roughly the same effect: Has she grown! ffasn't she grown! There is, however, a slight difference: the negative question has, as a feature of its meaning, an appeal for the listener's agreement; it is therefore inappropriate for cases like Am I hungry!, where the experience reported is not shared by the listener. The meanings of each type are roughly represented by these paraphrases:

Wasn't it a marvellous coNcert! - 'What a marvellous c&Ncert it was!\*

Has she gr6wn! - 'She hAs grown 1'

Note

[a] Exclamatory questions of this kind sometimes occur as elliptical replies, in which a speaker affirms his agreement with what another speaker has just said:

a : Her performance in Rigoletto was outstanding. b: Yes, wasn't it.

16] In AmE an exclamatory question can be pronounced with a rising tone:

Wasn't the concert terrific? But in this case, a reply is expected.

7.71

Rhetorical question

Just as the exclamatory question is a question which has the effect of an exclamation, so the rhetorical question is a question which functions as a forceful statement. More precisely, a positive rhetorical question is like a strong negative assertion, while a negative question is like a strong positive one.

positive:

Is that a reason for despair? ('Surely that is not a reason ...') Can anyone doubt the wisdom of this action? ('Surely no one can doubt...')

negative:

Is no one going to defend me? ('Surely someone is going to defend me')

Unlike exclamatory questions, these rhetorical questions have the normal rising intonation of a yes-no question, and are distinguished phonologically only by the unusually low or high starting-point of the rise.

There is also a rhetorical WA-question, which is equivalent to a statement in which the Q-element is replaced by a negative element:

Who knows/cares? ('Nobody knows/cares')

What Difference does it make? ('It makes no difference') 402 The simple sentence  
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Again, the intonation is that of an ordinary WA-question, except that a rise-fall tone is likely.

Commands

7.72

Commands without a subject

We begin with the most common category of command, that which differs from a statement in that

(1) it has no subject,

(2) it has an imperative finite verb (the base form of the verb, without endings for number or tense).

Otherwise, the clause patterns of commands show the same range and ordering of elements as statements:

Type SV: Jump (V)

Type SfC: Be reasonable (V C)

Type SVOA: Put it on the table (V Oa Aplaos)

etc

The imperative verb, however, is severely restricted as to tense, aspect, voice, and modality. There is no tense distinction or perfect aspect, and only very rarely does the progressive form occur:

Be preparing the dinner when he comes in

A passive is equally rare and, except when the auxiliary is some verb other than be, as in Get washed, is restricted to a few set commands:

Be prepared

Be seated

Be reassured by me

These restrictions are connected with the understandable incongruity of combining an imperative with a stative non-agentive verb: \*Sound louder! Modal auxiliaries do not occur at all in imperative sentences.

Commands are apt to sound abrupt unless toned down by markers of politeness such as please: Please eat up your dinner; Shut the door, please. Even this only achieves a minimum degree of ceremony; a more tactful form of request can only be arrived at if one changes the command into a question or a statement: Will you shut the door, please ? I wonder if you would kindly shut the door; I wonder whether 'you would mind shutting the door; etc.

N<sup>o</sup>ta

Stative verbs can be interpreted as dynamic, however, in special contexts: Know the answer by tomorrow! (= 'Get to know. ..', 'Learn...').

7.73

Commands with a subject

It is implied in the meaning of a command that the omitted subject of the imperative verb is the 2nd person pronoun you. This is intuitively clear, but is also confirmed by the occurrence of you as subject of a following tag question (Be quiet, will you), and by the occurrence of yourself and of no other reflexive pronoun as object: Behave yourself, not 'Behave himself etc.

There is, however, a type of command in which the subject you is retained:

You be quiet!

You mind your own business, and leave this to me!

These commands are usually admonitory or 'finger-wagging' in tone, and frequently express strong irritation. As such, they cannot naturally be combined with markers of politeness, such as please: \*Please, you be quiet! They may be used, however, in another way, to single out (by pointing) two or more distinct addressees: You come here, Jack, and you go over there, Mary, A 3rd person subject is also possible:

Somebody open this door Everybody shut their eyes Jack and Susan stand over there

It is easy to confuse the subject, in these commands, with a vocative noun phrase (7.39). Whereas the subject always precedes the verb, however, the vocative (as we saw earlier) is an element that can occur in final and medial, as well as initial, positions in the sentence. Another difference is that the vocative, when initially placed, has a separate tone-unit (typically fall-rise); the subject merely receives ordinary word-stress:

vocative: mary, play on my side

Play on my side, mary

subject : 'Mary play on my side

The distinctness of vocative and imperative subject is confirmed by the possibility of their co-occurrence: jOhn, xyou listen to Mtl

Note

1°] Apart from will you?, other tag questions heard with an imperative are can you? won't you ? can't you ? Also the familiar wA-question why don't you is sometimes appended: Take a rest, why don't you ? tvt me simple sentence

[b] There is uncertainty about the person of a reflexive pronoun after a 3rd person subject: Everyone behave themselves and Everyone behave yourselves both seem acceptable (on the use of a plural substitute pronoun for everyone, see 7.36). With a vocative, in contrast, only the 2nd person reflexive, in agreement with the understood subject, is allowable: Behave yourselves, everybody.

[c] Another confusion easily made is that between a command with you as subject and a statement with you as subject as used, for example, in giving street directions: You go Up there until you reach the bridge, then you turn right \_\_\_It is the unstressed subject of the statement that distinguishes it formally from the com. mand, since the subject of a command is always stressed, even if a pronoun: 'You go up there. Needless to say, the admonitory tone of the command would be quite unsuitable in giving street directions.

7.74

Commands with let

First person imperatives can be formed by preposing the verb let followed by a subject in the objective case:

Let us all work hard Let me have a look

The same applies to 3rd person subjects:

Let each man decide for himself

If anyone shrinks from this action, let him speak now

Except for the let me type, all these are rather archaic and elevated in tone. A colloquial alternative to let us, however, is the common abbreviated form let's;

Let's have a party Let's enjoy ourselves

In very colloquial English, let's is sometimes used for a 1st person singular imperative as well: Let's give you a hand. There are no 2nd person imperatives with let: \*Let you have a look.

Note

This type of imperative, in which let is no more than an introductory particle, should be kept separate from the ordinary 2nd person imperative of let as a transitive verb (12.57). That they are distinct is shown by the fact that Let us go in the sense 'Permit us to go' cannot be abbreviated to Let's go.

7.75 Summary

At this stage, structural types of command may be summarized as follows:

Statements, questions, commands, exclamations 405 1st person 2nd person 3rd person

without subject	—	p] Open the door	—
with subject	without let	fltj open door	You [HI] the Someone open the

				door
	with let	ma Let me open the door Let's open the door	—	[V]Let someone open the door

By far the most common type is the subjectless 2nd person command (Class I).

### 7.76

#### Negative commands

To negate the first three classes of command, one simply adds an initial Don't, replacing assertive by non-assertive forms where necessary:

P] Open the door                      Don't open the door

pi] You open the door                Don't you open the door

[III] Someone open the door    Don't anyone open the door

1st person imperatives, on the other hand, are generally negated by the insertion of not after the pronoun following let:

PV] j j.t    [■not open the door

Informally, however, the negation with Don't is frequently heard, especially in BrE:

PV] Don't let's open the door and the same construction is available for Class V:

fV] Don't let anyone fool himself that he can get away with it

#### Note

W The more formal full form do not can replace don't in a negation of Class I: Do not open the door. It is a curious feature of negations in other classes, however, that the uncontracted form cannot be used: 'Do not you open the door; \*Do not anyone open the door. This suggests that don't, like let, is more of an invariable introductory formula, in commands, than an auxiliary verb.

\o] Negative commands are seldom followed by tags. The only tag operator that seems possible is the positive auxiliary will: Don't make a noise, will you. The fc»8 has a fating tone. 406    The simple sentence

#### T

Statements, questions, commands, exclamations    407

### 7.77

#### Persuasive imperatives

A persuasive or insistent imperative is created by the addition of do (with a nuclear tone) before the main verb;

Do have some more sherry Do let's go to the theatre

This construction only applies to Classes I and IV.

#### Note

[a] Do, like don't and lei's, acts as an introductory imperative marker, and is not identical with the emphatic do of statements (14.47). To see this, notice that neither do nor don't in commands fulfils the strict conditions of (to-periphrasis (3.17); they are not introduced to make good the lack of an operator, but indeed are added to the front



of an operator if one is present: Do be sealed; Don't be silly. (Contrast the unacceptability of \*/fe does be silly!) This peculiarity of imperative do is also found in the quasi-imperative Why don't you construction: Why don't you be careful.

[b] Do, don't, and lei's are used in isolation as elliptical commands:

: Shall I open the door? b: -fX.es'f°. \* VNo, don t.

a: Shall we watch the game? b: Yes, let's.

### Exclamations 7.78

In discussing exclamations as a formal category of sentence, we restrict our attention to the type of exclamatory utterance introduced by what or how.

Exclamations resemble wA-questions in involving the initial placement of an exclamatory wA-element, which may be called the X-element. The syntactic order is therefore upset to the extent that the X-element (which may be object, complement, or adverbial as well as subject) may be taken from its usual (statement) position and put into a position of initial prominence. On the other hand, in contrast to w/i-questions, there is generally no subject-operator inversion:

X-element as subject: What an enormous crowd came! (S V) [81] X-element as

object: What a time we've had today! (Od S V A) [82] X-element as complement:

How delightful her manners

are!(CBSV)

[83]

(How I used to hate geography! (A S V Oa)

[84a]

What a long time we've been waiting! (A S.V)

[84b]

In addition, the X-element, like the Q-element of the M>\*-question, can act as prepositional complement:

What a mess we're in!

and can even occur as a pushdown element of an indirect statement (again like the Q-element, 7.66), although the structure is rare:

What a girl I thought I was going to marry!

It is possible (but again rare) for the prepositional phrase as a whole to occur initially as X-element:

For how many years have I waited!

This example also illustrates the occasional inversion of subject and operator in literary English, particularly with the A S V and O S V patterns.

### 7.79

The range of w/t-words and their functions that can be used in exclamations is far less wide than that available in wA-questions. In fact, it is restricted to what functioning as pre-determiner in a noun phrase, and how functioning as intensifier (of an adjective, adverb, or clause); cf [82], [83], and [84a]. The limitation to these three functions is not surprising when one realizes that the X-word indicates an extreme position on some scale of value, and therefore can only appear at points in the sentence where an expression of degree is possible. Exactly the same functions are

fulfilled (especially in women's speech) by the emphatic degree items such (as a determiner) and so (as intensifier) in statements and questions (14.48):

We've had such a time

Her manners are so delightful

Why did you use to hate geography jo ?

WA-exclamations are very frequently indeed reduced by ellipsis to the single X-element: What a terrible wind! How encouraging!

Note

<sup>TM</sup>ow is like so (in exclamatory utterances) in that when it is an intensifier, it cannot modify an adjective which itself has a premodifying function. Instead of

a hotvls noisy party \*\* must say whatlsuch a noisy party. 408 The simple sentence

Echo utterances 409

Echo utterances

7.80

Echo utterances are utterances which repeat as a whole or in part what has been said by another speaker. They may take the form of any utterance or partial utterance in the language, and to that extent cut right across the division of sentences into statements, questions, commands, and exclamations. On the other hand, all echo utterances are either interrogative or exclamatory in function. Moreover, interrogative echoes bear some of the marks of question classification, in that they can be divided into yes-no and WA-types, the former invariably having rising question intonation. There is little harm, therefore, in simplifying terminology by calling these echo utterances 'echo questions' and 'echo exclamations', so long as we bear in mind that 'question' and 'exclamation' here are contextual rather than formal labels. There are two types of echo question: the recapitulatory echo question and the explicatory echo question.

7.81

Recapitulatory echo questions

A recapitulatory echo question is simply a question which repeats part or all of a message, as a way of having its content confirmed. The simplest type is a yes-no question which merely repeats, with question intonation, what has just been said:

a: I didn't like that meal, b: You didn't like it?

a: The Browns are emigrating, b: Emigrating?

a: Switch the light off, please, b: Switch the Light off?

To make the meaning explicit, one could prefix to each of these questions the words 'Did you say...?'. Sometimes, indeed, a tag clause ... {did) you say ? is added: Switch the Light off, (did) you say ?

There is also a wh- echo question which indicates, by the Q-word, which part of the previous utterance the speaker did not hear:

a: It cost five dollars, b: how much did it cost?

a: He's a dermatologist, b: what is he?

a: We're leaving him here, b: what are you doing with him?

In this case, '... did you say?' could be supplied immediately after the Q-element: How much did you say it cost? These wh- echo questions, as we see above, have a

characteristic intonation pattern: a rising intonation with the nucleus on the Q-word itself.

In the examples above, the Q-element is fronted as in normal wh-questions. But in a variant type of wh-echo question, the statement order is retained:

A: We saw the Marianskis yesterday, b: You saw (the) wh<sup>67</sup> The order where no fronting takes place is obligatory for commands: a: Switch the light off. b: Switch what off?

Although recapitulatory echo questions are ostensibly requests for the repetition of information, they frequently have other functions, such as «to express incredulity, or merely to fill in a conversational gap. They are familiar, or even impolite, in implication unless accompanied by an apology: Sorry, what was his job?

Note

[a] The generalized recapitulatory wA-question what did you say ? is sometimes truncated to the familiar or impolite monosyllable whAt?, just as the alternative formula / beg your pardon ? can be reduced simply to Pardon ? Other abbreviated requests for repetition are Pardon me ? (AmE), Excuse me ? (AmE), and Sorry ? (BrE).

[b] What ? on its own can also express general incredulity:

a: I paid £1000 for that picture, b: whAt? You must be mad.

7.82

Questions about questions

Since an echo question can refer back to any type of utterance, a special case of it is a question about a question, sometimes called 'a question raised to the second power':

a: Have you borrowed my pen? b: (Have I) borrowed your pen? This is a yes-no question about a yes-no question; but in fact, in addition to this there are theoretically three further possible types, all of which do occur:

Yes-no question about wA-question: A: What do you think of the picture?

B: What do I THfNK of it ? Wi-question about yes-no question: a : Have you ever been to Valladolid? b: (Have I ever been) wh<sup>6re</sup>?

^-QUESTION ABOUT wA-QUESTION:

a: How did you enjoy the carnival? b: How did I enjoy whAt?

-----vi y tl,IIV I^U?31IUII&

The second main category of echo question is the explicatory echo Question, which asks for the clarification, rather than the repetition, of

7.83

5\*Plicatory echo questions410 The simple sentence

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something just said. It is always a w/t-question, and is identical to the recapitulatory wA-question, except for the substitution of a falling tone for the rising tone on the Q-word:

a: Take a look at this! b: Take a look at WHAT?

a: He's missed the bus again, b: wh<sup>6</sup>'s missed the bus?

a: Oh dear, I've lost the letter, b: whICh letter have you lost?

The last example could be paraphrased 'Which letter do you mean (rather than 'did you say') you have lost?'. The Q-word replaces some item of definite meaning (eg a personal pronoun) whose reference is unclear in the context.

Note

There are abbreviated forms of these as of other wk- echo questions - a: Look out, there! b : wh£rb ? The general explicatory echo question what may also be noted. Its meaning is roughly 'What do you want?'-A:/oAn.'B: whAt?

7.84

Echo exclamations

The echo exclamation, like the echo question, repeats part or all of a preceding utterance; but in contrast to the rising tone of the echo question, it is characterized by a rising-falling (or high falling) tone. The utterance to be repeated may be a statement, question, command or, for that matter, exclamation:

A: I'm going to London for a holiday.

b: To LONdon! That's not my idea of a rest. a: Have you been to Paris?

b : Been to PARisl I'll say I have! a: Open the door, please.

b : Open the Ddorl Do you take me for the doorman ? A: What a beautiful day!

b : What a beautiful dA T! You must be joking.

Such exclamations, expressing astonishment at what has been said, are very similar in role to the incredulous type of echo question. Indeed, the repetitions italicized above could be spoken either with an exclamatory falling nucleus, or with the rising tone of the echo question.

Either in the echo question or the echo exclamation, one could repeat the earlier utterance with varying degrees of completeness. Thus, rather than To London! in the first example, one could have said You're going to London! Going to London! or simply London! Some irregular subject-predicate constructions are produced in these exchanges:

a: I hear you're a linguist. b: I/me a linguist!

: Ted's going to write the music.

b: Ted write the music? What a splendid idea!

formulaic utterances, greetings, etc

7.85

After examining the four major classes of utterance, we are left with a residue of minor categories which, unavoidably, must be presented as something of a museum of oddments.

1M

Formulae

Many of these remaining types are formulae in the sense that although they may have the appearance of belonging to one of the major classes, they enter into few of the relations of substitutability that are common to members of those classes. For instance, the greeting formula (appropriate to a first meeting) How do you do ? cannot be subordinated as an indirect question {'They asked him how he did) or answered in equivalent statement form (•/ do very well). Two slightly less restricted

kinds of H-A-question are the question without an auxiliary why (+not) + predication:

Why get so upset ? Why not enjoy yourself? and the how/what about type of question: What about the house? How about joining us?

These are not formulaic in the previous sense, but are irregular in that they lack some of the elements normally found in a ic/i-question.

There are also patterns which are defective in terms of regular clause or sentence structure, such as the verbless imperatives:

Off with the lid ! Out with it! Down with him!

To this we may add a number of exclamatory types:

If only I'd listened to my parents!

To think I was once a millionaire!

Oh for a drink! Oh to be free! (archaic except when jocular)

You and your statistics!

Now for some fun!

Apart from such cases, we must notice sentences which contain fossilized elements no longer productively used in present-day English, the old optative subjunctive survives, combined with inversion, in 412 The simple sentence

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Far be it from me to spoil the fun

Suffice it to say we lost

Long live anarchy! (archaic except when jocular)

and without inversion in God save the Queen! Bless you!

Equally, the greeting formula How goes it? (familiar) enshrines an isolated instance of the old subject-verb inversion without Do-periphrasis, A slightly less archaic formula for expressing a wish is may + subject + predication: May the best man win! May you be happy I Note Certain archaic patterns, such as those marked, tend to survive only in jocular use.

7.87

Aphoristic sentences

Among other minor sentence types is the aphoristic sentence structure found in many proverbs:

The more, the merrier Least said, soonest mended Handsome is as handsome does Easy come, easy go

[85]

[86] [87] [88]

These all have one structural feature in common: the balancing of two equivalent constructions against each other. Yet they must all be considered to some extent anomalous; thus in [87] handsome is used on two occasions as if it were a noun; in examples [85] and [86] there is no main verb. Example [85] may be taken as an ellipsis for something like The more there are of us, the merrier we are, a pattern which, although still on the aphoristic model, is at once more explicit and more productive than those of any of the quoted proverbs. This pattern will be dealt with under proportional clauses (11.42).

## 7.88 Greetings, etc

We turn now to greetings and other formulae used for stereotyped communicative situations. Most of these are either grammatically irregular, or grammatically defective, in the sense that only in a very limited way can they be grammatically analysed (eg they cannot be broken down into clause elements S, V, C, A). In the following list we give a few examples of the major types:

greetings: Good morning/evening (formal); Hello; Hi (very familiar)

farewells: Goodbye; Cheerio (familiar, BrE); Cheers (very familiar); See you (very familiar); Bye{-bye) (very familiar); So long (very familiar)

introductions: How do you do? How are you? Glad to meet you

### REACTION SIGNALS:

(a) assent, agreement: Yes; Yeah ([jeiD]; All right; OK (familiar); Certainly; Absolutely; Right

(b) denial: No; Certainly/definitely not; Not likely thanks: Thank you/thanks (very much); Many thanks; Ta (BrE

slang) toasts: Good health! (formal); Your health! (formal); Cheers!

(familiar); Here's to you/your new job/the future seasonal greetings: Merry Christmas; Happy New Year; Happy

birthday; Many happy returns (of your birthday) slogans: Down with/Up with the Scottish Nationalists;

Nixon out; Nixon for ever alarm calls: Help! Fire!

warnings: Mind; (Be) careful; Watch out/H; Look out! apologies: (I'm) sorry; (I beg your) pardon imprecations (very familiar; graded in order from mild blasphemy

to indecency): Blast (you/it)! Oh hell! Damn (you/it)!

Go to hell! Bugger (it/off)! Fuck (you/it/off)! expletives (very familiar; likewise in order of increasing strength):

My! Gosh! (By) Golly! (Good) Heavens! (Good) God!

Good Lord! Christ Almighty! miscellaneous exclamations (familiar):

Faster! Not so fast! Goal! Success! Good! Excellent!

You lucky girl/boy; Well, well; Oh dear; (What a) pity!

Shame! Poor John; Silly boy! Not\*

^°ffle imprecations are imperative in form, but they do not have the structural potentialities of commands. For instance, there are no negative forms \*Don't blast you! Don't bugger it, and no indefinite object such as some students is possible: \* Blast some students!

## 7.89 Interjections

Interjections are purely emotive words which have no referential content. Some of them have phonological features which lie outside the regular system of the language. Whew, for instance, contains a bilabial "cative ([ʃiu], [ʃ:]); tut-tut consists of a series of alveolar clicks, [ʈ], "ther indications of pronunciation are supplied below as necessary. 414 The simple sentence

Block language 416

Oh (surprise); Ah (satisfaction, recognition, etc); Oho (jubilant surprise); Wow (great surprise); Yippee (excitement, delight); Aha (jubilant satisfaction, recognition); Ouch [autf], Ow [au] (pain); Ugh [ax] (disgust); Ooh (pleasure, pain); tut-tut (mild regret,

disapproval); Alas (archaic: sorrow); Uh-huh ('Yes'); Mm (Casual 'Yes'); Hey (call for attention); Eh ? [ei] (impolite request for repetition)

Note

Interjections are sometimes used to initiate utterances: Oh, what a nuisance; Ah, that's perfect, etc

7.90

Block language

We have considered in 7.86-89 many utterances which do not permit or require analysis into elements of clause structure. Apart from formulae of colloquial conversation, however, there is a whole realm of usage where, because of its rudimentary communicative role, language is structured in terms of single words and phrases, rather than in terms of the more highly organized units of the clause.

Language so used may be termed block language. It appears in such functions as labels, titles, headings, notices, and advertisements. Simple block-language messages most often consist of a noun or noun phrase or nominal clause in isolation: no verb is needed, because all else necessary to the understanding of the message is furnished by context. Examples are:

ENTRANCE	ENGLISH DEPARTMENT	danger: falling rocks
PURE LEMON JUICE	FRESH TODAY	HIGHLY RECOMMENDED
A CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH	GRAMMAR OF	WHERE TO GO IN LONDON
HOW TO WIN FRIENDS AND INFLUENCE PEOPLE	THE FIRST LUXURY BOUND COLLECTOR'S EDITION OF AGATHA CHRISTIE'S WORK TO BE AVAILABLE IN THIS COUNTRY	

On a slightly higher communicative level, block language (especially in newspaper headlines) develops its own abbreviated clause structures:

- (1) FILM-STAR MARRIES EX-PRIEST (S V Oj)
- (2) ELECTION A LANDSLIDE FOR SOCIALISTS (S C,)
- (3) NIXON TO MEET ASIAN PREMIERS (S V Oa)
- (4) SHARE PRICES NOW HIGHER THAN EVER (S A C.)
- /o jacklin beaten by bonallack(S VA)
- (6) CHANCES OF MIDDLE-EAST PEACE IMPROVING (S V)

These differ from orthodox clause structures in omitting closed-category words of low information value, such as the articles and the finite forms of the verb be. (For instance, in ordinary discursive English, (2) would read The election is a landslide for the Socialists.) Obviously, the purpose of the omissions is to reduce the length of the message to the smallest number of words compatible with comprehensibility.

Nota

Prohibitions on notice boards often assume the special block-language form of a noun phrase introduced by No: No smoking; No entry: No unauthorized entry after dark.

## Bibliographical nota

The grammar of the simple sentence has been one of the chief concerns of modern grammatical studies. Outlines from the viewpoint of transformational grammar appear, for example, in Chomsky (1965), especially Chapter 2; Jacobs and Rosenbaum (1968), especially Chapters 6 and 10; Langendoen (1970). Notable contributions on specific topics include:

### [A] CLAUSE PATTERNS

Bach (1967); Gleason (1965), especially Chapter 13; Halliday (1967-68).

### [B] CLAUSE ELEMENTS SEMANTICAL-Y CONSIDERED

Anderson (1968); Filimore (1968) and (1969); Halliday (1967-68); Lyons (1968), especially Chapter 8; Nickel (1968) and Olsson (1961) with reference to what is here termed 'effected object' (7.19/).

### [C] NEGATION"

Jackendoff (1969); Jespersen (1917); Klima (1964).

### [D] QUESTIONS

Bolinger (1957); Katz (1968); Maloie (1967). On the intonation of questions see Kingdon (1958), §§103 ff.

### IB} COMMANDS

Bolinger (1967a); Thome (1969).

### [F] BLOCK LANGUAGE (7.90)

Leech (1963); Straumann (1935).

## EIGHT

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Introduction

8.1

Units realizing adverbial functions

This chapter is concerned with the adverbial, an element in clause structure (2.3,2.7-8,7.1,7.12). Adverbial functions are realized by: (1) Adverbs (including adverb phrases, ie phrases with adverbs as their heads):

Peter was playing as well as he could They very often praised Tom We'll stay there  
(2) Noun phrases (less common): Peter was playing last week They praised Tom many TIMES We'll stay next door

(3) Prepositional phrases:

Peter was playing with great skill They praised Tom for his generosity We'll stay at a hotel

(4) Finite verb clauses:

Peter was playing although he was ver y tired when they saw the report, they praised Tom We'll stay where it is convenient

(5) Non-finite verb clauses, in which the verb is

(a) infinitive:

Peter was playing TO win

(b) -ing participle:

making A lot of noise they praised Tom

(c) -edparticiple:

IP URGED BY OUR FRIENDS, we'll Stay

(6) Verbless clauses:

Peter was playing, unaware that his wife was in the AUDIENCE

grateful for his hew, they praised Tom while m London, we'll stay at a hotel

Although it is true that some adverbial functions can be realized by the whole range of structures, others are chiefly realized by only certain structures. For example, connection between clauses is usually effected by adverbs and prepositional phrases. Prepositional phrases are handled in Chapter 6 and clauses in Chapter 11, while in this chapter we concentrate on adverbial functions realized by adverbs.

Note

For adverbs realizing functions other than those of adverbial, see 5.45, 5.51 ff.

8.2

Classes of adverbials

Adverbials can be divided into two classes, distinguished by whether or not they are integrated to some extent into the structure of the clause. Those that are integrated to some extent are termed adjuncts. Those that are peripheral to clause structure are subdivided into disjuncts or conjuncts, the distinction between these two being that conjuncts have primarily a connective function. Fig 8:1 summarizes the distinctions we have just made.

**ADVERBIALS**

integrated in clause structure

peripheral in clause structure

primarily non-connective

**DISJUNCTS**

primarily connective

**CONJUNCTS**

**ADJUNCTS** FigS:1 Adverbials

8.3

Criteria for adjuncts

An adverbial is integrated to some extent in clause structure if it is affected by clausal processes. Three criteria have been selected as diagnostic for adjuncts, that is as evidence that an adverbial is affected by clausal processes and is therefore an adjunct. If an adverbial satisfies one or more of the criteria it is an adjunct.

(1) If an adverbial cannot appear initially in a negative declarative clause, it is an adjunct. For example, although quickly can appear initially in a positive clause, as in Quickly they left for home

s, uisjuneis. coniucls

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it cannot do so if the clause is negative (with the negative particle not or -n't):

\*Quickly they didn't leave for home

Hence, quickly is an adjunct. On the other hand, perhaps is unaffected by whether the clause is positive or negative:

Perhaps they left for home Perhaps they didn't leave for home

(2) If an adverbial can be contrasted with another adverbial in alternative interrogation, it is an adjunct, alternative interrogation showing that the adverbial is the focus of clause interrogation.

For example, the adverbial clause in

He writes to his parents because he wants to  
is an adjunct because it can be contrasted with another adverbial  
in alternative interrogation:

Does he write to his parents because he wants to or does he write to them because he needs money ?

On the other hand, we cannot contrast two j/nre-clauses in this way when the jince-clauses express reason and not time:

\*Does he write to his parents since he wants to or does he write to them since he needs money ?

(3) If an adverbial can be contrasted with another adverbial in alternative negation, it is an adjunct, alternative negation showing that the adverbial is the focus of the clause negation. For example, on Monday is an adjunct in

We went to Chicago on Monday

because it can be contrasted with another adverbial in alternative negation:

We didn't go to Chicago on Monday, but we did go there on Tuesday

On the other hand, we cannot contrast the two prepositional phrases in

\* We didn't go to Chicago, to John's amazement, but we did go there, to Mary's amazement.

Note

[a] Criterion 1 does not apply to an adverbial clause that is sequentially fixed in relation to the superordinate clause (9.31) and therefore cannot appear initially even in a positive clause. For example a clause introduced by resultative so that

He spent very little, so that he had plenty of money cannot be transposed to initial position: \*So that he had plenty of money, he spent very little

The immobility of the so that clause is not an indication of its integration in the superordinate clause (as would be the immobility of an adverb). So that clauses are usually separated intonationally from the preceding clause. In Criterion 1 should in fact be amplified. If the adverbial cannot appear before a negative clause in an independent tone unit with a falling-rising nucleus, it is an adjunct. For example, the adjunct again ('another time \*') can appear initially before a negative clause, but it would usually carry a falling nucleus and it would usually not be in an independent tone unit: a\8-Iix he didn't say anything!

On the other hand, the conjunct again ('I tell you again') usually appears in this position in an independent tone unit with falling-rising nucleus:

a\Ojlih\ he|didn't say ANjthing! The conjunct again is separated by comma punctuation when it occurs initially

(Appiino).

[c] Criterion 1 does not apply to negative clauses with subject-operator inversion. In such cases an initial negative adjunct such as never (c/8.66) itself affects a clausal process and hence demonstrates a measure of integration in clause structure.

8.4

Criteria for disjuncts and conjuncts

Disjuncts and conjuncts satisfy none of the above three criteria. That is to say, the following three statements can be made for both disjuncts and conjuncts:

(1) They can appear initially before a negative clause. Disjunct clauses that are sequentially fixed in relation to superordinate clauses (9.31) are an exception: they cannot, of course, appear initially before even a positive clause.

(2) They cannot be contrasted with another adverbial in alternative interrogation.

(3) They cannot be contrasted with another adverbial in alternative negation.

8.5

Distinction between disjuncts and conjuncts

Conjuncts are distinguished from disjuncts because they have primarily \* connective function. As an index of their connective function, conjuncts cannot serve as a response to a question, whether a tvA-question

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or a yes/no question, even when they are accompanied by yes or no. On the other hand, disjuncts can serve as response to a yes-no question though usually they require to be accompanied by yes or no. For ex.!

He y/iA probably be there tomorrow is a disjunct, since it can be a response:

a: Will he be there? b: Yes, probably. In contrast, therefore in

I sent him a personal invitation. He will therefore be there tomorrow, is a conjunct.

We cannot use therefore in a response:

a: Will he be there tomorrow? b: \*Yes, therefore.

8.6

Syntactic homonyms

It is important to realize that items can belong to more than one class and even to more than one subclass within a class. For example, like his brother is a postmodifying phrase (13.25) in

I once met a man like his brother ('Who resembles') an adjunct in

He writes like his brother ('He writes in the same way as his brother')

and a disjunct in

He is an author, like his brother ('He is like his brother in that he is an author')

It is particularly obvious that many adverbs are syntactic homonyms, that is to say they belong to more than one class or subclass. If we say that an adverb is a disjunct of a certain subclass, we are referring to the adverb in a particular function and ignoring its homonyms. For example, naturally is a disjunct in

Naturally, they are behaving ('of course') and an adjunct in They are behaving naturally ('in a natural manner')

y- yet is a conjunct in I've been waiting outside his door the whole day. Yet I haven't seen him. ('nevertheless') [1]

and an adjunct in

I've been waiting outside his door the whole day. I haven't seen him yet. ('so far1)

[2]

We know that the two instances of naturally and the two instances of yet are different because, in the first place, we understand differently the sentences within each set of sentences.

We can also demonstrate that they are syntactically different and are therefore to be regarded as homonyms. Thus yet ('so far') in [2] is a non-assertive form (7.44 ff, 7.57) and therefore cannot appear in a declarative positive clause:

•I have seen him yet [2a]

On the other hand, it can be moved to another position:

I haven't yet seen him [2b]

though not to a position before the negative particle:

•I have yet not seen him [2c]

In contrast, yet ('nevertheless') in [I] appears before the negative particle. Moreover, the sentence can be made positive:

Yet I have seen him [1a]

However, it is immobile in initial position and cannot be transposed: •I yet have seen him [1b]

•I have seen him yet

[1c]

Our discussion of the two instances of yet demonstrates that we identify an item as a conjunct, disjunct or adjunct (or member of a subclass of these) both by the syntactic features present in its environment and also by the features that are potential to it. And these potential features may be either positive (its ability to accept these features) or negative (its inability to accept these features). When we characterize an item in isolation as a member of a particular class or subclass, we do so on the basis of its potential syntactic features. Note

When the term homonym is used in this chapter, it is used in the sense of syntactic homonym. Our examples show homonymy between an adjunct and a conjunct or disjunct. There appear to be no instances of homonymy between a conjunct and a disjunct. 42S Adjuncts, disjuncts. conjuncts

8.7

Definitions of positional terms

We distinguish four positions of adverbials, in particular for the declarative form of the clause:

/-initial position (/e before the subject) M1 - medial position /: (a) immediately before the operator, or (b)

between two auxiliaries

M2 - medial position 2: (a) immediately before the verb, or (b) before the complement in intensive be clauses E- end position: (a) after an intransitive verb (b)

after an object or

complement

Clauses and most prepositional phrases normally occur in E, though / is not uncommon. M positions are rare for clauses and most prepositional phrases, and when they appear in those positions they are regarded as parenthetical. Mobility (the ability to appear in a range of optional positions) is highest for adverbs and short prepositional phrases (in certain functions), and M1 tends to be restricted to these. If there are no auxiliaries present, M1 and M2 are neutralized: They sometimes watch television Jt

If the subject is ellipsed, / and MI (or both M) positions are neutralized: I've been waiting outside his door the whole day and yet haven't seen him They are bored with television and yet watch it

E includes any position between clause elements after the stated elements, eg:

I paid immediately for the book ,4

" I paid for the book immediately.

v 0

-d

Adjuncts

Syntactic features of adjuncts

8.8

Certain syntactic features are general to adjuncts. Exceptions to these features are noted when subclasses of adjuncts are treated. (1) Adjuncts can come within the scope of clause interrogation and can be the focus of the question. Because of their ability to be the focus of the question, they can be contrasted with one another in alternative interrogation:

Did you see him yesterday or did you see him today ?

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Alternative interrogation is diagnostic criterion (2) for the class of adjuncts (8.3).

(2) Adjuncts can come within the scope of clause negation and can be the focus of the negation (7.49, 7.51). Because of their ability to be the focus of clause negation, they can be contrasted with another item in alternative negation:

They didn't treat him politely, but they did treat him fairly Alternative negation is diagnostic criterion (3) for the class of adjuncts (8.3).

(3) Adjuncts can come within the scope of predication pro-forms or predication ellipsis (10.52 ff). For example, in

John greatly admires Bob, and so does Mary the pro-form in the second clause includes the adjunct of the first clause, the sentence being synonymous with

John greatly admires Bob, and Mary greatly admires Bob. Similarly, these two sentences are synonymous:

Peter will pay back the loan when he gets his salary at the end of the month, but George won't. Peter will pay back the loan when he gets his salary at the end of

the month, but George won't pay back the loan when he gets his salary at the end of the month.

(4) Adjuncts can be the focus of restrictive adverbials such as only

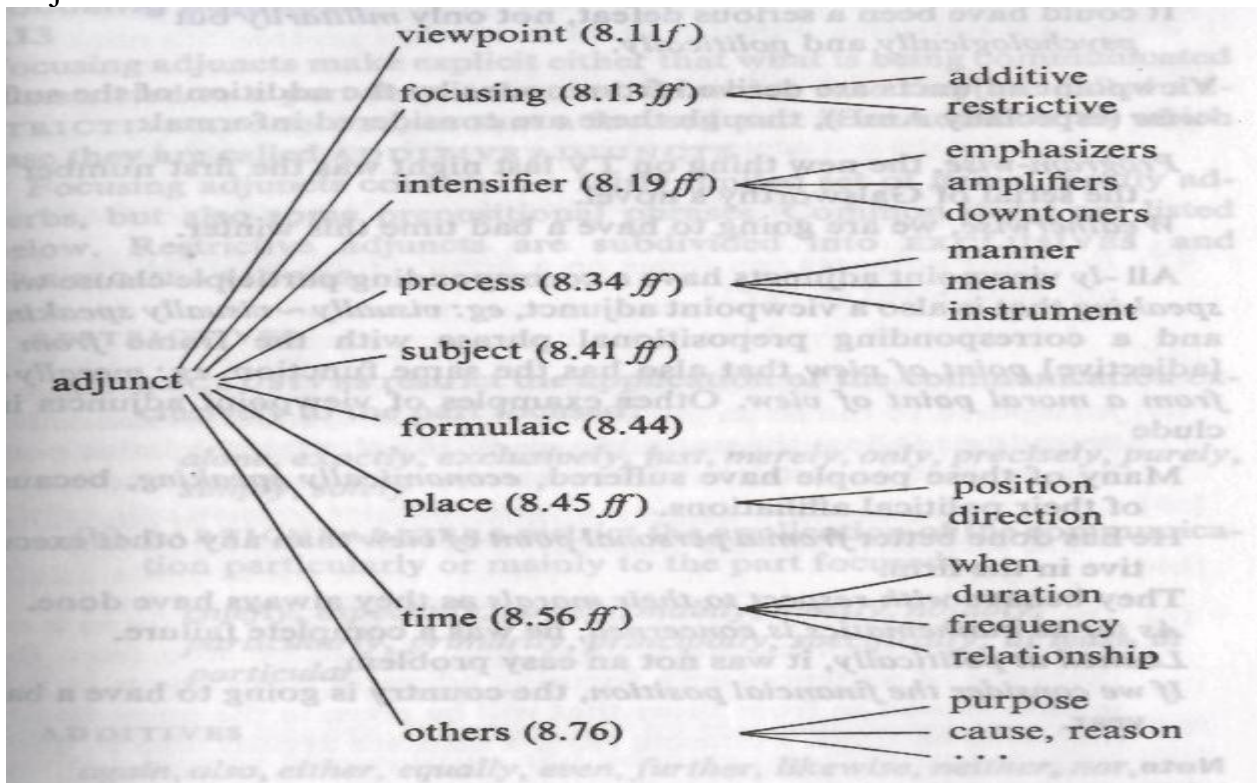
They only want the car for an hour

Only will normally be interpreted as referring specifically to for an hour. That is to say, the sentence is interpreted as meaning that they want the car for an hour and not for longer. If only and the focused adjunct are positioned initially, subject-operator inversion usually takes place:

Only afterwards did he explain why he did it (5) Adjuncts can be the focus of additive adverbials such as also

They will also meet Afterwards

Also will normally be interpreted as referring specifically to afterwards, the sentence implying that they will meet afterwards in addition to some other time previously mentioned or implied. (6) Adjuncts can be the focus of a cleft sentence (14.18): It was when we were in Paris that I first saw John. Adjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts  
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(7) Adjuncts can occur in all types of dependent clauses (cf Chapter 11):

He wanted them to pay in London They started shooting rapidly

Interpreted strictly, the regulation could not be enforced He warned his customers that the clothes were import rejects to avoid any complaints after they had taken their PURCHASES HOME.

8.9

Adverbs as adjuncts

Certain additional features apply mostly to adjuncts realized by adverbs:

(8) Adverb adjuncts can be the focus of clause comparison:

John writes more clearly than his brother does Mary held the baby as expertly as her mother did

(9) Adverb adjuncts can be premodified by however to form the opening of a dependent adverbial clause:

However strongly you feel about it, you should be careful what you say

(10) Adverb adjuncts can be premodified by How, a pro-form for degree intensifies, when it introduces a question or exclamation:

How often does he drink beer? How cautiously he drives!

(11) Adverb adjuncts can be premodified by so followed by subject-operator inversion and a correlative clause:

So monotonously did he speak that everyone left.

8,10

Subclassification of adjuncts



It is convenient to discuss adjuncts under classes that are essentially semantic. The disadvantage in doing so is obvious: we may obscure the syntactic similarities between adjuncts that differ semantically. However, the semantic classes have a mnemonical value and most of the terms applied to them are either in current use or are self-explanatory. Fig 8:2 gives the classes and their subclasses. They will be discussed in the order shown in the figure.

#### Viewpoint adjuncts 8.11

Viewpoint adjuncts can be roughly paraphrased by 'if we consider what we are saying from a [adjective] point of view' or 'if we consider what we are saying from the point of view of [noun phrase]'.

Adverbs realizing viewpoint adjuncts are most commonly derived from adjectives by the addition of an -fy suffix. Examples are:

Visually, it was a powerful play.

Morally, politically, and economically, it is urgent that the government should act more effectively on aid to developing countries. Geographically, ethnically, and linguistically, these islands are closer to the mainland than to their neighbouring islands. To tap a private telephone line is not technically a very difficult

operation. 430 Adjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts

It could have been a serious defeat, not only militarily but psychologically and politically.

Viewpoint adjuncts are derived from nouns by the addition of the suffix -wise (especially AmE), though these are considered informal:

Program-wise, the new thing on TV last night was the first number of the serial of Galsworthy's novel. Weatherwise, we are going to have a bad time this winter.

All -ty viewpoint adjuncts have a corresponding participle clause with speaking that is also a viewpoint adjunct, eg: visually ~ visually speaking, and a corresponding prepositional phrase with the frame from a [adjective] point of view that also has the same function, eg: morally<sup>TM</sup> from a moral point of view. Other examples of viewpoint adjuncts include

Many of these people have suffered, economically speaking, because of their political affiliations.

He has done better from a personal point of view than any other executive in the firm. They behave with respect to their morals as they always have done.

As far as mathematics is concerned, he was a complete failure.

Looked at politically, it was not an easy problem.

If we consider the financial position, the country is going to have a bad year.

Note

[a] The corresponding clause with speaking resembles one of the correspondences for style disjuncts (8. SO/). However, the other correspondences for style disjuncts do not constitute correspondences for viewpoint adjuncts. For example, to speak morally does not correspond to the viewpoint adjuncts morally and morally speaking.

[A] Most viewpoint adjuncts in -wise are now written without hyphens.

8.12

Viewpoint adjuncts, whatever their structure, favour / position (cf§.7). They allow the features general to adjuncts (8.8), except that adverbs functioning as viewpoint adjuncts cannot be modified:

Morally, they have won a victory

• Very morally, they have won a victory

Hence they do not accept clause comparison or the modification possible for many other adverb adjuncts (8.9).

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Focusing adjuncts

8.13

Focusing adjuncts make explicit either that what is being communicated is restricted to a part that is focused, in which case they are called restrictive adjuncts, or that a focused part is an addition, in which case they are called additive adjuncts.

Focusing adjuncts constitute a fairly limited set of items, mostly adverbs, but also some prepositional phrases. Common items are listed below. Restrictive adjuncts are subdivided into exclusives and

PARTICULARIZERS.

RESTRICTIVES

(a) exclusives restrict the application of the communication exclusively to the part focused:

alone, exactly, exclusively, just, merely, only, precisely, purely, simply, solely

(b) particularizers restrict the application of the communication particularly or mainly to the part focused:

chiefly, especially, largely, mainly, mostly, notably, particularly, primarily, principally, specifically; at least, in particular

ADDITIVES

again, also, either, equally, even, further, likewise, neither, nor, similarly, too; as well, in addition

Examples of the use of focusing adjuncts with an indication of the part that is focused:

You can get a B grade just for that answer

only the extremely wealthy customers could afford to buy those

I am SIMPLY asking the time

We judge them purely on the final examination

AT least ten workers reported sick yesterday

especially the girls objected to his manners

The workers, in particular, are dissatisfied with the government

We bought some beer as well

John, likewise, has refused to become a member

even Bob was there

We have not analysed focusing adjuncts as part of the noun phrase in sentences such as 432 Adjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts

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OffL Y the extremely wealthy customers could afford to buy those especiall y the girls objected to his manners

There is strong justification for not doing so:

(1) Focusing adjuncts can focus on pronouns and proper names which otherwise do not accept restrictive modification (c/"13.3):

onl y< . kould afford... \tkeyf~

(2) Focusing adjuncts can focus on a noun phrase to which they are not juxtaposed (8.14/):

I don't want any beer. I onl y want some water.

(3) Even with the subject of the clause, when the focusing adjunct is juxtaposed to the noun phrase, most focusing adjuncts can either precede or follow the noun phrase (8.16), though the latter position tends to be restricted for most adjuncts to spoken English:

onl Y the extremely wealthy customers could afford to buy those. The extremely wealthy customers onl y could afford to buy those.

(4) The focusing process seems to be the same whether the focus is on a noun phrase or on some other unit, as can be seen from the examples of sentences with focusing adjuncts given above in this section as well as from those that will be given in the immediately following sections. Focusing from a distance applies also to units other than noun phrases:

Hurry up with the water. I particularly want some now.

Note

The clausal negative particle not could be regarded as a negative restrictive adjunct, excluding the part of the clause that is focused. For clausal negation, see 7.41-52.

Position and focus 8.14

In spoken English, most focusing adjuncts when positioned between the subject and predicate can usually focus on more than one part of the sentence, the part focused being intonationally marked. For example, the focus of the restrictive adjunct only in

John only phoned Mary today [3]

varies with the intonation we give the sentence:

(John 6Nly)|phoned MARY today| [3a]

= Nobody but John phoned Mary today

Ijohn only PH6NEd Mary today| [3b]

=John did nothing else with respect to Mary but phone her

ijohn only phoned MARY .today| [3c]

=John phoned Mary today but nobody else

Ijohn only phoned Mary IodAy| [3d]

= John phoned Mary today but not at any other time

Similarly, the focus of the additive adjunct also in John also phoned Mary today

[4]

varies with the intonation we give the sentence:

|John Also phoned Mary today| [4a]

=John as well as somebody else phoned Mary today |John also PH6NEd Mary today|

[4b]

=John phoned Mary today in addition to something else he did

with respect to Mary today | John also phoned Mary today |  
[4c]

= John phoned Mary as well as somebody else today | John also phoned Mary today |  
[4d]

= John phoned Mary today as well as at some other time(s)

8.15

Formal written English is influenced by the traditional teaching that urges the placing of restrictive and additive adjuncts in positions that will avoid ambiguity. The positions of only in written sentences such as [3a'] convey unambiguously the interpretations of the corresponding spoken forms in 8.14 such as [3a]:

ONLY John phoned Mary today

= Nobody but John phoned Mary today John phoned only Mary today

= John phoned Mary today but nobody else

John phoned

= John phoned Mary today but not at any other time

And similarly for also:

John, also, phoned Mary today

= John as well as somebody else phoned Mary today John phoned also Mary today

= John phoned Mary as well as somebody else today

[3a'] [3c']

[3d]

[4a'] [4c']

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= John phoned Mary today as well as at some other time(s)

Provided the nucleus is on the focused part, these positions carry the same interpretation in spoken English.

In the written form, the position between the subject and lexical verb results in a triple ambiguity for the sentences:

John only phoned Mary today [3'i]

John also phoned Mary today [4'i]

The adjunct can focus on any of the three elements that follow it. Hence, [3'] can be synonymous with any of the spoken forms [3b], [3c], and [3d], and similarly [4'] can be synonymous with any of the spoken forms [4b], [4c], and [4d]. Moreover, since commas are sometimes omitted from [4a'], [4'] can also be synonymous with [4a']. However, in practice the context usually makes it clear which interpretation is required. In written English, especially in informal varieties, focusing adjuncts are commonly positioned before the verb when they focus on some part of the predicate other than the verb. But ambiguity in written English can be avoided if they are placed immediately before the element in the predicate on which they focus. If that element is at the very end of the predicate then they can be positioned finally. If the focused element is the subject, then an unambiguous written form will depend on the focusing adjunct. Some, like only, can precede the subject, and that position is

unambiguous. Others, like also, must normally follow the subject. If these adjuncts are separated by commas, as in [4a'], they unambiguously focus on the subject.

Note

[a] The focus can be on part of the clause element, eg on the adjective orange rather than on the whole noun phrase orange juice in

I don't like most fruit juices. I only like orange juice. In speech, orange would usually receive extra prosodic prominence.

[b] When the focus is on time when adjuncts like today, [13] can be taken in two senses with certain restrictives like only: (i) John phoned Mary today and at no other time; (ii) John phoned Mary as recently as today.

8.16

Positions of restrictive adjuncts (cfS.7)

Most restrictive adjuncts can either precede or follow the part on which they are focused, though it is more usual for them to precede. Just, merely, purely, and simply normally must precede, and hence final position in the clause is unacceptable or dubious for them:

(\*JUST \_ , r \\*MERELY  
you can get a B grade for that answer | 1% FVRELY  
\\*SIMPLr

They all would have to be preposed:

{just "I MERELY I , ,, , PURELY (f°r tflat anSWer SIMPLY J

On the other hand, alone normally must follow the part on which it is focused:

You can get a B grade for that answer alone

and hence alone as a restrictive adjunct normally does not occur in / position:

"alone ten workers reported sick yesterday though the virtually synonymous only can take either position:

(onl Yten workers "1 , , ,, , ,  
< ,, , J-reported sick yesterday.  
\Ten workers only} f j j

Note

[a] In particular favours a position after the focused part.

[b] Exactly commonly focuses on wA-interrogatives, and precisely does so too, but less commonly:

exactly who is asking for me?

What exactly do you mean?

I know exactly where to find him.

Otherwise, exactly does not precede the subject unless it premodifies a noun phrase with a quantifier, fraction, multiplier, or cardinal numeral:

exactly ten people were present. Just also focuses on wft-interrogatives, but can only precede them:

jesr why do you want it ? Just can also focus on exactly and precisely:

just exactly what do you expect? or on a wA-word also focused by exactly or precisely:

just who exactly are you?

JVst where precisely do you want to go?

[c] The restrictive adjunct only is to be distinguished from the concessive conjunct only (8.89, 8.90).

[d] The restrictives just, merely, simply can freely appear in front of imperative sentences:

(Just ■)

You don't have to be present. < Merely t-send a letter of explanation.

[Simply) 436 Adjuncts, disjuncts. conjuncts

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[will do

Nor and neither can too, when they are used co[relatively: Neither speak to them nor write to them.

8.17

Positions of additive adjuncts (cf 8.7)

The following additive adjuncts normally precede a focused part in the predicate but follow a focused subject:

again, also, equally, similarly, in addition

On the other hand, too and as well normally follow a focused part, wherever in the clause it may be, while even normally precedes:

I know your family has expressed its support. Wc|

what we can for you. Yesterday the Robinsons were here with their new baby. They brought

their other children^°s°WELL

The whole town came out to welcome him home, even his animals

seemed happy to see him again. My father won't give me the money. He won't even lend it to me.

Neither and nor are restricted to / position and either to E position: „ - ., „ „.....

, (NEITHER^ „ .

His father wouldn't give him any money, and j J-would he

lend him any. His father wouldn't give him any money, and he wouldn't lend him any either.

Further seems to be restricted to focusing on the predicate or part of it, and normally precedes:

He argued that men were best for the job. He further argued that some women would be physically harmed by the work.

Compare the use Of again for focusing on the subject (and cf: also, 8.14/):

We can argue that the social sciences should be given priority. this, again, follows from what I said before.

Note

[a] For further examples of additive adjuncts, see 10.22; they should be distinguished from additive conjuncts (8.89).

[b] Even is both additive and concessive (cf 10.37).

[c\ Neither and nor require subject-operator inversion. See 10.22 and 9.55-56. There is an additive adjunct besides, which is not often used (cf 10.22).

8.18

## Syntactic features of focusing adjuncts

Focusing adjuncts differ syntactically in several respects from adjuncts in general. The differences are briefly stated, with a number in parenthesis denoting the numbered feature in 8.8 and 8.9. Focusing adjuncts normally cannot be the focus of other focusing adjuncts (4,5). They cannot be the focus of a cleft sentence (6) or of clause comparison (8), nor can they be premodified by however, how, or so (9-11). While some focusing adjuncts can come within the scope of both interrogation and negation and be the focus of both the question and negation, it usually does not seem possible to frame alternative interrogation or negation with focusing adjuncts (1,2).

Other syntactic features applying to focusing adjuncts:

(1) They cannot be modified: \*very only, \*extremely also

(2) Most of them cannot be coordinated: \*just and exactly, \*equally and likewise.

But we have one cliché coordination:

He is making the suggestion purely and simply for your benefit

Focusing adjuncts are the focus of the question in

Did she see him ONLY once ?

Will they release the major as well ?

and of negation in

They won't punish MERELY John They won't release the major as well

But most additive adjuncts cannot be the focus of negation. Indeed, too cannot even be within the scope of negation while neither and nor themselves effect the negation (cf 10.22). Examples of alternative interrogation with restrictive adjuncts:

Did she see him only once or did she see him more than once? Did she invite merely girls or did she invite also boys ?

Alternative interrogation does not seem plausible with most additive adjuncts, and alternative negation seems implausible with both types of focusing adjuncts.

Certain restrictives can be the focus of an initial not with consequent subject-operator inversion. Besides the normal

He not only protested: he (also) refused to pay his taxes we can also have Not only did he protest: he (also) refused to pay his taxes

Restrictives allowing this subject-operator inversion are

just, merely, only, simply

of which only and merely do so most commonly. The construction implies a correlative clause, with (but) also as common correlatives for the second clause. Not only can appear initially in this construction without subject-operator inversion, with focus on the subject:

NOT ONLY he protested: ... Not even can also occur initially, but without subject-operator inversion;

not even John protested.

Focusing adjuncts can appear within the focal clause of a cleft sentence to focus an item:

(only

It was PARTICULARLY John who protested.

just also

[even

We should distinguish the cleft sentence from a correlative structure which it resembles but from which it differs prosodically:

It was not that John protested; it was merely that he was rude. In the above sentences the adjuncts are functioning within the super-ordinate clause in which the fAof-clause is complement. Restrictives, additives and some disjuncts (eg: possibly, probably) commonly occur in this correlative structure. Other examples:

It's partly that she's good-looking, it's partly that she's clever. It's not that they object to him; it's more probably that they have no interest in him. It's not just that he's young; it's surety that he's inexperienced.

Note

Exactly and precisely are used as comment utterances on a previous declarative sentence: a: He has no business to be there.

\_ (Exactly.

'\Precisely.

But these seem to be related to some implied sentence, such as "That is exactly (precisely) what I feel'. Quite (\*I quite agree\*) is used in the same way in BrE. In AmE right is used to express agreement, and is more common than exactly or precisely-

Intensifiers 8.19

Intensifiers have in common a heightening or lowering effect on some unit in the sentence. In this chapter we are concerned with their effect

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on the force of the predicate in part or in whole, and particularly on the force of the verb. The intensifiers can be divided into three semantic classes:

(1) **emphasizers**

(2) **amplifiers**

(3) **downtoners**

It must be noted that intensifiers are not limited to indicating an 'intensification'; they indicate a point on the intensity scale which may be high or low. Emphasizers have a general heightening effect; amplifiers scale upwards from an assumed norm; downtoners have a lowering effect, usually scaling downwards from an assumed norm. Scaling is possible only when the verb is gradable. The three classes are shown with their subclasses in Fig 8:3. The classification is merely a rough

**INTENSIFIERS**

-emphasizers (eg: definitely)

[maximizers (eg: completely) [boosters (eg: very much)

compromisers (eg: kind of) diminishes (eg: partly) minimizers (eg: hardly)

\_approximators (eg: a/most)

**AMPLIFIERS**

**-DOWNTONERS**

Fig 8:3 Classification of intensifiers

guide to semantic distinctions. This is because (a) the varying effects of intensifiers represent a semantic gradient, which is obscured by a clear-cut division into classes;



(b) some intensifiers are sometimes used for different effects; and (c) speakers vary in their use of intensifiers.

Most of the common intensifiers are adverbs, but there are also some noun phrases and a few prepositional phrases. Note

[o] For intensifying adjectives, see 5.31. For modifying adverbs as intensifiers, see 5.51/5.54-58. [\*] For gradability with reference to adjectives and adverbs, see 5.39, 5.70/.

## Emphasizers 8.20

Common emphasizees include:

[A] actually, certainly, clearly, definitely, indeed, obviously, plainly, \* really, surely: for certain, for sure, of course

[B] frankly, honestly, literally, simply: fairly (BrE), just Adjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts

Group A consists mainly of items that can also function as attitudinal disjuncts expressing the comment that what is being said is true (8.82). Group B consists mainly of items that can also function as style disjuncts conveying the speaker's assertion that he is speaking the unvarnished truth (8.80/). Since it is normally expected that a person intends his hearer to accept what he says as true, the addition of the comment or assertion emphasizes the truth of the communication. When these emphasizees are positioned next to a part of the communication, without being separated intonationally or by punctuation, their effect is often to emphasize that part alone, though there may be ambivalence as to whether the emphasis is on the part or on the whole. Examples of the use of emphasizees:

She plainly likes the dress

I honestly don't know what he wants

I can't really believe him

He actually sat next to her

I just can't understand it

They will surely object to his intervention

They literally tore his arguments to pieces

They obviously don't want it

He fairly jumped for joy (BrE)

I simply don't believe it

They will warn us for sure.

Note

In Group A, for certain and for sure cannot function as attitudinal disjuncts (among other things, they cannot be positioned initially) but are obviously related to certainly and surely respectively in their intensifier uses. In Group B, fairly (BrE) and just cannot function as style disjuncts. However, fairly can be related to the set of style disjuncts to be fair, to put it fairly, etc, for which there happens to be no corresponding adverb, while an association can be seen between simply (simply, style disjunct; / am speaking simply, process adjunct 'in a simple manner'; / simply say, restrictive (8.13)'merely','only', 'just') and just (I just say- restrictive).

## 8.21

Co-occurrence restrictions on emphasizees

While emphasizees in Group A seem to be free to co-occur with any verb or predication, those in Group B tend to be restricted. For example, fairly (BrE) requires some suggestion of exaggeration in the predication:

In her anger, she fairly screamed at him (BrE)

•In her anger, she fairly spoke to him

On the other hand, honestly tends to co-occur with verbs expressing attitude or cognition:

Adjuncts 441

They honestly admire her courage

He honestly believes their accusation

?\*In her anger, she honestly screamed at him

When some emphasizees are used with gradable verbs they may also have a scaling effect akin to that of boosters (8.23):

He really likes her ('He likes her very much')

I indeed appreciate your help ('I greatly appreciate your help')

He definitely impressed them ('He impressed them greatly')

But unlike the boosters, these have a heightening effect with non-gradable verbs too:

He really was there

She indeed sat next to them

We definitely saw it

Other emphasizees tend to have a scaling effect more readily with gradable words that are adjectives and nouns (5.5

He was certainly funny ('He was very funny')

I am frankly appalled at his attitude ('I am extremely appalled ...')

He's obviously a fool ('He's a big fool')

He's clearly a dangerous man ('He's a very dangerous man')

The scaling effect of really and indeed is more obvious with adjectives:

It was really funny He's dangerous indeed

Really is exceptional in its ability to come within the noun phrase: He's a really dangerous man

Truly is like really in this and other respects, but it is formal and much rarer. For some speakers it sounds slightly archaic.

Speakers may vary in the extent to which they feel that all or some of these emphasizees have a scaling effect.

8.22

Syntactic features of emphasizees

Most emphasizees normally precede the item they emphasize (M1 or M2 Positions for verb phrases, c/8.7), but for certain and for sure are exceptional in being postposed. Emphasizees are adjuncts because they cannot appear initially (8.3). However, they differ from many other adjuncts

q

several ways. With reference to the numbered features in 8.8 8.9, emphasizees cannot be contrasted with one another in alternative-442 Adjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts

five interrogation (1) or alternative negation (2); they cannot be the focus of focusing adjuncts (4, 5) or of a cleft sentence (6), nor (in the case of the adverbs) can they be the focus of clause comparison (8) or be pre-modified by however, how or so (9-11). They can, however, come within the scope of predication pro-forms or ellipsis (3).

As several of the examples in 8.20 show, most emphaizers can precede a negated verb phrase, except for fairly (BrE):

They fairly danced for joy at the news (BrE) ♦ They fairly didn't dance for joy at the news

Since for certain and for sure do not precede the verb anyway, they cannot precede clausal negation. Several intensifiers tend to co-occur with clausal negation and precede the verb phrase in such a case, in particular honestly, just, simply. Five emphaizers can lie within the scope of clause negation:

actually, definitely, really, for certain, for sure All of them can become the focus of negation:

I don't really know him He didn't actually sit next to her They don't definitely want it They don't know for certain I can't tell yet/or so&ke

Since actually, definitely, and really can also lie outside the scope of clause negation, we have a contrast between the two possibilities, the scope of negation being marked by the horizontal bracket (7.49):

(I really don't know him ('The real truth is that I don't know him')

I i-----1

I don't really know him ('It's not the real truth that I know him')

("He actually didn't sit next to her ('The actual fact is that he didn't

i\_\_\_\_\_i

sit next to her')

He didn't actually sit next to her ('It's not an actual fact that he i-----1

-----\_-----1

sat next to her') rThey definitely don't want it (' It's definite that they don't want it')

| They don't definitely want it (' It's not definite that they want it')

All the emphaizers except certainly and surely (and probably fairly too) can appear in a question. We can therefore contrast

Adjuncti 443

{'certainly} "surely I definitely I really J

m iQ ^ clectej?

In general, the emphaizers do not appear with imperatives, but some people use actually, definitely, and really with imperatives:

Don't actually hate him for it - it wasn't really his fault

Definitely buy one now.

Make an effort this time. But really make an effort.

The emphazizers cannot be modified or are unlikely- to be modified, with the exception of definitely, which is sometimes premodified by very.

Certain emphazizers not listed in 8.20 appear in restricted environments.

(1) always when preceded by can or could in a positive declarative clause:

You can always sleep on the FL&OR (' You can certainly ...')

The possibility of adding to this sentence an adverbial referring to a specific future time such as tonight rules out the temporal meaning of always.

(2) well when preceded by can, could, may, or might in a positive declarative clause:

(may "1

ItJ "\*\*\* [well be true that he beat her lean (

[could] (It may indeed be true.. .\*)

With some verbs, only certain of these auxiliaries are admi (may T

i \*o»' rel'play for his scho°l

[could) ("It is very possible that he will...')

(3) Realistically when co-occurring with can, could, or might is close to being an emphazizer:

They can realistically be expected to cause trouble (?\*can really")

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Adjuncts 445

(4) needs (rare, literary) when preceded or followed by must in a declarative or interrogative clause. The clause must be positive:

That must needs be their intention (' must inevitably')

(5) necessarily when preceded by must:

A school teacher who wishes to be honest must necessarily prepare his lessons ('must inevitably')

Necessarily otherwise is not a pure emphazizer. It tends to co-occur with the clausal negative particle:

That doesn't necessarily follow ("That doesn't have to follow')

Note

[a] Indeed can be post posed:

I appreciate your help Indeed

This is more common with adjectives (particularly if they are modified by another intensities') and nouns:

He was very tired indeed It was a sacrifice indeed

[b] Readily, easily, with ease, and comfortably (especially when in M positions) come close to being emphazizers. Easily tends to co-occur with the modal auxiliaries.

They readily admitted their guilt

They might easily have been arrested

We will comfortably finish on time

Contrast these with the manner adjunct easily and the manner/result adjunct comfortably in

He writes easily (\* in an easy style\*)

They furnished the place comfortably (' in such a way that it was comfortable')

Amplifiers 8.23

Amplifiers scale upwards. They are divided into (a) maximizers, which can denote the upper extreme of the scale, and (b) boosters, which denote a high degree, a high point on the scale. Boosters are very much an open class, and new expressions are frequently created to replace older ones whose impact has grown stale.

Most amplifiers can be contrasted in alternative negation with to some extent, and this ability is a semantic test for their inclusion in the class of amplifiers:

He didn't ignore my request completely, but he did ignore it to some extent.

They don't admire his music greatly, but they do admire it to some extent.

On the other hand, emphasizeers cannot be so used:

•He didn't really ignore my request, but he did ignore it to some extent. ♦They don't definitely admire his music, but they do admire it to some extent.

Common amplifiers, within these two subclasses, include;

### MAXIMIZERS

absolutely, altogether, completely, entirely, extremely, fully,

perfectly, quite, thoroughly, totally, utterly;

in all respects;

the superlative most

eg They fully appreciate our problems

They thoroughly disapprove of his methods

They totally believed in the leader's integrity

He completely ignored my request

I can perfectly see why you are anxious about it

He entirely agrees with you

We utterly deplore his tactics

I enjoyed the play extremely

I absolutely refuse to listen to your grumbling

He altogether rejects such views

I quite forgot about her birthday

He paid for the damage fully

She hasn't closed the door completely

### Boosters

badly, bitterly, deeply, enormously, far, greatly, heartily, highly, intensely, much, severely, so, strongly, terribly, violently, well; a great deal, a good deal, a lot, by far; exclamatory how; the comparative more

They greatly admire his music

I need a drink badly

They like her very much

They resent him deeply

He bitterly regretted his mistake

I much prefer the old methods

I so wanted to see her ('I wanted to see her so much')

His results far exceeded my expectations

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Adjuncts 447

We all know him well  
 They annoy me a great deal  
 We miss our old friends a lot  
 How they suffered! (' How very much they suffered!')

The distinction between maximizers and boosters is not an absolute one. In particular, when maximizers are in M2 position they often express a very high degree, whereas when they are in E position they are more likely to convey their literal meaning of an extreme degree. For example, many speakers may see very little difference in force between the maximizer utterly and the booster violently when these are in M2 position:

Speakers vary in whether they give a literal reading to the maximizer, and the tendency to use the maximizer for merely a high degree is greater for attitudinal verbs such as detest.

8.24

#### Modification and comparison of maximizers

If the maximizers are interpreted literally as expressing the extreme on a scale, they cannot themselves be modified or compared for degree. Modification and comparison is inapplicable to prepositional phrases and most adverbs not ending in -ly (altogether, quite, most). With the other adverbs there is considerable variation in usage, with the semantic class of verb as a further variable. We exemplify the variation by taking the first nine sentences in 8.23 that illustrate the use of maximizers and testing the maximizers in them for modification and comparison. We consider four possibilities:

[I] premodification of the maximizer by how, introducing a question or exclamation, eg:

How thoroughly do they disapprove of his methods ? How utterly we deplore his tactics!

[II] premodification of the maximizer by however to form the opening of a dependent adverbial clause, eg:

However totally they believed in the leader's integrity, they were prepared to examine his actions dispassionately.

[III] the maximizer as the focus of clause comparison, eg: He ignored my request more completely than she did

[IV] premodification of the maximizer by very, eg: They very fully appreciate our problems

Table 8:1

#### MODIFICATION AND COMPARISON OF MAXIMIZERS

	I	II	III	IV
	MOW	HOWEV	MORE	THAN
		ER	VERY	
fully	4-	4-	4-	4-
thoroughl	4-	4-	4-	+
y				
totally	4-	4-	4-	7

completely	4-	4-	4-	7
perfectly	+	4-	7	7
entirely	4-	+	1	m -
utterly	4-	4-		
extremely	?	?	-	-
absolutely	—		-	-

Table 8:1 gives the results of the testing. As can be seen from the table, it is possible to use fully and thoroughly to denote a very high point on the scale. The queries in the table indicate an area of divided usage. There is a prescriptive tradition forbidding the use of very or the comparative with completely and perfectly and with their respective adjective forms.

Indeed, similar restrictions on modification and comparison apply to the adjective bases of these adverbs, though they are not identical. Table 8:2 lists these adjective bases and shows the results of tests on them for modification by more and by very. Modification by how and however coincides with that for more.

Table 8:2

#### IDENTIFICATION AND COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVE BASES OF MAXIMIZERS

full

thorough total

MORE

4-

VERY

Perfect

entire

water

extreme

absolute 448 Adjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts

The queries represent in part divided usage. But the acceptability of the modifiers with these intensifying adjectives (5.31) also depends on the noun. If the noun is abstract and derived from a verb, it seems more acceptable to modify the adjective by more or very. Contrast

„ , . (^investigation

I have never seen a more completed ?+, . "

„ , \_ . (" {understanding of the problem

He has a very perfect^ „ . „ „ , . „ „ „ „

„ Jr L Vrtght to do what he likes

The item may have a homonym that is not an intensifying adjective and there need not then be any problem of modification:

He expressed very extreme views

His views on the subject are more extreme \ (extreme = radical) than mine

Co-occurrence restrictions on amplifiers

Certain amplifiers tend to co-occur predominantly with certain verbs, for example:

entirely+agree badly+need, want I completely+forget They greatly ■+-admire, enjoy

In other cases the amplifiers select a semantic class of verbs, for example greatly with verbs having a favourable implication and utterly with verbs having an unfavourable implication. Or some intensifiers, such as deeply, select the class of 'emotive' verbs:

They wounded him deeply (emotional wounding) They wounded him badly (physical wounding)

Even when there is an item-class selectivity, the amplifier may be unable to select all the items in the class. We have

deeply + hate, dislike, admire, love, value but not \*deeply like

Further investigation may also show that semantically-definable classes of amplifiers tend to co-occur with semantically-definable classes of verbs.

Adjuncts 449

But the situation can be even more complicated. Sometimes there are syntactic conditions for certain types of lexical co-occurrence. Much is largely used in non-assertives, unless premodified:

•I like him much

(

I like him so \much

\*

[too ]

,

Do you like him much ?

r?

I don't like him much

^

Yet with some verbs, unpremodified much can be used, but only in M2 position:

{prefer his offer admire your technique appreciate your invitation regret the inconvenience

(prefer his offer

\*Wei a<^m're your technique I appreciate your invitation I [regret the inconvenience

Note

Very much miss is another example of the selection of the gradable sense of a verb.

While

They missed her

b ambiguous between the 'emotive\*' sense ('feel sorry or unhappy at the loss or absence of) and the sense of 'arriving too late for\*', the addition of very much allows only the emotive sense:

They very much missed her They missed her very much

Where the emotive sense would not be normal, very much cannot be added:

♦xk^ . . i . j .u (very much missed the bus They got up late, and so they- {

.....

I missed the bus very much

Non-emotive miss is non-gradable.

8.26

Amplifiers co-occur only with gradable verbs. Emphasizers can co-occur with non-gradable verbs such as drink or judge:



He really drinks beer

He will definitely judge us

When amplifier items co-occur with non-gradable verbs they do not

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function as amplifiers, but as quantifiers, duratives or frequentative! (8.33) or process adjuncts (8.34 jf):

He drinks beer a lot ('often')

He will judge us severely ('in a severe manner')

However, a non-gradable verb can become gradable when the focus is on the result of the process rather than on the process itself. For example, if the perfective particle up is added to drink or the perfective aspect of the verb is used, the focus is on the result and an amplifier such as completely can co-occur with drink :

He completely drank up his beer He has completely drunk his beer

Similarly, while judge is non-gradable, misjudge is gradable, since misjudge is concerned with the result of the judging:

\*.. (Very much"). , ... ,, .. \*He<. ' nudged the situation

HeJ, ^ [-misjudged the situation

And if badly is used with judge, it is interpreted as a process adjunct (perhaps expressing a blend of process with result) and must be put in E position:

He judged the situation badly ('in a way that was bad and with bad results')

Note

The gradable/non-gradable distinction between judge and misjudge is found in other morphologically-related verbs:

8.27

Positions of amplifiers (c/8.7)

M2 and E positions are open to most adverbs that are amplifiers; noun phrases and prepositional phrases are restricted to E position. In positive declarative clauses, M2 position is favoured for both boosters and maximizers when we want to express a scaling upwards, but E position is preferred for maximizers when we want to denote literally the upper

NON- GRADABLE

GRADABLE

LE

calculate miscalculate

estimate overestimate,  
underestimate

rate overrate, underrate

represent misrepresent

behave misbehave

manage mismanage

«fc« ■!=■«» jwam Adjuncts 451

extreme of the scale. Hence, the effect of the maximizer completely in \f2 position in

He completely denied it

is close to that of the booster strongly or the emphasizer really, which can have a scaling effect similar to that of boosters (8.21):

On the other hand, when completely is in E position:

He denied it completely the intention seems to be closer to

He denied all of it

Where the literal meaning is expected, some people find only E position acceptable:

?He completely dissected the animal TThey completely shared the apartment

He dissected the animal completely ('into all the prescribed parts') They shared the apartment completely ('the whole of the apartment')

We can also contrast the probable interpretations of violently in the two positions shown in

They violently attacked him They attacked him violently

In M position, violently is likely to be interpreted as a booster (=greatly) and, attacked will then be equivalent to 'condemned', a verbal assault. On the other hand, when violently is in E position, we are likely to interpret it literally (=with violence) as a manner process adjunct (8-34 ff) with attacked now referring to physical assault.

In negative, interrogative, and imperative clauses, E position is normal in all cases.

Note

M The adverbs extremely, most, and (when no comparative clause follows) more are restricted to E position. Exclamatory how, of course, appears only at the beginning of the sentence.

! Some adverb boosters (including well) occasionally appear in MI position, usually (but not necessarily) when they are themselves intensified or before an emphatic auxiliary:

I very much would prefer to see you tomorrow

I jo did want to meet them

I well can understand your problem<sup>452</sup> Adjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts

MI position is common for very much in very much would like, though some find it odd: 71 very much would like to speak to you some time today.

8.28

Syntactic features of amplifiers

With reference to the numbered features in 8.8 and 8.9, amplifiers can be contrasted with other intensifiers in alternative interrogation and negation (1,2) and can come within the scope of predication pro-forms or ellipsis (3). On the other hand, they cannot be the focus of a cleft sentence (6):

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\*It was completely that he ignored your request

But for some people, they can be the focus of a cleft sentence if they are modified or if the focal clause is interrogative or negative (cf 8.31, 8.39, 8.64):

?Was it completely that he ignored your request?

?I know that it wasn't entirely that he agreed with us

?I wonder how fully it was that they appreciated your problems

Most boosters accept comparison and modification (8-11), but maximizers vary in this respect (8.24).

Amplifiers do not usually serve as a response to a How question, unlike some process adjuncts (8.34 ff):

•How do they admire his music ? (They admire it) < \_ , 3 v J  
'{Greatly.

How do you like it? (I like it){ ^jj}"^'

They can often be evoked by How much: How much do they admire his music?  
(They admire it) Greatly.

Downtoners

8.29

Downtoners have a lowering effect on the force of the verb and many of them scale gradable verbs. Downtoners can be divided into four groups:

(a) compromisers have only a slight lowering effect

(b) DIMINISHERS  
, ' J-scale downwards considerably

(c) MINIMIZERS ) J

(d) approximators serve to express an approximation to the force of the verb, while indicating its non-application

The four groups represent semantic distinctions among downtoners,

but the assignment of individual downtoners to particular groups is not beyond dispute. Common downtoners include

(a) COMPROMISERS

J. Minformal, especially AmE) sort of y

qUltf ^especially BrE) ratherly

enough, sufficiently, more or less

eg I kind o/"like him (informal, especially AmE)

As he was walking along, he sort of stopped and fell flat on his face (informal, especially AmE)

I quite enjoyed the party, but I've been to better ones (especially BrE)

I'm sure you'll like her well enough

He more or less resented their interference

(b) DIMINISHERS

mildly, moderately, partially, partly, slightly, somewhat; in part, in some respects, to some extent; a little, least (of all)

eg The incident somewhat influenced his actions in later life We know them slightly I partly agree with you They have always mildly disliked him They moderately prefer coffee to tea I can admire his courage to some extent

(c) MINIMIZERS

a bit

negatives (7.48): barely, hardly, little, scarcely;

non-assertives (7.45): in the least, in the slightest, at all

eg I can scarcely ignore his views I didn't enjoy it in the least He little realizes what trouble he has caused They don't support him at all I don't like his attitude a bit We don't mind in the slightest

(d) approximators

almost, nearly, practically (informal), virtually, as good as, all but

eg I almost resigned

He virtually dictated the terms of the settlement<sup>454</sup> Adjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts

They practically forced him to resign They as good as ruined the school She all but kissed us

There are a number of noun phrases that can be minimizers only in negative clauses, eg

I didn't sleep a wink last night I don't owe you a thing

See 7.45 for other examples.

Note

[a] For (the distinction between little and a little, see 4.25 Note d.

[b] Some speakers use kind of and sort of as approximators with non-gradable verbs:

He sort of smiled at us (=You could almost say he smiled at us) He kind of fell down (=You could almost say he fell down) When they are used as approximators, we can say (e/8.30):

He sort of smiled at us, but in fact he didn't smile at us He kind of fell down, but in fact he didn't fall down

For other speakers, they are always nearer to more or less than to almost. Both uses are very informal and especially common in AmE.

8.30

Approximators differ from most other downtoners in that they imply a denial of the truth-value of what is denoted by the verb. Hence we can say, with the approximator almost,

I almost resigned, but in fact I didn't resign

But we cannot deny in this way the truth-value of what is said when we use most other downtoners:

- I kind of like him, but in fact I don't like him
- We know them slightly, but in fact we don't know them

The negative minimizers differ from both approximators and other downtoners in allowing for a revision that is intended to be a version that is more strictly true rather than to be a denial of the truth-value of what has been said: ... I ignore his views; in fact I can't ignore his views.

I can barely understand him; in fact I can't understand him.

He little realizes the trouble he has caused; in fact he doesn't realize it.

In each case, the second clause carries the partial denial in the first clause to a full denial.

Adjuncts 455

Compromisers reach out towards an assumed norm but at the same time reduce the force of the verb. If we say I kind of like him (informal, especially AmE)

or I rather like him (especially BrE)

we do not deny liking him. But we seem to be deprecating what we are saying, 'I might go as far as to say I like him'.

The difference between diminishers and minimizers is not the nearness to the bottom of the scale, though most minimizers are indeed near the bottom. They are

distinguished in their behaviour with respect to negation. Diminishers are not usually the focus of negation, but when they are, the effect is to push the scaling towards the top. For example, with fall-rise nuclei:

They didn't praise him siJGHTly ('They praised him a lot')

We don't like it a iJrtle ('We like it a lot')

On the other hand, the effect of negation on those minimizers that accept negation is to deny the truth-value of what is denoted by the verb (with falling nuclei):

They didn't praise' him in the SLIGHTest ('They didn't praise him\*') We don't like it a bIt ('We don't like it1')

Four of the minimizers - barely, hardly, little, scarcely - form a subgroup. They are themselves negative (7.48) and cannot be negated (c/ 8.66). On the rare occasions when they are positioned initially, there is subject-operator inversion. Of these four, hardly, scarcely, and barely can co-occur with non-assertives or with minimizers like a wink or a thing;

(scarcely] ,... , ,, tu ft a , (it at all

They-i hardly >need- { ,,

11 i I lathing

[barely J \* \*

/ scarcely slept a wink

For some people, the co-occurrence of these non-assertives or minimizers is marginally acceptable with barely.

Certain minimizers not listed above appear in restricted environments (c/8.22):

(1) possibly and conceivably when they co-occur with can or could in a non-assertive clause:

They can't possibly leave now ('They can't under any circumstances leave now') Can he conceivably want it ? (' Can he in any way want it ?') 456 Adjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts

This use of possibly and conceivably is to be distinguished from their use as disjuncts (8.82 jf). Contrast:

They can't possibly leave now (minimizer) They possibly can't leave now (disjunct - 'It's possible that they can't leave now')

(2) never is a negative minimizer in

You will never catch the train tonight ('You will not under any circumstances catch the train tonight1')

The presence of an adverbial referring to a specific future time such as tonight rules out the temporal meaning of never (cf: always in 8.22). In non-assertive clauses ever can replace never as minimizer:

Will he(\*"Br Igo to bed tonight? {never)° °^

8.31

Syntactic features of downtoners

With reference to the numbered features in 8.8 and 8.9, some downtoners can lie within the scope of clause interrogation and negation (1, 2). Exceptions include the compromisers kind of, sort of, rather, more or less; the minimizer negatives; and most approximators. The focus of clause negation can be on the compromiser quite, the diminishers, and the approximators almost and nearly, but only when the negation is

a denial of a previous assertion. Contrast in alternative interrogation or negation seems possible only for the compromisers enough and sufficiently, for the diminishers, and for the approximators almost and nearly.

Downtoners come within the scope of predication pro-forms or ellipsis (3). Some downtoners can be focused by only (4). These include all the diminishers (excluding least), and the minimizers barely and a bit-The same downtoners can be the focus of a cleft sentence (6) under the same conditions as for amplifiers (8.28). None of the downtoners can be the focus of also (5). Only diminisher adverbs and the minimizer little can be the focus of clause comparison or be premodified (8-11). For example:  
(kind of compromisers |

partly

in part

. at

at some respects to some extent

Adjuncts 457

approximators

almost

A few downtoners can precede a negative verb phrase:

I almost didn't meet him

He sort of didn't want to say anything about it (informal, especially, AmE)

Many downtoners can serve as the response to a question introduced by how much.

Exceptions include most compromisers (except enough and sufficiently), the non-assertive minimizers (unless preceded by not), and all the approximators.

Nota

In informal style (especially BrB) rather can be a response to a yes-no question, but it then equals an enthusiastic yes:

a: Will you come with me? BiRAther.

Quite (especially BrE) can be a comment on a previous statement, synonymous with exactly and precisely (8.18 Note):

a: He has no right to object, b: quite.

8.32

Positions of downtoners (c/8.7)

Most downtoners favour M2 position but can also occur in E. Some are restricted to M2:

quite, rather, as good as, all but

Others tend to be restricted either to M2 or to M/(b), the latter being the position between two auxiliaries:

barely, hardly, scarcely, practically, virtually Hence we may have

He could hardly be described as an expert

He will virtually have finished by the time they arrive

On the other hand, A/i(a), the position immediately before the operator, is unacceptable to many:

'He hardly could be described as an expert

?He virtually will have finished by the time they arrive

A few are restricted to M2 in a positive clause, but can precede a negative phrase in Mi (8.31):

kind of, sort of, almost, nearly 458 Adjuncts, disjuncts. conjuncts

A few others favour E position:

a bit, at all or are restricted to E:

enough, a little On the other hand, a few diminishers can occupy even /;

partly\ in part, in some respects, to some extent

8.33

Homonyms of intensifiers: quantifiers, frequentatives, duratives It is convenient to mention at this point that many items that are intensifiers are also used to denote a measure of quantity or of duration or frequency in time. These intensifiers include all the minimizers

the compromisers enough, sufficiently

the boosters much, a lot, a good deal, a great deal

the diminishers a little, least, somewhat, to some extent

We can therefore contrast several uses of (say) a lot:

I like them a lot ('to a great extent' - booster intensifier) I paid him a lot for his work ('a large amount' - quantifier) I see him a lot ('often' - frequentative) I slept a lot last night ('a long time' - durative)

In all of these uses, a lot can be evoked as an answer to the question how much ? but in addition the frequentative can be a response to a how often question ('How often do you see him?'), and the durative to a how long question ('How long did you sleep last night?').

There can be ambiguities as a result of more than one of these uses being allowed in a given instance: He doesn't drink very much ('a very large amount' - quantifier, or 'very often' - frequentative) She suffered very little ('to a small extent' - diminisher intensifier,

or 'rarely' - frequentative) They scarcely disagreed with him ('to a minimal extent' - minimizer

intensifier, or 'rarely' - frequentative)

He irritated me enough last night ('to a sufficient extent' - booster intensifier, or 'sufficiently often' - frequentative, or 'for a sufficiently long time' - durative) Some of the quantifiers must be analysed as direct objects rather than as

Adjuncts 459

adjuncts, because they can be made the subject of the passive form of the sentence:

I paid him a lot for his work ^-> A lot was paid him (by me) for his work

He drank enough <-> Enough was drunk (by him) They wrote a bit about conditions in their city <-> A bit was written

(by them) about conditions in their city

Others cannot be made subject:

I scarcely paid him for his work ~ 'Scarcely was paid (by me) for his work

He drank sufficiently ~ \*Sufficiently was drunk (by him) They wrote somewhat about conditions in their city ~ \* Somewhat was written (by them) about conditions in their city

Those that can be made subject can also be evoked by a what question. They can be the head of a noun phrase postmodified by a prepositional phrase:

very little enough a lot

a bit

a good deal

>of the work

Note

[a] For the relationship between quantifiers and frequentatives see 8.67.

[b] Many intensifiers, particularly boosters, have homonymous process adjuncts <8.34#>:

He bitterly regretted his mistake (booster intensifier)

He spoke bitterly about the way he had been treated (' in a bitter manner' - manner process adjunct) See also 8.37 for the possibility of a blend of intensifier with process adjunct.

Process adjuncts 8.34

Process adjuncts define in some way the process denoted by the verb. They can be divided into at least three semantic subclasses:

(a) MANNER

(b) MEANS

(c) INSTRUMENT

Manner adjuncts constitute by far the largest group to be realized by adverbs. For common pro-forms for process adjuncts (particularly (<<) that way, like that), see 10.51.

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8.35

Manner adjuncts

EXAMPLES OF THE USE OF MANNER ADJUNCTS!

She spoke to him coldly

They sprayed tear gas indiscriminately on the protesters

They were categorically told that no more oil would come from the wreck

Nixon spoke Johnson-style at the press conference They are deluded if they think otherwise Her influence showed itself more obviously in the colours of the furniture and curtains They began arguing loudly He failed to question the witness thoroughly He repaired the house like an expert She replied to questions with great courtesy He spoke in a way that reminded me of his father They played the game (in) a different way She dances (in) the same way as I do They cook ((in) the) French style He always writes in a carefree manner They walked (in) single file You should write as I tell you to



Manner adjuncts are realized most commonly by adverbs and prepositional phrases (6.39) and less commonly by noun phrases and clauses (11.41).

Noun phrases with way, manner, and style as head tend to have the definite article:

{the way I like . Uhe~\ \n< >way I like

As the above example illustrates, we can regard such noun phrases as having omitted the preposition in (c/6.32/, 8.36, 8.37).

An adverb manner adjunct can usually be paraphrased by in a ... manner or in a ... way with its adjective base in the vacant position. Where an adverb form exists, it is usually preferred over a corresponding prepositional phrase with manner or way. Hence,

He always writes carelessly

is more usual than

... .. , (manner

He always writes in a careless\*.

J {way

fiiiifo ,«Wfi Adjuncts 461

On the other hand, there is probably no difference in frequency with other types of corresponding prepositional phrases:

j (fervently He prayed-r . . ,

r {withfervour

, (animatedly She spoke .. . ' . r {with animation

Adverbs as manner adjuncts can often serve as the response to a How question (c/8.28, 8.36):

a: How did Nixon speak at the press conference? b: Johnson-style.

But other units as manner adjuncts can more easily serve as responses:

a: How does she dance ? b: The same way as I do.

A: How should I write to him ? b: As a friend would write.

a: How do they cook? b; In the French style.

The main method of forming manner adverbs is by adding an -ly suffix to an adjective. Three minor methods are by adding -wise, -style, or -fashion to a noun:

snake-wise Indian-wise

French-style cowboy-style

schoolboy-fashion peasant-fashion

With these forms the prepositional paraphrase would include post-modification :

a snake

an Indian

the French

cowboys

schoolboys

peasants

in the manner of

See App 1.30.

8.36

Means and instrument adjuncts

EXAMPLES OF THE USE OF MEANS ADJUNCTS:

These linguistic units were separated intonationally

He decided to treat the patient surgically

I go to school by car

He gained entry into the building by means of a bribe to the guard

You can best influence them by your own example

You can stop the machine by pressing this button

462 Adjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts

EXAMPLES OF THE USE OF INSTRUMENT ADJUNCTS:

He examined the specimen microscopically You can cut the bread with that knife He was killed with a bullet

Most means and instrument adjuncts are prepositional phrases (c/ 6.40 /). Like manner adjuncts, these adjuncts can serve as a response to a How question.

Some noun phrases function as means adjuncts. We can consider them as related to prepositional phrases (c/8.35):

He sent it (by) air mail

He travelled to Washington (by) first class.

Note

The adjunct in He examined the specimen microscopically can be either instrumental ('with a microscope') or manner ('in microscopic detail'). It is also possible to interpret it as expressing means ('by means of a microscope').

8.37

Semantic blends

Some adjuncts express a blend of manner with some other effect.

(1) MANNER WITH RESULT, AND SOMETIMES INTENSIFICATION!

He fixed it perfectly ('in such a way that it was perfect' -manner and result) He plays football well ('in such a way that the results are good' -manner and result) The soldiers wounded him badly ('in such a way and to such an extent that it resulted in his being in a bad condition' -manner, booster intensifies result)

(2) MANNER WITH TIME DURATION (r/8.60):

He's walking slowly ('in a way that is slow in time')

He stopped the car suddenly ('in a way that took a very short time') They broke the news to him gradually ('in a way that was spread over a period of time')

Such items are more fully time adjuncts when they appear in / or M2 positions:

Suddenly, I felt free again ('it suddenly happened')

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My brother quickly despised his school ('soon'; \* My brother quickly came to despise')

We gradually appreciated his contribution to society ('We gradually came to appreciate')

Noun phrases and prepositional phrases that seem at first sight to be equivalent to adverbs may be less flexible than the adverbs in this respect:

All of a sudden, I felt free again ('it suddenly happened') 7He stopped the car all of a sudden ('in a way that took a very short time')

He is now going (at) full speed ('in a way that is very quick in time'; cf 8.35 for the omission of prepositions) • At full speed my brother despised his school. Note

There are some adverbials that seem to be process adjuncts, but do not fit into any of the descriptions that we have given, eg

They approved the contract generally [or in general], but objected to a few clauses

She directed the work personally [or in person]

'It's empty,' he announced superfluously

These proposals come strangely from someone in his position

He bought it cheaply

In the last example, cheaply is regarded by some as a hypercorrection and is often replaced by the adjective form cheap. See also S.S7 Note e.

8.38

Co-occurrence restrictions on process adjuncts

Process adjuncts co-occur with dynamic verbs, but do not co-occur with stative verbs (3.40/). Hence, adverbials that function only as process adjuncts cannot co-occur with stative verbs:

He likes them \ 'skilfully He owns it \ ^\*awkwardly

Process adjuncts, of course, cannot be used as adverbials with intensive verbs:

He is a teacher 1 ,, , ,, ,, ,,

They seem happy HI™1' ,, She looks angry /Inwardly

8.39

Syntactic features of process adjuncts

With reference to the numbered features in 8.8 and 8.9, process adjuncts can be contrasted with one another in alternative interrogation and 464 Adjuncts, adjuncts, conjuncts

negation (1, 2) and can come within the scope of predication pro-forms or predication ellipsis (3). They can be the focus of also (5) and of only (4). Normally, manner adjuncts cannot be the focus of a cleft sentence (6) but their acceptability seems to increase for some people if they are modified or if the focal clause is interrogative or negative (c/8.28, 8.31, 8.64):

\*It was categorically that they were told that no more oil would come

from the wreck Was it categorically that they were told that no more oil would come from the wreck ?

?It's in the French style that they cook It isn't in the French style that they cook 7It was loudly that they argued It was so very loudly that they argued

On the other hand, means and instrument adjuncts can readily become the focus of a cleft sentence:

It was intonationally that these linguistic units were separated It was by a bullet that he was killed

Adverbs that are manner adjuncts can be the focus of clause comparison and can be premodified by however, how and jo (8-11). Adverbs expressing means or instrument do not allow these features, since they cannot be modified at all. Hence, microscopically in

He examined the specimen very microscopically  
can only be a manner adjunct ('in microscopic detail'), although without the premodifier very it can be a means or instrument adjunct (cf 8.36). The inability of means and instrument adverbs to be modified presumably relates to their derivation from non-gradable nouns.

#### 8.40

Positions of process adjuncts (cf 8.7)

Process adjuncts favour E position, since they usually receive the information focus. Indeed, no other position is likely if the process adjunct is obligatory for the verb and, therefore, the meaning of the verb is completed by the adjunct:

(They live frugally \\*They frugally live

/They treated his friend badly \\*They badly treated his friend

Since the passive is often used when the need is felt to focus attention

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on the verb, process adjuncts are commonly placed in M2 rather than in £ when the verb is in the passive:

Discussions were formally opened today on the question of

international disarmament Tear gas was indiscriminately sprayed on the protesters

Contrast also

He put the point well

•He well put the point The point was put well The point was well put

However, M2 is odd for means and instrument adverbs even in the passive, presumably because they normally receive the information focus:

?\*These linguistic units were intonationally separated \*The specimen was microscopically examined (asterisked in the relevant senses)

Manner adverbs occasionally appear in I: Loudly they began arguing

Process adjuncts realized by other units can occur more easily in /, that position being preferred if the focus of information is required on another part of the sentence:

With great courtesy she replied to my questions

By pressing this button you can stop the machine. Note ;

Mposition is also possible for process adjuncts that are not adverbs, but it is rare for them to appear in that position:

She, with great courtesy, replied to my questions

You can, by pressing this button, stop the machine See further 6.56, 11.26.

Subject adjuncts 8.41

Subject adjuncts characterize the referent of the subject with respect to Je process or state denoted by the verb. Most are homonyms of manner adjuncts, and all are either adverbs or prepositional phrases. Subject adjuncts relate to the person of the subject

as well as to the process or state. Two groups can be distinguished: [A] a general group, and [B] a volitional group. 466 Adjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts

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Group A: general group

Group A appears to be an open class.

eg: Resentfully, the workers have stood by their leaders ('The workers have stood by their leaders and were resentful about it') With great pride, he accepted the award ('He was very

proud to accept...') For once, they have frankly admitted their mistakes ('It was frank of them to ...') Manfully, they insisted the situation was not too bad ('It was manful of them to .. .\*') He has consistently overruled the lawyer's objections ('He

has been consistent in ...')

Bitterly, he buried his children ('He was bitter when he .. ,\*') Sadly, he roamed the streets ('He was sad when he ...') With great unease, they elected him as their leader ('They

were very uneasy when they ...')

Group B: volitional group  
Common volitional subject adjuncts include:

deliberately, {unintentionally, purposely, reluctantly, voluntarily, wilfully, (un)willingly

without intention, on purpose, with reluctance eg: Intentionally, they said nothing to him about the matter ('It

was their intention not to ...') On purpose, he left his proposals vague ('It was his purpose

to...') He deliberately misled us ('He was being deliberate when he...')

With great reluctance, she called the police to arrest her guest (Though she was very reluctant to do so ...')

8.42

Many of the subject adjuncts, particularly those in Group A, show their relationship to the subject by the paraphrase they allow in which their adjective stem is in predicative relationship to the subject. For example, we must provide a different paraphrase for the subject adjunct bitterly from its homonyms as manner adjunct and booster intensifier:

Bitterly, he buried his children ('He was bitter when he ...') He spoke bitterly about the treatment he received ('He spoke in a

bitter way ...') He bitterly regretted their departure ('He very much regretted ...')

And similarly for an example from Group B:

He refrained deliberately from joining the party ('He was being

deliberate when he ...') He spoke slowly and deliberately ('in a deliberate manner')

Volitional subject adjuncts differ from other subject adjuncts in several respects:

(1) Volitional adjuncts have in common that they express the subject's intention or willingness, or the reverse.

(2) Volitional adjuncts can often occur with intensive verbs if (a) the adjective complement is being used dynamically or (b) if the noun-phrase complement implies activity or (c) if there is a locative adjunct:

Intentionally, he is being foolish  
Deliberately, he is being a nuisance  
Reluctantly, he was in London

Contrast:

\*Intentionally, he is being wealthy

\*Deliberately, he is an adult

"Deliberately, he is an adult

On the other hand, general subject adjuncts cannot co-occur with intensive verbs:

\*Proudly, he was in London

'Sadly, he is being foolish (asterisked as subject adjunct, 'He is sad when he is...', cf: sadly as attitudinal disjunct, 8.82 ff)

(3) Volitional adjuncts can more easily appear before clause negation than other subject adjuncts:

Intentionally, he didn't write to them about it  
Deliberately, they didn't send him the money  
Proudly, he didn't write to them about it  
Resentfully, they didn't send him the money

Subject adjuncts cannot co-occur with an inanimate subject; \*The rain deliberately fell \*The rain fell deliberately •The water is resentfully boiling \*The water is boiling resentfully

However, in the passive form it is the agent (whether present or not) that must be animate:

The show was deliberately stopped (by X) Their luggage was resentfully packed (by X) 468 Adjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts

The presence or implication of an animate agent does not in itself ensure acceptability of a subject adjunct. For example, the sentence

\*The house was resentfully built last year

is odd, presumably because building a house takes too long for resentment to be maintained. Contrast

The house was resentfully sold last year.

Note

The analogue of restrictive and non-restrictive adjectives or clauses (13.3) provides another way of looking at the distinction between process adjuncts and subject adjuncts. The subject adjunct in, for example,

Bitterly, he buried his children can be paraphrased

He buried his children and I tell you that he was bitter when he did so The non-restrictive relative clause can similarly be paraphrased by a coordinate clause:

Alan, who is my teacher, has joined the army ('Alan has joined the army and I tell you that he is my teacher')

8.43

Syntactic features of subject adjuncts

Subject adjuncts do not accept most of the numbered features for adjuncts in 8.8 and 8.9. Those in Group A tend not to precede clause negation (8.3):

"Sadly, he didn't roam the streets (asterisked in the sense 'He was sad when he ..')

With great unease, they didn't elect him as leader

Similarly, those in Group A tend not to precede a negative subject:

• With great unease, nobody elected him as leader However, if we can interpret the negated sentence as conveying the meaning of a volitional action, we can sometimes add a subject adjunct of Group A. For example, though

\*Proudly, he didn't accept the award is odd, the sentence

Proudly, he wouldn't accept the award

is acceptable, because 'wouldn't accept' means 'refused', and a refusal can be done with pride.

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The volitional subject adjuncts allow alternative interrogation (8.8

(0):

Did he leave his proposals vague on purpose or did he do so unintentionally ?

Adjuncts from both groups can come within the scope of predication pro-forms or ellipsis (8.8(3)): He has consistently overruled the lawyer's objections and so has she (consistently overruled the lawyer's objections) He deliberately misled us and so did she (deliberately mislead us)

Unlike most other adjuncts, subject adjuncts often cannot appear with imperatives:

\*Uneasily elect him as your leader \*Sadly tell them about it

In such cases it is equally odd to say

•Elect him as your leader and be uneasy when you do so

\*Tell them about it and be sad when you do so

(If fie is interpreted as equivalent to seem or pretend to be, the sentences are not odd.)

On the other hand, we can have

Gladly reveal what you know

With full confidence in your success, make your views known to them just as we can have

Reveal what you know and be glad when you do so Make your views known to them and have full confidence in your success when you do so

Subject adjuncts, like process adjuncts, do not seem to be able to precede an emphatic auxiliary:

'Proudly, he did accept the award

\*On purpose, he did leave the proposals vague

this respect they can be contrasted with subject disjuncts such as wisely and rightly (8.82 jf):

Wisely, he did accept the award Rightly, he did leave the proposals vague

Subject adjuncts tend to occur in / and M positions <cf 8.7). M2 is Probably preferred. 470 Adjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts

8.44

Formulaic adjuncts

Formulaic adjuncts (c/13.50 for formulaic adjectives) generally resemble subject adjuncts of Group A, except that they tend to be restricted to M2 position (excluding

please). They are a small group of adverbs used as markers of courtesy. The most common are exemplified below:

He kindly offered me a ride We cordially invite you to our party

She announced that she will graciously consent to our request He humbly offered his apologies Take a seat please

Formulaic adjuncts require the active subject or the passive agent {whether present or implied) to be personal nouns.

The formulaic adjuncts can appear in questions that constitute a request. There are therefore restrictions on the number of the person of the subject in questions (normally first for cordially and humbly, second for kindly and graciously):

May we cordially invite you to our party? May I humbly offer my apologies? Will you kindly take a seat? Will you graciously consent to our request?

Please, however, allows all persons: May I please explain my reasons ? Will you please move to one side?

Kindly and please are the only formulaic adjuncts to appear freely before imperatives, though graciously occasionally does so too:

Graciously accept this gift from your admirers Kindly is restricted to /position in imperatives:

Kindly leave the room

Kindly don't tell him what I said

Please, however, is mobile in imperatives:

Please leave the room

Ask him please what he wants

Open the door please

Unlike kindly and the other formulaic adjuncts, please is normally limited to sentences containing an imperative, or having the function of

#### Adjuncts 471

ft command, or containing a reported command, or constituting a request. With non-imperative sentences, it appears before the verb or in £ position:

Will you please leave the room?

You will please leave the room.

I wonder whether you would mind leaving the room please.

I asked him whether he would please leave the room.

May I please have my book back?

Please and (to a lesser extent) kindly are very commonly used to tone down the abruptness of a command.

Please cannot be modified. The others can be modified by very. However kindly is not modified by very in questions and commands (whether grammatically imperatives or semantically commands):

?Will you very kindly take a seat?

\*Very kindly leave the room.

?You will very kindly leave the room.

The first and last of the above sentences are perhaps possible with very kindly when they are said in a tone of exasperation.



We can paraphrase the formulaic adjuncts, in most cases as we did the subject adjuncts. For example, for the first set of sentences in 8.44:

He was kind enough to ... We express our cordiality by ... ... she will be gracious enough to ... He was humble enough to ... Please me by...

#### Place adjuncts 8.45

Most place adjuncts are prepositional phrases (6.12-25) or, less frequently, clauses (11.28). Since these are discussed, as indicated, in the relevant chapters, we shall not deal with them here in detail. Adverbs that are place adjuncts are a closed class and a comprehensive list can be given. Most can be used for both position and direction:

"board, about, above, abroad, across, ahead, alongside, anywhere, °round, ashore, astern, away, back, behind, below, beneath, between, °eyond, down, downhill, downstairs, downstream, east, eastward(s) and other directions with -ward(s) as suffix, elsewhere, everywhere, far, ere, hereabouts, home, in, indoors, inland, inshore, inside, locally, near, nearby, north, nowhere, off, on, opposite, out, outdoors, outside, 'board, overhead, overland, overseas, somewhere, south, there, 472 Adjuncts, disjunct\*, conjuncts

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through, throughout, under, underfoot, underground, underneath, up, uphill, upstairs, upstream, west, within

Where in its various uses (</5.48) can be added to this list. For here and there as pro-forms for place adjuncts, see 10.50. A few place adjuncts denote direction only:

after, along, aside, before, by, downward(s), forward, inward(s), left, outward(s), over, past, right, round, sideways, skyward, upward(s)

A few noun-phrase heads can also be used in place adjuncts denoting both position and direction:

He lives a long way from here                    1  
~, . . . I i    }-position

(the house is only a short distance away)

He has come a long way                            1 ,.  
~, . . . , . . . ,                                    ^-direction

(they have moved a fair distance from us)

They include noun phrases of measurement:

He is ten miles from here

They stood only two feet from us

He threw it about ten yards.

Note

\a] The compass points used for both position and direction can be compounded, eg: northwest, east-north-east. \b] There are some nautical terms used for both position and direction that are normally part of a technical vocabulary, but are found in literature dealing with the sea, eg: aft, larboard, port, starboard, [c] For here, above, and below as signals in discourse reference, see 10.64.

#### 8.46

Co-occurrence restrictions on place adjuncts

When place adjuncts are used to denote position, we term them position adjuncts, and when they are used to denote direction, we term them direction adjuncts. Direction adjuncts can be used only with verbs of motion or with other dynamic verbs (3.41) that allow a directional meaning:

I think you should now turn left ('to the left')

He jumped over the fence

He kicked the ball into the goal

She was whispering softly into the microphone

On the other hand, position adjuncts can be used with all verbs, including stative verbs (3.41):

I heard about it in London I have the key here The ground seems very soft locally

position adjuncts can also be used with the intensive verb be : It's much warmer inland

Indeed, they can be used as predicative adjuncts with the intensive verb-be, even if the subject is concrete:

The birthday party is in the next room

All our men are aboard

The meeting will be upstairs

The house you want is on the other side of the street

But the progressive is excluded (c/8.73):

•The birthday party is being in the next room Contrast:

The birthday party is being held in the next room

Some direction adjuncts can also be used with bb, but with a static resultative meaning, indicating the state of having reached the destination (6.22):

They axe past by now ('have got(ten) past')

The men will be along soon (' will have got(ten) along')

We will soon be over the border (' have got(ten) over the border')

I've never been to London ('never got(ten) to London')

Some place adjuncts can be obligatory adjuncts, providing verb complementation to verbs other than be :

We don't live here

[Til get below direction: J You should set that dish in the middle

[Vllput the kettle on the stove

Some place adjuncts are used non-literally in phrasal verbs:

The light is on ('is shining')

When John heard what happened, he blew up ('became very angry')

p and down are used as intensifiers or perfectives: You must drink up quickly ('finish drinking') 474 Adjuncts, disjuncts. eonjuncts

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For phrasal verbs, see \2.\9ff. For the transferred or abstract use of place prepositions, see 6.26.

Note

[a] Many place adjuncts can be explained as truncated prepositional phrases (6.10).

[b] Place adjuncts cannot be predicative adjuncts with intensive verbs other than bi (5.7).

8.47

ffS-questioos

Position adjuncts can normally be evoked as a response to a where question:

a: Where is he staying? b: In a hotel. a: Where's Alan? b: Outside.

The appropriate question for direction adjuncts is where plus the relevant directional particle, except that for 'direction towards\*' the particle to is commonly omitted:

A: Where are you going (to) 1 b : (7b) the park.

a: Where have you come from? b: (From) the supermarket.

The direction particle as adjunct is more likely to serve as a response to a where question if a destination is implied:

Out(side)

In(s)Ute)

Back

Ahead

lAway

tOff

\*About

\*By

\*Round

Place adjuncts that are used abstractly cannot, of course, be questioned:

He is in trouble.

\*a : Where is he ? a: In trouble.

He turned the light out.

\*a: Where did he turn the light? b: Out.

8.48

Ambiguity between position and direction adjuncts Since position adjuncts can co-occur with dynamic verbs allowing directional meaning, ambiguities can arise between positional and directional interpretations of the adjunct (c/6.13 Note):

A: Where are you going ? b :

He is allowed to run outside

The baby was crawling upstairs

The more probable interpretation for these adjuncts is that they are directional, but a positional interpretation

■ When he is outside he is allowed to run'

• When he was upstairs the baby was crawling' can be given in speech, for example by putting the adjuncts in a separate intonation unit. In writing, transposition to / will favour a positional interpretation.

Note

For potential differences in position and intonation between position and direction adjuncts, see 8,52.

8.49

Position and direction adjuncts in die same clause

Position and direction adjuncts can co-occur, with the position adjunct normally following the direction adjunct in E:

The children are running around upstairs He was thrown overboard near the shore

With two prepositional phrases there is often a structural ambiguity in the status of the second phrase, which might be either an adverbial of the clause or a postmodiner of the noun head in the first phrase:

Some of the children are walking to the lake In the park ('are walking to the lake and are walking in the park' or 'are walking to the lake which is in the park')

People move to a new house in America every few years ('People move to a new house every few years; they do so in America' or the improbable 'People move every few years to a new house which is in America')

The position adjunct can be put in / position to avoid giving it end-focus (14.2 ff):

Upstairs the children are running around

« can appear in that position when it co-occurs with a direction adjunct, bus avoiding any ambiguity in the case of prepositional phrases:

In the park some of the children are walking to the lake >n America people move to a new house every few years

ging on the structure of the sentence, there are other ways of avoiding such ambiguities, eg476 Adjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts

Adjuncts 477

Some of the children are in the park and walking to the lake People move in America to a new house every few years

The fact that position adjuncts normally appear further from the verb suggests that they are less closely related to the verb than direction adjuncts. Cf also 13.32.

Note

If a position adjunct is obligatory, it is of course closely related to the verb (8.46), 8.50

Hierarchical relationship

Two position adjuncts can co-occur in hierarchical relationship:

Many people eat in restaurants in London Only the superordinate position adjunct can be transposed to I:

In London many people eat in restaurants \*In restaurants many people eat in London

Two direction adjuncts can also co-occur in hierarchical relationship:

He came to London from Rome He went from Rome to London

The normal order of these direction adjuncts when they are juxtaposed accords with the interpretation of the verb. Come denotes destination, and therefore the destination (to London) is normally mentioned before the point of departure (from Rome), whereas go denotes departure and therefore the reverse order is normal. Nevertheless, the adjunct denoting point of departure is superordinate in both cases, since it alone can be in/;

From Rome he-j ^ \to London Iwentj

The normal order of juxtaposed direction adjuncts otherwise follows the same order as the events described:

They drove down the hill to the village

He flew over the city towards the airport

If one of the adjuncts is an adverb, it normally comes before a prepositional phrase (c/8.77):

Many people eat here in restaurants

They drove downhill to the village

He flew overhead towards the airport

He flew west over the city

### 8.51 Coordination

Two position adjuncts can be coordinated:

Soldiers were on guard inside and outside We can wait for you here or in the car and so can two direction adjuncts:

They went up the hill and into the station They ran across the field and past the farmhouse

But a position and a direction adjunct normally cannot be coordinated. Hence in

The baby was crawling upstairs and into his parents' bedroom

upstairs can be interpreted only as a direction adjunct (c/8.48), since it is coordinated with a prepositional phrase that has only a directional function.

### 8.52

Positions of place adjuncts

The relative positions of direction and position adjuncts have been discussed earlier (8.49 and 8.50). Both types of adjuncts favour E:

{I'll meet you downstairs We're eating in the kitchen You'll find the sugar where the coffee is {I'll go downstairs We're moving some new furniture into the kitchen I'm going (to) where there's a warmer climate

osition adjuncts, particularly prepositional phrases, often appear in I- They may be put there to avoid end-focus (14.2<sup>^</sup>), or to avoid unbiguity (c/8.48), or to avoid a clustering of adjuncts at E, though it is 1 usually possible to isolate any one reason.

°n the tree there were some very large oranges

Outside children were jumping and skipping

'« the nursery the children were playing happily but noisily

n the stage men were fighting, and in the body of the hall women were screaming

e expressions Here ... be and There ... be with a pronoun as subject the verb in the simple present are commonly used to draw attention the presence of somebody or something: it is478 Adjuncts, districts, conjuncts

Adjuncts 479

Here I am There she is There you are

Speakers sometimes put position adjuncts in M2 and more rarely in M1;

Life is everywhere so frustrating

We are here enjoying a different kind of existence

They there noticed a very curious statue

M positions are occupied by a few position adverbs, the most common being here, there and compounds with -where (elsewhere, everywhere, nowhere, somewhere). M positions are not normally open to direction adjuncts:

•They are moving some new furniture J [into the kitchen] 6  
But they can take the position between verb and object if the object is long: They moved into the kitchen every stick of furniture they possessed

Occasionally, however, some direction adjuncts occupy /. In that position, they have a dramatic impact and a rhetorical flavour and normally co-occur with a verb in the simple present or simple past:

Down they flew Away he goes On they marched

If the subject is not a pronoun but a noun (and therefore has greater information value), subject-verb inversion is normal when either a direction adjunct or a position adjunct is in 7(14.15):

Down flew the jets

Away goes the servant

Along the road roll the wagons

Over the bridge marched the soldiers

Ahead sat an old man

Below is a restaurant

In the doorway stood my brother

On the very top of the hill lives a hermit

Here be and there be with the verb in the simple present are common in speech:

Here are the tools There's your brother

Direction adjuncts are put in /virtually only in literary English and in children's literature (stories, poems, and nursery rhymes). A few exceptions occur in informal speech, mainly with go, come, and get in either the imperative with the retained subject you (7.73) or in the simple present:

■ fin i

[come] go

I'iAW

Here

twlT

Up (the hill) Down (the stairs) In (the bath) Out (of the water) Off (the table) Over (the fence) On (the horse) Under (the bridge)

O" 1 There they/80

Under Wou go (.come

RoundJ Here he comes

Not\*

[a] Particles in phrasal verbs (12.24) cannot be in I:

\*Down the car broke

"Up cracked the soldier (6) There are some idiomatic expressions with here and there:

Here\ \_.. . ,

Theref\*0"are = ls you

Here we are = We've arrived at the expected place

There you are = That supports or proves what I've said

[e] For here as time indicator, see 10.12 Note b. For the use of here in discourse reference, see 10.64.

8.53

Syntactic features of place adjuncts

Place adjuncts can generally accept all the features listed for adjuncts in •«» but since most adverbs that function as place adjuncts cannot take comparison or modification by however, how and so, they do not accept we features listed in 8.9.

Normally a direction adjunct is the focus of negation in a negative sentence and therefore it normally does not precede clausal negation: 'A

ss the park he didn't walk Towards the fort the soldiers did not march

on the other hand, it is normal for position adjuncts to do so:

rs the people are not eating Nearby there aren't any soldiers480 Adjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts

Most place adjuncts, including prepositional phrases, accept intensification (5.54/6.55):

They drove due east

He went right into the house

He turned sharp left

He went a long way up (THE mountain)

They are staying far inland

A type of clause comparison can be achieved by the use of j-y ,er\ ... than:

\_, (further) (ahead V,

They are-! , , W >than we are

' \farther\$(downstream)

He went-1 %\* .yvp THE MO untain than I did {farther)

Many accept questioning with How far:

How far across are they? while here and there accept questioning with How near instead:

How near here are they ? The following place adverbs do not allow premodification by far:

here, there; the compounds in -where; about, around, between, hereabouts, locally, opposite, throughout.

But cf the common expression few and far between.

Note

Two place adjuncts are inflected for comparison, near and far, and can be the focus of clause comparison. These together with nearby can be premodified by very and by the premodifiers in the three clause processes listed in 8.9 (9-11).

8.54

Position adjuncts in relation to subject and object Position adjuncts normally indicate the place of the referent of the subject and (if present) of the object, and usually the place is the same for both referents:

I met John on a bus. (This implies that John and I were on the bus.) But sometimes the places can be different:

I saw John on a bus. (John was on the bus but I need not have been on the bus.)

## Adjuncts 481

With certain verbs the reference is always to the place of the object and normally that will differ from the place of the subject (cf 8.73). These verbs denote having or placing:

I

(have keep put park shelter

my car in a garage

With certain verbs, position adjuncts are resultative and are like predicative adjuncts of the direct object:

I want my car in the garage ('to be in the garage') I expected a leak IN that pipe ('to be in that pipe')

The verbs are verbs of saying, arranging, expecting, or wanting where the object has future reference. Not all such constructions allow an expansion simply by to be:

I expected a riot in THE city ('there to be a riot in the city')

They threatened a riot somewhere

jil

He urged a picnic oNTHEISland

sd

They plan a meeting at my house

fa

But these allow a replacement of the object by a /Aaf-clause:

that a riot would be in the city; that a riot would be somewhere; that a picnic be (held) on the island; that there should be a meeting at my house.

In some cases have rather than be is implied:

They offered a barbecue nearby ('to have a barbecue nearby')

I like my dinner in the kitchen ('to have my dinner in the kitchen')

In all such cases, the position adjunct is restricted to E.

The position adjunct may sometimes refer to the object in a conditional relationship:

We ought to condemn such activities here I only like barbecues outdoors

These can be paraphrased by clauses with if or when: such activities if «ey take place here; barbecues when they are held outdoors. These adjuncts are also restricted to E.

## 482 Adjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts

### Adjuncts 483

#### 8.55

Direction adjuncts as imperatives

Certain direction adjuncts are commonly used as imperatives, with an implied verb of motion:

Out(side)!, In(side)!, (Over) Here!, (Over) There!, (Righl) Back!, Down!, Off!, Up!, Under!, Left!, Right!, Away! Up the stairs!, Out of the house!, To bed!

Note

[o] This applies also to some other adjuncts, eg: Quickly!, Slowly!, Carefully! [b] /mus/awty is sometimes used in BrE with an implied verb of motion ('I must go away').

#### Time adjuncts 8.56

Time adjuncts that are clauses (11.27, 11.68, 11.70) or prepositional phrases (6.27-31) or noun phrases (6.32-33) are discussed elsewhere, as indicated, and therefore we shall not deal with them here in detail.



Adverbs as time adjuncts are a relatively closed class, though a fairly large one. They can be divided into four semantic classes, but some items belong to more than one class. The four classes and their subclasses are shown in FigZ:4.

when adjuncts

-WHEN —

(8.57JT)

-DURATION-I (8.60)

TIME ADJUNCTS

- point of time, eg: today -boundary of time, eg: afterwards

-length of time, eg: briefly

p

'—from some preceding point in time, eg: since

FREQUENCY

(8-61 ff)

time, eg; twice

—indefinite

■usual occurrence, eg: usually -continuous/continual

eg: always -high, eg: often low or zero, eg: occasionally, never

-relationship, eg: already

(8.68/)

Fig 8:4 Time adjuncts

8.57

.... . n a-When did he arrive?

time when adjuncts can serve as a response to a when question:

(Quite recently

Last night :^ "

I At five c> clock

[While you were at the library

When in its various uses (cf 5.48) is in part pro-form for the time adjuncts in this class. For then as a pro-form for these time adjuncts, see

10.49. Time when adjuncts can be divided into

[A] those denoting a point of time

[B] those denoting a point of time but also implying the point from which that time is measured

Common adverbs in these two groups include:

Group A

again (' on another occasion'), early (' at an early time'),./(((' at this very moment'), late ('at a late time'), now ('at this time'), nowadays ('at the present time'),presently ('at the present time', especially AmE), simultaneously ('at the same time'), then ('at that time'); today, tomorrow, tonight, yesterday

Group B

afterwards, before, earlier ('before'), eventually ('in the end'), finally ('in the end'), first ('before all else', 'before that', 'at first'), formerly, immediately ('at once', 'within a very short time'), initially ('in the beginning', 'at first'), instantly ('&t once'). just ('a very short time ago'), last ('after all else', '\*in the end'), lately ('a short time ago'), later ('afterwards'), momentarily ('in a moment', AmE), next ('after that'), once ('at some time in the past'), originally ('in the beginning', 'at first'), previously ('before'), presently ('soon'), recently ('a short time ago'), shortly ('soon'), since ('after that'), soon, subsequently, then ('after that')

Examples of the use of time when adjuncts: Group A They lived in London for the first few years of their marriage and

were then very happy Come and see us again

I Was in New York last year and am now living in Baltimore I'm just finishing my homework484 Adjuncts, disjuncts. conjuncts

Adjuncts 486

Does he want us to be here early tonight ?

The meeting starts tomorrow at eight o'clock

I was awarded my Bachelor of Arts degree in 1970

I suggest that we see him tomorrow night or at the very latest on

Sunday I'll tell you all the news when I get back home

Group B

He's going to the barber but will be back here later I went into my room and immediately started to work I haven't got any time at the moment but I'll see you soon

She once owned a dog I've just heard that you are leaving us Take a drink and then go to bed He recently had an accident A preliminary investigation seemed to indicate that he was implicated in the fraud, but a fuller investigation has since proved beyond all doubt that he was innocent I left the factory before the strike Will you be there after lunch ?

He owed me a lot of money and wouldn't pay me back until I got my lawyer to write to him. He has paid me back in full since then The appointment was made a month ago \, ,, ,... I wrote to him about it a (good) while backy J She left him after he struck her The Prime Minister announced his resignation before the votes were countedfully

Most time when adjuncts in Group A normally occur at E, but just is restricted to M~2 while nowadays and presently commonly occur in / (c/ 8.7). Those in Group B commonly occur at / or M2 (c/8.58). M1 position is open to most of Group B and to now, nowadays, and then in A.

Note

[o] Earlier and later are synonymous with before (that) and afterwards respectively:

He remembered the many insults that he had earlier experienced He handed in his resignation, and later regretted his hasty action

They are not the comparatives of early and late respectively. We cannot substitute

early and late for them in the above sentences: •He remembered the many insults that he had early experienced \*He handed in his resignation and late regretted his hasty action

The true comparatives of early and late are exemplified in

Today we'll be leaving homeJ ..

early

earlier

e\*

Cto«T We are eatin8\fl/er/today

[b] Presently is synonymous with soon where there is a modal auxiliary or (for some) when the verb in the past:

/will presently call on him ^Xpresently called on him

{Some find presently unacceptable when it co-occurs with a verb in the past.}

On the other hand, when the verb is in the present, it is synonymous with at present (especially AmE):

are presently in London aK presently calling on him

[c] After is 'ess commonly used than its synonym afterwards.

[d] After, before, and since are prepositions (6.30) and conjunctions (11.27) as well as adverbs. When used as adverbs, they could be regarded 3S prepositions in truncated prepositional phrases:

A preliminary investigation seemed to indicate..., but a fuller investigation has since (that time) proved ... He has been unhappy for a long time, but I've never seen him so unhappy before (this time).

The meeting is at six. I'm leaving now, but I'll see you after (the meeting). Since does not normally serve as a response to a when question:

a: When have you been to England? b: \*Since.

Since prepositional phrases and clauses require since when in the question: A: Since when have you given the orders ? b: Since the manager made me foreman.

[e] Some adjuncts seem to be a blend of time when with manner and perhaps also place (c/8.37):

He told them secretly of his intention to resign ('when they were by themselves')

They criticized him publicly ('in a public place', 'when they were in public') He mentioned it to them privately ('in a private place', 'when they were in private")

But in all the cases the communication could be made in writing, and no place would then be involved.

8.58

Most of the adverbs in Group B can be used as correlatives to denote a temporal sequence:

First they petitioned the Governor, but heard nothing from him. Then they wrote to the President, and received a polite but vague reply from some official. They next organized a peaceful demonstration. And finally they picketed all Federal buildings in the city.

I think this first day of our vacation is going to be very enjoyable for us. We'll probably first play a game of tennis. Afterwards we'll take a shower because we usually put a lot of effort into the game. Then we'll do some sun-bathing on the beach. Eventually, we'll take a walk into town.

When they are correlatives, they tend to occur in / or M positions.

Note

For the use of many adjuncts in Group B for time relationship, see 8.68.

### 8.59

Time when adjuncts can be in a hierarchical relationship:

They were here late last night I'll see you at nine on Monday I spoke to her earlier today We'll meet tonight after the show

The order of the adjuncts at E depends in part on information focus (14.2 ff), but the tendency is for the superordinate adjunct (the one denoting the more extended period) to come last. However, the order

may be reversed if the other adjunct is considerably longer:

I was in New York last year before the first snow fell They became drunk today within a very short time

It appears that only the superordinate adjunct can occur in / (8.50, 8.62);

On Monday I'll see you at nine \*At nine I'll see you on Monday

### 8.60

Time duration adjuncts

Time duration adjuncts can be divided into two groups:

[A] those denoting length of time

[B] those denoting duration from some preceding point of time

Time duration adjuncts in Group A can serve as a response to a how long or/or how long question:

Not very long Permanently a: (For) How long are you staying? b:1 A very short time

(For) About a month

Till I can get my car repaired

Adverbs in Group B cannot serve as a response to such a question though other units in the group can:

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: (For) How long have you been collecting stamps?

(•Since I \* Recently

b:<

Since last month

I Since I was a child Common adverbs in the two groups include:

Group A

always, awhile, briefly, indefinitely, long, momentarily ('for a moment'), permanently, temporarily

Group B lately I recently} since ('from some time in the past')

Those in Group B co-occur with perfect aspect (c/11.70):

Hi 'tbee 1 (lately  
His studies-! a8'en ,. n limproving^rece/if/y I \*weren t I ,  
\*■ ,l ' [since

But lately sometimes co-occurs with the simple present tense when it is used for habitual time (3.25):

He used to visit Chicago every two or three months, but lately he goes there about once a week.

Examples of the use of time duration adjuncts:

Group A

I imagine he'll want to stay awhile

I have always lived here

He is temporarily out of work

We always have to wait so long

He was momentarily stunned by the impact of the explosion

I'll be in California for the summer

We slept (for) a long time

Was it noisy the whole night ?

They are on duty all night long

You can buy fresh fruit here the whole year round (c/5.60)

The office is open Mondays through Saturdays (AmE)

There was no trouble while we were there

Until!saw the building I had no idea how ugly it was

They will keep the trophy until summer Group B

I have recently been collecting stamps488 Adjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts

He insulted me last year and I haven't spoken to him since

He arrived this morning and he has been complaining {ever) since

We quarrelled in our last year at school and I have never seen her since

Things haven't become any better lately I have seen her only once since last Saturday

I have been waiting for the books to be delivered (ever) since I came to this apartment

Time duration adjuncts are normally positioned at E, except for three adverbs normally positioned at M2 (c/8.7):

momentarily, permanently, temporarily

Nota

[a] When lately and recently are time when adjuncts (8.57), they can co-occur with, simple past as well:

He-| . j-moved into a new apartment

Since requires perfect aspect even when it is a time when adjunct:

fhas since moved"! eJ

d"! - J

into a new apartment

V since moved (ft] Uninflected long is normally a non-assertive form and positioned at B:

?He stayed long (c/He stayed a long time) He didn't stay long Did he stay long ?

Inflected or modified long is assertive and also positioned at E: Hastayedff

\* \tOQ long

Uninflected long can be an assertive form when it co-occurs with certain verbs and is then usually positioned at M2. The verbs seem to be mainly verbs of belief or assumption (11.79), attitudinal verbs, and some verbs of speaking:

He has long admired my style of writing

I have long thought of retiring at the age of 55

The merits of the scheme will be long discussed

Long behaves like much in many respects (8.25).

[c] We should add to Group A the intensifiers that can also function as duratives (8.33):

I have spoken to him enough this morning (\* long enough,' a long enough time\*)

We played cards a little last night ('for a short time') We always have to wait a lot when we go to see the doctor ('along time\*')

[d] Notice that a prepositional phrase introduced by during can refer to time when For example, the prepositional phrase in

I spoke to him during last week

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would probably be interpreted «s a reference to some point of time, and in that case would be no different from I spoke to him last week or I spoke to him on Monday.

Time frequency adjuncts

8.61

Most time frequency adjuncts can serve as a response to a how often question:

Rarely Monthly

a: How often do you wash your car? b:

Once a week Every Sunday From time to time Whenever I find a spare half-hour

Adverbs and noun phrases are most commonly used for time frequency. Adverbs expressing time frequency can be divided semantically into two major subclasses:

[I] those naming explicitly the times by which the frequency is

measured: definite frequency [U] those not doing so: indefinite frequency

Each of these subclasses can in turn be subdivided. Common adverbs are listed for each subclass.

[I] DEFINITE FREQUENCY

[A] PERIOD FREQUENCY

hourly, daily, nightly, weekly, fortnightly (BrE), monthly, quarterly, annually, yearly, bktnnually, semi-annually

[B] TIME FREQUENCY

again ('another time'), once ('one time only'), twice; otherwise noun phrases or prepositional phrases, eg: three times, on five occasions

### III] INDEFINITE FREQUENCY

#### [C] USUAL OCCURRENCE

commonly, customarily, generally, habitually, invariably, normally, ordinarily, usually

#### [D] continuous/continual frequency

always, constantly, continually, continuously, ever ('always'), incessantly, permanently, perpetually

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#### [E] HIGH FREQUENCY

frequently, often; regularly, repeatedly

#### [F] LOW OR ZERO FREQUENCY

infrequently, irregularly, occasionally, periodically ('from time to time'), rarely, seldom, sometimes; never, ever ('at any time')

Examples of the use of tirat frequency adjuncts:

#### [I] DEFINITE FREQUENCY

##### [A] PERIOD FREQUENCY

Committee meetings take place weekly

I shall be in my office every other day

Each summer I spend my vacation in Bermuda

Come here twice A week

If so desired, rent can be paid per week instead of per month

##### [B] TIME FREQUENCY

I have been in Singapore 6wce (only)

He again demanded a refund ('for a second time')

Bob phoned twice today

I visit England three times a year

I perform operations THREE da rs each week

On the average, I see them once every three weeks

#### [II] INDEFINITE FREQUENCY

##### [C] USUAL OCCURRENCE

He generally leaves home at seven

We normally don't go to bed before midnight

As a rule it's very quiet here during the day

As usual, nobody asked anything at the end of the lecture

For the most part, we play tennis on Sunday morning

##### [D] continuous/continual frequency Does she always dress well ?

He is continually complaining about the noise She incessantly asks for more money

They are perpetually in debt

##### [E] HIGH FREQUENCY

I have often told them to relax more They regularly take their dog for a walk in the evening Have you been drunk many times ? She leaves the door unlocked time after

time They explained again and again that they couldn't help it, but he didn't believe them

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[F] LOW OR ZERO FREQUENCY

We are occasionally invited to their house for a party  
I sometimes think she doesn't know what she's talking about  
He has never been in Singapore  
They seldom watch television during the day  
They haven't ever seen my wife  
I have driven a few times  
You should phone them now and again f occasionally')  
Do you visit your parents from time to time ? (' occasionally')  
We play cards off and on ('occasionally', informal)  
I have been in his office on several occasions

Most time frequency adjuncts are normally positioned at E (c/8.7) However, adverbs of indefinite frequency (Groups C-F) are normally positioned at M2, but are often found at M1, while prepositional phrases denoting usual occurrence (Group C) are normally positioned at/.

Note

[a] We should add to Groups E and F items that are used as intensifiers (8.33):

[E] much, a lot, a good deal, a great deal (all equivalent to often or every often)

[F] a little (' very occasionally'), tittle ( \_ ' hardly at any time'), less (' less frequently'), least (' least frequently"). a bit (' occasionally'); barely, hardly, scarcely

Enough and sufficiently as frequentatives denote a sufficient number of times and therefore do not fit into either of these groups. Alternatively, we can say that they can fit into both groups. As frequentatives, hardly and scarcely tend to co-occur with non-assertive ever ('at any time'):

, (hardly "1 ..

H i fever go there

\scarcely)

Barely is rare as a frequentative.

[b] Assertive ever is used much less frequently than non-assertive ever:

I am ever open to new ideas ("always', format)

8.62

Adjuncts of definite frequency in Group A denote the period of time by which the frequency is measured, while those in [B] express the measurement in number of times {cf 4.20). Items from each group can co-occur, normally with the item from [B] coming first:

You should take the medicine twice [B] daily [A]

Those in [A] can also co-occur with each other in a hierarchical relationship:

c n r. ■ i (hourly [A] each day [A] felt his pulsed ,, ,, ,, y {each hour [A] daily [A] 492 Adjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts



The order of the adjuncts in E depends in part on information focus (14.2\_#0, but only the one denoting the longer period can occur in / (c/8.50,8.59):

[Each day] , c , , . , [hourly 1  
she felt his pulse , 'IDatly J r [each hour]

•ft\* 1 she felt his pulse \Eachhour\ r  
Co-occurrence of the adverb forms, however, is odd even if the one denoting the longer period is in I:

?She felt his pulse hourly daily ?Daily she felt his pulse hourly

Those in [B] can likewise co-occur with each other in a hierarchical relationship, where the subordinate adjunct denotes the number of times for each of the times denoted by the superordinate adjunct. The verb must be a momentary verb (3.41):

I hit him twice on two occasions ('two times on each of two occasions')

The superordinate adjunct tends to follow the subordinate adjunct and can be in/position:

On two occasions I hit him twice ITwice I hit him on two occasions

While the adverbs and the noun phrases X times are ambiguous between superordinate and subordinate function in such a hierarchy, the prepositional phrases on X occasions are unambiguously superordinate.

Adjuncts in [B] can often be the response to the question How many times ?The question is used to elicit the adjunct when only one item from [B] is involved, but it can also elicit the subordinate or superordinate adjunct when two items from [B] are involved:

a: How many times did you hit him? B: Twice.

A: How many times did you hit him on the two occasions ? b : Twice.

A: How many times did you hit him twice ?

(On two occasions. B\Twice.

Adjuncts of definite frequency can also co-occur with items from each of the subclasses of adjuncts of indefinite frequency:

(normally [C]l "7

You should] always ID] Itake the medicine twice [B] daily [A] | often [E] I

[seldom [F] J

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Note

Id the hierarchical relationship, repetition of the same adverb is avoided for stylistic reasons:

11 hit him twice twice ITwice I hit him twice.

8-63

Adjuncts of indefinite frequency in Group C denote usual occurrence. They differ from most of the other adjuncts of indefinite frequency in that they can precede the clausal negative, in which case they express that it is normal for something not to occur:

Generally,

Normally, >he doesn't take medicine

Usually, J

They differ from those in [E] and [F] that can precede negation in that it is a contradiction to assert both that it is normal for something to occur and also that it is normal for it not to occur:

\*Generally, \ (generally,")  
^Normally, Vhe doesn't take medicine, but-! normally, >he does (take  
^Usually, J [usually, J medicine)

On the other hand, those in [E] and [F] that precede negation express a high or low frequency. It is not contradictory to assert that it is frequent (or infrequent) for something to occur and at the same time that it is frequent (or infrequent) for it not to occur:

[J , ,, he doesn't take medicine, but . ,, he does  
Occasionally] [occasionally]  
(take medicine)

We can see from this example that often does not necessarily imply the majority of times, and the same is true for frequently. However, those in [C], like generally, do imply the majority of times. Most in [C] allow for exceptions. We can therefore say, for example:

Generally, }  
Normally, >he doesn't take medicine, but sometimes he does (take  
Usually, j medicine)

Note

v>i Invariably is (he only one in [C] that denies the possibility of exceptions:  
Invariably, he doesn't take medicine, but sometimes he does (take medicine). E\*1  
Generally speaking and (occasionally) normally speaking are used as frequency  
"ijuncts corresponding to generally and normally respectively {cf 8.81).

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Adjuncts 496

8.64

Frequency adjuncts like usually in [C] as well as often and frequently in [E] can be the focus of negation:

{Vsually "1 bften >speak from notes FREquently]

But for those in [C], apart from the special case of invariably (8.63 Note a), there is as a general rule no logical difference resulting from whether the adjunct is within the scope of negation or not (7.49, 7.51), Somebody agreeing with a previous speaker could remove a frequency adjunct of [C] from the scope of negation:

a: He doesn't usually speak from notes.

b: That's true. He usually DdESn't (speak from notes).

To take the paraphrase of usually, there is no logical difference between the two sentences:

It's usual for him not to speak from notes It's not usual for him to speak from notes

On the other hand, there is a logical difference between positioning often or frequently within the scope of negation and positioning them outside of it. Whereas, as we saw in 8.63, we can say

Often he doesn't take medicine, but often he does we cannot say

•He doesn't OFten take medicine, but often he does (take medicine)

because when often or frequently come within the scope of negation we deny the frequency, and we cannot then assert it.

If frequency adjuncts in [C] co-occur with duration adjuncts (8.60), there can be a difference according to whether the frequency adjunct is within the scope of negation or not:

\usually\ he doesn't sleep for two days at a time

("The usual thing is for him to go without sleep for two days at a time")

He doesn't usually sleep for two days at a time

('It's rare for him to sleep as long as two days at a time')

The same distinction applies for often and frequently.

Often and frequently can be the focus of a cleft sentence, particularly if they are modified or in a negated or interrogated focal clause (c/"8.28, 8.31, 8.39):

It's very frequently that he loses money

It's not often that I have a chance to speak to him

Is it often that she drives alone?

But they cannot be the focus if the sentence is negative:

doesn't speak to him

though this is possible for some speakers if there is modification of the adjunct:

It's all too frequently that people don't offer to help  
Is it very often that she doesn't speak to him?  
It isn't very often that she doesn't speak to him  
It's not often that he doesn't help

Rarely and seldom of Group F, </8.61, can also be the focus of a cleft sentence:

r , (rarely \ /that he loses any money ^seldom) \that people don't offer to help

8.65

Indefinite frequency adjuncts can co-occur with each other in a hierarchical relationship (c/8.50, 8.59, 8.62):

Normally [C], committee meetings are held infrequently [F] Usually [C], he constantly [D] complains of headaches when he is

assigned a responsible task They seldom [F] put on plays again and again [E] I have often [E] telephoned him a few times [F] on the same day

Even some adjuncts in the same group can co-occur if we use momentary verbs (3.41);

They have often [E] pressed his bell repeatedly [E] without getting

an answer I have rarely [F] knocked on his door (only) a few times [F]

It is not clear what all the conditions are for co-occurrence. Contrast with the above examples:

They have often [E] beaten him frequently [E]

Non-assertive ever (\*at any time') is commonly used with the negative >rms hardly, rarely, scarcely in [F]; e/8.66. Its use with never is considered substandard by some speakers: ?I never ever go there. 496 Adjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts

8.66

Whereas frequency adjuncts in [C], such as usually, can precede negation (8.63), those in [D] normally cannot:

\*u4aIWayS , "Woesn't pay his debts on time {constantly) \*  
 ,,,, (continually) ... ,, , . , ... \*Hes . , Widn't drink whiskey  
 \jncessantly)

Instead we use never, not.. ever, or not... at all:

He-i ... , J ^his debts on time

Ididn t ever payj He didn'f drink whiskey at all

Those in [E], such as frequently and repeatedly, denote a high frequency and those in [F], such as occasionally and never, denote a low or zero frequency.

Several in [F] are negative forms (7.48):

barely, hardly, little, never, rarely, scarcely, seldom When these are in / position, they cause subject-operator inversion, such usage being literary or rhetorical in tone.

Note

[a] The following in [E] and [F] don't precede negation:

[E] regularly

[F] infrequently, irregularly; the negative forms; the non-assertives, eg: ever

In addition, none of the frequentatives that are used as intensifiers (8.61 Note a) can precede negation, eg: much, enough, least, [b] Regularly normally denotes high frequency as well as 'at regular intervals'.

8.67

Time frequency adjuncts and quantifiers

If the subject is generic (4.28 ff), many adjuncts of indefinite frequency, particularly when positioned at / or M, are equivalent to certain predeterminers (4.18^ ) or to certain quantifiers (4.25) in the noun phrase of the subject. For example, in Sailors drink rum often ('on many occasions') often is included in the predication and refers to the frequency of the drinking of rum. However, the effect of either of the versions

Often sailors' ) , , ... ,, , ,, ,,  
 ,, ,, -. Wiink rum (it often happens that,..) Sailors oftenj v rr

Adjuncts 497

is very similar to

jtfany sailors drink rum Other examples:

Good novels are always worth buying = All good novels are worth buying policemen are usually unarmed in Britain

=Most policemen are unarmed in Britain Universities often have linguistics departments

= Many universities have linguistics departments A dog is sometimes a dangerous animal T=Some dogs are dangerous animals Students occasionally fail this course

= A few students fail this course Englishmen rarely talk to strangers in trains

"Few Englishmen talk to strangers in trains Officers never get drunk while on duty

= No officers get drunk while on duty

If the direct object is generic, the adjunct may be equivalent to a predeterminer or quantifier in the noun phrase of the direct object: Our university always expels

riotous students = Our university expels all riotous students  
Soldiers often guard government buildings = Soldiers guard many government buildings

Note

Two of the above sentences have alternative interpretations to those given above:

Policemen are usually unarmed in Britain

= It is usual for all policemen to be unarmed in Britain, but all are sometimes armed  
Englishmen rarely talk to strangers in trains

= On rare occasions all Englishmen talk to strangers in trains

Time relationship adjuncts 8.68

Time adjuncts included here do not find a place in other semantic subclasses. They all express some relationship in time. Common adverbs in this subclass can be divided into three groups:

Group A many of those denoting temporal sequence, also used for time

(8.57/):

afterwards, before, eventually, finally, first, later, next, originally, previously, subsequently, then

Group B

still ('by or before a given or implied time') still ('(even) up to this time', '(even) up to that time')

Group C again ('as before')

Examples of the use of time relationship adjuncts:

Group A

Did she first see him when he was a child? I've been considering what to do since he last discussed with me

his problems She broke her leg/or the first time while she was skiing in Switzerland

These techniques were originally used in the Second World War It wasn't until the end of the party that I was finally introduced to her

Group B

By the time I arrived they had already left We haven't yet eaten

We still don't know where we are going to live I have so far bought two shirts and a pair of shoes They have finished their work by now I don't want it any more

Group C I feel better again Put it together again ('as before') It will never be the same again in our home.

8.69

Time relationship adjuncts in [A] tend to co-occur with a time when adjunct (8.57 ff).

If they are adverbs, they normally appear in M2. Again in [C] normally occurs at E.

Of the adverbs in [B], already and still normally occur in M2, and yet in M2 or E.

These three adverbs differ in their behaviour with respect to negation and other sentence processes normally requiring non-assertives (7.44, 7.57/). Yet is usually a non-assertive form (7.44), but it can occur in an assertive have to construction:

I have yet to find out what he wants

Yet can also be used as an assertive form when it is closer in meaning to still:

Adjuncts 499

I can see him .ye/

I can still see him fThere's plenty of time yet ^There's still plenty of time

Still can precede negation, but normally cannot lie within the scope of clause negation (7.49) except in questions. By contrast, already can never come within the scope of clause negation except in questions, and it normally cannot precede negation. The possibilities for the three adverbs in declarative, negative, and interrogative sentences are given below, where the paraphrases or suggestions for context indicate semantic similarities and differences between the adverbs:

#### DECLARATIVE POSITIVE

I already like him ('I have by this time come to like him') \*I yet like him I still like him ('I continue to like him')

declarative negative (adverb preceding negation) \*I already haven't spoken to him \*I yet haven't spoken to him I still haven't spoken to him ('I haven't spoken to him so far')

declarative negative (adverb following negation) •He can't already drive

He can't drive yet (\*He can't drive up to this time') ?He can't still drive ('He can't continue to drive')

INTERROGATIVE POSITIVE Have you already seen him? (That was quick) Have you seen him yet? (You've been here ages) Do you still see him? ('Do you continue to see him?')

#### INTERROGATIVE NEGATIVE

Haven't you seen him already? \('Haven't you by this time seen Haven't you seen him yet? j him?') Don't you still see him? ('Don't you continue to see him?')

For the non-assertives any more and any longer and the negative no more. \*« 7.44.

Note

1 The difference between already and yet in Questions is that already expects an affirmative answer whereas yet leaves open whether the answer is negative or Positive (7.57/).

I 'et and still come close in meaning in the have to construction: I have yet to meet him I have still to meet him500 Adjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts

Adjuncts 501

Both of the sentences mean 'It remains for me to meet him', but the sentence with still implies an obligation that remains to be fulfilled and that is likely to be fU| filled. [c]

Still often blends concessive and temporal meanings. For example, in

It's very late and he's still working

the effect of still is to express not only the continuance of the action but also to suggest that the continuance is surprising ('He's continuing even so to work').

See also the concessive conjunct still (8.89).

8.70

Relative positions of time adjuncts

In the previous sections we have frequently referred to the normal positions of time adjuncts in the various subclasses. We now turn to the relative positions of adjuncts

from the three major subclasses that can co-occur at E position: time when (8.57 ff), time duration (8.60), and time frequency (8.61JD- These tend to occur in the order time duration (D) - time frequency (F) - time when (W) The following sentences exemplify the normal order (but cf 8.77):

I was there for a short while (D) every couple of hours (F) on Monday (W)

He played with us very frequently (F) last week (W) I'm paying my rent monthly (F) this year (W) Our electricity was cut off briefly (D) today (W) We'll discuss the matter during lunch (D) tomorrow afternoon (W) He'll be staying here for the summer (D) every year (F) He does exercises for several hours (D) every weekend (F)

8.71

Coordination

Time adjuncts in the same subclass can be coordinated:

TIME WHEN

today and tomorrow

now or later

before or after

in 1970 and (in) 1971

when we were there and afterwards

TIME DURATION

permanently or temporarily

during the summer and (during the) winter

for the week or (for the) month

TIME FREQUENCY once or twice often and regularly each day and (each) night a few times or many (times)

Note

flow and then and now and again are common coordinated expressions used for time frequency ('from time to time', 'occasionally'). Similarly, again and again and over and over are used to denote frequent repetition and not just two repetitions.

8.72

Time adjuncts and time reference

Time adjuncts play a part in specifying the time reference of the verb auxiliaries. Thus, it is the time adjuncts that determine that the reference in

He is playing now is present, whereas that in

He is playing tomorrow

is future. Because of their time significance, some time adjuncts cannot co-occur with particular forms of the verb group. Thus, tomorrow does not co-occur with the simple past:

"He played tomorrow

and yesterday does not co-occur with the present nor (normally) with the modal auxiliaries:

("may "I

•He< will Vplay yesterday [shouldj

For further discussion of this topic, see 3.23^(10 particular sections 25, 26,30/, 37/); 8.57 Notefr; 8.60;8.75; 11.68; 11.70.

Note

ui apparent exception is with verbs of saying, arranging, expecting, or wanting where the object has future reference (8.54, 8.73). In such cases, though the expressed verb is in the past, there may be a time adjunct with future reference, since the adjunct's reference is to the object:

fc called for a meeting next week (=He called for a meeting to be held next week)

She warned the book tomorrow (= She wanted to have the book tomorrow)

They predicted a crisis next month (=They predicted that there would be a crisis next month)

« can also be an adjunct with past reference that relates to the verb in the past: As far back as March, they predicted a crisis next month (ie Their prediction of a crisis next month was made as far back as March).

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8.73

Time adjuncts as predicative adjuncts with be

Time adjuncts can co-occur with all verbs, including be:

It's much warmer now Many of them can also be used as predicative adjuncts with BE:

TIME WHEN

The meeting will be tomorrow

TIME DURATION

I'm afraid the noise will be for the whole summer The show is from nine tilt twelve

TIME FREQUENCY

Interviews are every hour Guided tours around the museum are twice a day be in such cases is equivalent to take place, and the subject must either be an abstract event noun or an eventive noun, For example in ■ ■ -

The opera will be tonight the opera is interpreted as 'the performance of the opera'.

The progressive is excluded when time adjuncts are used as predicative adjuncts with be (c/8.46):

◆Interviews are being every hour

Contrast

Interviews are being held every hour

Some adverbials cannot be predicative adjuncts, including time frequency adjuncts in [C], eg: as a rule, and in [D], eg: always (8.61).

We saw that with certain verbs the reference of the place adjunct maybe to the place of the object rather than to that of the subject (8.54). Similarly, the reference of the time adjunct may be to the object. We can sometimes express the relationship by a sentence in which the object of the original sentence is subject and the time adjunct is



predicative with be. There are two types of such references to the object, as with the place

adjuncts:

(1) The verbs denote the placing or movement of the object, and a place adjunct is present indicating the resulting place of the action. The time adjuncts denote time duration.

They threw him in prison for life ('He will be in prison for life') He's moving the family into a hotel temporarily ('The family will be in a hotel temporarily')

Adjuncts 503

We're sending her to London for the summer (' She will be in London for the summer') They left the car in the street for an hour (' The car was in the street for an hour')

(2) The verbs are verbs of saying, arranging, expecting, or wanting where the object has future reference. The time adjuncts denote time when, time duration, and time frequency. TIME WHEN

He expected the guests next week ('that the guests would come next week') They arranged the meeting/or later today ('that the meeting would be held later today') He set the alarm for seven o'clock ('so that the alarm would go off at seven o'clock')

TIME DURATION

He predicts a state of tension for a long time ('that there will be a state of tension for a long time') They offered us the house for the summer (' that we could use the house for the summer')

TIME FREQUENCY

They promised her a party every Saturday night ('that she would have a party every Saturday night') I suggest an informal discussion occasionally (' that there should be an informal discussion occasionally')

Note

Where the time adjunct can also refer to the action of the verb, there may be ambiguity, For example, the sentence

They promised her a party every Saturday night

can also mean that the promise was made every Saturday night. If the adjunct is moved from E position, this interpretation is the normal one:

Every Saturday night they promised her a party.

Syntactic features of time adjuncts 8.74

here are differences between time adjuncts with respect to the numbered syntactic features in 8.8 and 8.9. Most time adjuncts allow features that are general to adverbials. However, time frequency adjuncts in [C], eg: usually, as a rule, allow only the first three of the features listed in 8.8: they can be the focus of a question, they can be the focus of negation, they can come within the scope of predication pro-forms or predicational ellipsis.

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Most time adverbs do not allow the features of modification listed for adverbs in 8.9. Such adverbs cannot be premodified by *very*. Time adjuncts allowing modification are:

time when: *early, late, recently*

time duration: *long, briefly, recently*

TIME FREQUENCY: *commonly [C], constantly [D], incessantly [D];*

Group E; several in Group F: *infrequently, irregularly, little, rarely, seldom*

Some adverbs that cannot be premodified by *very* can be premodified by other intensifiers:

(*very*) *much*] *somewhat a lot a little*

*after*

*afterwards*

*later ('afterwards')*

*before*

*earlier ('before')*

Others in the same semantic group do not seem to allow at least some of these intensifiers:

\*(*very*) *much*] ?*somewhat* ?*a lot* ?*a little*

\*(*very*) *much*] •*somewhat* ?\**a lot* ?\**a little*

•*previously*

*subsequently*

### Note

[a] *Still, already, and yet* allow none of the features in 8.8 and 8.9 except that they come within the scope of predication pro-forms or predication ellipsis (3) and they can occur in dependent clauses (7). As time adverbials, none of these three adverbs can appear initially in an independent tone unit before a negative sentence. Hence they fall within our definition of adjunct.

[b] With respect to ability to be focused by a cleft sentence, by *only*, or by *also*, some general statements can be made for frequency adjuncts in [D], eg: *constantly, IE*], eg: *often*, and [F], eg: *occasionally*. None of the three groups allow focusing by *also*, [D] and [E] cannot be focused by *only*, and [D] cannot be focused by a cleft sentence. There are also individual differences within the groups. For example, in [F] *never and ever* cannot be focused by a cleft sentence, though others in [F], eg: *seldom*, can be. And acceptability in a cleft sentence is often improved if the item is modified or the focal clause is interrogative or negative (e/8.28,8.31. 8.39,8.64).

[c] *Again, last, and instantly* cannot be the focus of *only* or of a cleft sentence, and, except *again*, none of them can be the focus of *also*.

Adjuncts 505

### 8.75

Many time adjuncts do not co-occur with imperatives. This restriction applies to time when adjuncts (8.57) that cannot co-occur with future reference (c/"8.72). We cannot, therefore, say

„ (yesterday \*Go there 1 K , \_ „  
 . .i\_ Hat a former time \*Let s go there J 1 „, ^ 6 ' [not long ago  
 just as we cannot say

„ v (yesterday \*I order you to go there 1 y t , „  
 . ./ .. b >{ at a former time

\*He will go there J 1 „

o \* [not long ago

Similarly, we cannot use with imperatives those time duration adjuncts (8.60) that refer to a duration from some preceding point of time or to a duration ending at some point in the past:

„ (recently

\*Stay I I ... , , ... H until last week

•LetsstayJ) . r ,

{since I came here

Time frequency adjuncts of Group C denoting usual occurrence (8.61), eg: usually, generally, normally, are unlikely to co-occur with imperatives.

Note i(.

While we can say

Go there now ('at this time') it is odd to say

?\*Go there presently ('at the present time' though acceptable in the sense 'soon') just as the prepositional phrase at the present time is odd with imperatives. When jiat is used with an imperative, it is a restrictive adjunct synonymous with merely (8.13, 8.16 Note d):

Just go there.

8.76

Other classes of adjuncts

Three classes of adjuncts are realized by prepositional phrases or clauses and either rarely or not at all by adverbs. For example, there are prepositional phrases and clauses expressing purpose (6.36, 11.39), but there are few adverbs used in this way. (See Note b below.) Other classes of adjuncts realized by prepositional phrases only; for example, adjuncts express\*

inS source or origin (6.38), as in

He took the book from me

I come from London

506 Adjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts

Disjuncts 507

Furthermore, the nearest equivalent among adverbs to an adjunct prepositional phrase or clause may not be an adjunct. The conjunction because and the preposition because of can both introduce adjuncts of cause or reason (11.37, 6.35):

Because he made a mistake, several people died Because of his mistake, several people died

However, the adverbs referring to reason or cause are not adjuncts but

conjuncts (8.89), since they do not themselves convey the reason or cause but refer back to some previous mention of it:

He made a mistake and-| "Uarafnro [-several people died.

\so {therefore/"

Note

[a] On a similar relationship between disjunct clause and conjunct, see 8.78.

[6] Perhaps symbolically {'tot asymbolic purpose\*', 'as a symbol') and experimentally ('Tor an experimental purpose', 'as an experiment") in the following sentences are instances of adverbs used to denote purpose:

They symbolically buried the car as a protest against pollution The teacher experimentally called the students by their first names.

8.77

### Relative positions of adjuncts

In the appropriate sections, we have outlined the positions of adjuncts that belong to a particular class and also the positions of adjuncts relative to those in the same class. There remains the question of the positions of adjuncts relative to those in other classes. Three general principles must first be stated, and these apply to relative order whether within a class or between classes:

(1) The normal relative order can be changed to suit the desire for end-focus (14.3.).

(2) A clause normally comes after other structures, since otherwise these would be interpreted as adjuncts of the clause:

We stood talking for a very long time where the fire had been

(3) Longer adjuncts tend to follow shorter adjuncts:

I was studying earlier in the university library

This principle often coincides with the preceding one. Where adjuncts cluster in E position, the normal order is

process - place - time

This order is exemplified in

He was working with his shears (process) in the garden (place) the whole morning (time).

Adjuncts that can occur in /are often put in that position for reasons of information focus, but also to avoid having too many adjuncts at E. We might, therefore, have moved the time adjunct in the above sentence to /:

The whole morning he was working with his shears in the garden

It is not usual for more than one adjunct to be in /, but time and place adjuncts sometimes co-occur there:

In London, after the war, damaged buildings were quickly demolished and replaced by new buildings that were the admiration of architects from all over the world.

Viewpoint adjuncts also co-occur with other adjuncts at I:

Economically, in this century our country has suffered many crises.

Note

[a] On positions of prepositional phrases as adjuncts, see 6.56 /. On positions of

clauses as adjuncts, see 11.26 ff. 16] As many as three adverbs can co-occur at E:  
Children are writing badly now everywhere But, if they are all -ly adverbs, the result is odd:

?Children are writing badly locally lately Of course, the adverbs can themselves be modified:

Children are writing very badly now almost everywhere.

fc] With prepositional verbs (12.23), it is normal for adjuncts to follow the complementation, even though insertion of an adjunct is allowed.

Disjuncts

8.78

Most disjuncts (8.2-5) are prepositional phrases or clauses. The nearest equivalent among adverbs to a disjunct prepositional phrase or a disjunct clause may be a conjunct. For example, clauses of reason or cause introduced by since (11.37) are disjuncts:

Since we live near the sea, we enjoy a healthy climate

\* On the other hand, the corresponding adverbs are conjuncts (8.89). The «bs merely indicate the logical relationship with what preceded. They 508 Adjuncts, disjuncts. conjuncts

Disjuncts 509

do not convey the reason or cause themselves, but refer back to some previous mention of it:

We live near the sea and-1 , , ^we enjoy a healthy climate {therefore} J J J

For disjunct prepositional phrases, see 6.47 ff. For disjunct clauses, see 11.29,11.37,11-52,11.65-66.

Note

The since clause is a disjunct because it cannot be contrasted with other adverbials in alternative interrogation or in alternative negation (8.3). Whether a clause is a disjunct or adjunct does not depend solely on which conjunction introduces it. For example, most because clauses are adjuncts, but a final because clause may be a disjunct (e/9.23, 11.37):

He's drunk, because I saw him staggering.

8.79

Adverbs as disjuncts can be divided into two main classes: style disjuncts (by far the smaller class) and attitudinal disjuncts. Style disjuncts convey the speaker's comment on the form of what he is saying, defining in some way under what conditions he is speaking. Attitudinal disjuncts, on the other hand, comment on the content of the communication. These two classes and their subclasses are displayed in :5.

,—style (8.80/), conveying speaker's

— assertion of truth, eg:

truthfully

indication of generalization, eg: broadly

ATTITUDINAL

L(8.82#), commenting on

Fig%:5 Disjuncts

truth-value-

P\_ general, eg: certainly - — + perception, eg: obviously I— + comment on reality of content, eg: really

content of r— general, eg: understandably communication'- + comment on clause subject, eg: wisely

Style disjuncts 8.80

The relationship between the adverb as style disjunct and the clause to which it is attached can be expressed by a clause in which a homonym o»

the style disjunct is a process adjunct (8.34 ff), the subject is the /of the speaker, and there is a verb of speaking. Thus, frankly in

frankly, I am tired

is equivalent to I tell you frankly or I say frankly. If the clause is a question, the disjunct may be ambiguous:

frankly, is he tired?

Frankly in the question may correspond to / ask you frankly or to the more probable Tel! me frankly.

Common adverbs as style disjuncts include:

Group A bluntly, candidly, flatly, frankly, honestly, seriously, strictly, truly, truthfully

Group B approximately, briefly, broadly, crudely, generally, roughly, simply

Others confidentially, literally, metaphorically, personally

Those in Group A express the speaker's assertion that he is being truthful in what he is saying, while those in Group B indicate that the speaker is making a generalization.

Examples of the use of style disjuncts:

Briefly, there is nothing more I can do about it

I don't want the money, confidentially

Seriously, do you intend to resign?

Personally, I don't approve of her

You ask me what he wants. Quite simply, he wants to move to a better climate

Strictly speaking, nobody is allowed in here Putting it at Us lowest terms, he has little market-value There were twelve people present, to be precise With respect, none of

them is competent to give an opinion on the matter

in short, she is mad but happy If I may say so, that dress doesn't suit you Note

'y conjuncts also correspond to a construction with a verb of speaking (8.90). 8.81

some adverbs as style disjuncts, we have a series corresponding to m m other structures. For example, in place of frankly in

, he hasn't a chance<sup>610</sup> Adjuncts, disjuncts. conjuncts

we could put;

prepositional phrase - in all frankness

infinitive clause - to be frank, to speak frankly, to put it frankly ■ing participle clause

-frankly speaking, putting it frankly -ed participle clause -put frankly

finite verb clause - if I may be frank, if lean speak frankly, if lean put it frankly

Not every style disjunct will allow the full range. Thus, we have in all fair-ness but not the style disjunct/oir/.y; in short but not shortly. Similarly we have flatly, but ao\ flatly speaking.

But for almost all of the adverbs listed in 8.80 corresponding participle constructions with speaking are available as style disjuncts, eg: frankly\*. frankly speaking, seriously<sup>TM</sup>seriously speaking. Many have infinitive clauses of the form to be plus the stem adjective, eg: bluntly ~to be blunt, personally to be personal. Those allowing such infinitive clauses have a corresponding finite clause with if, eg: if I may be blunt, if I may be personal.

Not\*

[a] The order of adjunct and verb in the participle construction with speaking is more or less stereotyped. Speaking frankly is far less likely than frankly speaking. On the other hand, speaking generally is the participle construction equivalent to the adverb style disjunct generally. The style disjunct generally (with its corresponding prepositional phrase in general) is to be distinguished from 'he lime adjunct generally, synonymous with normally or usually (8.61,8.63 Note b). The style disjunct is exemplified in The committee interviewed the two writers. Generally, the writers were against censorship.

Since the time adjunct has a corresponding participle clause generally speaking, the inverted form speaking generally is sometimes used for the disjunct.

[b] The style disjunct personally is to be distinguished from the intensibtT personally, which is synonymous with the appropriate reflexive form of the pronoun:

(personally<sup>^</sup>                    ^  
\myself    J

These are both to be distinguished from the adjunct personally that is synonymous with in person:

He signed the document personally.

[c] Truly has been included among style disjuncts. It corresponds both to / tell yo" truly and in many environments also to /(Is true (thai), the latter type of correspondence being common to many attitudinal disjuncts (8.83). However, ucl\*e such attitudinal disjuncts but like other style disjuncts, it can appear before \* question:

I think he has no right to be there. Truly, what is your opinion ? Neither It U true nor Is it true can replace truly here.

Attitudinal disjuncts

Disjuncts 511

&82

Adverbs as attitudinal disjuncts convey the speaker's comment on the content of what he is saying. Two major groups can be distinguished, which can in turn be subdivided.

Group I

These disjuncts present a comment on the truth-value of what is said, expressing the extent to which the speaker believes that what he is saying is true. Group I seems to be a closed class of adverbs and most instances are given.

(a) For adverbs this is the largest subgroup of disjuncts in Group I and differs from the other two subgroups in that the disjuncts neither imply a perception of the truth of what is being said nor indicate the sense in which the truth-value is being judged.

Those expressing conviction (c/8.82 Note d):

admittedly, assuredly (rare, formal), avowedly (formal), certainly, decidedly (rare, formal), definitely, incontestably (rare, formal), incontrovertibly (formal), indeed, indisputably (formal), indubitably (rare, formal), surely, unarguably (rare, formal), undeniably, undoubtedly, unquestionably

Those expressing some degree of doubt:

arguably, allegedly, conceivably, doubtless, quite (etc) likely, maybe (informal), perhaps, possibly, presumably, purportedly (formal), reportedly, reputedly (formal), supposedly

(b) These convey the view that one can perceive the truth of what is said. The perception is usually a mental rather than a physical perception.

Those expressing conviction:

clearly, evidently, manifestly (rare, formal), obviously, patently (rare, formal), plainly

Those expressing some degree of doubt: apparently, seemingly (rare, formal)

(c) These state the sense in which the speaker judges what he says to be true or false. There is usually a reference to the reality or lack of reality in what is said (cf 10.36).

Those asserting the reality of what is said:

actually, really, factually (rare, formal) 512 Adjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts

Those expressing a contrast with reality: only apparently, formally, hypothetically, ideally, nominally officially, ostensibly (formal), outwardly, superficially, technically, theoretically

Those expressing that what is being said is true in principle-basically, essentially, fundamentally

## Group II

Disjuncts in this group convey some attitude towards what is said. Only the more common adverbs are included. Those with a participle stem in -ing, eg: surprisingly, are the most productive class of adverbs as attitudinal disjuncts.

(a) These do not normally express the view that the speaker's judgment applies also to the subject of the clause to which the disjunct is attached.

What is said is judged to be strange or unexpected;

amazingly, astonishingly, curiously, funnily enough {enough usual in BrE, obligatory in AmE}, incredibly, ironically, oddly, remarkably, strangely, suspiciously, unexpectedly What is said is judged to be appropriate or expected: appropriately, inevitably, naturally, not unnaturally,

predictably, typically, understandably What is said is judged to cause satisfaction or the reverse: annoyingly, delightfully, disappointingly, disturbingly, refreshingly, regrettably

What is said is judged to be fortunate or unfortunate: fortunately, unfortunately, happily (formal), unhappily (formal), luckily, unluckily, sadly (formal), tragically

Other judgments:

amusingly, conveniently, hopefully (especially AmE),



mercifully, preferably, significantly, thankfully (b) These express a judgment on what is being said as a whole 3" normally apply the same judgment simultaneously to the sub)eC

of the clause.

Judgment is passed on whether what is said is right or wrong:

correctly, incorrectly, justly, unjustly, rightly, wrongly

Disjuncts 513

Judgment is passed on the wisdom or skill of what is described:

artfully, cleverly, cunningly, foolishly, prudently, reasonably, unreasonably, sensibly, shrewdly, wisely, unwisely.

Examples of adverbs as attitudinal disjuncts and of other adverbial structures with similar semantic force (c/6.54, 11.52, 11.65-66):

Certainly, he had very little reason to fear their competition. Obviously, nobody expected us to be here today. Really, the public does not have much choice in the matter. Understandably, we were all extremely annoyed when we received the letter.

He is wisely staying at home today. To my regret, he did not accept our offer. They arrived, to our surprise, before we did. With justice, they have assumed their place among the nation's

heroes. To the great admiration of all the onlookers, he plunged into the water and rescued the struggling child. On paper, he ought to have won, but in fact he lost. Of course, nobody imagines that he will repay what he borrowed. It was no doubt clever of him to offer his resignation at that point in the proceedings.

To be sure, we have heard many such promises before. Even more important, he has control over the finances of the party. They are not going to buy the house, which is not surprising in view of its exorbitant price. What is even more remarkable, he manages to inspire confidence in

the most suspicious people. Note

w] Several adverbs with -ed participle stems in [Ia] and [Ib] usually imply that the view of others is being quoted: allegedly, reportedly, reputedly, supposedly.

1\*1 Doubtless in [Ia] is not synonymous with 'without doubt'. Like no doubt, it in fact implies some doubt and is synonymous with 'very probably'. Undoubtedly, on the other hand, expresses conviction. Apparently in [Ib] is equivalent to 'it appears' or 'it seems', which do not express certainty. However, this is not true for some speakers who equate apparently with 'it is evident'. Admittedly and certainly imply concession as well as certainty (c/10.35). Jlist as the verb see can be used for both physical and mental perception (cf: I see •K realize) what you mean), so the adverbs in [Ib] can be used for both types of Perception. In

Obviously, he doesn't want us to help him

« speaker's conviction may well be based on what the person has said rather than anything that has been perceived visually. On the other hand, in 614 Adjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts

## Disjuncts 515

Obviously, he is in very poor health

it may be based largely on the person's appearance.

[d] Style disjuncts such as truthfully and honestly (8.80) and attitudinal disjuncts such as certainly and definitely both express conviction about what is said. But the style disjuncts assert the veracity of the speaker while the attitudinal disjuncts assert the truth of what is said.

8.83

We have seen that adverbs as style disjuncts correspond to a clause with a verb of speaking (8.80). Many adverbs as attitudinal disjuncts, though not all, also correspond to other structures. They may, indeed, correspond to more than one structure. When we give the set of correspondences for adverbs in particular groups, we mean that the set applies to adverbs in those groups and not to adverbs in other groups. We do not claim, however, that all adverbs in the groups allow the correspondences. For example, many adverbs in Group I (8.82), such as certainly, correspond to the structures exemplified in

It is certain (that) he doesn't object That he doesn't object is certain

But these correspondences do not apply to (say) perhaps. To avoid repetition, we use only the variants with extraposition and anticipatory it (14.36). Hence, we give the correspondence for certainly in Group I as

It is certain that he doesn't object

putative should is excluded from Group I correspondences, where the factual basis of what is said is asserted or questioned, whereas it is admitted in Group II correspondences, where an opinion is expressed.

Most of the adverbs in Group II allow also a correspondence with an infinitive clause:

[Fortunately,] , . . . , . . . , . . . he is behaving well

{Wisely, J

=// is . . . for him to be behaving well

\\_WtS0

This type of infinitive clause is a common replacement for a *l/jcr*-clause with *should* (11.72).

Note

[a] Assuredly and decidedly are roughly synonymous with surely and undoubtedly respectively. They do not correspond to the structures

. . . , (assured^ L. . . , It is- { , . . . J-that... LdecidedJ

flam 1 fassuredV. dded/

\One has/\decidedj

Surety is commonly used to invite agreement from the person or persons addressed.

[b] Naturally and the equivalent understatement, not unnaturally, are paraphrasable by 'as might have been expected' or 'of course'. They do not correspond to it if natural or it is not unnatural.

8.84

The semantic distinction between adverbs in Groups I (eg: certainly, clearly) and II (eg: fortunately, wisely) is reflected in the fact that it is possible to use putative should (3.46, 11.72, 12.35) in the correspondences of Group II. If should is inserted in correspondences of Group I, it conveys obligation (3.46) and alters the meaning of the sentence radically.

Group I

\* \Certainlyt~\ , . . . , -t\* ,, , he is behaving well ^ {Clearly, J  
,, ^It is , that he should be behaving well ('ought to be  
\* Vclear J behaving well')

•"Group II

V

S^l he is behaving well Wisely, J  
= It is \fot;mate] tnat he should be behaving well iwise J  
\ i  
wise

8.85

The semantic distinction between Subgroups Ila (eg: surprisingly, understandably) and lib (eg: rightly, wisely) is reflected in the fact that only in : latter group is it normal to have a correspondence in which the judgment is predicated of the subject.

Subgroup Ila

\Surprisingly 1  
[Understandably] J°hn returned the mone>r  
the money

Subgroup lib

{Rightly,! , ,  
[y Jonn returned the money  
■=John was

l to return the money j 516 Adjuncts, disjtricts, conjuncts

The predication automatically applies to the subject in an active sen. tence and to the agent in a passive sentence, whether the latter is present or recoverable or indefinite (12.11). Hence, we can still set up these correspondences for items in Subgroup lib in the following instances:

f . the money was returned by John =John was I f to return the money  
\Rightly,"] .,  
... , the money was returned [Wisely,] 3  
= Someone was . to return the money Iwise J

These adverbs can be used wherever a human agent is implied, though it may not always be possible to state the correspondences as systematically as in the above instances:

W' /' tlie meetinS ^"^^ early today  
= X-IW M . to end the meeting early today l,werej [wise J

...? , the book costs only five dollars [Wisely,] ■  
 =\*X< \ "? J to fix the price of the book at only five dollars Iwerej [wise}}  
 r \*

. . his car is in a garage overnight throughout the winter = He is "S. to keep  
 his car in a garage overnight throughout

Note

the winter

Some adverbs in [II] allow correspondences with a persona! subject, either the 7 of  
 the speaker or indefinite one:

'Happily, Unhappily,

Sadly, Thankfully, .Hopefully, (especially AmE), J

{happy

he won't be there

flam \ \One is}

unhappy sad

thankful .hopeful J

that he won't be there

Disjuncts 617 Syntactic features of disjuncts

In general, disjuncts - whether style or attitudinal - do not allow any of the syntactic  
 features listed for adjuncts in 8.3, 8.8, and 8.9 (c/also 8.4). Other features applying to  
 disjuncts include:

(1) Most attitudinal disjuncts cannot appear in any position in a question (c/Note a,  
 below):

•Does he fortunately know about it?

On the other hand, most style disjuncts can appear in a question, even initially:

Frankly, does he know about it? But/

\*Personally, is she very clever ?

(2) Most attitudinal disjuncts cannot appear in an indirect question (c/Note a, below):

\*He asked whether, fortunately, they knew anything about it. Style disjuncts can  
 appear in an indirect question:

They want to know whether, strictly speaking, they're trespassing.

(3) Most attitudinal disjuncts cannot appear with imperatives:

\*Fortunately, don't tell him. But cf Perhaps tell him now.

On the other hand, some style disjuncts (including most in Group A, 8.80) can do so,  
 even in / position:

Frankly, don't tell him.

(4) While disjuncts can appear in almost any position, the normal position for most  
 disjuncts is /. However, some attitudinal disjuncts in [la], eg: probably, possibly, and  
 all in [lib], eg: rightly, wisely, normally occur at M2, and often at M1 (c/8.7).

(5) Disjuncts appear with some difficulty in dependent finite clauses, but do so more  
 freely than conjuncts (8.94):

He was a man who, unaccountably, had few friends. What, interestingly enough,  
 pleased them most was her enthusiasm. 518 Adjuncts, disjuncts. conjuncts

Disjuncts 519

## Note

Though he was quite rightly dismissed, he was given six months' salary.

[a] Certain attitudinal disjuncts in Group Ia (8.82) expressing some doubt (eg; perhaps, possibly, conceivably) are marginally acceptable in direct and indirect questions, but not at / position. Some in [IcJ] (8.82) are acceptable in questions perhaps even initially, eg; basically, essentially, fundamentally, ideally.

[b] It seems that attitudinal disjuncts can appear within a clause that is loosely attached to a question:

Did they refuse the first offer, expecting, naturally, a better offer?

[c] Some attitudinal disjuncts can be used as a comment on a previous statement, usually accompanied by yes or no:

a: They have returned to San Francisco.

b: Very wisely, ('They were very wise to do so') a : They won't be coming back.

b: Unfortunately, no. ('It's unfortunate that they won't')

A few style disjuncts (honestly, literally, seriously, truly, truthfully) are used as verbless questions:

a: I'm going to resign.

n: Seriously? ('Were you speaking seriously when you said that?') The attitudinal disjunct really is commonly used in this way: a: I'm going to resign, b: Really? ('Is that so?')

## 8.87

Most disjuncts can be modified. Common premodifiers are very and quite. For some attitudinal disjuncts in [Ha] (8.82), the postmodifier enough is common, particularly for those evaluating the communication as odd (bizarrely, curiously, eerily, funnily, oddly):

Oddly enough, he hasn't said anything about it

Several can be premodified by not, in particular surprisingly and some with negative prefixes (unexpectedly, unreasonably, unwisely, unusually):

Not surprisingly, he protested strongly about it Not unreasonably, she refused him

Other common premodifiers include the comparatives more, most, less, least:

Strangely, he has not been here lately. Even more strangely, he has

not phoned, More amusingly than wisely, he kept on insisting on his right to speak.

## Note

[a] Attitudinal disjuncts with -td participle stems, eg: undoubtedly, allegedly, cannot be modified.

[d] Enough as a modifier of disjuncts does not mean 'sufficiently\*'. For example the phrase oddly enough is paraphrasable by 'odd though it may seem'. r,i item-negation of the disjunct can co-occur with clause negation: Not surprisingly, they were not happy with their results.

A specification of range can be added for attitudinal disjuncts in [Ila] (8.82), normally a prepositional phrase introduced by for:

Luckily for John, the gun was not loaded ('John was lucky that...')

for John specifies that luckily is not to be generalized, but applies specifically to John. Specification can also be made by from X's point of view or from the point of view of X:

Understandably enough from his point of view, he does not want the news to reach his family before he tells them himself.

An equivalent effect is obtained in prepositional phrases as attitudinal disjuncts, where the noun phrase in the genitive or in the o/-prepositional phrase specifies the range, eg: to my regret, to his annoyance, to their disappointment, to John's surprise, to the delight of all present. Adverbs in [Ila] with participle stem in -ing, eg: annoyingly, generally have a corresponding prepositional phrase in this form. The prepositional phrases are more commonly used than the adverbs.

We can achieve the same effect by sentential relative clauses (11.52, 13.15), eg: which surprised John or which I regret, or by comment clauses (11.65), what delighted all present or what disappoints them. Sentential relative clauses are probably used most commonly of all.

Note

[a] Surprisingly and its synonyms can only take a for- specification that refers to a noun or pronoun co-referential with a noun phrase later in the clause:

Surprisingly for him [U for John], the altitude affected John adversely  
Surprisingly for him [ie for John], John failed the exam \* Surprisingly for his father, John failed the exam

Contrast the last sentence with Annoyingly for his father, John failed the exam

Whereas surprisingly for him means others are surprised about him, annoyingly for his father means his father is annoyed.

This distinction does not apply to the corresponding prepositional phrases. To my surprise is equivalent to 'I am (or 'was') surprised'.

W Corresponding sentential relative clauses can be found for attitudinal disjuncts in all groups having corresponding 'it is aA } that,, .'clauses except [la] (8.82):

Certainly, Obviously,

Understandably, Wisely,

he didn't want to have anything to do with them

620 Adjuncts, districts, conjuncts

'certain

(painfully) obvious

He didn't want to have anything to do with them, which was

I understandable

[.wise

On the other hand, all have corresponding comment clauses, though often a modifier such as very or more is required. Hence, we can have

What was even more certain, he didn't speak at the meeting.

[c] Adverbs in pia] that express an opinion as to whether a statement is fortunate or not {eg: fortunately, luckily) allow the interpretation that the subject is fortunate or the reverse. But this is not a necessary implication of their use. For example.

Fortunately, John keeps his car in a garage overnight during the winter.

■  
fortunaity, juiu r^x^-yj lu> \*«- ,—

does not necessarily mean that John is fortunate, though out of context this sentence conveys that implication strongly. But we can add to the sentence in such a way as to make it clear that the intention is that someone else is fortunate; Fortunately, John keeps his car in a garage overnight during the winter. Bob was therefore able to start the car very easily when he needed to borrow it in a hurry early this morning.

From this context, it is clear that it is Bob who is fortunate. Compare also: Fortunately for me (= I am fortunate that) John keeps his car in a garage overnight during the winter.

In contrast, adverbs in [lib], such as rightly or wisely, do not allow for prepositional phrases specifying the range of the adverb.

Conjuncts

8.89

Most conjuncts (8.2-5) are adverbs or prepositional phrases (cf 8.76, 8.78). The part that conjuncts play in clause and sentence connection is  
,—listing  
enumerative

## CONJUNCTS

I— additive

L\_

-transitional

— summative

- apposition

— result

- inferential

reinforcing equative

j— contrastive

— reformulatory

— replacive -antithetic

— concessive

I— temporal transition Fig 8:6 Conjuncts

Conjuncts 521

discussed elsewhere (10.17^"). For the distinction between conjuncts and conjunctions, see 9.29 .#". Fig 8:6 displays the semantic subclasses of conjuncts as defined by their role in clause and sentence connection.

Conjuncts are listed below according to their subclasses. Except for enumerative conjuncts, which are an open class, all adverbs are given, as well as some common prepositional phrases and noun phrases. References are to the sections in Chapter 10 where the conjuncts are discussed.

ENUMERATIVE (10.19) first, second, third... firstly), secondly, thirdly ...  
one, two, three (especially in learned and technical use)

a, b, c (especially in learned and technical use)

next, then finally, last, lastly

in the first place, in the second place... for one thing ... (and) for another (thing) for a start

to begin with, to start with

to conclude

REINFORCING (10.21)

again (formal), also, further (formal), furthermore, more (rare, formal), moreover, then (informal, especially spoken), too (rare, AmE), in addition, above all, on top of it all, to top it (all), to cap it (all), what is more

EQUATIVE (10.21)

correspondingly (formal), equally, likewise, similarly, in the same way, by the same token

TRANSITIONAL (10.24)

incidentally, now (informal) by the way, by the by(e)

SUMMATIVE (10.25)

altogether, overall, then, therefore, thus (formal), (all) in all, in

conclusion, in sum, to conclude, to sum up, to summarize apposition (10.26, c/also 9.138)

namely (often abbreviated to viz in formal written English), thus;

in other words, for example (often abbreviated to e.g. or eg in written English and sometimes spoken as /i d^'ij), for instance

that is (often abbreviated to i.e. or ie in specialized written English and sometimes spoken as /ai if), that is to say

RESULT (10.27)

accordingly, consequently, hence (formal), now, so (informal),

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therefore, thus (formal), as a consequence, in consequence, as a result [somehow ('for some reason or other\*)]

INFERENTIAL (10.28)

else, otherwise, then in other words in that case

REFORMULATORY (10.30)

better, rather in other words

replacive (10.31) again, alternatively, rather better, worse on the other hand

ANTITHETIC (10.33)

contrariwise (formal), contrastingly (formal), conversely (formal)

instead (blend of antithetic with replacive)

oppositely (rare), then

on the contrary, in contrast, by contrast, by way of contrast

in comparison, by comparison, by way of comparison

(on the one hand. ..)on the other hand

concessive (10.34)

anyhow (informal), anyway (informal), besides (blend of reinforcing with concessive), else, however, nevertheless, nonetheless (formal, also spelled none the



less), notwithstanding (formal), only (informal), still, though, yet, in any case, in any event (formal), at any rate, at all events, for all that, in spite of that, in spite of it all, after all, at the same time, on the other hand, all the same

#### TEMPORAL TRANSITION (10.12)

meantime, meanwhile, in the meantime, in the meanwhile

Examples of conjuncts:

I'd like you to do two things for me. First, phone the office and tell them I'll be late. Secondly, order a taxi to be here in about half an hour.

You can tell him from me that I'm not going to put up with his complaints any longer. What's more, I'm going to tell him that myself when I see him tomorrow.

I see that you've given him an excellent report. You're satisfied with his work then, are you ?

#### Correlatives & 23

I took him to the zoo early this morning and then we went to see a circus. All in all, he's had a very good time today.

If you want to come here tomorrow, I'll make an appointment.

Or rather, I'll ask my secretary to do so.

It was a very difficult examination. Nevertheless, he passed it with distinction.

He doesn't need any money from us. On the contrary, we should be going to him for a loan.

Note

[a] The cardinal and ordinal numbers may be represented in writing by their symbols in the various systems;

1,2,3... I, II, III... i, ii, iii . . .

Similarly, the alphabetic letters may be represented either as minuscules (a, b.e...) or as majuscules (A, B,C. -). These different systems allow the writer to choose a hierarchy of listings and sublistings. In general, no clear conventions have been established for which sets of symbols are to be subordinate to other sets, and the writer is therefore free to choose a hierarchy of sets for his own purpose.

[6] Too as reinforcing conjunct (rare, AmE) occupies / position.

[c] Somehow has been included among conjuncts because it fits the criteria for the class (8.2 Jf), and it is listed with result conjuncts because it is closest to them semantically. It differs from all other conjuncts in not indicating a relationship between its clause and what precedes:

Somehow I don't trust him (or some reason or other')

Somehow is in fact used when the reason is not made explicit in the preceding context. In contrast, other result conjuncts {eg: therefore -'for that reason') require the reason or cause to be given in the preceding context. Hence the clause to which they are attached states the result or consequence. [d\ An example of the antithetic conjunct oppositely (rare):

Any normal person is depressed when given proper cause for depression. Oppositely, normal people become very excited when, for example, they have won a big prize.

[«1 On the other is an alternative form of on the other hand when it is a correlative with on the one hand.

8.90

As with disjuncts (8.80/, 8.83#), many conjuncts correspond to other Imctures. Almost all of these, indeed, are like style disjuncts in that the correspondence incorporates a verb of speaking and usually the subject is the speaker (8.80). The conjunct is normally represented lexically in the correspondence by a homonymous adjunct. We therefore consider the correspondences according to the class of homonymous adjunct. 524 Adjuncts, disjuncts. corijunctis

#### [I] TIME AND PLACE ADJUNCTS

The succession in time or place conveyed by the adjuncts is converted into the logical succession of discourse when there is the implication of a verb of speaking. The correspondence has as its subject the speaker, but it is sometimes possible to use an indefinite pronoun instead (eg indefinite one, we, or you). The correspondence can usually be given the form

One (etc) can) , , , ,  
. ... May+homonymous adjunct

We can include here most h'sting adjuncts, the conjuncts now and then (whatever their subclass), and a few conjuncts scattered through other subclasses, eg: by the way, yet, still, after all, at the same time. Examples:

There are two things that the Government can do: First ('I will say'+first), it can cut spending on defence; second ('I will say'+second), it can reduce the number of civil servants.

If astronauts have landed on the moon, then ('one can say' + then) there is no reason why they can't land on Venus.

[II]

#### ADDITIVE ADJUNCTS

Here, too, the correspondence incorporates a verb of speaking and usually the subject is the speaker. We can include here the additive conjuncts. Examples:

Most of us see no reason why capital punishment should not be abolished. Further ('I will further say'), the arguments in favour of corporal punishment seem trivial to most of us.

The acts of a parish council must be confirmed by the parish meeting. In addition ('I will tell you in addition'). decisions of a parish meeting must be confirmed by a referendum of all the electors in the parish.

These additive adjuncts (cf&A3ff) have themselves homonymous time, place or process adjuncts.

#### [III] PROCESS ADJUNCTS

The same type of correspondence can be established here. The conjuncts involved are scattered through the various subclasses of conjuncts.

## Conjuncts 525

Examples:

Incidentally ('I tell you' + incidentally), he didn't want the book  
To conclude ('I tell you' + (w order) to conclude), it was a great success

Some conjuncts have correspondences that do not fit into the three categories we have set up:

(1) the enumerative conjuncts that are cardinal numbers and alphabetic letters:

one, two,...

(2) the conjunct only:

I intended to read the book, only ('I would only say') I felt too tired.

(3) the conjunct rather:

What unites the party is the absence of a policy. Or rather (\* I should rather say'), there is a policy but it has not been properly formulated.

(4) reformulatory better:

In the example given for rather in (3) above, rather could be 'f replaced by better in the sense 'It would be better for me to u say'.

a  
iti

(5) replacive conjuncts better and worse:

You can write to him about it. Better still ('This would be ,, \*' better stiW), write to his father.

'in

(6) concessive conjunct however:

He didn't like the food. However ('However true that may \_ . he didn't complain about it.

0) The conjunct though is related to the conjunction though. Oftete

it is an informal equivalent to an abbreviated subordinate clause

with the conjunction though as subordinator: ^kv

»»■ ■ . His food is rather a problem. He looks fit, though. jtt«3#\M526

Adjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts

## Conjuncts 527

The sentence is interpreted as

His food is rather a problem. He looks fit, though his food is rather a problem.

The implied subordinate clause need not be identical with the content of a previous clause:

Singapore must now be one of the best-defended cities in the world. There is no reason, though, to suppose that the people of Singapore would want to spend as much money on defence as Britain has spent.

The implied subordinate clause represented by the conjunct could be something like 'though the people of Singapore are pleased to have one of the best-defended cities in the world'. See also 8,91 Note\*.

Note

[a] Some conjunctions, eg: while, since, as, are used for both temporal and logical relation.

[b] For some conjuncts it is difficult to find a correspondence accounting for the homonymous adjunct, eg: so, otherwise, at any role. Others have no homonymous adjuncts, eg furthermore, moreover, namely, nevertheless, consequently, meanwhile. But some of these are compounds with an element that functions as an additive, time or place adjunct, eg: furthermore, moreover, nevertheless.

8.91

Positions of conjuncts (c/8.7)

The normal position for most conjuncts is /. In that position they are usually separated from what follows by a tone unit boundary in speech or a comma in writing. In other positions, they are in an independent tone unit or enclosed in commas if these devices either prevent confusion with homonyms or contribute towards the indication of information focus

Some conjuncts are restricted, or virtually restricted, to /position:

again

also

altogether

besides

better

else

equally

further

hence

likewise

more only

overall

similarly

so

still

then (antithetic)

too (rare, AmE)

yet

tf positions are rare for most conjuncts, and E rarer still. Those that readily occur at E include

anyhow anyway

otherwise A(frequent also at M)

though (particularly common)J \*

Note

[a] So, yet, only, and else are distinguished by the punctuation convention that allows them to be separated from the previous clause by a comma where other conjuncts would require a more major mark of punctuation (App 111.16). However, else is normally preceded by the coordinator or.

So, yet, and else usually occur without intonation or punctuation separation from what follows. However, when so signals a general inference from the previous

linguistic context and might be paraphrased by 'it follows from what has been said', it is often marked by punctuation and intonation separation:

So, you think you know best (informal) For so and yet in relation to coordinators, see 9.29 ff.

[b] The concessive conjunct *though* is a marginal case. We have earlier pointed out that *though* is often equivalent to a subordinate clause with the subordinator *though* (8.90). The problem arises when *though* is in / position and meaning is preserved if it is transposed elsewhere in the clause. In such cases, there is normally a major pause or punctuation mark between the two clauses. For example,

He is poor - *though* he is satisfied with his condition, is equivalent to

He is poor. He is satisfied with his condition, *though*, (more informal) In speech a special kind of intonation is required for such a clause, normally a falling-rising nuclear tone:

he is [poor] - *though* he is satisfied with his condition! Notice that the sentences are not equivalent to

*Though* he is satisfied with his condition, he is poor, but to

*Though* he is poor, he is satisfied with his condition. *Although* can be used in the same way:

He is poor. He is satisfied with his condition, *though*.

\_/he is [poor] - *although* he is satisfied with his condition!

\*Although* he is poor, he is satisfied with his condition.

But, unlike *though*, *although* is not a conjunct, and it cannot be transposed elsewhere in the clause:

He is poor. \*He is satisfied with his condition, *although*.

Final *though* and *although* clauses can be regarded as implying some claim of the speaker, eg:

He is poor - (I maintain that this is true)

{.. *Though* he is satisfied with his condition.

*Though* J

528 Adjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts

Conjuncts 529

Cf final *because* clauses functioning as a disjunct of reason (8.78 Note 9 2\ 11.37).

[c] An example where comma punctuation might avoid ambiguity is given with inferential *then*:

Well, what did you want, *then* ?

Without the preceding comma, *then* would probably be interpreted as a time adjunct (probably 'after that') rather than as the inferential conjunct ('in that case').

8.92

Conjuncts as correlatives

Some conjuncts can correlate with the subordinator of a previous clause to reinforce the logical relationship between the clauses. This is because a similar logical relationship is effected by both the subordinator and the conjunct, except that the conjunct must always have anaphoric reference whereas often a subordinate clause can either precede or follow its super-ordinate clause. For example, the following sentences are similar in meaning to some extent:

Though he is poor, he is satisfied with his situation

He is poor, yet he is satisfied with his situation

The major difference is that the second states his poverty as a fact, whereas in the first his poverty is presupposed as given information (cfl4.5). We can combine both subordinator and conjunct in one sentence:

Though he is poor, yet he is satisfied with his situation

Indeed, with concessives we can reinforce the concession by having more than one concessive conjunct in the second clause:

Though he is poor, yet he is nevertheless satisfied with his situation.

The conjuncts that reinforce particular subordinators (cfl1.10) are shown below, It should be noted, however, that it is more usual to reinforce condition and concession subordinators than cause and time subordinators.

condition: if

concession: although

(even) though while

granted (that) even if

then

yet

still however

nevertheless

nonetheless

notwithstanding

anyway

anyhow

cause:

time;

f therefore because 1 hence

seeing (that) | accordingly

I consequently

while

meanwhile meantime

1 The two instances of while listed above are different. While in the concessive list of subordinators is synonymous with the subordinator though, and the other while is equivalent to 'during the time that'.

|M Certain other expressions with concessive force may correlate with a concessive conjunct, for example, true, clearly, or certainty, c/10.35.

8.93

Conjunctions for clauses with conjuncts

A clause containing a conjunct may be linked to a preceding clause by one of the coordinators (and, or, but) but not all the conjuncts admit each coordinator. The following conjuncts seem to be limited to the specified coordinators:

and so

{however then (antithetic) though

(else

{again (replative)

{besides still yet nevertheless

Two of these conjuncts - however and though - cannot follow the conjunction immediately. That is to say, if but links their clause to the preced-'ng clause, however and though cannot be initial, although they can be if there is no conjunction in front of them. We can therefore have:

He doesn't eat very much, but he looks healthy, though.

He doesn't eat very much. Though he looks healthy, doesn't he?

You can phone the doctor if you like, but I very much doubt, however, whether you will get him to come out on a Saturday night.

can phone the doctor if you like. However, I very much doubt whether you will get him to come out on a Saturday night. 530 Adjuncts, disjuncts. conjuncts

Conjuncts 531

On the other hand, we cannot have

\*He doesn't eat very much, but though he looks healthy. •You can phone the doctor if you like, but, however, I very much doubt whether you will get him to come out on a Saturday night

So, only, yet, replative again, and antithetic then cannot be preceded by subordinators. There do not appear to be such restrictions on the disjuncts,

Note

The concessive conjunct only (informal) is a marginal case. Some speakers allow the coordinator but to precede it:

71 intended to go, but only 1 didn't feel well

For those who do not allow but, only has a status similar to that of the subordinators for and resultative so that (9.37-38).

8.94

Syntactic features of conjuncts

In general, conjuncts (like disjuncts, e/8.86) do not allow any of the syntactic features listed for adjuncts in 8.3, 8.8, and 8.9 (c/ also 8.4). Features applying to conjuncts include:

(1) Virtually all conjuncts can appear with questions:

Anyway, do you know the answer? Also, why should he pay for the damage? Will you therefore resign ?

Most can readily appear in / position with questions. The conjuncts only and somehow (and perhaps also too in its rare conjunct use) are exceptional in that they cannot appear with questions.

(2) Conjuncts restricted to / position are unacceptable in indirect questions:

Uet ]

•He asked whether\* so >they would stay (hence)

Unlike most disjuncts, most conjuncts can appear with imperatives, whether positive or negative:

Some mobile conjuncts are acceptable:

instead anyway

as a result

He asked whether  
nevertheless  
, on the other hand, therefore  
they would stay

Moreover,

Incidentally, Nevertheless, Otherwise, What's more, All the same,<sup>^</sup>  
(explain the situation to them \don't explain the situation to them

(4) Unlike disjuncts, adverbs as conjuncts do not accept modification:

\*very incidentally, \*accordtngly enough

(5) Conjuncts are not usually coordinated. Enumerative and additive conjuncts are exceptional in readily taking appositional coordination, eg: fifthly and finally, first and most important.

(6) Conjuncts occasionally occur in dependent finite clauses (c/"8.86):

(a) ADVERBIAL CLAUSES:

I saw him, because otherwise he would have complained. I met him in the park, when, however, it was raining heavily. I saw him when he was very busy and when, moreover, his workers were threatening to strike.

(b) RESTRICTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSES:

He was generally considered a man who might anyway break his promise. He was a supporter of the government, but he made a speech that constituted, however, an attack on the Prime Minister.

(c) NON-RESTRICTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSES:

I'm inviting Peter, who is a student, and who therefore cannot afford to spend too much money. I spoke angrily to Bill, who consequently strode away without answering me.

JN >tice that in the example in (a) with otherwise we can transpose the auses with the conjunct remaining in its subordinate clause:

«cause otherwise he would have complained, I saw him.

is an exception (applying only to some conjuncts and only when they m subordinate clauses) to the general rule that a conjunct has ana-

- reference (8.92). In some instances a conjunct does not function in532 Adjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts

the subordinate clause in which it appears, but must instead apply ^ the superordinate clause:

I can explain it orally, if, however, you insist, I'll put it in writing. =1 can explain it orally. However, I'll put it in writing, if you insist

In such a case, the subordinate clause cannot be transposed together with the conjunct. The conjunct can be transposed to the beginning of the sentence or to some position within the superordinate clause.

Note

[a] The conjuncts belter and worse can be modified, eg: better still, even worse. [b\ For appositional coordination, see 9.175.

Bibliographical note



Some recent contributions on adverbs: Bolinger (1972); Crystal (1966); Fraser (1971); Greenbaum (1969a) and (1970); Jacobson (1964).

! V.

NINE

Coordination and apposition

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## 9.1 Introduction

This chapter is devoted primarily to coordination and apposition. But since these phenomena often involve the device of ellipsis, we begin with a consideration of the nature of ellipsis. It seems convenient to bring together here cases of ellipsis not dealt with under coordination or apposition (later in this chapter), sentence connection (10.53 ff, 10.74J51) or comparison (11.56). We shall also indicate some constructions where there appears to be no reason to posit ellipsis.

### Ellipsis

#### Nature of ellipsis 9.2

Ellipsis is purely a surface phenomenon. In the sentence

She might sing, but I don't think she will (sing)

[1]

the word sing is ellipted. In a strict sense of ellipsis, words are ellipted only if they are uniquely recoverable, ie there is no doubt as to what words are to be supplied, and it is possible to add the recovered words to the sentence. Therefore, sing is ellipted also in

She rarely sings, so I don't think she will (sing) tonight [2]

The expansion in [2] is not a mere repetition of the form of the verb as given earlier in the sentence, since the use of the modal auxiliary involves a consequent morphological change. It remains true that sing in [2] is uniquely recoverable and can be added to the sentence.

What is uniquely recoverable depends on the context. The examples we have given involve ellipsis that is dependent on what is present in a previous clause within the same sentence. In a larger context, across sentences, the ellipsis might be different.

For example, given the sentence

She can't sing tonight, so she won't (sing)

we assume that sing is ellipted, as indicated. However, different items are ellipted when this same sentence is in a context such as the following:

a: She always bores our company when she sings. I hope she won't bore them tonight. B: She can't sing tonight, so she won't (bore them tonight).

In contrast to these instances where there is undoubtedly ellipsis, in the common response

Thanks

It is not clear what missing elements are left unexpressed. We could analyze the sentence in various ways, for example:

I owe you my thanks

I give you thanks

Thanks is therefore not elliptical in the strict definition of the term. Indeed, it may be argued that no elements are left unexpressed, and that Thanks is no different from Hello in this respect (for further examples, see 7.86, 7.88).

93

Ellipsis is not to be confused with the concept of deletion postulated in some theories of grammar, notably that of transformational grammar. To take a simple example, if we compare the sentences

John wants Mary to read John wants to read

[3] [4]

It is clear that [4] requires us to understand that John is the subject of to read. Our knowledge that John is the subject reflects an important semantic implication of the type of construction exemplified in [4]. But for all this, John is not ellipted, since (in the intended co-referential sense) the insertion of John produces an unacceptable sentence:

\*John wants John to read. Note

Ellipsis may coincide, however, with some cases of optional deletion as formulated in such theories of grammar.

9.4

Motivation for ellipsis

Ellipsis is most commonly an abbreviating device that reduces redundancy. A major use of ellipsis is the avoidance of repetition, and in this respect it is like substitution (10.39#), which can often be used instead of ellipsis. For example, we can avoid the repetition of sing not only by

ellipsis of the word:

She might sing, but I don't think she will (sing) [1]

but also by the substitution of a pro-form:

She might sing, but I don't think she will do so [1a]

Repetition is often avoided for stylistic reasons. Where avoidance of repetition is a motivating factor, ellipsis is usually anaphoric, as in [1] but occasionally it is cataphoric:

John doesn't want to (apologize), but clearly he must, apologize.

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However, redundancy need not relate to words that can be inferred from the linguistic context. The ellipted words may be obvious from situation;

(Do you) Want some? Such forms of ellipsis are restricted to familiar style (9.18\_^).

There is another important motivation for ellipsis. By omitting items that are shared, attention is focused on the new material, as in the dialogue below:

A: Have you spoken to him? B: (I have) Not yet (spoken to him). Note

In addition, repetition can sometimes be avoided by the substitution of co-referential expressions (10.4ff):

Peter Sand denied he ever struck his students. The teacher claimed (that the school administration had a grudge against him).

Ellipsis dependent on linguistic context

Adverbial finite clause

9.5

In adverbial finite clauses the whole of the predication or part of it can be omitted, except that we cannot ellipsis merely the object; c/(5) beJow. See also 9.69, 9.83.

(1) WHOLE OF PREDICATION (cf 9.82)

John will play the guitar at the party if Tom will {play the guitar at the party}

Because Alice won't (dust the furniture), Mary is dusting (the furniture)

(2) SUBJECT COMPLEMENT ONLY (cf 9.54)

I'm happy if you are (happy)

You must also be a member of the party, since he is (a member of the party)

but not if the verb in the subordinate clause is other than be:

\*He became a member, since she became (a member)

(3) ADJUNCT ONLY (cf 9.95 ff)

Tom was at Oxford when his brother was (at Oxford) I'll write to the committee if you'll write (to the committee) too (4) LEXICAL VERB ONLY (cf 9.12)

John is playing Peter though Tom won't (play) Paul I'll pay for the hotel if you will (pay) for the food but not

Ellipsis 539

(5) OBJECT ONLY (C/9.84)

\*He took the money because she wouldn't take (the money) \*I'll open an account if you'll open (an account)

vtfe can avoid repetition of the object by using pro-forms (10.43<sup>^</sup>): He took the money because she wouldn't take it I'll open an account if you'll open one

The elliptical adverbial clause normally follows its superordinate clause. If only the lexical verb is ellipsed and does not itself comprise the whole of the predication, the adverbial clause must follow. If the ellipsed lexical verb comprises the whole of the predication, then the adverbial clause may precede:

Since Tom can't (play the guitar), John will play the guitar

Only if you will (go), will I go

A superordinate clause can only be elliptical if it follows the adverbial clause on which the ellipsis is dependent:

If Tom resigns, John may (resign) 'John may (resign), if Tom resigns.

Note

[a] As elsewhere, for example with coordination (9.71), an auxiliary in its reduced form cannot precede ellipsis i

•I'm happy if you're.

[b] We cannot ellipsis only the auxiliary:

\*Tom will play the guitar, if Mary (will) sing nor can we ellipsis the entire verb phrase;

\*Susan was happy when Alice (was) miserable

•George will carry the cases if Bob (will carry) the parcels

But the entire predicate can be ellipted in an (/ -clause when the subject is anyone, no one, or a similar pronoun (4.127/):

If anyone (knows), he knows.

9.6

Just as with coordination (9.76 ff), most co-occurrences of auxiliaries in - two clauses are allowed. For this purpose, the ellipsis of an adverbial clause is equivalent to the ellipsis of the second conjoin (the second of coordinated clauses, c/9.39), and this is so whether the adverbial 'use precedes or follows. Thus, the heads of the verb phrases need not be identical in the two clauses:

Alice won't (dust the furniture), Mary is dusting the furniture. 540 Coordination and apposition

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Identical possibilities of co-occurrence are available to the ellipted superordinate clause, though as we have observed (Stilus must follow the other clause: i \1 ;, db aw

Because Tom has resigned, John may (resign).

Abbreviated clause: non-finite (cf 11.26) 9.7

The subject (co-referential with that of the superordinate clause) and an appropriate form of BE are ellipted in:

Although (he was) tired, he kept on working [5]

If (they are) punished, they will not cooperate [6]

If the subordinator is not present, there is not ellipsis in the strict sense, since more than one subordinator can be supplied (cf 11.47):

i (Although) "j ibio  
. (Even though) \ (he was) tired, he kept on working tlAv [5a] (Though) J

■ HO

{Wh

tfiey are

, they will not cooperate

[6a]

Since the conjunctions are synonymous or partially so, and form a severely limited set of alternatives, we might consider this as a weak form of ellipsis, which we shall term weak ellipsis.

9.8

With adverbial -ing clauses, there are additional complications in identifying ellipsis:

(1) Stative verbs (3.40) do not normally allow the progressive form in finite clauses, and hence be cannot be added:

Although knowing French, he attended the course \*Although he was knowing French, he attended the course [7b] With dynamic verbs, be can be added, but several interpretations involving tense and aspect are possible (cf 13.18):

Although living many miles away, he attended the course [7c] f is living

Although he rS !iVinE !TMny miles away, he attended the

b 1 lives

course

[lived J

(2) Having in the -ing clause does not allow the addition of the subordinator and subject:

Having watched Bob play, John left the stadium [8a]

\*After he having watched Bob play, John left the stadium [8b]

although either the subordinator or subject can be added: After having watched Bob play, John left the stadium [8c]

John having watched Bob play, he left the stadium. [8d]

Note

[a] The -ing form does not convey progressive aspect in [7a], [7c], [8a], [8c], or [8d], c/3.15,3.39. [6] In a construction of the type exemplified by [8d], a pronoun would normally be

used in the second clause if subjects of the two clauses are co-referential. Type [8d] is rarely used.

9.9

Abbreviated clause; verbless

Ellipsis of subject and be is also involved in verbless clauses introduced by a subordinator (5.27,11.7):

While (he was) at Oxford, he was active in the dramatic society. Whether (he is) right or wrong, Bob always loses in an argument. Though (she was) already middle-aged, she was very pretty.

9.10

Postmodifying -ed participle clause

It is possible to regard -ed participle postmodifying clauses (13.18 ff) as reduced relative clauses, with ellipsis of the relative and be:

Houses (which are) owned by absentee landlords will be confiscated The police rounded up men (who are) known to have been in the building at that time

'• is not strict ellipsis because there is a choice of relatives: the wh-is in these sentences could both be replaced by that. Furthermore, some cases the choice of tense for be is not fully determined. For "Mple, in the second sentence were could satisfactorily replace are.

Ml

ifying -i«g participle clause

the adverbial -ing clause (9.8), there is less justification for ■ing the postmodifying -ing clause as reduced from a finite clause. \*>Q, be cannot be inserted when a stative verb is used: t e man owning that car will be fined for illegal parking [9a]

e man who is owning that car will be fined for illegal parking [9b] 542

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9.12

Postmodifying adjective phrase

Postmodifying adjective phrases (5.18/), including those consisting only of an adjective, can normally be considered elliptical relative clauses with ellipsis of the relative and be:

No one (who is) honest will accept such a job. The men (who were) responsible for the administration of the school refused to consider the matter.

As with the postmodifying participle clauses (9.10), there is not strict ellipsis, since the wh- words could be replaced by that and in some cases (for example, the second of the above sentences) the tense of be is not fully determined.

Note

The mobility of the supplementive adjective clause (5.24), which can appear initially, as in

Nervous, the man opened the letter precludes it from being regarded as an elliptical non-restrictive relative clause.

9.13

Postmodifying prepositional phrase

Weak ellipsis (under the same conditions as in 9.12) can be equally posited for many postmodifying prepositional phrases (13.25 ff), especially those denoting place, which can be treated as reduced relative clauses:

We have already tested the students (who are) in that class.

They sell cars (that are) for handicapped drivers.

But phrases which cannot be treated in this way are probably more numerous:

At the end of the century, the world population will have more than doubled [1°al

\*At the end which is of the century, the world population will have more than doubled  
A deciding factor in the election result was the television campaign conducted by both candidates  
\*A deciding factor which was in the election result was the

television campaign conducted by both candidates

Note

A relatively small number of adverbs signifying place or time postmodify noun phrases (5.61) and some of the place adverbs in this function can be seen as reduce" relative clauses:

the sentence (that is) below

the hall (that is) downstairs

but m°st cannot be expanded in this way, particularly those denoting direction: the journey back ~ 'the journey that is back', is return home ~ \*his return that is home

9.14

Adjective as head of noun phrase

Adjectives functioning as heads of personal noun phrases (5.20,5.21) can be regarded as elliptical in a weak sense, with some general noun such as people ellipted:

The poor (people) need more help

However, if there is postmodification by a prepositional phrase, the general noun may have to be inserted before the adjective (5.20):

The poor in spirit need more help [12a]

'The poor people in spirit need more help [12b]



The people poor in spirit need more help [12c]  
But with prepositional phrases that can be seen as reduced relative clauses, the general noun can only appear after the adjective:  
The poor (people) in the ghettos need more help  
While in spirit postmodifies poor, in the ghettos postmodifies poor (people).

9.15

Supplementing clause

A supplementing clause can be regarded as an elliptical clause (usually parenthetical or an afterthought) for which the whole of the preceding or interrupted clause constitutes the ellipsis:

He told them (presumably with his tongue in his cheek) how he came to be late. [13]

I caught the train -just. [14]

two sentences presuppose that two separate assertions are being made. The usual form for [14] is

I just caught the train '14] presupposes caught the train -I just caught the train.

same analysis applies if the items added as afterthought are in their normal order:

caught the train- in time. ordination is often possible, as with the appended clause (9.16).

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9.16

Appended clause

An appended clause is similar to a supplementing clause except that on the part of the preceding or interrupted clause constitutes the ellipsis, and an additional clause constituent is present:

They are meant to wound, perhaps to kill.

They are meant, which is present in the first clause, is ellipted in the second clause, and the additional clause constituent is perhaps. To wound and to kill have identical functions in their respective clauses.

Other examples are:

He is playful, even mischievous.

His performance will be judged by his superiors - and even more importantly - by his colleagues. Note

A clause involving quantifiers interestingly illustrates the appended clause. The appended clause

They visit many schools, sometimes in an official car does not mean the same as

They sometimes visit many schools in an official car. Rather, it presupposes two assertions:

They visit many schools

They sometimes visit schools in an official car

Notice that the second assertion does not necessarily imply that they visit many schools.

## 9.17 Miscellaneous

Further types of ellipsis are found in other chapters and reference should be made to the sections where they are discussed:

(1) the elliptic genitive (4.103):

His memory is like an elephant's (memory)

(2) in comparative constructions (4.112, 11.56):

James enjoys the theatre more than Susan (enjoys the theatre)

(3) across sentences (10.53#, 10.74#):

A: Did you speak to John about it ? b: No, (I spoke) to Peter (about it).

Ellipsis not dependent on linguistic context 9.18

Some types of ellipsis are not dependent on the adjacent linguistic context for their interpretation. They may, however, be dependent on the

context. For example, Told you so can be expanded to / told

so or to We told you so. The more probable interpretation may be

inferred from the situational context, though even then there may be

ambiguity. These forms of ellipsis are restricted to familiar English.

In most cases of non-dependent ellipsis, it is the initial words of a

sentence that are ellipsed. The ellipsed items are those that normally

occur before the onset in a tone unit, and hence have light stress and are

at a low pitch (App II. 12). It may therefore be more accurate to ascribe

the omission to subaudibility rather than to ellipsis (c/13.8 Note).

Commands without a subject can hardly be included among the types of non-

dependent ellipsis. The omitted subject of the imperative verb is you (7-73). The

absence of the subject is the norm with imperatives, and is frequent in all levels of

formality. It seems better to treat the omitted you in commands as implied rather than

ellipsed (9.3,9.23).

Declarative sentences are best treated separately from questions, because an operator

is obligatory in questions.

Initial word(s) of sentence ellipsed

9.19

Declarative sentence

[A] SUBJECT ALONE ELLIPTED

Either no auxiliary is possible (eg; Serves you right!) or one is included {eg: Can't

see). The element ellipsed can be:

(1) the 1st person pronoun, normally I:

Beg your pardon

Told you so

Wonder what they're doing

Hope he's there

Don't know what to say

Think I'll go now

Most of the verbs in such an elliptical construction can take a clause complement.

(2) the 2nd person pronoun:

Had a good time, did you? Want a drink, do you? Had a good time ? Want a drink?

The 2nd person pronoun is only ellipted in statements if a tag question is added. It is also ellipted, as in the last two examples above, in declarative questions (7.61). (The last546 Coordination and apposition

example can be interpreted as an ordinary (non-declarative) question with Do you ellipted, c/9.20.)

(3) the 3rd person pronouns:

(He/She) Doesn't look too well (He/She/They) Can't play at all

(4) it:

Serves you right Doesn't matter Looks like rain Must be hot in Panama

The ellipted it in the first two of the preceding examples is the anticipatory it (14.36) found in such sentences as // serves you right that you fell, while in the last two sentences it is the 'prop word' it in sentences like It is cold (7.18). These ellipted sentences could refer directly to an action in the situational context, for example Serves you right might be said to a child immediately after he fell, if he had been warned not to act in a dangerous way. On the other hand, it in the following examples is the pro-form it, but again may refer directly to an object in the situational context:

Seems full

Makes too much noise

Boils too quickly

Some expressions may be interpreted out of context as having ellipsis of either type of it:

Sounds fine to me Won't be any use

(5) there:

Ought to be some coffee in the pot Must be somebody waiting for you May be some children outside Appears to be a big crowd in the hall

This is the existential subject there, as distinct from the true subject following the verb. The elliptical construction >s likely to contain a modal other than will, but won't is common:

(There) Won't be any food left for supper

Ellipsis 547

[B] SUBJECT PLUS OPERATOR ELLIPTED

If lexical be has been ellipted, the elliptical construction begins with what would be a subject complement in the full form.

(1) the 1st person pronoun (particularly /) plus be:

(Am) Sorry I couldn't be there (Am) Afraid not (We are) Afraid not

We alone cannot be ellipted, eg: "Are afraid not. For some speakers, the same applies to the singular pronoun /,■ for them Afraid not is acceptable, but not Am afraid not.

(2) it plus be:

Good to see you

Odd he won't help us

No wonder he's late

(A) Shame they won't be there

The ellipted it is the anticipatory it noticed above in, eg: Serves you right. A type of empty it is exemplified in the ellipsis in

(It's) Not that he is right

Elliptical sentences with ellipted / or we occur with ellipsis of operators other than be:

(I'll) See you later (We've) Got to go now.

Note

[a] The common elliptical phrases (I've) got wand (Pm) going to have acquired semi-institutionalized spellings, gotta and gonna respectively: Gotta go now; Gonna go now.

[b] Hadis commonly ellipted in spoken English in the semi-auxiliary had better (3.8): You better try it again. The subject can then be ellipted as well: Better try it again, 9.20

'Merrogative sentence

[A] SUBJECT PLUS OPERATOR ELLIPTED

If the elliptical construction begins with a verb, an auxiliary (have, do, or be) has been ellipted and not lexical be. In questions, the ellipted subject is usually you:

(Do you) Want some?

(Are you) Looking for anybody?

(Have you) Got any chocolate?

If the construction in its elliptical form begins with what would be546 Coordination and apposition

a subject complement or an adjunct in the full form, then be is ellipted as well as the pronoun realizing the subject:

(Are you) Happy?

(Are you) Afraid of him ?

(Are you) Hot?

(Are you) In trouble?

Os it) Hot?

(Are they) Tom?

Why can't he get up? (Is he) Too weak?

[B] OPERATOR ELLIPTED

If the operator alone is ellipted, a subject is supplied. If there is a subject complement, it is be that is ellipted:

(Is) Anything the matter ? (Are) You hungry ? (Is) That John?

If there is a verb, an auxiliary (have, do, or be) is ellipted:

(Does) Anybody need a lift? (Has) John done his homework?

A determiner in the subject noun phrase may be ellipted as well: Why isn't he here today ? (Is his) Car still not working ?

9.21

Other general cases

Determiners, operators, and pronouns are commonly omitted in block language (7.90), eg in headlines, titles, notices. They are also commonly omitted in personal letters, in familiar style, in notes (eg of lectures), diaries, and (very drastically) in telegrams.

## 9.22 Non-productive cases

There are several other types of ellipsis not dependent on the linguistic context, but they are not productive. The lexical items or parts of lexical items that may be ellipsed must be known individually. All the instances are restricted to familiar style. Subaudibility rather than ellipsis may be the factor that applies to most cases (cf 9.18).

### [A] ELLIPSIS OF AN ARTICLE:

(The) Trouble is there's nothing we can do about it (The) Fact is we don't know what to do (A) Friend of mine told me about it

## Ellipsis 549

The omission of the indefinite article is common in the construction 'a(n)+noun phrase+o/ prepositional phrase', as in (a) friend of mine. This may be combined with other ellipses:

(It is a) Pity he won't help

(It is a) Shame they won't be there

### [B] ELLIPSIS OF A PREPOSITION:

(Of) Course he's there

### [C] ELLIPSIS OF PART OF A WORD, OR CLIPPING;

He did it 'cause he wanted to

(where the apostrophe points to an ellipsis, and in BrE there is the semi-institutionalized spelling 'cos);

'Fraid I won't be there

(where the ellipsis of part of the word is combined with the ellipsis of subject and am: I am afraid I won't be there) The spelling 'Fraid is semi-institutionalized.

In contrast to the two examples in [C], there are many instances of clipping that have become institutionalized (even in spelling) and where the clipped form may be used in all but the most formal styles (App 1.59):

(telephone

(air) 1 . ; , Vplane (aeroXT

photo(graph) examination) (in)flu(enza)

## 9.23

### Semantic implication and ellipsis

We have referred earlier (9.3) to semantic implication as distinct from ellipsis. It may be more convenient to consider cases of weak ellipsis as involving semantic implication rather than ellipsis. For semantic implication there is no necessity that items understood be uniquely recoverable, or that it be possible to add understood items to the clause without changing the form of the clause. Two illustrations are given to clarify this point. In

Frankly, he is very stupid

ie disjunct frankly implies a comment of the speaker on the way he is taking (8.80/).

But there is no one set of missing items that can be supplied. We can expand frankly to (among many forms) / am speaking

frankly when I say or If I may put it frankly I would tell you. Similarly, \n

He's drunk, because I saw him staggering there is an implication (c/"11.37) that might be expressed by

He's drunk, and i claim that because I saw him staggering.

But equally we can give the implication other forms, such as and I know, and I am sure of it, and lam convinced of it, and the proof is.

## Coordination

### 9.24

#### Syndetic and asyndetic coordination

The term coordination is used by some grammarians for both syndetic coordination - when explicit indicators of coordination are present -and asyndetic coordination - when the relationship of coordination is not marked overtly. Sentence [15a] exemplifies syndetic coordination, with and as explicit indicator, while in [15b] we have asyndetic coordination with and omitted:

Slowly and stealthily, he crept towards his victim [15a]

Slowly, stealthily, he crept towards his victim [15b]

Explicit indicators of coordination are termed coordinating conjunctions, or (more simply) coordinators. Not all juxtaposed words, phrases or clauses are manifestations of asyndetic coordination. The possibility of inserting the coordinator and is evidence that the construction is asyndetic coordination. For this reason, we shall generally exemplify coordination with a coordinator present.

### Coordination and subordination 9.25

Explicit indicators of subordination are termed subordinating conjunctions or subordinators (more fully discussed in 11.9^). Both coordination and subordination (c/11.2) involve the linking of units, but in co-ordination the units are constituents of the same level whereas in sob-ordination they are on different levels. Thus (to take an example within a phrase, cf 13.60/), in his first and best novel the coordinated adjectival phrase first and best functions as a premodifier of novel, and in that phrase first and best are equal constituents. On the other hand, in his first good novel the adjective^rsf does not modify novel directly; it modifies goodnovel and good in turn modifies novel. Thus, there is a hierarchy in relationships and first good are not coordinated. One further exarflp'6

### Coordination 551

lujth adjectives will be brought, this time without a coordinator. In an Iderly, foolish man, the two adjectives are coordinated, each premodi-jyjug man, the head of the noun phrase. By contrast, foolish old in a foolish old man is not coordinated, since foolish modifies old man and not man- Notice that in the former expression we can insert and without changing tne relationship between elderly and foolish.

?J6

A major difference between coordination and subordination of clauses is that the information in subordinate clauses is not asserted, but presupposed as given (c/8.92, 14.5). Similar semantic relationships may be found in both types of constructions:

He has quarrelled with the chairman andhas resigned [16a]

Because he has quarrelled with the chairman he has resigned [16b]

He tried hard, but he failed [17a]

Although he tried hard, he failed [17b]

The cause-result relationship between the contents of the two clauses is the same in [16a] and [16b], while the concessive-result relationship is the same for [17a] and [17b], though the ordering of the relationships is reversed with the subordinate clauses of [16b] and [17b]. Moreover, the same semantic relationship between the clauses may be indicated overtly by a conjunct (8.S9ff). Thus, the conjunct yet in [17c] has a very similar force to but in [17a]:

He tried hard, yet he failed [17c]

Sentence [17c] is an asyndetic coordination with the conjunct yet in the second clause. Notice that this conjunct can be added to [17a], where but is the coordinator:

He tried hard, but yet he failed [17d]

Although the pairs of sentences [16a-16b] and [17a-17b] are similar semantically, they are very different grammatically, since [16b] and [17b] - adverbial in clause structure. Adverbial clauses and their subordinators are treated in 11.9 ff, 11.26 ff; here we shall merely point out the grammatical differences between coordinators and subordinators.

9.27

It is sometimes said that an important difference between coordination and subordination is that only in the former can the order of the two linguistic units be changed without a consequent change in the semantic relationships of the coordinated units: 552 Coordination and apposition

Coordination 553

Mary studies at a university and John works at a factory [18a]

John works at a factory and Mary studies at a university [18b]

But this potentiality is dependent on many factors, one of which is the relationship of meaning between the coordinated units, which may also have syntactic consequences (cf 9.40 ff). For example, if a cause-result relationship is implicit, the order of the coordinated clauses cannot be reversed without changing the relationship. Sentences [19a] and [19b] are obviously not synonymous:

He died and he was buried in the cemetery [19a]

He was buried in the cemetery and he died [19b]

Coordinators

9.28

Coordinators identified

We regard three conjunctions as coordinators: and, or, but. And and or are the central coordinators from which but differs in some respects. On the gradient between the 'pure' coordinators and the 'pure' subordinators are for and so that (meaning in this chapter, unless otherwise stated, 'with the result that'). For, indeed, is often classed as a coordinator. Nor is not a pure coordinator since it can be preceded by another coordinator (a potentiality not available to coordinators, as we shall see) and it contains a negative feature, which introduces some syntactic differences (9.55). Both,

either, and neither are used as the first in a correlative pair with and, or, and nor respectively. These anticipatory elements are optional. They are not themselves coordinators, since, like nor, they can be preceded by another coordinator.

### Syntactic features of coordinators 9.29

We shall now consider the syntactic features that apply to and and or, the central coordinators. With each feature, we note whether it is applicable to items that resemble coordinators in some respects: subordinators, conjuncts, and but, for and so that. At this stage we restrict our attention to the role of coordinators as clause-linkers.

### 9.30

#### Restricted to initial position

As clause coordinators, and and or are restricted to initial position in the clause:

John plays the guitar, and his sister plays the piano • John plays the guitar; his sister and plays the piano

This is generally true of conjunctions and also of some conjuncts (notably yet and so), but it is not true of most conjuncts, eg: moreover:

John plays the guitar; his sister, moreover, plays the piano [20c]

Some conjunctions though, as, and that are exceptional in appearing in initial position in certain circumstances (11.34):

Though he is poor, he is happy [21a]

Poor though he is, he is happy [21b]

As I am unaccustomed to public speaking, I beg your indulgence for my few inelegant words [22a]

Unaccustomed as I am to public speaking, I beg your indulgence for my few inelegant words [22b]

Fool that he is, he immediately dived into the water [23]

Though and as allow both positions, though initial position is normal. In the construction exemplified in [23] the position after the complement is obligatory:

\*That he is fool, he immediately dived into the water [23a]

#### Note

[a] Although, unlike though, is immobile:

\*Poor although he is, he is happy. [6] Sentence [32b] may be analysed as elliptical:

As unaccustomed as I am to public speaking,...

It is possible that that in [23] is a relative ('the fool that he is'), but it cannot be replaced by a *wh*-form.

### Coordinated clauses sequentially fixed 9.31

Clauses beginning with and or or are sequentially fixed in relation to the previous clause and therefore cannot be transposed without producing unacceptable sentences or at least changing the relationships of the clauses:

They are living in England or they are spending a vacation there [24a]

\*Or they are spending a vacation there, they are living in England [24b]



his is true for conjuncts, but not for most subordinators. Contrast the weptability of [25a], containing the conjunct nevertheless, with the ^ptability of [25b], containing the subordinator although:

Nevertheless John gave it away; Mary wanted it [25a]  
Although Mary wanted it, John gave it away [25b] 554

Coordination and apposition

Coordination 555

However, clauses introduced by but, for, and so that are also positional^ fixed. Contrast:

"For he was unhappy, he asked to be transferred [26a]

Because he was unhappy, he asked to be transferred [26b]

and resultative so that in [27] with purposive so that in [28]:

\*So that we weren't able to undo it, the whole thing was tied up  
in knots [27]

So that he could buy a car, he saved a lot of money. [28]

932

Presumably related to the fixed position of the clauses is the fact that when clauses are linked by the coordinators and, or, and but (also by for and so that), a pronoun in the first clause cannot have cataphoric (ie forward) reference to a noun in the second clause. For example, she in [29a] and [29b] cannot refer to Mary:

She was unhappy, and Mary stayed the whole evening [29a]

She was unhappy, but Mary stayed the whole evening [29b]

On the other hand, the pronoun can (but need not) have cataphoric reference when the clauses are joined by a subordinator:

Although she was unhappy, Mary stayed the whole evening [29c]

The most common position for a subordinate clause is final, in which case the pronoun is anaphoric:

Mary stayed the whole evening, although she was unhappy [29d]

Note

While the pronoun she in the first clause of [29a] and [29b] must have anaphoric reference to a previously-mentioned noun phrase, it is possible for the noun phrase in the second clause to have the same reference if it contains a general noun (and hence is like a pronoun) or if it characterizes the person referred to:

("the girl "I

She was unhappy, but< the idiot Utayed the whole evening.

Lyour foolish daughterJ

9.33

Not preceded by conjunction

And and or do not allow another conjunction to precede them. This is also true for but, for, and so that. On the other hand, subordinators as well as conjuncts can be preceded by conjunctions. In [30] two clauses linked by the conjunct yet are also linked by and, which precedes the conjunct:

He was unhappy about it, and yet he did what he was told [30]

« [31] and [32] two subordinate clauses are linked by and, which pre- the second subordinator because and the second subordinator

[31]

,,, that (with purposive meaning):

He asked to be transferred, because he was unhappy and because he saw no prospect of promotion He saved money so that he could buy a house and so that he would have enough for his old age [32]

By contrast, the conjunctions but, for and resultative so that cannot be preceded by and:

\*He was unhappy about it, and but he did what he was told [30a] \*He asked to be transferred, for he was unhappy and for he saw no possibility of promotion [31a]

\*He saved money so that he was able to buy a house and so that he had enough for his old age [32a]

Note

A subordinate clause is not usually coordinated with its superordinate clause, but this occasionally happens when it is treated as an afterthought (9.15):

He wouldn't do it - and (all) because I didn't ask him in person.

9.34

Ellipsis of subject

And and or allow ellipsis of the subject of the clause they introduce if the subject is co-referential with that of the preceding linked clause:

I may see you tomorrow or (I) may phone later in the day [33]

This feature also applies, though somewhat less frequently, to but:

They may complain, but (they) haven't said anything yet [34]

However, it does not apply to for and so that:

\*He did not want it, for was obstinate [35]

\*He did not spend very much, so that could afford a trip abroad [36]

3r does it apply to other conjunctions or to most conjuncts. But it does not seem to be unacceptable for the conjunct yet and (to a lesser extent, least in informal spoken English) for the conjunct so and the temporal anaphoric adjunct then (meaning 'after that'):

They didn't like it, yet (they) said nothing [37]

They were tired, so (they) left early [38]

They went home, then (they) went straight to bed [39] 556

Coordination and apposition

Coordination 557

A subordinator does not allow ellipsis even when its clause is linked by a coordinator:

•She didn't say anything about it because he was new and because looked unwell [40]

If the second subordinator in [40] is omitted, ellipsis is possible: She didn't say anything about it because he was new and (he)

looked unwell

[40a]

On the other hand, conjuncts otherwise not allowing ellipsis will do so if preceded by a coordinator:

•He went to bed early, nevertheless felt tired

[41a]

He went to bed early, and (he) nevertheless felt tired

[41b]

935

Linking of subordinate clauses

As well as linking two main clauses, and and or can link subordinate clauses:

He asked to be transferred, because he was unhappy and {because} he saw no prospect of promotion, and (because) conditions were far better at the other office.

I wonder whether you should go and see him or (whether) it is better to write to him.

In each case, the second and subsequent subordinators may be ellipted. Such linking is not possible for conjuncts or for the other conjunctions except but. But, however, is restricted to linking a maximum of two clauses (c/9.36):

He said that John would take them by car but (that) they might be late.

Even so, but can only link certain types of subordinate clauses:

(a) 77wi(-clauses (11.17), as above; only in the case of /Aor-clauses can the second subordinator, the one following but, be omitted.

(b) Temporal adverbial clauses:

I spoke to him after the conference was over, but before he started work.

(c) Clauses introduced by the same conjunctions, which might be wA-words, in order that, purposive so that, or because. In such cases the first part of the sentence is negative, and contrasts with the part that follows but:

She didn't see who met the ambassador, but who took him away.

He didn't save so that he could go to school, but so that he could buy a new car.

But cannot link most other subordinate clauses:

?\*They won't help you if/you pay them, but if you promise

to help them in return. •They didn't stay although they were unhappy, but although they were bored.

However, if the negation is outside the verb phrase, but can more easily link [/clauses:

It might have turned out all right not //he had been more forceful but if/he had been more tactful.

Note

[a] With or, certain verbs or adjectives in the superordinate clause allow (or, in some cases, require) that the subordinator that be replaced by whether or if:

He doesn't know whether Mary will pay for the dress or {whether} her

mother will give it to her. He's not sure if/he should write to her or (if) she will phone him of her own

accord.

[b] Speakers vary considerably as to the acceptability of various types of (/clauses linked by but.

9.36

## Linking of more than two clauses

And and or can link more than two clauses, and when this is done all but the final instance of these two conjunctions can be omitted. Thus

John might take them by car, Mary might go with them by bus, or I might order a taxi for them. [42a]

is interpreted as

John might take them by car, or Mary might go with them by bus, or I might order a taxi for them. [42b]

to this respect, and and or differ from subordinators and conjuncts and =n but. While it is possible (though unusual) to construct a sentence such as

John played football, Mary played tennis, but Alice stayed at home. [43a]

a sentence is interpreted as if the first two clauses had been linked and

John played football, and Mary played tennis, but Alice stayed at home. [43b] 558 Coordination and apposition

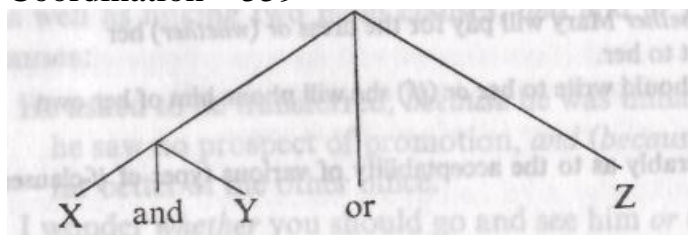
An indefinite number of clauses can be linked by and and or Furthermore, some of the clauses may be linked by and and others by or. In such combinations, the coordinator is usually omitted in all but the final instance when the same coordinator links more than two clauses: Attend all the lectures, (and) write full notes on them, and read the

prescribed books, or you'll be in trouble at the examination. When several clauses are coordinated they may be on the same level of coordination or one set (consisting of one or more clauses) may be coordinated to a set of the others (c/ 9.112). For example, in the following sentence X, Y, and Z symbolize the three clauses:

[X] I'll pay for the meal and [Y] you pay for the taxi, or [Z] perhaps

I'll pay for both. The relationship between the clauses can be represented in a tree diagram:

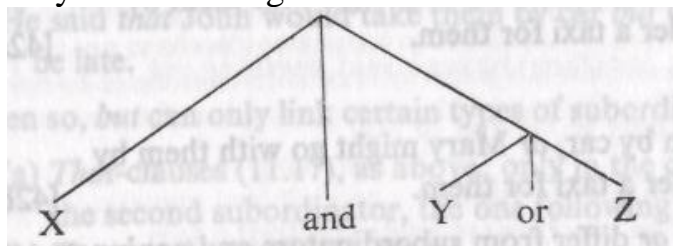
## Coordination 559



On the other hand, in the sentence

[X] His parents live in New York and [Y] he writes to them from

time to time or [Z] (he) phones them. The probable relationship is represented by a very different diagram:



## Coordination - subordination gradient

9.37

Table 9:1 displays the gradient from the central coordinators and and or to subordinators like if and because, with but, for, and so that on the gradient. The conjuncts yet and so are added to the table, because they have been considered by some to be coordinators. The six features of and/or have provided the basis for the six criteria used in constructing the matrix. If an item satisfies a criterion, this is indicated by a '+' in the cell at which the horizontal level of the item and the vertical

of the criterion meet. If it fails to satisfy the criterion, a '-' is entered. The combination '+-' takes account of cases, explained in the previous discussion, where the item satisfies the criterion only under certain conditions. The six criteria applied to each item or set of items are:

- (1) It is immobile in front of its clause.
- (2) A clause beginning with it is sequentially fixed in relation to the previous clause and hence cannot be moved to a position in front of that clause.
- (3) It does not allow a conjunction to precede it.
- (4) It allows ellipsis of the subject of the clause if the subject is co-referential with that of the preceding linked clause.
- (5) It can link subordinate clauses.
- (6) It can link more than two clauses and when it does all but the final instance of the linking item can be omitted.

Table 9:1

COORDINATION SUBORDINATION		- GRADIENT					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
coordinators	(and, or \but	+	+	+	+	+	+
subordinators	(for, so that \if, because	+	+	+	-	-	-
conjuncts	yet, so				+	+	- + - -

Note

When because introduces a disjunct clause (8.78 Note, 11.37), it resembles for and resultative so that:

He paid for the book, because I saw him.

9.38

We can justify the traditional inclusion of but among the coordinators and the exclusion of for and so that by pointing to two facts about but that distinguish it from the other two conjunctions: (a) the possibility of ellipsis of the subject under certain conditions when but introduces the clause and (b) the ability of but to link two subordinate clauses. The latter property, in particular, reflects its status as a coordinator in that it links constituents at the same level. The inability of for and so that to link two

auses in this way is sufficient justification for excluding them from the  
^s of coordinators. The conjuncts yet and so are anyway excluded

## 560 Coordination and apposition

### Coordination 581

because they can be preceded by another conjunction. Nevertheless both for and so that and conjuncts such as yet and so show some resemblance to the coordinators, which distinguishes them respectively from the subordinators and from conjuncts such as nevertheless and therefore. And, as we have seen, but also differs from and and or in cer-tain respects.

### Coordination of clauses 9.39

We first consider the coordination of clauses, with and, or and but as coordinators. The two or more clauses that may be coordinated (or conjoined) are termed here conjoins. Of the three coordinators, and is the least restricted in its role as coordinator of clauses and but the most restricted.

#### Note

[a] Conjoins are called conjuncts by some grammarians, but the term conjunct is used in this book for a class of adverbials used in linking. [b] A sentence constructed from two or more conjoins is traditionally termed a  
**COMPOUND SENTENCE.**

### Semantic implications of coordination by and

#### 9.40

And denotes merely a relation between the clauses. The only restriction is the semantic one that the contents of the clauses should have sufficient in common to justify their combination. Thus, [44] is odd simply because it would be difficult to find any connection between the semantic content of the clauses to motivate their combination:

\*The people went to a dance and the equator is equally distant  
from the two poles. [44]

The implications of the combination vary and they depend on our presuppositions and our knowledge of the world. However, the semantic relationship can usually be made explicit by the addition of an adverbial. With each exemplification of a relationship that we give in the following sections we insert in parenthesis (wherever possible) an adverbial that would make the relationship explicit. For the sake of simplicity, ^ illustrate the types of implications with sentences containing just t\*° clauses.

Of the eight types of semantic implication, in only three - (3), (7)' (8) - can the sequence of clauses perhaps be reversed without chang" ^ the semantic relationship between the clauses. Even so, the sequence is rarely random.

#### 9.41

(1) The second clause is a consequence or result of the first. This entails that the order of the clauses also reflects chronological sequence:

He heard an explosion and he (therefore) phoned the police.

#### 9.42

(2) The second clause is chronologically sequent to the first, but without any implication of a cause-result relationship:

She washed the dishes and (then) she dried them.

Note

There can be no implication of chronological sequence if the clauses are given in a sequence contrary to that of chronological sequence. Thus, if the second clause is tense-marked to indicate that its content is prior chronologically, coordination of the two clauses is unacceptable in the intended meaning: 'She dried the dishes and she had washed them

This of course also applies when there is the additional implication of a cause-effect relationship:

•He phoned the police and he had heard an explosion Notice, however, that these sequences are acceptable without linking by and: She dried the dishes; she had washed them He phoned the police; he had heard an explosion.

9.43

(3) The second clause introduces a contrast. And could be replaced by but when this implication is present:

Robert is secretive and (in contrast) David is candid.

9.44

Note

(4) The second clause is a comment on the first:

They disliked John - and that's not surprising.

Use of sufficiently long and the second is sometimes inserted parenthetically  
rather than 'It is difficult to explain this - reject the reforms in university administration.

9.45

The second clause is felt to be surprising in view of the first, so that the first clause has concessive force: He tried hard and (yet) he failed. 662 Coordination and apposition

Here too, but could replace and. The use of and creates a rhetorical effect, enhancing the impression that the second clause is unexpected.

9.46

(6) The first clause is a condition of the second:

Give me some money and (then) I'll help you escape.

Let's give him some money or/otherwise (then) he won't tell anybody what we did. We should give him some money or/otherwise (then) he won't tell anybody what we did.

The implication in the first of the sentences is shown by the paraphrase:

Give me some money. If you give me some money (then) I'll help you escape.

A condition-consequence relationship is implicit between what is suggested in the first clause and the expected consequence contained in the second clause. For the conditional implication to apply, it is usual that

(a) The second clause has a modal auxiliary (3.20 ff).

(b) The verb of the first clause is an imperative (Ulff) or contains a modal auxiliary.

Note

There are exceptions to both generalizations about the verb phrases in which the conditional implication can apply. The second clause can have the simple present with future reference:

Give me the bribe and you get the job

For some speakers the first clause can have the simple present with future reference:

He makes a move and I'll hit him.

9.47

(7) The second clause makes a point similar to the first:

A trade agreement should be no problem, and (similarly) a cultural exchange could be arranged.

9.48

(8) The second clause is a 'pure' addition to the first, the only implication being that the two statements are congruent:

He has long hair and (also) he wears jeans.

"<\*>Mii(Uofdination 663

ic implications of coordination by or

9.49

or usually denotes an alternative. As with and (9.40), the contents of the two clauses must have sufficient in common to motivate their justification alternatives. Hence, the sentence illustrating this point for and is also odd if or is substituted:

\*The people went to a dance or the equator is equally distant from the two poles.

[44a]

9.50

Usually or is exclusive, excluding the possibility of a realization of all but one of the alternatives:

You can sleep on the couch in the lounge or you can go to a hotel.

[45]

The preferred alternative tends to be put first

The content of some conjoinings excludes the possibility of both alternatives, as in [45], But even when both alternatives are possible, as in

You can boil yourself an egg or you can make some cheese sandwiches.

[46]

or is normally interpreted as exclusive. The addition of either to the first clause is more explicit in excluding the combination of both alternatives:

You can either boil yourself an egg, or you can make some cheese sandwiches.

[46a]

However, even if either is used, a third clause can be added which explicitly allows both alternatives:

You can either boil yourself an egg, or you can make some cheese sandwiches, or you can do both.

[46b]

For some speakers, the construction with either exemplified in [46b] is avoided, because of prescriptive teaching that insists that either should accompany only two alternatives. Note



"= prescriptive teaching is partly based on the use of either as pronoun or determiner to refer to two only. Also, either ... or is seen as related to both ... and, 161 n ^ 5s m°ce usua"IF restricted to two.

Th °r 'a alterQative Questions (where there is a closed set of options), see 7.68/ \* use of the correlatives whether.. .or and if.. .or in indirect alternative questions is discussed in 11.19. 564 Coordination and apposition

## Coordination 565

### 9.51

When the content of the clauses allows it, or can be interpreted as INCCusive, allowing the realization of a combination of the alternatives^ as in

You can boil yourself an egg or you can make some cheese sandwiches. [46]

We can explicitly include the third possibility by a third clause: You can boil yourself an egg, or you can make some cheese sandwiches, or you can do both. [46cJ

In special varieties of the language requiring precision, particularly in the written form, the third possibility can be explicitly included by a combination of coordinators, and/or:

If the appliance is defective, write directly to the manufacturer and/or complain to your local consumer protection service. [47]

### 9.52

The alternative expressed by or may be a restatement, a correction of what is said in the first conjoin:

They are enjoying themselves, or at least they appear to be enjoying themselves.

### 9.53

In addition to indicating an alternative, or may imply a negative condition. Thus in

Give me some money or I'll shoot [481

the implication can be paraphrased by the negative conditional clause if you don't give me some money:

Give me some money. If you don't give me some money I'll shoot. [48a]

This use of or is the negative analogue of one use of and (9.46), except that and generally requires an imperative or modal auxiliary in the first clause, whereas that is not a general requirement for or:

They liked the apartment or they wouldn't have stayed so long.

### 9.54

Semantic implications of coordination by but

But denotes a contrast. The contrast may be in the unexpectedness of what is said in the second conjoin in view of the content of the first conjoin:

John is poor, but he is happy

sentence implies that his happiness is unexpected in view of his verty- jjjC unexpectedness depends on our presuppositions and our knowledge of the world. It would be equally possible to say John is rich, but he is happy

if we considered wealth a source of unhappiness. However, the contrast may be a restatement in affirmative terms of what has been said or implied negatively in the first conjunct:

John didn't waste his time in the week before the exam, but studied hard every evening.

With this relationship, it is normal to ellipsis the repeated subject in the second clause (cf 9.93). Notice that we cannot here insert conjuncts such as yet or nevertheless, but we can insert on the contrary (cf 10.33).

Correlatives

9.55

Nor, neither

Nor and neither can be used without being a correlative pair. They generally presuppose that a previous clause is negative or contains a negative word or a negative implication:

He did not receive any assistance from the authorities, nor did he believe their assurance that action would soon be taken. Many people are only dimly aware of the ways in which the environment can be protected. Nor have governments made sufficient effort to educate them. All the students were obviously very miserable. Nor were the teachers satisfied with conditions at the school.

Notice that nor is not the equivalent of or plus not, as might be thought from its morphological composition. Rather, it is nearer to being the equivalent of and plus not. Thus,

They never forgave him for the insult, nor could he rid himself of feelings of guilt for having spoken that way. [49a]

is semantically equivalent to

They never forgave him for the insult, and he could not rid himself of feelings of guilt for having spoken that way either. [49b]

In all these sentences, neither can replace nor. Both neither and nor can be linked to preceding sentences by and or but:

They never forgave him for the insult, and he could not rid

himself of feelings of guilt for having spoken that way. [49c] 566

Coordination and apposition

This possibility excludes them from the class of pure coordinators (9.33, 9.37-38). Moreover, neither and nor require subject-operator inversion in their clause, a feature suggesting a measure of integration within clause structure and one they share with some negative adjuncts when they appear initially (8.66, 14.16).

Note

In highly formal and archaic style, nor is occasionally found after an affirmative clause:

It was hoped that all would be agreeable to that proposal. Nor was this hope disappointed.

Neither, .. nor 9.56

Neither . . . nor often constitute a correlative pair, negating two clauses conjoined by and. For example, the two clauses

David loves Joan and wants to marry her can be negated either by the negative particle not in each clause:

David does not love Joan and does not want to marry her or by the correlatives neither . . . nor:

David neither loves Joan nor wants to marry her

The correlatives emphasize that the negation applies to both clauses.

Correlative neither is mobile, its position reflecting the scope of negation (7.49):

John neither has long hair, nor does he wear jeans Mary was neither happy, nor was she sad

Correlative neither does not entail subject-operator inversion, even when it occurs initially, though for non-correlative neither it is obligatory (9.55). Nor is usually followed by subject-operator inversion when both subject and operator are present:

Neither Peter wanted the responsibility, nor did his wife

though if the predicates in the two clauses are identical, the more usual form would be:

Neither Peter nor his wife wanted the responsibility However, the inversion is not obligatory:

Neither ten of the reasons they offered are acceptable nor even five of them will do

But when subject and/or operator are not present, there can be no "In" version:

Coordination 567

John has neither replied to my letters nor answered my telephone calls

John neither has long hair nor wears jeans

Notice that in the last example the form of the verb is wears, while in the corresponding full form of the sentence, with inversion given above, we find {does ...} wear.

Note

[a] The correlatives neither ...nor cannot be used when in the positive the second clause is a comment on the first (9.44) or when the first is a condition of the second (9.46).

[b] For some speakers, the rules for neither... nor are identical with those for both... and (9.58), ie some kind of ellipsis is required.

9.57

A clause with correlative neither can be preceded by a coordinator, as with non-correlative neither and nor (9.55). Correlative nor, however, cannot be preceded by any conjunction:

•John neither has long hair, and nor does he wear jeans

This rule applies in general to correlatives. For example, although and nevertheless are correlative in

Although John is poor, he is nevertheless happy A coordinator cannot therefore be inserted: "Although John is poor, and he is nevertheless happy

Without the initial subordinator, nevertheless is not a correlative, and hence its clause can be linked by and or but:

John is poor, -j     He is nevertheless happy.

Other correlatives 9.58

c correlatives either ...or (and whether ...or, the corresponding a'r m indirect questions) have been mentioned earlier (9.50). At first P£ the correlative pair both . . . and appears to stand in the same aonship to and as either ...or does to or. But, in fact, both... and not admissible in clause coordination unless there is a kind of ellipsis. ttence, while we can have

washed the dishes and Peter dried them We cannot have

Both Mary washed the dishes and Peter dried them<sup>568</sup> Coordination and apposition  
On the other hand, both can be inserted if the predications in the two clauses are directly linked:

Mary both washed the dishes and dried them Mary will both wash the dishes and dry them

and with phrasal coordination (9.123), eg Both Mary and Peter washed the dishes.

Note

With both there is Dot ellipsis in the strict sense, since ellipted items cannot be sup. plied (e/9.98).

9.59

Common correlatives with but are not (and enclitic -n't) and not only:

He didn't come to help, but to hinder us. They not only broke into his office and stole his books, but they (also) tore up his manuscripts.

With not only, the content of both clauses is felt to be surprising but the second clause, often reinforced by also, is felt to be the more surprising. A more dramatic effect is achieved by positioning not only initially, with consequent subject-operator inversion:

Not only did they break into his office and steal his books, but they also tore up his manuscripts.

9.60

The correlatives just as.. .so are used where one of the semantic implications of clauses conjoined by and applies, namely, where the second clause makes a point similar to the first (11,41):

Just as they must put aside their prejudices, so we must be prepared to accept their good faith.

For correlatives with subordinators, see 8,92,11.10.

Ellipsis in coordination of clauses

9.61

Clausal and phrasal coordination

When two or more clauses are coordinated, certain clause constituents are often ellipted from all but one of the clauses. If, when we supply the ellipted items, the resultant sentence is semantically equivalent to the original elliptical sentence, then we have an instance of strict ellipsis:

We can go for a walk or watch television

=We can go for a walk or we can watch television

Coordination 559

When two or more phrases are coordinated, we shall not regard such coordination as involving clausal coordination with ellipsis of all other constituents, even if in some cases the resultant sentence is semantically equivalent under some interpretations. This is because beyond a certain point it becomes more economical to discuss coordination in terms of what elements are realized rather than what elements are missing. (But see 9.96 for another reason.) For example, in

You and your brother can watch television now

the coordinated phrase you and your brother is not considered elliptical, despite the equivalence of

You can watch television now and your brother can watch television now.

Such coordination is regarded here as phrasal coordination. Within phrasal coordination, however, there can be ellipsis, for example of a determiner:

He telephoned his wife and (his) child

Phrasal coordination and ellipsis within it are separately dealt with later (9.99 ff).

On the other hand, we find it more convenient to treat under clause coordination cases of coordination of auxiliaries, of lexical verbs, or of verb phrases (9.61 ff).

Note

In effect, every case of ellipsis involves some semantic difference, since it suggests a closer connection than would be felt if the forms occurred in full (cf 9.92 ff).

Ellipted and realized items 9.62

■ Ellipsis in coordination is a means of avoiding repetition (9.4). But the ellipted items need not be identical in all respects with the realized items

Q which the ellipsis is dependent (cf 9.2). Three kinds of identity are found in elliptical coordinated clauses:

(1) The ellipted and realized items are identical lexical items and are co-referential:

John likes Mary, but (John) hates Susan

The two instances of John are identical lexical items and are co-referential.

V ) The ellipted and realized items are identical lexical items and refer to manifestations of the same type:

Bob will buy a house, and Peter might (buy a house) too<sup>570</sup> Coordination and apposition

Coordination 571

The two instances of buy a house constitute identical lexical items and the same type of transaction is referred to.

(3) The ellipted and realized items are identical lexical items but have different grammatical forms:

He has complained, and he will (complain) again

Type 3 applies chiefly to cases of ellipsis of the lexical verb where the elliptical clause contains an auxiliary requiring a different form of the lexical verb from that in the realized item (but cf 9.101). In contrast, the ellipted and realized items do not have different grammatical forms in

He may complain, and he probably will (complain).

9.63

If items have formal identity but are different lexical items, their conjoining is odd:

?She made up her mind and afterwards she made up her face. Ellipsis makes the conjoining even odder:

•She made up her mind and her face. The conjoining and ellipsis would be accepted as a linguistic joke.

Note

It is similarly odd if one of the clauses is subordinate:

\*She made up her mind after (she made up) her face.

Simple and complex ellipsis 9.64

Ellipsis may be simple or complex. In simple ellipsis, either the ellipsis occurs in only one of the conjoined clauses:

They were married in 1960 and (they were) divorced in 1970 or identical items (c/9.62) are ellipted in two or more conjoined clauses:

They were married in 1960, (they were) divorced in 1970, and (they were) reconciled in 1972 Bill felt severe pains in his chest, (Bill) decided to see his doctor,

(Bill) drove at great speed to the surgery, (Bill) crashed into another car, and (Bill) was dead before he was taken out of the wreckage.

(The excessive repetition of Bill in the last sentence would of course compel resort to ellipsis for stylistic reasons.)

Simple ellipsis is usually anaphoric, with the realized items in the first of a series of clauses, as in the above examples, but it can be cataphoric, with the realized items in the last of the series, as in

John can (pass the examination), and Bob certainly will, pass the examination.

Tom is (playing for the school), Peter will be (playing for the school), and Harold might be, playing for the school.

Compaq also

Married in 1960, they were divorced in 1970.

In simple ellipsis, the ellipsis normally occurs at one point in the clause, but if the subject is one of the ellipted items, more than one point can be affected:

My brother is using the car this morning and (my brother) will be (using the car) this afternoon.

The subject can be ellipted if it is present as a realized item in the first clause.

9.65

In complex ellipsis, items are ellipted both anaphorically and cata-phorically in the same sentence. The subject and (optionally) the auxiliary are ellipted in clauses after the first. Items ellipted in the first clause are realized in the last clause:

Bob is (unhappy), and (Bob) always will be, unhappy If more than two clauses are conjoined with complex ellipsis, the middle clause or clauses may share the ellipsis of both the first and the last clauses:

My friend owns (paintings), (my friend) admires (paintings), and (my friend) often looks at, paintings.

(The commas after will be and looks at are acceptable only when the parenthesized items are omitted; cf App III. 12,111.22.) If the operator is retained in the last clause,

we may have the realized predication in the middle clause, so that it is the last clause that shares the ellipsis of the preceding clauses:

They can (pay the full fee) and (they) should pay the full fee, but (they) won't (pay the full fee). In that case, we in effect have complex ellipsis in the first two clauses:

They can (pay the full fee) and (they) should pay the full fee. and simple ellipsis in the last clause:

They can/should pay the full fee, but (they) won't (pay the full fee).

9.66

! 9:2 indicates, with exemplification, the elements that can be ellipped in coordinated clauses.

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Coordination 573

Table 9:2

ellipsis: coordinated clauses

section{s) element eltipted

ellipted in: 1st clause las, e/ai(fc

9.67

SUBJECT

9.68,9.70 auxiliary

9.72-78 Is/part of predication

(often with ellipsis of auxiliary)

9.76-78,	WHOLE	OF	PREDICATION
9.82-83	+		
	+		
9.84	DIRECT		OBJECT
	+		
	SUBJECT		COMPLEMENT
	+		
	+		
9.85-88	ADVERBIAL		
	+		
9.89	HEAD	OF	NOUN PHRASE
	+		
9.90	COMPLEMENT		OF
	+	PREPOSITIONAL	PHRASE

^/vui eIliP&o)Subject

**SIMPLE ELLIPSIS**

with ellipsis of subject

**COMPLEX ELLIPSIS**

ellipsis of subject

(+auxiliary) in last clause

Peter ate the fruit and (Peter) drank the beer

John must clean the shed and (must) read his book

Peter must have taken the course and (Peter must have) passed the examination

Paul likes Mary, but Peter (likes) Joan

She is writing to her parents and (she) will be (writing) to her brother

John has written a poem and Bob (has written) a short story

Paul is flying to Madrid tonight and (Paul is flying) to Athens next week

John was the winner in 1970 and Bob (was the winner) in 1971

It's cold in December in England, but (it's cold) in July in New Zealand

Joan will cook the meals today and Barbara (will cook the meals) tomorrow

My elder brother bought a house in London two years ago and (my elder brother bought a house) in the country this year

George will take the course and Bob might (take the course)

They can pay the full fee, but (they) won't (pay the full fee)

George will (take the course), and Bob might, take the course

They can (pay the full fee), but (they) won't, pay the full fee

John likes (Mary), and Peter, Mary

She washed (the shirts) and (she) ironed the shirts

John was (angry), and Bob certainly seemed, angry

They seem (happy), and indeed (they) must be, happy

John seemed angry, and Ue°T8e certainly was (angry)

Sarah became a member ten years ago, and (Sarah) still is (a member)

'b w°rks (in London), and «er lives, in i n,«i™

"ves, in London

Bill drinks (sparingly), and (Bill) smokes, sparingly

John» at Oxford, but his °««r wasn-t (at Oxford)

She paid for the tickets last week and (she) will pay (for the tickets) tonight

John ay \*anJed fried fish, but they Jjsbl (fish)

We wanted fried fish, but (we) got boiled (fish)

John with (music), but music

He walked up (the hill) and (he) ran down, the hill]

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The table notes

(a) whether the subject of the clause is ellipted too

(b) whether the ellipsis is simple or complex

(c) whether the ellipsis takes place in the 'first' or 'last' clause.



An entry in the 'first' column means the ellipsis can apply to all conjoined clauses except the last, while an entry in the 'last' column means that the ellipsis can apply to all except the first clause.

The table also indicates in which sections of this chapter the types of ellipsis are discussed.

Ellipted elements 9.67

Ellipsis of subject

If the subjects of coordinated clauses are identical, it is common for occurrences subsequent to the first to be ellipted:

Peter ate the fruit and (Peter) drank the beer

Mary skipped and (Mary) jumped

John read the book or (John) saw the film

Both the full forms and the pro-forms would be less common, particularly the former. However, if identical auxiliaries are present, then the pro-form is as normal as ellipsis:

John has read the book or he has seen the film John has read the book or (John) has seen the film

But if the auxiliaries are different, ellipsis is more normal:

Mary has washed the dishes and (Mary) will dry them

Mary has washed the dishes and she will dry them

If more than two clauses with identical auxiliaries are coordinated, then the pro-form is probably more normal than ellipsis of subject alone:

Mary has washed the dishes, she has dried them, and she has put them in the cupboard. Mary has washed the dishes, (Mary) has dried them, and (Mary)

has put them in the cupboard.

The most normal of all is the ellipsis of both subject and auxiliary (9.68):

Mary has washed the dishes, dried them, and put them in the cupboard.

Coordination 575

9.68

Ellipsis of subject and auxiliaries

both subject and auxiliaries are identical, it is normal for both to be ellipted. There may be only one auxiliary: Alice is washing and (Alice is) dressing or more than one: Peter must have broken in and (Peter must have) stolen the papers [50] /

Ellipsis is only possible in clauses subsequent to the first clause.

If both subject and auxiliaries are identical, repetition of the subject or substitution of a pro-form for the subject is allowed only when the auxiliaries are retained. Thus, we can have the full forms and pro-forms in [50a] and [50b] respectively, though these are less common than ellipsis:

Peter must have broken in and Peter must have stolen the papers [50a]

Peter must have broken in and he must have stolen the papers [50b]

On the other hand, we cannot have the full form or the pro-form if the auxiliaries are ellipted:

•Peter must have broken in and Peter stolen the papers [50c]

\*Peter must have broken in and he stolen the papers [50d]

9.69

Repeated subject and auxiliaries in subordination

It is instructive to contrast coordination and subordination with respect to ellipsis of subject and auxiliaries. In subordinate clauses, ellipsis of subject alone or of subject with auxiliaries is generally not allowed: Jack was looking well although he had slept little [51]

'Jack was looking well although (had) slept little Susan has looked after the baby while she has stayed with us [52] Susan has looked after the baby while stayed with us John told Alice that he loved her [53]

\*John told Alice that loved her

Mary must go to the supermarket today, because she must buy t some groceries [54]

Mary must go to the supermarket today, because buy some groceries

0 ,.e auxiliary is be, we can omit both subject and auxiliary in the subtle abbreviated clause (9.7 ff, 11.26), though not one of the ele-576 Coordination and apposition Coordination 577

ments alone. But for this to happen, be need not appear in the supet. ordinate clause: Jack was looking well although (he was) working hard Bob will not cooperate if (he is) punished

Repetition of the full form of the subject is not allowed in most sub. ordinate clauses. Thus, the following sentences are unacceptable, if the subjects are co-referential:

\*John told Alice that John loved her

\*Mary will watch television when Mary feels bored

[53a]

[55a]

(They would be regarded as odd even if the subjects were intended to refer to different referents.) The normal way of dealing with repeated subjects in subordinate clauses is to substitute a pro-form:

John told Alice that he loved her

Mary will watch television when she feels bored

[53b] [55b]

However, the subject might be repeated in an appropriate context as a stylistic device to show wilfulness:

Mary will watch television when Mary damn well feels like watching television

If the subordinate clause is positioned initially, it can contain a pro-form that refers forward to the full form in the superordinate clause:

That he loved her was conveyed to Alice by John When she feels bored, Mary will watch television

[53c] [55c]

Repetition of the full form is also possible, though very unusual:

That John loved her was conveyed to Alice by John [53d]

When Mary feels bored, Mary will watch television [55d]

Since Mary has been in New York, Mary has been in trouble [56]

With a disjunct clause (8.78), the full form is possible (though again unusual), whatever the position of the clause:

Mary has not been in trouble, although Mary has been in New York  
Since Mary feels bored, Mary will not be allowed to watch television

When subordinate clauses follow their superordinate clause, substitution is allowed only in the subordinate clause. Hence, the subject cannot be co-referential in the following sentences, where the subordinate clause has the pro-form:

John told Alice that John loved her [53e]

She will watch television when Mary feels bored [55e]

On the other hand, when the subordinate clause precedes, substitution is allowed both in the subordinate clause and in the superordinate clause. Hence, it is possible in [53f] and [53c] to interpret the italicized items as co-referential, and natural so to interpret those in [55f] and [55c]:

That John loved her was conveyed to Alice by him [53f]

That he loved her was conveyed to Alice by John [53c]

When Mary feels bored, she will watch television [55f]

When she feels bored, Mary will watch television [55c]

## 9.70

### Ellipsis of auxiliary

If only the auxiliary is ellipsed, the realized items must be present in the first clause. The ellipsis is possible under certain conditions:

(1) The auxiliary cannot be ellipsed if the subjects are identical or co-referential, and the subject is not ellipsed as well. Hence, the unacceptability of  
(Peter\*! •Peter will be taking the course and-J, wwill be) passing the examination.

In such instances, either the subject is ellipsed or both subject and auxiliary are ellipsed (9.67, 9.68).

(2) If the subjects are different, ellipsis of only the auxiliary is allowed:

John must clean the shed and Peter (must) read his book.

If there is more than one auxiliary element, it is normal for all to be ellipsed:

John will be playing the guitar and Mary (will be) preparing the supper.

If the verbs in both clauses are identical, ellipsis of only the auxiliary is normally not allowed:

\*John will take the French course and Peter (will) take the German course.

except that it is admissible for some speakers if there is subject-operator inversion:

7 Will John take the French course and (will) Peter take the German course? . IDid John explain or (did) Bob explain?

## 578 Coordination and apposition

### Coordination 579

#### Ellipsis of predication 9.71

Ellipsis of a part of the predication or of the whole of it can be treated under four headings:

(1) ellipsis of the first part of the predication, which includes the lexical verb

(2) ellipsis of the whole of the predication

(3) ellipsis of a subject complement or direct object

(4) ellipsis of an adverbial

In some cases the subject and/or auxiliary can be ellipsed as well. If the auxiliary is retained and the ellipsis is immediately following it, then the auxiliary cannot be given in its reduced form. For example, the auxiliary will is reduced in both instances to 7/ in

She'll write to her parents and he'll write to his sister [57]

But if the repeated write is ellipsed, only the unreduced form of the auxiliary is admissible:

She'll write to her parents and he will to his sister. [57a]

Ellipsis of first part of predication 9.72

If only the first part of the predication, including the lexical verb, is ellipsed, the realized items are in the first clause and the ellipsis is in clauses subsequent to the first. Some examples are given of ellipsis of the predication which leaves part of the predication following the ellipsis. If the subject is retained, the ellipsis constitutes a gap in the clause.

(1) LEXICAL VERB ONLY

She has written to her parents and he may (write) to his sister Sylvia will prepare lunch and Alice might (prepare) supper

Alice was happy and Susan (was) miserable Paul likes Mary, but Peter (likes) Joan I work in a factory, and my brother (works) on a farm

This ellipsis is not common, and some find it unacceptable identical auxiliaries are retained:

?Sylvia must prepare lunch and Alice must (prepare) supper

m

[591 160] [61] [62]

to if

The subject too can be ellipsed in the second clause:

She is writing to her parents and (she) will be (writing) to her brother. John made his first wife happy, but (John made) his second wife miserable.

9.73

[59a]

(2) VBRB, INCLUDING AUXILIARY

John has written a poem and Bob (has written) a short story. John was given a railway set, and Sue (was given) a doll.

The subject too can be ellipsed in the second clause:

Paul is flying to Madrid tonight and (Paul is flying) to Athens next week.

Ellipsis of the entire verb phrase or of only the lexical verb can take place in clauses containing an object and an object complement, but the subject must then be ellipsed as well (c/"9.70):

He has promised John a book, (he has promised) Bill a watch,

and (he has promised) Mary a doll. \*He has promised John a book, he (has) Bill a watch, and

he (has) Mary a doll.

He made John happy, but (he made) Mary angry. \*He made John happy, but he Mary angry.

9.74

### (3) VERB AND SUBJECT COMPLEMENT

John was the winner in 1970 and Bob (was the winner) in 1971. The administration seems obstinate in our school and the teachers (seem obstinate) in your school.

And with ellipsis of subject:

It's cold in December in England, but (it's cold) in July in New Zealand.

9.75

### (4) VERB AND OBJECT

Joan will cook the meals today and Barbara (will cook the meals) tomorrow. Peter is playing football for his school and Paul (is playing football) for his club. 530 Coordination and apposition

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And with ellipsis of subject, though this is perhaps rare:

My elder brother bought a house in London two years ago and (my elder brother bought a house) in the country this year.

Notice that in certain contexts there can be ambiguity as to whether the subject and verb are ellipped or the verb and object are ellipped. For example, the sentence Bob will interview some candidates this morning and Peter this afternoon.

can be interpreted as having either of these two kinds of ellipsis:

Bob will interview some candidates this morning and (he will

interview) Peter this afternoon. Bob will interview some candidates this morning and Peter

(will interview some candidates) this afternoon.

Auxiliaries in predication ellipsis

9.76

It will be observed that the ellipped form of the auxiliary or lexical verb sometimes varies from that of the realized form. The form of the verb or auxiliary is different when one is 3rd person singular present and the other is not:

I work in a factory and my brother (works) on a farm. Mary is going to Paris and her sisters (are going) to Rome.

9.77

The possible variation in forms of the auxiliaries is the same whether the whole or only part of the predication is ellipped, provided that in the former case the ellipsis does not take place in the first clause (e/9.82). We therefore draw on both types to illustrate the variations. Of course, where the head of the verb phrase is the same, there is no variation:

John needn't stay here, but George must (stay here).

Paul has apologized, and Bob should have (apologized) by now.

In general, most co-occurrences of auxiliaries are allowed, for example-

### (1) PRESENT AND MODAL

John understands the situation and surely Peter should (understand the situation). His friends already belong to the club and he will (belong to the club) soon.

(2) PAST AND MODAL

Bob entered the competition and Paul may (enter the competition).

(3) PERFECT AND MODAL

John hasn't met my brother yet, but (he) will (meet my brother) soon.

(4) PROGRESSIVE AND MODAL

Peter is complaining about the noise, but John won't (complain about the noise).

(5) PROGRESSIVE AND PERFECT

John is questioning our motives, and Bill has (questioned) our results. John may be questioning our motives, but Peter hasn't (questioned our motives).

(6) PAST AND PERFECT

Peter saw your parents last week, but (he) hasn't (seen your parents) since. Paul apologized, but Bob won't have (apologized).

9.78

One major exception is that an ellipted passive does not co-occur with any of the other forms. Though (as in the last example in 9.77) the past and perfect can co-occur with ellipsis of the head of the latter, the passive head cannot be ellipted despite its formal identity with a preceding past or perfect head:

Paul denied the charge, but the charge wasn't denied by his friends. \*Paul denied the charge, but the charge wasn't by his friends. John had observed many of the enemy's soldiers but hadn't been

observed by them. \*John had observed many of the enemy's soldiers but hadn't been by them.

The other co-occurrence seems dubious, that of modal followed by Progressive:

John won't enter the competition, but Peter is entering the competition. ?\*John won't enter the competition, but Peter is.

substitutes

Th

equivalent of the auxiliary for simple present and past in such582 Coordination and apposition

elliptical constructions is the operator do. But do is a pro-form not only for tense but, together with DO-phrases such as do so and do it (c/10.52 ff\ is a pro-form for the whole or part of the predication:

I like cheese, and my family does too I saw the play on Friday and my wife did on Saturday Mary wouldn't take the money, but Susan did

The do items must be regarded as pro-forms, since 'missing items' cannot be supplied:

\*I like cheese, and my family does like cheese too However, it is certainly possible to regard the negative, interrogative, and emphatic forms as involving ellipsis in such constructions, since missing items can be supplied:

I like cheese, but my family doesn't (like cheese). I like cheese, but does my family (like cheese)? No! I don't like cheese now, but I did (like cheese) when I was a child. At all events, for ellipsis of predication, there is an obvious and systematic similarity in the part played by all the operators, including do:

My wife didn't play tennis, but I did My wife doesn't play tennis, but I do My wife can't play tennis, but I can My wife won't play tennis, but I will My wife wasn't playing tennis, but I was My wife isn't a good tennis-player, but I am My wife hasn't played tennis, but I have.

940

The most common pro-form for predication is so when used together with the pro-form do or an operator in subject-operator inversion (10.54<sup>^</sup>):

Mary wants a cup of coffee and so does Joan	[631
We have had enough to eat, and so have they	\$<<
Our city is noisy and dirty, and so is yours	P>']

Not can be a pro-form for the predicate (10.61), since it does not require an operator:

Mary wants a cup of coffee, but not Joan The second clause of [63a] is a negative counterpart of the second clause of [63]. An alternative for [63a] allows the use of operator as well, \*>u we then have ellipsis of the predication:

Coordination 583 Mary wants a cup of coffee, but Joan does not (want a cup of coffee)

[63b]

9.81

To can be regarded as a pro-form for an infinitive clause in predication, as allowing ellipsis of the infinitive clause (10.58). Compare I asked him to pay the rent immediately,

but he{d^want to} <p\*ythe rent immediately)

The realized items need not constitute an infinitive clause:

I saw him riding his bicycle in the park, and I told him not to (ride his bicycle in the park). I intended that they should stay till the next day, but they refused

to (stay till the next day). He left Paris this morning, but he didn't want to (leave Paris this morning).

9.82

Ellipsis of whole of predication

If the predication is ellipsed completely, there is a choice between having the realized items in the first clause or in the last (cf. 9.64/):

George will take the course and Bob might (take the course)	[65a] George will
(take the course), and Bob might, take the course	[65b]

It is more common to have the realized items in the first clause, as in [65a]. As we have noted (9.72), if the first part of the predication only is ellipsed, the realized items must be in the first clause:

John will write a poem and Bob might (write) a short story	[66a] "John will
(write) a poem, and Bob might write a short story	[66b]

When the predication is ellipted completely, the subject can also be ellipted, but only in clauses subsequent to the first:

They can pay the full fee, and (they) certainly should (pay the full fee), but (they) probably won't (pay the full fee). [67]

When the realized subject is in the first clause and the realized predication is elsewhere, we have complex ellipsis (9.65):

no doubt can (pay the full fee), and (they) certainly should (pay the full fee), but (they) probably won't, pay the full fee. [67a] they can (pay the full fee) and (they) should pay the full fee, but (they) won't (pay the full fee). [67b] 584 Coordination and apposition

Other examples of predication ellipsis illustrating the alternatives:

John might have been writing letters, and Peter certainly was (writing letters). John might have been (writing letters), and Peter certainly was, writing letters.

Alice may have eaten, and Sylvia certainly has (eaten). Alice may have (eaten), and Sylvia certainly has, eaten. Bob is playing for the school, and George may be (playing for the school). [70ai]

Bob is (playing for the school), and George may be, playing for the school. [70b]

John could have been watching television, but (John) wasn't (watching television). [71aj]

John could have been (watching television), but (John) wasn't, watching television. [71b]

He can demand repayment, and (he) will (demand repayment). [72a] He can (demand repayment) and (he) will demand repayment. [72b]

The co-occurrence of auxiliaries with predication ellipsis is the same as when only the first part of the predication is ellipted (9.77/), provided that the realized predication is in the first clause. However, if the realized predication is in the last clause, then only auxiliaries that take the same head of the verb phrase will normally co-occur, as in the b set in [65] and [68-72]. Thus, the following are dubious, though they may occasionally appear in informal use:

?\*Peter has (apologized), and John may, apologize

?\*Bob is (reading), but Peter won't, read

1\*Sally has (seen them), and (Sally) may again, see them

Occasionally one or more of the auxiliaries is also ellipted, provided again that the ellipted auxiliaries are identical with the realized ones:

The document could have (been signed), and (the document) should have, been signed.

They could (have saved more), and (they) should, have saved more. John could (have been punished), and (John) should, have been punished.

Commas before the realized items in clauses after the first clause are acceptable only when the parenthesized items are omitted (c/App IK- \*■\* 111.22).



Ellipsis involving both coordination and subordination

A set of coordinated clauses, one or more of which is elliptical, can

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subordinated to another clause. This need not affect the potentiality for ellipsis:

Peter must have broken in and (Peter must have) stolen the papers. I'm sure that Peter must have broken in and (Peter must have) stolen the papers.

However, if only one of the clauses is subordinated, there cannot be ellipsis of the subject and/or of the auxiliaries:

Peter must have broken in and stolen the papers.

"Peter must have broken in and I'm sure that stolen the papers.

(ellipsis of subject and auxiliaries) Peter ate the fruit and drank the beer, \*Peter ate the fruit and I think that drank the beer, (ellipsis of subject)

John must clean the shed and Peter read his book. ♦John must clean the shed and it seems that Peter read his book.

(ellipsis of operator)

Instead, we normally use the appropriate pronoun as subject and repeat the auxiliaries:

Peter must have broken in and I'm sure that he must have stolen the papers.

Peter ate the fruit and I think that he drank the beer.

John must clean the shed and it seems that Peter must read his book.

There can be ellipsis of the whole of the predication or of part of it in such cases, provided that the operator is retained, or, if there is no operator, at least the verb is retained:

I told him to go, but he wouldn't (go). I thought she could swim and it seems that she can (swim). George will take the course and I believe that Bob might (take the course).

George will (take the course), and I believe that Bob might, take the course.

Bob seemed (angry), and I know that George was, angry.

However, if the operator is not retained, there cannot be ellipsis of the Predication.

Thus, though from

Paul likes Mary and Peter likes Joan •\* may ellip the verb in the second clause: Paul likes Mary and Peter Joan 586 Coordination and apposition

Coordination 587

we cannot do so if we embed the second clause:

\*Paul likes Mary and I know that Peter Joan.

Note

If instead of subordinating the clause, we insert a comment clause (11.65 /) the ellipsis is often not affected, because the comment clause is only loosely attached to the clause:

Peter ate the fruit and / think drank the beer.

Bob will be supervising the examination and, it seems, grading the papers.

9.84

Ellipsis of direct object or subject complement

If the direct object is eHipted, the realized items must be in the last clause:

Mary washed (the shirts), Jane ironed (the shirts), and Alice folded, the shirts. John likes (Mary), and Peter hates, Mary.

If the subject complement is ellipted, the potentialities for ellipsis depend on the verb in the last clause. When the verb in the last clause is other than be, the rule is the same as for the direct object, ie the realized items must be in the last clause:

George was (angry), and Bob certainly seemed, angry. \*George was angry, and Bob certainly seemed (angry).

When the verb in the last clause is be, the realized items can be either in the first clause or in the last clause:

Bob seemed angry, and George certainly was (angry). John has recently become (a very hardworking student), and his brother always was, a very hardworking student.

With ellipsis of the subject in clauses subsequent to the first, we have complex ellipsis (9.65):

Mary washed (the shirts), (Mary) ironed (the shirts), and (Mary) folded, the shirts. John felt (hungry), and (John) was, hungry.

The commas in the last clauses in the examples are acceptable only when the parenthesized items are omitted (c/ App 111.12, 111.22).

Ellipsis of adverbial

9.85

It is often more satisfactory to say that the scope of the adverbial is extended to subsequent clauses than to say that it is ellipted. This is particularly so when the adverbial is positioned initially, though it applies to restrictives (9.88) regardless of their position. For example, unfortunately in

Unfortunately, John is not at home and Sally is too busy to see you.

appears to apply to a combination of the circumstances described in the two clauses rather than separately to each circumstance.

Conjuncts (8.89 ff), disjuncts (8.78 ff), and viewpoint (8.11/), time (8.56 jf), and place adjuncts (8.45 ff) commonly have extended scope. Examples are:

CONJUNCT

If John is a member, then we should call on him and (we should) ask him to take us along. [73]

David hasn't any money of his own. However, he can ask his parents for some, and he might be able to borrow a small amount from his sister.

[74]

DISJUNCT

Perhaps Joan is shopping and the children are at school. [75]

To my surprise, they didn't appoint him, and they didn't even interview him.

[76]

VIEWPOINT ADJUNCT

Theoretically, I have no objections to his proposal and nor have any of my colleagues. [77]

Politically, he is very naive and he is at a considerable disadvantage in fighting the other more experienced candidates.  
[78]

#### TIME ADJUNCT

This afternoon Mary intends to take the children to the beach, but I am going to wash my car. [79]

In the next few years we shall have to deal effectively with the pollution of the environment or life will come to a stop on this planet.  
[80]

#### place adjunct

In Britain there is a great deal of apathy about politics, and people fail to see much difference between the only two parties that could form a government.  
[81]

In our school, students and teachers get on well together, but this harmony is comparatively recent. [82]

9.86

position of these adverbials is usually interpreted as implying an in of scope to subsequent coordinated (or for that matter, sub-

#### 688 Coordination and apposition

ordinated) clauses, unless there is an indication to the contrary. For example, the addition of another disjunct to the second clause of limits the scope of the first disjunct to the first clause:

To my surprise, they didn't appoint him, and to my horror, they didn't even interview him. [76ai]

In some cases there is ambiguity. For example, in [80] the end of life on this planet is forecast either for some time in the next few years (with extension of the scope of the adjunct) or for some time in the more distant future.

If these adverbials are in the middle of the clause or at the end of any but the last clause, they are generally interpreted as applying to their particular clause only:

Joan is perhaps shopping and the children are at school [75a]

Joan is shopping, perhaps, and the children are at school [75b]

Joan is shopping, and the children are perhaps at school [75c]

However, if there is an ellipsis that links the two clauses more closely, the scope of the adverbial is extended to the second clause:

Mary is perhaps inside the supermarket and John outside.

Adverbials in end-position that apply to both clauses seem to involve strict ellipsis, because the ellipted items can be added without any awkwardness. The realized adverbial may be in the first clause:

Tom was at Oxford, but his brother wasn't (at Oxford).

I shall certainly object if they show the slides again and you should object (if they show the slides again) too. Brian wrote to his parents yesterday and (Brian) will be writing again (to his parents) today.

Place and time adverbials at the end of the last clause can be interpreted as applying to both clauses if the clauses are short:

Bob works (in London), and Peter lives, in London.

They were married (in 1970) and (they were) divorced in 1970.

John has driven (to Chicago), and Bill will drive, to Chicago.

Where there are different subjects for the clauses, there is normally an intonation break or comma punctuation before the adverbial in the first clause. The commas in the second clauses of the above examples are acceptable only when the parenthesized items are omitted (cf. App. III. 11.22).

Note

In most of the sentences cited, repetition of the adverbial is either awkward or

Coordination 589

loses the meaning. Sentence [75] is perhaps the only one where repetition of the adverbial produces a normal sentence that is roughly synonymous with the original: perhaps Joan is shopping and perhaps the children are at school.

9.87

process adjuncts (8.34 jf) are occasionally ellipsed, with the realized items present in the last clause:

Mary spoke (rudely), and John answered, rudely. Bill drinks (sparingly), and Peter smokes, sparingly.

With ellipsis of the subject, we have complex ellipsis: Bill drinks (sparingly), and (Bill) smokes, sparingly.

Once again, the commas in the second clauses are acceptable only when the parenthesized items are omitted (cf. App. III. 12, 11.22).

Notice that if there is an intonation break or comma between the clauses but not before the adverb, the adverb is understood to apply only to the second clause:

Mary spoke, and John answered rudely.

9.88

The scope of restrictives (8.11ff), including the clausal negative particle not, is often dependent on the ellipsis of subject and auxiliary. If these adjuncts are positioned somewhere before the lexical verb in the first clause they are interpreted as extending their scope to subsequent clauses in which the auxiliary is ellipsed. This normally applies only if

(a) the coordinator is and or or;

(b) an identical subject or an identical lexical verb is also ellipsed. Examples are:

Peter will rarely smoke or drink

David does not read books and see plays

John cannot play the guitar or Bob the piano

Wary can only stay till Monday and Alice till Tuesday

here is no auxiliary in the first clause, then the scope of the restrictive is always carried over if the coordinator is or;

Peter never smoked cigarettes or drank alcohol John only eats or sleeps

When and, the scope can be interpreted as extended to subsequent clauses not, though the content of particular instances may influence the interpretation one way or the other. For example, the scope of only will be understood as extended to the next clause in John only eats and sleeps

though not in

John only smoked cigarettes and asked his parents to send him some more.

Note

[a] The conjoinings with or do not contain strict ellipsis, since ellipted items cannot be supplied. [6] If the coordinator is but the scope of the adjunct is rarely extended and then only

with the negative particle (c/ 9.93):

Bob didn't break the window but refuse to apologize for his action. Even so, and would more commonly be used in place of but, with little or no semantic difference:

Bob didn't break the window and refuse to apologize for his action. [c] The scope of the negative particle is sometimes extended when neither subjects nor lexical verbs are identical, particularly if the coordinator is or:

Mary can't sing or Joan dance.

9.89

Ellipsis of head of noun phrase

The head of a noun phrase can be ellipted, normally with the realized head in the first clause. The ellipted noun phrase can have various functions in the clause:

We wanted {fried fish, but they gave us boiled (fish)} [83]

She wore the red dress, but the blue (dress) suits her better [84]

He prefers Dutch cheese and I prefer Danish (cheese) [35]

The ellipted noun phrase is object in [83] and [85], and subject in [84]. Notice that the noun phrases need not have the same function in both clauses: in [84] the red dress is object and the blue (dress) is subject. This type of ellipsis is not limited to coordination: He prefers Dutch cheese to Danish (cheese). Although we asked for fried fish, they gave us boiled (fish).

Note

The substitute one is normally used when the head is a count noun that is not defined (c/10.46): She wore a red dress, but a blue one suits her better.

9-90

Ellipsis of complement of prepositional phrase

The complement of a prepositional phrase can be ellipted, with complement realized in the second clause:

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Bob is bored with (music), but Peter enjoys, music.

John crawled under (the fence), but Bill climbed over, the fence.

With ellipsis of the subject (and operator or auxiliary), we have complex ellipsis:

He walked up (the hill), and (he) ran down, the hill. She will drive to (London), but (she will) fly back from, London. He was a friend to (the party leader), and (he was) a strong supporter of, the party leader.

At any point where a structure is incomplete and followed by a coordinator, the listener or reader searches for elements in the following clause that both grammatically and semantically complete it. Although [86] is awkward, we would have little difficulty in interpreting it as elliptical for [87]:

He went to, and after some time found the book in, the library. [86] He went to the library and after some time he found the book in the library. [87]

9.91

Intonation and punctuation marking of ellipsis The point where ellipsis has taken place is often marked in speech by an intonation break, that is to say, it co-occurs with the end of an intonation unit (App 11.12). The intonation break is sometimes accompanied by a pause. In written English comma punctuation is often used at the same point (App 111.1 ff). Of course, if the ellipsis is at the end of the sentence there would anyway normally be an intonation break and sentence punctuation would be used.

When the ellipsis is in the second and subsequent clauses there is no intonation or punctuation marking for the ellipsis of the subject, or of the subject and immediately following elements:

Peter cooks his own meals and (Peter) washes his own clothes. Mary will look after the children and (Mary will) take telephone messages. John will pay the electricity bill this week and (John will pay) the gas bill next week.

\* appears that a 'gap' is not felt when the ellipsis immediately follows \* coordinator. In contrast, intonation marking is usually present in "er cases of ellipsis, though punctuation marking is frequently absent

Wttc/AppIII.12):

Paul is writing to his parents and (Paul) will be (writing) to his sister. 592 Coordination and apposition

John likes Mary, and Peter (likes) Susan.

The men were drinking and the women (were) eating.

When the ellipsis is in the first clause, subsequent clauses usually have intonation or punctuation marking both at the point of ellipsis and the point corresponding to the beginning of the ellipsis in the first clause (App 111.22):

George will (take the course), and Bob might, take the course.

Gerald likes (Sylvia), but Peter hates, Sylvia.

Tom always has been (my favourite), and always will be, my favourite. He looked (tired), and (he) indeed was, tired.

However, intonation and punctuation marking may be absent if the ellipsis results in the linking of two lexical verbs:

Mary washed (the clothes) and (Mary) ironed the clothes. Susan will sing and (Susan will) dance.

Semantic effect of ellipsis in coordinated clauses 9.92

Often the effect of ellipsis is no more than to suggest a closer connection between the content of the clauses, but sometimes the effect is to indicate that there is a combined process rather than two separate processes {cf 9.\\9ff). This combinatory effect is common when the coordinated clauses are direct or indirect questions or subordinate to another clause, or when negation is involved. Thus in

Did Peter tell lies and hurt his friends?

[88]

the effect of the ellipsis is to imply that Peter's telling lies had the result that he hurt his friends. The sentence in [88] is one question, and may be answered by yes or no. There is no such implication in

Did Peter tell lies, and did he hurt his friends ? (891)

where Peter's telling lies and his hurting his friends are regarded as two separate processes and there are two separate questions. Sometimes, intonation may also be a factor. For example, Did John play football or go for a walk?

will probably be taken as one question, to be answered by yes or no. On the other hand,

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would both be taken as alternative questions requiring as an answer that

John played football or that he went for a walk (c/7.68/). Similarly, in

Did John break the window but refuse to pay for it ? [90]

the implications are that his refusal follows chronologically his breaking of the window and also that it is surprising in view of his breaking of the window. With but, a non-elliptical form is unacceptable:

•Did John break the window but did he refuse to pay for it ? [90a] Note In [90] it is probably more common to use and in place of but.

9.93

There may also be a combined process when the first conjoin is negated (e/9.88). For example,

John DIDN't break the window but refuse to pay for it [91]

is a denial of the statement

John broke the window but refused to pay for it [92]

As a negation of a combined process, [91 ] could evoke the retort Yes, he did. On the other hand, there are two separate processes in [93] and [94], and the scope of negation (7.49) in the first conjoin does not extend to the second conjoin:

John didn't break the window, but he offered to pay for it [93]

John didn't break the window, but he didn't offer to pay for it, either [94]

Neither the somewhat odd sentence in [92a] nor [92b] are semantically equivalent to [91]:

John didn't break the window, but he refused to pay for it [92a] John didn't break the window, but he didn't refuse to pay

for it, (either) [92b]

Note

the effect of negation in Don't drink and drive, where the intention is not to pro-\* either activity as such but only both in combination.

-gation in the first conjoin can similarly affect clauses coordinated by °'-Thus,

Did John play FOOTball or go for a

Did John play FOOTball or did he go for a

John doesn't take a bus or go by train \* the negative equivalent of °on takes a bus or goes by train

[95] [96] 594 Coordination and apposition

Coordination 595

which (cf 9.51) can be synonymous with one interpretation of John takes a bus and goes by train  $r^{\wedge}$ ,

when the combinatory possibility in the alternative is included. That is to say, [95] denies both possibilities, and hence the sentence is synonymous with [95a], [95b], and [95c]:

-pleasant if talkative child hobby though comfortable armchair

John doesn't take a bus and doesn't go by train

John doesn't take a bus and he doesn't go by train

John doesn't take a bus nor does he go by train [95c]

But [95] is not synonymous with

[95b]

John doesn't take a bus or he doesn't go by train

This is because [95d] denies the truth of the statement in one of the conjoins, but not, as does [95], the truth of the statements in both the conjoins.

Mots

The other interpretation of [97] is sequential (9.42), i.e. that John first takes a bus and then continues the journey by train. Another interpretation of [95] denies the possibility that only one alternative applies ('It is not true that John either takes a bus or goes by train'). It allows that John uses both methods of transport or neither method.

Coordination other than clausal 9.95

We have found it convenient to suggest that there is ellipsis of the rest of the clause when the verb phrases or parts of them - the auxiliaries or the lexical verb - are directly linked (9.67/ 9X1 ff, 9.86# 9.90/). When other phrases are directly conjoined by and and or, we shall not attempt to posit ellipsis of the rest of the clause, though there may be ellipsis within the phrases. For example,

Peter and John played football is not regarded as elliptical for Peter played football and John played football

[98a]

[98b]

though, of course, in at least one interpretation, [98a] is synonymous with [98b], and [98b] then conveys the semantic implication of [98a], cf 9.3, 9.23. Instead we regard Peter and John as a coordinated plural phrase functioning as subject of the sentence, analogous to the boys or the pro-form they. This type of coordination is phrasal coordination.

Note

Most subordinators cannot be used to link phrases, but two - if and though - are used quite freely, as is the conjunct  $j\ll/$ , in the linking of adjectives:  $Jij\text{e}aj\text{u}; i\text{---}$

sha \* simple yet devout prayer

d in the linking of adverbs:

He looked at me kindly  $\{/'$  (somewhat) sceptically

He spoke firmly though pleasantly

He drove quickly yet safely



formal and somewhat archaic albeit ("even though") is exceptional in that it is usually used to link phrases rather than clauses: an intelligent albeit rash leader He spoke firmly albeit pleasantly.

9.96

One reason for regarding Peter and John in 9.95 as analogous to the boys or they is that all of these require plural concord of the verb phrase: peter and John"!

The boys            We my friends

They                J

As a consequence, in some cases of phrasal coordination, we cannot even imply any ellipted elements. (See also 9.119 Jf.) For example, if in place

of the past in [98a] we use the present: •

Peter and John play football [98c]

the insertion of the verb and direct object after Peter results in wrong number concord;

•Peter play football and John play football [98d]

In the relevant interpretation [98c] is equivalent to Peter plays football and John plays football [98e]

That is to say, the conversion of [98e] to [98c] involves a change in number concord.

Furthermore, in

Bob and George are admired by their students [99a]

the interpretation (made explicit if the prepositional phrase is expanded to (> by their respective students) is expressed by

Bob is admired by his [Bob's] students and George is admired by his [George's] students [99b]

and not by

Bob are admired by their students and George are admired by their students [99c]

596 Coordination and apposition

In appositional coordination (7.26) too, no ellipsis can be posited. For example, in the sentence

This temple of ugliness and memorial to Victorian bad taste was erected at the Queen's express wish.

the two noun phrases in the subject refer to the same monument; they are in apposition, and hence a singular verb is used. If we expand the sentence to

This temple of ugliness was erected at the Queen's express wish and this memorial to Victorian bad taste was erected at the Queen's express wish.

we indicate that we are referring to two different monuments.

9.97

When the phrases are not directly conjoined, but an additional clause constituent is present, we can consider that there is clause coordination with ellipsis (or substitution - for not, cf 9.80, 10.61):

Peter, and perhaps John, plays football [100]

Peter, but not John, plays football [101]

Peter plays football, and certainly basketball [102]

Joan plays many games, and even tennis [103]

The elliptical clauses are appended clauses (c/9.16). Instead of being in parenthetical juxtaposition to the subject, the appended clauses in [100] and [101] can be positioned finally:

Peter plays football, and perhaps John [100a]

Peter plays football, but not John [101a]

This would be the normal position.

If there is no constituent apart from the subject, the elliptical clause is often felt to be an afterthought and the construction tends to be restricted to informal and spoken English:

John writes extremely well - and Peter Sally must clean the room - or Joan

But the elliptical clause need not be set off by intonation or punctuation. and would not be if either were used as an anticipatory element:

Either Sally must clean the room or Joan.

Notice the singular number concord in [100] and [101] as opposed to the plural [98c]. Some speakers would, however, feel uneasy over using either the singular or plural and perhaps for that reason prefer the position of [100a] and [101a]-

Coordination 697

f. cannot add ellipted elements in certain other cases. For example, if we ignore for the moment the presence of respective in

[104a]

[104b]

My colleague failed, and I passed, our respective examinations

we cannot expand the sentence to

My colleague failed our examinations and I passed our examinations

Instead, [104a] implies

My colleague failed his examination-and I passed my examination

[104c]

Both (9.58), respectively, and respective cannot be retained if we expand the clauses.

For example, we cannot expand

John both composed the music and wrote the words

into

[105a]

•John both composed the music and-|. j-wrote the words [105b]

Nor can we expand

John and Peter respectively composed the music and wrote the words

[106a]

without reordering the elements and omitting respectively, as in

John composed the music and Peter wrote the words [106b]

On both, respectively, and respective, see 9.123J0r.

## Phrasal coordination

### Noun phrases 9.99

Noun phrases are commonly conjoined (13.61, 13.69 ff):

Peter and John were there

Mary and I approved of the plan

They bought illustrated magazines or books that contained beautiful

art-work

He spoke to the old men and the old women

With the

Pronouns you or /, or their case variants, realize one of the con-598 Coordination and apposition

## Coordination 599

joins, conventions of politeness require that you should always first and /last:

you or me my friend and me you or them you, John, and me

you or I

my friend and I you or they you, John, and I

Note

Noun phrases with different participant roles are normally not conjoined (7.15 Note a) 9.100

Within the noun phrase there may be ellipsis of the head (c/9.106). For example, in

Old and young men were invited

[107a]

some of the men are said to be old and some are said to be young, [107a] being elliptical for

Old men and young men were invited [107b]

Hence in old and young men we have conjoined noun phrases with ellipsis of the head of the first noun phrase, and old and young are not conjoined adjectives. In contrast, there is no ellipsis, for the normal interpretation, in

Honest and clever students always succeed [108]

where the same students are both honest and clever. Honest and clever are therefore conjoined adjectives. Similarly, there is no ellipsis of the noun head with appositional coordination (7.26, 9.96), as in

I like teaching a studious or hard-working undergraduate

On the other hand, undergraduate is ellipted after the first adjective in the following sentence, where two types of undergraduates are differentiated:

I don't care whether he is a studious or lazy undergraduate

The addition of both is possible in [107a], but not in [108] in the proposed interpretation:

Both old (men) and young men were invited • Both honest and clever students always succeed

Notice that when the adjectives are predicative, the converse applies, # both can be added only when the adjectives jointly refer to the same noun phrases:

\*Men who are both young and old were invited Students who are both honest and clever always succeed

If the adjective phrase is postpositive (5.18/), both is possible with either type, but with ellipsis there is marked pitch movement (App 11.17):

Men both t young and ; old were invited Students both honest and clever always succeed

If merely two adjectives are conjoined, the coordinator and can be omitted with non-elliptical premodified adjectives only. Contrast

•Old, young men were invited Honest, clever students always succeed

With a series of adjectives, the final and is occasionally omitted even in cases of ellipsis:

Did, young, wise, foolish, tall, (and) short men were invited without distinction.

9.101

Ellipsis of the head of the noun phrase can occur with modifiers other than adjectives. For example, in

He has workers from Ireland and from France in his factory

workers is ellipited before from France. The ellipsis can also occur with numerals:

I know three (poems) or four poems by heart

Notice that the ellipited head need not have the same number as the realized head, whether the ellipsis is in the first conjoin or in the second conjoin (9.106). We can have

one (story) or two stories one (reason) or more reasons one dancer or two (dancers) an old car or two (old cars)

(») can only be used instead of one if the ellipsis is in the second conjoin W 9.107).

See also 13.70/. Tae ellipsis sometimes occurs in both conjoins:

'« difference between the tax on earned (income) and (the tax)

°n unearned income is enormous [109]

! first conjoin of [109] the head of the noun phrase in the post-"tying prepositional phrase is ellipited while in the second conjoin

600 Coordination and apposition

Coordination 601

the head of the whole noun phrase is ellipited. We can also find the position ellipited in the second conjoin:

the tax on earned (income) and (the tax on) unearned income

If the expanded sentence is felt to be unsatisfactory, there may be objections to the ellipsis. For example, ellipsis of the head as found in

We are now encountering an equally serious or more serious situation than before [\\m

would be avoided by many because an additional ellipsis of a post-modifying prepositional phrase has to be understood and the resultant expansion is awkward:

?We are now encountering an equally serious (situation to the one before) or (a) more serious situation than before [110a]

Contrast with the previous examples

The bus for the Houses of Parliament and (for) Westminster Abbey will soon be here [111]

In this case, the closeness of these two places suggests that the same bus goes to both of them and if that is the intention, there is no ellipsis of the bus in the second conjoin. It is one bus that is being characterized.

9.102

A plural in the noun phrase sometimes replaces a construction with an elliptical singular. For example, instead of

The difference between the tax on earned (income) and (the tax) on unearned income is enormous [109]

we might have

The difference between the taxes on earned (income) and on unearned income is enormous [109a]

Assuming that there is only one tax for each type of income, there is no ellipsis of taxes in the second conjoin. Compare the ambiguity of the meetings on Monday and on Tuesday

If there was only one meeting on each day there is no ellipsis and [112] is equivalent to

the meeting on Monday and the meeting on Tuesday t112aJ

On the other hand, if there was more than one meeting on each day, there is potential ellipsis and [112] is equivalent to

the meetings on Monday and the meetings on Tuesday t11

But [1f2] could represent two further possibilities:

the meetings on Monday and the meeting on Tuesday the meeting on Monday and the meetings on Tuesday

To take one further example: the bills for gas and (for) electricity

can be interpreted in any of four ways, only one of which involves ellipsis:

the bills for gas and ((the bills) for) electricity the bill for gas and the bill for electricity the bill for gas and the bills for electricity the bills for gas and the bill for electricity

There is in fact one further interpretation: the bills with combined accounts for gas and electricity. The same company may supply both gas and electricity and put both accounts on the same bill. Here, too, no ellipsis is involved.

9.103

Demonstratives linked with each other or with other determiners in the noun phrase appear to involve ellipsis of the head of the noun phrase:

this (book) and that book these (chairs) and those chairs these (students) and other-students that (reason) and some other reason

But in fact, the first demonstrative is a pro-form for a noun phrase, as will become clearer in 9.104 and 9.105. The singular forms of the demonstratives are normally not linked with their corresponding plurals.

9.104

Possessive pronouns are not normally linked:

\*her or his friends

•our and my work

"owever, such linking is acceptable if his is the first member:

\*>« or her friends

his and my work

Th'

exception reflects the fact that of the possessive pronouns his alone 602

Coordination and apposition

Coordination 603

is used attributively, predicatively, and with 'ellipsis' of a noun phrase head:

attributive: his friends

predicative: Those friends are his

with 'ellipsis': They both have friends, but his (friends) are the more loyal. I know her friends, but I don't know his (friends).

On the other hand, with other possessive pronouns, a different form is used for attributive and for other uses, for example, her and hers:

9.105

attributive: her friends predicative: Those friends are hers pro-form : They both have friends, but hers are the more loyal I know his friends, but I don't know hers

In fact, the distribution of her/hers shows that his is really a pro-form for a noun phrase when it is not attributive, although neutralization of forms allows us to posit ellipsis of the noun head in certain cases. Notice that a head could not be supplied for hers in the same environment:

•They both have friends, but hers friends are the most loyal

In Air and her friends, his can be interpreted as a pro-form without ellipsis. Compare the similar acceptability of

John's and Harry's friends John's and my friends

The form John's is attributive like her and a pro-form like hers:

John's friends

Those friends are John's

They both have friends, but John's are the more loyal

I know his friends, but I don't know John's

For at least some people the predicative forms of the other possessive pronouns are more acceptable as the first item in premodified linking than the normal premodifying forms, particularly if both items end in -s-

?hers or his friends

Tyours and Mary's neighbours

In informal speech we sometimes find the coordination of a set of possessive pronouns that echo the conventions for polite order (9.99)-

Your, his, and my reports are all here Those are your and my books.

•rfce converse of what has been described in 9.103 and 9.104 is available

with &e Pr°-fonn m tne second conjoin: this book and those

that method

and the other

his friends and mine

your proposals and others

your work and his

many guests or few

her idea and John's

much satisfaction or little

bis son and hers

Only determiner-type items that can function as pro-forms for noun phrases are normally admissible in this construction. Hence, we do not have

•these students and other

\*his son and her ('his son and her son')

Note

Three common frames should be noted:

one N or another: eg one way or another

some N or other: eg some reason or other

one or (the) other N: eg one or (the) other method

Only in the first can or be replaced by and, though far less frequently: one way or another is a stereotyped expression.

9.106

The head of the noun phrase is very occasionally ellipted in the second conjoin when an adjective is present:

old men and young (men)

the strong nations and the weak (nations)

; 9.100 for the more usual ellipsis in the first conjoin.

9.107

Articles cannot be linked with ellipsis of a noun-phrase head:

'the (book) and a book

\*a (girl) and the girl

>r can two noun phrases be conjoined if the only difference between 'nem is in the article:

\*I read the book and a book \*J saw a girl and the girl.

^restrictions do not apply to metalinguistic formulations (c/also 9.174 Note)

"> definitions. For example, when can be denned as

at the or a time at which

" \*lw time or a time at which604 Coordination and apposition

Coordination 605

9.108

An article realized in the first conjoin of a noun phrase is often in the second conjoin:

a boy or (a) girl

the boy or (the) girl

the house and (the) gardens

the butter and (the) milk the boys and (the) girls the shoes and (the) bat

The ellipsis of the article can be combined with ellipsis of a modifier (c/ 9.110):

a young boy or (a young) girl

the cows (on our farm) and (the) bulls on our farm

When premodifiers are present, it can also co-occur with ellipsis of the head of the noun phrase in the first conjoin:

the old (men) and (the) young men

the lazy (students) or (the) industrious students

9.109

Other determiners can also be ellipted in the second conjoin:

that boy or (that) girl my brother or (my) sister some butter and (some) milk other boys and (other) girls

They can also co-occur with ellipsis of a modifier:

that young boy or (that young) girl

some boys (studying at this school) and (some) girls studying at this school

9.110

In the ellipsis of premodifiers, the item is realized in the first conjoin and ellipted in subsequent conjoins:

juicy plums, (juicy) peaches, and (juicy) oranges young boys and (young) girls fresh milk and (fresh) butter

When the parenthesized items are omitted, the examples are ambiguous-They can be interpreted as either involving ellipsis or not. If we wish to prevent the premodifier applying to subsequent conjoins we have to place the premodified noun phrase last:

peaches, oranges, and juicy plums

If the noun phrase in the first conjoin has a determiner and we wish to ellipt the premodifier in subsequent conjoins, we have to ellipt the determiner with it:

the juicy plums, (the juicy) peaches, and (the juicy) oranges

a young boy or (a young) girl

some fresh milk and (some fresh) butter

These examples too are ambiguous. To prevent the premodifier (and sometimes the determiner) applying to subsequent conjoins we have to place the premodified noun phrase last:

peaches, oranges, and the juicy plums a girl or a young boy

If we retain the determiner in subsequent conjoins, we prevent the ellipsis of the premodifier. Hence,

the juicy plums, the peaches, and the oranges

does not convey the information that the peaches or the oranges are juicy.

A postmodifier can likewise be ellipted, but it must be realized in the last conjoin and ellipted in previous conjoins:

cows (on our farm), bulls (on our farm) and pigs on our farm boys (studying at this school) and girls studying at this school men (who work hard) and women who work hard

To prevent the postmodifier applying to previous conjoins we place the postmodified conjoin first:

women who work hard and men

If a determiner is present in the first conjoin, it can either be ellipted or retained in subsequent conjoins:

the boys (studying at this school) and (the) girls studying at this school

Even if the determiners differ, ellipsis can take place:

Many boys (studying at this school) and some girls studying at this school

One can prevent the postmodifier applying to the first conjoin by reversing order of the conjoins:

some girls studying at this school and many boys

's also possible to combine ellipsis of premodifier and postmodifier. For example, in place of



honest men who work hard and honest women who work hard

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we can have either

honest men and honest women who work hard with ellipsis of the postmodifier alone,  
or

honest men and women who work hard

with ellipsis of both premodifier and postmodifier. Both forms are ambiguous, since they can be interpreted as either full or elliptical forms. We can prevent the elliptical interpretation by reversing the order of the conjoins:

honest women who work hard and honest men women who work hard and honest men

9.111

As we have already seen, the potentiality for ellipsis of modifiers in con. joined noun phrases is a fruitful source of ambiguity, since it is often possible to interpret the conjoined noun phrases as either with or without ellipsis.

Two examples of such ambiguity are given below, with the interpretations demonstrating methods for removing the ambiguity:

the old men and women

(1) the old men and the old women

(2) the old men and the women

(3) (some) women and the old men

simple books and magazines for children

(1) simple books for children and simple magazines for children

(2) magazines for children and simple books

(3) simple books for children and magazines for children

(4) simple magazines for children and simple books

9.112

When three noun phrases are coordinated, the three may be on the same level of coordination or one may be coordinated to a coordination of the other two (c/9.36).

Thus, in

We thanked John and Peter and Robert

the intention may be (a) that we thanked John and also Peter and Robert or (b) that we thanked John and Peter and also Robert, or (c) that \*e thanked all three. Each of the three types of relationship can be p«\* sented in a tree diagram:

John and Peter and Robert

Coordination 607

(b)

John and Peter and Robert

John and Peter and Robert

The same three types of relationships can be found if the coordinator is or:

John or Peter or Robert However, if only the second instance of the coordinator is present:

John, Peter, and Robert John, Peter, or Robert  
the relationship can only be that illustrated in diagram (c), all three noun phrases being on the same level. And if there are two different coordinators:

John and Peter or Robert

there are only two types of relationship - (a) and (b) - because a change of conjunction prevents all three conjoins being on the same level:

(a)

(b)

John and Peter or Robert

John and Peter or Robert

analogous hierarchical relationships apply if there are more than three nouns or noun phrases.

other than noun phrases

types of coordination will be briefly mentioned.

#### 0) PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

He spoke for the first motion and against the second motion [H3]

John complained to Mary and to Peter [114]

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They are going to France or to Germany or to Switzerland

The attacks in June and in July failed He climbed up the wall and over the wall [US] [116] EU7]

If the two or more prepositions are identical, then those subsequent to the first can be ellipsed:

[114a]

[115a] [116a]

John complained to Mary and Peter They are going to France, (or) Germany, or Switzerland The attacks in June and July failed

There are further possibilities of ellipsis:

He spoke for the first and against the second motion [113a]

He spoke for the first motion and against the second [113b]

He climbed up and over the wall [U7a]

He climbed up the wall and over [117b]

9.114

#### (2) OTHER ADVERBIALS AND DEPENDENT CLAUSES

They came quickly and with great force [118]

You can wash it manually or by using a machine [119]

They can call this week or whenever they wish [120]

They played when the sun came out and when their parents were asleep [121]

I approached the girl who was in the corner and who was talking to John [122]

They questioned the boys who broke the window and to whom the police had spoken [123]

The meetings last week and on the first day of this week were extremely long I prefer the sentences below and on the next page [125J

But in some cases of postmodification there may be ellipsis of the noun-phrase head and therefore we in fact have coordination of noun phrases rather than of postmodifiers. For example, both [124] and [125] have an elliptical noun-phrase head in one interpretation of the sentences, the meetings and the sentences ^ tively.

9.H5

If two or more conjunctions are identical, those subsequent to the first can be ellipited:

Coordination 609

I noticed how Mary talked to them and (how) they answered her. [126]

They admired a man who could make up his mind quickly and (who) would keep his word. [127]

If I can find the letter and (if) you are interested in it, I'll let you have it. [128]

On the other hand, if two clauses are identical except for their conjunctions, one of the clauses can be ellipited, normally the first, so that two conjunctions are linked:

I am prepared to meet them when (they like) and where they like. [123]

They will be arriving either before (the show begins) or after the show begins. [130]

Sometimes the second clause is ellipited:

They will be arriving before the show begins or after (the show begins). [130a]

With relative clauses introduced by a preposition and whom, ellipsis of the rest of the first clause is not uncommon:

I want to know by whom (it was ordered) and for whom it was ordered. [131]

Note

M In philosophical and mathematical discourse, if and only if is a common combination with ellipsis of the first clause.

[b] If and when is a stereotyped expression conveying a strong possibility that the condition in the clause will be realized:

If and when he buys the car, I'll try to persuade him to buy the insurance from me.

With if and when ellipsis may be disregarded, since if and when has become a unit.

Other institutionalized conjoinings of conjunctions are:

as and when

unless and until

9.U6

(3) ADJECTIVES

Adjectives can be conjoined when they are predicative:

She is young and beautiful or attributive: His clear and forceful delivery impressed the audience

610 Coordination and apposition  
Coordination 611

With conjoined adjectives in attributive position, the coordinator and is often omitted:

His clear, forceful delivery impressed the audience

No ellipsis is involved in the conjoining of predicative adjectives as such, but there can be ellipsis of a premodifier or of complementation (5.36):

very cheap and (very) gaudy

I am loath (to do it) and afraid to do it

Notice in which conjoin the ellipsis occurs, cf 9.110.

Note

[a] For linked adjectives with an elliptical noun-phrase head, see 9.100.

[b] Attributive nouns can also occasionally be conjoined (5.11 Note a, 9.121):

a cheese and cucumber sandwich

9.117

#### (4) DERIVATIONAL PREFIXES AND ELEMENTS OF A COMPOUND

Some derivational prefixes that tend to be contrasted can be conjoined with ellipsis of the base of the word, eg: ante- (or pre-) and post-natalcare or pro- and anti-establishment, sub- and super-human. The affixes concerned are the more loosely attached ones. Tightly attached affixes do not permit coordination, eg: \*im- and exports. Similarly, constituents of a compound can be linked with ellipsis of the last constituent, eg: factory- and office-workers, sons- and daughters-in-law, hand-made and -packed, out- and in-patients, psycho- and socio-linguistics. Once again, these constituents are loosely attached, and we do not have linking in the more cohesive compounds toothache and headache: \* tooth- and head-aches.

9.118

Order in phrasal coordination

There is a relatively fixed order for subclasses of adjectives in asyndetic coordination (9.24), but when a coordinator is present the order is relatively free (c/13.66). Apart from the special case of adjectives, the order of conjoined words can be influenced by a tendency for the shorter word to come first, eg: big and ugly, cup and saucer. There are a's0 stereotyped coordinations where the conjoins are in virtually irreversible order, eg: odds and ends: bread and butter; law and order; by hook or i crook; through thick and thin; knife, fork, and spoon.

Combinatory and segregatory coordination

9.11"

^hen conjoined phrases function in the clause, they may involve combinatory or segregatory coordination (cf 1.26 ff, 9.92 .#). The distinction applies to various types of conjoined phrases, but is perhaps clearest with noun phrases. When the coordination is segregatory, we can paraphrase the original sentence with two or more coordinated clauses. For example,

John and Mary have a cold is equivalent to

John has a cold and Mary has a cold But no analogous paraphrase is available for

John and Mary make a pleasant couple We cannot say

\*John makes a pleasant couple and Mary makes a pleasant couple since the subject complement a pleasant couple requires the subject to be two conjoined singular noun phrases or a plural noun phrase, and it must be possible to interpret the plural noun phrase as having reference to two people (say, they, or those two, and not the group or the trio).

Here are some more examples where conjoined noun phrases represent combinatory coordination:

He gave all his books to Tom and Alice

Peter and Bob separated

Bill and Paul look alike

John and Peter are different from each other

Mary and Susan are sisters

Bob, Peter, and George constitute the opposition.

9.120

her conjoined phrases too may involve combinatory coordination. Among adjectives, colour adjectives in particular allow a 'particoloured' interpretation:

Our flag is red, white, and blue {'partly red, partly white, and Partly blue'}

He painted the cars black and white<sup>612</sup> Coordination and apposition

Coordination 613

there is a combined process if each car is painted black and white, and separate processes if some cars are painted black and others white. Similarly, there is a combined process with the conjoined adverbials in

We spent our vacation this year in Paris and in Amsterdam. They renewed his contract because he had worked well in the past year and in return for a promise that he would make a greater effort in the coming year.

9.121

Sometimes there may be ambiguity as to whether we have a combined process or separate process, as with the conjoined adjectives in

He painted the cars black and white In the sentence John and Mary are married

there is a combined process if they are married to each other and there are separate processes if each is married to another person. Similarly,

John and Mary won the prize

is ambiguous: either they won the prize between them or they each won the prize on separate occasions. A very general difference in interpretation can be found in a sentence cited earlier (9.95),

Peter and John played football

where the intention could be that each played football separately or that they played together. Compare also

Bob and Ann went to Paris

where again there could either be a combined process or two separate processes.

Notice the use of singular number concord (cf 7.26 Note b) with some conjoins functioning as subject when they represent combinatory coordination :

Fish and chips is my favourite food (/ Fish is my favourite food and chips are my favourite food)

Bread and butter is better for you than cake ( ^ Bread is better for you than cake and butter is better for you than cake)

A ball and chain was suspended from the edge (^A ball was suspended from the edge and a chain was suspended from the edge)

Contrast also the two interpretations of cheese and cucumber sandwiches:

'cheese sandwiches and cucumber sandwiches' - segregatory coordination with ellipsis of sandwiches

'sandwiches each containing both cheese and cucumber' - combinatory coordination  
9.122

The distinction between combined and separate processes applies not only to conjoined noun phrases, but also to plural or collective noun phrases. Hence, we find combined process in

They look alike

That group constitutes the opposition  
and separate processes in

They are feverish

The children have a cold

while there is ambiguity in

They are married

He painted the cars with two colours.

] w . t totO.  
jat f i\*,9tffc.a\_  
■-<-- > a^ ■ ■ - \*w4  
<-ib\R Vm& b\*-  
adJ ■ i  
, .

9.(23)

Certain markers explicitly indicate that the coordination is segregatory:

both

respective

each

respectively

neither... nor

apiece

Respective and respectively are not normally used in informal or familiar style.

While

John and Mary have won a prize

[132]

■s ambiguous, we are left in no doubt that two prizes were won in

John and Mary each have won a prize

[I32a]

John and Mary have each won a prize

[132b]

John and Mary have won a prize each

[132c]

oath John and Mary have won a prize

[132d]

John and Mary both have won a prize

[I32e]

John and Mary have both won a prize

[132f]

614 Coordination and apposition

Coordination 615

Similarly, if the conjoined noun phrases are replaced by a plural noun phrase:

They each have won a prize They have each won a prize They have won a prize each

They both have won a prize They have both won a prize

[132all

[132bl] [132cl] [132el]

[132fl]

The equivalent for [132d] with the plural noun phrase is Both of them have won a prize

A similar construction is also available as an alternative equivalent for [132a]:

Each of them has won a prize

The correlatives neither... nor are the negative counterparts of both... and (9.55 f).  
While

John and Mary didn't win a prize is ambiguous, the sentence Neither John nor Mary won a prize

makes it clear that two prizes are involved.

Apiece is also used as an indicator of segregatory coordination but is normally placed finally after a direct object:

John and Mary have won a prize apiece

It is restricted to clauses with an object and indicates that there are two or more referents of the object which are separately involved in what is described. Contrast:

John and Mary are both in New York •John and Mary are in New York apiece.

Note

Both, but not each, is also used as a correlative with and in linked predications (9.5S).  
9.124

Respective is used as a premodifier in a plural noun phrase to indicate separate processes involving the referents of a coordinate noun phrase or another plural noun phrase in the sentence. For example,

John and Bob visited their uncles

could mean:

fa) John visited his uncle(s) and Bob visited his uncle(s)

(b) John and Bob together visited the uncles they have in common

(c) John and Bob together visited John's uncle(s) and also Bob's uncles).

On the other hand, John and Bob visited their respective uncles

can only mean that John visited his uncle or uncles and that Bob visited his uncle or uncles. The use of respective does not help us distinguish the number of uncles since we cannot use respective with a singular noun-phrase head;

\*John and Bob visited their respective uncle

If we wish to make the distinction we have to resort to clause coordination with or without ellipsis of the verb (9.72):

John visited his uncle, and Bob (visited) his uncle John visited his uncles, and Bob (visited) his uncles John visited his uncles, and Bob (visited) his uncle John visited his uncle, and Bob (visited) his uncles

Separate processes are similarly indicated if the subject is a plural noun phrase:

(The boys'] . . ^ , . . . . ,

\Th . . . . . Visited their respective uncles

The related noun phrases need not be in subject-object relationship:

John and Bob were telephoned by their respective wives. Mary and Susan went to their respective homes. Our respective parents are going to see the principal about the complaints made against Bob and me.

ie related noun phrases can even be in different clauses or in different sentences:

Bob and I have had some serious trouble at school lately. Our respective parents are going to see the principal about the complaints.

9.125

■e&pectively is used to indicate which constituents go with which in the ^Parate processes, the order of one linked set corresponding to the or<ier of the other linked set. Some illustrations follow. 616 Coordination and apposition

(1) LINKED SUBJECTS AND LINKED OBJECTS

John, Peter, and Robert play football, basketball, and baseball respectively.

= John plays football, Peter plays basketball, and Robert plays baseball.

(2) LINKED SUBJECTS AND LINKED PREDICATES

John and Peter work and study respectively. =John works and Peter studies.

(3) LINKED SUBJECTS PLUS VERBS AND LINKED OBJECTS

John speaks, and Peter writes, French and German respectively. =John speaks French and Peter writes German.

(4) LINKED SUBJECTS AND LINKED ADVERBIALS

John and Peter are going to Paris and to Amsterdam respectively. = John is going to Paris and Peter is going to Amsterdam.

(5) LINKED OBJECTS AND LINKED ADVERBIALS

She found the handbag and the purse in the car and in the garage respectively.

= She found the handbag in the car and she found the purse in the garage.

Some of these uses of respectively are uncommon, particularly (3).

Some special uses of coordination

9.126

Members of a small class of verbs functioning as first conjoin in a set of coordinated verbs may be very similar to semi-auxiliaries (3.7/). Thus,

I'll try and come tomorrow is equivalent to

I'll try to come tomorrow

and They sat and talked about the good old times

to

They sat talking about the good old times Other examples include

Don't just stand there and grin ('stand there grinning')

Coordination 617

He went and complained about us Hun and tell him to come here at once

Like try in being followed by a (o-infinitive in the corresponding form are stop, go, come, hurry up, and run. Like sit are stand and (positional) lie. Note

[a] The quasi-auxiliary use of a coordinated try appears to be limited lo the simple stem. Contrast the acceptability of

Try and see us tomorrow He will try and see us tomorrow He may try and see us tomorrow They try and see us every day

with

•He tried and saw us yesterday

•He has tried and seen us

•They are trying and seeing us tomorrow

•He tries and sees us every day



Instead of coordination we must use the to-infinitive:

He tried to see us yesterday

He has tried to see us

They are trying to see us tomorrow

He tries to see us every day

Be sure and be certain can also be used like try, but appear to be limited to imperatives, eg: ( You) be sure and see us tomorrow, corresponding to (You) be sure to see us tomorrow.

[b] In familiar speech we also find  
and hit me.

upped

9.127

In informal speech, members of a small class of commendatory adjectives functioning as first conjoin can be very similar in meaning to intensifiers of the adjective in the second conjoin. The most common is «'«(/1368)

This room is nice and warm ('warm to just the right degree') Other examples include

His speech was nice and short

It was lovely and cool'in there ('comfortably cool')

Some speakers use good in the same way, even when the adjective torn in the second conjoin is used like an adverb:

That road is good and long618 Coordination and apposition

Coordination 619

I hit him good and hard He drove good and fast.

Notice also the informal use of the stereotyped conjoined adverbs well and truly for intensification, as in He is well and truly drunk.

9.128

Identical items may be conjoined an indefinite number of times. With comparative forms of adjectives and adverbs, the effect is to express a continuing increase in degree. The comparative particles more and less, or else the inflected comparative forms, are often coordinated:

He felt more and more angry ^ He felt angrier and angrier )

.^^

He drove more and more slowly 1 TT . . . , , ,

, , , , \* \ = He drove increasingly slowly

He drove slower and slower J

However, the inflected forms cannot be coordinated with the periphrastic forms:

• He felt angrier and more angry •He drove more slowly and slower

With verbs and the absolute forms of adverbs, the effect of coordination of identical items is to express a continuing or repetitive process:

He talked and talked and talked (= He talked for a very long time) They knocked and

knocked (= They knocked repeatedly) He talked on and on and on (=He talked on

continuously) They went up and up (=They went continuously up) They hit him again

and again (=They hit him repeatedly)

If a noun is repeated once, the effect may be to suggest that different types can be distinguished:

There are teachers and teachers (=There are good and bad teachers) You can find doctors and doctors (=You can find good and bad doctors)

However, if the noun is repeated more than once, the effect is to suggest a large number:

There were dogs and dogs and dogs all over the place.

Note

[a] The stereotyped coordination in out and out (=thorough-going, utter) has an intensifying effect in premodification of nouns, eg: Helton out and out liar.

[b] Somewhat similar to the intensifying effect of some coordination is the effect of repetition of attributive adjectives when they are absolute (S.68) and of degree intensifiers:

mold, old man=> a very old man eery, very good ■ extremely good

For degree intensifiers that can be repeated, see 5.77.

[c] In informal speech, expressions like yes, no, OK, all right are often repeated for emphasis. (See 14.49 on repetition.)

9.129

Structures relating to coordination

There are several quasi-coordinators which behave sometimes like coordinators and at other times (without any change of meaning) like subordinators or prepositions. The most prominent of them are clearly related to comparative forms (11.53-64):

as well as, as much as, rather than, more than

In the following examples, they do not introduce noun phrases or clauses, and therefore resemble coordinators:

He publishes as well as prints his own books.

The speech was addressed to the employers as much as to the strikers.

It was his tone more than what he actually said that discouraged me. He was pitied rather than disliked.

In other sentences, however, they clearly have a prepositional or subordinating role:

As well as printing the books, he publishes them. Rather than cause trouble, I'm going to forget the whole affair, (see 11.43)

Another reason for not treating them as fully coordinative is that in subject position they do not normally bring about plural concord unless the first noun phrase is plural: John, as much as his brothers, was responsible for the loss.

They therefore resemble in this respect prepositions such as with or w addition to rather than coordinators such as and:

John, with his brothers, was responsible for the loss.

Non-restrictive relative clauses have been considered as semantically equivalent to coordinate clauses. Such an assignment seems reasonable when the relative clause has the superordinate clause as its antecedent (H.52). Thus,

John didn't go to the show, which is a pity.

620 Coordination and apposition

is semantically equivalent to

John didn't go to the show, and that is a pity. Note [u] Another quasi-coordinator is the informal let alone ('still less'), which is preceded by a negative:

I've not even read the first chapter, let alone finished the book.

[b] Non-restrictive relative clauses can also be seen as appositives (9.180).

[c] Etc (et cetera) is used as an abbreviating device at the end of a series of conjoined phrases to indicate that the series has not been exhaustively given:

He packed his clothes, his books, his papers, etc.

And so on and and so forth (and their combination and so on and so forth) are used in the same way, but are restricted to informal contexts. Et al is used as an abbreviating device for a list of names. It is most common in legal documents and in scholarly writing, in the latter case to avoid repeating a list of collaborators:

J. C Brown et al.

Apposition

Nature of apposition 9.130

Apposition resembles coordination in that typically the two or more units in apposition are constituents of the same level (c/9.25), and indeed the central coordinators and and or are occasionally used as explicit markers of apposition. But for units to be appositives, ie in apposition, they must normally be identical in reference or else the reference of one must be included in the reference of the other.

For example, in

Paul Jones, the distinguished art critic, died in his sleep last night

[133]

Paul Jones and the distinguished art critic refer to the same person. Similarly, in

Apposition 621

A neighbour, Fred Brick, is on the telephone

[134]

a neighbour is identified as Fred Brick, The relationship underlying apposition is therefore an intensive relationship (7.6):

Paul Jones is the distinguished art critic

[133a]

Fred Brick is a neighbour

[134a]

Note

There are co-referential relationships that do not seem to have been considered appositional, since the units fulfil distinctly different syntactic functions:

John washed himself Jane likes her own hat best Susan does whatever she wan Is.

9.131

pull and partial apposition

Grammarians vary in the liberality with which they apply the term apposition. Some apply it only to such cases as [133] and [134]. In those cases (a) each of the appositives can be separately omitted without affecting the acceptability of the sentence, (b) each fulfils the same syntactic function in the resultant sentences, and (c) there is no difference between the original sentence and either of the resultant

sentences in extralinguistic reference. For example, by omitting each appositive in turn from [134] we obtain the two sentences:

A neighbour is on the telephone [134b]

FredBrick is on the telephone [134c]

The apposition in [134] meets the three conditions: (a) the resultant sentences are acceptable; (b) both noun phrases are subject of their sentence; (c) Fred Brick and a neighbour are co-referential in the original sentence and hence we can assume the reference of the two resultant sentences to be the same. Apposition meeting these three conditions we term full apposition.

On the other hand, we term apposition not meeting all three conditions partial apposition. If condition (a) alone is not met, the difference between full and partial apposition is comparatively trivial. For example, from

An unusual present was given to him for his birthday, a book on ethics [135]

only the second appositive can be omitted:

An unusual present was given to him for his birthday However, the first appositive cannot be omitted:

\*Was given to him for his birthday, a book on ethics unless we re-position it initially:

A book on ethics was given to him for his birthday [135c]

\_ type of partial apposition where the position of the appositive is the sole difference might be considered discontinuous full apposition.

[135a]

[135b] 622 Coordination and apposition

Condition (b) is not met in

Norman Jones, at that time a student, wrote several bestsellers

[136] Norman Jones is subject in

Norman Jones wrote several best-sellers [136a]

but at that time a student cannot be subject in

\*At that time a student wrote several best-sellers [136b]

Finally, condition (c) is not met in

The reason he gave, that he didn't notice the car till too late, is unsatisfactory.

[137]

We can omit each of the appositives in turn and each fulfils the function of subject in the resultant sentences:

The reason he gave is unsatisfactory [137a]

That he didn't notice the car till too late is unsatisfactory [137b]

However, [137b] is different from both [137] and [137a] since it does not assert that a particular reason is unsatisfactory but that a particular fact is unsatisfactory:

(The fact) That he didn't notice the car till too late is unsatisfactory.

9.132

Strict and weak apposition

The appositives may belong to the same general syntactic class, as in

Football, his only interest in life, has brought him many friends.

In such a case we term the construction strict apposition. Other examples of strict apposition have been given above in [133], [134], and [135]. On the other hand,

appositives from different syntactic classes are said to be in weak apposition. For example, the participle clause and the noun phrase in  
Playing football, his only interest in life, has brought him many friends.

Non-restrictive and restrictive apposition 9.133

Apposition may be non-restrictive or restrictive (e/13.16/> The appositives in non-restrictive apposition are in different information

Apposition 623

units, and this fact is indicated in speech by their inclusion in separate tone units and in writing by commas or more weighty punctuation. For example, the apposition is non-restrictive in all the examples in 9.130-132 and in

Mr Campbell, the lawyer, was here last night while it is restrictive in

Mr Campbell the lawyer was here last night (ie Mr Campbell the lawyer as opposed to any other Mr Campbell we know)

In non-restrictive apposition the two appositives have different information value, with one of the appositives having a subordinate role in the distribution of information. Its subordinate role is reSected in the fact that it is marked as parenthetic by intonation or punctuation. In

While the President of the United States, Richard Nixon, addressed the nation last night, there were violent demonstrations in the streets of Washington.  
[138a]

the President of the United States is superordinate and Richard Nixon subordinate. On the other hand, in

While Richard Nixon, the President of the United States, addressed the nation last night, there were violent demonstrations in Washington.  
[138b]

it is Richard Nixon that is superordinate, with the President of the United States constituting a separate and subordinate information unit. Note

Subordinate appositives are not the same as exclamatory asides (cf 14,50 Note). Ad aside such as the utter fool in

John (the utter fool) insisted on staying with them is an irregular insertion and can come anywhere in the sentence. Compare

John (can you believe it) insisted on staying with them ■he difference between the two constructions is highlighted in the ambiguity of

John and Mary (the idiots) lost their way

i one interpretation, the idiots is intended as a clinical term and is appositive to John id Mary. In the other interpretation, it is synonymous with 'the fools' and is an

exclamatory aside. The two interpretations can be distinguished internationally, but

l\*re are differences between AmE and BrE in this respect. The normal intonations are <iven below:

apposition - AmE and BrE John and Miry (the Idiots) lost their way

B\*CLAMATORY ASIDE-AmE

John and MArY (the idiots) lost their way624 Coordination and apposition

Apposition 625

EXCLAMATORY ASIDE - BrE

John and MArY (the idiots) lost their way

In AmE the aside is marked primarily by a lowering of its pitch relative to that of the rest of the sentence, though it would be usual for the terminal rise of Mary to be echoed in the aside, as shown above.

9.134

When restrictive apposition is also full, it is not clear which of the appositives is subordinate:

My friend Peter was here last night (full/strict)

The question whether to confess or not troubled the girl (full/weak)

In partial restrictive apposition, on the other hand, one of the appositives is modifier of the other. In

Next Saturday, financial expert Tom Timber will begin writing a weekly column on the national economy (partial/strict)

The explanation that he couldn't see it is unsatisfactory (partial/weak)

the modifiers are respectively

financial expert that he couldn't see it

The syntactically subordinate role of one of the appositives is clear with partial apposition, since only the modifier can be omitted (9.131).

9.135

Combinations of appositional types

The three types of distinction we have made apply simultaneously. They are displayed in Fig 9:1. The possible combinations are illustrated below.

(1) FULL, STRICT, NON-RESTRICTIVE

Paul Jones, the distinguished art critic, died in his sleep last night

(2) FULL, WEAK, NON-RESTRICTIVE

Playing football, his only interest in life, has brought him many friends

(3) FULL, STRICT, RESTRICTIVE

My friend Peter was here last night

(4) FULL, WEAK, RESTRICTIVE

The question whether to confess or not troubled the girl

(5) PARTIAL, STRICT, NON-RESTRICTIVE

An unusual present was given to him for his birthday, a book on ethics

(6) PARTIAL, WEAK, NON-RESTRICTIVE

His explanation, that he couldn't see it, is unsatisfactory

(7) PARTIAL, STRICT, RESTRICTIVE

Next Saturday, financial expert Tom Timber will begin writing a weekly column on the national economy

(8) PARTIAL, WEAK, RESTRICTIVE

The explanation that he couldn't see it is unsatisfactory

(full (either omissible) \partial (only one omissible))

APPOSITION

(strict (same syntactic class) \weak (different syntactic class))

(non-restrictive (different information unit) \restrictive (same information unit))

Fig 9:1 Combinations of appositional types

9.136

More than two units

Though we have found it convenient to exemplify apposition with merely two appositives, we have indicated earlier (9.130) that occasionally there may be more than two units in apposition, as in

They returned to their birthplace, their place of residence, the , country of which they were citizens.

There seems to be no motivation for combining any two of the noun phrases as one unit in the appositional relationship. On the other hand, we often find cases in which two or more units function as an appositive:

She had a splendid vacation: a Mediterranean cruise and a trip to the Bahamas  
In this case the coordinated noun phrases are together appositive to < \* splendid vacation, a general term in relation to which a Mediterranean cruise and a trip to the Bahamas are the particulars. But the units functioning as an appositive need not be coordinated by and:

We have everything we need: land, brains, wealth, technology

Apposition 627

Here the second appositive is a series of juxtaposed units which taken together are included under the general first appositive everything we need. There is yet another possibility: a hierarchy of appositional relationships, indicated by the various types of bracketing:

We now find (a new type of student: [the revolutionary - {the radical bent on changing the system and the anarchist bent on destroying it}])

A new type of student is the first appositive, while all that follows it in the sentence constitutes the second appositive. But within the second appositive there is further apposition: the revolutionary is the first appositive, while what follows in the sentence is appositive to it.

9.137

Ambiguity between apposition and other constructions

We have earlier (9.133) noted the use of intonation and punctuation separation for the subordinate appositive in non-restrictive apposition. Where the lexical items allow for potential ambiguity, intonation or punctuation separation usually resolves the ambiguity in favour of an appositional interpretation. The pair of noun phrases in

They sent Joan a waitress from the hotel

is interpreted as indirect object and direct object respectively, synonymous with

They sent a waitress from the hotel to Joan On the other hand, the pair in They considered Miss Hartley a very good teacher

is interpreted as direct object and object complement respectively! synonymous with

They considered Miss Hartley to be a very good teacher

However, if the second noun phrase in each sentence is separated from what precedes by a tone unit boundary in spoken English or by a comma in written English, then the interpretation is weighted in favour of taking the first noun phrase as direct object with the second noun phrase as apposition to it. A sentence such as

They called Susan a waitress is triply ambiguous, the three relationships being

(1) indirect object+direct object:

They called a waitress for Susan

(2) direct object + object complement

They said Susan was a waitress

(3) direct object + appositive:

They called Susan, who-11S La waitress Iwasj

With the apposition interpretation, intonation and punctuation marking are obligatory.

9.138

Explicit indicators of apposition

A number of expressions are available for explicitly indicating apposition. They can be inserted between appositives, for example namely

in

The passenger plane of the 1980s, namely the supersonic jet, will transform relations between peoples »f the world.

It seems reasonable to say that if we add an explicit indicator we do not change full apposition into partial apposition, even though the presence of the indicator may affect the ability of the construction to meet the conditions for full apposition (9.131).

The indicators express certain semantic relationships between the appositives and therefore cannot be used for all cases of apposition. Some, however, have the same semantic function, though they may be restricted to different varieties of the language. Common indicators

\* listed below, those marking the same or similar relationship being grouped together.

that is to say, that is, ie (formal and written)

namely, viz (formal and written)

to wit (formal, especially legal)

'« other words

or, or rather, or better

and

^follows

for example, for instance, eg (formal and written), say, including, included, such as especially, particularly, in particular, notably, chiefly, mainly,

mostly of

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Apposition 629

Some of these indicators either precede or (less commonly) follow the second appositive:

The President of the United States, in other words Richard Nixon,

was on television last night. The President of the United States, Richard Nixon in other words,

was on television last night.

But others can only precede the second appositive: namely, and, or (rather/better), as follows, including, such as, of, and the abbreviated forms ie, viz, and eg:



Many people, including my sister, won't forgive him for that. Included can only follow the second appositive:

Many people, my sister included, won't forgive him for that.

Note

It might appear plausible to include among indicators the tffr-relative pronoun followed by *be*, as in

Paul Jones, who was the distinguished art critic, died in his sleep last night. However, the insertion of *who* wot alters the syntactic relationship, making the distinguished art critic a subject complement. But see 9.180. For the non-res(riptive relative clause, see 13.14.

Strict non-restrictive apposition: noun phrases 9.139

Apposition is typically exemplified by noun phrases in full strict non-restrictive apposition. Since within strict non-restrictive apposition, similar semantic relationships are found for both full and partial apposition, we treat the two types together. The semantic relationships

appellation (namely, *or*; *who* -f *be*) identification (namely)

EQUIVALENCE (ie, in other words)

ATTRIBUTION

(*who*/*which*+*m*)

INCLUSION

designation (*who*/*which*+*BE*) reformulation (*or*)

fexemplification (for example)

[particularization (especially)]

Fig 9:2 Semantic relationships in strict non-restrictive noun-phrase apposition

between the appositives are displayed in Fig 9:2. The figure gives common indicators for each relationship, mentioning only one example from indicators grouped together in 9.138. It also notes the possibility of replacing the second appositive by a corresponding non-restrictive relative clause.

Equivalence

9.140

Appositives in an equivalence relationship allow the insertion of *that is to say* (and other indicators in the same group), and, less commonly, of *in other words*. As Fig 9:2 shows, there are four types of equivalence relationship. The types can be differentiated by the different indicators they admit.

9.141

Appellation

With appellation, both appositive noun phrases are definite and the second is typically a proper noun:

The company commander, (that is to say) Captain Madison,

assembled his men and announced their mission. [139]

My best friend, (in other words) Peter, was here last night. [140]

But the second appositive can be a common noun phrase:

The passenger plane of the 1980s, (namely) the supersonic jet, will transform relations between peoples of the world.

An example of partial apposition: My best friend was here last night - Peter.

There is unique reference between the two appositives with appellation. The second appositive can be replaced by a corresponding relative clause (c/9.151):

The company commander, who is Captain Madison, assembled his men and announced their mission. [139a]

The second appositive is more specific than the first, and hence the use of *namely*, an indicator that introduces a more specific appositive. Or *namely* is more commonly used than the other indicators.

9.142

Identification

In identification, the first appositive is typically an indefinite noun phrase and the second appositive is more specific, and hence the possible use of *namely*. If we make the first appositive of [139] indefinite, we now have identification:

A company commander, (namely) Captain Madison, assembled his men and announced their mission. [139b]

There is no longer unique equivalence, as there was with [139]. The second appositive identifies what is given in the first appositive. A similar relationship obtains if the first appositive is, or contains, a *pro*-form referring to the second appositive:

We - (that is to say) John and I - intend to resign.

He still enjoys such books: science fiction, detective stories,

historical novels. We have everything we need; land, brains, wealth, technology.

[141]

An example of partial apposition:

An unusual present was given to him for his birthday, a book on ethics.

9.143

Designation

Designation is the converse of appellation and identification. The second appositive is less specific than the first and hence we cannot insert the indicator *namely*. Both appositives are commonly definite noun phrases:

Captain Madison, (that is to say) the company commander, assembled his men and announced their mission. [139c]

Peter, (that is to say) my best friend, was here last night. [140a]

Land, brains, wealth, technology - (in other words) everything we need - is plentiful in our country. [141a]

He sent ahead the sergeant, (in other words) the most experienced scout in the company. [142]

Replacement of the second appositive by a corresponding relative clause is possible:

He sent ahead the sergeant, who was the most experienced scout in the company.

[142a]

Examples of partial apposition:

Peter was here last night, my best friend. Have some Harveys with your Christmas - the most distinguished sherries you can buy. [140b]

Apposition 631

Reformulation

9.144

Reformulation is a rewording in the second appositive of the lexical content of the first. Three types of reformulation may be distinguished:

- (1) Reformulation based on linguistic knowledge.
- (2) Reformulation based on factual knowledge.
- (3) More precise formulation.

9.145

In reformulation based on linguistic knowledge, the second appositive is a synonymous expression:

these lifts, or rather elevators

a terminological inexactitude, in other words a lie

sound units of the language, technically phonemes oculists, that is to say eye-doctors

A synonymous word or phrase may replace the first formulation in order to avoid misinterpretation or provide a more familiar or a more technical term. Lifts in our example is restricted in the relevant sense to British English and the reformulation would be appropriate in an American context. On the other hand, in a British context, the order would be reversed if these two expressions were in reformulation apposition, since elevators is less commonly used than lifts.

In addition to the markers it shares with other types of reformulation, this type admits a large range of expressions that specifically mark linguistic reformulation, eg:

(more) simply                                    in more difficult language

in simple(r) words                            in scientific terminology

in simple(r) terms                            in more technical terms

put (more) simply                            technically (speaking)

to put it simply                                in words of one syllable

Partial apposition involving linguistic reformulation includes translations from foreign languages:

\*aw/r {know in English)

9.146

With the second type, the reformulation is based less on linguistic know-ledge than on knowledge about the external world:

Fred - or Ginger as he is usually called - ... United Arab Republic, or Egypt,...

United States of America, or America for short \_\_\_\_

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Apposition 633

However, the distinction between the two types is not absolute. For ex-ample, in alligator pears, or avocados as they are usually called,...

it can be argued that it is our knowledge of the external world that is responsible for our awareness of the greater frequency of the word avocados.

9.147

With the third type we have a correction of what was said. In addition to the other indicators for reformulation, namely can be used for this type. The correction may be due to an attempt at greater accuracy and precision in formulation:

His party controls London, Greater London that is to say. They started going to the church, the Catholic Church,

But the intention may be rhetorical (as indeed in the last example) to provide a climactic effect by repetition and expansion of the first noun phrase:

You could cut the atmosphere with a knife, a blunt knife at that.

At that attached to the end of the second appositive is an explicit marker of rhetorical intention. When it is present, and can be inserted:

You could cut the atmosphere with a knife, and a blunt knife at that.

Perhaps under this form of reformulation we should include other instances of more precise formulation, some of which do not involve repetition:

this and just this

these and these alone

the women and only the women

those and no others

then and not before

Substitution

9.148

A special type of equivalence involves placing a pro-form earlier in the sentence while the noun phrase to which it refers is placed finally- This construction is restricted to informal spoken English, and is considered by some as substandard, though it is in fact very common (cf 14.50):

He's a complete idiot, that brother of yours. It went on far too long, your game.

Sometimes the operator is included, occasionally with subject-operator inversion:

, , .. (John is a complete idiot, < . , , " v ' \is John.

It went on far too long, your game did.

9.149

If the pro-form is substituting for a clause that is positioned finally, the construction (known as extraposition, 14.36,0") is normal in both spoken and written English, including formal varieties of the language, and there is no intonation or punctuation break before the final clause. The pro-form is anticipatory ft;

It surprises me that they don't write

It was good to see you after such a long time

It was pleasant meeting you in London that day

The form without the substitution is less common for finite and infinitive clauses:

That they don't write surprises me

To see you after such a long time was good

though for participle clauses it seems to be perfectly normal: Meeting you in London that day was pleasant

With participle and infinitive clauses, that is sometimes used as the pro-form, but an intonation or punctuation break is then usual:

That's a mistake, letting him go free.

That's a shame - to leave him without any money.

9.150

In informal spoken English we sometimes have the reverse process: a noun phrase is positioned initially and a pro-form substitutes for it in the relevant position in the sentence. This construction is also considered by some to be substandard:

Your friend John, I saw him here last night. "That play, it was terrible.

Analogous constructions with clauses are rarer, though they seem more likely with that as pro-form:

Whether they'll write or not - that's what worries me. No see you after such a long time, that was good. Meeting you in London that day, that was pleasant. 634

Coordination and apposition  
Apposition 635

All such constructions, however, seem to be anacolutha, that is to say they appear to involve an abandonment of the originally intended construction and a fresh start in mid-sentence.

Note

Standard English has a number of expressions for introducing the topic of the sentence initially and substituting a pro-form later in the sentence (see 6.48):

Talking of (informal) "I

To turn now to

Regarding My friend John, I saw him here last night.

With respect to (formal)

As for John

Attribution 9.151

Attribution involves predication rather than equivalence, and the equivalence indicators that is to say and in other words are not admitted. On the other hand, we can replace the second appositive by a corresponding relative clause. The second appositive is commonly an indefinite noun phrase:

Captain Madison, a company commander, assembled his men and announced their mission. [139d]

The house, an imposing building, dominated the street.

Ron Pall, a blatant liar, used to be in my class at school.

The captain, a man of considerable courage, led the soldiers into battle.

But it can be definite, with cataphoric the referring forward to a post-modification (c/4.36):

He introduced me to the young man, the heir to a fortune. Many students, the cream of the school, died in the fire. 'I don't know what I would have done if I had seen him,' exclaimed Mary, the prey of violent and obscure emotions.

9.152

There are several types of partial strict apposition that express an attribution relationship:

(1) A comparatively trivial distinction from full apposition is when the second appositive is not juxtaposed to the first:

Many students died in the fire, the cream of the school.

9.153

(2) An article is absent from the second appositive:

Robinson, leader of the Democratic group on the committee, refused to answer questions. Mary Cordwell, 25-year-old singer on television shows, is being invited to the reception.

If the first appositive is in the singular and is deleted from the first sentence the resultant sentence is unacceptable:

•Leader of the Democratic group on the committee refused to answer questions.

This type of partial apposition is common in newspapers and magazines. The effect of the omission of the article is to make the second appositive in each sentence more clearly felt as a reduced relative clause:

Robinson, who was leader of the Democratic group on the committee, refused to answer questions. Mary Cordwell, who is a 25-year-old singer on television shows, is being invited to the reception.

Now

[a] The omission of the article is one of the devices used in headlines, where a sentence such as Democratic leader refuses to answer questions would not be unusual.

[b] If the second appositive is short enough, it can be preposed in restrictive apposition (9.160)

Democratic leader Robinson refused to answer questions. 25-year-old television singer Mary Cordwell is being invited to the reception.

This usage is generally restricted to newspapers and magazines.

9.154

(3) An adverbial that is a clause constituent is added to the second appositive:

Norman Jones, then a student, wrote several best-sellers. Your brother, obviously an expert on English grammar, is

highly praised in the book I am reading. Maureen, normally a timid girl, spoke rudely to them at the

party. They elected as chairman Martin Jones, also a Cambridge graduate,

9.155

(4) A somewhat different construction is where the second appositive  
Coordination and apposition

Apposition 637

has an internal structure of subject and either complement or adjunct (c/9.159):

The two men, one a Norwegian and the other a Dane, were

awarded medals. Jones and Peters, both of unknown address, were charged with the murder of Williamson. At the entrance there are two pillars, one on each side.

In each case the participle being can be inserted between the two internal constituents of the second appositive:

The two men, one being a Norwegian and the other being a Dane...

Jones and Peters, both being of unknown address,... ... two pillars, one being on each side.

They can also be seen as reduced relative clauses:

The two men, one of whom was a Norwegian and the other of whom was a Dane,...

Jones and Peters, both of whom were of unknown address,... ... two pillars, one of which is on each side.

9.156

An attribution appositive is to be distinguished from a verbless adverbial clause. Verbless adverbial clauses (11.44ff) often occur initially and are characteristically interpreted as concessive or causal:

An even-tempered man, Paul nevertheless became extremely angry when he heard what had happened. [143]

The heir to a fortune, his friend did not need to pass examinations. [144]

The verbless clause in [143] is interpreted as concessive ('Though he was an even-tempered man') and in [144] as causal ('Since he was the heir to a fortune'). These constructions differ from identification apposition (9.142) in that when they occur initially the subject of the sentence is not marked off from the predicator by intonation or punctuation separation. However, the verbless adverbial clause can occur after the subject:

His friend, the heir to a fortune, did not need to pass examinations. [144a]

Bob Rand, a notorious burglar, found it easy to force open the lock.

In such cases, the lexical content of the sentence suggests the more probable interpretation. For example in

Ron Pall, a blatant liar, was expelled from the group

a blatant liar can be interpreted as an adverbial causal clause, since it is reasonable to ascribe the expulsion to Pall's being a blatant liar. Whereas in Ron Pall, a blatant liar, used to be in my class at school

there would normally be no motivation for assuming that Pall's presence in the class had anything to do with his being a blatant liar.

Note

Notice that in [143] nevertheless refers back to the content of the initial clause (=in spite of his being an even-tempered man).

Inclusion 9.157

Inclusion applies to cases of apposition where the reference of the first appositive is not identical with that of the second, but rather includes it. Some grammarians might entirely exclude this type of relationship from apposition on those grounds. In any case, the inclusion relationship applies only in partial apposition since the omission of the first appositive brings about a radical semantic change. There are two types of inclusion:

(1) exemplification

(2) particularization

Exemplification need not have explicit indicators, while particularization must have them.

9.158

## Exemplification

i exemplification, the second appositive exemplifies the reference of the more general term in the first appositive:

They visited several cities, for example Rome and Athens,

His excuses, say the breakdown of his car, never seemed plausible.

Many people, including my sister, won't forgive him for that.

explicit indicators of exemplification apposition are those in the headed by/or example in 9.138. Sometimes there may be ambiguity between exemplification and Identification (9,142) if no indicator is present:

Famous men (De Gaulle, Churchill, Roosevelt) have visited this university. 638  
Coordination and apposition

## Apposition 639

Presumably the three men referred to in the second appositive are not the only famous men to visit the university, but are mentioned as examples of such visitors. On the other hand, it is not impossible for the relationship to be interpreted as one of identification. The two types of relationship are distinguished by the explicit indicators: if one of the indicators for identification (namely, that is to say, in other words) is inserted, the apposition must be identification, while if the exemplification indicators for example, for instance, eg, say, or including are used, then we have an unambiguous case of exemplification.

9.159

## Particularization

Particularization is really the marked form of exemplification, and requires an explicit indicator to show that the exemplification has been chosen because it is in some way prominent:

The book contains some fascinating passages, notably an account of their trip to North Africa. The children liked the animals, particularly the monkeys. We want to invite a number of friends, especially John and Peter.

The explicit indicators of particularization apposition are those in the group headed by especially in 9.138.

We should perhaps include here instances like the following, where a numeral or quantifier in the second appositive indicates the particularization (cf. 9.155):

the two men, one a Dane, were awarded medals. The soldiers, some drunk, started fighting each other. Several sailors, one looking like a chap I know, stepped up to the bar.

Strict restrictive apposition: noun phrases 9.160

Strict restrictive apposition of noun phrases can take three forms:

(1) The first appositive is preceded by a definite determiner (and possibly premodifier) and is more general than the second appositive :

that famous critic Paul Jones the singer Robeson the novel 'Great Expectations' the River Thames

the number three the year 1970 your brother George my good friend Bob

(2) The reverse of (1), the second appositive is preceded by a determiner, always the, and is more general than the first:



Paul Jones the critic	Thompson the plumber
Robeson the singer	Wright the lawyer
(3) Type 3 is like (1) but with omission of the determiner (c/9.153):	
Critic Paul Jones	Lawyer Wright
Singer Robeson	Farmer Brown
(My) Brother George	Democratic leader Robinson
Friend Bob	25-year-old television singer
Mary Cordwell	

».tfl

The first form is the most common. Omission of the determiner in the third form produces partial apposition, with the first appositive becoming premodifier and resembling a title (4.42). Generally, the reduction from the first form is allowed only when the second appositive is the name of a person. Hence we do not find  
 ♦novel 'Great Expectations' ♦year 1970

Operation and Hurricane regularly omit determiners when they are used as proper nouns:

Operation Abolition Hurricane Edna

Pronouns followed by noun phrases, such as you boys (7.40), you British (5.21 Note d), we men, can also be analysed as restrictive apposition.

9.162

Geographical names (4.44 jf) merit separate treatment. Certain names of individual mountains and lakes take Mount and Lake respectively as a title:

Mount Everest Mount Vesuvius

Lake Michigan Lake Windermere

We do not prefix them with a determiner. Most other such geographical names take a determiner, the general term being preceded by the proper noun as premodifier:

Atlantic Ocean Mediterranean Sea

the Rocky Mountains the Nile Valley640

Coordination and opposition  
 Apposition 641

Some rivers allow either premodification or the appositive form:

f the River Mississippi /the River Euphrates

[the Mississippi River \the Euphrates River

Some districts and a few cities and villages require the general term to come second:

Washington State Milwaukee County New York City

Quebec Province Kansas City Dulwich Village

In other cases both orders are possible:

County Cork ~ Cork County (and other Irish counties) County Durham ~ Durham County

Note

City in Kansas City is in fact part of the name and can hardly be omitted.

9.163

Instead of the first form of strict restrictive apposition (9.160) the two appositives are more commonly linked by o/for the names of months and for the names of villages, cities, districts, countries, and regions (c/13.27):

the month of December the borough of Westminster the City of London the county of Yorkshire the District of Columbia the state of Washington

In some cases we have a choice between the forms exemplified in Washington State and the state of Washington. But in many cases the former option is not available:

- ◆London City                                    \*Africa Continent (but the
- ◆Columbia District                          African Continent is
- December month                            acceptable)
- France Republic (but the
- French Republic is
- acceptable)

Note

Books of the Bible can be used in this type of construction:

The book Genesis ~ the book of Genesis

the book Job™ the book of Job For other uses of the appositive indicator of, see 9.17S, 13.27, 13.31.

the state of Guatemala the Republic of France the island of Cyprus the Rock of Gibraltar the continent of Africa

9.164

An important use of the first form of restrictive apposition (9.160) is found with citations and names of books, films, etc (7.23 Note c):

the word 'if'                                    the expression 'do your own

the noun 'butter'                            thing'

the term 'heavy water'                    the novel Crime and Punishment

The first appositive is often absent:

'If' is a conjunction

'Men' is an irregular plural in English

'Hiss' expresses by its very sound the meaning it conveys

'John and Mary' is a coordinated noun phrase

I'm reading Crime and Punishment

We may assume a weak form of ellipsis (9.7) in such cases, an ellipsis of some general phrase such as 'the expression' or 'the citation form', or of an appropriate term in the case of titles, such as 'the book', 'the film', 'the play'. Notice the singular number concord with 'men' and 'John and Mary', which can only be explained if we assume the ellipsis of a singular first appositive (for further examples, see 7.23 Note c).

9.165

The second form of restrictive apposition (9.160) is restricted to cases where the first appositive is the name of a person and the second is the designation of an occupation.

Hence we do not have

- George the brother \*Bob the friend

Appositives and titles 9.166

In the third form of restrictive apposition (9.160) the first appositive is used as if it were a title. Compare such examples of this type of ap-Position:

Singer Robeson	Farmer Brown
Critic Paul Jones	Plumber Thompson (especially AmE)
(My) Brother George	
Democratic leader Robinson	
w'th institutionalized titles:	
Queen Elizabeth	Lord Harper
President Nixon	Dr Smith (medical doctor or doctor of philosophy (ph d)) 642
Judge Harris	Coordination
and apposition	
Apposition 643	
Professor Brown	Sir John Cartwright
Brother Robert (brother in religious order)	Mr Porter

(1) With appositives a preposed determiner is normal:

the farmer Brown  
the plumber Thompson  
the Democratic leader Robinson  
; the singer Robeson  
the critic Paul Jones my brother George  
but not with titles:  
\*the Queen Elizabeth •the President Nixon •the Judge Harris  
unless the noun phrases are modified restrictively:

the present Queen Elizabeth  
the older Professor Brown  
the Mr Porter who lives next door to you  
Title-like adjectives such as honourable and reverend are commonly used with determiners, but only with the latter can the determiner be omitted:  
the honourable Mr Johnson (the) reverend Jones

Note

[a] The stressed definite article /ði/ can be used as in  
You are not the Judge Harris, are you?  
where the identifies but has no anaphoric reference (re 'the Judge Harris that everyone knows').

[b] With Emperor, the definite article seems to be part of the title, since it is normally retained: the Emperor Vespasian

9.167

(2) With appositives postposition with the is more normal than preposition without the:

Thompson the plumber Robinson the Democratic leader brother of James. On the other hand, pre-position is more normal for titles, while those phrases that are nearest to being exclusively titles do not allow postposition at all:

\*Smith the doctor (ph d)                      \*Porter the mister  
 \*John Cartwright the sir                      \*Robert the Brother  
 \*Harper the lord                                      (in a religious order)

Possessive pronouns are commonly used in this construction with words for family relationship: George my brother.

9.168

(3) Appositives and most titles can be used without the proper nouns and with determiners:

the singer the farmer  
 the doctor (when used for a medical doctor)  
 the judge  
 the President  
 the brother  
 the lord (also His Lordship)

But some are not used in this way:

\*the doctor (when used for anybody except a medical doctor) •the sir •the mister

9.169

Robeson the singer Paul Jones the critic Brown the farmer

Brown the farmer is perhaps on the borderline in this r^P^ and "George the brother and analogous constructions with "

g relationships are ruled out, unless the is cataphoric: George the

(4) Most titles can be used as vocatives and so can some appositives such as Farmer and Brother. For vocatives see 7.39/.

The title Miss, for unmarried women, is used in the vocative (especially AmE and substandard BrE), but otherwise is generally followed by a name. The accompanying name must be the last name, eg: Miss Jones and not Miss Alice, except in archaic or minority (especially British upper social class) use. On the other hand, sir when used as a title is followed by the first name: Sir John and not Sir Jones. The vocative sir is an alternative to the substandard vocative mister and is not the title found in Sir John. The appositive Esq ('Esquire') is used in BrE virtually only in writing (chiefly in addressing letters) and is postposed to a name consisting of a family name with either a first name or initials:

John Porter, Esq J. Porter, Esq

This is a more formal alternative to Mr (J.) Porter<sup>644</sup> Coordination and apposition

Mr and Esq are not combined: \*Mr J. Porter, Esq

9.170

We can now show the gradience from apposition in critic Paul Jones to full title in Mr Porter with the following examples: (1) critic Paul Jones                      (2) Farmer Brown

(3) Brother George

the critic Paul Jones	the farmer Brown	(family)
Paul Jones the critic	?Brown the farmer	my brother George/
the critic	the farmer	?the brother George
?critic (vocative)	farmer (voc)	'George the brother

the brother brother (voc)

(4) Professor Brown	(5) Dr Smith (ph d)	(6) Mr Porter
•the professor Brown	"the doctor Smith	'the Mr Porter
?Brown the professor	'Smith the doctor	"Porter the mister
the professor	'the doctor	'the mister
professor (voc)	doctor (voc)	"mister (voc) (in
substandard use)		

9.171

In certain titles the proper noun is followed by an article and adjective or numeral:

Napoleon the Great Pitt the Younger Henry VIII ('the eighth')

In such designations there is occasionally a reordering with the modification proposed in the equivalent

the Great Napoleon the Younger Pitt the eighth Henry

9.172

Postposed numbers and letters, as in

paragraph 12	room 10A
equation 4	roomBH
Hill 25	Ward C

perhaps imply the ellipsis of the words number or letter:

paragraph number 12	room number 10A
equation number 4	room number B14
Hill number 25	Ward letter C

Apposition 645

if that is so, the postmodifying phrases contain appositional constructions, with the number or letter being in apposition to the ellipted word number or letter {number 10A - the number is 10A). We also find premodifying numbers and letters:

No 2 Platform

G Block

Strict non-restrictive apposition: units other than

noun phrases

9.173

Strict non-restrictive apposition is probably far less common with other units than with noun phrases, while strict restrictive apposition does not apply at all. Clauses, predicates, and predications that are in apposition display an equivalence relationship. The indicators are that is to say and in other words, and - if the second appositive is more specific - namely.

(1) CLAUSES

/ explained the whole document to him, (that is to say) / went through it word for word with him.

All human languages are equally complete as instruments of communication: that is, every language appears to be as well equipped as any other to say the things the speakers want to say.

They put it where it was light, (in other words) where everybody could see it.

## (2) PREDICATES

They summoned help - called the police and fire brigade. They surrendered, (that is) threw out their weapons and walked out with their hands above their heads.

## (3) PREDICATIONS

They had never anticipated an air assault - never imagined bombers would attack them. They will summon help - call the police and fire brigade.

9.174

Adjectives are occasionally in equivalence apposition (c/9.140):

She is better, very much better, than he is.

She was homely, that is to say, plain.

He drew a triacontahedral, ie thirty-sided, figure. 646 Coordination and apposition

The above three examples involve reformulation (9.144-147), The t is a correction (9.147), while the other two are linguistic reformulations (9.145): AmE homely is glossed as plain and the more difficult triaconta-hedral is explained by the more familiar thirty-sided. In

He is good or (to be more specific) friendly and helpful,

the second appositive is analogous to the appellation type in noun phrases (9.141).

Note

Compare the rare reformulation with determiners:

the or rather a book.

9.175

Adverbs are occasionally in equivalence apposition:

He always wrote so - (namely) childishly but legibly. Thirdly and lastly, they would not accept his promise. Secondly and most importantly, he is resigning from his job next month.

That is to say, in other words, and namely are possible indicators after the pro-form so. The conjuncts in the second and third sentences (8.89<sup>^</sup>) are always linked by and.

9.176

Prepositional phrases can be in equivalence apposition:

The President's support is strongest in the Midwest, (that is) in the heart of the U.S.A.

They handed it to Bob Pitt, to a man of integrity. He explained the situation to his class, especially to the older students.

If the preposition introducing the second appositive is omitted, we then have appositive noun phrases.

Weak apposition

9.177

Weak apposition, where the appositives come from different classes (9.132), is exemplified by a noun phrase in apposition to a clause. The indicator namely is used if the second appositive is more specific, which is the case when the second appositive is a clause. Normally the noun phrase comes first, as in these instances of full apposition:

He told them the news: (namely) that the troops would be leaving.

Apposition 647

He has a problem: (namely) should he charge them for the damage or should he forget about it ?

Their solution, (namely) to appoint a committee, is deplorable. His only interest in life, (namely) playing football, has brought him many friends.

But the clause, particularly if it is a non-finite clause, can come first: for them to pay him a commission, his suggestion, seemed an excellent idea. She enjoyed teaching English, her job.

The second appositive, whether a noun phrase or a clause, can be regarded as a reduced relative clause:

He told them the news, which was that the troops would be leaving. His only interest in life, which was playing football, has brought him many friends.

In partial weak apposition between noun phrase and clause, the noun phrase appears first:

His explanation, (that is to say) that he couldn't see it, is unsatisfactory He gave them the news: (namely) that the troops would be leaving.

The first appositive cannot be omitted without producing an unacceptable sentence (9.131). That is to say and namely are the indicators for this type of apposition. The clause can be regarded as a reduced relative clause. The first appositive may be part of the clause:

If the government had known what was going to happen, they would not have increased credit facilities - a move that accelerated inflation.

A move that accelerated inflation is appositive to they have increased credit facilities, 9.178

Restrictive apposition is common with such general noun phrases as 'wfact, the idea, the view:

The fact that he wouldn't betray his friends is very much to his credit. I don't agree with the view that there is no advantage in being patient.

The question whether to confess or not troubled him. \*our duty to report the accident takes precedence over everything else. 648 Coordination and apposition

With participle clauses, and sometimes with tv/i-clauses, of is used as an indicator (9.163):

The thought of playing against them arouses all my aggressive instincts.

He didn't accept the idea of working while he was studying. His account of what he had done that year did not satisfy his colleague 9.179

Adverbials of different syntactic classes are sometimes placed in ap. position:

He explained it simply, that is to say in words they could understand.

They bought it cheaply, for three dollars.

She wrote it yesterday, namely (on) Monday.

He walked slowly, (in) the way he always does.

She played it afterwards, I mean when they had left.  
John stood in front, where he could see more clearly.  
9.180

Non-restrictive relative clause

Some grammarians have included among appositional constructions non-restrictive relative clauses:

His explanation, which we read yesterday, is unsatisfactory.

Presumably this assignment is motivated by the loose attachment of the non-restrictive relative clause to the sentence and the requirement for co-reference between the wA-word in the clause and an antecedent noun phrase. It is also motivated by the frequent possibility of expanding a second appositive into a relative clause:

Peter, (who is) my best friend, was here last night.

(See 9.141, 9.143, 9.151-155, 9.177). Under this interpretation, the non-restrictive relative clause with the previous clause as its antecedent is then said to be appositive to that previous clause:

He sold his shop, which surprised me. See further 13.14/.

Bibliographical note

Some recent contributions to coordination in general: Dik (1968); Gleitman (1965). Hudson (1970); Karlsen (1959); Lakoff and Peters (1966); Lakoff, R. (1971); Stockwell, Schachter and Partee (1973), Chapter 6.

On the distinctions between coordinators, subordinators, and conjuncts, \*\* Greenbaum (1969a). On the conjunction *but*, see Greenbaum (1969b).

On the order of nouns and coordinated adjectives, see Malkiel (1959).

On the order of coordinated adjectives, see 13.65 ff; Bolinger (1965), pp 129~1 \*

On apposition, see Haugen (1953); Hockett (1955); Lee (1952); Norwood (1954J).

i

TEN

SENTENCE CONNECTION

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## 10.1 Introduction

The compound sentence is dealt with in Chapter 9 and the complex sentence in Chapter 11. In this chapter we are concerned with devices that cross boundaries of units that it is pointless to regard as anything but sentences, though this is not to deny that many such devices occur also within the sentence. We sometimes have the option in the written language of marking conjoined or juxtaposed clauses as one sentence or as two separate sentences:

John has loved Alice for a long time, but he told her so only last night.

[1a]

John has loved Alice for a long time. But he told her so only last night.

[1b]

While pairs of sentences as short as [1b] can occur, the justification for the separate treatment of sentence linkage lies in instances when it would be unlikely for the sentences to be written as one sentence or when that possibility is ruled out:

It was a convention where the expected things were said, the predictable things were done. It was a convention where the middle class and middle aged sat. It was a convention where there were few blacks and fewer beards. And that remains the Republican problem. [2]

In [2] and links the final sentence to a unit comprising the three preceding sentences. The final sentence contains a comment on what precedes, and cannot be attached merely to the preceding sentence. Similarly, but links the final sentence equally to each of the two preceding sentences in

A paper-boy, a college freshman, and a new graduate may be equally skilful in teasing, shouting instructions on the football-field, grumbling - or even swearing. They may be as skilful as each other or as a professor in English language in any of these uses. But their skill will probably be unequal when it comes to drafting a letter, writing a report, or making a formal speech. [3]

Note

The isolation of a unit as an independent orthographic sentence may be intended to convey the effect of a dramatic pause in speech:

He won because what he had to say about the United Nations and the need to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons conforms faithfully to the Labour Party's proper desires and instincts. And to Mr Wilson's.

\*\* dash before the unit can serve the same purpose. 652 Sentence connection

Factors in sentence connection

10.2

In this chapter we shall be dealing primarily with syntactic devices that enter into sentence connection. But there are other factors that may be present as well as syntactic devices, all of which interact in pointing to links between sentences. We illustrate this by examining a lengthy paragraph. For ease of reference, the sentences are numbered.

(i) We sometimes rather thoughtlessly criticize an announcement or a government form which refers to 'male persons over the age of twenty-one years', (ii) What ridiculous jargon, we think; why couldn't this pompous official have used the word 'man'! (iii) But the official may be forced into a jargon that he likes no more than we do, by the imprecision of the ordinary words that we may prefer. (iv) In the present instance, 'man' may well sound perfectly obvious as the right gloss upon 'male person over the age of twenty-one years', but would the latter be equally our automatic interpretation if the word 'man' had been used? (v) The word 'man' is applied regularly to hundreds of thousands of students, only a minority of whom have reached the age of twenty-one, (vi) We often use it of still younger males of sixteen or seventeen, and it can be applied to a school-boy often ('the team is a man short'), (vii) It may simply mean 'brave person', as when we tell a little boy of four to 'stop crying and be a man'. (viii) Or it may mean 'human being', without regard to sex, as in a phrase like 'not fit for man or beast', (ix) It may even mean a wooden disc - as in the game of draughts.

The factors that we exemplify as entering into sentence connection in the above paragraph are:

[A] implication in the semantic content

[B] lexical equivalence

[C] syntactic devices.

Cutting across but endorsing these three factors are prosodic features of connection (App 11.12 ff, 11.21) which have yet to be fully described and which must consequently be ignored in the present treatment. A reading-aloud of sentences (v-ix), however, would give them close linkage (a) by unity of pitch-range, such that (vi-ix) nested within the wider range set by (v); (b) by parallelism in intonation and rhythm patterns, such that although a reader would have considerable choice of pattern, he would tend to repeat for (vi-ix) the pattern he decided was most suitable for (v); (c) by giving comparable prosodic prominence to students in (v), younger males in (vi), brave person in (vii), human being"

Factors in sentence connection 653

(viii). and wooden disc in (ix), quite possibly arranging them in a series  $\wedge$ jth respect to degrees of emphasis or pitch-height.

10.3

[A] IMPLICATION IN THE SEMANTIC CONTENT

A reader normally expects coherence and takes it for granted that there is a connection between sentences that occur sequentially in speech or in writing- He searches for relationships implied by the juxtaposition of sentences with their semantic interpretation. For example, sentences (vii), (viii), and (ix) present a series of alternatives linked to the joint content of (v) and (vi), but only in (viii) do we find the coordinator or marking the alternatives. We could, of course, make the relationship between these sentences explicit by adding or to the beginning of (vii) and (ix) as well. On the other hand, sentence (ii) is an exemplification of the content of (i) and it is possible to make this relationship explicit by attaching (say) for instance to (ii).

10.4

[B] LEXICAL EQUIVALENCE

We can expect successive sentences to exhibit some relationship through their vocabulary, some equivalence in the lexical items. The simplest form for such lexical equivalence is through the repetition of words or phrases. For example we is found in (i), (ii), (iii), (vi),(vii), and its genitive form our in (iv); it may ... mean appears in three consecutive sentences -(vii), (viii), and (ix);jargon of (ii) is repeated in (iii); and man, which

first appears in (ii), recurs twice in (iv), and once in (v), (vi), (vii), and (viii).

However, lexical equivalents are often synonyms or near-synonyms. Of course, the whole point of the paragraph is the degree of closeness in meaning between 'male persons over the age of twenty-one years' - (i) and (iv) - and 'man'. For further treatment of lexical equivalents we must find examples outside our cited paragraph.

10.5

The equivalent may be the generic term for the lexical set (the relation-ship between the two terms being one of inclusion, or hyponymy as it has been recently termed):

The monkey's most extraordinary accomplishment was learning to operate a tractor. By the age of nine, the monkey had learned to solo on the vehicle.

However, it is often the case that the equivalence is not given in the language but may instead be established by the speaker or writer, and may

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then result in a chain of equivalences being set up through several sentences:

The Senate last week refused to confirm the nomination of Judge Palmer, a Californian of slender reputation, to the Supreme Court. The defeat of the Californian was a rebuke to the President who resented it deeply. Palmer fled because of suspicions that he is a racist.

The equivalence of Palmer and Californian in the first sentence derives from the identification of the two in an appositional construction (cf 9.140 ff). Other syntactic devices may be used for this purpose, in particular the identification or attribution relationships of subject complement to subject and of object complement to object (cf 7.14).

The equivalence may not be given overtly, but may depend on factual knowledge or presuppositions that the speaker feels he can assume on the part of his audience:

Last week Paul McCartney announced that he was separating from the quartet. The 27-year-old Beate gave several reasons for the break-up. The radical students were prominent in this week's session of the national conference. The nation's subversive elements put forward a series of resolutions demanding violent action.

In the first example the speaker expects his audience to know that Paul McCartney is a Beatle (a lexical equivalence reinforced by his use of anaphoric *the* in the 27-year-old Beate, cf 10.65), while in the second example the speaker assumes that his audience will agree with him in identifying the radical students as the nation's subversive elements. The assumptions that a speaker feels he can make will of course vary considerably according to the audience he is addressing.

Repetition of lexical items is normally avoided, but 'elegant variation' can become as disconcerting as repetition when the variation is obtrusive. Hence we more usually resort to the syntactic device of substitution by pro-forms, such as pronouns.

10.6

From the examples of lexical equivalences that have been cited, it is clear that the equivalents need not have the same syntactic function in the two sentences nor need they consist of the same number of lexical units. As the next example shows, they can also be realized by different parts of speech:

His initial remarks were flattering. The flattery made his audience listen more attentively than they would have done otherwise.

Factors in sentence connection 655 10.7

Lexical connection between sentences may depend on relationships between lexical items other than those we have illustrated in 10.4-6. We might mention the various types of oppositeness of meaning that can be exemplified by such pairs as man: woman; beautiful: ugly; father : son. For example, the connection between the following two sentences is largely dependent on the antithesis between men and women; Discrimination is undoubtedly practised against women in the field of

scientific research. We don't find men complaining that they are not being interviewed for positions that they are clearly qualified to fill.

Finally, there are co-occurrence expectancies between lexical items, though the lexical sets cannot be established with precision, nor can generalizations be made easily with respect to semantic relations holding between items in the set: birth: baby; road: car; heat: sun. For example:

We heard that the birth was easy. The baby is smaller than expected, but is in good health.

10.8

### [C] SYNTACTIC DEVICES

Syntactic devices, the topic of this chapter, interact with the other factors in the connection between sentences in our cited paragraph. We have said that the word man appears in six of the sentences. But the citation form man is also referred to by the pronoun it - twice in (vi) and once in each of (vii), (viii), and (ix). Thus man and its equivalents, lexical or syntactic, form a motif running through the paragraph. This in this pompous official (ii) refers back to the assumed agent of an announcement or a government form (i), and the identity of this pompous official with the subject of the next sentence is assured by the use of the m the official (lit). The concessive relation between (iii) and the two preceding sentences is made explicit by the use of the coordinator but in (ii), while one of the alternatives that the sentences in the latter half of the paragraph represent is marked explicitly in one sentence (viii) by \*". One final example. A comparative form entails a basis for comparison (5.69, 10.72). We do not know from (vi) what the basis for comparison is and are therefore forced to look back for the missing •"formation. From the juxtaposition of the sentences we can infer that younger denotes 'younger than twenty-one'. 10.9

Features of the situation may also be relevant: (I) the visible scene -Persons and objects, and their activity - though ordinarily this has

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Time and place relaters 657

relevance only to the spoken language or written forms attempting to imitate its effects; (2) the medium of communication; (3) the relationship between the participants in the communication; and (4) the specific purposes of the communication.

(1) The scene is relevant, for example, in comments by a speaker on an action in progress. We can imagine someone watching a game of football and exclaiming They're far too slow! and then He missed ft/The connection between the sentences derives from the sequence of actions that the speaker sees. However, the sequence of sentences need not be motivated by any change in the scene; it may instead derive from the speaker's scanning of the scene. Notice that there need be no previous mention of linguistic units for which the pronouns they, he and it substitute. They can refer directly to visible persons and objects. The 'visible scene' may also be relevant in written material containing illustrations or diagrams. In literature, particularly in poetry, a 'visible scene' is often presupposed.

(2) A simple example of the effect of the medium is the frequent use of yes or its equivalents which punctuate a telephone conversation to reassure the speaker that the listener is still on the line. We can also contrast the possibility in a television

commentary of relying on references to the visible situation with the necessity for explicit links in a radio commentary,

(3) The social relationship between the participants may affect the type of links and the extent of their use. For example, a couple who have been married for a long time can often assume that references will be understood and can suppress intermediate stages of logical connections between sentences. Moreover, explicit connectors vary in the degree of their formality, a scale which depends on the relationship between the participants.

(4) The purpose of the communication will in part dictate its form. For example, we can expect differences in sentence connection to be exhibited between an official government report and a memorandum sent from one office to another within a government department.

#### 10.10

Syntactic devices used for connecting sentences can be grouped under the following headings:

[A] Time and place relaters (10.11-16)

[B] Logical connectors (10.17-38)

[C] Substitution (10.39-62)

[D] Discourse reference (10.63-70)

[E] Comparison (10.71-73)

[F] Ellipsis (10.74-79)

[G] Structural parallelism (10.80)

Time and place relaters

Time relaters

#### 10.11

Sentence connection can be established by time-relationships signalled by adjectives or adverbials with temporal significance or by tense, aspect and modality in verbs. Once a time-reference has been established, certain temporal adjectives and adverbs may order subsequent information in relation to the time-reference. Three major divisions of time-relationship may be set up, and examples are given of adjectives and adverbials that signal the relationships:

(1) temporal ordering previous to given time-reference:

adjectives

earlier, former, preceding, previous, prior

eg He handed in a good essay. His previous essays were all poor.

The implication of previous is 'previous to the good essay just mentioned'.

**ADVERBIALS**

already, as yet, before, beforehand, earlier, first, formerly, hitherto (formal), previously, so far, yet; and phrases with pro-forms: before that, before this, before now, before then, by now, by then, until now, until then, up to now, up to then

eg I shall explain to you what happened. "But first I must give you a cup of tea.

First is to be interpreted here as 'before I explain to you what happened'.

#### W.12

(2) temporal ordering simultaneous with given time-reference:

**ADJECTIVES**

coexisting (formal), coinciding (formal), concurrent (formal), contemporary, contemporaneous (formal), simultaneous<sup>658</sup> Sentence connection

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eg The death of the president was reported this afternoon on Cairo radio. A simultaneous announcement was broadcast from Baghdad.

Simultaneous is 'simultaneous with the report of the death of the president on Cairo radio'.

#### ADVERBIALS

at present, at this point, concurrently(formal), contemporaneously (formal), here, in the interim (formal), meantime, meanwhile, in the meantime, in the meanwhile, now, presently, simultaneously, then, throughout, and the relative when

eg Several of the conspirators have been arrested but their leader is as yet unknown. Meanwhile the police are continuing their investigations into the political sympathies of the group.

Meanwhile means 'at the same time as the arrests are being made'.

Note

la] The use of presently for time-relationship (2), with the meaning 'at present', has become more common in AmE than it used to be. In BrE presently is more commonly synonymous with soon. See 8.57 Note b.

\b] An example of here as time-indicator:

I've now been lecturing for over an hour. I'll stop here since you all look tired.

10.13

(3) temporal ordering subsequent to given time-reference:

#### ADJECTIVES

ensuing (formal), following, later, next, subsequent (formal), succeeding (formal), supervening (formal)

eg I saw him on Friday and he seemed to be in perfect health. The following day he died.

Following implies 'following the Friday mentioned in the previous sentence'.

#### ADVERBIALS

after, afterwards, (all) at once, finally, immediately, last, later, next, since, subsequently (formal), suddenly, then; and the phrases after that, after this

eg The manager went to a board meeting this morning. He was then due to catch a train to London.

Then here means 'after the board meeting'.

The temporal adjunct again could be fitted into this category. It is equivalent to 'another time', ie a time additional to one previously mentioned:

He told her what he thought of her. He didn't speak to her again.

Words with temporal significance do not always have a connective function. Often the time-reference is not explicitly mentioned in preceding sentences. Thus, if somebody says

John's previous wife died last year

there need not have been any prior mention of John's subsequent or present wife. The fact that John had been married before may be assumed as known to the hearer.

Note

[a] Anew and afresh are synonyms of again and once more, but are rare and formal.

[b] Several adverb compounds that can be classed in (3) are only found in certain formal varieties of contemporary English: henceforth, henceforward, hereupon, thenceforward, thereafter, thereupon, whereupon.

1\*14

The ordinals constitute a temporal series of adjectives first, second, third..., with next as a substitute for any of the middle terms when moving up the series, and final or last as a substitute for the term for the end of the series. There is a corresponding series of adjuncts with first (also at first and, less commonly, <sup>^</sup>r/y) as the beginning of the set; next, then, later, afterwards, as interchangeable middle terms; and finally, lastly, or eventually as markers of the end of the set.

W.15

Tense, aspect, and modality are discussed in detail elsewhere (3.23-53). Here we merely illustrate a few of the more obvious time-relationships signalled by these components of the verb phrase:

He telephoned the police. There had been an explosion. [4]

Alice turned on the radio to full volume. John was taking a shower. [5]

Mary complained bitterly about the state of the house. Peter poured himself a drink. [6]

The use of the past perfect of the verb in one sentence and of the simple past in the other fixes the temporal sequence of the information conveyed in the two sentences of [4]. The past perfect form allows the two sentences

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Logical connectors 001

to appear in an order departing from chronological sequence without resultant ambiguity or misinterpretation. In [5] the verb forms indicate that the action described in the first sentence took place during the action described in the second sentence, while in [6] the actions described in the sentences follow the chronological sequence corresponding to the order of the sentences.

Note

The semantic content of the sentences in [4] and [5] is such that we tend to interpret the juxtaposed sentences in each pair as having a cause-effect relationship, and perhaps this is true of [6] too.

10.16

Place relaters

Some words denoting place-relationship can play a part in sentence connection. Ellipsis is then usually involved (cf 10.79):

He examined the car. The front was slightly damaged. [7]

The building was heavily guarded by police. The windows on the top story were covered with boards. [8]

The ellipsed items in [7] and [8] are of the car and of the building respectively. Often the ellipsed items are not in the previous context, but are understood from the context of situation (either accompanying the communication or established by the communication):

The traffic lights soon changed. He walked across quickly. [9]



Across in [9] implies the road or some similar noun phrase (c/6.10).

A few place adverbs do not involve ellipsis: here, there, elsewhere, the relative where and (in formal contexts) hence, thence, hither and thither. They are pro-forms:

The school laboratory reeked of ammonia. Here, during the first week of the term, an experiment was conducted. [10]

All my friends have been to Paris at least once. I am going there next summer for the first time. W>\

Here in [10] substitutes for in the school laboratory and there in [11] for to Paris.

Note

[a] Elsewhere differs from the other substitutes in indicating that the places under consideration are other than those previously mentioned.

[b] In sentences like Stand over there and Here it is the pro-forms may refer directly to the situational context without any linguistic mention of location.

Logical connectors

10.17

Despite a tradition of prescriptive teaching against the practice, it is not uncommon in written English to find sentences (and sometimes even paragraphs) beginning with the coordinating conjunctions and, or, but. Most of the other types of logical connectors can be grouped under these coordinators in as much as a similar interpretation could obtain if the coordinator alone is used. Some types could come under more than one coordinator. For example, sentences that are being contrasted can be linked by either but or and (9.43,9.54), but logical connectors denoting a contrast have been put under but, because that coordinator is used more commonly with contrasted sentences. Fig 10:1 displays the logical relationships for which there are explicit connectors, and these are grouped with the three coordinators. The conjunction/or, also a sentence connector, is appended, though it has a restricted use.

{enumeration ,,,. (reinforcement

addition J Z. ^equation

and \

transition

summation apposition result inference /"reformulation or ^replacement

(contrast " 1 concession

. for cause

Fig 10:1 Logical relationships

10.18 And

The possible relationships between sentences linked by and are in general the same as those between clauses linked by and (9.40-48). We have referred earlier (10.1) to the use of and to link its sentence with a unit comprising several preceding sentences, and, in the example we gave, and introduced a comment on the content of the preceding sentences. And also links a sentence with a preceding one that has internal co-ordination of clauses, the coordinations being on different levels (cf 9.36): Then, with his boots clean, he can go over to the coffee shop down

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the hall and have lunch, and talk with his friends about the business of hauling and handling and making a living and how to solve the problems of the world. And when he pays his check he will see the sign on the wall that says, 'Cows may come and cows may go, but the bull in this place goes on forever.' The heroine hungers to be more than herself. 'If I have to be just one person,' she tells her husband, 'I'll kill myself.' She does, and her husband is left to reflect on her not as a woman he loved without tenderness but as a natural element that he needed for his own survival. And the reader is left to reflect too. About the emptiness and boredom that addicts some people to the idea of leading serial lives, about the consumer culture that feeds the idea with fantasies, and about the society that provides the opportunities to realize those fantasies - for better or worse.

Neither and nor, semantically often the negative equivalents of and (9.55), also link sentences:

During his long meeting with the representatives of the party he was unable to secure any discussion of the delegation's aims. Neither was he able to arrange any meeting with government officials.

He never quite forgave his parents for their neglect of him when he was a young child. There were frequent fits of rage and nightmares. Nor could he wholly rid himself of feelings of guilt for his dreams of revenge on them.

Neither leaves the series open for further additions, whereas nor concludes it.

Enumeration 10.19

Enumerative conjuncts (8.89) indicate a cataloguing of what is being said. Most of them belong to well-defined sets, though a member of one set may sometimes replace a member of another set in the appropriate position. Indeed, other listing conjuncts (8.89) are also used in the set, as furthermore in

He attacked the senator viciously, but he was never called before the committee, though he was prepared for such an occurrence. First, he was not an important enough figure. Furthermore, his criticism of the senator and his advocacy of the civil rights of dissenters was completely open. Finally, since there was no case for suggesting he was secretly infiltrating the government, the elements necessary to a good witch hunt were missing.

The enumerative conjuncts may be introduced by a statement of intention to list:

I want to give just two pieces of advice. One, there is no reason why he should know about your decision. Two, it would be better if you acted before he finds out.  
[12]

But there is often no previous indication of such an intention: Tom Brown is well known in this city. He has been a member of the city council for many years. Secondly, and far more importantly, he is a football player of national reputation.  
[13]

The addition of far more importantly indicates that the statements are listed in ascending order of importance. There are several climactic additive conjuncts (8.89) that mark the end of an ascending order: above all, on top of it all, to top it (all), to cap it (all), and the alliterative expression last but not least.

Instead of an ascending order of importance, there can be a descending order, which we can indicate at the beginning of the series by such expressions as first and foremost, and first and most importantly);

Several reasons can be given for the change in the attitude of many students. To begin with (and most important of all), they fear the outbreak of a nuclear war. Such a prospect had not been thought likely before. In the second place, they are concerned over the continuing pollution of the environment. Moreover, not enough progress has been made in reducing poverty or racial strife. And to conclude, they feel frustrated in their attempts to influence political decisions. [14]

Most importantly) and most important(ly) of all can occur either at the beginning or at the end of a series; they mark by their position whether the series is in ascending or descending order of importance. Several other conjuncts are restricted as to the positions they can occupy in a series. It is obvious that first(ly), secondly), thirdly), etc mark particular positions in a series. Next and then cannot occur initially in the series, while last, lastly, and finally can only occur in final position. Reasons for what has been said in the preceding sentence or sentences may be linked by the correlatives for one thing ... (and) for another (thing), though the first of the pair may be used alone if the intention is to offer only one reason. The infinitive clauses to begin w'rt and to start with appear only as the first of a series, while to conclude marks the final sentence of a series. The prepositional phrase for a start is a more informal variant of to start with. Note

•wrf seems to provide a smoother transition between the last two sentences of [14].

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10.20

Apart from the conjuncts, the enumeration may be expressed in way. that are more integrated within the structure of the sentence, as in the following formulaic expressions:

IT want to begin by saying... \The first thing I want to say is ... /The next point I must make is... \ Another thing is... JT will conclude by saying ... \The final point is ...

However, the introductory expression may be related more closely to the preceding lexical content. For example, in [12] one might be replaced by one piece of advice is, and two by the other piece of advice is or the second piece of advice is, and in [13] secondly, and far more importantly, by the second reason, which is far more important, is. We might even have a main clause that serves as a link in the enumeration:

The first point I want to make is this:... f Another thing is this:... \There is still another thing:...

t , i fmore"! ..

I want to make one-{ fi 1-point:...

The final thing I want to say is this:...

What follows these main clauses can be regarded as appositive to a complement or direct object in the clauses. Noun phrases can be used for enumeration as well as the fuller forms:

the first thing the next point another thing one piece of advice the second reason

Addition 10.21

The relationship of addition comprises both reinforcement (which includes confirmation) and equation, where there is an indication of the similarity with what has preceded. Since it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the two types of addition, we treat them together.

The addition relationship is often conveyed by the two subclasses < additive conjuncts, reinforcing and equative conjuncts (8.89):

This food is very good and it's probably something that people wouldn't get at home. Also, it's not difficult to cook and it's

quick to prepare. There has been a sharp decline in the death rate for babies. And then, medical science is keeping people alive longer. people do not think they need to take precautions, but always

consider the other driver to be the cause of road accidents.

Moreover, the wearing of safety belts is thought to be a sign of

fear. The public can see the paintings the whole of next week. What is

more, they can buy them for as little as ten dollars upwards. There has been no progress in the negotiations between the union and the employers. The union is determined to get a better offer. Equally, the employers have absolutely no intention of increasing their final offer.

Again, also, and then have less force than the other reinforcing conjuncts in conveying an incremental effect.

10.22

Additive adjuncts (8.13) specify that part of the sentence is an addition

to what has been previously mentioned or implied: He asked the Governor for troops but was refused. He then approached the Justice Department, but there again, he found no support. [15]

The children read the play. They acted it too. [16]

The Mayor was unaware of the contents of the pamphlet. The police were equally unaware of what appeared in it. [17]

They owned a large mansion in the country with a lake in the grounds. They had a farm besides. [18]

He didn't explain what the letter signified. She didn't explain it either. [19]

He didn't explain what the letter signified either, did she. [20]

\*n [15] again specifies that in the case of the Justice Department {there} as well as in the previously-mentioned case of the Governor he found no support. Whereas in [15] the additive is focused on the adjunct there, in [16] it is focused on the verb: too indicates the acting was in addition to the previously-mentioned reading of the play. Similarly, in [17] the focus is on the subject complement, and in the remaining examples it is on the

direct object [18], and on the subject [19] and [20].

Either, neither, and nor differ from the others in requiring the two666 Sentence connection

Logical connectors fcb/

sentences they link to be negative (but e/9.55 Note), and when neither or nor is used, no other negative appears. In this respect they are the converse of too, which

generally requires both to be positive. Thus if we negate the sentences in [16] either, neither, and nor are admissible (as are other additive adjuncts, such as also), but not too:

a: The children didn't read the play, b: \*They didn't act it too. a: The children didn't read the play, b: They also didn't act it, a: The children didn't read the play, b: They didn't act it either.

a: The children didn't read the play, b: < S- did they act it.

However, for some people too is acceptable in a negative clause when it immediately follows an initial sentence element on which it is focused:

a: The children didn't read the play. b: Their parents too didn't read it.

This has the same interpretation as

a: The children didn't read the play. B: Their parents didn't read it either.

A common correlative set containing an additive adjunct is not only... (but) also, usually with subject-operator inversion (cf 9.59):

Not only was the Mayor unaware of the pamphlet. The police were also unaware of it.

Note

A sentence with the additive adjuncts either, neither, nor can be linked (to a preceding sentence) by and or but. For either and neither as the first of a pair of correlatives with or and nor respectively, see 9.56.

10.23

Certain attitudinal disjuncts (8,82) express conviction on the truth of what is being said and at the same time may confirm the truth of a previous assertion. Perhaps the most common is indeed which can often be paraphrased 'I might go so far as to say': He did not object to our proposal. InDEED, he gave several reasons for supporting it.

Other attitudinal disjuncts that may be used in the same way are actually\* in fact, and in actual fact.

They are not invariably used to confirm what has already been said. They are often used to contradict:

a: You must have spoken to him today, b: Actually, I haven't.

10

■ Transition

And and now are both transitional, but whereas and seems to link, now leads to a new stage in the sequence of thought:

We have settled that at last. Now, what was the other thing we wanted to discuss?

The complex preposition as for introduces a topic related to what was being discussed:

Mary has several close friends. As for John, he is always surrounded

by friends-Certain other complex prepositions may mark a transition, but they can also begin discussion: with reference to, with respect to, with regard to. These are commonly used in official language, for instance at the beginning of official letters immediately after the conventional vocative to the reader. For other ways of introducing the topic of the sentence, see

9.150. Incidentally adds explicitly that what is being said is a digression, if

only slight, and an afterthought:

The airlines charge half-price for students. Incidentally, I have already bought my ticket to New York.

With by the way, the digression is usually drastic.

Certain clauses are commonly used for marking a transition to a new stage:

Let us now turn to ... (formal)

To turn now to...

I want now to turn to another subject.

or to introduce a digression:

Apropos (of)..., (formal)

That reminds me... Note

[<<] In BrE some use as to synonymously with as for. [f>] By the by (also spelled by the bye) is a synonym of by the way, but is used more rarely.

#### 10.25 Summation

The final part of a unit may consist of a generalization or summing-up based on what preceded. Summative conjuncts (8.89) are specialized for indicating this:

The techniques discussed are valuable. Sensible stress is laid upon preparatory and follow-up work. Each chapter is supported by a well-selected bibliography. In all, this is an interesting and clearly-written textbook that should prove extremely useful to geography teachers.

His plan for a British literary jury, fifty strong, sitting six times annually to choose the Serious Minority Writer of the Year and other dignitaries seems to be bearing rapid fruit. Already about thirty-five eminent people have expressed interest. Both BBC and commercial television have made encouraging noises about televising sessions. In sum, against every expectation, the literary show is about to be launched. The style disjuncts in a word, briefly, in brief, to be brief, and in short may also be used to mark a summation.

The indication of summation may be integrated within the structure of the sentence constituting the summation or within the first sentence of the concluding unit:

My conclusion is... I will sum up by saying ... I shall conclude by saying ... Note

The summation may cover more than one sentence, In a long written piece the concluding paragraph is often a summation of the rest of the text.

#### 10.26

##### Apposition

Indicators of an apposition are discussed in detail elsewhere (9.138). They can be used to refer back to previous sentences:

He is a scholar who is devoted to his research to a reprehensible extent. That is to say, he neglects his family and does not fulfil his responsibilities as a citizen. It is important that young children should see things and not merely read about them. For example, it is a valuable educational experience to take them on a trip to a farm.

The relationships between sentences that can be subsumed under apposition are principally reformulation, exemplification, and particularization.

Logical connecters 669

Integrated indications of certain types of apposition include:

Another way of putting it is ... Another instance is... An example would be ...  
see also 10.30.

### 10.27 Result

We have several result conjuncts (8.89) to introduce a sentence expressing the consequence or result of what was said before.

They don't often use it over the weekend. So you can borrow it, if you want to. They argue that continued full employment in the major industrial countries will bring a great expansion of world trade. They therefore anticipate an increasing demand for shipping. They refused to pay the higher rent when an increase was announced. As a result, they were evicted from their apartment. The committee rejected the idea that consumers could be adequately protected by local consumer protection societies.

Accordingly, the report recommended that legislation should be introduced as soon as possible to give minimum protection. The violent emotions aroused by the horrible crime make it impossible to find a local jury of people who have not made up their minds against the defendants. Hence, it is probable that the trial will be held in another area.

The indication that what is being said is a result may be integrated within the structure of the sentence:

The result is...

The consequence was ...

Anaphoric pro-forms may be additionally used:

The result of that is... The consequence of that was ... For that (very) reason... Note [a] So is felt to be informal, while hence and (to a lesser extent) thus are more appropriate to formal contexts.

[°] Sometimes so seems to have lost all result force and introduces a summing-up or five links sentences that are chronologically related, eg: She went and asked for some apples. So he said to her, 'Which kind do you want?' 670 Sentence connection

### 10.28 Inference

An inference from what is implicit in the preceding sentence or sentences: can be indicated by an inferential conjunct (8.89):

a: The economic crisis is likely to become worse in the next few months.

b: Does it seem to you, then, that the Prime Minister is taking a big risk in calling for an election this year? A: I'm afraid there isn't much I can help you with.

b: In other words, you don't want to be bothered. A: He says he wants to marry Susan.

b: In that case, he shouldn't be quarrelling with her all the time.

The inferential conjuncts else and otherwise are equivalent to a negative condition:

Agriculture will have to undergo a drastic change to meet the needs of the new situation. Otherwise, the country will starve.

Otherwise in the above sentence can be interpreted as 'If agriculture does not undergo a drastic change to meet the needs of the new situation'. Integrated markers of inference include:

Logical connectives 671

. (infer 1. , U , , tfrom that... [deduce J

My conclusion is...

You can conclude from that.

That implies ...

Note

Inferences are sometimes introduced by a range of style disjuncts that express the speaker's assertion that he is being frank in what he is saying, eg: frankly, flatly, to be candid, to put it bluntly, frankly speaking, if I may be blunt. However, these style disjuncts are not restricted to this connective function, and can co-occur with inferential conjuncts.

10.29 Or

The relationships between sentences linked by or are generally the same as those between clauses linked by or (9.49-53). Of the following three sentences, the first involves reformulation (10.30) and the other two involve replacement (10.31):

They are enjoying themselves. Or (at least) they appear to be enjoying themselves.

I might stay late at the office tonight, because I'm very much behind with my work.

Or I might decide to relax for a change, and go to

a concert. Women's fashions are very much uglier than they were two years ago. Or don't you notice such things?

Note Or is

is probably less common as a linker of sentences than and or but.

10.30 Reformulation

A reformulation can be introduced by reformulatory conjuncts (8.89):

They are enjoying themselves. (Or) Rather, they appear to be

enjoying themselves. You say you took the book without his permission. In other words,

you stole it,

This relationship is a type of apposition (9.144-147, cf 10.26). Integrated markers of reformulation include:

I'll put it more simply:... I would rather say ... A better way of putting it is ... It would be better to say ...

10.31

Replacement

An alternative to what has preceded can be indicated by replacement conjuncts (8.89):

I might do it. Or again I might not.

Are the Prime Minister's proposals adequate? Is the economy strong enough to expand? Alternatively, are we heading for

another crisis? You can walk home, if you wish. Or rather, I can give you a lift in



my car.

In order to buy the car, I may draw on my savings, though I am reluctant to do so. On the other hand, I might approach my parents for a loan. It is possible that Britain might condone the terrorists' activity.

Worse still, she might agree to give way to their demands. Again and rather in this use normally co-occur with an immediately Preceding or. Rather and better indicate that the proposed alternative is preferable. Worse, on the other hand, indicates an unfavourable alternative.

Integrated markers of replacement include:

The alternative is... Another possibility would be ... What is worse is... It might be better if...

Note

[a] Better and worse are probably elliptical for what is better and what is worse respectively.

[b] Instead might be included here, since it could be used in place of (for example) rather in the cited sentence. But instead more strongly implies a contrast (10.33),

1032 But

The relationships between sentences linked by but are the same as those between clauses linked by but (9.54). But indicates a contrast between the sentences, including in many instances the concession that the sentence it introduces is surprising in view of what is given in the previous sentence or sentences:

More than one marriage had its beginnings in the Princess Theatre; more than one courtship was extended and perpetuated there. And it would be fair to say that a number of lives were shaped, to a degree, by the figures and fashions and personalities that flashed upon the screen. But years have a way of doing strange things to people, times and events and now the old Princess is nothing much more than a musty, misty memory.

The fate and future of our university are considerably at stake in this election. Blake's determination to bring security and harmony to the campuses is beyond doubt; his program is forceful without being repressive. But he excels in his awareness that 'budget slashing' makes no sense' as a reaction to campus violence; it only penalizes the whole community of earnest, committed students and teachers, and undermines the strength of a great institution.

Like other cities, Milwaukee is becoming less distinctive as the influence of television and travel homogenize us all into one bland national mixture. But the typical Milwaukeean still differs from the typical New Yorker or San Franciscan and Milwaukee has an air of its own.

A normal person is depressed when given cause for depression. But a normal person will become elated when he experiences something pleasant.

Logical connectors 673

10.33

Contrast

^ contrast with what has preceded can be indicated by antithetic connectors (8.89).

On the contrary emphasizes that the opposite is true:

I didn't ask her to leave. On the contrary, I tried to persuade her to

stay. a: He's very foolish. B: On the contrary, he's very clever.

In the first of the above pairs of sentences, on the contrary introduces a restatement in affirmative terms of what has been said in the previous sentence, with an implicit denial of the truth of 'I asked her to leave'. (For a similar use of but, see 9.54.)

The other conjuncts introduce a comparison or contrast without entailing a denial of the validity of what preceded:

He's rather foolish, I'm afraid. By comparison, she's a genius.

Even the largest of whales, the Blue Whale, with a maximum length of about 100 feet and a weight of up to 130 tons, can attain 20 knots for about 10 minutes. By way of contrast, the common dolphin can keep up a speed of 20-22 knots for hours.

A cut of one quarter in the total wages bill would bring only a five per cent saving in the ship's final cost. By contrast, the price difference between British and Japanese tankers is now as much as 25 per cent.

On the other hand often indicates contrast, especially when it is the second of a correlative pair with on the one hand:

On the one hand, you don't want to be too aggressive. On the other hand, you shouldn't be too timid.

Instead involves a contrast, though it also indicates a replacement (10.31). The conjunct is illustrated in

He doesn't study at all. Instead, he sits and day-dreams.

The adjunct instead also has a connective function, but specifies that part of the sentence is a replacement for what has been said previously:

He wanted a fishing-rod for his birthday. His father bought him a book instead.

Instead here can be expanded to instead of a fishing-rod.

Note

°n the other can be used instead of on the other hand when it is a correlative. On the °ther hand can also be replacive (10.31) and concessive (10.34). 674 Sentence connection

Concession 10.34

Concessive conjuncts (8.89) signal the unexpected, surprising nature of what is being said in view of what was said before that: In 1960, 471 people were tried in this country for murder.

Yet out of that total only seven were hanged. I didn't invite your friend Bill to the party. Besides, he wouldn't

have come. What he wants will ruin the business. Or else, it will reduce its effectiveness considerably. They want to help her. Only [informal spoken English], she refuses

to accept help. He has been in office for only a few months. He has, however, achieved more than any of his predecessors. Their term papers were very brief. Still, they were better than I expected.

Most of the concessive conjuncts can be paraphrased by a concessive subordinate clause introduced by though or although. Thus yet in [21] is interpreted as though in 1960 471 people were tried in this country for murder. Besides, anyhow, and anyway and the prepositional phrases at any rate, in any case, in any event, and after all act

closer to clauses introduced by even j/and related to the content of the previous sentence by a reversal of the positive/negative polarity. Besides, anyhow, anyway indicate that an addition is being made to a process of reasoning, but are at the same time concessive. With besides the additive implication is particularly prominent: it could be paraphrased: 'if you don't find that point convincing, here's another point'. At any rate may be roughly paraphrased as 'whatever happens' or 'regardless', and after all as 'this at least must be conceded'. The concessive conjunct else, which always immediately follows the conjunction or, is equivalent to 'even if not'. Note When however is positioned initially, it is sometimes used in (he spoken language to indicate that the speaker wishes to dismiss the topic he is dealing with as one that he does not want to pursue any farther:

I think you had no right to speak to him in that way. However, I really wanted to let you know what I think about your recent letters to me.

10.35

Certain attitudinal disjuncts that assert the truth of their sentence (8.82) are often used to express some notion of concession in what is being asserted. They are then roughly equivalent to 'this at least is true':

actually to be sure

Logical connectors 6/5

admittedly in (actual) fact

certainly in reality

really of course

The style disjuncts strictly and strictly speaking are often used in the same way. Sometimes, there is some reservation about a preceding assertion:

They played better than they had done for a long time. Certainly

Bob played splendidly. They invited her to the party. Really, she should not have been

there, since she was far too young.

I wasn't called up by the army. Actually, I volunteered.

But the reservation may relate to what follows, and in such a case but or a concessive conjunct is often found in the following sentence:

Of course, the book has some entertaining passages about the private lives of film stars. But on the whole it is extremely boring.

To be sure, nobody suspected him of being behind the plot. Yet there was clear evidence implicating him.

True is used similarly:

True, there are some cool insights into politicians that are currently active. However, much of the book is smug and prejudiced.

In contrast to the concessive conjuncts, sure enough introduces a confirmation of the expected:

Bob is a dreadful bore. I was at a party last night, enjoying a good conversation and trying to avoid him noticing me. Sure enough, he came up to me and spent the next hour telling me about his troubles.

Integrated markers of this relationship include:

It is true ... (normally reservation is about a following assertion)

There is little doubt...

I admit...

It cannot be denied ...

The truth is ... (normally reservation is about a preceding assertion)

These markers can also be used] in contexts where no reservation is intended:

A: Did you have anything to do with the theft? b: Yes, I admit that I took the money.

1036

Several attitudinal disjuncts (8.82) suggest that the content of the sentence  
Sentence connection

to which they are related may not be true in reality .formally, nominally  
officially, ostensibly, outwardly, superficially, technically, theoretically The  
following sentence, which may then indicate what is said to be the real truth, may be  
marked for this purpose by actually, really, in {actual} fact, or in reality:

Officially, he is in charge. Actually, his secretary does all the work.

TECHnically I was without a job and could have drawn unemployment benefit if I  
had wanted to. In actual fact I was busy writing a book commissioned by one of the  
biggest publishers in the country.

Integrated markers of this relationship include:

The official position was ... The theory was ...

There can be further internalization:

Officially, ]

The official position ?she was the secretary. --> She was the official was thatj  
secretary.

Note

See 8.11 for forms like officially speaking, in a technical sense, from an official point  
of view.

10.37

Even is a concessive adjunct. It implies that part of the sentence is unexpected and  
surprising, but it is also additive:

Even John was there

John will even sing a song if you ask him

The speaker implies in the first sentence that John was there in addition to others and  
also that it is surprising that John was there, while in the second sentence what is  
considered surprising is that in addition to other actions John is prepared to sing a  
song. In negative sentences the addition is to what has been actually or implicitly  
negated previously:

The Johnson boys weren't there. Even John wasn't there, (ie 'John wasn't there in  
addition to the others not being there').

10.38 For

The conjunction for (formal and usually literary) indicates that what is said is the  
cause, including reason or motive, for mentioning what has been said previously:

Substitution 677

The men's and the women's shops are indistinguishable from each other. For the girls' shop windows display masculine shirts, while the men's windows are full of scarlet mini-underpants.

The vast majority of the competitors will be well content just to walk round at their own pace, stopping for rest or refreshment as required, and finishing in good order. For it's a long day's walk by anybody's standards, and there is much to be said for enjoying the scenery at the same time.

Substitution

Introduction 10.39

Like ellipsis (9.4), substitution is a device for abbreviating and for avoiding repetition. In this second respect it is similar to the use of lexical equivalents that are not identical repetition. Across sentences, substitution seems to be optional, and for stylistic reasons. Within sentences, it is sometimes obligatory (9.69). Most of the substitutes or pro-forms within sentences are also used across sentences. Even the reflexive pro-forms are occasionally used across sentences:

John bought a car. It was for himself.

10.40

Most pro-forms are anaphoric, referring back to an earlier unit. The unit that the pro-form replaces need not be identical with the earlier unit:

A large beautiful vase fell on Bob's head. It was very heavy and hurt him.  
[22a]

A large beautiful vase fell on Bob's head. The {large beautiful} vase was very heavy and hurt Bob. [22b]

One pro-form in [22a] is it, but the form that would occur if there were no substitution would normally be the vase [22b]. The change of the article to the results, of course, from the need to signal the co-reference of the two noun phrases (10.65). With this signal, it would not be normal to repeat the modification.

10.41

Pro-forms are normally unstressed. Hence, though a nucleus is commonly on the last word of a clause it would not be usual to have a nucleus on678 Sentence connection a pro-form (App II.8). The final nucleus in [22a] would normally be on hurt:

It was very heavy and HiiRT him.

10.42

Pro-forms will be considered according to the units they replace:

noun phrases and their constituents (10.43-48) adverbials (10.49-51) predicate and predication (10.52-62) clause and sentence (10.62, cf 10.64)

Pro-forms for noun phrases and their constituents 10.43

The most obvious pro-forms for noun phrases are the 3rd person pronouns in their various cases (4A06ff). The four plural forms of the 3rd person pronouns substitute for the appropriate forms of John and Mary in

John and Mary stole a toy from my son. Their mother told them to return the toy, but they said it was theirs.

And similarly we have singular forms in

Dr Solway took the student's blood pressure that day. He also examined his lungs and heart. [23]

The young girl stared at him and said nothing. She seemed to be offended.

There are several reasons for the movie's success. It's a spectacular visual treat, is incredibly detailed and scientifically authentic, and deals with a profound subject - the place of man in the cosmos.

It will be noticed that in [23] he substitutes for Dr Solway and his for the student's. We interpret the appropriate substitutions from the content of the sentences. For example, we can change the second sentence of [23] to transfer the substitutions:

Dr Solway took the student's blood pressure that day. He had felt sick during the night and came for his help as soon as the clinic opened.  
[23a]

The content of the second sentence in [23a] suggests that he substitutes for the student and his for Dr Solway's. Where the reference of the pronoun is felt to be ambiguous, the full form or a lexical equivalent can, of course, be used.

Substitution

10.44

The plurals of the 1st and 2nd person pronouns sometimes have as their antecedent a noun phrase and can therefore be considered in such cases as pro-forms:

You and John can stop work now. You can both eat your lunch  
in the kitchen. [24a]

John and I have finished our work. Can we start our lunch now ?  
[24b]

A somewhat different situation applies when the 'antecedent' noun phrase does not include the pronoun appearing in the next sentence:

Mary and John will be at the station. You can then go together  
to the party. [24c]

You and John seem to be finished. Shall we have lunch now? [24d]

In [24c] you substitutes for an implied Mary and John and you, and in [24d] we substitutes for an implied you and John and I.

10.45

The singulars of the 1st and 2nd person pronouns are never pro-forms for, noun phrases: they do not substitute for other items but merely replace themselves.

Even the 3rd person pronouns need not be substitutes. They sometimes refer directly to objects or events in the situational context (10.9). Moreover, you and they can be indefinites and not substitutes, as in one interpretation of

You can always tell what he's thinking They don't make such furniture nowadays.

10.46

There are two kinds of pro-forms realized by one that are relevant to sentence connection. Both can substitute only for count nouns, and not for mass nouns or proper nouns (4.2):

(1) pro-form for an indefinite noun phrase one - plural some

A: Can you give me a few nails ? I need one. b: I'll get you some soon.

Compare:

, f a nail need<

tone

.(some nails \someou a e me nee connection

In written English one in the above example could be interpreted a. elliptical for one nail, in which case one would be the cardinal numeral In speech the numeral is differentiated from the pro-nominal because it would have stress.

(2) pro-form for a noun-phrase head (4.126) one - plural ones

a : Have you any knives ? I need a sharp one. b: I can get you several very sharp ones, but this is the

best one.

a: Where are the books I left on the table? b : Do you mean the ones that have torn covers ? a: No. Those ones I wanted to throw away. I mean the

ones covered in brown paper. a: Do you like those plates?

b: No, I prefer plain ones or ones with a very simple pattern.

These pro-forms need not be co-referential with their antecedent (c/ 10.48):

a: I bought a new hat today, b: I bought one last week. a: Sit in this chair, b: No, I want a more comfortable one.

One as pro-form for a noun phrase does not take determiners or modification, while one as pro-form for a noun-phrase head must have an overt determiner or modifier.

Indefinite one (4.126) is not a pro-form:

One should always give people a chance to prove themselves.

10.47

Certain other items - all except none functioning as determiner (4.13 ff) -can be pro-forms for noun phrases (4.122, 4.127/), though none and neither are a combination of pro-form and negation: each (cf 9.125), none, either, neither, all.

John and Bill applied for a scholarship, Each was able to present excellent references.

[25]

Susan, Joan, and Barbara were invited to the party. However, none arrived while I was there. [26]

Bob, George, and Geoffrey go to the same school as I do. All want to be doctors.

[27]

These can be expanded by of them or of with some other appropriate prepositional complement:

, ..Each of the boys... ,.. None of the girls... ...All of those...

Substitution 681

[25]

[26] [27]

Since more than one expanded form is available, there is no reason to posit ellipsis in those cases. It is, however, possible to analyse such cases as ellipsis where the antecedent is not a noun phrase consisting of coordinated proper names:

The boys applied for a scholarship. Each {of the boys)... [25a]

Some girls were invited to the party, However, none (of the girls) ... [26a]

All my friends go to the same school as I do. All ((of) my friends)... [27a]

When some and any are not determiners, it is usually possible to regard the construction as elliptical:

The boys applied for a scholarship. Some (of the boys).., [25b]

All my friends go to the same school as I do. I don't know any  
(of my friends) that want to be doctors. [27b]

Some and any (4.127) do not usually refer back to a noun phrase with coordinated proper names. They can do so if they are postmodified by an of prepositional phrase:

John, Bob, and Susan were at the party last night. I don't know any of them well.

There are restrictions on the type of referents for the antecedents of these pro-forms:

either, neither - two only 1 ,, ...

, ' J, n must be countable

each - any number;

some, any, all, none - uncountable or more than two

With other determiners (eg: both, half, few, enough) it is always possible to regard the constructions as elliptical:

John and Bill applied for a scholarship. Both (John and Bill)... Many girls were invited to the party. However, few ((of the) girls)...

Not\*

One might see each as elliptical even with coordinated noun phrases: John and Bill applied for a scholarship. (John and Bill) Each ...

10.48

The same is a pro-form for a noun phrase. The phrase it substitutes for  
Sentence connection

must be identical with the antecedent, but the two phrases are usually not co-referential (c/10.46):

a: Can I have a cup of black coffee with sugar, please ? b : Give me the same, please.

In the language of official regulations, the same is sometimes co-referential with its antecedent:

The society shall keep minutes of its proceedings, which shall be available for public inspection. From time to time it shall publish the same.

Even so, this is more likely to occur within the same sentence.

For do the same, see 10.55 Note c. For the same as a substitute for a direct object clause, see 10.62.

Pro-forms for adverbials 10.49

Some time relaters (10.11-15) can be pro-forms for time adjuncts (8.56 .#), principally then (= at that time):

We saw John at eight on Monday evening. We told him then that we would be coming to the party.

That (=that time) is used as a pro-form for time adjuncts when it functions as subject and the verb is intensive:

a : He'll arrive here just before six.

,, (should be"} , b: Thati pearly enough.

Lseems J \* 6

Then and some other time adjuncts can be predicative adjuncts with bb (8.73). The pro-forms that and then can be used interchangeably in a context such as

a: I'm meeting George for a drink this evening. B: 1 Th f

be tne \*5est time to discuss the matter with him.



With that as subject, be is intensive ('constitute'), and the best time. ■ • is subject complement. On the other hand, if we select then as predicative adjunct, be is existential ('occur', 'take place'), and the best time. • • is subject. With then there is subject-verb inversion (14.15), so that we can change the sentence back to the more normal

The best time to discuss the matter with him would be then.

Substitution 683

10.50

Some place relaters (10.16) can be pro-forms for place adjuncts (8.45 ff), principally here (=at this place), and there (= at that place, to that place):

Between London and Oxford there is a famous inn, where the beer is better than average and the meals are excellent. Here we stopped for lunch.

Look in the top drawer. You'll probably find it there. I was in New York last November for business reasons. My wife and I hope to go there in April for a friend's wedding.

That (=that place) and it (=that place) are sometimes used as pro-forms when they function as subject and the verb is intensive:

. (That') , , ,

I noticed where he put it. < ^seemed a good place.

Like other place adjuncts, there can be a predicative adjunct with be (8.46). There can be used interchangeably with that or it in contexts analogous to those in which that and predicative adjunct then can be used interchangeably (10.49):

(That I , t.

„ . , . , „ „ was where the noise

They sat right in front of the stage. <It >

\There\ was greatest.

Here and there can often be used interchangeably as pro-forms for a place adjunct. However, here denotes closeness to the speaker.

10.51

The most common pro-forms for process adjuncts (8.34 ^") are (in) that way and like that:

Always be frank and open to your colleagues. That way you'll win their trust and confidence. [28]

She plays the piano with great concentration and with great energy. I'm afraid she doesn't study like that. [29]

That way in [28] substitutes for 'by always being frank and open to your colleagues', and like that in [29] for 'with great concentration and with great energy'. Note

In formal style, so and thus are sometimes used as pro-forms for process adjuncts: He had expected that his luggage would be handled with due care when it was removed from the plane. However, the porters did not handle it so. Professor Sands was checking the temperature in the cages where the rats were quartered. While he was thus engaged, he observed that one of the rats was behaving very oddly, 684 Sentence connection

Pro-forms for predicate and predication 10.52

Pro-form do

do is a pro-form for the predicate and carries the tense and person distinctions of the operator (3.17):

a: John drives a car. b: I think *he* does too. [3qi]

Some people like a shower after they have played tennis, *perhaps* does, for example. a: Do they buy their drinks at the local supermarket?

b: No, but *we* do. [32]

Bill damaged his father's car. At least he *told* us that he *did*. [33i]

In [30-33] *do* substitutes for the predicate:

... Bob drives a car too. [30a]

... Peter, for example, likes a shower after he has played tennis. [31a] ... we buy our drinks at the local supermarket. [32a]

... he told us that he damaged his father's car. [33a]

There is no ellipsis in these cases, since we cannot retain unemphatic *do* and supply missing items, eg:

■+■ ... he told us that he *did* damage his father's car. [33b]

*do* can also substitute for the predicate excluding a time or place adjunct in the antecedent:

a: John paid for the theatre tickets tonight.

b: Yes, he *did* last week too. [34]

a: Did Peter take a plane to New York today?

b: No, I don't think so. But his *wife* *did* to Chicago. [35]

The substitutions are italicized in

... *he* paid for the theatre tickets last week too. [34a]

... *his wife* took a plane today to Chicago. [35a]

In replacing a predication, the *DO*-substitute will exclude an accompanying conjunct or disjunct (S.2ff). We can contrast in this respect the adjunct usually with the disjunct wisely:

A: Bob usually walks to work.

b: Yes, he does. (= he usually walks to work.) a: Bob wisely walks to work.

b: Yes, he does. (=he walks to work.)

The *do* pro-form does not include within its substitution another auxiliary:

a: Some people might like a shower, b: Perhaps Peter does.

Substitution 685

In this example, *does* substitutes for *likes* a shower and not for *might like* a shower.

Note

Some speakers can exclude the object in the antecedent, including the object of a prepositional verb:

a: Peter likes New York, b: Yes, but he does London too.

a: He spoke rudely to your sister, a: And he *did* to me too.

However, the existence of the transitive lexical verb *do* inhibits this use for many speakers, since it often allows other interpretations. For example, *do* London can be interpreted in informal spoken English as 'make a quick tour of the important sights of London'.

10.53

Ellipsis with *do* and other operators (and auxiliaries)

Strictly speaking, do is not a pro-form when it is anyway functioning as operator for negation, interrogation, or emphasis (3.17), since in such cases we can posit ellipsis:

a: John drives a car. b: Does Bob (drive a car)? [30b]

a: Some people like a shower after they have played tennis.

b: Peter doesn't (like a shower after he has played tennis). [31b] a: Bill didn't damage his father's car.

b: Oh, but he (//((damage his father's car). [33c]

However, it is obviously convenient to treat these cases of ellipsis together with the pro-form do.

It is similarly convenient to handle at the same time the other operators and auxiliaries, though they too can be regarded as involving ellipsis rather than substitution, even when they occur in positive unemphatic declarative sentences:

A: John can drive a car.

b: I think Bob can (drive a car) too. [30c]

a: Some people like a shower after they have played tennis.

b: Perhaps Peter would (like a shower after he has played tennis). [31c]

a: Will they buy their drinks at the local supermarket?

b : No, but we will (buy our drinks at the local supermarket). [32b] I was late in applying for the job. Do you think he was (late in

applying for the job) ? a : Was the entire building destroyed ?

b: Yes, it was (destroyed). I've left my car just outside the building. I think John has (left his

car just outside the building) too. I have a cold. Have you (a cold) ? [BrEJ. 686  
Sentence connection

There can also be combinations of operator and auxiliaries with such ellipsis:

I wonder if the room has been cleaned yet. It certainly ought to have been (cleaned).

a : Has the show started ? b : It may have (started). I once thought that John Haltin might be a good man for mayor

of this city, but I'm very disappointed with his recent irresponsible speeches. It's perfectly clear now that he would not be (a good

man for mayor of this city). a: Should she have been taking that medicine?

b: Yes, she should (have (been (taking that medicine))).

In Chapter 9 we discussed ellipsis in such cases in relation to coordinated clauses (9.71 ff). The rules of co-occurrence of auxiliaries are the same for both coordinated clauses and sentences. Ellipsis of the predication in the first clause (9.82), as in

George will (take the course), and Bob might, take the course

does not occur across sentence boundaries. There is ellipsis with imperative do and don't:

a: Can I have a piece of cake ?

b: Please do (have a piece of cake). a : Shall I start the engine now ?

b : No, don't (start the engine now). Not\* The modal auxiliary need(3.21) allows ellipsis:

a: You needn't take the course, b: Needht (take the course)? a: I'm taking the course, b: I ithink I needn't.

However, there is some restriction with transferred negation: a: I'm taking the course, b: I don't think I need take the course.

The fall form in the previous example is more acceptable than ellipsis: a: I'm taking the course. b: ?I don't think I need.

Compare the fully acceptable sentence with the lexical verb need and ellipsis of the infinitive clause (9.81,10.58):

a : I'm taking the course, b : I don't think I need to (take the course).

10.54

Complex pro-forms

Substitution can also be effected by a combination of operator (and auxiliaries) with another pro-form, producing a complex pro-form. For do the complex pro-form is the operator plus the other pro-form and the same is true for passive be (3.19) and for lexical be (and lexical have)

Substitution 687

BrE). For the modal auxiliaries (3.20-22), progressive be (3.19,3.39-42) and perfect have (3.18, 3.37-8), do sometimes enters into the complex pro-form too. The most common complex pro-forms are shown in Table 10:1, where the columns present the possibilities for various operators:

I: do

II: lexical be III: passive be IV: will, representing modal auxiliaries

V: progressive be

VI: might have, demonstrating perfect have and also the possibility of a combination of auxiliaries.

The patterns are exemplified by sentences with the various complex pro-forms for do (Column I) and WILL (Column IV):

.. fa: John drives a car. b: So does nbB.

11 S

\a : Mary will enter the competition, b : So will j6an. ... fA: John drives a car. b: Sohc dOes. \k : Mary will win the prize, b : So she willl.

(Bob promised to send a donation. I know george dId so. Peter is joining our group. I'm not sure whether DAvid will dO so. (a: Do you know who broke the television set?

b : I heard john did thAt. | a: Sam is supposed to call the meeting.

b : No, PEter will do thAt. My brother said he was going to send a letter of protest to the

President. I did it last week.

ri { They say that the Prime Minister will soon dissolve Parliament and call for new elections. Knowing him, I doubt very much if he will Dd it.

In BrE many allow also the possibility of adding do alone to (a) do (not common), or (b) a modal, or (c) perfect have:

(a) Bob says he is going to join the Labour Party. It will be interesting to see whether j6hn does do t6o.

(b) The Americans are reducing their defence expenditure this

year. I wonder if the Russians will do too. a: Will you be attending the meeting this evening? b: I ~~MY~~ do.

(c) I didn't touch the television set. You can ask Bob. He was here all evening. But ~~PBRcy~~ might have done.

t><<< Sentence connection

Phrases with initial so and subject-operator inversion allow ellipsis and therefore, strictly speaking, they are not pro-forms:

A: John drives a car. b : So does bob (drive a car).

Phrases with initial so without inversion are not elliptical since an expansion gives a very different sense. For example, in

a: John drives a car. b: So he does.

the response expresses agreement. But for those who accept the expansion of this response:

A: John drives a car. b : So he does drive a car.

this last so is equivalent to so what if. Similar reasons militate against considering tag questions as elliptical, since the tag question is not an independent question but an expression of the speaker's expectation (7-59/):

John drives a car, doesn't he ?

A less common alternative to the so... do type is the that... do type:

a: I'm told that John won the first prize. b:4\_>he oij>. a : Bob promised to be here on time, b : J \_ . the wkj. be,

A variant of the that... do type is the do raUrtype:

A: He was merely a carpenter during the war. Now he owns a fortune, b: Yes, he does thAt.

These that ... do and do that types require the subject to be co-referential with that of the antecedent clause. If the subjects are not co-referential, we have a stylistic variant of the do that shown in Level v of Table 10:1 and Column v oiTabte 10:2

„ , , ±. ,. . - . - . .. fB&B did tmAt.

a: I'm told that John won the first prize, b: Ncm , . ...

Like do that this stylistic variant does not substitute for lexical verbs from several classes (10.55). For example, it cannot substitute for a relational verb such as own:

\*A:Tom owns a farm, b: No, that b6b does. A less common alternative for DO it is DO this:

Substitution 689

Table 10.1  
COMPLEX PRO-FORMS

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
i	DO	BE (lexical)	BE (passive)	WILL (modal)	BE (progressive)	MIGHT HAVE (modal + perfect)
ii	SO DO	SO BE	SO BE	SO WILL	SO BE	SO MIGHT HAVE
iii	SO... DO	SO... BE	SO... BE	SO... WILL	SO... BE	SO... MIGHT HAVE
iv	DO SO	BE SO		WILL DO SO	BE DOING SO	MIGHT HAVE DONE SO
v	DO that	BE that		WILL DO that	BE DOING that	MIGHT HAVE DONE that
vi	DO it			WILL DO it	BE DOING it	MIGHT HAVE DONE it

## 690 Sentence connection

They said that the Prime Minister will soon dissolve Parliament and call for new elections. Knowing him, I doubt very much if he will do

(it. {this.

Note

[a] be so and be that in Column II are not used by some speakers:

a: I consider Peter (o be very clever, b: He certainly Is jhai.

[b] The additional do is avoided in BrE do do for stylistic reasons:

Bob says he is going to join the Labour Party. \*It will be interesting to see whether John and pfter do da t6o,

[c] Lexical have admits the two pro-form phrases so have and so... have in addition to have alone:

("Yes, and I have too.

a : John has a cold, b: I Yes, and so have I. |\_Yes, so he nAs.

This use of have as operator is much more common in BrE than in AmE, where it is formal as well as restricted in use (c/3.18 Note). The pro-forms do, so do, and so ... do are also used in BrE, but are more common in AmE:

("Yes, and t do too.

a: John has a cold, b: < Yes, and so do I. [Yes, so he does.

10.55

Pro-forms in relation to verb classes

Not all lexical verbs allow the full range of substitutions displayed in Table 10:1. We earlier established seven verb classes (3.41). Table 10:2 shows the substitution possibilities for these seven classes. They are shown in relation to do, will (representing modal auxiliaries), and might have (demonstrating a combination of auxiliary and perfect have), cf Table 10:1. The possibilities for lexical be are given in Column II of Table 10:1. The possible pro-forms of passive be (Column III of Table 10:1) are used for all verbs, and those of progressive be are restricted to verbs or uses of verbs that admit progressive aspect (3.40-41).

From Table 10:2 we see that the groupings by substitution possibilities do not wholly coincide with the distinction between stative and dynamic verbs. The division of the entry in Column iv for verbs of inert perception and cognition reflects the fact that for some speakers attitudinal verbs do not allow these substitutions.

?\*a: Peter likes work. B: I think b6b does so t6o. ?\*a: She will hate the way he goes on about his prizes.

B: PEter will do so t6o. ?\*a: David might have wanted his food now.

b : mary might have done so t6o.

Substitution 691

**Table 10.2**  
**PRO-FORMS IN RELATION TO VERB CLASSES**

Class	i	ii	iii	iv	v
activity verbs	DO	SO DO	SO... DO	DO SO	DO IT
momentary verbs	WILL	SO WILL	SO... WILL	WILL DO SO	WILL DO THAT
transitional event verbs	MIGHT	SO MIGHT	SO... MIGHT	MIGHT HAVE	MIGHT HAVE
process verbs	HAVE	HAVE	HAVE	DONE SO	DONE IT
verbs of bodily sensation					
verbs of inert perception and cognition					
relational verbs					

692 Sentence connection

Other verbs in this class seem to allow the substitutions without difficulty in British English, but they are odd to varying degrees in America English:

a: They think he is mad. b: w£ do so too. a: I can smell perfume, b: I can do so too.  
 a: Bob might have heard the strange noises. b: He might well have done so.

Below, one example is given for each of the seven classes of verbs with their do pro-forms, and similar examples could have been given for the analogues of the do pro-forms, ie pro-forms with operators other than do. Expansions of do are given in parentheses when they follow do. Since we have already mentioned the subdivision within verbs of inert perception and cognition, the class is represented by a verb that also allows the do so phrase.

**ACTIVITY VERB**

a: John abandoned his car during the last snowstorm we had.  
 I[so } \ I wonder why he did I that > 1.

\U if  
 I Yes, and so dial [Yes, so he dId,

**MOMENTARY VERB**

a: Bob kicked the door several times.  
 b:  
 \so  
 He ALways doesi < that > [when he wants to attract attention.  
 Yes, and 50 did PEter. Yes, so he d}d.

**TRANSITIONAL EVENT VERB** a: The old man fell on his way to church.

(&,)•  
 I'm sorry to hear that he dId



I Yes, and so did his wife. I Yes, so he did.

PROCESS VERB a: That Ford slowed down as we passed.

)U's very odd that it did Yes, and so did the car that followed. Yes, so it did.

Substitution 693

VERB OF BODILY SENSATION

a: John feels much better. (I know he does.)

b: < Yes, and John does. I Yes, so he does.

VERB OF INERT PERCEPTION AND COGNITION

A: They think he is mad. f WE do (so) too.

bx Yes, and so do I. Is, so they do.

RELATIONAL VERB

a: He owns a Cadillac.

{Yes, he does (so), because the firm bought it for him. Yes, and so does his brother. Yes, so he does. Note

[a] It is curious that if the action is involuntary and the reason for the action is asked, do it pro-forms are excluded even for a momentary verb such as kick that normally allows them:

a: When you chop off a chicken's head and it's already dead, it still kicks a few times.

b: Why does it

But the do it pro-forms are acceptable in contexts where the reason is not asked:

a: When you chop off a chicken's head and it's already dead, it still kicks a few times.

b : I wonder how it does it.

The do it pro-forms appear to require that there be volition in the action. In the last example, speaker B talks as if the chicken were still alive and had control over its movements.

[b] For some people, do so pro-forms are unacceptable with relational verbs:

•a: He owned a Cadillac. b ; If he hadn't done so, we would not have asked him for a lift.

[c] do the same, do similarly, do likewise, do the identical thing, are alternative\* to do that when a comparison is involved, but the subject of the clause is normally not co-referential with that of the antecedent clause:

a: The old man fell on his way to church. , /\*I'm sorry to hear that he did the same. '  
\I'm sorry to hear that his wife did the same.

The exception is when the predicate contains more than do the same:

a : The old man fell on his way to church. b : Yes, and I'm afraid he did the same last Sunday.

b:- 10.56

Co-referentiality of subjects

The so do type - so do and its analogues (eg: so will, so have) - is used only if the subject of the clause is not co-referential with that of the antecedent clause:

a: John buys his drinks at the local supermarket. b : So do we.

Hence, he cannot be co-referential with John in

a: John buys his drinks at the local supermarket. to: So does he.

On the other hand, the so ... do type is used regardless of whether the subjects of the clauses are co-referential or not, though it is more common for them to be co-referential:

a: John buys his drinks at the local supermarket.

(So he DOs. So lots of Other people do, I imagine. So even bOb does.

The other substitution types are used whether or not the subject is co-referential with that of the antecedent clause. Note

In clause connection, so... do may be said by the same speaker when he is reporting what has been said or thought:

I said she would hit him, and so she did

In some contexts, so may be ambiguous between the pro-form so and the result conjunct so (= therefore). For the latter, see 8.89,10.27.

10.57

Operator for negation, interrogation, and emphasis

In Types i, ii, andiii on Tables 10:1 and 10:2 -DO, so do, so ... do and their analogues, eg: will, so will, so ... will - an operator is present which can be used in negation, interrogation, and emphasis (though in fact there are restrictions on the use of the jo do and so ... do types in negation and they are excluded from questions, c/10.59/):

A: John can drive a car. b : But can bob (drive a car) ?

a: Some people like a shower after they have played tennis. B: pfeter DOESn't (like a shower after he has played tennis).

a: David wasn't given a prize, b: Oh, but he was (given a prize).

A: John can drive a car. b: Yes, but so can many other boys of his age.

a: David wasn't given a prize, b: So he wasn't. What a shame!

Substitution 695

Similarly, with the complex do so, do that, and do it types, an operator is present when the first member is a modal auxiliary, progressive be, or perfect have:

a: John can drive a car. b: Yes, but can b6b do so? a: Mary is paying for her own ticket. b : Yes, but joAn isn't doing THAT. a: Arnold won't make a mess, b: Oh, but he hAs done so

On the other hand, the do so, do that, and do it pro-forms with DO as first member (iv-vi in Column I on Table 10:1) require an additional DO as operator:

a: John swims a lot. b: Does b6b do that?

a: Do they buy their drinks at the local supermarket?

b : Yes, but w£ don't d6 so. a: Bill didn't damage his father's car. b: Oh, but he dId do it.

10.58

Exclusion of pro-form types from certain clauses

The modal auxiliaries cannot occur in non-finite clauses (3.15) and hence they cannot function as pro-forms in such constructions. Likewise, the pro-form do cannot function in non-finite clauses. While we have the pro-form do in the finite clause:

a: Peter hunts rabbits, b: Yes, I have noticed that he does.

we cannot have it in the non-finite clauses:

f\*Yes, I have noticed him doing. a: Peter hunts rabbits, bx \*Yes, I have watched him do.

[\*I know. He wanted me to do too,

We must instead use one of the pro-forms do so, do that, and do it, insofar as all or some of them are allowed by the particular verbs:

fYes, I have noticed him doing so. a: Peter hunts rabbits. b:< Yes, I have watched him do that.

[i know. He wanted me to do it, too.

The so do and so ... do pro-forms occasionally occur in non-finite clauses, but this use would be considered odd by some people:

Newspapers should not include editorial comment in their news columns.

(To so do {So to do

Ms to betray

the confidence of their readers.

To so do would be avoided by some for another reason: the prescriptive696 Sentence connection

objection to the splitting of the infinitive (more effective in BrE than in AmE). The so ... do type normally cannot function in a dependent clause-

A: Martin knows French, b : \*I was told that so he does.

Contrast: a: Martin knows French.

was told that he does so. was told that so does Bill.

However, if the antecedent subject is not co-referential with the subject of the jo... do clause (c/10.56), the use of so ... do is possible for some people though very unusual:

A: John buys his drinks at the local supermarket. b: I was told that so everybody does.

Neither the so ... do nor the so do type can function in an imperative clause:

("♦So (you) do.

a: It's time to wash the dishes, bx \*So do (you).

[(You) Do so.

An alternative to the pro-forms with the to-infinitive clause is ellipsis of the infinitive clause, to alone being retained (9.81):

a: Peter hunts rabbits, b: I know. He wanted me to, also. For so in He told me so, see 10.62.

10.59

Negative clauses

The so do and so... do types are sometimes used in a negative clause:

a : Bob can't drive a car.

b: So can't a lot of other people, but that doesn't stop them from trying. a: Mary won't talk to you.

b: I know. So won't the other girls, but it's really my own fault. a: Peter doesn't hunt rabbits, b: So he doesn't. What a pity! a: Your other daughter isn't here, b: So she isn't. That's surprising.

However, there are restrictions on their use in negative clauses, though the extent of these restrictions is not clear. For example the so ... do type seems unacceptable if the subject of the clause is a proper name:

a: Bob can't drive a car. b: \*So can't John.

Substitution 697

The other pro-form types are more common in negative clauses. If the second sentence indicates an addition to what has been negated previously, either is commonly appended (c/8.17, 10.22):

'he Ddssn't.

a: Peter doesn't hunt rabbits, b: No,  
pAul doesn't father. pAul doesn't do so father.

a: Bob can't drive a car. b: No,  
pAul doesn't do that father.

PAUL doesn't do it father. he cAN'l. j6hn can't father. j6hn can't do so father. j6hn can't do that father. j6hn can't do it Either.

Nor or neither can be used instead of either, with obligatory subject-operator inversion (cf 9.55):

(does pAul.

„ \_T fnor 1 I does Paul do so.

a: Peter doesn't hunt rabbits. b, No,|neithcrjj ^ pAuL ^  
[does pAul do it.

{can john. can j6hn do so. cm^dothat. can j6hn do it.

The DO-phrases with do as first member require the addition of the operator do (</10.57).

10.60 Questions

The so do and so ... do types cannot be used in questions. AH other types occur in questions. As in negation (10.57, 10.59), the do so, do that, and do it types with DO as first member require the operator DO:

:j6an?

~ . \_„ . f Yes,1 I does j6an do so ?

a: Does Mary sing folk songs? b:-^ ] ^ j6an dQ ^}  
[doesidAtidoit?

(will km!

I will Ann do so ?

a: Will Susan play the piano? b

\No, Jj will Ann do that ? [will Ann do it? 698 Sentence connection

Note

The so do type freely co-occurs with tag questions, but the co-occurrence of jo .. , ^ type and tag question seems odd:

a : Peter collects stamps, b : And so does Paul, doesn't he ? a: Mary can sing well,  
b: 7So she can, can't she7

10.61

Not as negative pro-form for predicate

Not can be a negative pro-form for the predicate (9.80):

a: John is a coward, b: Yes, but not b6b.

A: David owns a Cadillac. B: Yes, but not j6b.

a: Bill might have taken the book, b: Yes, but not t6m.

It substitutes for the equivalent of the whole of the predicate of the antecedent, but there may be changes, eg in person and number of verb and number of noun:

ohn is a

\_ v /but not Bob and j6e. (=Bob and Joe are not cowards) \but t £ (I d

a: John is a coward

v / (

\but not m£. (= I am not a coward) a: Bob will take it for you. b: No, notidM. (= He will not take it for me)

In very formal speech the subjective case of the pronoun would be used instead of the objective case if the pronoun is the subject in the clause that is being replaced:

a: John is a coward, b: Yes, but not I. (=I am not a coward)

Not can also be a pro-form for the subject and part of the predicate, including the verb phrase:

a: Susan invited everybody to her party.

b: Perhaps, but not me. (=Susan did not invite me to her party) a: John wanted to pay for the tickets.

b: True, but not for the dinner. (=but John did not want to pay for the dinner)

Not in why not and if not is a negative pro-form for the equivalent of the whole of the antecedent clause, again with changes sometimes when there is a change of speaker. So is the pro-form for the equivalent of the whole clause in the case of if so, and (less commonly) why so:

The best way of resolving the dispute seems to be by calling in arbitrators. If so, let's agree now on a panel of arbitrators-

A: I don't want to go in. b: Why not ?(=Why don't you want to go in?)

Substitution 699

Note

Instead of treating not as a pro-form, we could analyse these instances as ellipsis with an obligatory shift of not when the subject is present:

A: John is a coward. b: Yes, but not Bob. (=but Bob is not a coward)

There would also need to be a case change in some instances:

A: Bob will take it for you.

b: No, not him. {=he will not take it for you)

Such an analysis extends the concept of ellipsis beyond its normal use in this book (ef9.2f).

10.62

pro-forms for direct object clause

So is used as a pro-form for a direct object clause:

Oxford is likely to win the next boat race. All my friends say so.

(=that Oxford is likely to win the next boat race) John hasn't found a job yet. He told me so yesterday. (= that he hasn't found a job yet)

Not can often serve as the negative of so in this use: Many people believe that there will be another world war before the end of the century. My father thinks so, but I believe not. (My father thinks that there will be another..., but I believe that there will not be another...)

This use of not is restricted mainly to verbs of belief or assumption {cf 11.79), while this use of so extends also to some verbs of speaking. Verbs that commonly allow both so and not as pro-forms for the direct object clause include:

seem suppose think understand

appear

assume

believe

expect

fancy

guess hope imagine

presume

The pro-form not is occasionally used with the verbs claim, say, state, and tell, but the use of the pro-form so with these verbs is much more frequent. Not all verbs of saying allow even so. For example, we cannot say

"He asked so. So in this use can take initial position:

So all my friends say700 Sentence connection

though subject-verb inversion is possible with verbs of saying and is common with the verb say itself (14.15):

So say all my friends

The same can also be used as a pro-form for a direct object clause with a similar range of verbs to those that allow so:

a : (I say) Oxford is likely to win the next boat race. b: I say the same. (=that Oxford is likely to win the next boat race)

But it seems that the same requires that the subjects of the verb of speaking or of belief be different in the two sentences, whether this difference is explicit (for example, by retaining the parenthesized / say in the first sentence above) or implicit (by omitting the parenthesized I say).

That and it are used as pro-forms for direct object clauses in direct or indirect speech when the reference is primarily to the actual words used:

fWho said 'Shakespeare'? \ , . '\Who said that I was crazy?/'

that. it.

Note

There is no negative pro-form that includes direct statements. Not in

a: Who said 'Shakespeare'? b: Not me. is a pro-form for the predicate (=I did not say 'Shakespeare').

Discourse reference

10.63

There are a number of signals marking the identity between what is being said and what has been said before. Some of these might well have been handled under substitution processes. They have been brought together here because they seem to have in common a 'deictic' reference, that is to say, they seem to be pointing back

(anaphoric) or forward (cataphoric) in discourse. The signals can be divided into two groups, distinguished by the type of unit they refer to:

(1) sentence or clause reference signals

(2) noun phrase reference signals

Many of them are adapted from their primary function of denoting temporal or spatial succession, eg: former, above, here, the following. Some signal both sentence/clause reference and noun phrase reference.

Discourse reference 701

10.64

Sentence/clause reference

Common signals for sentence or clause reference: anaphoric and cataphoric: here, it, this anaphoric only: that, the foregoing (formal) cataphoric only: as follows, the following, thus

**ANAPHORIC EXAMPLES**

Many years ago their wives quarrelled over some trivial matter, now long forgotten.

But one word led to another and the

quarrel developed into a permanent rupture between them.

That's why the two men never visit each other's houses.

[36] Many students

never improve. They get no advice and therefore

they keep repeating the same mistakes. It's a terrible

shame.

[37]

Students want to be shown connections between facts instead

of spending their time memorizing dates and formulas.

Reflecting this, the university is moving away from large

survey courses and breaking down academic fences in order

to show subjects relating to one another.

**CATAPHORIC EXAMPLES**

This should interest you, if you're still keen on boxing. The world heavyweight championship is going to be held in Chicago next June, so you should be able to watch it live.

Here is the news. A diplomat was kidnapped last night in London ... (radio announcement)

[38]

It never should have happened. She went out and left the baby unattended.

My arguments are as follows...

In some instances we can replace the reference signal by a corresponding *that*-clause.

For example that in [36] could be said to substitute for a *that*-clause that corresponds to the immediately preceding clause:

... That the quarrel developed into a permanent rupture between them is why...

[36a]

\*n [37], on the other hand, it could be said to substitute for the whole of the two preceding sentences. With cataphoric signals, the substitution might be inordinately long in practice. Certainly, here in [38] could refer forward in discourse to an indeterminate length.

The *pro*-form may refer back to most, rather than all, of the sentence or clause:

They will probably win the match. That will please my brother. /OZ Sentence connection

The more likely interpretation of that is their winning the match with the omission of auxiliary and disjunct, but that they will probably win the match is also a possible interpretation.

Above and below are used for discourse reference to refer to units of varying length, and even to illustrations:

the arguments given below (perhaps referring to several sentences)

the question mentioned above

the picture above

The diagrams below illustrate ...

They need not refer to a unit of discourse that precedes immediately or that follows immediately. The furthest possible distance in the discourse between the unit referred to, on the one hand, and above or below, on the other hand, cannot be determined. The above but not \*the below can be used as a noun phrase:

The above illustrates what we mean by ... Note

[a] The non-restrictive relative clause with a previous clause or sentence as (he antecedent of introductory which is sometimes made into a separate orthographic sentence (cf 13.15). Which is then an anaphoric signal equivalent to and that:

She borrowed a history book. Which suggests that her teacher was having some influence on her.

[b] In an ironic context that can be used cataphorically:

I like thAt. Bob smashes up my car and then expects me to pay for the repairs. Otherwise, that is used anaphorically.

[c] In informal spoken English what can have cataphoric reference when it is the direct object of know in a question or guess in an imperative:

(Do you) KhowwhAt?" It, ,,

Guess whAt. JHcwoatpayup.

[d] In written texts discourse reference can be made, of course, to page numbers, section numbers, or chapters. In some texts it is possible to refer to line numbers -

[e] In legal English the (Aforementioned, the said, and the aforesaid are used for anaphoric reference both as a premodifier ('the aforementioned provisions') and as a noun phrase. In the latter case they would normally refer to a previous noun phrase with personal reference.

Noun phrase reference 10.65

Certain determiners are used to signal that a noun phrase is referentially equivalent to a previous noun phrase (c/4.13/, 4.28 ff, 4.121):

the

this - these

that - those

Discourse reference 703

The noun phrases may have identical heads:

ji student was arrested last night for an alleged traffic offence. The police released the student after a brief investigation.



He bought a battered, old black van in 1960. What a lot of changes have happened to that van.

But, as we have shown in 10.5, the noun phrases may be co-referential though the heads are not identical:

His wife walked slowly by his side. The old woman stooped slightly. The chap with a wart on his nose is in my class. That boy is extremely clever. Students are free to select optional courses from any field that touches on American studies. These options are very popular.

Note

The determiners need not be anaphoric: they can refer directly to the situational context. For example, that and those in

That man is Bill Jones Those apples are rotten  
can point to visible objects (c/4.121).

10.66

The co-reference of two noun phrases may be emphasized by use of identical, same, selfsame (formal), very, when the identity is felt to be surprising:

He spoke to a meeting of striking workers that evening. Those same workers had previously refused to listen to his speeches.

He wrote a short grammar in 1970. That very book was to bring him fame some years later.

10.67

The determiners listed in 10.65 and the adjectives listed in 10.66 can be used to indicate identity of type rather than co-reference:

He bought a Jaguar XJ6.1 ordered that same car the previous year. Students who know several languages are at an advantage. Those very students are more likely to be accepted.

Such (5.57) is used specifically to indicate identity of type: They regularly get The Daily Courier. I wouldn't read such a paper.

There may not be a previous noun phrase with which there is identity of type, but rather some implication of identity:

we visited the Browns yesterday and saw the miserable conditions<sup>704</sup> Sentence connection

under which they live. The authorities should demolish such houses.

There is no mention of buildings in the previous sentence, but we interpret the previous sentence as implying something like

... the house with the miserable conditions under which they live or perhaps ... the miserable conditions under which they live in the house

Like plus that or those is also used anaphorically for identity of type and postmodifies the noun head:

They regularly take The Daily Courier. I wouldn't read a paper like that.

Like this and this way are used cataphorically:

He told it-t .. r- George was running down the road and ... [this way] °

°

Note

Such a(n) is used in place of such if the head of the noun phrase is a singular countable noun, unless such is itself premodified (some such, any such).

10.68

The demonstratives (4.121) can be used as noun phrases. They can then be regarded as pro-forms for noun phrases.

I hear that you dislike his latest novel. I read his first novel. That was very boring, too. [39]

He asked for his brown raincoat. He insisted that this was his usual coat during the cold winter months. [40]

As when they are used as determiners (10.67), demonstratives can signal identity of type:

These theatres he took me to tired me out. He then made me go with him to a couple of museums. Those certainly don't interest me. [41]

Normally, demonstratives replace noun phrases with a human referent only in intensive clauses with a nominal complement:

Will you try and help me find Peter Williams ? That's the man I was telling you about. You can have two tickets for the middle of the tenth row in the theatre. Those are the best seats in the house.

Discourse reference 705

In the second citation those is substituting in part for what is implied in the first sentence: the seats in the middle of the tenth row in the theatre.

Note

fa] Outside intensive clauses, that can be used as an expression of contempt for a human referent:

a: That's my brother, b: You mean thAt?

[6] It is possible to regard the demonstratives in [39] and [40] as elliptical, but this would not be true for those in [41] or for the two demonstratives cited in Note [a] above. In the more probable interpretation of [41], those would be taken as a pro-form for generic museums and not couple of museums. See also 9.103#.

10.69

Former and latter are used anaphorically to single out one of two previous noun phrases: Bob and John were at the meeting. The former brought his wife with him.

The former points back to Bob, the first of the noun phrases in the previous sentence. If the latter were used instead, the reference would be to John. These two terms can also be used as reference signals when they premodify:

Bill Singer and Tom Patterson were charged with being drunk and disorderly. The latter student had two previous convictions on such charges.

The former and the latter occur mainly in the written language and in formal contexts. Similarly, when there are more than two previous noun phrases that might be referred to, the ordinals first, second, etc, and last can be used anaphorically to single out one of several phrases.

Although noun-phrase reference is their characteristic function, former and latter and also the ordinals can refer back to units larger than noun phrases:

the former reason the first proof the last suggestion

10.70

So and that can have anaphoric reference when they are intensifiers premodifying an adjective: There were two thousand people in the theatre. I didn't expect it

that

706 Sentence connection

I had a terrible headache yesterday and had to take some aspirins.

I'm not feeling-j, J-bad today. We took them to a circus and then to a zoo and gave them lots of

ice-cream and chocolate. They haven't had-j, [-good a time for years.

Such is used more commonly than so or that when the adjective is in a noun phrase (cf 10.67), but then with the word order:

... They haven't had such a good time for years

This is used as an intensifier, but with reference to what is present to the speaker. So and that can be used in the same way:

I didn't expect it to be< so Mull. (=as full as this) [that}

Comparison

10.71

We bring together signals of similarity and difference. In fact, there is not a sharp distinction between signals of similarity and reference signals indicating identity of type (10.67-68). Most signals of similarity and difference can be regarded as involving ellipsis.

10.72

The most obvious comparison signal is found in adjectives and adverbs, whether in the inflected forms or in the periphrastic forms with more, most, as, less, least (5.68). If the basis of comparison (5.69) is not made explicit in the clause, it can often be inferred from the previous context:

John took four hours to reach London. Bill, on the other hand, was driving more slowly. [42]

Mary used to listen to records most of the time. Sally was a more enthusiastic student. [43]

There were ten boys in the class. Bob was by far the best. 144]

Barbara dances beautifully. Joan dances no less well. I4\*]

Peter always hands in a well-constructed and intelligent paper.

I'm afraid John doesn't expend as much effort and time on his papers.

Ellipsis 707

We can demonstrate the anaphoric reference by supplying the basis of comparison:

... more slowly than John (drove) [42a]

... a more enthusiastic student than Mary (was) [43a]

... the best (of the ten boys) (in the class) [44a]

... no less well than Barbara (dances) [45a] ... as much effort  
and time on his papers as Peter (expends on  
his papers) [46a]

On comparative clauses, see 11.53jf.

10.73

When we find expressions signalling similarity or difference, we must often look at the previous context for the basis of the similarity or difference:

John was the victim of a confidence trick. Bill was tricked in the same way.  
[47]

Tom gets two dollars a week for pocket money. Bob receives a similar amount.  
[48]

Mary complained that the roof leaked and the windows fitted badly, so that the place was freezing cold. Her husband complained likewise.  
[49]

Tom behaved himself at the party. However, the other boy had to be sent home.  
[50]

John didn't like the car. He asked to see a different one. [51]

We can display the basis of similarity or difference:

... in the same way as John (was (tricked)) [47a]

... an amount similar to what Tom receives [48a]

... complained about the same thing as Mary (complained about) [49a] ... the boy other than Tom ... [50a]

... see one different from the car he didn't like. [51a]

Ellipsis

10.74

Ellipsis plays an important part in sentence connection. If we find what seems to be an elliptical construction, we are usually forced to look back to what was said previously in order to interpret the sentence. We interpret the sentence by reference to what has been ellipited. And we can only know what has been ellipited on the basis of what is present in the preceding context (For ellipsis not dependent on linguistic context, see 9.1% ff.) 708 Sentence connection

Ellipsis in coordinated clauses is dealt with in detail in Chapter 0 (9.62 ff)- Much of what is discussed there applies to ellipsis across sentences, with the exceptions noted in 10.53. We also found it convenient to handle earlier in this chapter (10.52.tf) the ellipsis of predicator and predication at the same time as the substitution of predicate and predication. Moreover, other instances of what could be considered ellipsis have been referred to in the course of this chapter, eg 10.16 10.47, 10.72. Here we consider ellipsis that is more typical of sentence connection than of clause coordination.

Ellipsis in dialogue

10.75

We first look at the connection between sentences said by different speakers. A sentence said by a second speaker may have the repetition ellipited of the whole or part of what was said by the first speaker. (Strictly speaking, what is ellipited need not be an identical repetition of what was said, since a change of speaker would often

introduce consequent changes.) Ellipsis may take place under three conditions, which can, of course, occur in various combinations:

- (1) repetition: the second speaker repeats what is said by the first.
- (2) expansion: the second speaker adds to what is said by the first.
- (3) replacement: the second speaker replaces what is said by the first with new material.

These conditions will be considered in the light of three patterns of sentences with change of speaker:

- (a) question and response (10.76).
- (b) statement and question, ie a question stimulated by what was said by the previous speaker (10.77).
- (c) statement and statement, where the second statement can relate to the first in a number of possible ways, eg it can be a comment or a correction or a denial (10.78).

There is usually a choice in repetition between ellipsis, substitution, and the full form. We show the choice, giving optional items in parentheses and alternatives in braces. The categorization is not intended to be exhaustive, but to give typical examples of ellipsis.

10.76

Question and response

The usual function of a question in discourse is to request the listener to

Ellipsis 709

respond verbally with information that the questioner seeks (7.54). Hence, question and response constitute a unit with respect to sentence connection. The link between question and response is often reinforced by the ellipsis in the response of material that can be inferred from the question. In that way repetition of material from the question is avoided and attention is focused on what is new (9.4).

(1) REPETITION

a: Did John take the medicine?

/the medicine" 1

1 i 'i

a: Have you spoken to the doctor?

/f , . (the doctor"!"!\ ... ... / spoken to-L . MI

b: (Yes,) / have I < \* \him J V I.

\[done so J /

(2) EXPANSION

(a) by an adverbial a: Will they lose the game?

b: Probably (they will (lose (the game))).

t>) by a modifier

a: Are you angry? b: (Yes,) (I am) Very (angry). a: Did you buy an apartment?

\ furnished

b: Yes,

111 oought a iurnisne\*

l,one

(3) REPLACEMENT

a: Did you speak to John about it?

(to Peter " |

b: No, I spoke to Peter (about it) L I did (so) to Peter j

si/, ,, , ...fapartment\ I I bought a furnished-^ l\ lone /,

This most commonly occurs with wA-questions, where the {1 Q-element (7.63/ is normally replaced in the response: ""

/(did (so) "\.4

-' ii"J<; a: Who told your father? b: MaryjJ , (my father"! U.

a: Which suit did Peter buy?

b:

him

the gold buttons. 710 Sentence connection

a : When did he lose the key ?

/ (, t (the key! 1 \ b: HJIo8tiit )\IMStnight. \ [did so J/

a. What did you hit John for?

/ fh. (John-11 \ b:[I< \him /> \Because he hitmefirst.

\ [did so )}

(4) COMBINATIONS

(a) expansion and replacement

a: When did he lose the key?

(the key!

\ [did so (b) expansion and repetition a: Will they lose the game?

> \last night.

((that) they will

[so

(c) replacement and repetition

a : Did you speak to John about it ? B: (No,) / spoke to Peter (about it).

(d) expansion, replacement, and repetition

a: Would you like some coffee now?

b: (No, thank you, but) / would like some black coffee after the meal (if I may).

Where the response is merely repetition, yes alone can be used as a substitute for repetition. No alone is a substitute for the negation of repetition. The full negative form would of course be an expansion, with the negative particle as the added item.

Neither ellipsis nor substitution need be factors in the connection between a question and the response to it.

To take an example:

a: Can I help you, madam? b: Well, I'm looking for a pair of white gloves that will fit me.

Ellipsis 711

The second speaker obviously implies that she wants the help offered in the question, but the implication springs from the sequential relationship rather than from any matching of the linguistic items in the question and answer (c/10.3).

Note

Other complex pro-forms can often be used in place of do so (10.54 ff).

10.77

Statement and question

Questions are usually stimulated by what was said before, though they may be stimulated also by the situational context.

(1) REPETITION

A question may repeat a preceding utterance, the intention of the speaker being to express polite interest or (with a wider pitch range, c/App 11.17) incredulity or great surprise:

s A: I'm very angry, b : Are you (very angry) ?

a: I'm studying grammar, b: AREyou (studying grammar)?

This type of question is similar to a yes-no echo question (7.81).

(2) expansion

(a) by a superordinate clause

a: Peter will be there.

( (of that b: Are you,

(be (there))

a: Mary failed her driving test. b: Did she tell you

(Tailed

i(that)sh«

[did (so) >that

/^(driving) tesm

J

so712 Sentence connection

Ellipsis 713

(b) by a wh-element a: Peter has bought a new car.

b: wntN did he

a: I went to the theatre this evening. b: With whOm

I g

did you/

, , 'to the theatrel \*°H,i.\_ >'y/thisevening|a?

(3) REPLACEMENT

The clearest example of replacement is the wA-echo question (7-81):

a: It cost me twenty-five dollars.

b: Hdwmuch (did it cost (you))? A: I'm studying grammar. B: whAt (are you studying) ?

(4) COMBINATIONS

(a) expansion and replacement

A: Mary failed her driving test.

b: Didn't she tell you that Bob passed

This

1?

({^driving) testj

(b) expansion and repetition a: They will lose the game.

/Hose ({

b: How do you know theywilll < VI-1

\[do so

(c) replacement and repetition

a: John told me what you did. fwhat I did

j)?

(d) expansion, replacement, and repetition

a : They paid fifty dollars for it. b : Are you sOre {that) they didn't pay more

10.78

Statement and statement

(1) REPETITION

a: They've got a LOVely little BXby.

B: (Yes,) (they've got) A\Lt Vely little baby. (For the use of the arrow, see App 11.17.) Echo exclamations (7.84) involve repetition:

A: He's studying Latin.

B: (He's studying) LATin! He doesn't know his 6wN language.

<2) expansion

(a) by a superordinate clause (plus wA-element or one of the subordinators after, before, since)

A: They didn't want him in their group. b: (Yes,) He understood

(f (that) they didn't (want him (in their group))) \ (r } )■

a: He won't play. b: I'd like to know

a: John was here this morning.

b: (I know,) (but) I've seen him since (he was here (this morning)).

(b) by an adverbial

a : They will like the show. b: (Yes,) (they will (hke|^e show|^ Except for the last part. a: He is cleverer than you.

(/ f cle' he is( i

. //cleverer (than me)

}))■714 Sentence connection

(c) by a modifier

a: He owns a cottage on the beach. b: (Indeed,)(he owns) A very BtAUtiful\$.cottase\(\on the

beach). A: You should put it on the shelf.

b: O.K., ((I'll put it) on) the (3) REPLACEMENT

a : Let's have a steak for dinner.

b: No, (let's have) hamburgers (for dinner). a: They want the key now.

y b: No,(they want/^ keyl) tonight.



#### (4) COMBINATION

(a) expansion and replacement a: He lives in New York.

b : Well, actually ((he lives) in) Washington when Congress is in session.

(b) expansion and repetition A: John can play billiards.

Uohn\ // "play billiards" | /C(W\ \dOso

b:

y billiards n\ //"

well.

(c) replacement and repetition

a: They want an increase of five pounds a month. b: (No,) (they want) An increase of two pounds a w£ek.

(d) expansion, replacement, and repetition A: They paid fifty dollars for it.

b : They certainly paid more / (than j^ dollars\ (for it)).

Note

Some wA-interrogative expressions are typically used as comments on a previous statement:

How come (that ...)T1, \* , . , . m So what (If...) ? j<"if<>rmaI Md especially AmE)

Why not?

Why not? includes the pro-form not. It can be followed by predication with you or we as implied subject:

Why not take a chance?

Structural parallelism 715

10.79

Ellipsis with same speaker

We have illustrated ellipsis in dialogue. But some of the examples could equally well occur in sentences spoken or written by the same person. We give now some illustrations of ellipsis in sentence connection where there is only one speaker or writer. Other examples can be found in the references given earlier (10.74). Although the references to Chapter 9 deal with ellipsis within the sentence and across coordinated clauses, what is said in that chapter generally applies to sentence coordination with the same speaker. As always, the parentheses in the citations represent the ellipsed part.

The drugs have changed very little but the climate and acceptability and hunger of a society for these kinds of products have changed radically and dramatically. Why (have the climate and acceptability and hunger of a society for these kinds of products changed radically and dramatically) now? A Soviet newspaper carried out an experiment the other day to see if Moscow's telephone service was as bad as most people here think it is. It was (as bad as most people here think it is).

A call was made to the information desk of the Hotel Rossiya, the largest in Europe, located in Red Square, but the line was constantly busy. A correspondent was sent by car to the hotel to find out why (the line was constantly busy). 'Moratorium' was scarcely known last year. I doubt if you will find the definition (of'Moratorium') in any of the smaller dictionaries. I spoke to workers at the factory. Many ((of the) workers)

complained bitterly about the terrible conditions (in the factory). The presidential craft will comfortably carry 16 persons besides the crew. Usually aboard (the presidential craft) are the President and his family, his doctor, two Secret Service agents, and his secretary.

10.80

### Structural parallelism

If two or more sentences have identical or very similar structure, this connects the sentences, the connection being further reinforced by lexical equivalences and implications of semantic relationship:

Have you ever seen a pig fly? Have you ever seen a shark walk?

Everybody thinks Joyce is stupid. Nobody thinks she is clever. 716      Sentence connection

The parallelism between sentences is more transparent, and hence the connection between the sentences is more strongly indicated, if the word order is not the normal one (cf 14.11). The effect of a non-normal order in such cases is to point to a contrast between the sentences:

[521

My paintings the visitors admired. My sculptures they disliked. In New York it is hot and humid during the summer. In Los

Angeles it is hot and dry. From the ceiling hung a huge lamp. Along the wall were pikes.      [541

The direct objects and the place adjuncts in [52] and [53] respectively are in initial position instead of their normal final position. In [54] the non-normal position is reinforced by the verb-subject inversion.

When constituents are in non-normal position, it suggests a connection between the sentences even if there is 00 or little structural similarity otherwise:

Proudly, the captain hoisted the flag. Softly, a bugle sounded.

An apparent similarity in structure is sufficient to suggest parallelism between sentences:

My paintings the visitors admired. My sculptures irritated them.

Our impression of a link between the two initial noun phrases is given impetus by the non-normality of the position of the direct object my paintings in the first sentence and the expectation that we are encountering a similar inversion when we reach my sculptures, though in fact the former is direct object and the latter is subject. The impression of a link between the two initial noun phrases is reinforced by the internal structure of the two phrases and the lexical set to which both painting and sculpture belong. The two sentences are further linked by a semantic parallelism, realized syntactically in two ways: a person has a feeling towards an object, an object arouses a feeling in a person. They are also linked, of course, by the use of the pro-form them in the second sentence, which substitutes for the visitors in the first sentence.

That last example of sentence connection illustrates a combination of several devices: syntactic parallelism, semantic parallelism, lexical relationships, and substitution by a pro-form. The example serves to remind us of a point which we emphasized at the beginning of the chapter (10.2<sup>^</sup>), but which may have been obscured by our attention

to devices in isolation: several devices-some of them perhaps syntactic - may be interacting to point to links between sentences.

#### Bibliographical Note

Some recent contributions on sentence connection in general: Crymes (1968), Harris (1963), Hasan (1968), Karlsen (1959). On conjuncts and disjuncts, see Greenbaum (1969a).

#### ELEVEN

#### THE COMPLEX SENTENCE

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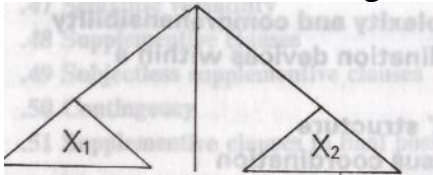
## Coordination and subordination

The simple sentence, which we studied in Chapter 7, is a sentence which can be analysed as a single clause, in terms of subject, verb, complement, adverbial, etc. Our task now is to examine the structure of the complex sentence, or sentence containing more than one clause.

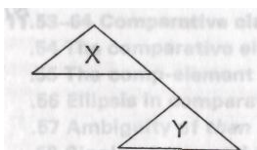
## 11.2

One of the two main devices for linking clauses together within the same sentence is that of coordination, already discussed in 9.39 \_#. The second major device, that of subordination, has been carefully distinguished from coordination (9.25 jf), but has not yet been discussed in detail. It will be the main concern of this chapter.

While coordination is a linking together of two or more elements of equivalent status and function, subordination is a non-symmetrical relation, holding between two clauses X and Y in such a way that Y is a constituent or part of X. Diagrammatically, the difference is as in Fig 11:1.



I like John and John likes me  
COORDINATION



I like John because John likes me SUBORDINATION

FigM-A Coordination and subordination

A second difference is that a coordinate relationship may have more than two members, while only two clauses enter into the relationship of subordination: we may call them the subordinate clause (Y in the diagram) and the superordinate clause (X in the diagram), the former being a constituent part (subject, object, adverbial, etc) of the latter.

In this respect, one may see subordination as the 'downgrading' of a clause to the status of a subclausal unit, such as a prepositional phrase. Compare:

I like John <sup>f^0^6</sup>. A Ijohn likes me

\for this reason: viz that!

The device of subordination enables us to organize multiple clause structures. Each subordinate clause may itself be superordinate to one or more other clauses, so that a hierarchy of clauses, one within another, may be built up, sometimes resulting in sentences of great complexity: e/11.80#.

If, as in the second example of Fig 11:1, there are only two clauses in the sentence and one of them is subordinate, the superordinate clause (of which the other is a constituent part) is also the main clause: cf 7.1. There can of course be more than one

main clause in a sentence. If two or more independent clauses are coordinated, each of them can be made superordinate and thus 'main' in relation to other clauses.

### 11.3

#### Independent and dependent clauses

The question of degrees and kinds of sentence complexity, whether through coordination, subordination, or a combination of both, will be resumed towards the end of this chapter (11.80-85). First, however, it is as well to begin with the units of which these complex structures are composed. It is useful here to have a further terminological distinction: that between an independent clause, that is, a clause capable of constituting a simple sentence; and a dependent clause, or a clause which makes up a grammatical sentence only if subordinate to a further clause:

Grammatical: It is late, (independent) pgrammatical: 'Because it is late, (dependent)

Grammatical: I am going home because it is late, (independent with dependent)

In other words, a dependent clause is one that is subordinate to another clause (and may in turn be superordinate to other clauses as well):

X-            Y-                            Z-                            -Z-Y-X

(I think [that you can do it {if you try} ] ).

Here the clause beginning at Z- is subordinate to the clause beginning at Y-, which in turn is subordinate to the clause beginning at X-. Both Y and Z are dependent clauses, while X is the independent clause, and is identical with the sentence as a whole. An independent clause may be

defined negatively as a clause which is not subordinate to any other clause.

Dependent, as well as independent, clauses may be coordinated. Dependent clauses may be classified either by structural type ie in terms of the elements they themselves contain, or by function ie the structural position they have in the superordinate clause.

Finite, non-finite, and verbless clauses

### 11.4

Analysing by structural type, we arrive at three main classes:

finite clause: a clause containing a finite verb (such as gaoe, can work, has worked, is working, is seen: 3.10)

eg because John is working

non-finite clause : a clause containing a non-finite verb (such as to work, having worked, given: 3.10)

eg (John) having seen the pictures

verbless clause : a clause containing no verbal element at all (but nevertheless capable of being analysed in terms of subject, object, complement, or adverbial)

eg although always helpful

(analysable as subordinator (see 11.9) + adverbial + complement) We now describe these types further.

### 11.5

#### Finite and non-finite clauses

The finite clause always contains a subject as well as a predicate, except in the case of commands (J.72jf) and subject ellipsis in coordinate clauses (9.65 ff). As nearly all independent clauses (in discursive English, though not in 'block language' - 7.90) are finite clauses, this is the type that is most clearly related to the clauses dealt with in

Chapter 7. In contrast, the non-finite clause always has the ability to do without a subject, although in many kinds of non-finite clause a subject is optional. The four classes of non-finite verbal construction (3.10) serve to distinguish four classes of non-finite clause:

fI] INFINITIVE WITH to

without subject: The best thing would be to tell everybody with subject: The best thing would be for you to tell everybody

Finite, non-finite. and verbless clauses 723

It should be noted that the infinitive clause with to and with a subject is found characteristically in anticipatory it constructions (14.36): // would be better (for you) to tell everybody; the use of for to introduce the subject should also be noted.

[II] INFINITIVE WITHOUT to

without subject; All I did was hit him on the head with subject: Rather than John do it, I'd prefer to give the job to Mary

(III] -ing PARTICIPLE

without subject: Leaving the room, he tripped over the mat with subject: Her aunt having left the room, I declared my passionate love for Celia

[IV] -ed participle

without subject: Covered with confusion, I left the room with subject: We left the room and went home, the job finished

When the subject of participial clauses is expressed, it is often introduced by with (6.46):

With the tree being tall, we get more shade

Category II (to a lesser extent also Category IV) is rare in comparison with the other three.

Leaving aside the fact that there is usually no subject in a non-finite clause, the normal range of clause types (7.2) is available:

f(for a man) to be free. Type (S)VC It's great \ (for everybody) to be here. Type (S)VA I (for us all) to have arrived. Type (S) V . ((for you) to be having a rest. Type (S)VO

It's unusual

It's best

\(for John) to have made himself ill. Type (S)VOC (for us) to get the country out of debt. Type (S)VOA (for you) to buy yourself a car. Type (S)VOO

There is, however, a restriction on the -ed participial clause, which is both syntactically and semantically passive, and therefore admits only the four passive clause types 5Fpasa, SVflksaC, SVBtL3SA, and SVmaaO:

Defeated, he slunk from the room

Type (S) f^ (= active Type SVO) (Once) appointed supreme commander, he took the stern

measures expected of him

Type (S) FPMHC( = active Type SVOC)

[I]

[2] 724 ThB complex sentence

During emergencies, feelings (normally) kept in check are apt to nourish

Type (S)VpHBBA (= active Type SVOA) The royal prisoner, allowed unusual privileges, seemed to enjoy his captivity

Type (S)VBUBSO (=active Type SVOO)

[4]

11.6

### Structural 'deficiencies' of non-finite clauses

The absence of the finite verb from non-finite clauses means that they have no distinctions of person, number, or modal auxiliary. Together with the frequent absence of a subject, this suggests their value as a means of syntactic compression. Certain kinds of non-finite clause are particularly favoured in the studied style of written prose, where the writer has the leisure to make a virtue out of compactness. That subject and finite-verb form can be omitted is a hint that their meaning should be recoverable from the context. It is, indeed, often possible to postulate certain missing forms, normally a form of the verb *be*, and a pronoun subject having the same reference as a noun or pronoun in the same sentence. For examples [1-4] above, one might insert the following:

[Since/when he was] defeated [1a]

Once [he had been] appointed supreme commander [2a]

...feelings [which are] normally kept in check [3a]

... [since he was] allowed unusual privileges [4a]

On the other hand, [5] shows how the advantage of compactness must be balanced against the stumbling block of ambiguity; for the absence of a subject leaves doubt as to which nearby nominal element is notionally the subject:

We met you [when you ?jwe ? were] leaving the room [5]

It is not always possible to postulate a direct ellipsis of subject and finite-verb form, but elsewhere a semantically parallel finite construction at least enables one to identify an 'understood' subject:

I asked to go (cfl asked if I could go)

I asked him to go (cfl asked him if he would go)

When no referential link at all can be discovered with a nominal in the linguistic context, an indefinite subject 'somebody/something' may be supplied, or else some definite subject 'I/you/he' may be provided by the situation:

To be an administrator is to have the worst job in the world. ('For someone to be ..')

The prospects are not very good, to be honest.

('... if I am to be honest')

A non-finite clause, such as [2a], in which the subordinating conjunction is retained, will be called an abbreviated clause.

Note

[a] In negative non-finite clauses, the negative particle is placed immediately before the verb:



It's his fault for not doing anything about it The wisest policy is (for us) not to interfere

From the second example, we notice that the not precedes the to as well as the infinitive, to being regarded, for this purpose, as part of the verb. [£>] The inseparability of to from the infinitive is also asserted in the widely held opinion that it is bad style to 'split the infinitive' by interposing (let us say) an adverb. For example, the 'bad English' of

He was wrong to suddenly leave the country will be 'corrected' to He was wrong suddenly to leave the country  
or

He was wrong to leave the country suddenly

It must be acknowledged, however, that in some cases the 'split infinitive' is the only tolerable ordering, or at least that avoiding the 'split infinitive' is only possible at the cost of clumsiness or ambiguity. Examples for which there is no satisfactory alternative ordering to the 'split infinitive' are:

I have tried to consciously stop worrying about it

Part of your job, as a teacher, is to really understand your pupils\* personal problems.

11.7

Verbless clauses

The verbless clause, apart from being verbless, is also (like the non-finite clause) commonly subjectless; it therefore takes the ellipsis of clause elements one stage further than the non-finite clause. Once again, the omitted finite verb can generally be assumed to be a form of the verb be, and the subject, when omitted, can be treated as recoverable from context:

Whether right or wrong, he always comes off worst in argument (whether he is right or wrong)

One should avoid taking a trip abroad in August where possible  
(where it is possible)

Verbless clauses can also, on occasion, be treated as reductions of non-finite clauses:

Too nervous to reply, he stared at the floor

(being too nervous to reply ...) (Here the verbless clause itself contains a non-finite clause, to reply.) When the subject is already there, it is the verb alone that has to be supplied:

73 people have been drowned in the area, many of them children (many of them being children)

But, as with participle clauses (11.5), the subject is often introduced by with:

With the tree now tall, we get more shade

As the verbless clause is basically an elliptical intensive verb clause (Type SVC 01 SVA, see 7.2), the variations of its structure are somewhat limited. The following, however, are among possible combinations

(sub='subordinating conjunction', see 11.9):

Suddenly the creature reared up on its hind legs behind the bars,

teeth bared, jaws wide open, and started to scratch. S [V1IltBn,] C, She marched briskly up the slope, the blanket across her shoulder.

s rv,Dtenfl] a

When ripe, these apples will be delicious, sub [S VinMnJ Cs While at college, he was a prominent member of the dramatic

society, sub [S VtaMimJ A His gaze travelled round, irresolute. [S Vintens] C,

Optional adverbials may also be added, either initially or finally: She looked with disgust at the dog, quiet now in Dinah's grasp.

IS "intem] C, Atitoe A^iace

Maureen, normally a timid girl, snapped back at the others. They toured the college, at one time an institution of high repute.

nfl] Cs

When the verbless clause becomes reduced to its bare minimum of a single complement or adverbial, however, it may not be easy to distinguish from an appositional construction, non-restrictive relative clause, or an adverbial which is a direct constituent of the main clause:

The river lay in its crescent loop entirely without movement, an artifice of green-black liquescent marble

If the final noun phrase had been placed next to the subject here, there would have been no barrier to its classification as a case of full apposition (9.131). Similarly, although the initial prepositional phrase below is apparently an adverbial of the main clause:

Of humble parentage, he began his working life in a shoe factory

Formal indicators of subordination 727

it might be better regarded as a verbless clause consisting of adverbial complementation, and therefore as directly parallel to nominal or adjectival verbless clauses like

A man of humble parentage,...

Born of humble parents,...

Formal indicators of subordination

11.8

Let us now consider the various ways in which the subordination of one clause to another is indicated. On the whole, subordination is marked by some signal contained in the subordinate rather than superordinate clause. Such a signal may be of a number of different kinds: it can be a subordinating conjunction; a wA-element; the item that; inversion; or (negatively) the absence of a finite verb form.

11.9 Subordinate\*!

Subordinators (or more fully subordinating conjunctions) are perhaps the most important formal device of subordination. Like prepositions (cf 6.4/), which they resemble in having a relating or connecting function, subordinators forming the 'core' of the class consist of a single word; and again, as with prepositions, there is a larger 'penumbra' of compound items which act, to various degrees, like a single conjunction. In addition, there is a small class of correlative subordinators, ie combinations of two markers, one (a conjunction) occurring in the subordinate clause, and the other (normally an adverb) occurring in the superordinate clause.

## SIMPLE SUBORDINATORS

after, {although, as, because, before, but (that), if, how(ever), like (familiar), once, since, that, till, unless, until, when(ever), where(ver), whereas, whereby, whereupon, while, whilst (especially BrE)

## COMPOUND SUBORDINATORS

ending with that:

in that, so that, in order that, such that, except that, for all that, save that (literary)

f In order to (without the that) introduces infinitival clauses. ending with optional that:

now (that), providing (that), provided (that), supposing (that), considering (that), given (that), granting (that), granted (that), 728 The complex sentence admitting {that), assuming (that), presuming (that), seeing (that), immediately (that), directly (that) ending with as:

as far as, as long as, as soon as, so long as, insofar as, so far as, inasmuch as (formal), according as, so as (+to+infinitive) ending with than; sooner than (+infinitive), rather than (+infinitive) other: as if, as though, in case

## CORRELATIVE SUBORDINATORS

[A] if... then, (although ... yet I nevertheless, as.. .so

[B] morej-erjless... than, as ... as, so.. .as, so... (that), such .. .as, such ... (that), no sooner ... than

[C] whether ...or

[D] the... the Note

[a] Some subordinators {as, like, since, until, till, after, before, but) also function as prepositions: since the war, etc,

[b] For, with, and without, elsewhere prepositions, might be added to the list of subordinators when they introduce the subject of a non-finite or verbless clause:

for him to interfere (11.5); with so many people there (6.46).

[c] Some of the above-listed subordinators introduce non-finite and verbless clauses ('abbreviated clauses') (eg: if a nuisance), others do not (\*since a nuisance). Details are given under relevant sections (11.27,11.28,11.30, 11.33,11.37).

[cl]The following additional archaic subordinators still have a limited currency: albeit, lest, whence, whither.

11.10

### Correlative subordinators

The correlatives are divided into four lists (11.9), of which [A] contains combinations in which a subordinate adverbial clause comes first, the main clause being marked by an optional 3dverb (c/"8.92) which merely emphasizes the relationship indicated by the subordinator: # "all else fails, (then) we must resort to force

(conditional clause: 11.29 .#) Though all efforts fail, (yet) we shall never surrender

(concessive clause: 11.33ff) As the strength of the defenders failed, (jo) their courage grew

(proportional clause: 11,42)

Such correlatives (especially the latter two) belong to a formal and deliberative style of writing or oratory. The second group, [B], contains comparative correlatives, of which

Formal indicators of subordination 729

the second element introduces the subordinate clause, while the first functions as a degree modifier in the main clause:

I was i<sup>TM</sup> ashamed\ than I have ever been 1 waB \angrwr J

Type [C] consists of the unique alternative conditional correlative whether.. .or, and Type [D] of the unique proportional correlative the ... the.

Note

The range of correlative subordinators can be extended somewhat in literary style to include, for example, where... there and when... then:

When night falls, then is the time to explore nature's wonderful variety. The following occur with inversion (14.16) in the first clause:

no sooner... than; hardly j scarcely... when\before.

11.11

Borderline subordinators

It is difficult (as with prepositions, 6.6) to be categorical as to what is a compound subordinator, as opposed to a free syntactic combination. Three borderline categories may be mentioned: (a) habitual combinations of a subordinator with a preceding or following intensifying adverb (even if, just as, if only); (b) participial forms (supposing that) bearing resemblance to participial-clause disjuncts like iMt/g/ng<sup>^</sup>rom ..., speaking frankly, etc; (c) expressions of time which, although adverbial in form, act like a single temporal conjunction (eg: directlyj immediatelyj the moment (that) I had spoken). In case (a), a useful test is whether the adverbial element can be omitted without altering the meaning of the subordinator; if it can (as in just as), it may be regarded as a detachable intensifier. In case (b), -ing forms which can be supplemented by adverbials, eg:

supposing for the sake of argument that

show themselves to be more like the verb element of a clause than like a conjunction (contrast "provided for the sake of argument that). In case (c), a distinction can be drawn between immediately (that) on the one hand and the moment (that) on the other. The relation between moment and the following clause is explicable as the head and relative clause relation in a noun phrase acting as an adverbial of time, and permits something of the range of structural variations that one would expect from that analysis:

( moment"! instar ' K<sup>^</sup>at) \* saw him>! recognized a friend730 The complex sentence

Immediately {that), however, has only one close structural analogue -directly {that), and so, since the relation between the adverb and the following clause is virtually anomalous, it is as well to acknowledge this anomalousness by treating immediately and that as making up a single conjunction and saying that immediately no longer has an adverbial function in this context.

11.12

Other indicators of subordination

Now we give a brief preliminary survey of other indicators of subordination, apart from subordinating conjunctions.

(a) WA-elements are initial markers of subordination in interrogative w/r-clauses (11.18), in relative wA-clauses (11.20, 11.52, \Z\$ff), and in conditional-concessive wA-clauses (11.35/). The subordinating wA-words are: tvhojwhomlwhose, which, where, when, whether, how, what, and why, together with the compound words whoever, whomever (rare), whichever, wherever, whenever, whatever and however. These wk-v/oids function as or within one of the clause elements subject, object, complement, or adverbial. They are not conjunctions. There is, however, some overlap between H#-elements and subordinators, where, for example, appearing in both lists.

(b) The relative pronoun that (to be distinguished from the subordinating conjunction that) is a subordination marker in relative clauses:

The bus that took me there was late (13.8)

(c) Subject-operator inversion (14.16) is a marker of subordination in some conditional clauses, where the operator is had, were, or shotdd{U.ny.

Had I known more, I would have refused the job

Other unusual syntactic orderings also play a role in distinguishing a subordinate clause: for example,

Sad though I was (11.34)

(d) The absence of a finite verb form is effectively an indication of subordinate status, since non-finite and verbless clauses (subject to the exception of 7.90) occur only in dependent clauses:

The match will take place tomorrow, weather permitting

There are only two types of subordinate clause that contain no marker within themselves of subordinate status: these are

A functional classification of dependent clauses 731

[I] Nominal fffa(-clauses from which that has been omitted (11.17): I suppose you're right (c/I suppose that you're right.)

[II] Comment clauses of a kind relatable to the main clause in the previous example (11.65):

You're right, I suppose

Note

[a] Another clause introducer of conditional-concessive meaning is the combination of no matter with a wA-element:

No matter what I say or how I say it, he always thinks I'm wrong.

[b] Although the relative pronoun is omissible in certain cases, in its absence, the role of marking subordination is assumed by unusual clause order, since the antecedent, which comes first, cannot have the notional role of subject with respect to the relative clause. The theoretically possible case of a relative clause which has no relative pronoun and where the omitted pronoun is subject is un-grammatical(13.S):

That's the man that saw me \*-» \*That's the man saw me Contrast:

That's the man that I saw \*-> That's the man / taw

A functional classification of dependent clauses

11.13

## List of functions

Dependent clauses may function as subject, object, complement, or adverbial in the superordinate clause:

subject: That we need more equipment is obvious  
direct object: I know that she is pretty  
subject complement: The point is that we're leaving  
indirect object: I gave whoever it was a cup of tea  
object complement: I imagined him overcome with grief  
adjunct: When we meet, I shall explain everything  
disjunct: To be honest, I've never liked him  
conjunct: What is more, he has lost the friends he had

In addition, they may function within these elements, as postmodifier, prepositional complement, etc:

postmodifier in noun phrase: The friend who remains a friend  
prepositional complement: It depends on what we decide  
adjectival complement (12.38): Ready to act promptly<sup>732</sup>

The complex sentence  
A functional classification of dependent clauses 733

## Mate

Dependent clauses rarely act as conjuncts, as object complements, or as indirect objects. The object complement function is limited to non-finite clauses in cl

function is limited to non-finite clauses in complex, transitive complementation. On the indirect object function, which is restricted to nominal relative clauses, see 11.14 below.

## 11.14

### Nominal clauses

On the basis of these functions, there emerges a classification similar in some ways to the functional classification of smaller units (words and phrases) as adverbs, noun phrases, etc. The classes of clause we shall distinguish in this way are: nominal, adverbial, relative,

### COMPARATIVE, COMPLEMENTARY, and COMMENT CLAUSES.

The principles of the functional classification are most clearly exhibited by the category of nominal clauses (11.16-25), or clauses having a function approximating to that of a noun phrase. Just as noun phrases may occur as subject, object, complement, appositive, and prepositional complement, so every nominal clause may occur in some or all of these roles;

subject: Whether we need it is a different matter

object: I don't know whether we need it

complement: The problem is whether we need it

appositive: That question, whether we need it, has not yet been

considered  
prepositional complement: The decision must depend on whether we need it

The privilege of occurrence of nominal clauses is limited, however, by the fact that in terms of the semantic classification of noun phrases, they are normally abstract; ie they refer to events, facts, states, ideas, etc, rather than to objects. The one exception to this generalization is the nominal relative clause (11.20), which may refer to objects, people, substances, etc, and may in fact be analysed, on one level, as a noun phrase consisting of head and postmodifying relative clause, the head and relative

pronoun coalescing to form a single vt>A-element (cf 13.5 ff): We may compare the equivalent sentences:

What pleases one party infuriates the other That which pleases one party infuriates the other (formal) Since abstract noun phrases cannot normally be indirect objects, this explains why the nominal relative clause is the only type of clause that can function as indirect object. Note

The following is a highly exceptional case where the indirect object is a dependent interrogative clause: We've simply got to give whether to accept his offer some thought.

11.15

other functional classes

«;e turn now to the other functional classes, apart from nominal clauses. adverbial clauses (11.26-51) operate as adjuncts or disjuncts.

In this respect, they are like adverbs, and are often commutable with prepositional phrases. Compare: Because the soloist was ill, they cancelled the concert Because of the soloist's illness, they cancelled the concert

relative clauses as generally understood act as non-restrictive or restrictive modifiers of noun phrases. They are therefore functionally parallel to attributive adjectives or phrases. Compare:

people who speak Spanish Spanish-speaking people

Relative clauses are discussed at length in 13.8-15. However, in addition to the nominal relative clause discussed in 11.14 above, one type of clause which does not have the postmodifying function but which we call 'relative', is discussed in this chapter. This is the 'sentential relative\*' (11.52), a clause which non-restrictively modifies not a noun phrase, but a whole clause, sentence, or even series of sentences:

After that things improved - which astonished me.

What distinguishes a relative clause, in the present account, is not a particular syntactic function, but rather its cross-referring or binding role. The grammatical unit or segment to which it cross-refers is called the antecedent. In the case of the sentential relative clause, generally the whole of the sentence except for the relative clause itself is the antecedent.

comparative clauses (11.53-64), like sentential relatives, are difficult to fit into any of the major functional categories. They often have the appearance of adverbial or adjectival modifiers:

I love you more deeply than I can say He's not as clever a man as I thought

They also have some features in common with adverbial clauses, however. Semantically, we may consider them, together with their correlative element (more, as, -er, etc) in the main clause, as equivalent to a degree adverb.

complementary clauses are non-finite clauses which are equivalent to complements in function, and therefore parallel to adjectival or noun phrases:

I found him reading the paper

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They are given no further treatment in this chapter, falling within the subject matter of Chapter 12 (12.52 .£ 12.67 jf).

comment clauses (11.65-66) perform the function of disjunct or (occasionally) conjunct, and often express the speaker's attitude to the main clause, or his manner of asserting it:

Food is cheap in England, I believe

Each of these major functional types (except for postmodifying relative and complementary clauses) will now be examined in greater detail.

Nominal clauses 11.16

Five major categories

Nominal clauses (or clauses equivalent in function to noun phrases) fall into five major categories:

The fAar-clause, or dependent declarative clause (11.17) The dependent interrogative clause (11.18-19) The nominal relative clause (11.20) The w-infinitive clause (11.21-22) The -ing clause (11.23-24)

11.17 r/nTf-clauses

The Ma/-clause can occur as:

subject: That she is still alive is a consolation

,. ,,. (I told him!.,. direct object: < . . . Vthat he was wrong

subject complement: The assumption is that things will improve appositive: Your assumption, that things will improve, is unfounded

(13.16/ 9.177) adjectival complement: I'm sure that things will improve

It cannot, however, occur as prepositional complement (6.2) or as object complement.

When the /far-clause is object or complement (or delayed subject -14.36), the conjunction that is frequently omitted in informal use, leaving a 'zero //wf-clause':

I knew "I

I told him \he was wrong

I'm sure

Nominal clauses 735

Wh the clause is subject, that (which cannot be omitted) can be paraphrased by the fact that...:

(The fact) that she is still alive consoles me

Apart from this 'factual' meaning, however, (Aaf-clauses can express 'putative' (11.72) and 'hypothetical' meaning.

Note

[a] The zero thai-clause is particularly common when the clause is brief and uncomplicated. In contrast, the need for clarity discourages or even forbids the omission of that in complex sentences loaded with adverbials and modifications. Any parenthetical material between the verb of the superordinate clause and the subject of the (AaJ-clause is especially likely to inhibit deletion:

We had hoped, in a moment of optimism, that the Government would look favourably on our case.

The position of that after the second comma, rather than before the first comma, in this sentence, is decisive in assigning the parenthetical adverbial to the main clause and not the rtat-clause. The omission of that would leave the structure of the sentence unclear.



[b] Direct passive transforms of clauses with a *wh*-clause object are rare, for reasons to be discussed in 14.8. Instead, the version with extraposition (14.36) is preferred: it is thought that he will come. The same point applies to other nominal clauses.

[c] While (*wh*-clauses, like most other nominal clauses, cannot be object complements, an alternative to-infinitive construction is available with some verbs. Contrast: I thought his argument absurd \*-\* I thought his argument to be absurd

with:

\* I thought his argument that we should pay

I thought his argument to be that we should pay

11.18

*Wh*-interrogative clauses

The dependent *wh*-interrogative clause occurs in the whole range of functions available to the *wh*-clause, and in addition can act as prepositional complement:

subject: How the book will sell depends on its author.

direct object: I can't imagine what made him do it.

subject complement: The problem is not who will go but who will stay.

appositive: My original question, why he did it at all, has not been answered.

adjectival complement: I wasn't certain whose house I was in. prepositional

complement: No one was consulted on who should

have the prize. 736 The complex sentence

Nominal clauses 737

As regards meaning, these clauses resemble *wh*-questions (7.63-65) in that they leave a gap of unknown information, represented by the *wh*-element. There is, in fact, a significant contrast to be drawn, in some constructions, between a positive sentence which goes with the certainty of the (*wh*-clause, and a negative sentence, associated with the uncertainty of the *wh*-clause:

I'm sure

I'm not sure

There is also a grammatical similarity to *wh*-questions in that the *wh*-element is placed first; indeed, apart from the absence of subject-operator inversion in the dependent clause, the structures of the two types of clause are in all respects parallel. We have, in the *wh*-interrogative clause, the same choice between initial and final preposition where the prepositional complement is the *wh*-element:

TI    ,. ,x    . (on which shelf he kept it (formal)

He couldn't remember ^ ,,,,,, ... ). - ,. [which shelf he kept it on (informal)

Again, within the limitations set out in 7.66, the *wh*-element can be fronted from a position in a clause subordinate to the *wh*-clause (a pushdown *wh*-element); for example the informal:

I don't remember which shelf he told me I was to fetch it from. An infinitive *wh*-clause can be formed with all *wh*-words except *why*:

He was explaining how to start the motor. ('.. how one should...') I never know where to put my coat. ('... where I ought to ...')

Nota

[a] There is no construction with an initial preposition corresponding to I can imagine what it is like/what it is for (for/like what it is) the cases in which the final preposition follows the verb be. Another case in which there is no preposed alternative is:

I don't know what you do it for (\*for what you do it).

[b] In literary style, there is an occasional subject-verb or subject-operator inversion when the »\*-element is the A of an SVA type clause, or the C of an SVC type clause: I told them how strong was my desire to visit the famous temple,

[c] The preposition preceding a wA-clause is optional to certain circumstances: I was not certain (of) what to do.

We have not solved the problem (of) who was at fault.

11.19

yes-no interrogative clauses

The dependent yes-no interrogative clause (c/7.56#) is formed with If or whether:

Do you know if/whether the banks are open ?

The dependent alternative question (c/7.68) is formed with if I whether... or:

I don't know whether it will rain or be sunny

I don't care if your car breaks down or not

Only whether can be directly followed by or not:

(whether or not~\ . , ,

I don't care-j, f fyour car breaks down

Except in the second part of an alternative question, a wA-clause beginning with whether cannot be made negative, whereas an if interrogative can:

, , (if it doesn't rain I don't care- { \* .L \* j >\* ■ L\*whether it doesn't rain

On the other hand, //cannot occur in subject position:

Whether!.

f

it rains or not doesn't concern me

Nota

With certain introductory verbs or adjectives a negative wfa/Aer-clause is acceptable:

I wonder whether he doesn't think too much of himself [i]

I'm not sure whether he doesn't expect too much from her [ii]

But by implication, such sentences have a positive rather than negative meaning.

Sentence [i], for example, means roughly: 'I think he does think too much of himself.'

11.20

Nominal relative clauses

The nominal relative clause, also introduced by a wA-element, can act as:

subject: What he is looking for is a wife direct object: I want to see whoever deals

with complaints indirect object: He gave whoever came to the door a winning smile

subject complement; Home is where your friends and family are object complement:

You can call me whatever) you like appositive: Let us know your college address

(that is, where you live in term time) 738 The complex sentence

prepositional complement: You should vote for whichever) candidate you think best

The nominal relative clause is much closer to noun phrase status than other nominal clauses are. It can normally be paraphrased by a noun phrase containing a postmodifying relative clause:

Whoever breaks this law deserves a fine ('Anyone who...')

I'll give you however much tobacco you need ('... any amount... that you need')

Quality is what counts most ('Quality is that which ...') Tomorrow is when it would be most convenient ('... the time when...')

As pointed out in 11.14, one aspect of this closeness to noun phrases is that nominal relative clauses can be, like noun phrases in general, both concrete and abstract, whereas other categories of nominal clause are invariably abstract.

There is a difference between universal and definite meaning as expressed by the wA-form of a relative clause. We see this in the paraphrases of the four examples above: the first two are paraphrased in 'universal' terms (anyone, any amount), while the second two are paraphrased in 'definite' terms {that which, the time when). The contrast is highlighted in:

Quality is what counts most Quality is whatever counts most

[6] [7]

[6] has the definite meaning 'that which', and states that 'quality is supremely important'; [7] has the universal 'indifferent' meaning 'anything that counts most is "quality"'; that is, it purports to be a definition of 'quality'.

The form who is rarely used in present-day English in this nominal relative function (\*Who told you that was lying); consequently the compound form whoever has taken over, in many contexts, both universal and definite meanings:

.... ,,, ... ,. f'The person who.. ."

Whoever told you that was lying^,, , , >

' J 6 V Anyone who... /

See further 13.5 Note a.

The formation of nominal relative wA-clauses follows the same pattern as that of the interrogative kind, except that the list of introductory wA-elements used is slightly different. Whether, if, and (as we have just seen) who are not used for the relative type, while the compounds with -ever are not used with the interrogative type.

Nominal clauses 739

Where the wh-word chosen is available for both nominal relative and interrogative clauses, an ambiguity arises:

They asked me what I didn't know

('They asked me that which I didn't know' or 'They asked me "What don't you know?")

On the other hand, there is a wide range of instances where, because of selection restrictions peculiar to abstract nominals (7.37-38), only the relative interpretation is present:

I gave him what he needed.

Nota

[a] In subject complement position, nominal relative clauses with who are occasionally found: You're not who I thought you were.

[b] We distinguish the compound *Wh-words* whatever, etc, from the informal intensificatory combinations *what ever*, etc (normally spelled as two words), which do occasionally occur in dependent interrogative clauses: / asked him what ever he was up to (= ... what on earth ..).

To-infinitive nominal clauses 11.21

The to-infinitive nominal clause can occur as:

subject: For a bridge to collapse like that is unbelievable [8]  
direct object: He likes everyone to be happy [9] subject  
complement: To be a member of the Space Club is  
to be one of the most privileged citizens in the world [10] appositive: His  
ambition, to be a straight actor, was never  
fulfilled [11]  
adjectival complement: I'm glad to help you (see 12.38#) [12]

As [8] shows, the presence of the subject of a *to*-infinitive clause normally requires the presence also of the preceding *for* (which is perhaps acting here more as a conjunction, or clause introducer, than as a preposition). The subject, when a pronoun, is in the objective case:

The idea is for us to meet on Thursday

When the clause is a direct object, however, the *for* is omitted: He wants me to leave {rather than: \*He wants for me to leave)

Note

[a] He wants for me to leave does, in fact, occur in dialectal AmE.

I&1 That the infinitive clause is acting as an object here is shown by the possibility of transforming He wants me to leave into the 'pseudo-cleft' sentence (14.21 /): What he wants is for me to leave; in which case, as the infinitive clause now acts as a complement, the *for* reappears. On the other hand, the infinitive as direct object cannot be easily transferred to the subject role by a passive transformation: \*(For) me to leave is wanted by everyone in the road.

11.22

We have seen that the infinitive resembles the *to*-clause in being unable to function as complement of a preposition, yet its ability to follow directly an item which normally requires a prepositional phrase as complementation suggests that here (as, again, in the case of the (*Aa*-clause -6.2) there is an 'understood' preposition: I'm delighted at what I saw, at having succeeded \*I'm delighted at to have succeeded I'm delighted to have succeeded

(Similarly / am glad/sorry/pleased/etc to have gone; I decided/asked/etc to see him; 12.38,12.49).

The meaning of the infinitive clause is 'putative' (11.72) rather than factual, as we see when we paraphrase it (where complementation restrictions permit) by a *that*-clause with putative *should*:

To rob one's parents is unforgivable <->

That one should rob one's parents is unforgivable The plan is to blow up the factory  
\*\_\*

The plan is that we should blow up the factory Note

Confusion may result from the apparent coalescence of for as a preposition and for as an infinitive clause introducer when the infinitive clause contains a subject: I'm longing for the vacation [i]

\*I'm longing for for everyone to go home [u'l

I'm longing for everyone to go home [iii]

[i] represents the ordinary case of long for with a noun phrase as prepositional complement. The plain addition of the infinitive clause as prepositional complement would result in (he ungrammatical repetition of/win [ii]; but the rule for the deletion of the preposition turns [ii] into the correct version [iii], in which only one for is retained.

Nominal -ing clauses H.23

The nominal -ing clause, which may be called, following traditional terminology, a participial clause, occurs in the following positions :

subject: Eating people is wrong

direct object: No one enjoys deceiving his own family

subject complement: His favourite pastime is playing practical jokes

Nominal clauses 741

appositive: His one claim to fame, being secretary of the local tennis

club, is the recurrent theme of his conversation prepositional complement: I'm tired of being treated like a child adjectival complement: The children were busy building sandcastles

It is the most common type of participial clause, that which has no subject, that is illustrated above. When a subject does occur, the form it assumes is broadly as follows:

genitive case informal style: I'm surprised at his/John's making that mistake

objective case (for pronouns) or common case (for other noun phrases) in informal style:

I'm surprised at him/John making that mistake

The choice between the two constructions has been confused by the common but groundless assumption that the verb in such clauses is a verbal noun, and that accordingly the genitive is the only 'correct' form. In fact, the genitive frequently has a stilted effect, and is particularly unsuitable when the subject is an inanimate or abstract noun phrase which would not normally take the genitive case; a long noun phrase with a 'group' genitive (13.64) is also avoided:

? The crisis has arisen as a result of recent uncontrolled inflation's " having outweighed the benefits of devaluation

The genitive ending is exceedingly awkward in this context, and would most probably be omitted, even in formal style. On the other hand, the objective case has an air of infelicity in subject position, where it otherwise seldom occurs; such a sentence as

Him being a Jesuit alters everything

would therefore only occur in very informal speech. Both constructions give trouble and many writers prefer to avoid both of them where ready alternatives are available. In this instance, one could say

(The fact) that he is a Jesuit alters everything.

11.24

Although, as the last example in the above paragraph shows, there is a semantic equivalence between a *iAa/-*-clause and a nominal *-ing* clause, the most obvious structural parallel to draw with this construction is that of the *-ing* 'nominalization', or noun phrase with a verbal noun in *-ing* as head (see 4.9 ff, 13.34/). One may compare His dancing of the tango (noun phrase consisting of possessive pronoun+head + prepositional phrase postmodifier) with His dancing the tango (genitive742 The complex sentence

subject + V-iag + object), where only the presence of the preposition *of* in the former distinguishes the two constructions. The addition of an adjective to the former (eg: His skilful dancing of the tango) or of the perfect aspect and an adverb to the latter (eg; His having danced the tango skilfully) emphasizes the different potentialities of the two constructions. On the other, hand, there are many cases which are completely ambiguous as between the two constructions, eg where there is just a genitive pronoun followed by an *-ing* form:

His dancing was unexpected

There is equally nothing to distinguish them when the *-ing* form occurs alone:

I like dancing; I hate singing

The ambiguity here is that the *-ing* clause specifically links the activity to the subject of the sentence: 'I like it when I dance' as opposed to 'I like it when people in general dance'. When an object is added, the construction is bound to be an *-ing* clause, and only the first meaning is present: I like dancing the tango ('I like it when I dance the tango').

Note

[a] A plan of his friend's devising

is an anomalous construction, presumably containing a noun phrase rather than an *-ing* clause. If an *-ing* clause were present, it would be possible to replace the genitive *friend's* by the objective *friend*, something impossible in this case: \*A plan of his friend devising.

[b] Another anomalous construction manifests itself in There's no telling what they will do. This must be regarded as a blend of noun phrase and *-ing* clause, since *telling* is marked as a verbal noun by the preceding determiner *no*, and yet is marked as a participle by the following clausal object. The existence of this construction (which occasionally occurs in other contexts, such as No dancing the (an<sup>o</sup>Aere/) reminds us that the genitive pronoun as subject of an *-ing* clause may itself be regarded as the outcome of a blend of the nominal and verbal functions of V-*ing*.

11.25

Bare infinitive and verbless clauses

Two minor types of nominal clause that we must briefly consider are the bare infinitive clause (without *to*) and the nominal verbless clause.

The *to* of the infinitive is optionally omitted in a clause which, as complement, expands the meaning of the verb *DO*:

All I did was (to) turn off the gas

What the plan does is (to) ensure a fair pension for all

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When the infinitive clause is initial, *to* has to be omitted: Turn off the lap was all I did.

The category of a verbless nominal clause is required to account for a type of subject which, although superficially a noun phrase, has some of the structural as well as semantic characteristics of a clause:

[13]

[H] [15]

A friend in need is a friend indeed (proverb) iVall-to-wall carpets in every room is the housewife's dream Are fast cars wise in cities ? These may be paraphrased with the aid of non-finite clauses:

To be a friend in need is to be a friend indeed

Having wall-to-wall carpets in every room is the housewife's dream

Is allowing fast cars in cities wise ?

Moreover, the prepositional phrases are not of the kind which would postmodify the head in a noun phrase. A friend in need, for example, as noun phrase, would mean 'a friend who is in need', whereas the appropriate meaning in [13] is '(to have) a friend when one is in need' (ie 'Friendship in a time of need is indeed friendship'). A further point in favour of clausal analysis is the singular verb in [14], otherwise difficult to explain. However, in other cases (eg [15]) the verb is plural.

Adverbial clauses

11.26

Adverbial clauses, or clauses serving primarily as adjuncts or disjuncts in the main clause, may be placed in various semantic categories, such as time (8.56 ff), place (8.45 ff), and manner (8.35). These categories may be related to those for adverbials in general (Chapter 8) and for prepositional phrases (6.11-54).

Adverbial clauses, like adverbials in general, are capable of occurring in a final, initial, or medial position within the main clause (generally in that order of frequency). Attention will be drawn, in the paragraphs that follow, to modifications of this general statement.

Our plan will be to begin, under each category, by discussing finite clauses, which are generally introduced by subordinators; then to move to non-finite and verbless clauses, where they are possible. We shall use the term 'abbreviated clause' for non-finite and verbless clauses beginning with a subordinator. After listing and discussing the semantic categories, we shall conclude (in 11.44-51) with a general consideration of non-finite and verbless adverbial clauses. 744 The complex sentence

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Note

Medial position is on the whole very rare for adverbial clauses, except possibly in position (if it is considered medial) immediately following the subordinator in a dependent clause:

I was told that if I applied early my case would be given special consideration.

11.27

### Clauses of time

Adverbial clauses of time, if finite, are introduced by one of the following subordinators: after, as, before, once, since, till, until, whenever) while, whilst (especially BrE), now (that), as long as, as soon as, immediately (that), directly (that):

Buy your tickets as soon as you reach the station

When I last saw you, you lived in Washington

Our hostess, once everyone had arrived, was full of good humour Temporal clauses are common in initial position. In addition, -ing clauses without a subject are also used to express time relationship:

Nearing the entrance, I shook hands with my acquaintances

('when/as I neared . ..') The stranger, having discarded his jacket, moved threateningly

towards me ('after he had discarded ...')

Abbreviated -ing clauses may follow after, before, since, when(ever), and while:

He wrote his greatest novel while working on a freighter Abbreviated ~ed clauses follow once, until, whenever), and while: Once published, the book caused a remarkable stir

Abbreviated verbless clauses may follow as soon as, once, whenever), and while:

When in difficulty, consult the manual.

### Note

[a] With until and its variant till, a dynamic verb (3.40/) in the main clause often has to be accompanied by a negative;

•He started to read until he was ten years old He didn't start to read until he was ten years old In the negative sentence, not (...) until means the same as not (...) before.

[b] A complete reversal of the normal relation between subordinate and superordinate clauses takes place with a type of when-clause which occurs finally in sentences in formal narrative style:

The last man was emerging from the escape tunnel when a distant shout signalled its discovery by the guards

It is usual for the temporal clause to indicate a happening that is given or assumed in the context; but this type of when-clause introduces a new piece of information not prepared for by the preceding narrative. It gives dramatic emphasis and climax to the event so described (see 'resolution', 11.80).

[c] Infinitival clauses of "outcome" may be placed among temporal clauses:

He rushed to the door, only to discover that it was locked and barred

I awoke one morning to find the house in an uproar

She grew up to be a successful actress

These clauses, like all adverbial infinitival clauses (except those introduced by with) have no subject. They always follow the rest of the main clause. The sentences could be paraphrased by switching the relationship of subordination, and using a when-clause:



When I awoke one morning, I found the house in an uproar Their restriction to final position suggests an analogy between these clauses and result clauses (11.40), which they resemble in meaning.

[d] Observations on tense and aspect in temporal clauses are to be found in 11.68 and 11.70.

11.28

Clauses of place

Adverbial clauses of place are introduced by where or wherever:

They went wherever they could find work

Where the fire had been, we saw nothing but blackened ruins

Abbreviated clauses occur with both the subordinators:

Where{ver) known, such facts have been reported Where(ver) possible, all moving parts should be tested

Often (as in this last example), place conjunctions take on the more abstract meaning of 'in cases where ...'.

Clauses of condition and concession

11.29

Overlap of condition and concession

Two classes of adverbial clause between which there is considerable overlap are those of condition and concession. Whereas conditional clauses state the dependence of one circumstance or set of circumstances on another:

If you treat her kindly, she'll do anything for you

concessive clauses imply a contrast between two circumstances; ie that in the light of the circumstance in the dependent clause, that in the main clause is surprising:

Although he hadn't eaten for days, he looked strong and healthy

746 The complex sentence

From this, we see that although as a subordinator is the approximate equivalent of but as a coordinator (9.54):

He hadn't eaten for days, but he looked strong and healthy

The overlap between conditional and concessive clauses comes with such subordinators as even if, which expresses both the contingent dependence of one circumstance upon another and the surprising nature of this dependence:

Even if he went down on bended knees, I wouldn't forgive him

Such clauses as this will be handled under the independent heading of conditional-concessive clauses.

Both conditional and concessive clauses tend to assume initial position in the superordinate clause.

11.30

//and unless

Finite adverbial clauses of condition are introduced chiefly by the subordinators i/(positive condition) and unless (negative condition):

If you don't believe me, what can I do ?

He must be lying if he told you that

Unless the strike has been called off, there will be no trains tomorrow

The last sentence has roughly the same meaning as 'If the strike has not been called off...'; there is, however, a slight difference between an un/era-clause and a negative /^clause, in that unless has the more exclusive meaning of 'only if... not' or 'except on condition that...'. In this, it is more precisely the opposite of the compound conjunction provided (that) or providing (that), which means 'if and only if.. .\*:

Provided that no objection is raised, we shall hold the meeting here

Other compound conditional conjunctions approximately synonymous with provided (that) are as long as, so long as, and on condition that.

If and unless often introduce abbreviated clauses: if ready; unless expressly forbidden, etc. Also to be noted are the residual positive and negative conditional pro-clauses 1/50 and if not.

Note

[a] //-clauses are used sometimes as style disjuncts (8.80/): if you please; if you don't mind; if you follow me; if I may say so; etc:

She and I are just friends, if you follow me.

[b] In ease is a subordinator referring to possible future conditions: Do this In case a fire breaks out means 'Do this in the event of a fire breaking out'. However, in BrE in ease in this sentence could also have the meaning of negative purpose: 'Do this to prevent fire breaking out\*.

('but I don't suppose he will/you do/etc1)

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[c] Conditional (f-clauses have to be distinguished from interrogative (/clauses (11.19), which are nominal rather than adverbial. Something like a merger of the two functions is found, however, in a sentence like / wouldn't object if you look a rest'llTyou took a rest, I wouldn't object to your taking a rest').

11.31

Open and hypothetical condition

Conditional clauses can express either an open condition, as do all the examples so far, or else a hypothetical condition. The open condition leaves unresolved the question of the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of the condition, and hence also the truth of the proposition expressed by the main clause. A hypothetical condition, on the other hand, conveys the expectation that the condition will not be fulfilled:

If he changed his opinions,

he'd be a more likeable person We could get married today,

if you really wanted to If you listened to me,

you wouldn't make mistakes

As these examples show, present or future hypothetical meanings are expressed by would/should (or another past-tense modal) plus the infinitive in the main (conditioned) clause, and by the past tense in the subordinate clause (see further 11.69).

7/"-clauses (especially those expressing open conditions) are like questions in that they imply uncertainty about the actual existence of the circumstance referred to. Therefore they tend to contain non-assertive forms such as any, ever (see 7.44):

If you ever have any trouble, let me know

Clauses beginning with unless, on the other hand, lay stress on the excluded positive option, and so normally contain assertive forms:

I won't phone you, unless something unforeseen happens

For the same reason, H/i/ess-clauses rarely have hypothetical meaning. Hence the negative conditional clause If I had not arrived has no equivalent wn/estf-clause, \* Unless I had arrived. Note

The combination if only is an intensified equivalent of if, typically used in hypothetical clauses to express what the speaker wishes had happened or would happen:

If only somebody had told us, we could have warned you

The if only clause contains (when positive) assertive forms, and nearly always precedes the main clause. Sometimes, however, there is no main clause at all, and the conditional clause stands on its own as a hypothetical wish (7.86): If only I hadn't lost it.'748 The complex sentence

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11.32

Special types of conditional clause

Apart from the types of conditional clauses outlined above, there are some less usual types involving special verb forms and syntactic order-ings.

To express an open condition, the present subjunctive is sometimes used in the conditional clause, instead of the normal present tense:

If any person be found guilty, he shall have the right of appeal

This usage is mainly confined to very formal, legal or quasi-legal contexts.

There are also alternative ways of expressing hypothetical conditions. They are:

(1) wasjwere to followed by the infinitive:

iWQS I

If iU }to rain, we should get wet (were) ' 6

(2) should followed by the infinitive (cf putative should, 11.72):

If a serious crisis should arise, the public would have to be informed of its full implications

Both constructions are formal, and have overtones of tentativeness.

It will be noticed that in the example of (1) above, the singular past subjunctive form of the verb be is used rather than the ordinary past tense form; that is, were is used for the singular as well as for the plural (3.16). In fact, both the indicative and the subjunctive forms are possible for hypothetical conditions, the subjunctive being preferred in formal written English:

If John-( ^here, we would learn the truth LwereJ

J

The idiom if I were you, however, by convention usually contains the subjunctive.

A device which may replace the subordinator if in signalling a conditional clause is the inversion of subject and operator, particularly with the operator had in hypothetical clauses:

Had J known, I would have written before

Subjunctive were and hypothetical or putative should can also undergo inversion in somewhat literary style:

Were it to reveal its secrets, that house would collapse in shame Should you change your mind, no one would blame you.

Note

. f^fier construction occasionally used for expressing a condition is the infinitival clause:

You have to be strong to lift a table like that

He'd be stupid not to accept that offer These clauses also contain an element of purposive meaning (11.39).

11.33

Clauses of concession

Clauses of concession are introduced chiefly by although or its more colloquial variant though (which, as seen in 8.91 Note b, is a conjunct of concession as well as a conjunction of concession):

No goals were scored, though it was an exciting game Although Britain considers itself an advanced country, it has a very old-fashioned system of measurements

While and whereas are sometimes used to point a contrast between comparable things:

The USA has immense mineral wealth, while/whereas Britain has comparatively little

Even //and even though are also concessive in meaning:

He borrowed my mower, even though I told him not to Even if you dislike ancient monuments, Warwick Castle is worth a visit

Conditional if is, in meaning, the opposite of although (implying a positive rather than a negative connection between the two clauses); yet occasionally if is used concessively (= 'even if):

If he's poor, at least he's honest

Abbreviated clauses of concession are common and of all three structural types (-ing, -ed, and verbless): though a young man; although often despairing of rescue; even if still operating; even though given every attention; etc:

Though well over eighty, he can walk a mile faster than I can.

Special types of concessive clause

Like conditional clauses, concessive clauses sometimes have unusual syntactic orderings. The subordinators as, though, and that occur in non-initial position after the subject complement in:

Naked as/that I was, I braved the storm ('Even though I was naked ...') 750 The complex sentence

Miraculous though their survival seemed, it was nothing to what lay ahead ('Even though their survival seemed miraculous ...')

That and as, in this position, can also have the non-concessive meaning of cause or circumstance (11.37/):

Michael, fool as I that he was, completely ruined the dinner ('... since he was a fool, being a fool...')

The rule which permits this construction applies more generally to as and though, such that a whole predication (consisting, eg, of lexical verb, or lexical verb plus object) may be placed in front of the conjunction: object as you may; fail though I did; change your mind as you will. In much as I would like to help, on the other hand,

it is an adverb alone that is fronted. Such clauses, rather formal in style, may be compared with conditional-concessive clauses such as *come what may* (11.36 Note b).

11.35

Alternative conditional-concessive clauses

The overlap between condition and concession, already noted with *even if* and *even though*, is particularly marked in two classes of adverbial clause that we may call alternative conditional-concessive

and UNIVERSAL CONDITIONAL-CONCESSIVE.

The correlative sequence *whether (...)* or... may be entitled 'alternative conditional' in that logically it combines the conditional meaning of (/with the disjunctive meaning of *either... or*. It thus is a means of coordinating two subordinate clauses:

*Whether they beat us or we beat them, the result will be the same* [16]

*You will have to face the publicity, whether you want to or not* [17] *Whether or not he finds a job, he's getting married*

The concessive element of meaning comes in secondarily, through the implication that if the same thing takes place in two contrasting conditions, there must be something surprising about at least one of them. Thus the adverbial clause in [17] could be paraphrased '*... even if you don't want to ...*'.

Example [17] has the variant ordering *... whether or not you want to* (cf alternative questions, 7.68/).

11.36

Universal conditional-concessive clauses

While the alternative conditional-concessive clause gives a choice between two possible conditions, the universal conditional-concessive

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clause, introduced by one of the H>A-compound words *whatever*, *whoever*, etc, indicates a free choice from any number of conditions. One may compare

*She looks pretty whether she wears blue or green* [18]

(two alternatives) with

*She looks pretty whatever she wears* [19]

(any number of alternatives). The concessive implication comes in again, insofar as one might infer from [19] that, for example, she would look pretty even if she wore overalls or a spacesuit

These clauses share with other wA-clauses the initial placement of the wA-element, and the consequent shift from normal syntactic order:

*Come here, wherever you are* (A S V)

*However much advice you give him, he does exactly what he wants*

(OaSVO,) *Whatever your opinions are, you are welcome to join our society*

(CSV)

There is a subtle semantic difference between such conditional clauses and the apparently identical time and place clauses beginning *whenever* and *wherever*. The contrast is best shown in the ambiguity of a sentence like:

*Wherever you live, you can keep a horse*

The locative meaning is 'You can keep a horse at any place where you may live'; the conditional-concessive meaning (more applicable to the city-dweller) is 'It doesn't matter where you live, you can keep a horse -not necessarily in that same place'. The longer constructions no matter wh- and it doesn't matter wh- may be added to the list of universal conditional-concessive clause introducers:

\, , , [how hard I try, I can never catch up with him.

{.It doesn't matter)

Note

[a] In restricted circumstances (viz with an abstract noun phrase subject of an SVC clause), the verb be can be omitted from a universal conditional-concessive clause:

Whatever your problems (are), they can't be worse than mine. However great the pitfalls (are), we must do our best to succeed.

[b] An otherwise obsolete universal conditional-concessive construction involves the front-placing of the main verb in Come what may ('Whatever may happen'); Be that as it may ('However that may be'); Do what you will ('Whatever you do'). On a different interpretation, the initial verbs may be considered optative subjunctives (cf: Suffice it to say..., 7.86), to be associated with a similar alternative conditional-concessive construction involving the use of subjunctive be: Be he<sup>752</sup> The complex sentanca

friend or enemy, the lam regards him as a criminal. Both constructions are rare and somewhat literary.

11.37

Clauses of reason or cause

Clauses of reason or cause are most commonly introduced by the conjunctions because, as, or since. Because has a tendency to follow the main clause, while as and since have a tendency to precede it:

I lent him the money because he needed it

As Jane was the eldest, she looked after the others

Since we live near the sea, we enjoy a healthy climate

These different positional tendencies reflect a different syntactic status: because-clauses are close to adjuncts, whereas as- and since-clauses are more like disjuncts. This is evident in the ability of because-clauses, but not of the others, to be the focus of cleft sentences and (more relevantly) of alternative questions (8.3#):

It's because he helped you that I'm prepared to help him

•It's as he helped you that I'm prepared to help him

("Did they retreat out of panic or because they wanted to save lives ?

\ ?\*Did they retreat out of panic or since they wanted to save lives ?

In colloquial English, however, a final because-clause sometimes functions as a disjunct of reason (cf 9.23):

Are you going to the post office ? - because I have some letters to

send (ie 'I ask this because ...') They've lit a fire, because I can see the smoke rising

It is a testimony of the close and obvious connection between cause and temporal sequence that as and since are conjunctions of time, as well as of cause. This dual function can give rise to ambiguity:

As Dalrymple designed the engine, he must have realized its great capabilities (ie 'Because Dalrymple designed the engine ...' OR 'While Dalrymple designed the engine ...')

There are no abbreviated clauses of reason ('because a man of ingenuity), but non-finite and verbless clauses can be used equivalently (see 11 A7ff) ■

Being a man of ingenuity, he had soon repaired the machine.

11.38

Clauses of circumstance

Semantically half-way between conditional clauses and clauses of reason are clauses of circumstance, which express what one might call a 'closed condition', in opposition to either the 'open' or the 'hypothetical'

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condition expressed by (/)-clauses. That is, they express a condition which is assumed to be fulfilled, or (to put it otherwise) they express a relation between a premise (in the subordinate clause) and the conclusion drawn from it (in the main clause).

Because, since, and as can convey this meaning as well as that of cause/reason; but in addition, there is a special circumstantial compound conjunction seeing (that):

Seeing that the weather has improved, we shall be able to enjoy our game

Non-finite clauses and verbless clauses often have, by implication, this meaning (see further UA1ff):

The weather having improved, we enjoyed the remainder of the game The conjunction now (that) combines circumstantial with temporal meaning.

1139

Clauses of purpose

Clauses of purpose are more often infinitival than finite:

To improve the garden, we shall plant shrubs

I left early to catch the train

Such infinitival clauses, like most adverbial infinitival clauses, have no subject.

More explicit indicators of purpose are the combinations in order to

and so as to; In order (for the police) to catch the culprits, elaborate plans were

made Students should take notes so as to make revision easier

Finite clauses of purpose may be introduced (in formal style) by the compound subordinators in order that (very formal) or so (that):

She visited Washington (In order that she could see some Senators \ so (that) J

In the purpose clause, which has 'putative' meaning (11.72), the modal auxiliaries should and may (past tense might) are used.

Not«

Negative purpose is expressed by the now rather archaic and very formal conjunction lest, or (in informal BrE) by in case:

{ . S1 We will should collapse, they evacuated the building

Both conjunctions have the meaning 'for fear that' or 'in order that... not\*', but cf

U.68,11.30 Note 6. 754 The complex sentence

11.40

Clauses of result

Clauses of result overlap with those of purpose both in meaning and in form. The chief difference is that result clauses are factual rather than 'putative' (see 11.72); hence they may contain an ordinary verb form without a modal auxiliary:

We planted hundreds of shrubs, so that by August the garden had improved out of all recognition

So that, as we see from this example, serves to express result as well as purpose. Result clauses introduced by this conjunction, however, can only appear in final position (9.31).

A syntactic difference between purpose and result clauses is that whereas purpose clauses are adjuncts, result clauses are disjuncts; thus only the former can form the focus of a cleft sentence (14.18):

It was not until we had reached safety by nightfall that we travelled all day

\*It was so that we reached safety by nightfall that we travelled all day

Informally, the that of so that is omitted: I took no notice of him, so he flew into a rage

It is interesting that the 'result' relation is the converse of that of 'cause', so that the same meaning can be expressed by reversing the subordinate and superordinate clause relation and using a conjunction such as because:

He flew into a rage because I took no notice of him.

11.41

Clauses of manner and comparison

Amongst minor kinds of adverbial clause, four may be mentioned: those of manner, comparison, proportion and preference.

Clauses of manner are introduced by as (or often, in substandard English, by how):

She cooks a turkey exactly as my mother did ('... in the way that...')

As also introduces a manner clause which involves comparison:

They hunted him as a tiger stalks his prey ('... in a manner similar to ...')

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If this type of so-clause is placed initially, the correlative form so, in formal literary English, may introduce the main clause:

As a tiger stalks his prey, (so) they hunted him

Such examples provide a transition to adverbial clauses of comparison, which must not be confused with the major type of comparative clause as discussed in 11.53-64.

As if and as though introduce adverbial clauses indicating comparison with some hypothetical circumstance:

As if I were a stranger

He treats me as if I were a stranger (as though) you were a stranger

The use of the hypothetical past makes little difference here, since both the present and past forms imply the unreality of what is expressed in the subordinate clause; ie it is assumed from both sentences that 'I am not a stranger'. In other cases, as if or as though with the present expresses factual meaning:

He looks as if he's sick: fetch the doctor.

Note



[a] Like, elsewhere a preposition, is sometimes used as a subordinate\* replacing as in manner clauses or as if in clauses of comparison: It's just like I imagined; He talks to me like I was his dog. These usages (particularly the second one) are felt to be somewhat substandard, especially in BrE.

[b] Clauses of comparison sometimes show subject-operator inversion:

Klemperer's conducting of the third movement shows the extreme strength of his interpretation, as does his earlier recording of the Mass in C. The present owner is a keen art collector, as were several of his ancestors.

11.42

### Clauses of proportion

Proportional clauses are an extension of the category of adverbial clauses of comparison; they express a 'proportionality' or equivalence of tendency or degree between two circumstances, and like other clauses of comparison just illustrated, they may be introduced by as (with or without the formal matching correlative form so):

As time went on, (so) their hopes began to wane  
As the lane got narrower, (so) the overhanging branches made it more difficult for us to keep sight of our quarry

The second proportionality could also be expressed in another form, in which the clauses are introduced by the correlative items the... the followed by the comparative forms:

The narrower the lane got, the more difficult the overhanging branches made it for us to keep sight of our quarry

The complex sentence This restructuring can only take place, however, if both clauses contain comparative forms. The fronting of the comparatives in both clauses here results in the kind of syntactic orderings one finds in relative and n>A-interrogative clauses:

The later you arrive (A S V), the better the food is (... C S V),  
The more you tell him (Od S V Oi), the less notice he takes (... O S V)  
In each case the initial proportional clause is regarded as an adverbial within the main clause. Since both clauses in a proportional sentence are of the same general pattern, however, it is not obvious why the first part of the sentence, and not the second, should be treated as the subordinate clause. Apart from the parallel with as... (so) sentences, the reason for this analysis lies in the general principle that subordination by means of correlative conjunctions (except for comparative correlatives and the whether.. .or construction) entails placing the subordinate clause first. There is also a similarity between the first part and an (/)-clause.

### Note

Some aphoristic sentences (7.87), such as The more the merrier, take the form of reduced proportional sentences, in which (the exact nature of the proportionality is left unspecified (presumably, in the cited example, something like "The more people there are, the merrier things become\*).

11.43

### Clauses of preference

The conjunctions of preference rather than and sooner than deserve mention as the only subordinators introducing a bare infinitive clause:

(Rather than), .. . T,, c , , , . ,

■ i ,, . ytravel by air, I do prefer a week on a big liner.

{Sooner than) w \*

Non-finite and verbless adverbial clauses 11.44

Identifying the subject: 'attachment rule'

After the foregoing survey of adverbial clause functions, it will be useful to conclude with some general remarks on the interpretation of non-finite and verbless adverbial clauses, which, as we have seen, have a considerable range of different uses.

One problem is that of identifying the 'understood' subject of a non-finite or verbless clause. The normal rule, which may be called the 'attachment rule', is that if the subject is 'understood' rather than actually present, it is assumed to be identical in reference to the subject of the superordinate clause:

The oranges, when [they are] ripe, are picked and sorted

1

AdvBrbia! clauses 757

In abbreviated clauses (ie non-finite clauses or verbless clauses introduced by a conjunction) such as the above, a direct ellipsis of the subject and operator may be postulated. In other cases, a paraphrase by a finite clause will reveal the identity of the subordinate clause subject with that of the superordinate clause:

Persuaded by our optimism, he gladly contributed time and money to the scheme

('since he was persuaded .. .\*) Three years later Matthews was released, a changed man

(\* Matthews was a changed man when he was released") Agatha, having been consoled by a large inheritance, wept few tears of remorse over her father's grave

('since she had been consoled .. .')

11.45

'Unattached' or 'unrelated' participle

A so-called 'fault of style', traditionally termed the unattached or unrelated participle, arises when the noun phrase with which the understood subject of the non-finite clause should be identified does not appear as subject of the main clause, and perhaps does not occur in the main clause at all:

Flying through the air at the speed of sound, a sudden thought

struck me Since leaving her, the whole of life has seemed pointless

Notionally, the subordinate clause of both examples has / as its subject, but the first person pronoun does not actually occur as the subject of either sentence.

The rule of attachment is not, however, always applied so strictly as to exclude all cases of an 'unattached participle'. In particular, mention may be made of three factors which are inclined to render the 'unattached participle' acceptable.

(1) If the noun phrase 'understood\* to be subject of the participial clause is present in a function other than subject within the main clause, or if it has an implied agentive role within the main clause, the sentence is less objectionable than if the noun phrase is absent altogether. On this basis, we may present a scale of acceptability running from example [20] to example [23] below:

Using similar techniques, one can present the topic in different lights. (Participial clause' subject' = main clause subject)

[20] 758 The complex sentence

?Using similar techniques, the topic can be presented in different lights. (Participial clause 'subject' has implied agentive role in main clause)

[21]

?Using different techniques, one's results might have been less satisfactory. (Participial clause 'subject' is present in non-subject function in the main clause)

[22]

•Using similar techniques, the topic can appear in very different lights. (Participial clause 'subject' entirely lacking from main clause) [23]

(2) In scientific literature (as the choice of examples above already suggests) the use of 'unattached participles' is such a convenient solecism as to be almost accepted as an institution. The following is a textual example, in which the noun phrase required by the participial clause does not occur in the main clause;

When treating patients with language retardation and deviation of language development, the therapy will consist, in part, of discussions of the patient's problems with parents and teachers, with subsequent language teaching being carried out by them. [24]

(3) Abbreviated clauses with an 'unattached participle' appear to be more acceptable than similar clauses without the introductory subordinator. Thus [24], after due allowance has been made for its occurrence in scientific English, is more acceptable than the equivalent example without the initial when. Note

[a] Normally considered exempt from the rule of attachment are participial forms which have assumed the non-verbal functions of disjunct, conjunction, or preposition: Putting it mildly, you have caused us some inconvenience (8.80) Provided that a film entertains, few people care about its other merits (11.9) Considering how much it costs, this machine is a failure (6.4) \b\ Though regarded as unacceptable, examples like [23] are not infrequent since even in these the subject is implied in the main clause somewhat as in [21] ('... can appear in different lights to the person using the techniques'). Contrast the more obvious unacceptability of:

•Using these techniques, a wheel fell off •Reading (lie evening paper, a dog started barking.

11.46

The 'attachment role' in infinitival and verbless clauses

Although the attachment rule is traditionally stated with reference to participles, it applies just as much to infinitival and verbless clauses as

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to participial clauses. The following are sentences of graded acceptability, paralleling the participial clause examples [20-23]: To climb the rock face, we had to take various precautions ?To climb the rock face, various precautions had to be taken TThough very ill, the medicine cured him in no time \*A result of the rise in prices, our economy is suffering \*To climb the rock face, certain precautions are set out below.

Note

Again, there are exemptions to the rule of attachment where the infinitival clause is a disjunct (8.80):

His moral principles, to be frank, begin and end with his own interests Also where the assumed subject of a verbless clause is an impersonal it referring to the main clause as a whole: I'll help you, if necessary {ie 'if it is necessary')}

Unknown to his closest advisers, he had made approaches to the enemy, with a view to a peace settlement {ie 'It was unknown to his closest advisers that...')}

11.47

Semantic versatility

A second problem about non-finite and verbless clauses is the difficulty of defining the range of semantic connections they may bear to the main clause when no subordinator is present. The following examples show something of the wide range of-meanings possible for participial and verbless clauses (infinitival clauses, although they have a number of adverbial functions, present no particular problem in this respect):

Being a farmer, he is suspicious of all governmental interference

(ie 'As he is a farmer...')

Cleared, this site will be very valuable (ie' When cleared.. .\*) Cleared, this site would be very valuable (ie '#''cleared ...')

A case in both hands, Mabel stalked out of the house (ie' With a case in both hands') Using a sharp axe, he fought his way into the building (ie' By using a sharp axe ...')

In this, adverbial participial and verbless clauses resemble non-restrictive clauses (13.14), implying the broad and versatile connective function of the coordinator and (scQ 9.40 fT). The point about non-restrictive relative clauses (and for that matter about clauses introduced by and) is that they are capable of assuming, according to context, a more precise semantic role:

The girl, who was upset by the activities of the ghost, decided to leave in a complex sentence

Adverbial clauses 761

The girl was upset by the activities of the ghost, and decided to leave

Although the mode of clause connection does not say so, we infer that the girl's emotional state, as described in the relative clause and the initial clause of the coordinate sentence, was the reason for her departure. Exactly the same point could be made about the equivalent non-finite clause:

The girl, upset by the activities of the ghost, decided to leave Unlike relative clauses, however, non-finite and verbless clauses can occur freely in initial, medial, or final positions:

Upset by the activities of the ghost, the girl decided to leave The girl decided to leave, upset by the activities of the ghost We may illustrate the same point with /^-clauses and verbless clauses: Scratching his head, the clerk confessed himself puzzled ('The clerk scratched his head and confessed himself puzzled') The climbers returned, hungry and exhausted

(\*... who were hungry and exhausted ...')

11.48

Supplementive clauses

Because, like non-restrictive relative clauses and *oc/t/-c!*auses, they have the chameleon-like semantic quality of adapting to context, these adverbial participial and verbless clauses may be designated simply adverbial supplementive clauses. Those which have no overt subject are similar in effect to non-restrictive relative clauses, since the 'understood subject' in such cases provides a link with the main clause, rather as the relative pronoun provides such a link in postmodifying relative clauses. Those which have an overt subject, such as

No further discussion arising, the meeting was brought to a close may be designated absolute clauses, since they are not overtly bound to the main clause, even on a semantic level, by any shared element.

11.49

#### Subjectless supplementive clauses

The formal characteristics of supplementive clauses without a subject are:

- (1) They are participial or verbless clauses.
- (2) Their most typical positions in the clause are (a) initial, (b) final, and (c) immediately after their 'antecedent' (ie the noun phrase in the main clause which is their assumed subject).

In position (c), supplementive clauses without a subject may be insisting uishable from participial postmodifying clauses (13.23) or from noun phrases in apposition (9.156); thus it is difficult (and semantically unimportant) to decide whether the participial clause in

The substance, discovered almost by accident, has revolutionized medicine [25]

is to be regarded as functionally equivalent to

The substance, which was (incidentally) discovered almost by accident, . . . [25a]

or to Discovered almost by accident, the substance ... [25b]

There are, however, various types which may be unambiguously labelled supplementive. They include:

- (a) -ing clauses containing auxiliary verbs or the verb be (forms which do not occur in a postmodifying non-finite clause):

The children, having eaten their fill, were allowed to leave the table

- (b) -ing clauses with a stative verb:

The teacher, not knowing who was to blame, resorted to collective punishment

- (c) Most adjectival verbless clauses:

Lawson, implacable, contented himself with a glare of defiance.

The classification of (a) and (b) as supplementive clauses is connected with the fact that these clauses cannot be regarded as reductions of relative clauses, since the equivalent finite relative clauses would be unacceptable: \*who were having eaten their fill and \*who was not knowing who was to blame. Cf also 13.18, 23. We regard (c) as a supplementive clause because adjectival constructions can act as non-restrictive post-modification of a noun phrase only in very special circumstances. Hence the unacceptability of [27] in contrast to [26]:

John welcomed Margaret, glad of her company \*John welcomed Margaret, glad of his company

[26] [27]

Only the supplementary clause, which has as its 'antecedent' the subject of the main clause, is possible here.

... complex sentence

11.50

Contingency

Despite what has been said about the semantic affinity between the two types of clause, supplementary clauses are less inclined to be semantically neutral than relative clauses. In fact, it is often implied that what they describe is a 'contingency' or 'accompanying circumstance' to what is described in the main clause. 'Contingency' may be interpreted according to context, as a causal or temporal connection, or perhaps most commonly of all, a 'circumstantial' one (11.38). In -ing clauses dynamic verbs typically suggest a temporal link, and stative verbs a causal link:

Reaching the river, we pitched camp for the night

('When we reached ...')

Living in the country, we had few social engagements ('Because we lived ...')

This same implication of contingency is typically present with absolute clauses (those with an overt subject).

In some sentences, the absolute clause could easily be replaced by a clause introduced by and:

Members of the family occupied the spare bedrooms, the remaining guests having been booked in at neighbouring hotels

But in most cases, a causal, temporal, or circumstantial connection is suggested:

All our savings gone, we started looking for jobs A small boy, his satchel trailing behind him, ran past In the second of these sentences, the nature of the assumed connection with the main clause could have been expressed by a relative clause with have: 'A small boy, who had his satchel...', or else by with: 'A small boy, with his satchel...'. Here, have and with can be given the fairly precise meaning of physical possession, but more generally, a with can be optionally placed at the head of an absolute clause introducing the 'subject' but otherwise conveying little more than the vague notion of contingency or 'accompanying circumstance':

(With) the whole meeting in uproar, the chairman abandoned the attempt to take a vote

The equivalent negative clauses may be introduced by without: Without a tear on her face, the girl watched him led away The war was over without a shot being fired Without anyone noticing, I slipped through the window I wouldn't dare go home without the job finished

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Notwithstanding clause, being negative, normally requires non-assertive forms like anyone.

Note

with and without also introduce infinitival clauses: with so much to do; without a thing to worry about.

11.51

Supplementary clauses in final position

In spite of their resemblance to non-restrictive relative clauses, supplementive clauses need not be separated from the rest of the clause intonationally when they occur in final position. The following are therefore alternative renderings of the same sentence, different only in that [28] has two focuses of information (see 14.2#), whereas [29] has only one:

The manager appROACHED us, sMiLing [28]

The manager approached us SMliing [29]

One result of this is the possible neutralization of the formal difference between non-finite clauses acting as supplementive clauses and those acting as complementation of the verb. Thus [30] is ambiguous:

I saw him going home [30]

On one interpretation (that of the supplementive clause), /is the notional subject of going, whereas on the other (that of verb complementation), him is. Further, a sentence such as the following is ambiguous in more than one way:

I caught the boy smoking a cigar

In addition to the two possible structures of [30], this has a third interpretation, in which the non-finite clause is a postmodifying clause. The three interpretations are: 'I caught the boy while I was smoking a cigar'

(supplementive clause) 'I caught the boy in the act of smoking a cigar'

(verb complementation) 'I caught the boy who was smoking a cigar'

(post modification)

On the analogy of [29], we may identify the final adjectival or nominal element of the following examples as a verbless supplementive clause:

The manager approached mfull of apologies He drove the damaged car home undismayed He came out of prison a changed man

[31] [32] [33] 764 The complex sentence

In each, the adjectival or noun phrase is in an 'intensive relationship' (7.6) with the subject of the main clause, and is thus distinct from an object complement, which would be 'intensive' towards the direct object. Also, an object complement could not normally be placed at the front of the sentence, while this manoeuvre is perfectly natural in the three sentences [31-33]; eg:

Full of apologies, the manager approached us. Note

In some sentences in other ways like [31-33], however, the fronting of the final adjectival or nominal element is far from natural:

He began life a Protestant

They ended the season bottom of the league

\*A Protestant, he began life would be, to say the least, a vacuous sentence; yet llie same would apply to elements of undisputed adverbial status, as in: He began life as a miner's son ~ \*As a miner's son, he began life They ended the season with a victory — \*With a victory, they ended the season

The unlikelihood of fronting, in these examples, seems to be due to the low information-content of the remainder of the sentence, which, after the removal of the final adverbial element, is left to bear the main information focus (14.2 ff). One cannot

therefore argue that immobility here is a reason for not classifying a Protestant and bottom of the league as verbless supplementive clauses.

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phrases. Quite frequently, which is not a pronoun, but a determiner, preceding an abstract noun such as fact, case, etc which could function in apposition to a clause:

The train may have been held up by repairs to the line, in which case we may soon hear when it is expected to arrive [36]

which may also occur as prepositional complement: as a result of which, instead of which, etc.

Regarding its function within the sentence, the sentential relative clause is somewhat anomalous. Despite its fixed position at the end of the clause to which it relates, its status is more like that of a disjunct than anything else, as may be gathered from its semantic similarity to comment clauses such as what is more (11.65); compare which surprised me in [34] above with what surprised me as a comment clause. On the other hand, like other non-restrictive relative clauses, it can be most nearly paraphrased by a coordinate clause; for example, [35] could be replaced by and that's how the kangaroo came to have a pouch, and [36] by. ■ .and in thai case ... See further 13.15.

Note

The temporal phrases by which time and at which point also introduce sentential relative clauses.

11.52

Sentential relative clauses

From the supplementive clause, it is only a short step to the type of relative clause which operates directly within sentences rather than as part of a noun phrase. This is the sentential relative clause, which is so called because unlike other relative clauses, which have a noun phrase as antecedent (13.8 ff), it refers back to a whole clause or sentence, or even to a whole series of sentences:

After that things improved, which surprised me [34]

In this case, that which caused the surprise, the antecedent, is the whole of the event described in the main clause. One might equally imagine a story-teller coming to the end of his story with the words:

- which is how the kangaroo came to have a pouch [35]

The which here could refer back over the whole length of the story.

Sentential relative clauses are introduced by the relative word which, and are closely parallel to non-restrictive postmodifying clauses in noun

Comparative clauses 11.53

The essential feature of a comparative construction, in broad grammatical terms, is that two propositions, one expressed by the main clause and one by the comparative clause, are compared with respect to something they have in common. Thus the sentence His name is the same as his father's (name is)

contains the requisites of a comparative clause. More narrowly considered, however, comparison concerns a property measurable in terms of degree, and more specifically still, by means of the comparative items -er, more, less, worse, etc (5.68,0\*), together with the correlative clause-introducer than.



U.54

The comparative element

The clause element of the main clause which contains the comparative item will be called the comparative element (comp-element); it acts as a 'hinge', specifying the common denominator or standard on the basis of which the comparison between the clauses takes place. To understand the semantics of a comparative sentence, we may imagine it arising from two questions introduced by how as follows:

/How old is Mary (compared with Jane)? \How old is Jane (compared with Mary) ?  
answers to [37]:

/Mary is older than Jane (is) \Mary is younger than Jane (is)  
answers to [38]:

/Jane is younger than Mary (is) \Jane is older than Mary (is)

[37] [38]

[37a] [37b]

[38a] [38b]

Of these four answers, [37a] and [38a] are synonymous, expressing the same relationship in a different order; likewise [37b] and [38b]. Less frequently, comparison is expressed by the item less, which indicates tendency to the 'negative' pole of the standard or range of comparison. Further answers to [37]:

/Mary is less old than Jane (is) \Mary is less young than Jane (is)  
(37c) [37d]

Again, paraphrase relationships arise, [37c] being synonymous with [37b] and [38b], and [37d] with [37a] and [38a]. Sentences like [37d], in which the 'marked' member of the pair of adjectives is combined with less, are rare.

It is seen above that the comp-element (italicized) together with than forms a 'hinge' by which the two wA-elements of the questions [37] and [38] could be said to be combined. This coalescence, which is central to the comparative process, accounts for an appearance of defective structure in the comparative clause; for example, in [37a] above, the comparative clause than Jane (is) contains (optionally) a form of the verb be, but not a complement or adjunct such as the verb be normally requires for complementation. One might postulate an omitted repetition of the standard of comparison in the comparative clause: Mary is older than Jane is [old]. In fact, however, a comparative clause element corresponding to the comp-element in the main clause can occur only when the standards of comparison are different: Mary is cleverer than Jane is pretty. Further structural 'gaps' arise through the optional ellipsis of other elements in the comparative clause, as discussed in 11.56 below.

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ote

.. Constructions with more .., . than and less. .. than do not necessarily introduce comparative clauses, There is a type of non-clausal comparison in which than is followed by an explicit standard or yardstick of comparison, normally a noun phrase of measure, or a noun phrase implying degree: 1 weigh more than 200 pounds It goes faster than 100 miles per hour The strike was nothing less than a national catastrophe

Here than is best considered a preposition, and the phrase which follows it a prepositional complement, since there is no possibility of expanding the than-phrase into a clause:

\*It goes faster than 100 miles per hour goes.

[b\ There is a second type of more... than construction not introducing a comparative clause. This is the quasi-coordinative type of construction illustrated by I was more angry than frightened

(c/I was angry rather than frightened)

A distinguishing characteristic of this construction is the non-occurrence of the suffixal form of comparison:

•I was angrier than frightened. [e] A comparative clause cannot normally be negative;

\*I worked harder than Michael didn't

This observation can be related to the oddity of negative Aow-questions: •How hard didn't Michael work?

11.55

The comp-element in various functions

Like the Q-element of a question, the comp-element of a comparative sentence can be any of the main elements of the clause (apart from the verb). We may therefore go on to illustrate it in various clause functions:

comp-element=S: More people use this brand than (use) any other window-cleaning fluid

comp-element=C8: I'm happier about it than my husband (is) comp-element=Ot]: He knows more than most people (know) comp-element=O1 (rare): That man has given more children

happiness than anyone else (has) comp-element=A: You've been working much harder than I (have)

Again like w/i-elements of various kinds, the comp-element is not limited to such clause functions, but may represent a pushdown element within a nominal clause subordinate to the comparative clause: Derek caught more fish than I expected ((that) he would (catch)) I felt more miserable than I can say ((that) I felt)

768 The complex sentence

In such cases, it is usual to omit the whole of the (Aa/-clause. The co element may also be a prepositional complement;

She's applied for more jobs than Joyce ((has) applied for)

11.56

Ellipsis in comparative clauses

Ellipsis of a part of the comparative clause is likely to occur whenever that part is repetition of something in the main clause. Since it is normal for the two clauses to be closely parallel both in structure and content, . ellipsis is the rule rather than the exception in comparative constructions. It is worth while pointing out, however, that there is no necessary parallelism between the main and comparative clauses, and that the comparative clause, so long as it overlaps with the content of the main clause in respect of the comp-element, can be of independent structure. Thus we may take two Aw-questions of disparate clause types {SV and

svoy.

/How quickly does he speak?

\How quickly can his secretary take dictation ?

and use them to construct the comparative sentence: He speaks more quickly than his secretary can take dictation.

Here is a second example in which the comparative clause ends with a preposition that cannot be ellipited:

He's a better man than I took him for

The most characteristic type of comparative clause, on the other hand, is one which imitates the structure of the main clause, and repeats its whole content, with the exception of one element, which provides a contrast:

T

contrast

jJames enjoys the theatre

James enjoys the theatre,\_\_\_\_\_

James enjoys the theatre (more James! enjoys the theatre more

\comp-\ element I more more

contrast

than Susan than Susan than iSusan than |Susan

enjoys the theatre

enjoys it

does

[39a] [39b] [39c] [39d]

This type of clause, as we see in [39a-39d] may be reduced, through the stage-by-stage elimination of repeated matter, to a single element. The reduction process may involve substitution (the use of pronouns and the pro-predication do) as well as ellipsis. Ellipsis of the object cannot

Comparative clauses 769

take place unless the verb too is ellipited or replaced by do; thus [39e] js unacceptable:

"James enjoys the theatre more than Susan enjoys [39e]

On the other hand, if the object is the comp-element itself, the verb jay remain:

James knows more about the theatre than Susan (knows).

Note

[a] In clauses with a pushdown comp-element, as we saw in 11.55, the whole of the nominal clause within the comparative clause may be eliminated through ellipsis:

You spent more money than we intended ((that) you should (spend)) Further, when the comparative clause contains an anticipatory it construction, not only is the whole nominal clause removed, but the it as well:

You spent more money than was intended

Almost the ultimate in reduction of the comparative construction is reached with phrases like than usual, than necessary, the fullest form of which may be reconstructed as follows:

You arrived earlier than (it was) usual/necessary (for you to arrive) [61 Infinitival clauses with a pushdown comp-element can only be partially ellipited the front portion of the clause up to and including the to remaining intact:

He gets more orders than we ever manage to

She enjoyed it much more than I expected her to The verb be cannot be so easily ellipted in this context, however:

She was more beautiful than I imagined her to be.

11.57

Ambiguity of than me, etc

We have seen that if ellipsis is taken to its furthest extent, we are often left with no more than the subject or object of the original clause:

I speak Greek better than you (speak Greek)

The photographs disappointed my parents more than (they disappointed) me

In this situation, ambiguity can arise according to whether the remaining noun phrase is judged to be the subject or the object of the original clause:

He loves the dog more than his wife

could mean either (a) '... than his wife loves the dog' or (b) '... than he loves his wife'.

If a pronoun is all that remains of the comparative clause, there is a difference between informal English and formal English, in that the former prefers the objective for both constructions (a) and (b) above, whereas the latter prefers the subjective case of the pronoun for construction (a):

He loves the dog more than her (informal)

He loves the dog more than she (formal)

Prescriptive grammar upholds the second construction, both on grammatical grounds (that she is the subject of the clause) and on grounds of clarity, since in formal English, one can distinguish between the following:

He attacked the Government more than we

(\*... than we attacked the Government') He attacked the Government more than us

(\*., than he attacked us')

whereas in informal English the two meanings are often expressed identically.

On the other hand, one may account for the use of the objective pronoun in informal style by pointing out that, as than in this construction has the appearance of a preposition (cf 11.54 Note a), the pronoun falls within 'object territory' (4.112). Since objections can be raised against both (stiffness or overfamiliarity), writers sometimes steer a middle course using additional pro-forms (than we did, than he did us).

11.58

Single-, two-, and three-variable comparisons

The foregoing discussion has revolved around sentences in which the main clause and the comparative clause have differed only in one clause element. We now have to consider whether this type of comparative sentence, which may be called the 'single-variable' type, is the only one possible where the two clauses are of parallel structure; or if not, what alternatives are available.

It is clear that there must be some contrasting element within a comparative sentence, otherwise the whole idea of a comparison would be meaningless. Hence the absurdity of a sentence like:

•More people speak Spanish than speak Spanish

On the other hand, while the single-variable comparison is the most common type, there is no reason why more than one clause element should not contrast:

contrast 2

about music

con		co	contrast		con	
-		mp			-	
tras		ele	2		tras	
t		-			t	
1		me			1	
		nt				
fam	kno	mo	about	tha	Sus	doe
es	ws	re	films.	n	an	s

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This sentence has two contrasting elements, as marked; and even a three-variable comparative construction is possible:

Ogden played the piano more skilfully than his fellow-countryman conducted the orchestra.

11.59

partial contrasts between comparative and main clauses

A second point is that elements of structure may contrast in part rather than as a whole: for example, an auxiliary verb may be newly introduced in the comparative clause, while the lexical verb is carried over from the main clause, so that the two verb phrases are only partially identical:

I like him better than I did (like him) I get up later than I ought to (get up)

It may also be noted that the comp-element itself may contain a partial contrast:

Her husband is a better psychologist than ((he is) a) pathologist The house is much taller than it is wide

and - yet a further point - the contrast may be purely or chiefly in the form of an addition which the comparative clause makes to the content of the main clause, the only difference otherwise being in the tense or aspect or modality of the verb. Of this type are those already illustrated with the pushdown comp-element in a subordinate nominal clause:

[40]

F\*i]

He is a greater painter than people suppose (he is) You'll enjoy it more than (you did) last year

A further example is the reduced comparative clause than ever:

He's lazier now than

ever

he ever was

[42]

Examples [41] and [42] make it clear that the verb phrase of the second clause can be eUipted even if it contrasts in terms of tense, modality, etc, so long as it is lexically

identical with the verb phrase of the main clause. This accounts for the complete ellipsis of the comparative clause in sentences like:

You're getting slimmer (than you were) You're looking better (than you were (looking))

Here, from the comp-element on its own we infer a comparison with an earlier state of the same person. The whole comparative clause can be omitted, and ellipsis reaches its furthest extent. III The complex sentence

Comparative clauses in

Note

There is a second type of circumstance in which the comparative clause is omitted the comp-element being left on its own. This is where there is anaphoric reference to an implied or actual preceding clause or sentence (cf 10.71 jf), as in: I caught the last bus from town; but Harry came home even later (fe 'later than that', 'later than I came home\*).

11.60

Six functions of the comparative item more

In addition to classifying comp-elements by their function in the clause, we can consider the comparative item (which, for present purposes, we shall identify with the word more) in terms of its function within the comp-element. There are six such functions:

(i) more as quantifier: Jack has more girl-friends than his brother

(has) (ii) more as head of a noun phrase: More {of them) are at home

than (are) abroad (iii) more as adjunct: I agree with you more than ((I agree) with)

Robert (iv) more as modifier of adjective head: His speech was more

interesting than I expected (it would be) (v) more as modifier of adjective premodifier: It was a more

lively discussion than I expected (it would be) (vi) more as modifier of adverb: The time passed more quickly

than (it passed) last year

In each of the above examples, the whole comp-element is in italics. It will be noticed that in some cases the word more constitutes the whole of the comp-element.

Function types (i) and (ii) refer to quantity (in either a 'countable' or a 'mass' sense); thus in both the sentences illustrating these types, we could replace more by a greater number of.

Function types (iv) and (v) have to be separated from one another because of the special semantic implications of (v). If we say

There are more intelligent monkeys than Herbert

we make it clear that Herbert is a monkey; that is, by placing the comparative adjective in front of the noun, we transfer the meaning of the noun to the noun phrase in the comparative clause. On the other hand, we could use an alternative construction in which the comparative adjective is placed after the head in a relative clause or reduced relative clause:

There are monkeys (who are) more intelligent than Herbert

In this case, we do not know whether Herbert is a monkey or not; he may be a man whom the speaker wishes to insult. This difference of meaning accounts for the absurdity of: ♦ There are more intelligent monkeys than the mayor of this town

The same observation can be made about more as a modifier of a pre-modifying adverb; the meaning of the construction alters according to whether the head of the phrase in which more appears is a noun: I've never met a man more outstandingly courageous than

Miss Ada Pennyfeather "I've never met a more outstandingly courageous man than Miss Ada Pennyfeather

The absurdity of the second sentence may be explained by imagining, as a starting point for the sentence, the two /wiv-questions:

("How outstandingly courageous a man have I ever met ?

< \*How outstandingly courageous a man is Miss Ada

[ Pennyfeather?

Both the starred sentences are unacceptable because they imply that Miss Pennyfeather is a man.

Note

la) In addition to the six functions listed above, the comparative item may have certain anomalous functions in non-clausal comparative constructions (see 11.54 Note a):

It's hotter than just warm

He went farther than beyond Chicago

I am more than sad about it

He more than complained: he threw the whole book of rules at me

He was more than slightly hurt

What is in common formally between these constructions is that the comparative item is followed by (Aon, which in turn is followed by one of a range of syntactic elements, including adjectives, verbs, adverbs, and prepositional phrases. Semantically, the sentences amount to comments on the inadequacy of linguistic expressions. For example, the first sentence could be rephrased: 'Warm' is an inadequate word to describe the present temperature, [b] The modifying sequence J >■ of a ... occurs with gradable noun heads i

He's more of a fool than I thought (he was) C/the /fow-question, How much of a fool is he?

11.61

As . , .as

Widening the discussion of comparison, we may take into account not only comparisons, based on lack of equivalence (on some scale of 774 The complex sentence

Comparative clauses 775

value), such as that expressed by more and less, but comparisons based on other relationships, notably those of equivalence, excess, sufficiency etc, as expressed by as... as, so... that, such ... that, too, and enough.

The as... as construction is grammatically parallel to the more than construction, except that as lacks the ordinator, pronoun, and adverb functions of more; these gaps

are filled by as much and as many as the following examples (parallel to(i)-(iv)in 11.60) show:

Jack has as many girl-friends as his brother (has)

As many (of them) are at home as (are) abroad

I agree with you as much as ((I agree) with) Robert

She may be as lucky as she hopes (she will (be))

(43) [44]

[45] [46]

L ■>■)

Paraphrase relationships exist between sentences with as., .as and negative sentences with more.. than:

j Attila was not more ruthless than Caesar < Caesar was not less ruthless than Attila (Caesar was as ruthless as Attila. Note

[a] The construction corresponding to more of a... (11.60 Note b) is as much of a ...:

li was as much of a success as I had hoped.

[b] In a negative sentence, so,. .as may be substituted (in more formal style) for as ...as:

He's not solas young as I thought.

11.62

Enough and too

A further pair of comparative expressions related through negation are enough and too, which convey the contrasting notions of 'sufficiency' and 'excess'. Paraphrase pairs may be constructed, using an-onymous adjectives or adverbs, as follows:

/The grass is too short (to cut) \The grass isn't long enough (to cut) fHe's not too poor (to own a car) [He's rich enough (to own a car)

The infinitive clause which follows the comp-element may be omitted if context allows.

The negative force of too is shown in the use of non-assertive forms like any or anything; compare:

She's old enough to do some work She's too old to do any work

The infinitive clause may or may not contain a subject: It moves too quickly for most people to see (it) I've been alive long enough to understand that

As the second of these examples indicates, a pronoun in the infinitive clause may be omitted if it substitutes for the subject of the main clause. When there is no subject in the infinitive clause, the understood subject is often the subject of the main clause. The infinitive may also be passive in meaning: It moves too quickly to see (ie'to be seen' 'for anyone to see it')

An ambiguity accordingly arises when either active or passive meaning would be plausible. Cf:

He is friendly enough to help

(\ .. for him to help others' or'... for others to help him') [47] He's too good a man to kill

('... for him to kill others' or'... for others to kill him') [48]

As we see in [48], when too modifies an adjective which in turn modifies a singular countable noun, the indefinite article is inserted after the adjective. There is no plural



or uncountable equivalent for this construction: instead of \*It's too good food to throw away we have to say It's food (which is) too good to throw away. The same problem does not arise with enough, which always follows the word it modifies (except when used as a quantifier, when the premodifying position is more usual: We have enough money to last).

Note

[a] The threefold ambiguity of It's too hot to eat has often been commented on. Apart from the two meanings corresponding to those of [48J] above, there is a third interpretation in which // is the empty 'climatic' it {see 7.18): The weather is too hot for anyone to eat anything.

[&]The constructions enough of a..., too much of a... (c/13.50 Note) should be compared with those mentioned in 11.60 Note b and 11.61 Note a;

He's /f110"^\ of a coward t0 do that. l.too much J

11.63

So ... (that) and such ... {that)

The pair of correlatives so ... (that) and such ... (that) are linked to the two words just considered, too and enough, by paraphrase relations. For example:

fit flies fast enough to beat the speed record lit flies so fast that it can beat the speed record776 The complex sentence

it's too good a chance to miss

It's such a good chance that we mustn't miss it

In each pair, the first sentence is the more idiomatic. It will be observed that in these paraphrases, the verb in the r/faf-clause contains a modal auxiliary; when the modal auxiliary is absent, the so/such... (that) construction has the more definitive meaning of result or outcome:

He was so wild that we let him escape

I so enjoyed it (or I enjoyed it so much) that I'm determined to go again

The alternation between so and such depends on grammatical function: so is an adverb, whereas such is a determiner. The that which introduces the comparative clause is sometimes omitted in informal English;

He polished the floor so hard you could see your face in it

The construction so/such.. .as to plus infinitive clause is sometimes used in place of so or such followed by a (Aar-clause:

His satires were so brilliant as to make even his victims laugh [49] The brilliance of his satires was such as to make even his victims laugh [50]

The clauses discussed in this and in the preceding section differ from clauses introduced by more/jlessj-er.. . than and as.. .as in that they do not match the main clause in terms of constant and variable elements, and so do not lend themselves to ellipsis. Their structure is relatively independent of the structure of the main clause.

Note

[a] Apart from the construction illustrated by [50], in formal (perhaps archaic) usage there is one in which such... or is followed by a finite verb clause:

They were fed with such sumptuous fare as kings dream of The paraphrase of such ... as by 'of a kind which' here suggests the classification of such clauses as relative rather than as comparative (see further 13.11,13.68).

[b] An emphatic fronting of the comp-element, accompanied by inversion of subject and operator, is sometimes found in formal (especially literary) English:

To such lengths did she go in rehearsal that two actors walked out So Strange was his appearance that BO one recognized him.

[c] When so or such appears without its correlative that, the sojsuch clause may follow the result clause, and assume the character of an afterthought:

I could have punched Iim on the nose, I felt so wild (informal) He had no need to make speeches, so impregnable was his position in the party

This construction is often emotive.

Comparative clauses 777

11.64

Syntactic function of comparative clauses

The question of the function of the comparative clause within the sentence is problematic, and for that reason has been avoided up to this point. Its frequent inseparability from the comp-element suggests that the comparative clause may be regarded as a postmodifier, in which case what has hitherto been called the 'comp-element' is not in itself an element of clause structure, but makes up an element of structure (adjective, noun, or adverb phrase) when the comparative clause is added to it:

S V

John is more handsome than Bill is

ai 0 > w

\* o III

s X

l i

POS  
MODI

---

'comp-  
element'      compara  
                  tive  
                  clause

This way of looking at comparative structure has its limitations, however, since if the 'comp-element' occurs in non-final position (particularly in subject position), the comparative clause is usually separated from it and placed at the end of the clause:

More accidents occur in the home than on the roads

Indeed, final position of a (Aan-clause may be, as in the above sentence, almost obligatory; and is definitely obligatory with the sojsuch... that constructions.

Contrast:

So many people came to the party that we ran out of liquor \*So many people that we ran out of liquor came to the party

Another solution, in keeping with this last observation, would be to regard comparative clauses as of adverbial function within the main clause, and more precisely, of the type of adverbial clause which, like result clauses (11.40), occurs normally only in final position.

One must admit, however, that comparative clauses do not fit easily into any constituent-structure account of the sentence. In semantic terms, the whole clause together with the comparative item more etc may be regarded as equivalent to a degree adverb. 778 The complex sentence

Comment clauses

11.65

Comment clauses are somewhat loosely related to the rest of the clause they belong to, and may be classed as disjuncts or conjuncts. In general they may occur initially, finally, or medially, and have a separate tone unit (App 11.12).

The smiths, | as you probably know, | are going to AMERICA | As the following list of types shows, comment clauses vary in form:

(1) Like a main clause:

At that time, I believe, labour was cheap

(2) Like an adverbial clause (introduced by as):

I'm a pacifist, as you know

(3) Like a nominal relative clause (8.82, 8.89):

What's more, we lost all our belongings

(4) To-infinitive clause (8.80/):

I'm not sure what to do, to be honest

(5) -ing clause (8.80/):

I doubt, speaking as a layman, whether television is the right medium

Further examples of each type are:

(1) I know, I see, I suppose, I'm afraid, you know, remember, one hears, they tell me, God knows, it is claimed, etc. (Note also imperative clauses with a final subject: mind you, mark you, etc)

(2) as I understand (it), as you say, as is common knowledge, as is generally assumed. (Note the omission of it as subject; cf 3A5); on the use of the present tense in as you say, etc, see 3.25 (4).)

(3) what's more surprising/serious/stc, what annoys me, etc.

(4) to be fair/frank/ttc, to be serious for a minute, to speak candidly, to put it bluntly, etc.

(5) generally speaking, roughly speaking, speaking frankly, speaking off the record, putting it mildly, etc.

Types 3,4 and 5 tend to have a rather restricted and idiomatic membership, while Types 1 and 2 are larger and more productive. In each category, however, there are idiomatic or cliché expressions: you see, as I say, what's more, to be honest, generally speaking. Similarly, in each category there is at least some freedom to coin new expressions.

Comment clauses 779

11.66

In the first type of clause, which is perhaps the most important, the verb or adjective is of the transitive class which requires an indirect statement as object (11.17, 11.76, 12.47). We may therefore set up a one-to-one relationship between sentences containing such clauses, and indirect statements:

At that time, I believe, labour was cheap I believe that, at that time, labour was cheap

[51] [52]

To convert an indirect statement into a sentence such as [51], one has to reverse the relation of subordination between the two clauses, making the r/iaf-clause into the main clause and the main clause into the comment clause. Because of this reversal of syntactic roles, the two sentences [51] and [52] are not quite paraphrases; but the relationship between them illuminates the function of the comment clause.

Since the that of a (Aaf-clause is normally deletable (11.17), cases arise in which only the intonation (reflected by comma separation in writing) distinguishes which is the superordinate and which the subordinate clause:

You know, I think you're wrong \ You know, I think you're wrong | j You | know (that) I think you're wrong |

(comment clause,

main clause)

(main clause,

that-clause)

and |, see

(On the use of the onset and tone-unit boundary symbols App 11.12.)

Quite a number of Type 1 comment clauses introduced by 1st person or 2nd person subjects are stereotyped conversation fillers (you know, I see, etc). Outside this group, however, clauses can be fairly freely constructed, and variations of tense and aspect, additions of adjuncts, etc, are permitted:

The Indian railways (my uncle was telling me some time ago) have always made a profit

The subordinator as may be added to convert such clauses to Type 2 comment clauses, with virtually no change of meaning:

The Indian railways (as my uncle was telling me some time ago) have always made a profit

But to add as to one of the short stereotyped phrases you know, I see, God knows, etc is to alter the meaning (as you know^you know) or to make the sentence unacceptable. 780 The complex sentence

Note

la] There are also comment clauses which may be related to a main clause introducing

an indirect question:

What's he doing, / wonder ? (cf I wonder what he's doing)

Sometimes a comment clause is itself in the form of a direct question: What's he doing, do you think ?

[A] Clauses which introduce direct speech (11.73) may be considered comment clauses of Type J:

'It's time we went,' I said.

it,

-<J

Mi

The verb phrase in dependent clauses

11.67

Although in general the rules for the uses of tenses, aspects, modal auxiliaries, etc, apply both to dependent and independent clauses, we have to discuss a number of cases in which the nature of a verb phrase is bound up with the particular type of subordinate clause it belongs to. The five main topics to be considered are: the present tense; the hypothetical past; the perfect aspect; the subjunctive; and the 'quasi-subjunctive' use of auxiliaries should, may, etc.

11.68

The present tense with if, etc

To express future meaning, the present tense is used in preference to the auxiliary will/shall in certain types of adverbial clauses:

C

not < L

C'When

,f J'he will arrive, the band will play the National

long asj

Anthem

bull ° >he arrives, the band will play the National Anthem

[As long asj

The subordinators chiefly involved belong to the temporal and conditional (in part also, concessive) categories:

temporal : after, as, before, once, till, until, when{ever), as soon as conditional : if, unless, as long as, provided {that), given {that),

assuming {that), presuming {(hat), whatever, whoever, etc. Also with a conditional element of meaning, though not exclusively

The verb phrase in dependent clauses 781

of that category, the conjunctions even i/and in case can be added to the list:

Even i/tomorrow's match is cancelled, Lancashire will still be top of the league

He will come in case he's wanted

(In AmE this could mean 'He will come only if he is wanted, in the event of his being wanted', but in BrE 'He will come because he may be

wanted'.) In manner clauses also, future events are indicated by the present

tense:

Next time I'll do as he says

Nominal that- and wA-clauses tend to contain present tense verbs when the main clause (as well as the subordinate clause) refers to the future; but when the main clause refers to the present, the future mil is likely to be used in the subordinate clause. Contrast:

I shall ask him what he wants tomorrow

The question is what he will want tomorrow

However, there are exceptional verbs like hope, suppose (in the imperative), and assume, after which the simple present can often be used as readily as will;

I hope that the parcel comes in time

Suppose he loses his way

Let's assume our opponents win the election

Note

There are two exceptions to the rule that *would* cannot appear in *if*-clauses (and in some of the other types of clause mentioned above):

(i) Where *would* has a volitional or habitual meaning, rather than a pure future meaning:

If you *would* help us, all our plans will be ruined. (ii) Where even though the *if*-clause refers to the future, the condition expressed by the whole sentence obtains in the present:

If he *would* arrive before nine, there's no point in ordering dinner for him. If it will make any difference, I'll gladly lend you some money. In both these sentences, the future contingency expressed in the *if*-clause determines a present decision.

11.69

The hypothetical past tense

The past tense is used, as already explained (11.31), for hypothetical meaning in conditional clauses: If we had enough money, I *wouldn't* have to work so hard.

The complex sentence

The corresponding main clause construction is *would/should* + infinitive except when the past of another modal auxiliary is used: If we had enough money, we could buy a tape-recorder. Other, less important, constructions in which the hypothetical past tense is used are illustrated below (on the subjunctive *were*, see 3.16):

:us

[53] [54] [55] [56]

It's time you *were* in bed

He behaves as though he-/*is* a millionaire *but* {*were*}

It's not as though we *were* poor

Just suppose/imagine someone<sup>^</sup> *is* *following*

*is* {*were*}

I'd rather we had dinner now

[57]

If only I *had* listened to my parents!

[58]

From each of these sentences a negative inference can be drawn: for example, from [53] '... but you're not in bed'. Hypothetical meaning in past time is indicated by *had* plus the -ed participle:

We could have got married today, if you'd really wanted to. If you had listened to me, you *wouldn't* have made mistakes. In the past, the hypothetical meaning is more absolute than in the present, and amounts to an implied rejection of the condition: 'but in fact you didn't want to'; 'but in fact you didn't listen'. With present and future reference, the meaning may be merely one of negative expectation:

If you listened to me, you *wouldn't* make mistakes ('... but I don't suppose you will listen to me')

11.70

The perfect aspect with *since*, etc

When *since* is used in a temporal sense, the present perfect is used in the main clause, also sometimes in the subordinate clause, in referring to a stretch of time up to (and potentially including) the present:

Since we have owned a car, we have gone camping every year

(not:... we go camping) She has been drinking Martinis ever since the party started  
(not: She is drinking...)

The same applies to since as a preposition:

Scholars have been writing English grammars since the sixteenth century

The verb phrase in dependent clauses 783

After and when, in referring to a sequence of past events, can be followed either by a past perfect or simple past tense verb:

After When

Ihe-J ' tfrom work, his wife cooked dinner

J (.returned J

All four of these are acceptable, and mean roughly the same. The only difference is that when and the simple past tense (probably the most popular choices) suggest that the one event followed immediately on the other.

Note

If the verb phrase of the main clause is progressive in aspect, or contains a stative verb, when indicates the simultaneity, rather than successivity of the events: When he returned from work, his wife was (cooking dinner) in the kitchen.

11.71

The present subjunctive in conditional clauses, etc

The present subjunctive (3.16) is used very occasionally and in rather formal use, as we have seen, in open conditional clauses and concessive clauses:

Whatever be the reasons for it, we cannot tolerate this disloyalty (c/Whatever may be the reasons ...)

Clauses of concession and purpose may also very occasionally contain a verb in the subjunctive mood to express 'putative' not factual meaning (see 11.72):

Though he< , Ithe President himself, he shall hear

us

The subjunctive is also possible in that-d&uses expressing wish, hope, or intention, for the future:

Congress has voted/decided/decreed/insisted that the present law (should) be maintained

The present subjunctive is more common in AmE than in BrE, where it is little more than an archaism of legalistic style.

The past subjunctive, which is distinguishable from the past indicative only in the singular form were of the copula, is used in formal style to express hypothetical meaning in clauses introduced by conditional conjunctions:

If it were real...

and also by as if, as though, though, and the imperative verbs suppose and imagine:

Suppose he were here... 784 The complex sentence

11.72

Putative should, etc /

Modal auxiliaries, especially should, sometimes appear in subordinate clauses in contexts where, historically speaking, a present subjunctive might be expected. We have already noted (11.32) the use of should to express a tentative condition in (/clauses.

Elsewhere, should is used quite extensively in r/«W-clauses to express not a subordinate statement of fact, but a 'putative' idea. One may contrast in this connection:

(The idea is "I  
{Someone is suggesting/^ educatl™ \*<\* the over-sixteens  
\_\_\_\_\_ should be improved  
(The fact is),, , . . . ,  
know / education for the over-sixteens will be improved

The first sentence puts forward an idea or plan which may not be fulfilled, while the second (with the //^-clause without should) asserts the improvement as a fact, and assumes that the plan will be carried out. Contrary to what might be thought, should in such clauses does not necessarily carry any sense of obligation, although it is possible to interpret it in the 'obligatory' sense of 'ought^to'. A that-clause with should is frequently replaceable by an infinitive clause:

The idea is for education for the over-sixteens to be improved

Also, when a plan or hope for the future is at issue, it is possible to substitute the subjunctive:

The idea is that education for the over-sixteens be improved

Examples of main clause constructions which introduce a that-clause with should are these:

It's a pity I'm surprised It's disgraceful It's unthinkable It worries me  
that he should resign

Most of these are constructions in which the /Aa/-clause is an extraposed subject (14.36, 12.35^). Notice that in the first two cases, despite the should, the event is assumed to have taken place already. This is because the 'factual' bias of the main clause construction overrides the doubt otherwise implicit in the should construction. Nonetheless, there is still a difference of feeling between I'm surprised that he should resign and Vm surprised that he has resigned: in the first, it is the 'very idea' of resignation that surprises; in the second, it is the resignation itself, as an assumed fact.

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Not\*

[a] Putative should also occurs in some idiomatic questions and exclamations:

How should I know?

Why should he be resigning?

That he should dare to attack me!

Who should come in but the mayor himself!

[b] May and might could be regarded as 'subjunctive substitutes' when they occur in formal style in concessive and purpose clauses:

Poor as you might be, you cannot live all your life on charity.

Let us fight on, that the light of justice and freedom may not die in our land.

Direct and indirect speech

11.73

Indirect speech



The difference between direct speech and indirect (or reported) speech is shown in:

He said: 'I am very angry' (direct speech)

He said that he was very angry (indirect speech)

In the case of indirect speech, the words of the speaker are subordinated, in the form of a (Aaf)-clause, within the reporting sentence. In the case of direct speech, his speech is rather 'incorporated' within the reporting sentence by means of quotation marks, and retains its status as a main clause. Nevertheless, notionally, the 'incorporated' speech has the function of an element in the clause structure of the reporting sentence. In the above case, for example, it is the notional direct object of said. Cf:

'What he said was' I am very angry'.

Structurally, the reporting clause, in direct speech, may be classed with comment clauses (11.65-66). It may occur before, within, or after the speech itself. Except when it occurs in initial position, there is likely to be an inversion of the subject and a reporting verb in the simple present or past tense:

(John said

'I am your friend,' < he said { said John

Inversion is unusual and archaic, however, when the subject of the reporting clause is a pronoun: ... said he. The medial placing of the reporting clause is very frequent:

'Of course,' said Mr Jones, 'we're very grateful'<sup>786</sup> The complex sentence

The coconversion from direct to indirect speech entails various other changes in the form of the clause, including the shift from 1st person and 2nd person to 3rd person pronouns:

'I'll behave myself,' he promised

->■ He promised that he'd behave himself

also (sometimes) the change from this/these to that/those, and from here to there:

'I live here,' he explained -\*■ He explained that he lived there

The most important alteration takes place, however, in the verb phrase: this is the change of tense that is referred to as back-shift and is discussed in detail in 11.74 below. These changes collectively represent the distancing effect of indirect speech.

Note

[a] In popular narrative style, the substandard inversion says I is sometimes heard. [6]

In journalistic writing, a reporting clause with inversion sometimes occurs even in initial position: Declared tall, nineteen-year-old Napier: 'The show will go on.'

11.74 Back-shift

Back-shift takes place when any reported matter is introduced by a reporting verb in the past tense. In these circumstances, the shift from direct to reported speech is accompanied by a back-shift of verb as follows:

follows:

BACK-SHIFTED

->past

DIRECT

(1) present

(2) past "I

(3) present perfect > -> past perfect

#### (4) past perfect J

The explanation of the term 'back-shift' should now become clear: if there is (semantically) a shift into the past in the reporting clause, there is a corresponding shift into the past (or if necessary, further into the past) in the reported clause. Examples of each part of the rule are:

(1) 'I am tired,' she complained

-\*■ She complained that she was tired

(2) "The exhibition<sup>^</sup>««/ieilast week,' explained Ann

■ -y Ann explained that the exhibition had finished the preceding  
' week

.<: (3) 'I've won the match already!' exclaimed our friend

► Our friend exclaimed that he had won the match already (4) 'The whole house had been ruined,' said the storyteller it.; \_»). The storyteller said that the whole house had been ruined

#### Direct and indirect speech 787

The lack of change in case (4) is explained by the observation that if a verb is already in the past perfect form, it already expresses 'past in the past', and no further back-shift to 'past in the past in the past' can be expressed through the grammar of the English verb.

11.75

#### Exceptions to back-shift

Bearing in mind that back-shift is part of the natural temporal 'distancing' that takes place when we report what was said in the past, we should not be surprised that the rule of back-shift can be ignored in cases where the validity of the statement reported holds for the present time as much as for the time of utterance:

\*I am a citizen, not of Athens, but of the world,' said Socrates

-s- Socrates said that he was a citizen, not of Athens, but of the world

'Nothing can harm a good man,' said Socrates

f(a) Socrates said that nothing could harm a good man \ (b) Socrates said that nothing can harm a good man

The first statement uttered by Socrates applied only in Socrates' own lifetime, and since from the vantage point of a modern reporter, it deals with what is now past, it has to be reported by application of the back-shift rule. The second statement, on the other hand, is a universal assertion which, if it was true for Socrates' lifetime, should also be true today. We can therefore report it either by (a) applying or (b) ignoring the back-shift rule. Note

Just as 'distancing' can be avoided, in some circumstances, by not back-shifting the verb, so with pronouns and other forms, the change to the more 'distant' meaning (eg to 3rd person pronouns) does not always take place, in that the use of forms appropriate to the reporting situation must take precedence over those appropriate to the reported speech situation. Thus 'I am your friend. Bob" will be reported by Bob, the person addressed, as He said that he was my friend, rather than as He said 'hal he was his friend, which would be the expected indirect speech version. So also: ' You are very kind,' she said to me -\*- She told me that / was very kind.

11.76

indirect statements, questions, exclamations, and commands

Our examples have so far been of indirect statements; but all the main utterance-types (questions, exclamations, commands, as well as statements) may be converted into indirect speech. The constructions are as follows:

indirect statement: rfof-clause

ex sentence

indirect question: dependent wh-cl a use indirect exclamation: dependent w/j-dause

indirect command: to-infinitive clause (without subject) Here are examples of the last three categories:

'Are you ready yet?' asked Joan (yes-no question)

«\* Joan asked (me) whether I was ready yet

'When will the plane leave?' I wondered (wA-question)

-\*■ I wondered when the plane would leave

'How brave you are!' Margaret told him (exclamation)

-\*> Margaret told him how brace he was

'Be quiet!' I told him (command)

-> I told him to be quiet

What has been said about back-shift applies to questions and exclamations as well as to statements. Indirect commands, in contrast, cannot incorporate back-shift, as they contain no finite verb. The reporting verb, in the case of indirect commands, has to be followed by an indirect object or prepositional object: for the indirect speech version of 'Sit down,' I snapped, one would write not \*/ snapped to sit down, but I snapped at him to sit down. Alternatively one could render a verb like sneer in an indirect command by tell with an appropriate adverbial:

t. u l- fsneenngly 1 . , I told him-i .. 6 3 Mo sit down Lwith a sneerj

Nota

There is no indirect speech construction for echo questions or echo exclamations. Alternative questions are formed with whether... or on a model similar to yes-no questions:

Are you satisfied or not ?

—>■ I asked him whether or not he was satisfied.

11.77

The modal auxiliaries and indirect speech

In reported clauses, the back-shift of a modal auxiliary results in the use of past tense forms would, could, etc, even if the past tense form does not normally indicate the past of the present tense meaning in direct speech. For example:

'You may be wrong !'-> He said (that) they might be wrong If a modal auxiliary in direct speech has no past tense equivalent (this includes auxiliaries which are already past, such as could, might, as well as must, ought to, need, and had better), then the same form remains in indirect speech:

\* You must be hungry' ->■ He said (that) they must be hungry

Transferred negation 789

The element of 'involvement of the speaker' which is often present in the meaning of some modal auxiliaries (eg: maj^'permission', 3.45; ,hws='obligation', 3.48) is

naturally assigned, in indirect speech, to the speaker of the indirect statement. Thus 'You must go, John,' said Jenkins (= 'I oblige you ...') becomes:

Jenkins said that John must go (= 'Jenkins obliged John ...')

Note

If they are followed by a perfect infinitive, modal auxiliaries in the main or reporting clause are counted, for purposes of the back-shift rule, as past tense forms:

\* What are you doing ?' - \* I ought to have asked what he was doing.

11.78

Free indirect speech

Free indirect speech is a half-way stage between direct and indirect speech, and is used extensively in modern narrative writing. It is basically a form of indirect speech, but (1) the reporting clause is omitted (except when retained as a parenthetical comment clause), and (2) the potentialities of direct-speech sentence structure (direct question forms, vocatives, tag questions, etc) are retained. It is therefore only the back-shift of the verb, together with equivalent shifts in pronouns, determiners and adverbs, that signals the fact that the words are being reported, rather than being in direct speech:

So that was their plan, was it? He well knew their tricks, and would show them a thing or two before he was finished. Thank goodness he had been alerted, and that there were still a few honest people in the world!

The italicized verbs show back-shift to the past tense. Very often, in fiction, free indirect speech represents a person's stream of thought rather than actual speech. It is quite possible, therefore, that he thought would be the appropriate reporting clause to supply for the above passage, rather than he said.

11.79

Transferred negation

A strange feature of the syntax of subordination in colloquial English is the transfer of the negative from a subordinate (Aaf-clause, where semantically it belongs, to the main clause. Thus / didn't think he was happy can have two meanings, one in which the negation applies to the main clause, and one in which it applies, through transferred negation, to the subordinate clause: / thought he wasn't happy. It is the unlikelihood of the first meaning, and the difficulty of distinguish!no it from the second, that partially accounts for this phenomenon. Transferred negation is limited to verbs of belief or assumption, such as think believe, suppose, fancy, expect, imagine, reckon:

("think 1

I don't believe (that) you've paid for it yet [suppose  
(imagine")

He doesn't expect (that) we need worry [reckon J

The negative status of the that-clause is shown by the occurrence of need (which could not occur in a positive sentence \* We need worry) and the non-assertive form yet. Another indication is the form of the tag question in:

I don't suppose (that) he cares, does he ? (c/He doesn't care, does he)

The tag question in this sort of sentence is attached to the subordinate clause rather than to the independent clause (7.59 Note), as is clear from the tag subject, he. Since a tag

question with a falling tone contrasts in positive/negative terms with its main clause, however, we would expect DdESrtt he? in this context. That in fact a positive tag question occurs is thus evidence of the negativeness of the /Aa/-clause.

Not all verbs in the semantic field of belief, uncertainty, etc, take transferred negation. It is notable, for example, that assume, surmise, and presume are not included in the list above:

I don't assume that he came is not equivalent to:

I assume that he didn't come. Note

The condensed sentence / don't think so contains transferred negation, and is thus synonymous with I think not.

Complexity and comprehensibility

Combining subordination devices within a sentence

We finally return to the concept of the complex sentence with which this chapter started.

Sentence complexity and comprehensibility 791

The complex sentence is a unit which can be broken down into immediately smaller units, which are clauses. We have examined in Chapter 9 one of the ways in which these units are linked - that of coordination; and in this chapter a second way-that of subordination. All that remains is to consider how these two methods of clause combination interact in the total structure of a sentence.

For simplicity of illustration, our examples up to this point have been almost exclusively of two-clause sentences. If this has misled by building up a false picture of simplicity, it is time to remedy the matter with an example such as this, from a newspaper:

1	2	23
[A] [Arguments in favour of [suppressing the facts,] [said Mr		
3	4	5
Harken,] included suggestions [that [if the conditions at the		
5 prison were made public,] North Vietnam would retaliate		
41 against American prisoners of war.] ]		
(The Guardian, London, 8 July 1970)		

Although quite brief and not unduly complex, this sentence illustrates how several devices of subordination can be simultaneously combined in a piece of everyday written English.

One of the factors which determine the order in which the constituent clauses of a sentence are arranged is the principle that the final clause is felt to be the point of maximum emphasis: the principle (as we may term it) of resolution. In reading aloud, the 'resolutive' effect of the final clause is often pointed by intonation. A typical reading of the above sentence would put rising or falling-rising tones on all points of information focus (14.2) except the last, approximately as follows:

... fActs ... HARKen ... sugo^stions ... pubUc ... reTALiate .. .wAr

As rising and falling-rising tones have implications of non-finality (App n.13), the effect of this sort of pattern is to build up a continuing sense of anticipation, which is at last 'resolved' by the finality of the falling tone. This principle of resolution is the



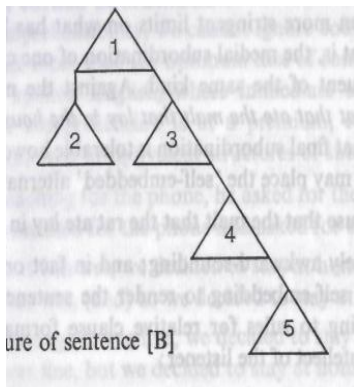


fig 11:4 Structure of sentence [B]

Note

We should bear in mind that the diagram, however, does not present an adequate picture, as it represents clauses only, and does not take account of other kinds of complexity contributing to the depth of 'right-branching structure', particularly the 'nominalized' clauses (see 13.34/) of its failure {to alert. ..) and the presence in Dallas...

11.82

In studying the pattern of clauses within a sentence, we may note that there are special reasons for the tendency to favour final subordination. It may well be that of the three main types of inclusion relation between constituents, 'left-branching', 'nesting' ('medial branching'), and 'right-branching', it is the second that tends to cause most difficulties of comprehension, especially if the nested element is long and complex. Considerable left-branching is possible in the noun phrase, as can be seen in the following genitive construction (cf 13.62):

1234      4      3      2      1

[ [ [ [Tom's] sister's] husband's] mother]

But in clause structure, the left-branching or anticipatory type of structuring is limited to one degree of embedding. This is because no subordinate clause can itself be the first element of another subordinate clause, but must at least be preceded by a subordinator, as if you could is in [59] rather than [60]:

12    3                    3                    2                    1  
 [ [That [if you could] you would help me] is of small comfort]    [59]

123                    3                    2                    1  
 \*[ [ [If you could] that you would help us] is of small comfort]    [60]

If complex medial subordination hampers comprehension, and initial subordination, except directly within the independent clause, is ruled out, the complex sentence Sentence complexity and comprehensibility 795

out, there remains only final subordination as a subordinating device without obvious restrictions.

There are even more stringent limits on what has been called 'self-embedding', that is, the medial subordination of one constituent within another constituent of the same kind. Against the nursery rigmarole This is the ... rat that ate the malt that lay in the house that Jack built (which shows that final subordination is tolerable however many clauses one inserts), we may place the 'self-embedded' alternative:

This is the house that the malt that the rat ate lay in

which is extremely awkward-sounding; and in fact one need add only a third layer of self-embedding to render the sentence, although constructed according to rules for relative clause formation, completely baffling to the intellect of the listener:

?"This is the house that the malt that the rat that the cat killed ate lay in

It is important to note, therefore, that the factors we have been considering do not just concern good and bad style, but also the more basic question of what is a possible English sentence.

That final subordination can reduce awkwardness in subordination to a minimum is demonstrated by the rewriting of sentence [59] above, through extraposition of the subject (14.36), in a much more acceptable form as:

1                                  2                                  3                                  321  
 [It is of small comfort [that you would help me [if you could] ] ] [61]

In terms of diagrams, the change brought about between [59] and [61] is as in Fig 11:5.

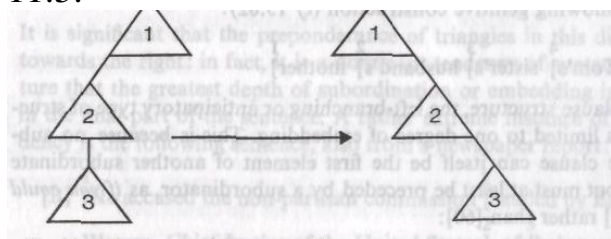


Fig 11:5 Sentences [59] and [61]

Note

It must be noted, however, that despite the overall tendency towards final subordination, certain types of clause, including, for example, temporal clauses and (/)-clauses, favour the initial position (11.27, 11.29). Moreover, adverbial correlative constructions (11.10) not merely favour but require initial placement of the subordinate clause.

U.83

Subordination versus coordination

In discussing comprehensibility, we cannot ignore coordination, which is the kind of link most used for optimum ease of comprehension. It is notable that in spoken English, where immediate ease of syntactic composition and comprehension is at a premium, coordinate structures are often preferred to equivalent structures of subordination:

[subord : Reaching for the phone, he asked for the operator \coord : He reached for the phone and asked for the operator fsuBORD: As it was wet, we decided to stay at home \coord : It was wet, (and) so we decided to stay at home (subord : Although it was fine, we decided to stay at home \coord: It was fine, but we decided to stay at home

Further, spoken English, though less complex in structures of subordination, is more inclined than written English to provide the kind of semantic link that can be made by coordination. The following conditional uses of and and or, for example, are rarely encountered in the language of written prose:

Ask me nicely, and I'll give it to you ('If you ask ...') Give it back to me, or I'll tell your mother (' Unless .. .')



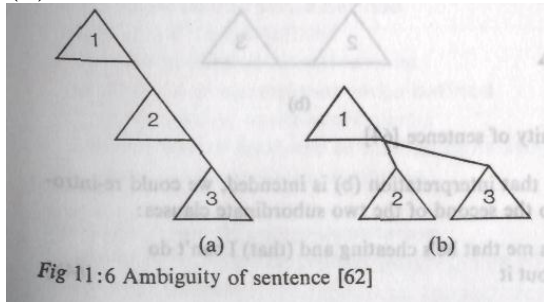
It is even arguable that a conjunction like because, which occurs almost exclusively in final-position clauses in colloquial language, is, for the purposes of that variety of English, nearer to a coordinator than to a subordinator.

U.84

Constructional ambiguity within sentence structure

When there are more than two clauses in a complex sentence, it is possible for ambiguities to arise through various alternative analyses

(b)



11:6 Ambiguity of sentence [62]

796 The complex sentence

that can be given to the same group of clauses. With reference to subordination only: a sequence of three clauses, the first independent and the other two dependent, could be joined in either of the two ways indicated in Fig 11:6. The following is an example of an ambiguous sentence for which either of these readings is possible:

I knew that you had seen him before I met you [62]

= 'I knew that, before I met you, you had seen him' [62a]

= 'Before I met you, I knew that you had seen him' [62b]

A related kind of ambiguity arises with two coordinated clauses followed or preceded by a dependent clause:

He knows and I know that he knows

[63]

The question here is: Does the final subordinate clause belong to the second of the coordinate clauses, or to both together? Punctuation (and in speech, intonation) can distinguish them:

He knows, and I know that he knows He knows, and I know, that he knows

[63a] [63b]

Yet a further type involves a succession of three clauses, in which the first is independent, the second subordinate, and the third coordinate. The ambiguity concerns the status of the last clause: is it coordinated to the main or to the subordinate clause?

Something tells me he's cheating and I can't do anything about it

[64]

If a relation of coordination is represented as / \—/ A, then the difference between these two interpretations is as in Fig 11:7.

(b)

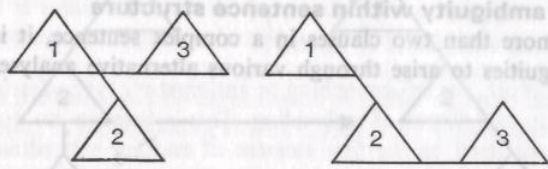


Fig 11:7 Ambiguity of sentence [64]

To make it clear that interpretation (b) is intended, we could re-introduce the that into the second of the two subordinate clauses:

Something tells me that he's cheating and (that) I can't do anything about it [64b]

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There is no equally obvious way to insist on interpretation (a), but one can suggest that the major syntactic break of the sentence occurs after cheating by using a semi-colon (;), or by exaggerating the tone unit boundary at that point.

11.85

### Avoiding ambiguity

From the above three examples of constructional ambiguity, we learn not only what factors cause the ambiguity, but what methods can be used to avoid it. Four devices to be considered are:

- (i) altering the order of the clauses (eg interpretation [62b] is singled out by moving an adverbial clause to initial position),
- (ii) using punctuation to mark the major (ie least embedded) clause boundary, as in [63a].
- (iii) using intonation, if necessary exaggerated by pause, to indicate the major boundary, as in [64a],
- (iv) supplying ellipted elements (for example, the subordinator that in [64b]).

Again, the examples chosen give an unduly simple picture. If we added further clauses to these three-clause sentences, opportunities for ambiguity would increase rapidly.

### Bibliographical note

On nominal clauses, see Behre (1955); Lees (1960a); Storms (1966); Vendler (1968), especially Part I.

On comparative clauses, see Hale (1970); Huddleston (1967) and (1971), Chapter 6; Lees (1961); Smith (1961).

On transferred negation (11.79), see Lakoff (1969&); Lindholm (1969).

On sentence complexity and comprehensibility, see Chomsky (1965), especially PP 10-14; Huddleston (1965); Rosenbaum (19676); Yngve (1961).

On indirect speech and 'back-shift', see Jespersen (1909-1949), Vol 4, Chapter 11.

## TVVELVE

### THE VERB AND ITS COMPLEMENTATION

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821 821 821 821

823 826 830 830 831 832 834

835 837 841 841 842 843 843 844 848 849 850 850 850 851 851 852

12.1

Introduction

Complementation, which includes the elements of clause structure that are obligatory for the completion of the verb meaning, has already been discussed in various places, notably in 2.3 ff, 7.1 ff and WXh ff. This chapter will deal with three aspects of complementation: voice, ie the active-passive relation, phrasal and prepositional verbs, and complementation types. The last part includes lists of verbs for some of the more important subtypes.

Voice

12.2

Voice defined

Voice is a grammatical category which makes it possible to view the action of a sentence in two ways, without change in the facts reported:

- (a) The butler murdered the detective
- (b) The detective was murdered by the butler

Sentence (a) is in the active voice, and sentence (b) in the passive voice. The active-passive relation involves two grammatical 'levels': the verb phrase and the clause. In the former, which has been treated in 3.12\_#", Type D (passive verb phrase) is in contrast with the rest (active verb phrase), for example,

	ACTIVE	PASSIVE
present:	kisses	~ is kissed
past:	kissed	*w was kissed
modal:	may kiss	** may be kissed
perfective:	has kissed	« has been kissed
progressiv	is kissing	~ is being kissed

e:

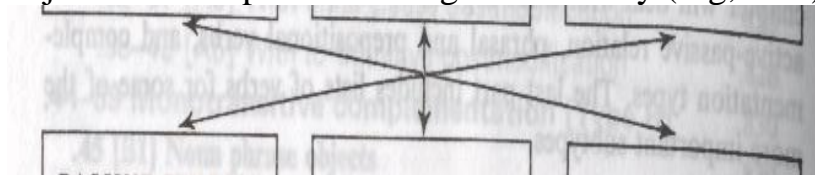
modal + perfective: may have kissed —may have been kissed

In the verb phrase, the difference between the two voice categories is that the passive adds a form of the auxiliary be and the past participle (the -ed form) of the main verb. At the clause level, passivization involves rearrangement of two clause elements and one addition, (a) The active subject becomes the passive agent, (b) the active object becomes the passive subject, and (c) the preposition by is introduced before the agent.

The prepositional agent phrase of passive sentences is an optional sentence element.  
The

802 The verb and its complementation

process of active-passive transformation for a monotransitive sentence with nominal object can be represented diagrammatically (Fig, 12.1)



John

ACTIVE SUBJECT

kissed

ACTIVE VERB

PASSIVE SUBJECT

Mary

PASSIVE VERB

was kissed

O

Mary

ACTIVE OBJECT

OPTIONAL AGENT

(by John)

Fig 12:1 The active-passive relation

Alternatively, voice transformation can be expressed in this formula:

noun phrase! + active verb phrase + noun phrasea ~noun phrasea + passive v^rb phrase+{by noun phrase!)

The terms 'subject', 'object', and 'agent' are useful labels for describing phenomena such as subject-verb concord (7.23) or the use of objective pronominal case forms (4.107). But although the structure of a sentence changes under voice transformation, its meaning remains the same. In John kissed Mary and Mary was kissed by John, John is in both voices the 'performer of the action'. In the sentence structure, however, the active subject corresponds to the passive agent.

12.3

The passive auxiliary

The passive auxiliary is normally be. Its only serious contender is get, which however is usually restricted to constructions without an expressed animate agent. Compare the following sentences:

The boy got hurt on his way home from work The boy got given a violin by his father

The GET-passive is avoided in formal style. Even in informal English, however, it is far less frequent than the BE-passive:

Our house is getting painted

If they make such criticisms they will get treated with the contempt

they deserve This story eventually got translated into English

Voice 803

GER is much more common as a 'resulting copula' (see 12.32) in sentences which look superficially like the passive but cannot have an agent (c/12.17):

We are getting bogged down in all sorts of problems (informal)

I have to get dressed before eight o'clock (= 'dress')

I don't want to get mixed up with the police again

Your argument gets a bit confused here

Compare He got taught a lesson ('it served him right') with:

He -L \* taught the lesson on the subjunctive (by our new teacher)

As a resulting copula, get is often equivalent to become, which is used to express gradual change, often enhanced by modification with more and more, increasingly, etc:

Our technique is becoming increasingly specialized These four phases became telescoped in a single, coordinated phase of activity.

Voice constraints 12.4

Although it is the general rule that transitive verb sentences can be either active or passive, there are a number of exceptions where there is no simple paraphrase relation. We will distinguish five kinds of 'voice constraint' associated with, respectively, the verb (12.5-7), the object (12.8-10), the agent (12.11), meaning (12.12), and frequency of use (12.13).

Verb constraints 12.5

Active only

There are greater restrictions on verbs occurring in the passive than in the active. In addition to equative and intransitive verbs, which can never take the passive, some transitive verbs (at least in certain uses) do not occur in the passive, for example:

They have a nice house

He lacks confidence

The auditorium holds 5000 people

This dress becomes her

The coat does not fit you

Will this suit you?

John resembles his father. 12.6

Passive only

Conversely, with some verbs only the

John was

fsaid "5

passive is possible (c/12.56)-

-J , j- to be a good teacher

-v"They < ,5- him to be a good teacher

12.7

Prepositional verbs

In English, prepositional verbs (see further 12.19) can often occur in the passive, but not as freely as in the active. Compare the following sentences with prepositional verbs:

rr, r ,, . . (the problem

The engineers went very carefully into A., ,

\*

the tunnel

(The problem "I

(The problem "I I 'The tunnel f

Very carefully Some met ^ the engineers

... the expected result

They arrived at < . ; ... k , ' the splendid stadium

(The expected result 1 . ,

~t\*ti i j-j .j- was arrived at L\*The splendid stadium )

In these sentences it is clear that the difference in acceptability can be stated in terms of concrete/abstract passive subjects. It is only in figurative use that go into, arrive at, look into, and many other prepositional verbs accept the passive.

With some ingenuity, one may construct contexts where such verbs will passivize even concretely, especially in a parallel construction:

This private correspondence of mine has been gone into and rummaged so many times that it is totally disarranged

With other prepositional verbs, the non-occurrence in the passive cannot be similarly accounted for:

John<

cared for called for looked at adjusted to agreed with lived with

> Mary ~ Mary was <

d<sup>TM</sup>5 ^ Pr<sup>o</sup>si<sup>!</sup>ional Verbs <<sup>TM</sup> <\*«\* we set up different degrees of cohesion': whereas all such verbs by definition take the

cared for called for looked at ?adjusted to \*agreed with \*lived with

Voice 805

pronominal question-form with who(m)lwhat, only some can take the passive. This latter class of highly cohesive prepositional verbs includes most of those listed in 12.27 and, in addition, the following:

Though something very different from ordinary forest management is called for, the trees in the parks do need the forester's skilled consideration.

This matter will have to be dealt with immediately. Other possibilities are talked of by many of our colleagues. If a woman with a university education rejects a career for

marriage, her mind is not to be thought of as thrown away unless we count the family arena of no importance.

Similarly:

ASK FOR

HOPE FOR

TALK ABOUT

BELIEVE IN

LOOK AT

TALK TO

CATER FOR

STARE AT

WONDER AT, etc

Since it adds one element of complexity to the verb phrase, the passive is often felt to be heavier than the corresponding active. In particular, it is the co-occurrence of beiewgthat is avoided. Compare the following pairs of sentences:

The Conservatives won the election

~The election was won by the Conservatives

The Conservatives have not been winning seats lately

~ (?)Seats have not been being won by the Conservatives lately.

Object constraints 12.8

Nominal and clausal objects

Verbs can be followed by both nominal and clausal objects (7.1 ff, 1U3#, and UMff):

nominal object noun phrase

clausal object finite clause non-finite clause

infinitive

participle

John loved Mary

John saw that she was pretty

John hoped to kiss her John enjoyed seeing her.

12.9

Co-reference between subject and nominal object

Co-reference between subject and nominal object blocks the passive

transformation, and occurs with (a) reflexive, (b) reciprocal, and (c) 806 The verb and its complementation

possessive pronouns in the object. Normally, however, transitive verbs with other nominal objects passivize.

(a) John could see himself in the mirror

\*John could see himself in the mirror

/Paul "saw himself in the mirror

\*Paul "saw himself in the mirror

(b) We could hardly see each other in the fog

~ \*Each other could hardly be seen in the fog

["the nurse

(c) The handsome, bald doctor shook her head

(his head) (The nurse 1

~< Her head was shaken by the handsome, bald doctor. [•His head j

Note

Since reflexive and reciprocal pronouns are objective case replacements, it would be unexpected anyway to have such a pronoun in the subject position of a passive sentence.

12.10

Clausal objects

Of the clausal objects only those consisting of a finite clause regularly have passive analogues. Compare the active sentences in 12.8 with the following passives:

Mary was loved (by John)

Mary was cared for (by John)

/It was seen (by John) that she was pretty

\ ?That she was pretty was seen (by John)

f\*It was hoped (by John) to kiss her

\ \*To kiss her was hoped (by John)

\*It was enjoyed (by John) seeing her

? Seeing her was enjoyed (by John)

{



Finite clause objects which are introduced by that, whether, or \*/ normally take passives with *it*-subject and so-called 'extraposition', ie the clause remains in post-verbal position in the passive sentence but is introduced by anticipatory *it* as subject. That is obligatory in *that*-clauses occurring initially as subject, without anticipatory *if*;

It could hardly be expected (that) Ruth would be on time ~That Ruth would be on time could hardly be expected

Voice 807

The construction with anticipatory *it* never occurs with participles but is sometimes used with infinitives (cf 12.49): It was desired to have the report delivered here.

12.11

Age constraints

Unlike the active subject, the agent phrase is optional. In fact, approximately four out of five English passive sentences have no expressed (surface) agent. This is the case when it is irrelevant or unknown, as in

The Prime Minister was attacked last night in the debate

The agent is often left out when it is redundant, as in Jack fought Michael last night and Jack was beaten

An agent phrase by Michael would clearly be unnecessary or even impossible in this context.

Since the agent is usually left unexpressed, it may be unrecoverable, which means that change of voice from passive to active is highly restricted:

Order has been restored without bloodshed and without concessions

John (.) ! nas restore(j or(Jer without bloodshed and

~ The government (?) > witho(lt concessions. [The army (?) J

12.12

Meaning constraints

A s|Sft of meaning may accompany shift of voice in verb phrases containing auxiliaries that have more than one meaning, eg: shall, will, and can {cf 3.43 ff):

John cannot do it

It cannot be done (by John)

In the active sentence *can* would normally be interpreted as expressing ability, whereas in the passive sentence it is interpreted as expressing possibility. Even when *can* retains the same lexical meaning in the active and passive, a shift of meaning is possible:

John can't be taught ('He is unable to learn') He can't teach John ('He is unable to teach John")

12.13

frequency constraints

To the structural restrictions mentioned in the preceding sections, we may add 'frequency constraints'. There is a notable difference in the808 The verb and its complementation

frequency with which the active and passive voices are used. The active is generally the more common, but there is considerable variation among individual texts. The

passive has been found to be as much as ten times more frequent in one text than another. The major stylistic factor determining its frequency seems to be related to the distinction between informative and imaginative prose rather than to a difference of subject matter or of spoken and written English. The passive is generally more commonly used in informative than in imaginative writing, notably in the objective, non-personal style of scientific articles and news items.

The passive scale 12.14

The formal definition of the passive (12.2/) is very broad, and will include, for example, all the following sentences:

This violin was made by my father [1]

This conclusion is hardly justified by the results Coal has been replaced by oil [3]

This difficulty can be avoided in several ways [4]

We are encouraged to go on with the project [5]

John was interested in linguistics [6]

The modern world becomes more highly industrialized and mechanized

Although they satisfy the formal definition of 'passive', these sentences display a variety of voice relationships.

12.15

A gent ire passives

Sentences [1] and [2] have a direct passive-active relation. The difference between the two is that the former has a personal, the latter a non-personal agent (cf 6A1):

My father made this violin

The results hardly justify this conclusion

[1a] [2a]

[3] is a passive with two possible active transforms depending on the interpretation of the Z>y-phrase. (Supplied active subjects are given in square brackets.)

Oil has replaced coal [3a']

[People in many countries] have replaced coal by oil [3a\*]

[3a'] is an active transform like [2a] with a non-personal agent; [3a\*] is an active transform where the Z>y-phrase has been given an instru-

voice 809

ental interpretation (by = with). Consequently an active subject must Z, supplied (c/'agent constraints', 12.11).

Sentence [4] exemplifies the most common type of passive, which has no expressed agent ('agentless passives').

12.16

Ouasi -passives

The passive sentences [5] and [6] represent a 'mixed' class whose members have both verbal and adjectival properties (cf 5.12 ff). They are verbal in having active analogues:

rrhe results] encourage us to go on with the project Linguistics interested John

[5a] [6a']

The adjectival properties are the potentiality for (a) coordination of the participles with adjectives, (b) adjectival modification with quite, rather, more, etc, (c) replacement of be by a lexically 'marked' auxiliary (c/12.31/):

We feel rather encouraged and content...

John seemed very interested in and keen on linguistics

In such adjectival uses of the past participle, it is rare to have a by-agent. However, blends do occur, for example,

I feel rather let down by his indifference

Even passive compounds which are morphologically isolated from the active by not having an infinitive may occasionally have fty-agents:

We were unimpressed by his attempts f\*His attempts unimpressed us i,His attempts did not impress us

The passive sentence [6] can also be seen as related to the following active sentences: [6a']

rc , f interested John V <>

Someone]-^ , , , . . . , ym linguistics J unade John interested/ &

As in [3], the prepositional phrase in [6] permits two analyses. The agent interpretation of [6] implies that we recognize in as an agent phrase preposition. There are, in fact, several prepositions which can introduce such 'quasi-agents', for example, about, at, over, to, with (c/6.42, 12.34). By can also be used with similar meaning.

We were all worried about the complication "-The complication worried us all [8]

[8a] 810 The verb and its complementation

I was a bit surprised at her behaviour ~ Her behaviour surprised me a bit You won't be bothered with me any more ~ I won't bother you any more This edition was not known to him -He did not know this edition

[91 [9ai

Mm

[Ha]

Clausal complements of such quasi-passive constructions can also be said to have agent function (cf 12.42):

I was surprised to hear John failed in the exam

t- l .l .tL e-, j ■ ii\_ (surprised me

~To hear that John failed in the exanH \*, . . .

^made me surpnsed

[12]

[12a'l rL ia J

[12a"]

Note

Know is different from the rest in lacking the causative feature of worry, surprise, etc. Also, it does not take modifiers like quite and rather:

Her behaviour made me rather surprised. \*He did not make this edition rather known.

## 12.17

### Non-agentive passives

Sentence [7], finally, has no active transform or possibility of agent addition, since no 'performer' is conceived of. The participles have adjectival values: compare industrialized™ industrial and mechanized™ mechanical. Besides a number of such 'resulting' verbs ending in -ize (organize, americanize, etc), this class includes 'existing' constructions, as in

The house is already sold [13]

the corresponding active of which is not [13a'] but [13a'']:

•[The agent] already sells the house [13a1]

[The agent] has already sold the house [13a\*]

In this case, voice transformation involves aspectual shift from present to present perfect (3.36^).

While it is clear that [7] and [13] are not 'passive' in the sense of the sentences in 12.14, they still satisfy the formal passive requirement and, as in the case of [13], often have an 'indirect' voice relationship. We will therefore call this class 'non-agentive passive/intensive active complement constructions', recognizing that

The house is already sold

is related both to agentive passive The house has already been sold

Phrasal and preposition at verbs

and to the intensive (active) complement construction

— , . falready gone The house is|n

Note

The "notional passive\* with active form as in TOe clock winds up at the back ('can be wound up') is discussed under conversion (App 1.41 b).

## 12.18 Passive classes

Summarizing the discussion of the passive scale, we set up the following classes:

[I] Agentive passives

(a) With expressed agents (examples [1], [2], [3])

(b) Without expressed agents (examples [4], [13b])

[II] Quasi-passives (examples [5], [6])

[III] Non-agentive passives/intensive active complement constructions ([7], [13])

Phrasal and prepositional verbs

## 12.19

In considering verb complementation we will have to deal with sentences like the following ('the first set'):

John called the man John called up the man John called on the man John put up with the man

[14] [15] [16] [17]

[13b]

Verbs can be divided into single-word verbs as in [14] and multiword verbs, which are phrasal verbs (as in [15]), prepositional verbs (as in [16]), or phrasal-prepositional Verbs (as in [17]). (C/5.50, 6.9.)

## 12.20

Leaving aside, for the moment, the internal differences of multi-word verbs, we will first distinguish this set from other, superficially similar sequences consisting of verbs and prepositional phrases ('the second set'):

John called from the office [18]

John called after lunch [19]

John called from under the table [20]

### 812 The verb and its complementation

The difference between the first set represented by sentences [15-17] and the second set, represented by sentences [18-20] can be stated in terms of 'cohesion': in the first set, the adverbial or prepositional particle (up, on, up with) forms a semantic and syntactic unit with the verb; in the second set, the prepositional particle (from, after, from under) is more closely connected with the head of the prepositional phrase.

## 12.21

### Semantic criteria

The semantic unity in phrasal and prepositional verbs (the first set) can often be manifested by substitution with a single-word verb, for example, visit for call on, summon for call up, omit for leave out, see for look at, etc.

Furthermore, phrasal and prepositional verbs often have composite meanings which are not normally deducible from their parts, for example, make out ('understand'), take ('deceive\*'), come by ('obtain'). The terms 'phrasal' and 'prepositional' verbs are not, however, restricted to such idiomatic combinations. We can distinguish three subclasses within the first set (where it will be convenient to refer to both the adverbial and prepositional element as 'particle'):

(a) The verb and the particle keep their individual lexical meanings, as in look over ('inspect'), set up ('organize'). The individuality of the components appears in possible contrastive substitutions:

bring \ /in take j\out turn \ /on switch\ /off

(b) The verb alone keeps its basic lexical meaning and the particle has an 'intensifying' function: find out ('discover'), sweep (up) the crumbs, spread (out) the rug.

(c) The verb and the particle are fused into a new idiomatic combination, the meaning of which is not deducible from its parts, for example, bring up ('educate'), come by ('obtain'), put off ('postpone'), turn up ('appear'), come in for ('receive'). In such combinations there is no possibility of contrastive substitution: there are no pairs such as bring up/down, put off/on, give up/down, give in/out, etc for this subclass. The adverbial, lexical values of the particles have been lost, and the entire verb-particle combination has acquired a new meaning.

In some cases the same verb-particle combination can belong to more than one subclass with a corresponding difference in meaning (cf 12.7):

Phrasal and prepositional verbs 813

John went

("the house (literal meaning) \\_ the problem (figurative meaning)

f('staywithn')-

John put up with Maryj/.tolerate^#

12.22

Syntactic criteria (a) passivization

The syntactic similarity of verbs in the first set can be seen in their acceptance of passivization:

("called up first set: The man was< called on

[put up with f\*Lunch was called after second set: < \*The table was called from under  
[?The office was called from

In the passive, the verbs of the first set behave identically with single-word transitive verbs (The man was called), whereas the verbs of the second set do not admit of the passive. Note that ambiguous combinations like put up with take the passive only when they have the figurative meaning:

Mary couldn't easily be put up with ( -' tolerate' but not=' stay with')

Combinations of verbs and prepositional phrases which are awkward in minimal sentences can, however, become more acceptable with appropriate contextualization: 'This office has been called from so many times that it was natural to assume that it was the source of the latest call'.

(b) PRONOMINAL QUESTION FORM

The questions of the first set are formed with who(m) for personal and with what for non-personal objects:

Who(m) did John call up? What did John look for ?

(c) ADVERBIAL QUESTION FORM

The prepositional phrases of the second set have adverbial function, and have question forms with where, when, how, etc:

Where did John call from? When did John call? 81 4      The verb and its complementation

There is a certain amount of overlap between the two sets. If we apply the three criteria, (P) passivization, (Qero) pronominal question form and (Qaav) adverbial question form, to sentences 21-25, we can state their relations by means of a matrix:

P	Qpro	Q*W		
+	+	—	The police might ask for more details	[21]
—	+	—	John agreed with Mary	[22]
—	+	+	The car stopped beside a wall	
—	—	+	She left before ten o'clock	[24]
—	—	—	His job also comes into the picture	

Sentence [21] has both passive and pronominal question form:

More details might be asked for by the police What might the police ask for?

[22] has only the pronominal question form:

Who did John agree with? The passive is highly doubtful:

?Mary was agreed with by John

Pip] [21q]

[22q]

[22p]

[23] can form no passive, but both types of question are possible; the pronominal one is rather 'recapitulation', whereas the adverbial one is the more natural question:

What did the car stop beside 1\ Where did the car stop? /

[24] has only the adverbial question form: When did she leave?

[23q]

[24q]

[25], finally, shows its idiomatic nature by accepting none of the three criteria, resisting this kind of syntactic manipulation.

Note

[a] In addition to the mentioned pronominal question form, there is an alternative one with an added noun:

What place did the car stop beside? Before what time did she leave ?

[23q] (24q)

[b] Again, agreed with as in [22p] can be acceptable in an extended verb phrase:

Mary is a person who likes to be agreed with (by everybody)

[c] There is considerable overlap between the two question forms:

He built it with these tools

I26'

How did he build it? Whai did he build it with?/ She spoke with assurance How did she speak ? 1

•What did she speak with?/

Phrasal and prepositional verbs 815

[26q]

[271

[27q]

The difference between [26q] and [27q] is obviously connected with their respective concrete and abstract meanings (cf 12.7).

12.23

Prepositional verbs defined

What we are faced with here is a number of different and complex relations between verbs and prepositional phrases. We will count as prepositional verbs those which accept the passive and/or the pronominal question form but not the adverbial question form. In the examples of Table 12:1, this dichotomy will separate [21] and [22] from [23] and [24], which will be analysed as single-word verbs with prepositional phrases as adverbials. [25] is a lexical idiom that does not obey productive syntactic rules of the kind we have discussed and hence will not be treated in the grammar.

12.24

Phrasal verbs defined

Returning to the first set of 12.19, it now remains to distinguish between phrasal and prepositional verbs. They display certain (a) phonological and (b) syntactic differences:

(a) The particle in phrasal verbs is normally stressed and, in final position, bears the nuclear tone, whereas the particle in the prepositional verb is normally unstressed and has the 'tail' of the nuclear tone on the lexical verb (see App 11.12):

He called 'up the man He 'called on the man

The man was called is The man was called on

(b) A syntactic difference is that the particle of a phrasal verb can often stand either before or after a noun, whereas it can only stand after a personal pronoun: Call up the man, call the man up, call him up, but not \*call up him (unless it has contrastive stress: call up <sup>h</sup>im, not his <sup>^</sup>sister). Table 12:1 shows these and other criteria that distinguish the two classes of verbs as having different syntactic patterning with regard to noun object (e), personal pronoun object (b) and (f), position in relative clause (d), and adverb insertion (c). The table shows that prepositional verbs take (b) personal or (d) relative pronouns after the preposition, and admit (c) an inserted adverb; phrasal verbs, on the other hand, have particles which can be separated from the verb by (e) a noun or (f) a pronoun.

Table 12:1

#### DIAGNOSTIC FRAMES FOR PHRASAL AND PREPOSITIONAL VERBS

##### PREPOSITIONAL VERB

call on = 'visit'

(a) They 'call on the man

They call 'up the man

(b) They 'call on him

(c) They call 'early on the man

(d) The man on whom they call

\*They call up him

\*They call early up the man

The man up whom they call

(e) They call the man on

(f) They call him on

They call the man 'up They call him 'up

12.25

##### Verb-adjective combinations

There is a verb-adjective combination that is very similar to phrasal verbs. Compare

He put the cloth straight He put it out

where only put out is considered a phrasal verb. Both combinations form close units but the adjectives in verb-adjective combinations have their individual meaning and grammatical properties:

John didn't put the tablecloth as-J. s >as Mary r

L\*out j

J

Adjectives in combinations like cut short, rub dry, scrub clean, set free, dye red, wash clean, work loose, etc, are however selected from a rather restricted range of adjectives. Thus none of these verbs can have several adjectives, but the adjectives can co-occur with many different verbs, eg: open: burst open, force open, hold open, kick open, knock open, lay open, pull open, push open, swing open, tear open, etc (see 5.17). In this respect verb-adjective combinations differ from verb + adjective complements (12.69), which can select complements from a very wide range of adjectives: He found her pretty/rich/intelligent/fatherless/stub-born, etc.

12.26



Phrasal-prepositional verbs defined

Phrasal-prepositional verbs are combinations of the two multi-word verb classes that we have discussed in 12.23 and 12.24:

Phrasal and prepositional verbs 817

We are all looking forward to your party on Saturday.

He had to put up with a lot of teasing at school.

Why don't you look in on Mrs Johnson on your way back ?

He thinks he can get away with everything.

12.27

A sample of multi-word verbs

Multi-word verbs are very numerous, and we can only give a short list for each verb class (see further 12.46). The words in parenthesis illustrate or gloss their meanings.

#### PHRASAL VERBS

back up (somebody) blow up (a ship) break off (our relations) bring about (a change) bring up (children) burn up (a house) catch on ('understand') draw up (a contract) fill out (a form) find out (a secret) get over (an idea) give UP ('surrender') make out ('understand') make up (a story) pass over (a question)

#### PULL UP ('Stop')

put (an idea) across put off (an answer) see (somebody) off turn off (the right) turn up (at a meeting)

#### PREPOSITIONAL VERBS

add TO (the bill)

allow for (delays)

APPLY FOR (a post)

approve of (an action)

ATTEND to (the matter)

care for (somebody)

comment on (the results)

conform to (a standard)

congratulate (someone) on (his exam)

consent to (the proposal)

cure (somebody) of (a disease)

ENLARGE ON (a topic) hint at (other possibilities) insist on (coming) Live on (a small salary) object to (something) part with (something) refer to (a dictionary) resort to (violence) RUN for (president) take to (drink)

V

#### PHRASAL-PREPOSITIONAL VERBS

break in on (somebody's conversation)

Catch UP ON (my reading)

catch up with (somebody)

check up on ('investigate')

come down with (a cold)

come up with (the idea)

cut down on (expenses) 818 The verb and its complementation

do away with (prejudices)

face up to (the problems)  
 get away with (it, ie 'without being punished')  
 get down to (serious talk)  
 keep away from (somebody's company)  
 keep up with (the Joneses)  
 look down on (somebody)  
 look forward to ('anticipate')  
 look out for (wet leaves)  
 LOOK UP to (somebody)  
 put up with (somebody's behaviour)  
 run away with ('become uncontrollable')  
 Stand up for (one's ideals)  
 TURN out for (a meeting)  
 walk out on ('abandon')

Note

Some particles, eg: about and over, can serve as a particle of both a phrasal and a prepositional verb:

I think we'd better pass over these mistakes

.. ■ i ulu. fthemover

~I think we d better pass-4 7

Love them

Compare:

("the idea over ('managed to communicate'). \over the idea ('managed to forget').

12.28

Alternative analyses of strings consisting of a verb + a prepositional phrase

A sentence like He looked at the girl can be given two analyses. In one, there is a prepositional phrase (at the girl) as adverbial; in the other, looked at is a prepositional verb with the girl as prepositional object. (We will use the shorter term 'prepositional object' for what should properly be termed 'object after a prepositional verb'.)

ANALYSIS 1: V A

He looked at the girl analysis 2: prep-V prep-O

Analysis 1 (verb + adverbial) accounts for the similarity of prepositional phrases with regard to relative clause structure and the positioning of adverbs:

The

girl{

at whom he looked to whom he came

Types of complementation 819

Hooked slyly at the girl "e\stood quietly near the girl

Analysis 2 (prepositional verb+prepositional object) accounts for the similarity of these structures to that of transitive non-prepositional verbs:

(looked at admired •stood near

Two modes of analysis are also applicable to sentences like He gave an apple to the girl

where to the girl can be considered a prepositional adverbial (Analysis 1), accounting for the similarity between, for example, the following sentences:

[gave an apple to 1 HeJ found an apple for >the girl [aimed an apple at J

Analysis 2, by which the girl is a prepositional object, highlights the similarity with the parallel non-prepositional construction:

[gave ] He< found >the girl an apple

L\*aimedJ

The two analyses can be regarded as different, but equally valid and complementary ways of looking at the same structure. The former Analysis is that used in Chapter 7; in this chapter, which deals largely with voice, it is natural to adopt the latter analysis.

Types of complementation

12.29

Three types of verb can be distinguished where no complementation occurs: (i) 'Pure' intransitive verbs, which can never take an object, as in

Our friends have arrived

(ii) Verbs which can be transitive or intransitive with little or no difference in meaning or in subject-verb relationship, as in

He smokes (cigars) every day<sup>820</sup> The verb and its complementation

(iii) Verbs which can be transitive or intransitive but with considerable difference in meaning or in subject-verb relationship (c/App I,4n as in

The light shone from the far corner He grew rapidly during that period beside

He shone the light from the far corner He grew tomatoes as a hobby.

12.30

Where complementation occurs, there are four main types:

[A] Intensive, eg: John is only a boy

[B] Mono transitive, eg: He caught a big fish yesterday

[C] Ditransitive, eg: He gave Mary a doll

[D] Complex transitive, eg: She called him a hero

These complementation types have been discussed in several places, notably in 2.4 ff and 7.6. Here, we will consider them all together, paying particular attention to their different subtypes and their active-passive relation (cf 12.2 ff), and give lists of verbs which occur in the different subtypes of complementation. These lists are of course not exhaustive, but it is hoped that they will be a useful source of reference.

Intensive complementation [Type A]

Copulas

12.31

Intensive complementation obtains in sentences where there is co-reference relation between the subject and the subject complement (see 5.7/, 7.11). The verb in sentences with subject complement is a 'copula' (or 'linking verb'), which of itself has little meaning but functions as a link between the complement and the subject. The dispensability of the copula can be seen in the relation of intensive predication to premodification {the man who is tall~the tall man) and in object complements of the complex transitive type of complementation: I found him (to be) unreliable (12.69).

12.32

The typical, colourless copula is be, which expresses essence (Sugar is sweet) or accident (John is perplexed). Other copulas, which have more intrinsic meaning than be, form two main classes, 'current' and 'resulting' copulas, the most common of which are listed below:

■ Current' copulas	' Resulting' copulas
"Tppear (happy)	become (older)
feel (annoyed)	come (true)
lie (scattered)	get (ready)
look (dejected)	go (sour)
remain (uncertain)	grow (tired)
rest (assured)	fall (sick)
seem (restless)	Run (wild)
smell (sweet)	turn (sour) sound (surprised) stand (perplexed) taste (bitter)

### 12.33

[A1] Noun phrase complement, as in

John is a nice boy [A2] Adverbial complement, as in

He is at school today

These complements will not be further discussed here, since they have been dealt with elsewhere: see, respectively, 4.39, 7.2^"and 8.46, 8.73 (where adverbial complements are related to other adjuncts as 'predicative').

Adjective phrase complement 12.34

[A3] Adjective phrase complement without postmodification, eg

John is (very) bright

[A41 Adjective phrase with prepositional phrase postmodification (cf 5.36 and, for relations to the passive, 12.16).

about: He was shocked about her reaction (c/6.51)

ADJECTIVE	PARTICIPLE
-----------	------------

angry	aggrieved
glad	annoyed
happy	frightened
knowledgeable	pleased
mad	worried, etc reasonable, etc

### 822 The verb and its complementation

at: She was bad at mathematics

She was annoyed at his behaviour (c/6.54)

ADJECTIVE
-----------

angry	clever	good
hopeless	terrible, etc	

PARTICIPLE
------------

alarmed
amused
delighted
disgusted
pleased

puzzled

staggered, etc

in: She was successful in her attempts

She is interested in languages ADJECTIVE PARTICIPLE

efficient experienced

fortunate interested

lucky justified

outstanding mistaken, etc

persistent resolute unsuccessful zealous, etc

of: She was aware of his difficulties

She was convinced of his brilliance ADJECTIVE PARTICIPLE

afraid convinced

certain scared

conscious tired, etc

fond glad resentful, etc

on/upon: His plan was based on co-operation He is insistent on his rights (cf6.5\)

ADJECTIVE PARTICIPLE

VE LE

contingent based

dependent bent

intent set, etc

keen

reliant

severe, etc

to: He is subject to criticism

ADJECTIVE PARTICIPLE

answerable inclined

e

averse opposed,  
etc

liable

subject,

etc

Types of complementation 823

with: This plan is not compatible with our principles

He is concerned with her behaviour ADJECTIVE PARTICIPLE

angry

busy

comfortable

compatible

content

delirious

familiar

furious

happy  
impatient  
incompatible  
jubilant  
sick  
uncomfortable  
uneasy  
unfamiliar  
unhappy, etc  
annoyed  
bored  
delighted  
depressed  
disappointed  
disgusted  
dismayed  
distressed  
enchanted  
excited  
exhausted  
horrified  
intoxicated  
obsessed  
occupied  
overcome  
pleased  
satisfied  
upset, etc

[A5] With finite clause postmodification

That-clause postmodifying adjective phrase complement may have:

- (i) indicative verb: I am sure that he is here now
- (ii) subjunctive verb: I am insistent that he be ready (formal)
- (iii) putative should: I am sorry that he should come (formal)

Putative should occurs after expressions of emotion: sorrow, joy, displeasure, surprise, wonder, etc. SAou/rf-clauses frequently contain Words and expressions such as so, such, like this, like that, ever, or at all. The meaning of putative should has been discussed in 11.72 (see also 8.24 The verb and its complementation 8.84). For the subjunctive, see 3.16. The following pairs of sentences illustrate possible choices with some subject complements:

Types of complementation 825

I am sorry I have to leave.

I am surprised you haven't called the doctor before.

It's good the lecture is over.

It was natural for him to go to London after the war.

I am sorry Mrs Smith should have been so inconvenienced. I am surprised that anyone of your intelligence should be so foolish as to believe this. It's good somebody should have illusions like that. It was natural that he should like to think that he had so much perspicacity.

7Vio/-clauses cannot be preceded by prepositions. Hence adjectives which are constructed with prepositions before noun phrase complements drop them before that-clauses (r/12.46). Compare the following:

I am sur

'of his innocence that he is innocent

12.36

Personal subject-fcopula+adjective phrase + /Aaf-clause, eg

I am sure that we'll be late

I am amazed that he should get the post

ADJECTIVE

afraid

angry

aware

certain

confident

conscious

glad

grateful

happy

proud

sad

sure

thankful, etc

PARTICIPLE

alarmed

amazed

amused

annoyed

astonished

depressed

disappointed

distressed

disturbed

frightened

horrified  
irritated  
pleased  
shocked  
upset, etc

It+copula + adjective phrase + Mar-clause (i) with indicative verb:

It is true that she never came

ADJECTIVE

apparent certain

evident

implicit

likely

obvious

plain

possible

probable

true

well-known, etc

(ii) with subjunctive verb:

It is expedient that he arrive by tomorrow

DEVERBAL ADJECTIVE

advisable desirable inadvisable preferable, etc

ADJECTIVE

appropriate

compulsory

crucial

essential

fitting

imperative

important

necessary

obligatory

proper

vital, etc



(iii) with putative should:

It is awkward that he should be late

It is appropriate that he should get the post

#### ADJECTIVE

appropriate

awkward

curious

disastrous

dreadful

#### DEVERBAL ADJECTIVE

admirable commendable

deplorable despicable incomprehensible

#### PARTICIPLE

alarming

annoying

depressing

disappointing

disconcerting

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#### ADJECTIVE DEVERBAL

E AD/EI

extraordinary inconceivable

ry

fitting lamentable

fortunate regrettable

important remarkable

improper understandable

e

irrational unjustifiable,

etc

logical

odd

peculiar

proper

queer

sad

tragic, etc

#### PARTICIPLE

embarrassing

frightening

irritating

perplexing pleasing shocking surprising upsetting, etc

[A6] With to-infinitive postmodification 12.38

This type contains several superficially similar but basically different constructions. We can distinguish at least the following five classes:

[I] He is splendid to wait (12.39) [II] He is hard to convince (12.40)

[III] He is slow to react (12.41)

[IV] He is furious to hear about it (12.42) [V] He is hesitant to agree with you (12.43)

In constructions of Type I, He is splendid to wait, the subject (he) of the finite copula (is) is also the subject of the non-finite complement clause (to wait). These constructions have analogues with anticipatory it (cf 14.23, UISjT):

It is splendid of him to wait

The adjectival complement heads can have alternatives with degree nouns:

IT . (splendid 1. He is { , ho {a gentlemanj

TI . (clever 1. , ■

He is < . • ho make so much money

|\_a magicianj

„ ffoolish")...

You are-j „ . J-to spend so much

you

\an angel

}

to do this for me

■jiji

Types of complementation 827

Other nouns than those which denote degree do not accept this construction: \*He is a doctor to make so much money. Cf however: He must be twice) a doctor to make so much money.

12.40

In Type II. He & nar^t0 convince, the subject (he) of the finite copula (is) is the object of the infinitive (convince). We may distinguish two subtypes here. In the first of these, there are analogues with the non-finite clause as subject and with extraposition. The adjective is here primarily predicating the infinitive clause.

He is hard to convince

~To convince him is hard

~It is hard to convince him

He is difficult to astonish

~To astonish him is difficult

-It is difficult to astonish him

He is convenient to send

~To send him is convenient

~It is convenient to send him

The second subtype has no analogues with the infinitive clause as subject:

The air is frosty to breathe

~ \*To breathe the air is frosty

~ \*It is frosty to breathe the air We can omit the clause more readily with this subtype:

The air is frosty (to breathe)

The food is ready (to eat)

The paper is flimsy (to write on) With the first subtype there can rarely be an ellipsis:

He is hard •\*- He is hard to convince

Since the subject (he) is the object of the infinitive (convince), no additional direct object is possible:

\*He is easy to convince Mary Indirect and direct object constructions are also odd:

?He is easy to send complaints ?Complaints are easy to send him

Compare, however:

IT •

He is easy to send complaints to. 828 The verb and its complementation

12.41

Type III consists of adjectives which have adverbial transforms. We can distinguish two subtypes. In the first, the subject of the copula is also the subject of the infinitive (cf Type I above):

[promptl

He was< quick HO react [slow j

{promptly quickly slowly

Types of complementation 829

In the second subtype, the subject of the copula is the object of the infinitive (c/Type II above and App 1,41 b):

The clothes are easy to wash •v It is easy to wash the clothes '-The clothes wash easily.

12.42

Type IV consists of 'attitudinal' expressions where the complement head can be either an adjective (eg: angry) or an adjectival participle (eg: annoyed). In this construction the relation of the infinitive clause to the rest of the sentence is that of a quasi-agent expressing cause (cf 12.16):

fbored

I was< furious fto hear about it (indignantj

("bored me

~ To hear about it<

infuriated me

fbored > made me< furious

[indignant

{fbored T \. , . , ^me LinfunatedJ

{bored furious indignant

hear about ,t

"oj boar-

Adjectives like indignant without a corresponding verb have only the make paraphrase.

angry

content

furious

glad

happy

impatient

indignant

jubilant, etc

MJU

## PARTICIPLES

annoyed

astonished

bored

concerned

delighted

depressed

disappointed

disgusted

(dis) satisfied

embarrassed

excited

fascinated

overwhelmed

perturbed

puzzled

surprised

worried, etc

12.43

Type V consists of 'volitional' expressions, indicating intention or willingness, or the reverse. The adjectival character of the participles is apparent from the admissibility of modification by rather and of copulas like/ee/, seem, etc.

hesitant

prone

reluctant

iO/ \*i ■. willing , -HratherK. ., 6, feel Jv ' inclined

induced disinclined \ disposed

As we have found in 12.14^, there is a passive scal^ . In relation to such participle-with-infinitive constructions, We can distinguish three subtypes:

{a) I was asked to come

(b) I was forced to come

(c) I was inclined to come

Subtype (a) requires the active with personal subject (12.52.\$"): i\*>

to agree with you

f [People] \[\*Circumstances]

asked me to come 830 The verb and its complementation

Subtype (b) can have actives with either personal or non-personal subjects:

1

forced me to come

f [People]

\ [Circumstances] J

Subtype (c) has only active analogues with the make construction:

... ■ .f?inclined me 1

~ [Circumstances] K , - .. , J-to [.made me inclined] J

come.

Monotransitive complementation [Type B] 12.44

Objects have a number of semantic functions (cf 7.13 ff). It is not possible to consider here all these relations in transitive complementation. The following lists exemplify some of the most common subtypes of complementation. The listing will be particularly unrepresentative in the case of types with numerous verbs, such as monotransitive complementation with noun phrase objects.

12.45

[B1] Noun phrase objects

(a) Animate subject+inanimate, concrete object:

The boys caught the ball ~The ball was caught (by the boys)

CARRY COVER EXAMINE FOLLOW

INSPECT LOWER RUIN SEE

STOP

TEST WIN

etc

(b) Animate subject+inanimate, abstract object:

Everybody understood the problem

~The problem was understood (by everybody)

CONSIDER

DECIDE

DEFINE

DESCRIBE

DETECT

DISCUSS

INVESTIGATE

RECOGNIZE

REPORT

DEMONSTRATE FORMULATE etc

(c) Animate subject+animate object:  
Everybody liked the new neighbours  
~The new neighbours were liked (by everybody)

>

Types of complementation 831  
ACCEPT ADVISE APPRECIATE CALL  
CONVINCE FOLLOW JOIN MEET  
PAY  
REJECT  
SUPPORT

etc

(d) Inanimate, abstract subject+animate object {cf 12.16):

The news shocked the family  
~The family was shocked (by the news)

AFFECT  
CONVERT  
EMBARRASS  
FASCINATE  
HELP IMPRESS INCENSE OVERWHELM  
SAVE SURPRISE TROUBLE etc

John searched

12.46

[B2] Prepositional objects

Sentences with prepositional objects, which should really be termed 'objects after prepositional verbs' (see 12.28), can occur in the passive just like sentences with non-prepositional objects:

for the room ~ The room was searched (by John) for the key ~ The key was searched for (by John)

The prepositional object may be a noun, a pronoun, an -ing, or a wh-clause (see 6.2):

for the song

He concentrated on that

singing

(what they would sing)

Infinitives and r/iaf-clauses cannot be preceded by prepositions. Compare the following two series, (a) with a prepositional verb and (b) with a non-prepositional verb:

(a) He objected

(b) He forgot

to the meeting to it

to meeting her to what had been decided [(that) they had already met the meeting it

?meeting her what had been decided (that) they had already met .to meet her

832 The verb and its complementation

Types of complementation 833

We asked for their assistance ~ Their assistance was asked for (Compare the list in 12.27)

ACCOUNT FOR ADJUST TO ADMIT TO

AGREE ABOUT/ON/TO AIM AT/FOR ARGUE ABOUT ARRANGE FOR ASK

FOR BELIEVE IN CALL FOR/ON CALL UPON COMPLAIN ABOUT

CONCEIVE OF CONCENTRATE ON

CONTRIBUTE TO

DEAL WITH

DECIDE ON

DWELL UPON

GET AWAY WITH

HEAR ABOUT

HOPE FOR

INTERFERE WITH

LEARN ABOUT

LECTURE ABOUT/ON

LISTEN TO

LIVE ON

LONG FOR

LOOK AFTER/AT/ON/TO

PAY FOR

PRAY FOR

PREACH ABOUT/ON

PROVIDE FOR QUARREL ABOUT READ ABOUT REJOICE AT

RELY ON

SPEAK ABOUT/ON TALK OF THINK OF WISH FOR WRITE ABOUT/ON

etc

Notes

[a] When to precedes an infinitive, it is an infinitive marker (forgo! to meet her) and not a preposition, in which case to (like other prepositions) is regularly followed by the -ing form:

He admitted to doing it

This amounts to doing the whole thing over again

I confess to having committed the crime

We are all looking forward to meeting you soon

He took to playing golf

[h] Prepositions may occur with *for*-clauses in the case of the compound conjunction in that, save that, except that (11.9), and in passive constructions of the type: It was agreed that they would meet again soon.

12.47

[B3] Finite clause objects

Finite clause objects are *that*- and *wh*-clauses (11.17/). The conjunction in *for*-clauses may be zero except when it has initial position in passive clauses (and thus obeys the same rules as other nominal clauses as subject, see 11.17). The normal

passive analogue has it and extraposition. For proforms for direct object clauses {I believe so, [think not] see 10.62.

Everybody hoped (that) he would sing

[That he would sing was hoped by everybody ~s \*He would sing was hoped by everybody

[It was hoped by everybody (that) he would sing

7fta/-clauses may have three types of verb phrase:

(a) (is coming will be coming will come has come

(b) putative should: I regret that he should be so stubborn

(c) subjunctive verb: I request that she go alone

(a) with indicative verb is the unmarked type, (b) with putative should has been discussed in connection with intensive complementation (/ am surprised that he should be so stubborn) where it is more common than with transitive verbs (11.72, 12.35). The subjunctive type(c) seems to be restricted to AmE in cases where BrE favours other means of expression, such as putative should (cf 3.16).

(a) They agree that she is pretty - It is agreed that she is pretty

ACCEPT

ADMIT

ANNOUNCE

ANSWER

ASSUME

BELIEVE

CLAIM

COMPLAIN

CONTEST

DECLARE

DEMONSTRATE

DENY

DISCOVER

DOUBT

EXPECT

FEEL

FIND

FORGET

GUARANTEE

HOPE

IGNORE

IMPLY

INDICATE

KNOW

NOTICE

OBSERVE

OVERLOOK

PROVE

REMARK



REPORT  
SAY  
SEE  
SHOW  
SPECIFY  
SUPPOSE  
THINK  
UNDERSTAND  
etc

(b) I regret that she should worry about it  
~It is regretted that she should worry about it

(c) I request that she go alone  
~It is requested that she go alone

Verbs that take putative should and subjunctive verb can be given  
in one list:

ask consent (usually should)  
AUTHORIZE DECREE  
DESIRE DICTATE<sup>834</sup> The verb and its complementation  
COMMAND  
grant (usually should)  
INSIST  
MOVE  
ORDER  
DEMAND  
PERMIT  
PROPOSE  
RECOMMEND  
REQUEST  
DIRECT REQUIRE SUGGEST URGE  
etc

(d) He askedl . . , j-they were coining -It was askedi . . Uhey were coming

ASK  
CONSIDER  
DECIDE  
DETERMINE  
DISCUSS  
DOUBT EXAMINE FIND OUT FORGET GUESS  
KNOW]  
notice Kwith negative verb)  
SAY J TEST WONDER, etc  
Non-finite clause objects 1X48

It will be convenient to discuss all non-finite verb clauses together under monotransitive complementation, although some are closely related to other types of complementation. We will distinguish non-finite clause objects with subjects and without subjects, and, within each of these subtypes, between infinitival and participial verb clauses (Fig 12:2).

non-finite  
clause  
object

r to-infinitive	[B4]	He likes to talk]		
subject			\ C2-49	
*--ing participle	[B5]	He likes talking]	_5p	
■ w-infinitive		He wants her to come	rinfinitive	™ ^2.52-56)
■ bare infinitive		He saw her come		
[B7J	(12.57)			
with subject				
-ing participle		He saw her coming	participle	IB3 (I2-58>
-erf participle		He found the seats taken	[B9]	(12.59)

Fig 12:2 Non-finite clause objects

Types of complementation 835

rg4] To-infinitive without subject and [B5] -ing participle without subject  
12.49

m4] and [B5] contain several classes of verbs.

(a) Verbs which take only the infinitive:

John longed-J ,, , . J-his homework

(b) Verbs which take only the participle:

t k. a -~i/having stolen V,

John demedj.^ ^t stolen}the money

(c) Verbs which take either the infinitive or the participle:

John began-l ■ • Jin the shower

\singing/

(d) Verbs which take either (active) participle or passive infinitive (deserve, need, require, and sometimes want):

Your shoes need<... , |,to be cleaned

The passive analogue is rare with these verbs; the infinitive construction occurs in the passive (with extraposed it) only with certain verbs, notably agree, decide, and/ee/.-

My family decided to go abroad

~It was decided (by my family) to go abroad.

12.50

The infinitive and participle constructions with Class (c) verbs are not in free variation. There is usually felt to be a difference in meaning between them, although it may be of little practical importance. The participle construction generally implies 'fulfilment', and the infinitive construction 'potentiality'.

He enjoys

? 1 to visit I m-s

"8!^!

Uo visit j

The general rule is also apparent in verbs where the choice is not absolute:

He start j/sp^'ng a fld kept on for more than an hour

\to speak but stopped because she objected Another factor governing the choice is aspect (cf3.36ff):

I heard the door(^amming f nigh!long |,5lam just after midnight936 The verb and its complementation

Note the present/future verb contrast with remember: I remember walking over Westminster Bridge I'll remember to walk carefully in London.

12.51

For both [B4] and [B5], we may distinguish between (i) an 'emotive' class of verbs, such as forget and prefer, and (ii) a 'process' class of verbs, such as begin, continue, and cease.

Types of complementation 837

(a) verbs with to-infinitive

AGREE AIM

ARRANGE

ASK

ATTEMPT

CHOOSE

CLAIM

CONSENT

DARE

DECIDE

DECLINE

DEMAND

DESERVE

DETERMINE

EXPECT

HOPE

LEARN

LONG

MANAGE

MEAN

OFFER

PRETEND

PROMISE

REFUSE

THREATEN

WANT

WISH

etc

(b) verbs with -ing participle

ACKNOWLEDGE

ADMIT (TO)

AVOID

CONSIDER

CONTEMPLATE

DEFER

DENY

detest (rarely infinitive)

DISLIKE ESCAPE

EVADE

FACILITATE

FANCY

FAVOUR

FINISH

GIVE UP

cannot help

INCLUDE KEEP (ON)

don't mind

MISS POSTPONE

PRACTISE

PUT OFF

RESENT

RESIST

RISK

SHUN

cannot stand stop

SUGGEST

etc

(c) verbs with /o-infinitive or ■ing participle

(i) EMOTIVE VERBS

cannot bear

DREAD FORGET

HATE

INTEND

LIKE

LOVE

NEGLECT

PREFER

REGRET

REMEMBER

etc

(») PROCESS VERBS

BEGIN

START

CONTINUE

## CEASE

delay (usually -ing,

## OMIT

## PLAN

## TRY

## UNDERTAKE

Not\*

Unlike eg: cease, stop takes only the participle construction as object:

./smoking ('gave up smoking') Johnstoppe ^ (0 jnjpfcj capped jnoRjer to smoke', ie adverbial)

[B6] 7b-infinitive with subject

12.52

The complements consisting of noun phrase + (o-infinitive in the following two sentences look superficially the same:

(a) I told him to see a doctor

(b) I liked him to see a doctor

However, (a) and (b) differ both in their meaning and in their structural possibilities, as the following examples show.

(i) Pseudo-cleft sentence construction:

What \ m... , mim was to see a doctor (ii) Infinitive replacement by a noun phrase:

Trtoid

1

Trtoi

1 • r

v ...

(iii) Infinitive replacement by a that-clause:

u .., , Vhim that he should see a doctor

\\*hkedj

(iv) Replacement by the genitive case for the common case of nouns and for the objective case of pronouns:

Tf\*told"\".. , ,

IJ,.. , s-his seeing a doctor tjiked J

(v) Interchange of object and subject in the non-finite clause: rsa

I told him to see a doctor aVt

i-I told a doctor to see him n!

I liked him to see a doctor ~I liked a doctor to see him.

12.53

The two classes of complementation can be analysed in the following way:

\*■

(a) I told him to come = S+V+O/S + roinfinitive clause

(b) I liked him to come=S+V+O[S + /o-infinitive clausebjh I tie verb and its complementation

In Class (a) him has a double function; it is the object of told and the subject of come:

I told him that he should come

In Class (b) the whole non-finite clause *him to come* serves as the object of *liked* with *him* as the subject of *come*.

Class (a) can be considered a subtype of ditransitive complementation. Compare:

*Wt t ju- f to answer I asked bim-i*

*\a question*

Class (b) is related both to monotransitive verbs, which have a single object, and to complex transitive verbs, which have an object with intensive relation (see 12.67 ff).

Compare the following two sets:

This smoking (b) I disliked I (the fact) that he smoked

{(him to be a smoker him a smoker him smoking

Although *dislike* accepts the infinitive construction with *be*, it does not take the intensive relation without the copula: \* I disliked him a smoker. Verbs like *find*, which do so, are called Class (c) verbs. When Class (c) verbs are constructed with an infinitive, it is usually *be*:

{to take good care of his children to be a good father \*a good father

(to take good care of his children (c) I found him< to be a good father

(a good father

The two types are also semantical!;' distinct. The verbs of (b) express cause, intent, etc; the verbs of (c) denote assumption, knowledge, etc. Note

[a] The two types can be compared with pJ3 b/cj and [B3a] (12.47), ie verbs taking /Aa/-clauses as objects where the verbs are subjunctive or putative should and indicative, respectively:

... .. .. ..flake good care of his children

(b) I urged that he (should^ a gwxf father

(c) I found that hJt00k g0°tCf?°l hiS ChadlCT

Lwas a good father

[b] The causative meaning of (b) verbs also appears in the underlying directional preposition of verbs like *force* and *urge*;

He forced me/;0\*10'1. .., (.into doing it

Types of complementation 839

He found m

doit

\*tOdoit

f\*tOdoit

e< .. .., (.to it.

12.54

The following lists do not take account of all the criteria listed in 12.52, which would entail extensive cross-classification. The classes of verbs have been classified on the following basis:

(a) takes the pseudo-cleft sentence construction:

What I asked him was to come early

(b) does not take the pseudo-cleft sentence construction, except by adding a replacive *do*:

"What I expected him was to come early What I expected him to do was to come early

Class (b) forms two subclasses. The non-finite clause complement of verbs like intend, Subclass (i), can have voice transformation without change of meaning; with verbs of Subclass (II), for example urge, there is a complete change of meaning between the active and the passive:

(i) I intended a doctor to examine him

~I intended him to be examined by a doctor (n) I urged a doctor to examine him

■\* I urged him to be examined by a doctor

(c) regularly has be as infinitive, which is often omissible, thus indicating an intensive relation (12.31 ff, \2A1 ff):

fto be an honest man I believe Brutus< an honest man [honest

Class (a) Class (b)

ADVISE

ALLOW

ASK

FORBID

ORDER

PERMIT

TEACH

(I) CAUSE EXPECT GET INTEND

LIKE MEAN

Class (c)

ACKNOWLEDGE

APPOINT

ASSUME

BELIEVE

CHOOSE

CLAIM

REQUIRE ELECT840 The verb and its complementatrc

Class (a) Class (b) Class (c)

—continued

TELL WANT FEEL."

etc etc find

(n) COMPEL HOLD

DARE IMAGINE

ENCOURAGE KNOW"

FORCE OBSERVE"

HELP' PROCLAIM

INCITE REPORT

INDUCE SUPPOSE

PERSUADE THINK etc PRESS TEMPT

urge etc Note

[a] For help, see Note in 12.57.

[b] feel, know and observe do not accept omission of the copula:

Everybody observed John to be reliable ~\*Everybody observed John reliable

know is rather formal with the copula construction: We all knew him to be a good man

[c] give can occur with the to-infinitive with certain restricted verbs, especially understand:

"e^venc)to understand that... I was given J

12.55

There is another type with infinitive complement where the verb is constructed with for;

He hoped for Mary to come It includes the following verbs:

APPLY	PLAN	SEND
ARRANGE	PLEAD	TELEPHONE
ASK	PRAY	VOTE
CALL	PREPARE	WAIT
LONG	PROVIDE	etc
MEAN	RING	

12.56

The verbs in [B6] generally have passive analogues (cf 12.2 ff)\ They saw him do it ~ He was seen to do it

Types of complementation 841

However, many verbs have no one-to-one voice relation. Some verbs are typically active, such as want, enable, and persuade, whereas for example allow, ask, intend, mean, oblige commonly occur in the passive. Some verbs, like say, calculate, and repute, have in fact no direct active analogue. Consider the following set of verbs:

He was

PASSIVE

seen to do it invited to do it

said to do it calculated to do it reputed to do it

ACTIVE

~They saw him do it ~They invited him to do it

("They said him to do it ~ \They said that he did it

J"\*They calculated him to do it ~\They calculated that he would do it

f\*They reputed him to do it ~\\*They reputed that he would do it

Not\*

However, repute can be used in the active with be and have :

They reputed him to have the means to do it They reputed him to be the one who did it.

12.57

[B7] Bare infinitive with subject

In the set of sentences given in 12.56, we can note, furthermore, that the passive construction with /o-infinitive corresponds either to a bare active infinitive (as with



see) or to a to-infinitive (as with invite, etc). This is a regular feature in English: there is no verb in the passive that has a bare infinitive (except let: The grass was let grow). The verbs taking the bare infinitive in the active are the verbs of perception, hear, see, watch, and also help, let, and make.

They heard him come ~ He was heard to come

Note

help also takes the TO-infinitive. The bare infinitive seems to be the more common in AmE than in BrE, but in both varieties the choice is conditioned by the subject's involvement:

Will you help me clear the table?

This boot helped me to see the truth

In the example with bare infinitive, external help is called to; in the example with to-infinitive, assistance is outside the action proper.

12.58

[B8] -ing participle with subject

This type contains two classes of verbs. Verbs in (a) permit different constructions: either with a genitive instead of the object or a factive clause paraphrase; the verb and its complementation

verbs in (b) have neither of these possibilities.

(a)  $\{ \text{the fact that he steals money} \}$

$\{ \text{the fact that he steals money} \}$

$\{ \text{the fact that he steals money} \}$

Verbs in Class (a):

DISLIKE

NOTICE

RESENT

HATE

OBSERVE

Cannot STAND

inrp

RECOLLECT etc

don't MIND

REMEMBER

Verbs in Class (b) form subsets:

(i) the perception verbs hear, see, watch, which also take the bare

infinitive (see B7,12.57); (ii) feel, find, imagine, etc, which also take to-infinitive, usually be

(see B6,12.54); (iii) catch, keep, leave, etc, which have no alternative construction

with infinitive complement (The infinitive is adverbial in / left

him today. -cf. Uff.)

[B9] -ed participle with subject

The tourists found the chairs occupied

~The chairs were found occupied (by the tourists)

However, some verbs which take the active construction cannot passivize:

I wanted two tickets reserved

\*Two tickets were wanted reserved

The verbs form two classes depending on whether they can have an alternative finite

\*&j/-clause for the non-finite construction:

„>)<<<<

I) go ]\*

\tbat the watch was stolen (h\ H t/ watch repaired I ) go ]\*faat the watch was repaired

Class (a) verbs are, for example, find, hear, report, and see. Class (b) verbs are, for example, get, have, keep, leave, want, and watch.

Types of complementation 843

In AmE, wont admits a finite clause: He wonted that the man (should) be arrested.

Note

Constructions with have+objec! + -ed participle can easily be ambiguous, since have has different meanings: (a) 'cause', (b) 'involvement', or (c) 'possession'. The sentence John had a book stolen from the library has at least these three possible interpretations:

(a) John arranged for a book to be stolen from the library ('cause')

(b) John suffered the loss of a book from the library (' involvement')

(c) John had a book that was stolen from the library ('possession').

Ditransitive complementation [Type C] fCI] Indirect-I-direct noon phrase object 1X60

Ditransitive complementation involves two objects that are not in a co-referential, intensive relation (see 7.5/, 12.31^). Type CI occurs with verbs like give and buy (for other examples, see 12.63):

He gave the girl a doll

He bought the girl a white hat

(i) Indirect objects can be omitted without changing the basic meaning:

He gave a doll \* He gave the girl He bought a white hat \*He bought the girl

(ii) Indirect objects can take prepositional paraphrases (cf: C2,6.37):

He gave a doll to the girl

He bought a white hat for the girl

(iii) Indirect objects are typically animate, although this is not always the case, as for example in metaphorical use, where the direct object has a verbal analogue:

[awash

He gave the cars a kick [a pat (washed\*! ~H« kicked Mhecar [patted J

■.;, » '•

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Compare:

He gave the girl a doll dolled the girl

Some ditransitive verbs have two passive analogues:

~A doll was given the girl ~ The girl was given a doll

Of these two passives, the second is the more common. The first, with an inanimate subject, normally takes the prepositional paraphrase (ie Type C2a in 12.62):

~ A doll was given to the girl In metaphorical use, give has only two passive analogues:

(The car was given a wash

~ < A wash was given to the car

[\*A wash was given the car.

## 12.61

One subset of verbs with ditransitive complementation is distinguished by a different object relation. It includes discourse verbs like ask, teach, tell, as well as owe, pay, and show. With these verbs either object can be omitted without changing the basic meaning; a prepositional paraphrase is also possible:

I asked John a question [I asked John I asked a question [I asked a question of John

When the direct object is omitted with a verb like ask, the verb becomes monotransitive (ie the indirect object becomes the direct object, cf 12.44 ff); the verbs like give, however, do not become monotransitive (ie the indirect object does not become the direct object), C1 verbs are listed in 12.63.

[C2] Direct+prepositional object 12.62

This includes two main types of prepositional object:

Inanimate direct + animate prep-phrase object Animate direct+prep-phrase object

[C2a] [C2b]

Types of complementation 84S

'Animate' should be understood to mean 'typically animate'. Many of the verbs admit either animate or inanimate nouns, for example:

, (the boy with his parents We compared<sup>^</sup> ^

Unlike ditransitive verbs with non-prepositional objects (eg give, 12.60/), ditransitive verbs with a prepositional object normally have only one passive analogue: We explained the problem to the children [C2a]

(The problem was explained to the children "" \ ?The children were explained the problem We reminded him of the agreement [C2b]

/He was reminded of the agreement \\*The agreement was reminded him

Some verbs have all three possibilities of construction, many have two; for others there is only one alternative (in some cases the alternatives are not identical but very similar in meaning):

TELL(1+2a+2b):

Mary told only John the secret Mary told the secret only to John Mary told only John about the secret

offer (1 +2a):

John offered Mary some help John offered some help to Mary

She envied John the success She envied John for his success

provide (2a+2b):

Mary provided funds for him Mary provided him with funds

refuse (1):

The bank refused him the loan say (2a):

Why didn't anybody say this to me ? introduce (2b):

Mary introduced John to economics<sup>846</sup> The verb and its complementation

The different constructional possibilities of certain verbs provide a means of achieving different focus (c/ 14.2<sup>^</sup>). Compare the following pairs of sentences:

/Mary blamed the broken vase on John

\Mary blamed John for the broken vase

/The government supplied blankets for the homeless

\The government supplied the homeless with blankets.

12.63

The following lists give some of the verbs that occur in Types 1, 2a and 2b.

Type 1

Type 2a

Type 2b

serve (somebody)    serve (something)    serve (somebody) something)                      to  
(somebody)    with (something)

(1+2a+2b) pay

SERVE

TELL

PAY tO SERVE tO TELL tO

pay for/with

SERVE with

tell about

BRING    BRING  
          tO/On  
DENY    DENY tO  
DO        do to/for  
GIVE    GIVE to  
GRANT    GRANTtO  
HAND    HAND tO  
LEAVE    LEAVE  
          tO/for  
LEND    LEND tO  
OFFER    OFFER tO  
OWE     OWE tO  
PROMISE PROMISE  
E        to  
READ    READ tO  
SHOW    SHOW tO  
TEACH    TEACH to  
THROW    THROW to  
FIND     find for  
MAKE    MAKE for  
ORDER    ORDER for  
RESERVE RESERVE  
E        for  
SAVE    save for  
SPARE    spare for  
ASK     ASK of

Typel

Types of complementation 847 Type 2a

Type 2b

ENVY

EXCUSE

FORGIVE

ENVY for

excuse for

FORGIVE for

(2a+2b)

BLAME on PROVIDE for

supply for/ib

BLAME for

provide with supply with

(1)

ALLOW CHARGE

FINE

REFUSE

WISH

(2a)

ADDRESS to ANNOUNCE to COMMUNICATE to EXPLAIN to SAY to

(2b)

advise about punish for

THANK for

prevent from protect from

INTEREST in ACCUSE of ASSURE Of CONVICT of CONVINCE Of DEPRIVE

of INFORM of PERSUADE of RELIEVE Of REMIND of ROB Of SUSPECT Of

WARN Of CONGRATULATE on

consult on

CONFINE to848 The verb and its complementation

Type 1

Type 2a

Type 2b

INTRODUCE to REFER to SENTENCE to SUBJECT to TREAT to CHARGE

With COMPARE With

Note the reflexive verbs (see 4.114) with a prepositional object, eg We pride ourselves on bis success.

12.64

[C2c] Verb+noun phrase+prepositional phrase idioms These constitute a special type of complex object. The verb and the two phrases form a very close, idiomatic unit, which has two passive analogues when either of the noun phrases can become the subject of a passive sentence:

The owner had made a mess o/the house

[C2c]

(A mess had been made of/the house

[2c'J

\The house had been made a mess of

[2c"J

Other examples of the latter kind of passive are:

Mary realized she was being made fun of Her beauty was made much of Pretty girls will always be taken notice of The children were taken good care of

There is a tendency to use the regular passive if the head of the prepositional phrase is premodified by an open-class adjective (and hence the idiomatic nature of the construction is weakened).

Considerable allowance will be made for special cases rather than

?Special cases will be made considerable allowance for

The [2c'] passive is often felt to be more formal than [2c"]. In some cases, it is unacceptable or rare. Compare:

This possibility was hardly ever made use of Wse was hardly ever made o/"this possibility

Types of complementation 849

The following list includes some idioms consisting of verb + noun phrase + prep-phrase:

CATCH SIGHT OF GIVE PLACE TO GIVE WAY TO KEEP PACE WITH LOSE SIGHT OF LOSE TOUCH WITH LOSE TRACK OF

MAKE ALLOWANCE FOR

MAKE FUN OF

MAKE A FUSS OVER/ABOUT

MAKE ROOM FOR

MAKE USE OF

PAY ATTENTION TO

PUT AN END TO

PUT A STOP TO SETHRETO TAKE ACCOUNT OF TAKE ADVANTAGE OF

TAKE CARE OF TAKE NOTE OF TAKE NOTICE OF, etc

12.65

[C3] Noun phrase+finite clause object

With some of the verbs it is not possible to delete the noun phrase object:

John convinced me he was right - • John convinced he was right

Other verbs admit object omission:

John showed me that he was honest ~ John showed that he was honest

(a)77w(-clause:

John assured her (that) he was honest

1

~ She was assured (that) he was honest

ADVISE NOTIFY SHOW

ASSURE PERSUADE TEACH

CONVINCE PROMISE TELL

INFORM REMIND WARN, etc

(b) WA-clause (usually in negative sentences):

John didn't ask me whether my wife was coming m I wasn't asked whether my wife was coming

ASK INFORM

REMIND TELL, etc

The difference of meaning between whether- and (fort-constructions, as in

T i\_ j-j .. ■ <■ (whether},. ..

John didn t inform me< . J-his wife was coming

can be stated in terms of different presuppositions. TTiar implies that his wife was supposed to come, whereas whether is noncommittal on this point850 The verb and its complementation

mm

|C4J Prepositional phrase+fArf-clause object

All the listed verbs take the preposition to and allow omission of the prepositional object

John mentioned to me that they were sick m It was mentioned to me that they were sick

ACKNOWLEDGE	EXPLAIN	SAY
ADMIT	MENTION	SIGNAL
ANNOUNCE	POINT OUT	STATE
COMPLAIN	PROPOSE	SUGGEST
CONFESS	REMARK	etc
DECLARE	REPORT	

Complex transitive complementation [Type D] 12.67

[DI] Object+noun phrase complement

Complex transitive complementation represents a fusion of the mono-transitive and intensive types of complementation (cf 12.44 ff, 12.

We considered Bill a friend f We considered Bill \Bill was a friend

The alternative non-finite clause construction with a copula (We considered Bill to be a friend) has been discussed in 12.53 ff. The DI type admits the passive thus:

The king made him a duke ~ He was made a duke (by the king) Some of the DI verbs are:

BRING UP	CREATE	MAKE
CONSIDER	DECLARE	THINK, CtC

When 'naming verbs' have unique reference (see 4.39), the article is often omitted:

They elected John chairman Similarly after announce, appoint, call, christen, crown, elect,

NAME, PRONOUNCE, etc.

Many of these verbs have alternative constructions:

[a genius pi]

We considered hum as a genius [D2] [to be a genius [B6]

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The intensive relation can obtain, however, not only between the object and the complement as in (a), but also between the subject and the complement as in (b):

(a) She made him a good husband

(b) She made him a good wife

(a) is resulting, 'She made him into a good husband', and has a passive analogue: \* He was made a good husband.' In the entirely different construction (b), there is an intensive relation between the subject and the complement, and hence no passive is possible. The meaning is current: ' She was a good wife for him.\*

1X68

[D2] Object+preposition + noun phrase complement

People recognized him as a genius ~ He was recognized as a genius

ACCEPT AS	DESCRIBE AS	REGARD AS	
ACKNOWLEDGE AS	INTEND AS	TAKE AS/FOR	WIOA
CLASS AS	INTERPRET AS	TREAT AS	IB
CHARACTERIZE AS	KNOW AS	USE AS	3VA
CONSH3ERAS	MISTAKE FOR	etO	
DEFJSEAS-	RECOGNIZE AS		

The normal preposition is as, but /i>r-also occurs with some verbs. take has both prepositions but with different uses:

He took these words as evidence

He took me for a fool

There is also a different type oT prepositional phrase that occurs after certain transitive verbs (such as put) which require an adverbial of some kind:

John put the car in the garage

The hostess showed me to the door

Mary placed the vase on the table

Everybody should take this matter into consideration In such cases there is an adverbial, not an intensive relation between the object and the head of the prepositional phrase:

\*The car was the garage.

12.69

|O3| Object+adjective phrase complement

We painted the house white a\*

~The house was painted white at:

i

852 The verb and its complementation

They considered the house beautiful ~The house was considered beautiful

We may distinguish between 'resulting' verbs like paint and 'current' verbs like consider {cf 12.32). Many of the latter have alternative constructions with to be or as+adjective, whereas resulting verbs do not:

•~ They considered iw Ibeautiful las J

~ \*They painted it-j [white

Current verbs Resulting verbs

BELIEVE GET

CALL HAVE

CONSIDER MAKE

R

DECLARE PAINT

E

FIND RENDER

IMAGINE SET

KEEP etc

LEAVE

LIKE



PREFER  
REPORT  
THINK  
WANT

etc

Nots

The resulting verbs can sometimes take (to) be, but when they do, the object assumes a function of performer in its own right:

Can't you get him to be a little more alert ? Have him be patient a little longer 1 They made her be good.

nbsw

12.70

[D4] Object-I-prepositional adjective phrase complement

The teacher described him as hopeless ~ He was described as hopeless

Verbs like describe, recognize, etc, are likely to have being in the active: They described the boy as being small.

CLASS AS                      REGARD AS

DESCRIBE AS                 REPORT AS

RECOGNIZE AS              SEE AS, etc

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Bibliographical nota

See Jespersen (1909-49), especially Parts HI, Chapters 12-18, V, Chapters 1-20; Kruisinga (1931-32), especially Part II.I; Poutsma (1926-29), especially Part II.2; and Huddleston (1971), Chapters 3 and 4. On voice, see Hatcher (1949), and Svartvik (1966), especially Chapters 5-8, and

(1970). On phrasal and prepositional verbs, see Carvell and Svartvik (1969), especially

Chapters 4, 9, 10; Kennedy (1920); Mitchell (1958).

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THIRTEEN

THE COMPLEX NOUN PHRASE

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## Introduction

### 13.1

Just as the sentence may be indefinitely complex (11,80 Jf), so may the noun phrase. This must be so, since subordinate clauses and indeed sentences themselves can readily be subordinated within noun-phrase structure. For example, the following sentences-simple and complex-can become one simple sentence with a very complex noun phrase as subject:

The girl is Mary Smith	[1a]
The girl is pretty	[1b]
The girl was in the corner	[1c]
The girl became angry because you waved to her	[1d]
You waved to the girl when you entered	[1e]
The pretty girl in the corner who became angry because you waved to her when you entered is Mary Smith	[2]

Moreover, starting from [2], we could unhesitatingly reconstruct any of the sentences listed in [1 ] - and in fact we could not understand the noun-phrase subject of [2] unless we recognized its component parts as they are set out in [1]. Yet [2] has introduced many changes. We have suppressed the verbs in [1b] and [1c] (which have different tenses); we have put the complement pretty of [1b] before the noun girl; we have replaced Ike girl of [1d] by who. The purpose of the present chapter h to state the conditions governing these and other changes that yield complex noun phrases in contrast to the basic noun phrases studied in Chapter 4.

## 13.2

In describing complex noun phrases, such as the subject of [2], we need to distinguish three component parts:

(a) The head, in our example *girl*, around which the other components cluster and which dictates concord and (for the most part) other kinds of congruence with the rest of the sentence outside the noun phrase. Thus

The pretty girl in the corner ... is ...

but

The pretty girls in the corner ... are...

Similarly

He frightened the pretty girl in the corner

rdMN» fens ;,....

but not

\*He frightened the pretty lampshade in the corner

853 The complex noun phrase

That is, there are no constraints affecting *frighten* and the pretty, ... in the corner but only *frighten* and the head *lampshade*. (On selection restrictions, see 7.37/).

(b) The premodification, which comprises all the items placed before the head - notably adjectives and nouns; for present purposes (but c/4.\3ff), we may add determiners to these pre-head items. Thus-

The pretty girl

Some pretty college girls

(c) The postmodification, comprising all the items placed after the head - notably prepositional phrases, non-finite clauses, and relative clauses:

The girl in the corner

The girl standing in the corner

The girl who stood in the corner

## 13.3

### Restrictive and non-restrictive

Modification can be restrictive or non-restrictive. That is, the head can be viewed as a member of a class which can be linguistically identified only through the modification that has been supplied (restrictive). Or the head can be viewed as unique or as a member of a class that has been independently identified (for example, in a preceding sentence); any modification given to such a head is additional information which is not essential for identifying the head, and we call it non-restrictive.

In [2], the girl is only identifiable as *Mary Smith* provided we understand that it is the particular girl who is pretty, who was in the corner, and who became angry. Such modification would not have been actually necessary unless there had been other girls present, pretty but not in the corner, or in the corner but not pretty, or who had not become angry.

By contrast, if a man says

Come and meet my beautiful wife

[3]

the modification beautiful must be understood as non-restrictive unless we are to imagine that he is distinguishing her from another of his wives who is not beautiful. Again,

Mary Smith, who is in the corner, wants to meet you

[4]

has a non-restrictive relative clause since Mary Smith's identity is independent of whether or not she is in the corner, though the information on her present location may be useful enough. In examples [3] and [4], the modification was inherently non-restrictive, since the heads in question -

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being unique-will not normally admit restriction. But almost any head that can be restrictively modified can also be non-restrictively modified:

The pretty girl, who is a typist, is Mary Smith [5]

Here the only information offered to identify the girl as Mary Smith is the allusion to her prettiness; the mention of her work as a typist is not offered as an aid to identification but for additional interest

We shall draw attention to the distinction in the description of the modification types below, but some general points may be of value here. First, modification at its 'most restrictive' tends to come after the head: that is, our decision to use an item as a premodifier (such as silly in a silly chatterbox) often reflects our wish that it be taken for granted and not be interpreted as a specific identifier. Secondly, restrictive modification tends to be given more prosodic emphasis than the head; non-restrictive modification, on the other hand, tends to be unstressed in pre-head position, while in post-head position, as in [4], its 'parenthetic' relation is endorsed by being given a separate tone unit (frequently with reduced prominence and narrow pitch range), or - in writing - by being enclosed by commas (App 11.12 Jf, App III. 12).

Note

The distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive is valuable but it must not be regarded as rigid or as separating two homogeneous categories of relation. 'Non-restrictive', for example, ranges from the parenthetic, through the appositive afterthought, to the adverbial: cf 13.32/.

13.4

Temporary and permanent

There is a second dichotomy that has some affinities with the distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive but rather more with the contrast of non-progressive and progressive in predication (3.39<sup>^</sup>) or permanent and temporary in agentials (App 1.21 Note b). Modification in noun-phrase structure may also be seen as permanent or temporary (5.35<sup>^</sup>), such that items placed in premodification position are given the linguistic status of permanent or at any rate characteristic features. Although this does not mean that postmodification position is committed to either temporariness or permanence, those adjectives which have to be postpositive have a notably temporary reference. Thus

The courteous man

would be understood as The man who is courteous (normally and not merely at this moment)

whereas The man is ready<sup>860</sup> The complex noun phrase  
Postmodification 861

would be understood as having reference only to a specific time and this corresponds to the non-occurrence of

\*The ready man

(On the relevance of the distinction in determiners between indefinite and definite, see 4.28 ff.) On this basis, we see that timidity and fear are contrasted in part according as the first is seen as permanent, the second as temporary:

A man who is timid -A man who is afraid

A timid man

- \*An afraid man

Just as some modifiers are too much identified with temporary status to appear in pre-head position, so there can be modification constrained to pre-head position because it indicates permanent status. Thus the toe which is characteristically (and permanently) big in relation to the rest is called 'the big toe', and we cannot say of it '\*the toe is big' without destroying this permanent characteristic and making the expression seem to refer only (for example) to a temporary swelling. Cf also the original version beside his work is quite original, which would permit adverbial indication of time span (now, always,...).

Postmodification

13.5

Explicitness

Such indications of independence as between pre- and postmodification must not however obscure the point made in 13.1 that premodification is in general to be interpreted (and most frequently can only be interpreted) in terms of postmodification and its greater explicitness. That is, Some pretty college girls will be interpreted as 'Some girls who are pretty and who are at a college'. It will therefore be best to begin our detailed study of noun phrase structure with the forms of postmodification.

Explicitness in postmodification varies considerably, however. It is greater in the finite relative clause

The girl who stood in the corner than in the non-finite clause The girl standing in the corner

from which the explicit tense (is Two?) has disappeared, though this in turn is more explicit than the prepositional phrase

The girl in the corner

-

from which the verb indicating a specific posture has also disappeared.

Part of the relative clause's explicitness lies in the specifying power of the relative pronoun. It is capable (a) of showing agreement with the head and (b) of indicating its status as an element in the relative clause structure.

Agreement is on the basis of a two-term 'gender' system, personal and non-personal (4.85#, 4.109):

Joan, who ...

The boy who...

The people who ...

The human being who ...

The fairy who ...

London, which ... The fox which... The animals which... The human body which...

The unicorn which...

It will be seen from these examples that 'personality' is ascribed basically to human beings but extends to creatures in the supernatural world (angels, elves, etc) which are thought of as having human characteristics such as speech. It does not extend to the body or character, in part or whole, of a human being, living or dead, when this is considered as separate from the entire person:

Charles is a strange character who dislikes parties, (familiar) Charles has a fine character which he inherits from his father. Smith is now a famous personality who is often interviewed on

television. Smith has a strange personality which repels many people.

Pet animals can be regarded as 'personal' (at least by their owners);

This is the doggie who seems ill (familiar) Rover, who was barking, frightened the children

On the other hand human babies can be regarded (though rarely perhaps by their parents) as not having developed personality:

This is the baby which needs inoculation

There is some correspondence here with other gender pronouns used of pets and babies (4.90), but ships are different. Though they may take the personal pronoun she, the relative pronoun is regularly non-personal:

Is she the ship which is due to leave for New York tomorrow?

It is noteworthy that collective nouns (4.89) are treated as personal when they have plural concord, non-personal when they have singular:

\_ (committee^ (who were heS Lgroup

i\ (who were ~\ ... . , , ...

n > < i ^-responsible for this decision ... J \whch was) y662 The complex noun phrasa

Note

[a] Relative clauses with general antecedents normally preserve the personal/non-persona J gender contrast:

indefinite: I am looking for-4 >who can help me

LsomeoneJ

This is-l ?. \which I can't understand VsomethingJ

definite: The person who helped me has gone

The thing which I can't understand is this

A form of relative clause without antecedent is possible in the case of definit-personal reference (4.35) only with whoever:

,,, ° Ihelpedmehasgone WhoeverJ °

but is common with definite /ion-personal reference (though with a different pronoun from thai formally found in relative clauses):

What I can't understand is (his

Replacement of the antecedent by a personal pronoun on the other hand is possible with personal antecedent, but rare and very formal:

?He who helped me has gone

It is more acceptable if Ae corresponds to the generic "The/A person" (as in 'He who helps the blind deserves support'), while it is impossible with non-persona antecedent:

\*It which I can't understand is this [but, very formal. That which ...] There is a similar constrain! on postmodification by other structures:

?He in the comer is my brother \*It in the comer is an antique

except with informal and peremptory vocatives: 'You in the corner: stop chatter ing!'.  
C/also 11.20.

[6] Other non-human creatures beside pets may take who even in sentences where this involves an apparent clash with the neuter pronoun it; thus, from a recent work of non-fiction: 'the chameleon who changes its colours'. This is less likely however when the relative pronoun is object in its clause, as we see from the following examples on two successive pages of a work on zoology: \* the black rhinoceroses who live in the park', 'the white rhinoceros which we saw in the wilds outside the park'.  
Onthefactorswvo!vedinthis'diflerencc,c/13.12andNote.

13.6

Case in the relative pronoun

Case is used to indicate the status of the relative pronoun in its clause. There are two situations to consider. First, if the pronoun is in a genitive relation to a noun head, the pronoun can have the form whose:

The woman whose daughter you met is Mrs Brown (The woman is Mrs Brown; you met her daughter)

The house whose roof was damaged has now been repaired (The house has now been repaired; its roof was damaged)

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In cases like the latter where the antecedent head is non-personal, there is some tendency to avoid the use of whose (presumably because many native speakers regard it as the genitive only of the personal who), but avoidance involves stylistic difficulty.

On the one hand, there is the stiffly formal

The house the roof of which was damaged... and on the other the colloquial and clumsy-sounding

?The house that they damaged the roof of... •The house that the roof was damaged of...

Satisfactory alternatives can, however, be found, such as The house that had its roof damaged or even The house with the damaged roof. In any case, in some fields of discourse, such as mathematics, no evasion is necessary:

Let ABC be a triangle whose sides are of unequal length

Secondly, with a personal antecedent, the relative pronoun can show the distinction between who and whom, depending on its role as subject of the relative clause or as the object of verb or preposition in it:

The girl who spoke to him The girl to whom he spoke The girl who(m) he spoke to  
The girl who(m) he met



[6a]

[6b] [6c] [6d]

It will be noticed that when the governing preposition precedes its complement (c/6,3) as in the rather formal [6b], the choice of whom is obligatory. When it does not, as in the more informal [6c], or when the relative pronoun is the object of the verb, as in [6d], there is some choice between who or whom, the latter being preferred in written English and by some speakers, the former being widely current in informal conversation (cf 13.12).

13.7

Relative pronoun as adverbial

Further, the relative pronoun can have a special form as adjunct of place, time, and cause (c/5.48) in the relative clause:

That is the place where he was born That is the period when he lived here That is the reason (7)why he spoke

[7a] [7b]

[7c]

There are considerable and complicated restrictions on these adjunct forms, however. In the first place, many speakers find their use along with the corresponding antecedent somewhat tautologous - especial],. [7c] - and would prefer the wh- clause without antecedent:

That is where he was born That is when he lived here That is why he spoke

No non-restrictive clause is possible with why ('\*The reason, why he spoke, is...'), and in this connection, it is worth noting that the remaining wh' adjunct (manner) that would complete the set [7] is totally im-possible, restrictively or non-restrictively:

\*That is the way how he spoke [7d]

and if how is used, such clauses cannot have an antecedent noun: That is how he spoke

In the second place, there are restrictions on the antecedent nouns that can occur in [7]. With [7c], reason is virtually alone, and with [7a] and [7b], it is also the most general and abstract nouns of place and time that seem to be preferred. Thus while The office where he works ... The day when he was born ...

are acceptable to most users of English, others would prefer a prepositional phrase in each case:

... on ... at

or one of the less explicit forms that we shall now be considering (The office he works at, The day he was born).

Note

There is a tendency to favour when or where if the antecedent is already the head of a prepositional phrase as in He died on the day when (rather than on which) his son arrived.

Restrictive relative clauses Choice of relative pronoun 13.8

Though most of the examples in 13.5ff have been of restrictive clauses, it is in the non-restrictive relative clauses that the most explicit forms of relative pronoun are

typically used. In restrictive clauses, frequent use is made of a general pronoun that which is independent of the personal or Don-personal character of the antecedent and also of the function of the pronoun in the relative clause:

The boy that is playing the piano ... (who) [8a]

The table that stands in the corner... (which) [8b]

The boy that we met... (who(m)) [8c]

The table that we admire... (which) [8d]

The boy that the dog ran towards ... (towards whom) [8e]

The table that the boy crawled under ... (under which) [8f]

[8a] would be slightly more usual with informal contraction ('... that's playing...'), but c/13.12. As we saw in [6b] and [6c], some choice exists in placing a preposition which has a n-A-pronoun as its complement. No such choice exists with that, [8e] and [8f] representing the sole pattern. Provided the relative pronoun is not the subject of the relative clause, as in [8a] and [8b], a further option exists in relative clause structure of having no relative pronoun at all: the clause with 'zero' (0) relative pronoun. The examples [8c-8f] could take this form:

The boy we met... (whom, that)

The table we admire... (which, that)

The boy the dog ran towards ... (towards whom, who(m)/that...

towards) The table the boy crawled under ... (under which, which/that...  
under)

Note

While it is important to insist that zero cannot replace the subject in a relative clause

•The table stands in the corner has a broken leg

constructions are encountered that are arguably exceptions; for example, in very informal speech where the antecedent is an indefinite pronoun:

? Anybody does that ought to be locked up

The reason for putting a question mark here is first that most educated native speakers would condemn it as slovenly and secondly that it may result from the subaudibility of a relative pronoun who or that and thus not be zero at all. A commoner type of example is in the existential sentence (see especially 14.29):

There's a table stands in the corner

This would again be very colloquial, and in any case, although the use of that or which would be regarded as more acceptable, there are good reasons for distinguishing such clauses from relative clauses.

There's a table

that

tands in the corner

The obligatory nature of such portions of existential sentences would argue against our equating them with postmodifications in noun phrase structure, and the same applies to similar segments in the cleft sentence (14.19/):

It is John

that did it. 866

Tba complex noun phrase

### 13.9

Just as that and zero are available when the relative pronoun is dominated by a preposition as in [8e] and [8f ], so they can be used when the relative pronoun is a place, time or cause adjunct. With place adjuncts, the preposition must usually be expressed:

That is the garden (that) he sunbathes in That is the university (that) he works at  
though with a general antecedent (especially/jface), zero can be used with omission of the preposition, suggesting that zero is considered as replacing where:

{he stays when he's in London (?)he works ?he studies

With time adjuncts, omission of the preposition is usual whether the pronoun is that or zero (cf 6.32 f):

That is the time (that) he arrives (at) That was the day (that) he left (on)

In many cases, indeed, omission of the preposition is obligatory, especially when the antecedent is itself the head of a time adjunct phrase:

He questioned her the moment (that) he arrived He worked the whole time (that) he lived there

When (less frequently and more formally) the pronoun is which, however, the preposition must be expressed in all these instances and it would be usual to make it precede the pronoun (c/"13.7):

That is the time at which he arrives

That was the day on which he left

?He questioned her the moment at which he arrived

?He worked the whole time during which he lived there

With cause adjuncts, the usual pronoun is that or zero, and there is no preposition:

This is the reason (that) he came

The rare use of for which in such a sentence strikes most people as clumsy or unnatural.

With manner adjuncts, the usual pronoun is again that or zero, and again there is no preposition:

This is the way (that) he did it

### Postmodification 867

It would not be abnormal to find which with a preposition in a more formal style:

This is the way in which he did it

The total system of restrictive clauses so far discussed can be summarized as in Fig 13:1

^- who ~\ (man<

j> that \ stood in the corner table <f j

which J

who(m)

rman

The-

liable

(man at whom "1 1" J glanced table at which J  
where

place «?—7 at which I The

I tried out the new car

Fig 13:1 Restrictive relative clauses

[a] Even with jtyfrfwd such a general antecedent as theptoce, «ro and ihaS aic only marginally acceptable and a final at would be normal even in familiar usage. 863  
The complex noun phrase

[b] Way may be used both of manner and (with an appropriate verb such as travelled) direction.

13.11

Quantification and comparison

But there are other types of restrictive clause, concerned with quantification and comparison. As seen in 4.36, the definite article may refer back to something previously specified or forward to something that will constitute the specification. In this latter use, the definite article can be replaced by other determiners, sometimes even by items strongly associated with indefiniteness:

, >girls that<, .. >were teachers AnyJ0^ LknewhimJ

One such determiner is what followed by obligatory zero:

What girls he knew were teachers but since zero cannot be subject in a relative clause, there is no

\*What girls knew him were teachers

A further determiner of this sort is cataphoric such (often implying low quantity or quality) which always correlates with as in the relative clause, the as functioning equally as subject or object:

„ , . , The knew "t , „ ..

Such girls as< , . ^were teachers (fonnal)

and in place of such (and without the reductive implication) we may have as+quantifier;

As many girls as he knew were teachers (more commonly: 'Ail the girls he knew ...') He took as much (butter) as he wanted

This type of correlation with quantifiers can involve the comparative, in which case the item corresponding to a relative pronoun is than (cf 11.53 ff):

He smoked/?™ Wettes than/116 bou\$ht (.iewerj Lwere norm

: normally available So far as the relative clause is concerned, no different structure is involved when the comparative quantification relates not to the noun but to the degree of an adjective modifying it:

He smokesJ. iexpensive cigarettes than he can afford (.less )

Postmodifi cation 869

But it should be noted that the as-comparative would be difficult with plurals:

?He smokes as expensive cigarettes as he can afford and is usually replaced by a normal relative clause:

He smokes cigarettes that are as expensive as he can afford There is no problem with the singular:

He smokes as expensive a cigarette as he can afford

He will marry as pretty a girl as he can find

With the superlative the relative pronoun is normally that as subject and that or zero as object

.. o , r . fthat is available He eats the finest food-^ ... TM. .

Utnat) he can buy

though normally such postmodification would make intensive relative clauses verbless: the finest food available.

Note

Clauses like What I want in 'What I want is a drink', where the relative pronoun operates both as an element in the clause and also as head of the noun phrase ('nominal relative clauses'), are described in 11.20.

Stylistic factors 13.12

Occasional comments in IS.S^have already indicated that the choice of relative clause structure involves stylistic distinctions. In general, it is certainly true that wh-pronouns with preceding prepositions are used predominantly in formal English and may be avoided in more informal use as seeming stilted or pompous. Postposition is more generally preferred with prepositional verbs (This is the book he looked at). Many prepositions (especially those dealing with temporal and other abstract relations) cannot be postposed, however:

•That was the meeting (that) I kept falling asleep during and even in familiar speech one might use

That was the meeting during which I kept falling asleep if not the commoner when or where. Concrete relations may use postposition even when the preposition is complex (This is the house he stood in front of), but clarity of expression would often influence us in the direction of a construction otherwise regarded as formal if postposition leads to clumsiness. Thus, hearing or reading the following sentence,

It was in a book that a former teacher of mine thought of at one time presenting me with some quotations from870 The complex noun phrasa

we may successively have to reject the interpretations first that the former teacher thought of the book, second that he thought of presenting me with the book, before the belated from enables us to achieve the correct interpretation ('... from which a former teacher ...').

When we turn from discussing the preposition-dominated pronoun to the choice of pronoun itself, it is even clearer that a simple polarity of more and less formal will not account for preferred use. In the first place, when the antecedent is personal and the pronoun is the subject of the relative clause, who is favoured irrespective of the style and occasion; thus

People who live in new houses rather than

People that live in new houses

though of course there is nothing wrong or odd about the latter. By contrast, with the antecedent still personal but with the pronoun now the object of verb or preposition, there is a converse and much stronger preference for that or zero, perhaps to avoid the choice between who and whom. Thus

People (that) I|V|Slt. , \* v ' I^speakto

rather than

People

to

Again there is nothing actually wrong about the latter provided that whom is used; but whom here would seem pedantic to many people, while who as object in relative clauses (as opposed to interrogative sentences: 4.120) is informal and tends to be regarded by some as substandard. Since, therefore, neither who nor whom is wholly satisfactory, that is frequently used despite a personal antecedent.

When the verb in the relative clause is be, the complement pronoun cannot be wh-, whether the antecedent is personal or non-personal:

•John is not the man who he was

\*My typewriter is not the machine which it was

In such cases that or zero are obligatory. Note

Avoidance of whom may not be the only factor influencing that as object with personal antecedent: grammatical objects are more likely to be non-personal or to carry non-personal implication than subjects. Even as subject, that can be more acceptably used if the personal antecedent is contextually 'depersonalized\*' (as not being personally identifiable by name, for example):

The soldiers that captured the post subsequently withdrew.

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13.13

There are several other factors influencing the selection of a pronoun that is object in the relative clause, especially when the antecedent is non-personal: one is the proximity of the relative clause to the antecedent, another is the degree of complexity of the subject in the relative clause. When phrases intervene between the antecedent head and the relative pronoun, which is generally preferable to that and very much preferable to zero: I have interests outside my immediate work and its problems which

I find satisfying

When the subject of the relative clause is more complex than determiner + head, that is slightly preferable to which and much preferable to zero:

The building that all elderly university teachers prefer On the other hand, when the subject is a personal pronoun, zero is preferred to either which or that, especially if the relative clause itself is fairly short and simple:

The milk / bought has gone sour

In addition, other things being equal, more informal discourse will tend to have a preference for zero.

Non-restrictive relative clauses

13.14

The repertoire of pronouns is much more limited with non-restrictive clauses and only the more 'explicit' of the forms summarized in 13.10 are available. As subject, they are who and which: Here is a letter from John, who wants a job in London He got lost on Snowdon, which was enveloped in fog and, as object of verb or preposition, whom and which: Here is a letter from John, whom you've met of course He got lost on Snowdon, which he was exploring Objective who would be thought by

many to be at least as objectionable in non-restrictive as in restrictive clauses. Zero cannot occur and that is very rare; it usually shows that a writer has muddled what he has wanted to set down, as in the following example from a serious article: One of the most important recent developments in neutral hydrogen studies of our Galaxy has been the discovery of high velocities in the centre and in regions away from the plane, that I have mentioned. 872 The complex noun phrase

Despite the comma and the corresponding prosodic separation if this is read aloud (a separation that is essential if plane were not to be thought the antecedent head), it seems likely that the writer originally wanted the relative clause to be restrictive, as it could readily have been if placed earlier:

... has been the discovery that I have mentioned of high velocities...

Where the relative pronoun is the head of an adjunct phrase, there is again less choice than in restrictive clauses. Expressions with which tend to be uncommon except in formally precise writing; the preposition usually precedes which and explicitness often extends to completion of the prepositional phrase by a general noun, locative or temporal as the case may be (making which a relative determiner):

In 1950 he came to London, in which city he has lived ever since

• «,n (at which time],. He came in 196<M . ... Where was... [in which year)

More commonly, we find where or when instead of the which expression:

... to London, where ... ... in 1960, when ...

Naturally, this is a point at which the distinction becomes blurred between noun phrase postmodification and adverbial clauses of place and time in complex sentence structure (11.27/).

Note

Non-restrictive clauses are occasionally introduced by that when a premodifier or determiner would make a restrictive clause absurd but when which on the other hand might imply a too parenthetical relation: I looked at Mary's sad face, that I had once so passionately admired.

13.15

With sentential antecedent

There are analogies where the antecedent is a clause or sentence (c/U.52). While a relative clause with which is perfectly natural, as in

TT , . . , \_ , , (surprises me

He admires Mrs Brown, whom . j. , A

[I find strange

conversational English, perhaps as a wry affectation of legalistic style, also admits on occasion (in place of the more usual a fact which, a thing which):

w n i.i.f . (surprises me

He admires Mrs Brown, which fact . . . stranm

Postmodification 8/3

Other general factive nouns are similarly used with which ('which allegation', 'which matter', 'which thing', and the like). A merging with adverbial clauses comes through the use of as, which we saw as a special type of relative pronoun in restrictive clauses (13.11). In non-restrictive clauses, the use of as is twofold. On the one hand, it is used (more commonly than which) with sentential antecedent to introduce a relative clause

which constitutes a variant of the antecedent and from which the non-variant part is ellipted:

fas 1 He saw the girl-j wh-ch she (had) hoped (he would)

In such instances, where the relative pronoun is object, which is often somewhat awkward. Where the pronoun is subject, which however is fully acceptable while as is not:

T\*as "1 He saw the girlU ... ^delighted him

But with as there are important differences which link the clause type with adverbials: it can be expanded to include the ellipted part, and it can precede the 'antecedent':

,. ... j. > i r .i. ■ i-, . fsaw the girl

(Just) as he hoped he would (see the girl), he^ .,

The other use of as to be mentioned is where the item appears to act as subject of the relative clause but where, unlike \*as delighted him above, the as-clause shows a link with adverbial clauses in its ability to be pre-posed:

fas 1 He married her,-! , . , was natural

•Wh" ii fwas natura^j k-e married her

Because w/H'cA-clauses must follow their antecedent clauses, they are in fact more usually seen as related to coordinate clauses having and with an emphatic demonstrative, often preposed:

(which \fsurprisesme He admires Mrs Brown,^ ^^ find strang

strange

Note

[a] Non-restrictive clauses with sentential antecedent are sometimes separated from the antecedent by heavier punctuation than a comma. They may in fact begin a new sentence: cf 10.64 Note a.

874 The complex noun phrase lb] A further point i

t on as:

(fas

{fas 1 1 TMi. {»t, rwas natural

The starred variant shows that as can fulfil a relative pronoun function when the sentence does not frustrate the semantic role that as plays in adverbial clauses.

Appositive clauses 13.16

One remaining type of finite verb clause that plays a part in postmodification needs to be mentioned: the appositive clause (c/9.177/). This resembles the relative clause in being capable of introduction by that; in permitting zero, though not commonly and indeed rarely unless the head of the antecedent phrase is the noun fact; and in distinguishing between restrictive and non-restrictive. It differs, in that the particle that is not an element in the clause structure (subject, object, etc) as it must be in a relative clause. It differs also in that the head of the noun phrase must be a factive abstract noun such as fact itself, proposition, reply, remark, answer, and the like. For example:



The fact that he wrote a letter to her suggests that he knew her  
The belief that no one is infallible is well-founded  
I agree with the old saying that absence makes the heart grow fonder  
He heard the news that his team had won

As with apposition generally (cf 9.130), we can link the apposed units with *be* (where the copula typically has nuclear prominence):

The fact is that he wrote a letter to her (... is...)

The belief is that no one is infallible

The old saying is that absence makes the heart grow fonder

The news was that his team had won

Or we may replace deverbal nouns like *belief* by the corresponding verb plus object clause: He believes that no one is infallible. It will be noticed that these restrictive examples have the definite article before the head noun: this is normal but by no means invariable (except with a few nouns referring to certainty, especially *fact*):

A message that he would be late arrived by special delivery  
Any proposals that John should be dismissed must be resisted  
Stories that the house was haunted angered the owner

Plural heads, as in the latter examples, are also rare with appositive post-modification and are regarded as unacceptable with *belief*, *fact*, *possibility*, etc. We may contrast the following

Po stmo d i f i c a t i o n 876

◆The possibilities that she was lazy and {that she} disliked school worried her mother

with the perfectly acceptable plural head with relative clause postmodification:

The possibilities that she was now offered seemed very attractive.

13.17

Despite the restriction on the types of noun head that may be post-modified by an appositive clause, it is natural that the superficial similarity to relative clause postmodification can sometimes cause momentary difficulty. Total ambiguity, however, is rare since so many selectional factors (7.37/) have to be involved before anything like the following can occur:

A report that he stole was ultimately sent to the police

The two interpretations ('he stole a report' or 'the report was that he stole') depend upon the possibility that a report can be a physical object or an abstract (that is, nominalizing the verb *report*); upon *steal* being permissibly transitive or intransitive; and several other factors (told in place of *sent*, for example, would dismiss the ambiguity though it would not prevent the hearer or reader from having temporary difficulty).

Non-restrictive appositive clauses can less easily resemble relative clauses since irrespective of non-restrictiveness they still involve the particle *that*, in sharp contrast with non-restrictive relative clauses:

This last fact, (namely,) that that is obligatory, should be easy to remember

In illustrating the previous point, this example also illustrates the next, (namely) that *namely* can be optionally introduced in the non-restrictive appositions, as can *that is* (to say). It also illustrates the fact that with this type of clause, the antecedent head noun may be freely premodified by adjectives and with a choice of determiners. It

will be recalled that with restrictive appositives the was obligatory before fact, and it may now be added that the only adjectives admissible would be non-restrictive in scope (13.3); contrast: The ugly fact that he was holding a gun indicated his guilt where the restrictive clause permits only the non-restrictive adjective, with A more relevant fact, that the gun had not been fired, was curiously ignored where the non-restrictive clause permits a restrictive adjective. 876  
The complex noun phrase  
Postmodification 877

#### Note

la] The non-restrictive apposition is closely related to an ordinary non-restrictive clause in instances like

This last request, which was to come and visit him, was never in fact received

[b] With both restrictive and non-restrictive appositive clauses, an antecedent noun b often anominalization (13.34/):

A (police) report that. . . + • (The police) reported that. . .

Postmodification by non-finite clauses

13.18

Present (V-ing) participle clauses

Postmodification of the noun phrase is possible with all three of the non-finite clause types (IIAff), and the correspondence between restrictive relative and non-finite clauses can be illustrated as follows.

V-ing participle:

The man who-

will

write

be writing writes

the obituary is my friend

is writing wrote

was writing The man writing the obituary is my friend

where the latter will be interpreted, according to the context, as equivalent to one of the former more explicit versions (</13.19). Other examples:

The dog barking next door sounded like a terrier

where the non-finite clause will be interpreted as 'which was barking next door';

A tile falling from a roof shattered into fragments at his feet

where the postmodification must be interpreted as 'which fell from a roof';

Tomorrow you will meet a man carrying a large umbrella

where the postmodification will be interpreted as 'who will be carrying a large umbrella'. It must be emphasized that not all -ing forms in non-finite postmodifiers correspond to progressive forms in relative clauses. Stative verbs, for instance, which cannot have the progressive in the finite verb phrase, can appear in participial form:

He is talking to a girl resembling Joan ('who resembles Joan' not

\*\*who is resembling Joan\*) It was a mixture consisting of oil and vinegar ('that consisted . . .\*

not \*\*that was consisting ...')

In all instances, the antecedent head corresponds to the deleted subject of the non-finite verb clause; there is no non-finite postmodifier, therefore, corresponding directly to the relative clause in

The obituary that the man is writing will be published tomorrow without recourse to the passive (being written by the man), thus involving the V-ed participle (13.19).

Note

There are sharp constraints upon aspect expression in the participial clauses used in postmodification. We have just seen that resembling in 'a girl resembling Joan' obviously could not represent progressive, and the neutralization of the aspectual contrast can farther be seen in

fwho works \ \_ . . . / working {who is Working/~Tbe Bttl\\*beim working

Similarly the perfective aspect cannot usually be expressed in the non-finite clause:

y

Cf, however, with indefinite head: Any man having witnessed the attack is under suspicion.

imilay p p y

The girl who has won the race ?\*The girl having won the race is my sister is my sister.

13.19

Past (y-ed) participle clauses

Consider now the different versions of the following:

{will be repaired is (being) repaired Iby that mechanic is mine was (being) repaired}

The only car (being) repaired by that mechanic is mine

where the latter will be interpreted, according to the context, as equivalent to one of the former. Thus:

The only car

repaired being repaired repaired repaired

by that mechanic

next week ... now... on Tuesdays. before he left.

Other examples:

An obituary written by my friend appeared last week

('that was written .. ').t Any coins found on this site must be handed to the police

('that are found ...' or, more precisely, 'that may be found ...')

The antecedent head is identical with the deleted subject of the -ed post-modifying clause as it is with the -ing construction, but in this case the878 The complex noun phrase

participle concerned is as firmly linked with the passive voice as that in the -ing construction is linked with the active. Since with intransitive verbs the past participles can never be passive, there is no -ed post-modifier corresponding exactly to the relative clause in:

The train which has arrived at platform one is from York The train arrived at platform one is from York

Limited exceptions occur where the past participle is preceded by certain adverbs (cf %57), as in

The train recently arrived at platform one is from York

... (returned from India \. ., ,

7A man just< , , ,. Hold me about it {come from the meeting)

This phenomenon is related to our ability also to premodify nouns with participles which, unless themselves premodified, can only postmodify (13.53/). It may also however owe something to subaudibility factors:

cf 13.8 Note.

Note

There are constraints on aspectual expression in V-ed postmodifying clauses, though not identical with those for V-ing clauses (13.18 Note). A progressive contrast is possible:

t\*. c j .../"is eaten... 1 ~. , .featen... The food whicm . . .

>~Thefood-4. .

\.is being eaten .. J Ibeing eaten ..

but as with V-ing there can be no perfective aspect:

The food which has been eaten belonged ?\*The food having been eaten to someone else belonged to someone else

Thus The food being eaten may be either a noun phrase or a non-finite clause (11.5), but The food hoeing been eaten can be only a non-finite clause.

13.20

Infinitive clauses

The non-finite clause in

The next train to arrive was from York

could, in a suitable context, have precisely the same meaning as the relative clause in The next train that arrived was from York

But this example gives a misleadingly simple impression in place of the wide range of possibilities that can be left unexplicit in the infinitive post-modifying clause. In the first place, the antecedent need not correspond to the subject in the non-finite clause, which may have its own separate subject introduced by the/or-device (11.5, 21):

The man for John to consult is Wilson

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Or it may have as its subject a deleted indefinite expressed neither in the antecedent nor in the remainder of the sentence:

The man to consult is Wilson

where the non-finite clause has neither object (the antecedent) nor subject (indefinite) and could be understood, according to context, as '(The man) that you/he, etc should consult' or 'that everyone should consult'. Still more elliptically, the infinitive clause may omit also an entire

adjunct phrase, as in

The time to arrive is 8 pm

The place (for you) to stay is the Hilton

A good place to eat is Bloom's

where a fairly common alternative is to introduce the relative pronoun and retain the infinitive clause:

... time at which to arrive ... ... place at which to stay ,... ... place at which to eat...

Cf also the way in which to do it beside the way to do it. Alternatively, we might have fully explicit relative clause constructions:

The time at which everyone should arrive is 8 pm The place at which you should stay is the Hilton A good place at which anyone can eat is Bloom's

In the second place, as the examples have now shown, it is by no means only tense that has to be inferred in the infinitive clause: mood is a far more variable factor and the range accounted for in the adverbial infinitive clause (3.12 jf) is available for noun phrase postmodification also. Thirdly, the infinitive postmodifier can be active or passive; beside the active examples already given, we may consider the following passive examples which in addition further illustrate the variety of implicit tense and mood:

The case to be investigated tomorrow...

(will or is to be investigated) The animals to be found in Kenya...

(can be or are found) The procedure to be followed...

(must or should or will be followed)

See also 13.50 Note. 380 The complex noun phrase

Postmodification 881

Blurred relationships 13.21

The sharply reduced explicitness in the -ing, -ed, and infinitive clauses allows us to blur or neutralize the distinction between noun phrase post-modification and certain other types of construction. It is interesting, for example, that a native English speaker confronted by the sentence

I noticed a man hidden behind the bushes

will be likely to agree that he sees little or no difference in meaning between this and either of the following:

I noticed a man who was hidden behind the bushes I noticed that a man was hidden behind the bushes

So also with two other sentences of obviously different structure:

(a) He was warned by the fact that a light flashed repeatedly

(b) He was warned by a light that flashed repeatedly

where grammatical rules for nominalization (13.34/) can readily provide for the relation of (a) to

(c) He was warned by the repeated flashing of a light and for the relation of both (a) and (b) to

(d) He was warned by a light flashing repeatedly

since this last can be a variant of the form with genitive noun (a light's) as transformed subject of (a). The fact that (c) and (d) are virtually indistinguishable semantically means that, despite our ability to relate (c) to (a) grammatically and not to (b), it is pointless to speculate on whether (d) is to be grammatically related primarily to (a) or to (b).

### 13.22

The foregoing examples have illustrated -ing and -ed in this respect; the infinitive clause occurs in similar merged constructions, but with additional possibilities. For example:

(e) He wants a girl to finish the cleaning

is broadly unambiguous, though it can be related to more than merely noun phrase postmodification:

(f) He wants a girl who will finish the cleaning

It can also be related to a complementation type described in 12.52j; this is the non-finite corresponding to a finite construction that does not exist in BrE

(g) He wants that a girl will finish the cleaning (AmE)

There are relations also with two possible adverbial purpose clauses:

(h) He wants a girl in order that she will finish the cleaning (i) He wants a girl in order that he can finish the cleaning (with her help)

It is doubtless convenient to have a structural type that has such flexibility. The difficulty is to recognize the limits of the flexibility. For example, the indefinite article with girl in example (e) is crucially important if we wish to expand such a sentence into the more explicit form (f) rather than (i). The following example makes a non-restrictive analogue to (f) impossible and can be paraphrased only in terms of (h) or 12.54:

He wants Joan to finish the cleaning So also, although we can reduce

I have a woman who cleans my room daily to the non-finite form

I have a woman to clean my room daily

without perceptible change or loss of meaning, we must not assume that any sentence of the form

I have X to do Y

and still less of the form

I have X (for can have the non-finite clause expanded as a relative. Cf 14,33.

### 13.23

Non-restrictive postmodification

Non-restrictive postmodification can also be achieved with non-finite clauses:

The apple tree, swaying gently in the breeze, had a good crop of

fruit The substance, discovered almost by accident, has revolutionized

medicine This scholar, to be seen daily in the British Museum, has devoted

his life to the history of science

The non-finite clauses here have an obvious correspondence with non-restrictive relative clauses

... which was swaying gently in the breeze... ... which was discovered almost by accident... ... who can be seen daily in the British Museum... 882 The complex noun phrase

Postmodification 883

but the correspondence would disappear if we availed ourselves of the opportunity (which is presented with this type) to move the non-finite clauses in front of the related head noun (cf 11.44 Jf);

Discovered almost by accident, the substance has revolutionized medicine

But frequently we find ourselves involved in an implicit relation with widely differing constructions, just as we found with the restrictive non-finite clauses (13.21). For example, the non-finite clause in the following sentence

The man, wearing such dark glasses, obviously could not see clearly could be a reduction of a relative clause 'who was wearing ...', but equally of a causal clause, 'because he was wearing ...', or a temporal one, 'whenever he wore ...'. So, too, if we decide to make non-finite the relative clause in

The cost, which includes meals, is ninety francs

we must recognize that the result, including meals, may be regarded by a reader or hearer as a reduction of a conditional clause, 'if we include meals', or including may be regarded as a preposition (6.4;.

Note

See (be discussion of supplementive clauses, 11.48 ff.

13.24

Appositive postmodification

Appositive postmodification is fairly common by means of infinitive clauses. A restrictive example:

The appeal to join the movement was well received

which would correspond to the finite that people should join the movement, though such a use of putative should (3.46, 11.72, 12.35) is uncommon. There are cases, indeed, of non-finite postmodification where no corresponding finite apposition exists:

Any attempt to leave early is against regulations

(\*... that one should leave early...) He lost the ability to use his hands

A corresponding non-restrictive example: This last appeal, to come and visit him, was never delivered

which leaves the subject of the non-finite clause to be inferred from the context, 'that 7 should come and visit him'.

The -ed clause has no nominal characteristics and cannot enter into appositive postmodification. The -ing clause does so only as head of a prepositional phrase (as in The problem of learning English) and thus belongs in the section to follow.

Note

V-ing clauses in appositive structures have prepositions which are absent in the corresponding finite clauses (cf 6.2): The hope of winning « X hopes that he will win,

Postmodification by prepositional phrases

Relation to more explicit modifiers

13.25

In 13.1 we saw that the sentence 'The girl was in the corner' had as a noun phrase corresponding to it, The girl in the corner. This example, with prepositional phrase, represents by far the commonest type of noun-phrase postmodification in English: it is three or four times more frequent than either finite or non-finite clausal postmodification. The full range of prepositions is involved:

The road to Lincoln  
A tree by a stream  
The house beyond the church  
Two years before the war  
A man from the electricity board  
This book on grammar

including the complex prepositions (6.5):

Action in case of fire Passengers on board the ship  
and including those having participial form (6.4): A delay pending further inquiry  
though in the case of items related to verbs in current use, postmodifications should  
probably be regarded as clausal. For example, in

The proposal concerning child health was rejected we should relate the italicized  
portion to a restrictive relative clause ... which concerned child health ...  
rather than to a complement in an equative sentence (itself rather marginal in  
acceptability)

The proposal was concerning child healthoot ins complex noun pnrase

Postmodification 885

since preceded by be the participle would tend to be interpreted as a part of a  
complex finite verb.

Among the prepositions less commonly used in postmodification we should mention  
like in the sense 'resembling':

The man like John is over there

But it is common and fully acceptable also in the sense 'such as': A man like John  
would never do that

13.26

It is natural to relate such prepositional postmodifications to be sentences ('the man in  
the comer'~'the man is in the comer'), though in some instances more seems to be  
ellipted than the verb be. For example, we presumably need to regard

The university as a political forum as related to a somewhat fuller predication:

The university is j ~ , I as a political forum

Again, although there is no problem with

The present for John cost a great deal (The present is for John)

we cannot interpret so straightforwardly

(a) The man for the job is John

where an additional component has to be understood:

Themanis-j^f" hot the job

This is seen still more clearly in a more explicit form of sentence (a):

(b) The right man for the job is John Just as we do not wish to postulate

•The man is for the job

in relation to (a), so we do not wish to postulate "The right man is for the job  
in relation to (b). This problem will be seen in its more general context when we  
discuss discontinuous modification below (13.72^).

The preposition with is another that we cannot fully account for unless we consider  
more than be sentences. That is to say, these are adequate to explain

The woman with the child is Joan (The woman is with the child)



and even the idiomatic (and old-fashioned)

The woman with child is Joan (= \*pregnant1) (The woman is with child)

but in general this is true only where with can be glossed as \*accompanied by'. No such gloss is possible in

The man with a red beard The girl with a funny hat

and here (cf 6.11, 6.45-46) we need to connect the prepositional phrase with a have sentence:

The man has a red beard and hence with a relative clause: ... who has a red beard.

O/and the genitive 13.27

The commonest preposition in noun phrase postmodification, of, has an even closer correspondence to have sentences: in many cases there is regular commutation with the -s genitive (4.94/), as we shall see below. For example:

The ship has a funnel The ship's funnel is red The funnel of the ship is red

Not all the uses involve comparison with HAVE sentences, however; some are relatable to be sentences whose subjects are put into o/-phrases, when an indefinite complement is made definite:

Rome is a city -\* ■ The city (that I mean) is Rome -\* ■ The city of Rome

Similarly we might postulate such a relation as

The team's victory was (announced as) news -> ■ The news was the team's victory ->

The news of the team's victory<sup>886</sup> The complex noun phrase

was (announced as) news

We have here a basis for the prepositional postmodification which corresponds directly to the clausal appositive (13.16 and 9.163,9.178):

That the team had won

The team's having won

\_, final the team had won

-> The news< , , , , , .

{of the team( s) having won

(On the team versus the team's, see 11.23.)

Because of the obvious relation between 'The city is Rome' (etc) and 'The city of Rome' (etc), it is common to regard such noun phrases as simply nominalizations of BE sentences in which the underlying subject has become the head of the noun phrase, ignoring the relation stressed here between the head and an underlying complement in a be sentence. Few would deny the necessity of the latter interpretation, however, in respect of such examples as:

The fool of a policeman (=The foolish policeman)

(The policeman is a fool) The angel of a girl (=The angelic girl)

(The girl is an angel)

where the postmodifying noun phrase must be indefinite. This would seem to be confirmed by AmE informal variants like

Some fool policeman where policeman becomes the head of a premodified noun phrase.

Objective and subjective 13.28

The variable 'direction' of predications semantically corresponding to o/^postmodified noun phrases contributes greatly to the complexity of these expressions and has a bearing on the commutation with the -s genitive to which reference was made above. Looked at in this way, we have left-to-right predication in the following:

The imprisonment of the murderer ((Someone) imprisoned the murderer)

A man of courage (The man has courage)

and right-to-left predication in

The arrival of the train

(The train arrived) The funnel of the ship

(The ship has a funnel)

[9a] [9b]

[IOa] [10b]

Postmodification 887

With the left-to-right examples [9a] and [9b] it seems reasonable to speak of an objective relationship and the right-to-left examples [10a] and [10b] similarly show a subjective relationship. These relations are more obvious in [9a] and [10a] (with their heads being nominalized verbs) than in [9b] and [10b], where the predicational relationship is covert or implicit. With objective genitive, replacement of the o/^phrase by a premodi-fying -s genitive 'object' is rather uncommon and unnatural except where the head is a nominalized verb. Thus:

The imprisonment of the murderer imprisonment

The murderer's

[9a]

[9b] [9c]

[9d] [9e]

But:

A man of courage ~ •Courage's man The love of power ~ "Power's love

((Someone) loves power) Reminiscences of the war ~ \*The war's reminiscences

((Someone) remembers the war) Men of science ~ \*Science's men

(Men (study) science)

By contrast, replacement of the subjective q/"-phrase by -s genitive is common with most types of head, irrespective of whether the subject-predicate relation is overt or not:

The arrival of the train ~ The train's arrival [10a]

The funnel of the ship ~ The ship's funnel [10b]

The activity of the students ~ The students' activity [10c]

(The students are active)

The War Requiem of Britten ~ Britten's War Requiem [IOd]

(Britten (composed) the War Requiem)

This is easy enough to understand in relation to [10c] and [IOd] where the 'subject' is the type of noun ('animate, especially human') that readily admits the -s genitive: cf

4.97. For [10a] and other such examples, perhaps, the o/-phrase acquires by implication some properties of animate-ness through the very fact that the noun in question has a subject function.

Nevertheless, there are some subjective genitives where replacement by -s genitive is impossible. For example:

The joy of his return ~ \*His return's joy (His return gives joy)

An angel of a girl ~4 >girl's angel (The girl is an angel)

[10e] [10f] 888 The complex noun phrase

This constraint is marked by other restricted and special features in these examples, not least the property 'indefiniteness' in respect of the head noun, which is relevant also in

An opera of Verdi's [10g]

(Verdi (composed) this opera - and others)

without, however, blocking a direct commutation with -s genitive ('One of Verdi's operas'). We shall return to this example in 13.30.

13.29

Broadly speaking, therefore, the objective relation can be expressed only with the o/-phrase, the subjective relation with either the o/-phrase or the •s genitive. Where the underlying or implicit verb is intransitive as in [10a], there can be no difficulty in interpreting the o/^phrase as subjective, but where it is a transitive or prepositional verb problems can arise. C, the ambiguity in phrases like The shooting of the rebels ('X shoots the rebels' or 'The rebels shoot X'), which context usually makes clear.

The following sentence in a newspaper, however,

The reminiscences of the Prime Minister were very amusing

was actually left ambiguous since the article did not explain whether it was the Prime Minister who had been reminiscing or whether someone had been reminiscing about the Prime Minister. But in general it seems that, where an o/-postmodifier can be interpreted as objective, it will be so interpreted unless there is a counter-indication.

Thus

The examination of the man The scrutiny of the tenants

will tend primarily to suggest that someone is examining the man or scrutinizing the tenants though the converse would be perfectly reasonable. If therefore we wish to make it clear at once that the man and the tenants are subjective in such noun phrases, we must use by instead of of in each case. Correspondingly, genitive premodification will probably be interpreted as subjective in the absence of counter-indication, as in

The man's examination The tenants' scrutiny

But a counter-indication in these cases very easily swings interpretation decisively one way or the other:

The man's examination of the student (S V O) The man's examination by the doctor (O V S) The tenants' scrutiny of the contract (S V O) The tenants' scrutiny by the landlord (O V S)

Postmodification 888

Here, however, we are dealing with transitive 'verbs' which can tolerate deletion of their objects more easily than others. The verb possess would scarcely yield a noun phrase in which subject could be expressed without the object:

The man's possession worried me | The possession of the man worried me  
If we knew (from the context) that the man was subject, we would be inclined to ask 'What does he possess?' as a condition of trying to assimilate either of these sentences. Contrast:

The pills came into the possession of some children [Ha]

Some children came into possession of the pills [lib]

English speakers would be inclined not to interpret the italicized portion of [11 a] as a noun phrase because there would not be a sentence having it as subject and preserving the subject-relation in the o/"-phrase:

"The possession of some children would be dangerous [lie]

but the analogous portion of [1 lb] would be more readily regarded as a unit with noun phrase structure:

Possession of the pills would be dangerous [lid]

In both [11a] and [lib], however, (the) possession seems to enter into construction with came {into) rather than with the subsequent part of each sentence: c/the construction take a rest etc (7.20) and the phrasal verb type take advantage (12.64).

13.30

Double genitive

We may return now to example [10g] and consider the peculiarities of this 'double' genitive usage. It will be observed that the postmodifier must be definite and human:

An opera of Verdi's | An opera of my friend's

but not:

\*An opera of a violinist's \* A funnel of the snip's

There are conditions which also affect the head of the whole noun phrase. This cannot be a proper noun; thus while we have:

Mrs Brown's Mary<sup>890</sup> | The complex noun phrase

we cannot have:

\*Mary of Mrs Brown \*Mary of Mrs Brown's

Further, the head must be essentially indefinite: that is, the head must be seen as one of an unspecified number of items attributed to the post-modifier:

A friend of the doctor's has arrived \*The daughter of Mrs Brown's has arrived  
A daughter of Mrs Brown's has arrived Any daughter of Mrs Brown's is welcome •The War Requiem of Britten's

The double genitive thus involves a partitive (4.7/) as one of its components: 'one of the doctor's friends' (he has more than one) and hence not \*\*one of Britten's War Requiem'. Yet we are able, in apparent defiance of this statement, to use demonstratives as follows:

That wife of mine

This War Requiem of Britten's

In these instances, which always presuppose familiarity, the demonstratives are not being used in a directly defining role; rather, one might think of them as having an ellipted generic which allows us to see wife and War Requiem appositive as members of a class of objects: 'This instance of Britten's works, namely, War Requiem'. Even where more than one object exists corresponding to the noun, the

double genitive phrase preceded by this should be regarded as having a generic partitive; for example

This hand of mine

should be interpreted not as 'This one of my (two) hands' but rather as 'This part of my body that I call "hand"'. Indeed, in earlier English, such an appositive structure was obvious, as in Macbeth's 'this my hand'.

Note

So too when 'A daughter of Mrs Brown's' is already established in the linguistic context, we could refer to 'The/That daughter of Mrs Brown's (that I mentioned)'.

1331

Restrictive and non-restrictive

Prepositional phrases may be non-appositive or appositive, and in either function, they can be restrictive or non-restrictive:

This book on grammar (non-appositive, restrictive)

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This book, on grammar, (non-appositive, non-restrictive)

The issue of student grants (appositive, restrictive) The issue, of student grants, (appositive, non-restrictive)

but we must mention some limitations. The second example in each case is rare and rather awkward: non-restrictive appositives would more usually be without a preposition as with

The issue, student grants,

and would thus have the primary form described in 9.140<sup>^</sup>. On the other hand, if the ambiguous noun phrase

The issue of student grants

had its non-appositive meaning (objective of: 'someone issued student grants'), non-restrictive function would be rare and unnatural, plainly suggesting an awkward afterthought:

The issue, of student grants, was slow because there were so many applicants.

In fact, non-restrictive postmodification with <sup>^</sup>-phrases frequently gives the impression more of accidental afterthought than of well-formed expression:

One man, of around forty years, was convicted of bigamy

The end, of the world, is at hand

A party, of children, entered the theatre

and sometimes appears to be quite impossible: •The man, of property, was Soames Forsyte

By contrast, complex prepositions (6.5) seem to lend themselves less readily to restrictive postmodification than to phrases operating as disjuncts(8.78#):

The question in comparison with others was difficult

This question, in comparison with others, caused resentment.

Position and varied relationship 13.32

As with non-finite postmodifiers when non-restrictive, so with prepositional phrases, the non-restrictive function merges with adverbial expressions; compare

The

the bus

1116 fenceWed at the soldiers892 The complex noun phraso

Postmodification 893

which means "Those children who were ..."

... (behind the fence! The children, J k j

,  
!.....

k jeered at the soldiers

which may mean 'The children, who (by the way) were...' or, on the other hand, 'The children, now that they were (safely ..)'; and, on verbless supplementary clauses, 11.48-51. It is rather this latter implication that becomes uppermost if the prepositional phrase is moved into initial position:

Behind the fence,!,. ,,, . \_,-

On the bus f c"lltreil jeered at the soldiers

Again, the prepositional phrase in the following is poised between interpretation as non-restrictive postmodifier and as adverbial:

Money, in aid of the refugees, was collected from students and staff

In the former interpretation, the money collected was in aid of the refugees, and in the latter, the act of collecting money was in aid of the refugees, since in this case the adverbial modifies the whole predication just as it would in initial position:

In aid of the refugees, money was collected ...

It is important to recognize that, despite the similarity in meaning in the examples discussed here, we do indeed have different constructions and not merely the additional possibility of placing a prepositional postmodifier in front of the noun phrase head. This becomes clear when it is shown that unless a given phrase can be an adjunct it cannot be moved from its postmodifying position. For example, the restrictive postmodification in 'His leap into the water' can be made non-restrictive, if rarely:

His leap, into the water, was wildly cheered

but as the phrase cannot be adjunct in this sentence, it cannot be made initial:

•Into the water, his leap was wildly cheered.

1333

This naturally applies a fortiori to the o/-postmodifiers that are almost solely restrictive:

\*Of children, a party entered the theatre

but there is an apparent exception with partitive expressions. Thus beside

Only a few of the ten reviewers praised his play

we may thematically prepose the o/-phrase (14.12 Note b) with no obvious difference in meaning:

Of the ten reviewers, only a few praised his play

This example is misleading however in giving the impression that the pre-posed phrase of the latter is identical with the postmodifying phrase of the former. They are not, as can be seen when we remove the definite article; this is acceptable in the preposed phrase

Of ten reviewers, only a few praised his play Of fourteen women, ten were single

but not in postmodification

•Only a few often reviewers ... •Ten of fourteen women ...

The fact that the latter becomes acceptable if the postmodifying phrase is introduced by out of (as in 'Ten out of fourteen women', where the phrase can now be preposed) only confirms that the o/-preposed phrase is functionally different.

Note

Further confirmation comes from the correspondence between the semantically similar

Most of the bus conductors went on strike / Of the bus conductors, most went on strike where in the second case but not the first we can replace of by as to or as for, preserving the semantic similarity:

•Most as for the bus conductors went on strike

As for the bus conductors, most went on strike

in other words, we should regard the initial prepositional phrase in all these instances as adverbial and not as displaced postmodification; indeed, as for and as to phrases, when used in the 'aside' sense, must always be initial (6.48,10.24). Perhaps better, following up the allusion to thematic arrangement made earlier in this paragraph, we should see the preposed phrase as directly related to an existential statement (14.24/):

Of ten reviewers that there were' There were ten reviewers but

' only a few praised his play.

Nominalization 1334

We should not, however, exaggerate the difference between the prepositional phrase as adverbial and the prepositional phrase as postmodifier. The second of these should rather be regarded as a special instance of the first, depending for its interpretation on our ability to relate it to a sentence in which it is adjunct. In the following, for instance,

(a) A quarrel broke out in the morning over pay<sup>894</sup> The complex noun phrase

Postmodification 895

both the prepositional phrases are introduced as adjuncts. If now we wish to refer again to the quarrel, it may suit our purpose to define it in relation to either of these adjuncts, which now become postmodifiers:

(b) The quarrel in the morning ruined their friendship

(c) The quarrel over pay was the reason for his resignation

The relation of postmodifier to adjunct may be even clearer if instead in (a) we take a sentence in which quarrel does not occur as a noun but as a verb:

(d) They quarrelled in the morning over pay

to which we also relate (b) and (c) but in this case through the nominalization of the verb. Such nominalization should be distinguished from the process (11.23) whereby (d) could become a non-finite clause as subject of sentences like (b) and (c):

(b') Their quarrelling in the morning ruined their friendship

(c') Their quarrelling over pay was the reason for his resignation

The subjects of these last two sentences need to be distinguished from noun phrases since the 'head' in these subject phrases will often not admit adjectives in modification while a 'deverbal' head (App 1.21,1.31, like that in (b) and (c) will not admit premodifying adverbs:

... , fover pay

The violent quarrel.

^in the m<

morning

•The violently quarrel/0™ pay .

l\_m the morning

"Their safe arriving in Cairo Their safe arrival in Cairo.

Note

On the relation between deverbal noun, verbal noun and participle, see the discussion of gradience in 4.9 ff.

13.35

Some adjuncts however can become postmodifiers more easily than others; compare

/Their arriving on Thursday (adjunct in non-finite clause) \The(ir) arrival on Thursday (postmodifier in noun phrase)

where the prepositional phrase is equally acceptable in both, with

(Their arriving for a month (adjunct) \?The(ir) arrival for a month (postmodifier)

("Their behaving with courtesy (adjunct) \7The(ir) behaviour with courtesy (postmodifier)

(Their acting in a nasty manner (adjunct) \\*The(ir) action in a nasty manner (postmodifier)

[Their contributing out of kindness (adjunct) \\*The(ir) contribution out of kindness (postmodifier)

It appears that adjuncts relating to cause, manner, or ongoing activity are awkward or inadmissible as postmodifiers. Deverbal nouns (especially from point-action verbs like arrive) might be described as mere records of an action having taken place rather than as descriptions of the action itself. Thus the postmodifiers are the adjuncts that can occur in sentences like the following:

The arrival took place on Thursday Contrast: \*The arrival took place for a month.

Minor types of postmodification 1336

We come now to some relatively minor types of postmodification. These are (a) adverbial modification (c/5.61); (b) the postposed adjective (c/ 5.18/); and (c) the postposed 'mode\* qualifier. For example,

(a) The road back was dense with traffic

(b) Something strange happened last night

(c) lobster Newburg is difficult to prepare

In the first of these, we recognize some such sentence as "The road which leads back to London' from which all but the subject and an important adjunct have been dropped. Similarly 'The way (which leads) in (to the auditorium)', 'The people (who are sitting) behind'. In some cases, the postmodifying item could be regarded alternatively as a preposition with deleted complement: 'The people (who are sitting) behind (us)'. There are indeed a few cases where prepositional interpretation is forced onus(c/6.9):

The votes for have not yet been counted



where the related explicit structure can only have a prepositional phrase: 'The votes are for the motion'. But since most examples can be explained as adverbial and few as prepositional, it seems best to regard the few that must be prepositional as being modelled upon the adverbial ones.

1337

In (b), we have in fact two subtypes. The first has been illustrated. The indefinite pronouns such as anybody, someone can be followed but not<sup>896</sup> The complex noun phrase

preceded by adjective modification. The pronouns concerned are the any-, some-, no-series (4.127/) plus one or two others (what else, who next, etc). It is important to realize that one is not free to postpose with indefinites all modifying items that can be preposed with ordinary noun heads; beside

An office girl is waiting

there is no ^Somebody office is waiting

Even adjectives need generally to be 'permanent' and hence eligible for attributive use (13.4); thus

Somebody timid

rather than

7Somebody afraid We not infrequently come upon noun phrases which defy the conditions here described; for example,

That nasty something has reappeared

It is perhaps enough to say that in such instances (almost always familiar, playful or ironic) the head items are not being used as indefinites but have been given ad hoc transfer to the open class of nouns. The motivation for the deviation will vary from one example to another, but a possible explanation for the example just provided would find ready parallels. We might paraphrase it thus: 'You mentioned seeing something nasty: well, the thing that you called "something" has reappeared'.

The other subtype in (b) consists chiefly of the sprinkling of noun plus adjective phrases (modelled on French) like blood royal, heir apparent (5.18). These are of little importance in themselves, being infrequently used (though our ability to form names like Hotel Majestic suggests that they are more than mere fossils) and it is likely that the native speaker feels them to be very similar to compound nouns. He cannot modify such items to show that he conceives of them as comprising an adjective and a noun:

•She has blood wholly royal in her veins

\*The heir still apparent was being well educated

In some cases, a sequence has obviously been reanalysed as premodifier plus head; this can be seen in the way court-martial is commonly made plural (c/4.63): No court-martials are held on Christmas Day

Postmodification ua/

Nevertheless, beside this subtype, there is a similar but much more general phenomenon. When a head is non-restrictively modified by a coordinated string of adjectives, it is common to postpose them:

A mm, timid and hesitant, approached the official though the potential mobility of the string allows it to be detached from the noun phrase altogether (cf 13.23). Even a

restrictively modifying adjective can be postposed if it is itself modified (by an adjunct, not by the intensifier *very*; c/5.19):

A man always timid is unfit for this task \*A man very timid is unfit for this task

This is particularly common where the modification is of a 'temporary' nature (13.4).

Thus beside *The finest available car we have* *The finest car {currently} available*. So

too beside the dubiousness of *?Somebody afraid*, complementation of the adjective

{*Somebody afraid of the dark*) results in complete acceptability. Comparisons

involving nouns of different gender classes require postposition of the adjective as in

*A man taller than Mary* where with nouns of the same class, postposition is optional:

*A man taller than John* *A taller man than John*

See further 11.60.

13.38

With (c) in 13.36 we again encounter a French model: *Lobster Newburg*. Though virtually confined to cuisine (rather than mere cooking), it is moderately productive within these limits, perhaps especially in the United States. In Britain one finds *veal paprika* and many others, but there is some resistance to this type of postposition with other than French lexical items, as in *pate maison*, *sole bonne femme*. Nevertheless (perhaps because, in examples like the latter, the French and English head nouns are identical), the language has become receptive to hybrids like *baked eggs duchesse*. Though technically a prepositional phrase phenomenon, expressions involving *a la* clearly belong here. This striking type of grammatical hybrid is again perhaps commoner in AmE than in BrE, at any rate in culinary formations like *chicken a la king*, but it is very general in informal or facetious use to designate style, 'in the manner of':

Another play *a la Osborne* has appeared, though I forget who wrote it. 898 The complex noun phrase

Postmodification 899

Multiple modification 13.39

In section 13.37 above, the example *A man, timid and hesitant showed a head* being simultaneously modified by two items capable themselves of derivation from two sentences, '*X is timid*' and '*X is hesitant*'. Before we turn to premodification where such multiple modification is achieved with the maximum economy and the minimum explicitness, it will be useful to review noun-phrase structure incorporating this new complication. Multiple modification arises through any or all of the following conditions:

(a) More than one modification is applicable to a single head. Thus

*The girl in the corner* *The girl talking to John*

can be brought together as *The girl in the corner (and) talking to John*

Where there is no conjunction, it is often the case that the second postmodifier is modifying the whole of the preceding complex noun phrase:

{[*The girl (in the corner)*] *talking to John*}

(b) A modification is applicable to more than one head. Thus

The girl in the corner The boy in the corner

can be brought together by multiple-head rules which permit the determiner to apply to both heads (cf. 4.14 Note b, 9.110/):

The girl and boy in the corner By bringing (a) and (b) together, we can produce complexes such as:

The girl and boy in the corner (and) talking to John

(c) A modification contains an item to which in turn a further modification is applicable. We have already seen numerous examples of where such further modification is achieved by means of an adverb; we are here concerned with catenations like

The girl in the corner nearest the door from the merging of

The girl in the corner

The corner nearest the door.

13.40

Stylistic preference

By bringing (a), (b) and (c) together, we form

The girl and boy in the corner nearest the door talking to John

Although the last postmodifier in this example is so much removed from the head, ambiguity is impossible: the door could not be talking to John. Nevertheless, many fastidious users of English would prefer to use a finite relative clause here ('... who are talking to John'), no doubt in response to an instinct that prompts the periodic introduction of a reassuring explicitness, especially at a point which is relatively distant from the head. The previous sentence, from no doubt, illustrates the principle in question and we may compare a clumsy paraphrase which disregards it:

in response to an instinct in favour of the introduction of explicitness at intervals for reassurance at points far from the head of the noun phrase

More is involved than periodic need for explicitness; perhaps formal

repetitiveness (eg a sequence of prepositional phrases or relative clauses) is as objectionable in a lengthy postmodification as is the danger of losing the thread:

He was the man who wrote the letter which Mary found in the house which she rented from the man who taught her uncle.

Ambiguity and constraints on multiple modification 13.41

The instances of multiple modification so far considered have raised problems of style but hardly of actual ambiguity or structural impermissibility. Frequently, however, careful ordering of constituents in a noun phrase is essential to communicate all and only one's intention. To take an obvious example, the following pair differ in meaning and are not mere stylistic variants:

The man in black talking to the girl The man talking to the girl in black

One of the chief reasons for preferring the *o/-* phrase to the *-s* genitive is to avoid discontinuity (with unwanted humour); thus

The ears of the man in the deckchair

and not

\*The man's ears in the deckchair (But cf, with group genitive, The man in the deckchair's ears: 13 64.) 900 The complex noun phrase

## Postmodification 901

A special type of multiple modification that requires careful ordering occurs when the modifying clause becomes itself embedded in a clause. Consider the following series:

John will write a poem for you

Tom hopes (that) John will write a poem for you

I will read the poem (which) Tom hopes (that) John will write/or you

In this last sentence, the relative pronoun (which) is object in the italicized relative clause. When, however, a relative pronoun is subject under analogous conditions, the conjunctive that which remained optional in the foregoing example is obligatorily absent:

A poem will be written for you

Tom hopes (that) a poem will be written for you

I will read the poem (which) Tom hopes (that) a poem will be written for you

I will read the poem (which) Tom hopes (that) a poem will be written for you

C/7.65, 7.78, 11.18.

13.42

Since verbs in the nominal clauses may be made non-finite or may be entirely absent, variations in structure can be very considerable. Related to

{(that) the boy was honest the boy honest ?the boy to be honest (rather rare)}

we have the noun phrases

/'was honest The boy (that) we thoughts honest

I to be honest

Verbless and non-finite postmodification is less acceptable when the adjective is 'temporary' (13.4):

' ?ready

, ?to be ready

Clause embedding in postmodification C3n sometimes result in anacoluthon, especially in speech (cf 7.66 Note a, on wA-questions):

I don't know when the party will end

\*I'm going to a party that I don't know when it will end

The relative clause here is deviant since it introduces a double pronominalization of the antecedent {that, it), but avoidance of the deviance involves rather radical reorganization:

We thought the boy

I'm going to a party which will end I don't know when I'm going to a party and I don't know when it will end

Note

A blend of the finite and non-finite forms of embedded clause produces hypercorrect deviant sentences like

◆That is the man whom we thought was not coming

Relative clauses may be complicated more than we have illustrated so far, though one tends to avoid multiple embeddings with successively 'push-down' clauses:

?I have read the book which you thought I had asked John whether he would lend me.

13.43

Even with simpler examples and the most careful ordering, we may find clarity and acceptable grammar difficult to attain in multiple modification. Beginning with  
He liked the smiles of delight on all the faces

a noun phrase based on this sentence and having smiles as its head may be ambiguous in one ordering: The smiles of delight on all the faces that he liked (was it the smiles or the faces that he liked ?) or grammatically awkward in another ordering which introduces discontinuity (13.72) to avoid ambiguity :

?The smiles that he liked of delight on all the faces

When we go on from this same sentence to attempt a noun phrase which has faces or delight as head, the problems increase:

?A11 the faces that he liked the smiles of delight on

Note

That the objection here is not merely to the final preposition (13.12) is shown by the awkwardness also of

?A11 Ihe faces on which he liked the smiles of delight And now the noun phrase with delight as head:

?The delight that he liked the smiles of on all the faces

"The delight of which he liked the smiles on all the faces

\*The delight on all the faces that he liked the smiles of

fof which he liked the smiles

\* The delight on all the faces-^ , ... .. ,

l\_whose smiles he liked

All these examples, however, involve discontinuous modification, discussion of which we must defer until later, 13.72/.902 The complex noun phrase

Premodification 903

## Premodification

Types of premodifying item 13.44

In addition to the closed-system items that co-occur with the head of a noun phrase (4.13 ff), lexical and grammatical items of a wide range and indefinite complexity and interrelationship can precede a noun head to form a noun phrase whose modification is minimally explicit. From examples [1] and [2] in 13.1, a relationship has already been inferred between the predicative adjective and premodification ('The girl is pretty', 'The pretty girl...'), and in 13.3 it was shown that such premodification can be restrictive or non-restrictive. It may be useful to begin the study of premodification by glancing at the range of premodifying items, holding constant a lexical frame (his ... cottage) and non-restrictive function:

(a) adjective

I visited his delightful cottage (His cottage is delightful)

(b) participle

I visited his crumbling cottage

(His cottage is crumbling) I visited his completed cottage

(His cottage has been completed)

(c) -S GENITIVE

I visited his fisherman's cottage (The cottage belonged to a fisherman)

It should be noticed that if we had used a more normal example in this instance (his uncle's cottage) we would have departed from the constant non-restrictive function and - more importantly - changed the relationship of his: in his uncle's cottage, his forms a noun phrase with uncle and it is this noun phrase that then premodifies cottage.

13.45

(d) NOUN

I visited his country cottage (His cottage is in the country)

(e) ADVERBIAL PHRASE (c/5.63)

I visited his far-away cottage

(His cottage is far away) (?) I visited his out-in-the-wilds cottage

(His cottage is out in the wiids)

Apart from a few institutionalized examples ('an away match' - 'the match is being played away from the home ground'), the flexibility of

this type of premodification tends to be exploited only colloquially, and most examples have (and seem deliberately to have) a flavour of originality, convention-flouting, and provisional or nonce awkwardness:

She's wearing a with-it dress That is the in thing at present

(f) SENTENCE

(7) I visited his what-do-you-call-it cottage

(c/What do you call it when a cottage has walls made from

overlapping pieces of timber? Clapboard) (?) I visited hispop-down-for-the-weekend cottage (cf 'His cottage is ideal for him to pop down to for the weekend)

What was said of (e) applies at least equally here. The few institutionalized examples seem to retain a colloquial or slang flavour: a do-it-yourself job is a task for which you need no help; a who-dun-it story is one about crime, and the substandard grammar and spelling are preserved as part of the ironic slang. Somewhat more widely acceptable are noun phrases which can be interpreted either as having sentence pre-modifiers or as being objects (usually of know) in an embedded noun clause:

He asked I don't know Hdw many people

where the intonation might alternatively be\*... kn6w ...'. The meaning is little changed if the sentence is reordered enforcing a different grammatical structure:

I don't know how many people he asked

For the most part, however, sentence premodifiers have an air of the outrageous and improvised. Part of a political leader's election campaign was described by a journalist as

today's meet the people (if they can find you) tour {The Times, 1 June 1970)

Far more remarkable is the following quotation from a literary comment in which the sentence premodification itself has highly irregular punctuation to convey highly irregular coordination devices:

His other comments ignore ... the obvious fallacies inherent in the "But the poem (play, novel) was meant to be tedious/ pretentious/pointless" line of critical argument.

{Times Lit Sup, 21 May 1970) 904 The complex noun phrase

Premodification 905

13.46

Restrictive and non-restrictive

Before looking in more detail at the individual categories (a), (b), (c) and (d) of the two previous paragraphs, there are certain generalizations to be made.

First with respect to restrictiveness. Although there are few formal cues as to whether a premodification is restrictive or not, it may be noted that, by their improvised nature itself, types (e) and (f) tend to be restrictive and to be given more prosodic prominence (App 11.7Jf) than the head of the noun phrase. Now, it is a general rule that, where there is no postmodification, it is the head of a noun phrase that is given prosodic prominence. Although restrictive premodifiers need not affect this rule, it is interesting to note that where prominence is given to a premodifier (as it normally is to a postmodifier), the item concerned must be restrictive. Thus

my ugly nose is not nonsensical, but \*my frail nose

normally is, unless in the special context of, for example, drawing attention to someone else's unkind allusion. In this connection it should be noted that, although proper names cannot normally be given restrictive modification (13.3), this can occur when a distinction is being made between more entities bearing the same name:

Do you mean the Kenr&cicy Richmond or the VirGINia' one?

Secondly, some further discussion of the distinction between temporary and permanent. Generally speaking, nouns and adjectives are stative and verbs are dynamic (2.16, 3.40). It follows that, as modifiers, most adjectives and nouns describe permanent characteristics while most participles describe temporary ones. Since, as we saw in 13.4, pre-head position in the noun phrase is strongly associated with relatively permanent characteristics, it further follows that premodification by adjectives and nouns is rarely subject to constraints, while premodification by participles is frequently constrained.

(a) Premodification by adjectives 13.47

A premodifying adjective, especially when it is the first item after the determiner, can itself be premodified in the same way as it can in predicative position (5.51\_ ^):

His really quite unbelievably delightful cottage

Some intensifiers tend however to be avoided with premodifying adjectives. Thus the predicative phrase in

His cottage which is so beautiful would not normally be retained in premodification:

His so beautiful cottage (rather affected) With indefinite determiners, so would be replaced by such:

A cottage which is so beautiful

Such a beautiful cottage Or else so plus adjective would be placed before the determiner:

So beautiful a cottage

There is resistance also to transferring clause negation to a structure of premodification, and this is possible only in limited circumstances (usually not plus intensifier or negative affix):

..... . f very courteous

His behaviour was noW ,

^unpleasant

allows the formation of

tt- . (Very courteousV . . His not-< , , J-behaviour Unpleasant j

This gives a slight impression of improvisation so that many might prefer to reformulate as:

TT. frather discourteous!, , . His-^ . , , >behaviour l^quite pleasant j

even though we have now changed the meaning in the direction of making the behaviour less courteous and more pleasant respectively, as well as removing the hinted negative presupposition.

Non-predicatiTe adjectives 13.48

We saw in 5.35/and 13.4 that there were a few adjectives that could not premodify. So also there are some that cannot be predicative. First, consider the small group exemplified as follows (5.31/):

The mere mention ~ \*The mention is mere Pure nonsense ~ \*The nonsense is pure

The only trouble - \*The trouble is only906 The complex noun phrase

Premodification 907

These adjectives, it will be noted, behave irregularly also in disallowing intensification by very (5.5), for the good reason that they are restrictives (5.31/), most of them clearly related to adverbial intensifies:

The mention was merely of... It was utterly disgraceful

Some items in this class, however, have homonyms that are regular:

The air is (very) pure The cliff was (quite) sheer

Secondly, there is a group posing a difficult problem. While adjectives normally refer to quality or to resemblance with substance, some refer to the possessing of substance (cf 5.34). Thus poetic can mean 'having the qualities of poetry' or 'consisting of poetry'; in the latter sense it cannot be predicative or be intensified or graded:

This very poetic image — This image is very poetic His poetic output - His output of poetry

So too with nasal:

His rather nasal pronunciation ~ His pronunciation is rather nasal

|The cavity of his nose

His nasal cavity ~ ■< \*,,, .. .. , ... fc , J t.\*The cavity is (rather) nasal

Predicative usage with nasal, oral, mathematical, etc is however possible in technical discourse.

13.49

But there can be other reasons inhibiting the predicative use of an adjective, and one is undoubtedly a deleted constituent. Consider topless as

in

The topless dress ~ The dress is topless

Note, to begin with, that this adjective already constitutes an exception in being potentially predicative and yet also of the'consisting'class that will not admit



intensification with very. But when we speak of 'a topless bar' or 'a topless waitress', where topless refers to the deleted noun dress, the adjective is no longer predicable unless we wish to state that the bar (or waitress!) has no top. Predication of the adjective is also blocked when the noun head is agential and the adjective refers to the activity (5.33):

A kind writer ~ The writer is kind

... , CHe works hard

A hard worker - J, .

LThe worker is hard

Where the noun can only refer to activity, there is of course no difficulty:

His good writing - His writing is good Compare also An old friend - 'He has been a friend for a long time'.

Something similar is involved in the ambiguous sentence

You've got a lovely daughter, Mr Brown Said by an admiring young man, the adjective is predicable:

Your daughter is lovely

Said by a maternity nurse outside the labour ward, it might be understood as 'You have become the father of a lovely (specimen of) baby girl(ness)' and lovely could not be predicated. Alternatively, it might be viewed as 'Here is a lovely situation: you have a daughter'. In either of these interpretations, the non-predicability is analogous to the situation in Romance languages which permit the preposing of adjectives having only a weak logical connection with the grammatical head of the noun phrase.

13.50

Other conditions of non-predicability (at any rate, without introducing some difference of connotation) are to be seen in formulaic expressions such as grateful (thanks) (\*' his (thanks) are grateful'), humble (apologies), grave (crisis), serious (hazard), intrepid (explorer), new (invention), nice (£'r')> poor (fellow). Cf 8.44 on formulaic adjuncts. For completeness, one should mention items which fall both outside the closed-system premodifiers discussed in 4.13jf and also outside the class of adjectives as normally understood. Numerals, for example, cannot be freely predicated: beside

the twenty men the predicative the men are twenty

would normally mean that they were aged twenty (though ' How many are you?-'We are three' is a possible if unusual sequence). Again relational words like latter and upper must be in premodification position, as also the quantifiers little, much, enough; postmodifying instances of the last mentioned can be somewhat archaic or dialectal:

Have

(enough beer? Libeer enough?

908 The complex noun phrase

■

It needs to be emphasized, however, that on the whole we are speaking of strong tendencies rather than immutable rules. Even the adjectives which are most firmly restricted to predicative position can be used exceptionally. In C. P. Snow's novel *The New Men*, we find

But, like many ill men, they resented the well

The author subsequently defended his premodifying use of ill as follows: This is becoming increasingly common, particularly among educated people. It is just a shade more emphatic than, say, 'he is not a healthy man'.

(Moderna Sprak 55 (1961), ;> 247) Note

When nouns are used as predicative degree indicators {cf 11.60 ff), they can be readily postmodified by enough plus infinitive clause:

;aman "j a coward >to agree a fool J

{man (manly "1

coward \enough to agree (=.. .< cowardly >...) fool J

[foolish J

(b) Premodification by participles (</5.12#)

Present participles

13.51

Everything here depends on the potentiality of the participle to indicate a permanent or characteristic feature. To a lesser extent, gradability (especially as indicated through intensification by very) is concomitant. She has a very interesting mind shows interesting as fully adjectival despite the direct relation to the verb interest:

Her mind interests me very much But an item can be a premodifier and yet disallow very:

A roaring bull (\*very roaring) And the converse can be true:

Creassuring

The man was very-; shocked [surprised

(reassuring] ?He was a\ shocked [.man

[surprised j

Ptemodification 909

This last example will illustrate the crucial significance of the 'permanence' characteristic; such participles can freely premodify nouns such as look, smile:

(reassuring! He greeted me with a very< shocked ^expression

[surprised J

The man himself cannot have shock or surprise attributed permanently to him, but a particular look can of course be permanently associated with such a value. So too we may speak of a smiling face rather than of a smiling person. It is thus necessary to realize that we are not here concerned with particular participles so much as with their contextual meaning. A wandering minstrel is one habitually given to wandering, but if we saw a man wandering down the street, we could not say

\*Who is the wandering man?

Again, someone who told good stories could be a (very) entertaining person but one could not say this of someone who happened at the moment of speaking to be entertaining his friends with a good story.

Note

Cf also the acceptability of giggling girls, a working man, and see the discussion of aspect in 3.36 .ffl

13.52

As we have noted before (13.4), the indefinite article favours the habitual or permanent, the definite article the specific or temporary. Thus

?The approaching train is from Liverpool is strange (especially in BrE) but not He was frightened by an approaching train

where we are concerned perhaps with what is characteristic in 'approach ing trains'. Similarly

?The barking dog is my neighbour's but I was wakened by a barking dog

On the other hand, after indefiniteness has been used while a quality was being specified in the postmodification, a participle can in a specific context be moved into premodification with the definite article:

A proposal offending many members ... (The offending proposal...)

910 The complex noun phrase

Premodification 911

In addition, the definite article may be used generically (4.28) and hence evoke the same generality and permanence as the indefinite:

The beginning student should be given every encouragement This last example represents what may be a current trend in journalism and in technical writing (especially in the social sciences) to admit present participles rather more freely in premodification: the developing (or emerging) countries, the (partially) hearing child, a continuing (or ongoing) commitment, a voting member.

Past participles 13.53

Much of what has been said of present participles applies to past participles also, but there are additional complications. In the first place, the past participle can be active or passive but as with postmodification (13.19) the active is rarely used in premodification. Contrast

The immigrant who has arrived with •The arrived immigrant

The vanished treasure ('The treasure which has vanished') and A retired teacher are exceptional, but exceptions are somewhat more general when an active participle is adverbially modified:

The newly-arrived immigrant Our recently-departed friend ?A recently-arisen problem

Within the passive we must distinguish the predicative and the agential or true passive; a non-agential, predicative example:

Some complicated machinery (The machinery is complicated •\*■ \*The machinery was complicated by the designer)

Here belong also born and some uses of hidden, married, troubled, darkened, etc, but in premodification they must either have 'permanent' reference or be adverbially modified:

A born musician (=a natural musician)

A newly-born child

A married man

The carefully-bidden spy

The last example illustrates a noteworthy general contrast between present and past participles. Beside the similarity in postmodification

The spy, carefully hidden in the bushes, watched ... The spy, carefully hiding in the bushes, watched ...

the latter unlike the former resists premodification \*The carefully-hiding spy

Not\*

With The newly-arrived immigrant, we may compare A well-read woman, A soft-spoken

person, e(c).

13.54

Most past participles are of the agential type and naturally only a few will easily admit the permanent reference that will permit premodifying use. We may contrast

The wanted man was last seen in Cambridge

(The man goes on being wanted by the police) \*The found purse was returned to its owner

(The purse was found at a particular moment)

But a lost purse is grammatical, because although a purse is no longer regarded as 'found' after it has been retrieved, a purse will be regarded as 'lost' throughout the period of its disappearance. So too:

The defeated army

A broken vase

The done thing (familiar BrE, 'The fashionable thing to do')

A damaged car Its relieved owner

But not (except in special contexts which we must here ignore):

•A sold car

\*The mentioned article

\*A built house

\*A described man

There are apparent exceptions which suggest that the semantic and aspectual factors are more complicated than here described. Although a sum of money can go on being needed, one does not normally say \*The needed money, and although a car is stolen at a moment of time, one can speak of The stolen car as one can of A lost purse. In A muttered reply, however, the participle characterizes a type of reply rather than an instance, and this is no more exceptional, therefore, than the equally91 2 The complex noun phrase

Premodification 913

typical posture denoted in A drawn sword. With An organized tour we may perhaps explain the premodification through the continuing and professional nature of the organization (as distinct from a tour privately organized on a specific occasion); or perhaps we should supply a deleted adverb 'an (officially- or specially-) organized tour', since we must remember that all of the starred agential participial phrases become acceptable under these conditions:

A recently sold car

The above-mentioned article

A well-built house

A carefully-described man

(On the tendency to hyphenate such premodifiers, see App III.5 Note a.) Finally, modifiers in -ed may be directly denominal and not participles at all (see App 1.29): the vaulted roof, a fluted pillar, a wooded hillside. But constraints occur (perhaps dictated merely by semantic redundancy), such that there is no

•A powered engine \*A haired girl •A legged man  
though we have

A diesel-powered engine A red-haired girl A long-legged man

Since, as we have seen, intransitive verbs rarely yield premodifying past participles, we should perhaps interpret A (much-) travelled man as having a denominal rather than a participle. But cf 13.53 Note.

(c) Premodification by genitives 13.55

It can be deduced from 13.44 that a noun phrase like a fisherman's cottage is ambiguous: the cottage belongs to a fisherman or belonged to a fisherman (or resembles the cottage of a fisherman). This type of premodification is thus sharply different from (a) a delightful cottage and (b) a completed cottage in that the determiner may as with (a) and (b), refer forward to the head or (more usually) refer only to the genitive. If the latter, then any intermediate modifiers between the determiner and the genitive must modify only the genitive. Thus

These nasty women's clothing

where these must predetermine the plural women's and the phrase must mean 'the clothing of these nasty women' and not 'the nasty clothing of these women' which would require the order These women's nasty clothing. If the former ('the clothing of...'), then an intermediate modifier will be interpreted as referring to the head. Thus

This nasty women's clothing

would mean 'this nasty clothing belonging to (or designed for) women'. Ambiguous instances are however common:

An old man's bicycle (contrast: 'a man's old bicycle')

could mean 'The bicycle belonging to an old man' or 'An old bicycle designed for a man' (or even 'A bicycle designed for an old man').

13.56 Without head

A notable feature of genitive premodification is the deletion of the head especially when this denotes premises or establishment:

I shall be at Bill's

where Bill's would normally mean 'where Bill lives', even though the hearer might not know whether the appropriate head would be house, apartment, flat, digs (BrE); 'lives' is important, however, and hotel room (where Bill could only be 'staying') would be excluded. By contrast

I shall be at the dentist's

would refer to the dentist's professional establishment and the same applies to proper names where these refer to commercial firms. It would not be absurd to write:

I shall be at Harrod's/Foyie's/Macy's

This usage is normal also in relation to small 'one-man' businesses: 'I buy my meat at Johnson's'. With proper names used in this way, however, the connection with the genitive becomes rapidly weakened, the essential plurality of large organizations

causes the s to be reinterpreted as plural, the apostrophe tends to be moved to suggest a genitive plural (at Macys') or to be dropped altogether as though the name ended in -s like Phillips or Rogers or were a plural:

Harrods is/are very good for clothes

Other commercial organizations move boldly in the other direction, Barclays Bank, founded by the Barclay family, have not merely dropped the apostrophe but encourage singular interpretation with the slogan 'Barclays is the friendly bank'. 914

The complex noun phrase

Premodification 915

(d) Premodification by nouns 13.57

While certain postmodifying o/ phrases correspond, as we have seen, to premodifying genitives, others, in common with prepositional phrase postmodifiers generally, correspond to noun premodifiers, often becoming so closely associated with the head as to be regarded as part of a compound noun (App IMff):

The question of partition ~ The partition question

A rod of iron — An iron 'rod

The door of the cupboard ~ The cupboard 'door

The shooting of tigers — 'Tiger shooting

The story of his life «\* His 'life story

A story about the war ~ A 'war story

A chair with arms ~ An 'arm chair or An arm 'chair

A cloth for dishes ~ A 'dish cloth

A village in Sussex ~ A Sussex 'village

A man from Sussex ~ A 'Sussex man

Prepositional phrases will not serve, however, to explain all premodification by nouns. There are coordinations and appositions also:

The plane is both a fighter and a bomber ~ A fighter-'bomber Bernard Miles was both actor and producer ~ The actor-pro'ducer Smith is a sergeant ~ Sergeant 'Smith

However, the kind of apposition found in titles of this kind (9.166 ff) is severely restricted by convention and style.

13.58

Attention must be drawn to three notable features in the various noun premodifications illustrated above. One is that plural nouns usually become singular (cf 4.526):

A chair with arms •\* An 'arm chair This holds even for nouns that otherwise have no singular form:

A sharpener for scissors - A 'scissor sharpener The leg of the trousers «\* The 'trouser leg

But while singularization is normal it is by no means universal, especially with noun premodification that is not hardening into a fixed phrase or compound:

The committee on promotions ~ The pro'motions committee

Cf also the arms race. The second important point is the relationship of the determiner. It will be observed that the normal situation is for the determiner to be related to the head identically in the post- and premodi- noun phrases.

Two exceptions are illustrated:

The shooting of tigers — 'Tiger shooting The story of his life — His 'life story  
The second of these examples conceals a difference in assumption of the sentential context: the postmodified form is neutral as to the subject of a narrating verb, the premodified form is biased towards a subject co-referential with Us. Thus He"]

She Itold the story of his life

I J He ]

?She Hold his life story

?I J

The third significant point concerns accentuation: according to the relationship between the two nouns, the accent will fall on the premodifier or the head; for example. An iron ^rod but A Jwar story. The conditions under which the latter stress pattern is adopted are by no means wholly clear but are connected with the conventionalizing of a sequence in the direction of compounding. See further App 1.44 jf and App II.6.

13.59

Although we have said that prepositional phrases 'generally' can yield noun premodifiers, this applies in fact only to the most central prepositions :

Work in the docks is arduous ~ ' Dock work ... but

Work near the docks is arduous ~ "Dock work...

Indeed precisely this point was an issue in the London law courts in 1970, and the Court of Appeal rightly upheld the linguistic statement made above and The Times law report had the following headline (7 May 1970):

Work near docks is not dock work

A further noteworthy constraint against using nouns from postmodifying phrases as premodifiers is the relative impermanence of the modification in question. Thus while

The table in the corner was laid for dinner<sup>91 6</sup> The complex noun phrasa wili readily yield

The corner table ... we cannot do the same with

The girl in the corner spoke to me \*The corner girl...

We must insist again that this is not a property of the lexical item (in this instance, corner) but of the semantic relation. It is no doubt only because a table is not free to move of itself that we can premodify this word but not girl by corner.

Multiple premodification

13.60

With single head

The three types of multiple modification specified in 13.39 apply to premodification also. More than one modification may be related to a single head:

His brilliant bookl His last book His (...) book

His last brilliant (...) book

Though long sequences are uncommon, the dots should remind us that there is no grammatical limit to the number of premodifiers. This formulation is however misleading in giving the impression that the multiple modifiers constitute an

unordered string. In fact there is good evidence that multiple modification follows a recursive process:

His book-\*His brilliant book-s-His [last (brilliant book)]

This then means that of several brilliant books we are speaking only of his last one, and we are able to contrast

His book-^His last book->His [brilliant (last book)]

where we are saying that his last book was brilliant without commitment to whether any of his other books were. In some instances, however, we do indeed have multiple modifications in which no priority among modifiers need be assumed, and where one modifier plus the head would hardly form a class susceptible to subclassification by means of a second modifier. In such instances we sometimes give separate prosodic treatment to the modifiers (introducing commas in writing):

His last brilliant book

Premodification 917

or formally coordinate them. Thus

His forceful, lucid remarks would not be noticeably different in meaning from

His forceful and lucid remarks

His lucid, forceful remarks

When however such coordinated modifiers relate to properties that are normally thought to be mutually exclusive, the coordinator will probably not be and:

?His handsome and dirty face (?)His handsome, dirty face His handsome but dirty face His dirty but handsome face

13.61

With multiple head

Modification may apply to more than one head (e/9.108i/f):

The new table \ The new chairs/

■ The new table and chairs

The multiple head thus produced can now be subject to recursive or coordinate modification:

The new table and chairs->The beautiful new table and chairs

The new, ugly table and chairs

The new but ugly table and chairs

The reduced explicitness naturally makes ambiguity possible. Since we can coordinate two noun phrases only one of which is premodified, as in:

He wrote long articles) TT , , , ,

.. t . , r "" He wrote long articles and books

He wrote books J ■

the resulting string will suggest that the modifier applies to both heads if it comes first. In these circumstances, we may disambiguate by reordering or by introducing separate determiners:

He wrote books and long articles

He wrote some long articles and some books

Noun phrases with separate premodification can however be jointly premodified, as in:



books and long articles->excellent books and long articles<sup>918</sup> The complex noun phrase

where with one tone unit the latter can be interpreted as having the structure:  
 {excellent [(books) and (long ARTicles)]}

Articles

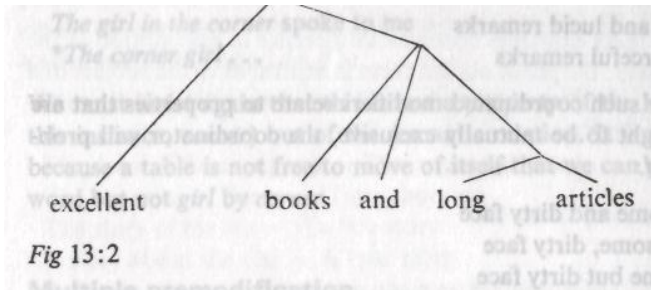


Fig 13:2

This interpretation would be almost inescapable if a determiner such as some preceded excellent. It follows that if we wish to coordinate noun phrases both of which are premodified, we must introduce either pro-sodic or punctuation separators, or separate determiners:

excellent books, and long articles

some excellent books and some long articles

With modified modifier 13.62

We have already seen two types of modification with modified modifier:

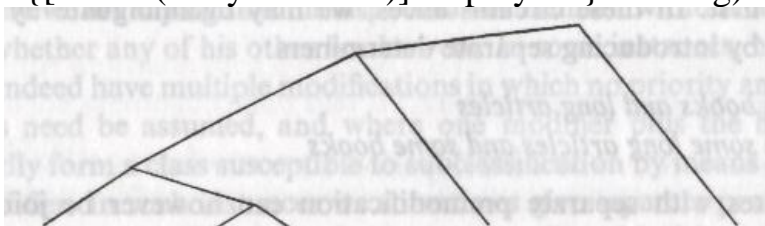
His really quite unbelievably delightful cottage

where the premodifying adjective delightful is itself premodified by the adverbial really quite unbelievably; and

These nasty women's clothing

where the genitive premodifier women's is itself premodified by these nasty, and where the whole genitive phrase could premodify another genitive:

<{[These (nasty women's)] employer's} clothing)



these nasty women's employer's clothing

Fig 13:3

Pis modification 919

(see tree diagram, Fig 13:3). Although there is no theoretical limit to such sequences of genitives, there seems to be a practical limit of two, anything more being stylistically objectionable, comic, and difficult to comprehend:

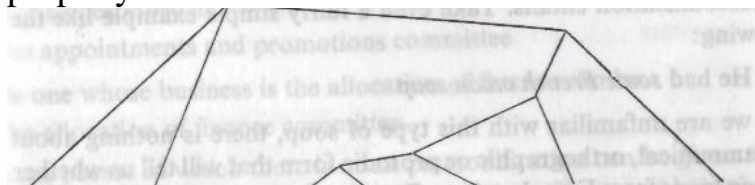
These nasty women's employer's wife's clothing A third type of modified modifier has no such limitations. The noun premodifier can be itself premodified by either an adjective or anoun and, if the latter, this can in turn be similarly premodified:

— a~ c u fThe small office furniture The office furniture-^ \_ , J1 .  
 (.The tax office furniture—

-The property tax office furniture-\*

—;-The house property tax office furniture

It should be noted, however, that if we were to introduce an adjective in this last noun phrase, already clumsy and improbable, (i) it would have to come immediately after the determiner, and (ii) it would normally be interpreted as relating directly to the head furniture rather than to house, the only other possibility: The pleasant house property tax office furniture



pleasant house property tax office furniture

Fig 13:4

In the case of 'The small office furniture', it was possible to have the adjective premodifying the premodifier only by selecting an adjective that would hardly refer to furniture (5.41). Compare the following two examples which appeared in the same news item:

The food price rise warning system

The voluntary price rise warning system

(The Times, 7 May 1970)

The identical positioning of food and voluntary must not obscure the fact that the former modifies price and the latter system.

920 The complex noun phrase

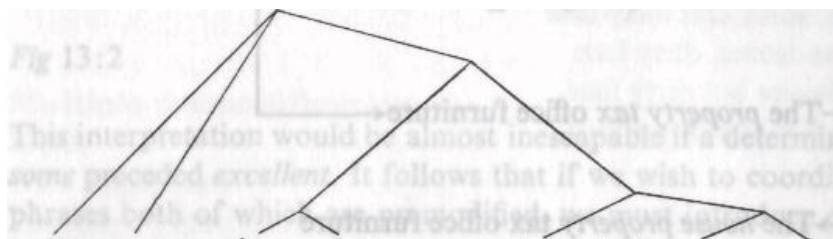
13.63

This is not to say however that obscurity cannot exist or that noun premodifiers can modify only the next following noun, as in the instances so far illustrated. Consider

A new giant size cardboard detergent carton

where size does not premodify cardboard and cardboard does not pre-modify detergent but where the linear structure is rather as follows (see Fig 13:5 for tree diagram):

A <new {(giant size) [cardboard (detergent carton)]}



a new Fig\3:5

giant size

cardboard detergent carton

Such an example is not, of course, obscure, and indeed it is generally the case that obscurity in premodification exists only for the hearer or reader who is unfamiliar with the subject matter being treated and who is not therefore equipped to tolerate the

radical reduction in explicitness that premodification entails. Take even a fairly simple example like the following :

He had some French onion soup

If we are unfamiliar with this type of soup, there is nothing about the grammatical, orthographic or prosodic form that will tell us whether it is soup made from French onions, French soup made from onions, or onion soup made in the French manner.

13.64

'Group genitive'

One important type of multiple premodification is the 'group genitive\*'. While the affixing to a noun of the genitive inflection and the plural inflection follows similar rules for regular nouns (4.61/) in general, the rules for the two inflections are different if the noun is postmodified:

/The teacher                      The teacher's (room)

\The teacher of music      The teacher of music's (room)

(The teachers                      The teachers' (room)

plural

The teachers of music      The teachers of music's (room)

Premodification      921

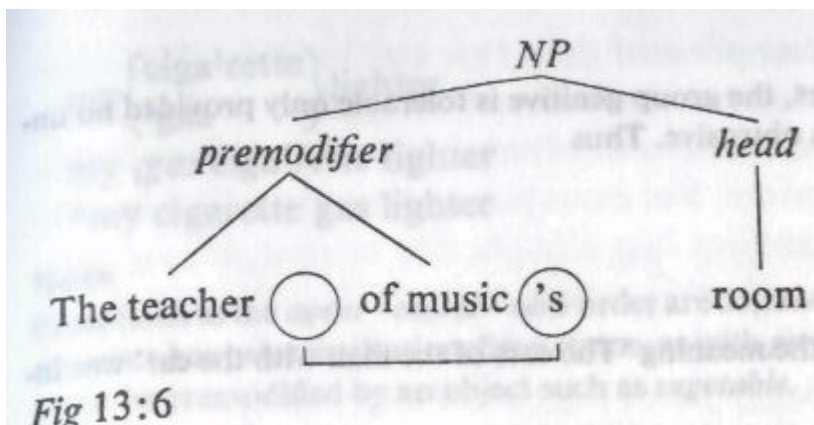


Fig 13:6

(see the tree diagram, Fig 13:6). Other examples involve coordinations: an hour and a half's discussion, a week or so's sunshine. The group genitive is not normally acceptable when the postmodification is a clause, though in colloquial use one sometimes hears examples like: Old man what-do-you-call-him's house has been painted ?I like the man standing in the corner's hat ?Someone has stolen a man I know's car

In normal use, especially in writing, such -jgenitives would be replaced by ^/-genitives:

I like the hat of the man standing in the corner Someone has stolen the car of a man I know

There are other special types of group premodification that should be mentioned. A friendship between a boy and girl becomes A boy and girl friendship. A committee dealing with appointments and promotions can readily be described as

The appointments and promotions committee while one whose business is the allocation of finance can be

The allocation of finance committee

A noun phrase in which there is noun premodification can be given the denominal affix which puts it into the ' consisting of class of adjectives (5.34, 13.48) while retaining the noun premodifier; hence, from party politics we have

A party political broadcast

Similarly, a noun phrase having a denominal adjective may itself take a denominal affix to become a premodifier in a noun phrase. For example, beside cerebral palsy (= 'palsy' of the cerebrum), we have cerebral palsied children which has the structure {[(cerebral palsy)cd] children}

and not

\*[cerebral (palsied children)]

c/13.54, Appl.29.

922 The complex noun phrase

Note

Even with prepositional phrases, the group genitive is tolerable only provided no ,,,, wanted interpretation becomes obtrusive. Thus

The man in the car's ears might pass muster, but

The man with the cat's ears

would obviously be avoided if the meaning 'The ears of the man with the cat 'was intended.

Relative sequence of premodifiers 13.65

Denominal and nominal

In 13.60, several observations were made on the disposition of premodifying items relative to one another, with particular reference to the contrasts of meaning available through choice of position. We come now to influences upon relative ordering that depend on the class membership or underlying sentential function of the items concerned (c/"5.41). The item that must come next before the head is the type of denominal adjective often meaning 'consisting of', 'involving', or 'relating to', and this can be preceded by a wide range of premodifying items:

{extravagant] pleasant . ,,,\_
. Asociallife
only f
London J (serious
a< Apolitical problem
mere r ^
[united States]

Thus while dirty British books could be understood as books that had become grimy, British dirty books could only mean books that 'consisted of or 'were characterized by' dirt (ie obscenity).

Next closest to the head is the noun premodifier, already exemplified -with London and city in the foregoing examples. When two nouns pre-modify, one which corresponds to the head as object to verb will follow one relating to material or agency:

(detergent "I/container \cardboardj\carton

„ , , , , , fcontainer i cardboard detergenH

[carton

, , , , , \_„ , fcontainer

a deter sent cardboards

I carton

Pre modification 923

2

my \gas cigarette lighter

•my cigarette gas lighter

Note

Exceptions to the agent - object - verb order are common enough where an agent - verb sequence has prior institutionalized status, as with pressure cooker, which may then as a unit be premodified by an object such as vegetable.

Classes of adjectives

13.66

Next before a noun modifier the most important class of items to mention is the adjective of provenance or style:

a Russian trade delegation

Gothic church architecture and preceding this type is the participle:

a carved Gothic doorway

some interlocking Chinese designs

Preceding the participle, we have adjectives of colour:

a black dividing line

a green carved idol

And these in turn are preceded by adjectives of age, together with the pre- and postmodifiers that these and other freely gradable adjectives may have:

an old blue dress

a very young examination candidate

a really very elderly trained nurse

a large enough lecture room

Next comes the large class that can be rather unsatisfactorily designated 'general', except that between 'general' and colour (and usually all other modifiers to the right) comes the diminutive unstressed use of little;

gracious
typical
beautiful
l
peculiar
handsome
me
hideous
splendid

old carved Gothic doorway little^!

old blue dress

•an old little blue dress

924 The complex noun phrase

But the situation is more complicated than this would allow. We commonly use little after participial premodifiers ('his injured little hand') and the general adjectives comprise several subclasses the relative placing of which is by no means random. For example, we would prefer beautiful long hair to long beautiful hair, but long straight hair to straight long hair; we would have a small round table rather than a round small table; several thick even slices rather than several even thick slices; a fierce shaggy dog rather than a shaggy fierce dog; a tall angry man rather than an angry tall man; perhaps a brief hostile glance rather than a hostile brief glance. It will be noticed that there is little suggestion that the less preferred order is actually unacceptable, and this is doubtless reflected in the fact that subcategorization of the general adjectives is controversial and that grammarians are far from being agreed on the generalizations that underlie the native speaker's preferences. In any case, when coordinated (13.60), most of these adjectives can appear in almost any relative order.

13.67

In part, the preferences seem clearly to correspond to the 'natural' order of recursive qualification (13.60). Thus

the two typical large country houses would be more usual than the two large typical country houses

In order to be typical, country houses must be large; but it would scarcely be true that in order to be large, they must be typical. This is factual not linguistic information. The preferred order in the two noun phrases above thus reflects reality in showing that the speaker had been obliged to specify the houses as country houses and the country houses as large before it became meaningful to specify the large country houses as typical. Again, the preferred orders beautiful long hair and long straight hair perhaps reflect the non-linguistic world: length of hair may be a condition of its being adjudged beautiful, and the straightness of hair would tend to be a condition of its seeming long.

Evaluative or subjective adjectives frequently precede those relating to size, while these in turn frequently precede those expressing shape; within size, expressions of height tend to precede those of girth (a tall fat man rather than a fat tall man). Attempts to explain preferences have invoked rhythm; short items before longer ones; common items before rare ones; restrictive before non-restrictive. One is tempted to suggest one principle accounting not only for all general adjectives but all premodifiers: a subjective/objective polarity. That is, modifiers relating to

determiners etc	general	age	colour	participle	provenance	noun	denominal	head
the	hectic					life	social	life
the	extravagant					London	social	life
a				crumbling		church		tower
a		grey		crumbling	Gothic	church		tower
some	intricate	old		interlocking	Chinese			designs
a	small		green	carved		jade		idol
his	heavy	new					mora.	responsibilities

Fig 13:7 Premodification

9Z6 The complex noun phrass  
Pre modification 927

properties which are (relatively) inherent in the head of the noun phrase visually observable, objectively recognizable or assessible, will tend to be placed nearer to the head and be preceded by modifiers concerned with what is relatively a matter of opinion, imposed on the head by the observer, not visually observed and only subjectively assessible. One need hardly add that, with criteria that are themselves so subjective, there is plenty of room for difference of opinion.

It may clarify matters if, ignoring the suggested distinctions within the genera! class of adjectives, we recapitulate the observations made on the sequence of premodifiers. Fig 13:7 gives examples showing the relative positions taken up in a selection of noun phrases.

Note

Though there are many exceptions and few firm constraints, it seems that, to some extent, the order of premodifying adjectives is the inverse of predicative order:  
beautiful long hair »» hair that is long and beautiful long straight hair ~ hair that is straight and long

With this we may compare the 'agent-object-head' order in premodification (13.65) with the inverse order of clause elements:

a gas cigarette lighter ~ it lights cigarettes by gas So too with 'adjunct-subject-head\*':  
Euston train arrivals ~ the trains arrive at Euston and the sequence of modifiers with subjective and objective genitive (13.29):

the men's examination of the student — the men examined the student

the men's examination by the doctor ~ the men were examined by the doctor

the examination of them by him ~ they were examined by him

where, although inversion is not always involved, the same principle of ordered clustering in relation to the head is maintained.

13.68

General adjectives are themselves preceded by the semantically weak (formulaic) items such as nice (13.50); by non-predicable items like mere (though these general adjectives are not in fact usually so modified); by quantifiers; numerals; determiners and associated closed-system items (4.13Jf). One subset of determiners has to co-occur with gradable (usually 'general') adjectives but also involves subclassification of the head as singular/plural/mass (cf 5.57/):

it \* u , (a (funny) story

He told such-i , jr " . J

{(funny) stories

He bought such hard wood

He told

funny

a story

that..

He told [7J

[that... [as...

He bought L?aJ hard wood

There are close parallels in interrogative and exclamatory forms, but with additional complications:

What (funny) stories did he tell ?

\* What a (funny) story did he tell ?

{(funny) stories j

,T, , j .fdidhebuy? What hard woodi. , ' (.he bought!

„ , „ ("is he?

How tall a maM, . ,

the is!

„ , „ fare they?

'How tall men<., ,

Uhey are!

\*Ho

fa

w< {m

mm.



men...

.rj- <. j .fdidhebuy? \*How hard wood<, . . .:, the bought!

It will be seen that, in contrast with such and what, so and how share a restriction to singular countable nouns and cause the adjective to move in front of the article; such and what are also alone in permitting the adjective to be omitted though with some such general sense as \* 'magnificent' or 'outrageous' understood. The relationship of the four items can be summarized thus, the horizontal pairs being respectively demonstrative (upper) and interrogative (lower), the vertical pairs determiner (left hand) and pronoun (right hand):

such  
how-  
-what

### Some problems of coordination

13.69

Coordination gives rise to some points of interest in multiple modification. 'Children who have speech that is impaired' can be reduced to 1 Children who have impaired speech' or ' Children with impaired speech'. The normal premodified form (c/ App 1.8) is then speech-impaired children<sup>928</sup> The complex noun phrase

But if the impairment is in speech and language (a conventional con-joining recognized in speech therapy), the premodification form becomes  
speech and language impaired children

The hyphen is omitted after language since this would entail one after speech as well, a type of ellipsis indication reserved for rather stiff and technical writing (App III.5 Note b):

Speech- and language-impaired children

Ellipsis provides difficulties in noun phrases involving comparison also-while the following is unobjectionable:

An equally serious or more serious situation this is not so when postmodifying complementation is added: ?An equally serious or more serious situation than before which wrongly suggests that we have a possible sequence '\*An equally serious situation than before'. A somewhat similar difficulty arising through coordination and rather careless ellipsis is as follows:

?The similarity of his house in New York and Connecticut

A more fully explicit form without ellipses will help to show what has gone wrong:

... his house<sub>1</sub> in New York to his house<sub>2</sub> in Connecticut

As explained in 9.101/, the rules for ellipsis have to distinguish between identity of lexical item and identity of reference; if we have only the first without the second, there are constraints on ellipsis. These are not sufficient, however, to block ellipses like the following which retain complete acceptability:

more than one lecturer some book or other one or two books

Expressions of approximation 13.70

Coordinate expressions of approximation like 'one or two books' become still more difficult to explain in terms of ellipsis when the numeral following or is replaced by so:

ten or so years

The or so more usually follows the head (though or plus numeral usually

Premodification 929

cannot do this without a change in prosodic pattern and so ceasing to be an expression of approximation):

a yfar or so a yfar or two one y&vr or so

6ne year or tw6

There is a further approximatory expression making a set of three, all of which specify numbers but differ interestingly in meaning:

about ten years ten or eleven years ten years or so

The first will freely allow the actual time to be less than ten as well as more than ten. The second will not normally allow the actual time to go beyond the specified range (though it could err slightly upwards). The third can range appreciably (but especially upwards), so that the actual time might be twelve years as easily as eleven.

13.71

The post-head type of approximation imposes limitations as to what can be estimated:

the year or-l VI spent there

\*the man

or< l

r

Isaw there

The limitations become clearer with additional examples; thus although we can speak of

a dollar or so to spend a pound or so of butter

f of beer or so aglasVsoofbeer

we cannot speak of

\*a chair or so \*a child or so

and still less of \*the chair or so

though 'another chair or so' is acceptable. In other words, the items preceding the or so approximation must be units of measurement

930 The complex noun phrase

{year, pound) or items contextually rendered units of measurement (another N). It may be worth mentioning that 'a glass of beer or so' has the structure

a {glass (of beer)} or so and not

•a glass {of (beer or so)} Note

Thus, unlike German, where oder so corresponds to all the English uses of or so but in addition extends to the equivalent of English 'or something of that sort', there can be no

\*He drank brandy or so

\*He was eating chocolates or so.

## Discontinuous modification

13.72

It is not uncommon for the noun phrase to be interrupted by other items of clause structure. Note for instance the placing of the time adjunct in the following between the head and postmodifier of the italicized noun phrase:

You'll meet a man tomorrow carrying a heavy parcel  
There are more striking examples: I had a nice glass of beer but in an ugly glass

This is not as contradictory as it at first seems since it is only in the second noun phrase that glass is premodified by an adjective; in the first, nice might instead be interpreted as modifying *tee* (/\*a glass of nice beer'), but it is better to regard glass of beer as a complex unit modified as a whole (like the teacher of music in \*the teacher of music's room': 13.64), but with glass having *Jess* its concrete meaning than that of a unit of measure. So too with a weak cup of tea, and phrases of the form *kind* sort of N which take premodifiers plainly related to N rather than sort, both in semantics and in concord:

A big awkward sort of carton | These big awkward kind of cartons

13.73

Discontinuous modification more aptly applies to examples like the following (c/5.19):

Comparable facilities to ours

Different production figures from those given earlier

Pre modification 931

The prepositional phrases here do not directly relate to the head (as they do in roads to London, people from the village) but to the premodifying adjective:

... facilities comparable to ours \_\_\_ figures different from those

Compare now the following pairs

("The pretty girl that I kissed

\The first girl that I kissed

(The worst discovery that I made

\The earliest discovery that I made

("The most recent play I know well is *The Caretaker*

\The most recent play I've seen is *Hamlet*

The superficial resemblance within each pair must not prevent us from seeing that the premodifier in the second member has in each case an adverbial relation in what is plausibly a corresponding sentence:

1 The girl that I kissed first

2 The discovery that I made earliest

3 The play I've seen most recently is *Hamlet*

Nothing corresponds to this discontinuous modification (such as 'The girl that I kissed prettily') in the first noun phrase of each pair.

Compare also 'An attractive scheme financially' (= 'A scheme which is financially attractive'); cf 5.59.

13.74

Most discontinuities, however, are brought about by interpolating a parenthesis or the finite verb of the sentence (where the noun phrase is subject) between the head and

the postmodifier; and the usual motive is to correct a structural imbalance (cf 14.41) or achieve a more immediate clarity:

The story is told that he was once a wrestler

The box was by the door which had contained the papers and other valuables

Without the discontinuity, we should have had here two sentences with Subjects much longer than predicates, and in the second, discontinuity has also permitted the end of the sentence to form a climax. A textual example can perhaps show more clearly the noteworthy facility that discontinuity provides in technical writing, as well as illustrating the sort of awkwardness in style that may in turn be the result:

The ... question ... is whether indeed learning can take place of the relationship between two groups of words, when the particular

932 The complex noun phrase

words tested have never concretely been associated with each other in experience (Bulletin Brit. Psych. Soc. 23, 1970)

Where the postmodification is by a prepositional phrase (especially an *o/-*-phrase), this type of discontinuity is difficult to achieve acceptably as we see also in the following:

Several gallons are sour of the milk that was delivered yesterday

and interruption is least unwelcome when the postmodifier is clausal, as it is in the following (formal and rather literary) examples:

.. , , .{whospeak} ,, ...

None can be found-4 , ywell of far. [speaking )

He had seen such horrors when a boy as he could not describe.

Conclusion 13.75

The noun phrase, then, is potentially very complex indeed. It is hoped that by now enough has been said to give some clear indication of the relationship that exists between types of noun-phrase structure and the forms of predication to which they appear to have an essential if often indirect correspondence. By means of the structures that have been developed in the noun phrase, we can take an indefinitely wide range of grammatical and semantic data which have either been previously established in the discourse or which can be assumed as knowledge held in common between speaker/writer and hearer/reader, and then express them or refer to them with greatly reduced explicitness and consequently increased economy. For example:

Premodification

(a)

(b) (c)

At the mouth of the respiratory tube is a series of velar tentacles, corresponding exactly in position to those of a nautilus, and serving to separate the mouth and oesophagus from the respiratory tube while the lamprey is feeding.

It was the beginning of an operation in which the power of the Holy Spirit was fulfilled in the person and words and actions of a human character, Jesus of Nazareth. Subsequent work by Huisgen (1951) and Hey, Stuart-Webb and Williams (1951, 1952) on the dependence of the rate of rearrangement on both the aryl and acyl groups of the acylarylnitrosamine, and on the catalysis of the reaction by bases such as piperidine, has led to the formulation of the rearrangement as an intramolecular

process, as indicated in equation (6), involving nucleophilic attack, by an internal S<sub>N</sub>2 mechanism, of the oxygen of the ... nitrosyl group on the carbonyl carbon atom.

Thus, in the italicized noun phrase of example (a), we are expected to understand that the tentacles form a series and that they correspond to the tentacles found in the species amphioxus. More interestingly, we are expected to relate the tentacles to the velum without prejudice as to whether they are appended to it (a partitive relationship) or actually constitute it (an appositive relationship), "on which distinction some biologists would not wish to commit themselves.

13.76

Types of noun-phrase structure in relation to style

But it must be emphasized that anything approaching full exploitation of the potentiality existing in noun-phrase structure is relatively rare and relatively confined to specific styles of discourse. Examining a sample of some 17,000 noun phrases in the Survey of English Usage files yielded the striking contrasts that are summarized in the accompanying table.

Table 3:1

## NOUN-PHRASE STRUCTURE AND DISTRIBUTION

SIMPLE	COMPLEX
--------	---------

whole sample	
--------------	--

informal speech	
-----------------	--

fiction	
---------	--

/subject \not subject	
-----------------------	--

/subject \not subject	
-----------------------	--

(subject \not subject	
-----------------------	--

serious talk /subject and writing \not subject	
--	--

scientific writing	
--------------------	--

/subject \not subject	
-----------------------	--

(pronouns and names)	
----------------------	--

(5821) (2193)	
---------------	--

(1941) (677)	
--------------	--

(1943) (754)	
--------------	--

(1478) (599)	
--------------	--

(459) (163)	
-------------	--

6749 4753	
-----------	--

2064 1169	
-----------	--

2220 1682	
-----------	--

1745 1273	
-----------	--

720 629	
---------	--

1149 4310	
-----------	--

148 811	
---------	--

211	
-----	--

1121	
------	--

343 1238	
----------	--

447 1140	
----------	--

(multiple	
-----------	--

modifi-  
cation)

(456) (1777)

(62) (327)

(92) (434)

(127) (492)

(175)

(524)

'Simple' is here defined as embracing pronouns, names, and nouns having no heavier modification than closed-system items: she, John, (the) butter. In view of their numerical and distributional importance, pronouns and names are distinguished as a subclass of 'simple'. 'Complex' embraces all other noun phrases, but a subclass is distinguished comprising those having multiple modification (more than merely a single adjective premodifier or prepositional phrase postmodifier). The table shows that:

(a) Less than one-third of the 17,000 noun phrases in the sample are 'complex', even within these modest limits of 'complexity'; 934 The complex noun phrase

(b) Less than one-eighth have multiple modification;

(c) Nearly one half of the sample are pronouns or names;

(d) The majority of simple noun phrases - and the overwhelming majority of names and pronouns - are subjects of clauses or sentences, but only rather less than a quarter of complex noun phrases are subjects;

(e) When the whole sample is broken down into four types of text, one such type ('serious talk and writing') very closely follows the pattern of distribution for the sample as a whole;

(f) In respect of these particular noun-phrase parameters, prose fiction and informal spoken English agree closely and are sharply distinct from the other two styles represented in the sample; they have a much higher proportion of simple to complex and a much stronger association of simple with subject, and complex with non-subject, than the other styles;

(g) Scientific writing differs greatly from the other styles in having a distinctly higher proportion of noun phrases with complexity (and multiple complexity); a distinctly lower proportion of names and pronouns among its simple noun phrases; and the weakest association of simple with subject and complex with non-subject.

Even so coarse-grained a comparison makes clear how sensitive the noun phrase is as an index of style and how responsive it can be to the basic purpose and subject matter of any discourse.

Bibliographical note

On adjectives and other premodifiers, see Bolinger (19676); Goyvaerts (1968); Mutt (1967). On modification in relation to function, see Aarts (1971).

On nominalization, see Chomsky (1970); Fraser (1970); Vendler (1968), especially Pan I.

On relative clauses, see Jacobsson (1963) and (1970); Quirk (1963); and Huddleston (1971), Chapter 5.

On the choice of relative pronouns, see Roggero (1967); Taglicht (1973).

For some recent transformational studies in this area, see Fraser (1970); Kuroda (1969); Schwartz (1968); Stockwell, Schachter and Partee (1973), Chapter 7. For treatment of the noun phrase as a whole, see also Bourquin (1964); Strang (1968), Chapters 7 and 8.

## FOURTEEN

### FOCUS, THEME, AND EMPHASIS

#### 14.1 Introduction

#### 14.2-7 Information focus

##### .2 Focus and units of information

##### .3 End-focus and contrastive focus

##### .4 Contrastive focus on words and syllables

##### .5 Given and new information

##### .6 Variation in the scope of new information

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#### 14.8-9 Voice and reversibility

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#### 14.10-23 Theme and inversion

##### .10 Theme

##### .11-12 Thematic fronting or 'marked theme'

##### .13 Theme with initial adverbials

##### .14-16 Inversion

##### .15 Subject-verb inversion .16 Subject-operator inversion .17 Theme in subordinate clauses .18-22 Cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences .18 Cleft sentences

##### .19-20 The 'relative clause' in cleft sentences .21-22 Pseudo-cleft sentences .23

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14.1

### Introduction

In previous chapters, particularly Chapter 7, we have seen how English sentences are built up from various phrase types which serve a range of constructional functions within the grammar (subject, verb, adverbial, etc). We have also seen (7.13-22) how the elements which have these functions may also have a different kind of function (a participant role) describable in terms such as 'agentive', 'recipient', 'attribute'. In this final chapter, we come to a third way in which one may view these parts of the sentence: as items which can be manipulated within the structure of sentences for different kinds of prominence, serving the total sequential organization of the message. There are three different kinds of prominence to be considered: focus, theme, and emotive emphasis. Studying these aspects of linguistic structure makes one aware of language as a linearly organized communication system, in which judicious ordering and placing of emphasis may be important for the proper understanding of the message. It is an area which has been comparatively neglected by the grammars of the past, and in which modern linguistics has made a clear contribution to the understanding of how language (in particular the English language) works.

### Information focus

14.2

### Focus and units of information

We start by considering how the English language organizes a spoken message into units of information, as signalled by intonation. (In this section, close reference to Appendix II, especially II. 12-15, is advisable.) Each tone unit represents a unit of information, and the place where the nucleus falls is the focus of information. A sentence has at least one tone unit, and it is common for a tone unit to extend over a single (non-superordinate) clause. A few general (and fallible) rules concerning the relation of grammatical units and tone units may be stated here:

A sentence corresponds to a single tone unit (eg; We spent our last holiday in wAles) unless

(a) It begins with an optional phrasal or clausal adverbial element, in which case the adverbial generally has a separate tone unit:

The year before last, I we spent our holiday in wales | or (b) It contains a non-restrictive relative clause, or any medial phrase<sup>938</sup> Focus, theme, and emphasis or clause, in which case the phrase or clause has a separate tone unit:

The JapanESE, | whose industry is well kn6wn, | have recently broken all Export records |

or (c) It contains a vocative or a disjunct or a polysyllabic conjunct, in which case the vocative or other unit generally has a separate tone unit, or at least ends with a tone unit division:

MARy, | are you c6wing? |

or(d)It has a clause or long noun phrase (especially one with post-modification) as subject, in which case the subject generally has a separate tone unit:

What we want | is plenty of rain 1

or (e) It contains clausal coordination (9.39 ff), in which case the elements of the coordinate structure may have separate tone units:

He opened the door [ and walked straight In |

These rules provide some guide lines; but the important point is that no rigid generalization can be made about the division of discourse into information units, which are by their very nature variable stretches of language to be adjusted to the required degree of emphasis, complexity of grammatical units, speed of utterance, and other factors. For example, a sentence with a clausal object will generally have one tone unit so long as all the elements are relatively simple. But if the length of the sentence goes beyond a certain point (very roughly, ten words) it is difficult to avoid splitting the clause into two, or even more, information units:

The man told us we could park it Here |

The man t6ld us | we could park it at the RAiLway station)

The man told us | we could park it | in the street over there |

14.3

End-focus and contrastive focus

As the clause is the unit of grammar that most closely corresponds to the tone unit, or unit of information, the best way to consider the positioning of the information focus is to relate it to clause structure, taking examples in which clause and tone unit correspond in extent. (For illustrative purposes, the clause is equated with the simple sentence - cfl.lf.)

The neutral position of focus is what we may call end-focus, that is (generally speaking) chief prominence on the last open-class item or proper noun in the clause (App II.8,11.10,11.12):

Dylan Thomas was born in swANsea.

Information focus

Special or contrastive focus, however, may be placed at earlier points, and so may fall on any of the non-final elements of the clause. For example: Focus at S:

[Who was born in Swansea?] Dylan THdMas was (born in Swansea)  
[1]

Focus at V;

[Dylan Thomas was married in Swansea, wasn't he ?] n6,

he was b&rn in Swansea

[2]

Focus at Od:

[I hear you're painting the bathroom blue.] No, I'm painting the Living-room blue

[3]

Focus at A: [Have you ever driven a Cadillac?] yes, I've 6Ften driven one [4]

Contrastive focus can also be signalled by placing the nucleus on an item subsequent to the one on which it would fall according to the rule of end-focus; for instance, on closed-class items like pronouns and prepositions:

Who are you working for? (not with)

He was speaking to me. (not to you)

Note

The principle that focus normally comes at the end of a tone unit explains why a parenthesis (which is normally bordered by tone-unit boundaries) can be used rhetorically to throw emphasis on a word immediately preceding it: And this, | in sh6r.t, | is why I

14.4

Contrastive focus on words and syllables

The above examples show that whichever element is contrastive receives nuclear prominence on its last fully stressed syllable. Intonation can also focus more narrowly on a particular word of a phrase, rather than phrase of a clause:

DYL.an Thomas was born in 1914 (not edward Thomas)

We live in thIs house (not that one)

I put them 6n the bed (not under it)

or even on part of a word, with a contrastive shift from normal word-stress:

I'm afraid that BDreaucracy can be worse than Autocracy. 940 Focus, theme, and emphasis

Normally word-stress, and hence nuclear prominence, would fall on the second syllable: autocracy and bureaucracy.

Note

Noun compounds and phrases with 'compound' stress (App II.6) are exceptional in that end-focus does not fall on the last open-class word: He's an instiRance agent.

But in accordance with 14.3, nuclear prominence can be transferred to the final noun for contrastive purposes: He's an insurance Acenl (not an insurance BROser).

14.5

Given and new information

Focus is related to the difference between given and new information; that is to say, between information already supplied by context (perhaps by a preceding part of the discourse) and information which has not been prepared for in this way. The focus, signalled by the nucleus, indicates where the new information lies. The rule is that in any unit marked as new, the nucleus assumes (subject to stress rules) final position.

This rule has been stated in a vague way intentionally, the whole point being that the 'unit' can be anything from a syllable to the whole clause. If the nucleus fails on the last stressed syllable of the clause (according to the end-focus principle), the new element could, for example, be the entire clause, or the last element (eg complement) of the clause, or the predication of the clause. In the following sentence, we mark the extent of the new information for three possible interpretations of the same sentence:

Information locus 941

Whole clause is 'new'

NEW

[What's on today?] We're going to the RAces. Predication is 'new':

NEW

[What are we doing today?] We're going to the Rices. Final adverbial is 'new\*':

[5]

[6]

NEW

[Where are we going today ?] We're going to the RAces.

[7]

Each of the three questions indicates how much is already assumed by speaker and audience before the reply is made. Example [5] is the true case of 'neutral information focus', where there are no specific prior assumptions at all.

When the nucleus is shifted to an earlier clause element, however, the same ambiguity does not arise: the only interpretation of the three is the contrastive one, in which the new element is a single phrase:

NEW

i i

[Who's going to the races?] we're going to the races.

[S]

14.6

Variation in the scope of new information

Some ambiguity may still be present when the nucleus occupies the terminal part of a complex non-final element. Compare:

either:

or:

with:

NEW

William woRDSworth is my favourite English poet (not John Keats)

NEW

William wBRDSWorth is my favourite English poet (not William Shakespeare)

NEW

EMily Bronte is my favourite English N6velist (not Charlotte Bronte)

[9a]

[9b]

[10]

If the nucleus comes on a non-terminal word within the phrase, as in [10], the narrower scope of 'new' information is the only one possible; but if it comes on the final word, as in [9a] and [9b], either the whole phrase or only the final part of it may be 'new'. 'New', therefore, may be varied in scope right from a whole clause down to a single word, or even to a single syllable.

Note

[a] The subsidiary half of the complex fall-plus-rise pattern (App 11.15) represents ■ semi-given' information i eg: Pass me my c6at, jEeves (where Jeeves is assumed to be present, although he has not been actually mentioned). Compare also / went to FRANCE in nineteen-FIFty with I went to FRANCE last w&Ek (especially BrE) where 'last week' is not far from our minds, being recent history, and therefore need not bear the whole weight of new information. In AmE, last week in this sentence is likely to be treated as given information, and to receive no nuclear prominence at all:

I went io France last week

[b] Pre-final focus is habitual in some colloquial sentences, where the assumed 'givenness' (or 'semi-givenness') of the final item is supplied not directly by the content, but by general cultural norms; eg

The KETTles boiling

The MILKman called

Is your fAthct al home? (Contrast Is your father oi>t?)

In a domestic context, the one thing to announce about kettles is that they are boiling, just as the milkman's activities are limited to calling, etc. The point, with942 Focus. Itheme. and emphasis

all three Examples, is that given the subject and given the situation, the predicate follows as a foregone conclusion.

[c] There may be more than one contrasted element in the same clause. In the following there are three:

D-?Lan Thomas was born in mneteen-fourrtEN in swANsea, but kOgh Thomas was born in eightecn-eighty-THR£E in ANGLEsey.

14.7

Focus on the operator

One type of focus so far ignored is focus on the operator, which often has the particular function of signalling contrast between positive and negative meaning:

[a: Why haven't you had a bath?] b: I have had a bath.

[a: Look for your shoes.] b: I am looking for them.

[a: Surely he can't drive a bus?] b: no, but he can drive a car.

When the operator is positive, the meaning is 'Yes in contrast to No'; when the operator is negative, the meaning is contrastive in the opposite direction:

So you HAVEN't lost it | after all ! {' I thought you had')

It is not surprising that focus on the operator has this function, when we consider that the operator (in yes-no questions and in negatives) is the item most concerned in signalling the positive/negative polarity. Also, we may notice that the operator emphasizes positiveness or negativeness when it bears the focus (as it normally does) in elliptical replies:

[a: Have you seen my books?] b: No, I HAVEN't. [a: Would you like black coffee?]

B:Yes, I would. [a: Does this bell work?] b: Yes, it does.

This last example leads us on to the most significant point about focus on the operator, which is that when the finite verb phrase is in the simple present or past tense, and so would not otherwise have an auxiliary verb to function as operator, the 'dummy' operator do is introduced to bear the nuclear stress. This, then, is a further example of DO-periphrasis (3.17):

So you DID go to the concert this evening? ('I thought you might, but...') But I DO think you're a good cook. ('... even if you imagine I don't\*')

With a rise or fall-rise intonation, focus on past and future auxiliaries

Voice and reversibility 943

often puts contrastive emphasis on the tense rather than on the positive/ negative polarity:

He owns - or did own - a Rolls royce We've sold oiiT, but we will be getting some

Similarly, the nucleus on auxiliaries such as *may* and *ought* to often signals a contrast between the supposed real state of affairs, and a state of affairs thought desirable or likely:

The opinion polls *may* be right ('but I suspect they're not') My purse *ought* to be here ('but it probably isn't')

Thus focus on the operator can indicate contrast of tense, aspect, or modality, as well as contrast of positive and negative.

Note

A purely emotive emphasis achieved by focus on the operator is discussed below in 14.47.

Voice and reversibility

14.8

Voice, end-focus, and end-weight

Two factors already noted contribute to the presentation of the content of a clause in one particular order rather than another. One is the tendency to place new information towards the end of the clause, and another is the tendency to reserve the final position for the more complex parts of a clause or sentence. The first of these we have called the principle of end-focus (14.3), and the other may be called the principle of end-weight. Since it is natural to express given information in few words (eg by pronoun substitution), these principles work together, rather than against one another. A third factor, which might be thought too obvious to mention, is the limitation of possible clause structures to those outlined in 2.10 and 7.2, with their associated sets of participant roles (7.13-22). These restrictions determine, for example, that an 'agentive' role cannot be expressed by an object or complement, but only by the subject, or by the agent of a passive clause. From this, one sees the importance of the passive voice as a means of reversing the normal order of 'agentive' and 'affected' elements, and thus of adjusting clause structure to end-focus and end-weight:

a: Who makes these chairs?    b: They're made by Ercol. The preference for terminal focus and terminal weight can even overcome an aversion to somewhat awkward passives (12.64) such as that in

The regulations were taken advantage of by all the tramps and down-and-outs in the country

A finite clause as subject is also readily avoided by switching from the active to the passive voice:

(That he was prepared to go to such lengths astounded me \ I was astounded that he was prepared to go to such lengths.

Note

Turning from the clause to the sentence as a unit of discourse, we may be reminded (11.81-82) that the principle of end-weight applies just as much to the ordering of clauses within a sentence as to the ordering of elements within a clause. The principle of end-focus also has its analogue at sentence level in the principle of resolution (11.80).

14.9

Converses

Quite apart from the grammatical contrast between active and passive,

the language possesses other grammatical or lexical means for reversing the order of roles:

(An uncle, three cousins, and two brothers benefited from the will /The will benefited an uncle, three cousins, and two brothers fAn unidentified blue liquid was in the bottle \The bottle contained an unidentified blue liquid /A red sports car was behind the bus \Ths bus was in front of a. red sports car

The items or sequences in italics are converses; ie they express the same meaning, but with a reversal of the order of participants. The second sentence in each case is generally preferable, since the element with the 'definite' meaning, containing given information, would normally not take terminal focus.

Note

A special case of converseness is the relation of reciprocity expressed by certain terms such as similar to, different from, near (to), far from, opposite, married to, where reversing the order of the participants preserves the essential meaning without any other change in the construction:

My house is opposite the hotel=The hotel is opposite my house A more complex relation of converseness is illustrated by:

/The dealer sold the car to my friend \My friend bought the car from the dealer.

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Theme and inversion

#### 14.10 Theme

The initial element of a clause (with the exception of initial adverbials discussed in 14.13 below) may be called its theme. Apart from the last stressed element of clause structure (that which most naturally bears information focus), the theme is the most important part of a clause from the point of view of its presentation of a message in sequence. Again, for illustrative purposes, we use independent clauses which constitute simple sentences. The expected or 'unmarked' theme of a main clause is

- (1) Subject in a statement (7.53): He bought a new house
- (2) Operator in a yes-no question (7.56): Did he buy a new house ?
- (3) WA-element in a wA-question (7.63): Which house did he buy ?
- (4) Main verb in a command (7.72): Buy a new house

A scrutiny of this list will show that the theme is somehow an element semantically crucial to the clause; for example, in the case of the yes-no question, we have noticed above (14.7) the special role of the operator in signalling the positive/negative polarity. The theme may, indeed, be characterized as the communicative point of departure for the rest of the clause.

The two communicatively prominent elements of the clause, the theme and the focus, are typically as distinct as they can be: one is the point of initiation, and the other the point of completion. The theme of a clause, coming first, is more often given information than any other part of it. Yet the two can coincide; for instance, when the focus falls on the subject of a statement:

[Who gave you that magazine ?] bIll gave it to me.

Thematic fronting or 'marked theme'

#### 14.11

One may take as theme of a clause some element not usually assuming that function, and it is through this possibility that theme becomes a variable factor of some importance in the total sequential organization of the message. Elements placed at the front of a clause for thematic prominence vary in style and effect.

In informal speech, it is quite common for an element to be fronted with nuclear stress, and thus to be 'marked' (or given special emphasis) both thematically and informationally:-

Cs as theme:

Joe's name is

An utterance I felt I felt      Focus, theme, and emphasis

Co as theme:

\*\*^^^H

Relaxation you call it!

Oa as theme:

Really good cocktails they made at that hotel.

It is as if the thematic element is the first thing that strikes the speaker and the rest is added as an afterthought. The possible insertion of a comma suggests that the non-thematic part is almost an amplificatory tag (14.50) in status: Joe, his name is.

A second type of marked theme is found in rhetorical or heightened language, and helps to point a parallelism between two elements in the clause concerned and two related elements in some neighbouring clause of contrasting meaning:

Prepositional complement as theme:

His face I'm not fond of

but his character I despise

Character I was born

so in character you might as well call me

rich I may be (but that doesn't mean I'm happy) Predication as theme:

leave him I couldn't (but at least I could make his life a misery) (I've promised to do it,) so 'do it I shall

A as theme (but see 14.13 below): willingly he'll never do it (he'll have to be forced)

Such clauses often have double information focus, one nucleus coming on the theme, and the other on a later (most likely terminal) element of the clause.

14.12

One may thirdly distinguish examples characteristic of written English, and in which the marked theme seems to have the negative function of

Theme and inversion 947

arranging clause order so that end-focus falls on the most important part of the message:

Most of these problems a computer could take in its stride [11]

This latter topic we have examined in Chapter 3, and need not reconsider [12]

To this list may be added ten further items of importance [13]

The definite items this and these in [11] to [13] suggest that the marked theme in such cases most often expresses given information.



Nota

[a] A fronted thematic element, like a fronted pushdown wA-element (7.66), is sometimes an element from a subordinate clause:

Everything - or nearly everything - that the Labour movement exists to stop the Tories from doing Labour will be asked to support the Cabinet in doing. The whole of the italicized part of this extract (from *The Times*, 11 March 1968) is the object of a non-finite clause acting as a prepositional object within an infinitival clause within the main clause.

[b] Exceptionally, a theme may be a part rather than the whole of a clause element. Yes-no questions, for instance, (as we have seen in 14.10) have part of the verb phrase only as their thematic component. In the following case, a prepositional phrase equivalent to a posimodifier of the subject complement (but see 13.33) acts as theme: Of all the early examples of science fiction, the fantastic stories of Jules Verne are the most remarkable,

[c] Sentences containing direct speech quotations seem to provide an example of a construction in which thematic fronting of the direct object is exceptionally easy (see 14.15):

I said: "That's a pity" ~ "That's a pity," I said

But one may propose an alternative analysis, in which the reporting subject and verb (here I said) constitute a dependent comment clause (11.65-66) rather than the subject and verb of the sentence. This analysis is urged by the possibility of placing them in the middle of the direct speech, as a parenthesis: "That, I said, 'is a pity.'"

14.13

Theme with initial adverbials

It is not clear, on first consideration, whether the notion of 'marked theme' should be extended to include initial adverbials. Some adverbials (mainly disjuncts and conjuncts) appear characteristically in initial position, and so should be considered 'unmarked themes' if they are to be accorded thematic status at all. However, this would mean overruling the unmarked status of other elements (eg initial subject in statements) or alternatively acknowledging the possibility of two coexisting thematic elements in the same clause. That more than one adverbial can occur initially is a further demonstration that regarding initial adverbials as thematic is incompatible with a unitary concept of theme: Often in summer we would go boating... 948

Focus, theme, and emphasis

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On the other hand, initial adverbials may enter into the type of rhetorical parallelism illustrated in 14.11 above:

In LbNdon I was b6rn, and in LONdon I'll dIe

And there are certain adjuncts (especially place adjuncts) bound to the post-verbal position closely enough to behave, with respect to thematic fronting, more like complements or objects than like disjuncts or con-juncts. The 'complementary' status of these adjuncts is shown by their association with subject-verb inversion when the subject is a noun phrase heavier than a pronoun (see 14.15):

(Into the thick of the smoke we plunged (A S V)

\Into the thick of the smoke plunged the intrepid cavalry (A V S)

The conclusion of this argument is, therefore, that certain adjuncts, especially those which would otherwise immediately follow an intransitive or intensive verb, may be treated as 'marked theme' when placed initially; but that otherwise, initial adverbials are disregarded in considering what is the theme of a clause. For adjustment of end-focus (14.3), on the other hand, the initial placing of adverbials is important.

#### Inversion 14.14

The thematic fronting of an element is often associated with inversion, of which we distinguish two types, consisting respectively in the reversal of subject and verb, and the reversal of subject and operator.

#### Note

Since the verb *be* in intensive clauses can be simultaneously regarded as verb and operator, we have a choice of classifying its placement before the subject as an instance either of subject-verb or subject-operator inversion. As the lists in 14.15 and 14.16 show, the decision is made according to whether *be*, in the given construction, is commutable with another main verb or with another operator.

#### 14.15

##### Subject-verb inversion

(See also 8.52)

/Here's the milkman (A V S)	[14a]
\Here comes the bus (A V S)	[14b]
fThere are our friends (A V S)	[15a] < There, at the summit, stood the castle in its medieval splendour (AAV S A)
[ splendour (AAV S A)	[15b]
/Away went the car like a whirlwind (A V S A)	[16a]
\In went the sun and down came the rain (A V S, A V S)	[16b]
Slowly out of its hangar rolled the gigantic aircraft (A A V S)	[17]
Equally inexplicable was his behaviour towards his son (C V S)	[18]
So say the rest of us (O V S)	[19]
'Go away!' said one child; 'And don't come back!' growled another. (... V S,... V S)	[20]

As examples [14-18] suggest, this type of inversion is mainly found in clauses of Types SVA and SVC where a normally post-verbal element is so tied to the verb that when that element is 'marked' theme the verb is 'attracted' into pre-subject position. Examples [19] and [20] illustrate a different type of inversion, with verbs of saying. Some of the types, those of [14-16], are well established in informal English; others, such as [17], are more dramatic or literary in tone. The inversions shown in [14-17] are virtually limited to simple present and past tense verbs (contrast *Where stood our friend* with *\*\*There was standing our friend*), and to certain stative verbs of position (*be, stand, lie, etc*) or dynamic verbs of motion (*come, go, fall, etc*).

Subject-verb inversion does not take place in a clause with a personal pronoun alone as subject; hence corresponding to [14a], [15a], [16a], etc we have *Here he is, There they are, Away it went*, rather than *"Here is he, etc*.

#### Note

[a] Adverbial there is marked with stress in [15a] as elsewhere, and so is distinguished from the unstressed existential there (14.24.0"), which can also appear in pre-verbal position.

[b] Inversion in a clause reporting direct speech, as in [20], is discussed in 11.73 and in 14.12 Note c.

[c] There is inversion with a pronoun subject followed by post modification in archaic English: Happy is he who is reconciled with his lot.

14.16

Subject-operator inversion

So absurd was his manner that everyone stared at him

(11.63 Note b)

Far be it from me to condemn him (7,86) Not a finger did I lay on him  
V.

Under no circumstances must the switch be left on 'Hardly had I left before the quarrelling started'] Only by this means is it possible to explain his H7.48)

failure to act decisively

So are we all. So have I. So did the others (10.54.\$) Often had I intended to speak of it (formal) Well do I remember the day when it happened (formal) Throwing the hammer is champion William Anderson, who, when he's not winning trophies, is a hard-working shepherd in the Highlands of Scotland.

[21] [22] [23]

[24] [25]

[26] [27]

[28] [29]

[30] 950 Focus, theme, and emphasis

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Inversion in examples [21-26] has already been discussed in the sections specified. In [27], *jo* as a predication-substitute induces subject-operator inversion, whereas *so* as an object-substitute (10.62) is followed by subject-verb inversion, as we have seen:

So say the rest of us

[19]

As before, a pronoun as subject following *so* may restore the normal statement order: So he has, So you say. But subject-operator inversion may persist, even with a pronoun subject, when focus is required on the pronoun. Hence there is a contrast between:

You asked me to leave, and 'so I did' ('and I did so, too') My friends enjoyed it, and 'so did I' ('and I did so, too')

The inversions of [28] and [29] are decidedly literary in tone, and unlike the preceding examples, are optional. Normal subject-operator order, with a medial placing of the adverb, would usually be preferred. Example [30] is a journalistic type of inversion, in which the predication is fronted in order to bring end-focus on a complex subject. The ordering is doubly irregular, predication preceding operator as well as operator preceding subject.

Note

The subject-operator inversions in questions (Didn't you know ? Where has it gone ?) are associated with unmarked theme (14.10), and so are marginal to the present discussion.

14.17

Theme in subordinate clauses

In subordinate clauses, the usual thematic elements are subordinators, H-A-elements, and the relative pronoun that. Special frontings of other elements as theme occur only in idiomatic or literary constructions of minor importance:

[Were he alive...

I Had I known... Hi 1.32)

[Should you change your plan .. J

[Keen though I am ...

< Criticize him as one might... Hll.34)

[Genius that he was ... J

(T>o what one may ... L., M\_ ..

in i\_ -ii \*■!\_■ M 11.30 Note b)

(Say what you will of him .. Jv

[31]

[32]

[33]

already been noted under their appropriate headings in Chapter 11, no further discussion of them is necessary here.

Cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences 14.18

Cleft sentences

A special construction which gives both thematic and focal prominence to a particular element of the clause is the cleft sentence, so called because it divides a single clause into two separate sections, each with its own verb. Most cleft sentence statements begin with the empty pronoun it followed by the verb be, which in turn is followed by the element on which the focus falls. From a single clause such as John wore his best suit to the dance last night, it is possible to derive four cleft sentences, each highlighting a particular element of the clause:

Ⓡ as focus:

It was j6hn < , J- wore his best suit to the dance last night [34]

Od as focus: It was his best suit (that) John wore to the dance last night [35]

AUm, as focus: It was last nIght (that) John wore his best suit to the dAnce [36]

ApiacB as focus:

{It was to the dance that John wore Ms best sOrr last night (formal) It was the dAnce (that) John wore his best suit to last night (informal)

Other kinds of adverbial might also be focus of a cleft sentence (see Chapter 8).

The usefulness of the cleft sentence partly resides in its unambiguous marking of the focus of information in written English, where the clue of intonation is absent, The highlighted element has the full implication of contrastive focus: the rest of the clause is taken as given, and a contrast is inferred with other items which might have filled the focal or 'hinge\*' position in the sentence. Thus to each of the above, one could add an implied negative, eg

Examples [31] are conditional clauses, and examples [32] and [33] are conditional-concessive clauses. As these minor clause types have

It wasn't Jim, but John,

It wasn't his night-sMrt, but his best suit (that) ...

[34a]

[35a] 952 Focus, theme, and emphasis

Apart from S, Od, and A, the two less common clause elements O, and Co can marginally act as the focal element of a cleft sentence: Oi as focus:

It's me (that) he gave the book

(but It's me he gave the book to, with focus on me as prepositional complement, is more likely.)

Co as focus: It's dark green that we've painted the kitchen

But there are severe restrictions, in Standard English, on the use of C in this function, especially with the verb be following:

?\*It's a genius that he is. ?It's a lecturer that I am now. [37]

And V does not occur at all as focus, just as it does not occur as a Q-e!ement(2.18):

•It's wore that John his best suit to the dance [38]

One can circumvent the restriction on V as focus by rendering the verb in a non-finite form, either as an infinitive or as a participle, and then replacing it by do in the second part of the sentence:

It's teach(ing) that he does for a living [39]

Example [37] can be contrasted with the perfectly acceptable It's he/him that is a genius [37a]

Note

[a] In the terms 'cleft sentence' and 'existential sentence' (see 14.24 .f), we follow established practice in using the term 'sentence\*' rather than 'clause\*', although in fact these structures belong to the clause rather than to the sentence, as we see from their occurrence in dependent clauses (14.20,14.25 Note c). But as almost all our examples are of simple sentences, no practical difficulties arise with this terminology.

[b] That or those sometimes occurs, instead of it, as subject of a cleft sentence:

That was a fire bomb they let off last night Those are my feci that you're stepping on.

\c] The focal element, if a pronoun, can take either the subjective or objective case (4.107). Thus he and him are alternatives in [37a], him being informal.

The 'relative clause' in cleft sentences 14.19

The introductory part of a cleft sentence is largely restricted to It is. It's, or It was; other forms of be, such as It might be, are less usual:

It must have been his brother that you saw It might be his father that you're thinking of

Theme and inversion 963

The final part of the clause, after the focal element, is obviously close in structure to a restrictive relative clause; and yet (as we shall see below) there are considerable differences. Examples above show that pronouns used in relative clauses (who, that, 'zero' pronoun) are also used to introduce cleft sentences. Also reminiscent of the relative clause is the fronting of the pronoun; moreover, as in relative clauses, the

pronoun can be fronted from a position in a prepositional phrase, or from a pushdown (7.66) position in a nominal clause as object: It's the girl that I was complaining about (not the boy) It's next week's match that he's hoping to attend (not this week's) It's this watch I said I would let you have (not that) There are differences, however, in the use of relative pronouns, in that the iv/i-forms are rare in comparison with that and zero. Although whose is allowed in cleft sentences (It's Uncle Bill whose address I lost), whom and which are only marginally possible, and it is virtually impossible to use whom or which preceded by a preposition. Thus

It was the dog to which I gave the water

has to be read as a sentence containing a straightforward postmodifying relative clause (compare She was the woman to whom I gave the water) rather than as a cleft sentence. Characteristic intonation is also different: It was the d6g I gave the wATER to (cleft sentence)

l Th t f was l

^avc

w^Ter to (SVC sentence with relative clause)

Note

The focusing function of the cleft sentence may be compared with that of the additive and restrictive adverbs too, only, etc (8.13 jf).

14.20

A further difference between the postmodifying relative clause and the clause following the focused element in cleft sentences is the ability of the latter to have as its antecedent (ie the focused element) not only a nominal element, but an adjunct:

It was because he was ill (that) we decided to return

It was in September (that) I first noticed it

Indeed, such a construction, where there is no noun phrase antecedent, makes the use of the term 'pronoun' for the linking word that misleading; and it is notable that a wA-pronoun cannot be used in cleft sentences where the focus element is an adjunct, and where consequently it does not have a strict 'pronominal' status:

•It was because he was ill which we decided to return<sup>954</sup> Focus, theme, and emphasis

The cleft sentence structure can be used in questions, exclamations, and subordinate clauses:

Was it for this that we suffered and toiled?

Who was it who interviewed you ?

What a glorious bonfire it was you made!

He told me that it was because he was ill that they decided to return.

Note

[a] Another contrast between relative clauses and 'cleaving' clauses lies in the possibility, in familiar English, of omitting that as subject in a cleft sentence, but not as subject of a relative clause:

It was the President himself spoke to me.

[b] And yet another contrast is that cleft sentences may have a proper noun as a focus element, whereas restrictive relative clauses cannot have a proper noun as an antecedent. Thus It's Chelsea he lives in is unambiguously a cleft sentence.

## Pseudo-cleft sentences 14.21

The pseudo-cleft sentence is another construction which, like the cleft sentence proper, makes explicit the division between given and new parts of the communication. It is an SVC sentence with a vA-relative nominal clause as subject or complement, and so differs from the cleft sentences in being completely accountable in terms of the categories of main clause and subordinate clause discussed in Chapter 11. The following are virtually synonymous:

fit's a good rest that you need most    good rest is what you need most

The pseudo-cleft sentence occurs more often, however, with the wh- clause as subject:

What you need most is a good rest

And it is less restricted than the cleft sentence in that through use of the substitute verb do, it permits marked focus to fall on the verb or predication:

What he's done is (to) spoil the whole thing                                 [40]

What John did to his suit was (to) ruin it   [41]

What I'm going to do to him is (to) teach him a lesson                         [42]

The complement or 'focus' of these sentences is normally in the form of an infinitival clause (with or without to). When the verb in the H>A-clause has progressive aspect, however, the complement matches it with an -ing clause: What I'm doing is teaching him a lesson                                 [42a]

## Theme and inversion 955

Occasionally, this matching of the two verbs is extended to verbs in the perfect aspect, which can have as their focal counterpart an -ed clause: What he's done is spoiled the whole thing,                                 [40a]

## 14.22

In other respects, the pseudo-cleft sentence is more limited than the cleft sentence. Only with wtaf-clauses does it freely commute with the cleft sentence construction. Clauses with who, where, and when are sometimes acceptable, but mainly when the w/i-clause is subject complement:

The police chief was who I meant

Here is where the accident took place

(In) Autumn is when the countryside is most beautiful

But whose, why, and how, for example, do not easily enter into the pseudo-cleft sentence construction:

•With a Scottish accent is how he talked

?\*Why we decided to return was because he was ill

In many cases, too, a clause beginning the person who or the one who is a more acceptable alternative to a wAo-clause:

fit must have been the manager who spoke to you

\The person/one who spoke to you must have been the manager

## 14.23

Sentences of the pattern She's a pleasure to teach Before leaving the subject of theme, we must examine a construction which gives the emphasis of initial thematic position in the main clause to the object or prepositional object of a nominal clause. The item

so fronted replaces anticipatory it as subject of the main clause (on the anticipatory it construction with extraposition, see 14.35-38):

It's a pleasure to teach her ->■ She's a pleasure to teach

It's impossible to deal with him -> He's impossible to deal with

It's easy/difficult to beat them ->■ They're easy/difficult to beat

It's fun for us to be with Margaret ->■ Margaret is fun for us to be with

There is a similar construction for be sure and be certain, seem and appear, be said, be known, etc, except that in these cases the corresponding construction with anticipatory it requires a /Aaf-clause, not a fo-infinitive clause, and except that it is now the subject of the nominal clause that is fronted:

It's certain that we'll forget the address -◆■ We're certain to forget the address<sup>956</sup>

Focus, theme, and emphasis

Existential sentences 957

It seems that you've made a mistake

-▶ You seem to have made a mistake It is known that he's a coward

~>He's known to be a coward

This thematic fronting does not apply to all constructions of the same kind. For instance, from It's odd to lose them, we cannot arrive at: \*They are odd to lose. See further 12

Existential sentences

14.24

Existential sentences are principally those beginning with the unstressed word there, and are so called because when unstressed there is followed by a form of the verb be, the clause expresses the notion of existence:

There is nothing more healthy than a cold shower ('Nothing more healthy exists than a cold shower')

Note

On the use of the term 'sentence' in the expression 'existential sentence', see 14.18

Note a.

14.25

Transformational relation to basic clause patterns

There is a regular transformational relation of equivalence between existential clauses with there + be and clauses of the standard clause types outlined in 7.2. The equivalence only applies, however, if the clause of the normal pattern

(1) has an indefinite subject; and

(2) has a form of the verb be in its verb phrase.

Allowing for these two requirements, we may derive existential clauses from the regular clause types by means of a general rule:

subject + (auxiliaries) + be + predication->Aere + (auxiliaries)+be + subject + predication

The subject of the original clause may be called the 'notional' subject of the (fere-sentence, so as to distinguish it from there itself, which for most purposes is the 'grammatical' subject (see 14.26 below). Examples of the seven clause types (7.2) are:

Type SVC



Something must be wrong -+■ There must be something wrong

Type SVA

Was anyone around? -\* Was there anyone around?

Type SV

No one was waiting

■ There was no one waiting

Type SVO

Plenty of people are getting promotion -\* There are plenty of people getting promotion

Type SVOC

Two bulldozers have been knocking the place flat -i- There have been two bulldozers knocking the place flat

Type SVO A

A girl is putting the kettle on kettle on

- There's a girl putting the

Type SVOO

Something is causing her distress -\*■ There's something causing her distress Passive versions of the transformation are also to be noted:

- There has been a whole box

Type SK^,

A whole box has been stolen stolen

Type SKP8S8C

No shops will be left open -> There'll be no shops left open

Note

[a] The rule that existential sentences should have an indefinite noun phrase as 'notional subject' prevents the derivation of sentences like "There's the money in the box from The money is in the box. This limitation can be waived, however, in answers to existential questions (actual or implied):

a: Is there anyone coming to dinner?

B: Yes, there's Harry and there's also Mrs Jones-

Also acceptable is the indefinite exclamatory the followed by the superlative in: There's the oddest-looking man standing at the front door!

[b] One may perhaps include under 'indefinite noun phrases' those phrases containing the 'universal' terms all or every; such noun phrases are not so easily made 'notional subjects' of existential clauses, however, as are other types of indefinite expression. They act as such mostly in answers to existential questions:

a: What is there to be afraid of 1 b: There's everything to be afraid of! 958 Focus, theme, and emphasis

Existential Mere occurs widely in dependent clauses:

Let me know if (here's anyone waiting It is also fronted as subject in a type of sentence discussed in 14.23:

There appears to be something wrong with the engine

In such sentences the semi-auxiliary verb (3.8) often agrees with the notional subject in number:

... - [happens] , . Ton y.one apple 1 . \_, There . to be I / ,  
eft.

Lhappen J Looly two applesj

14.26

Existential there as subject

The there of existential sentences differs from there as an introductory adverb both in lacking stress, and in behaving in most ways like the subject of the clause:

(a) It often determines concord, governing a singular form of the verb (see 7.23 Note a) even when the following 'notional subject' is plural:

There's some people in the waiting room (informal) occurs alongside: There are some people in the waiting room

(b) It can act as subject in yes-no and tag questions:

Is there any more soup? There's nothing wrong, is there ?

(c) It can act as subject in to-t-infinitive and -ing clauses:

I don't want there to be any misunderstanding He was disappointed at there being so little to do.

14.27

Existential there as 'empty' theme

In the foregoing cases, one may see a common function for the existential there, which is as a device for leaving the subject position (which is also generally the theme position) vacant of content; there, that is, may be regarded as an empty 'slot-filler'. The point of this device becomes clearer when it is recalled that the initial element or theme of a clause typically contains given information, and is the point of departure for the introduction of new information later in the clause. However, when the subject of a sentence is an indefinite noun phrase, this means that, contrary to general practice, the subject introduces new information, an indefinite expression being by definition a reference to something

Existential sentences 959

that has not been previously mentioned or specified. Hence in sentences like Plenty of us are going or Some books are in the cupboard, there is sensed a certain awkwardness, which may be avoided by the introduction of there, and the consequent postponement of the 'notional subject' to a later, non-thematic position.

14.28

'Bare existential' sentences

Apart from sentences related to basic clause types in the manner described in 14.25, we have to consider various other types of sentence introduced by existential there. Among them is the 'bare existential\* sentence, which simply postulates the existence of some entity or entities. It has a simple clause structure there + be + indefinite noun phrase:

Undoubtedly, there is a God ('God exists')

There have always been wars ('Wars have always existed/taken place')

Nota

Other sentences superficially like these are better explained as cases of the kind of existential sentence derived from basic clause types (14.25), in which one of the elements is omitted as understood. For example, the sentence There'll be trouble,

occurring on its own, implies a definite context: 'There's be trouble at the match/at the party,' etc.

1429

Existential sentences with relative and infinitive clauses

A more important additional type of existential sentence is that which consists of /Awe+be+noun phrase+relative clause. Such sentences can be related to sentences of orthodox clause types without the two restrictions mentioned in 14.25: the verb need not be a form of the verb be, and although there must be an indefinite element, it need not be subject:

Something keeps upsetting him

-\*■ There's something (that) keeps upsetting him [43]

I'd like you to meet some people

-> There's some people (that) I'd like you to meet [44]

It is interesting that the relative pronoun that in [43] can be omitted even when it is subject of the relative clause; something not permissible according to the normal rule for relative clause formation:

/There's a man lives in China

\\*I know a man lives in China (see 13.8 Note)

This omissibility is a sign of the special status within the main clause of the relative clause here, as in cleft sentences (14.20 Note a). 960 Focus, theme, and emphasis

One may also mention a common existential sentence pattern there+ BE+noun phrase+(infinitive clause, which is problematic to the extent that it cannot be directly related to the basic clause types of 7.2:

There was no one for us to talk to

There's (always) plenty of housework to do

Such infinitive clauses are allied to relative clauses (cf 13.20), as we see on comparing

At last there was something to write home about with the (stiffly formal) relative clause construction At last there was something about which to write home

This type of existential sentence sometimes has a definite noun phrase as notional subject:

There's the man next door to consider. Note

Also there is a restricted idiomatic construction consisting of /Here + BE +negatives-participial<sup>4</sup>ng clause:

There's no telling what he'll do There isn't any getting away from it On the peculiarities of this construction, see 15.24 Note b.

14.30

Existential sentences with verbs other than be

We have finally to consider a less common, more literary type of existential clause in which there is followed by a verb other than be :

There rose in his imagination gross visions of a world empire There exist a number of similar medieval crosses in different parts

of the country There may come a time when the Western Nations will be less fortunate Not long after this, there occurred a sudden revolution in public taste

This construction, which may be accounted for by a simple rule S 4- V -\*• there + V + S (where S is indefinite), is equivalent in effect and style to subject-verb inversion after an initial adverbial. One may notice that the there can be freely omitted in sentences of the structure As,ln,rg+there + V + S:

In front of the carriage (there) rode two men in magnificent uniforms

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There in this construction may in fact be regarded as a 'dummy element\*', which, placed before the subject and verb, provides the necessary condition for inversion to take place; if an initial locative adverbial is also present, of course such a condition already obtains, and so there is nothing to prevent the omission of there. Grammatically, there is a subject, as we see from the inversion that takes place when the statement pattern is turned into a question: Will there come a time... ? The notional subject of the sentence, again, usually has indefinite meaning, and the verb is selected from verbs of existence, position and movement (lie, stand, come, etc). The construction is also found with passive verb phrases:

On the following day, there was held a splendid banquet.

Existential sentences with have 14.31

Corresponding to the type of existential sentence originally discussed in 14.25 (there+ BE+S + predication) there is a type in which the thematic position is not 'empty', but is filled by a noun phrase subject preceding the verb have (or especially in BrE, have got):

The porter had a taxi ready

(cf; There was a taxi ready; A taxi was ready - Type SVC) [45]

He has several friends in China

(cf: There are several friends (of his) in China; Several friends (of his) are in China - Type SVA) [46]

I have two buttons missing (on my jacket) (cf; There are two buttons missing ..., Two buttons are missing... - Type SV) [47]

They had a few supporters helping them

(cf: There were a few supporters helping them; A few supporters were helping them - Type SVO) [48]

As before, these clauses can be related to (and imply) simple clauses of the basic clause types; [45] implies A taxi was ready, etc. But an extra participant is introduced as theme: the subject of the verb have. This refers to a person, thing, etc indirectly involved in the existential proposition. Often the subject's role is that of 'recipient' (7.14, 7.16); but the nature of the 'recipient's' involvement in the sentence can be very vague, and the more specific meanings of have (eg possession) are not necessarily implied. A sentence such as My friend had his watch stolen, in fact, indicates not possession, but lack of possession.

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The relation of the subject to the rest of the clause can often be expressed by other means, eg by a genitive:

He has a brother in the navy

(=There is a brother of his in the navy; A brother of his is in the navy)

Note

[a] With a passive basic clause type, the verb generally has dynamic rather than stative (perfective) meaning: My friend had his watch stolen relates to His watch was stolen in the sense of 'Someone stole his watch' rather than of 'Someone had stolen his watch'.

[b] In a further use of this construction (especially, but not necessarily, with the passive) the subject of have gives up its 'recipient' role for one of indirect agency: He had all his enemies imprisoned is most likely to mean 'He caused all his enemies to be imprisoned'.

14.32

Unlike the /Aere-existential clause, the HAVE-existential clause can have a 'notional subject' with definite meaning:

He has his eldest son in boarding school The car had its roof damaged (contrast 'There was its roof damaged')

A further aspect of this construction not paralleled by the there construction is that sentences with an underlying clause structure S V A often have a pronoun prepositional complement which refers back to the subject of have:

He had his wife working for him The trees had loads of apples on them (c/'There were loads of apples on the trees.)

14.33

Wave-existential sentences with relative and infinitive clauses

Corresponding to (Aere-sentences of the same character (14.29), the following illustrate HAVE-sentences containing relative and infinitive clauses:

I've something I've been meaning to say to you [49]

He has a great deal to be thankful for [50]

The infinitival clause cannot have a subject introduced by for in this construction, as the semantic function of the subject has already been appropriated by the subject of have: [50] above is synonymous with There's a great deal for him to be thankful for.

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14.34

Clauses introduced by with and without

Equivalent in construction to HAVE-existential clauses are the non-finite or verbless postmodifying clauses introduced by with (or in the negative by without) {6.46):

a man with a tall hat on ('... who has/had a tall hat on') the table with one leg shorter than the others a job with plenty to do

The corresponding adverbial clause has been discussed in 11.50:

Without a gardener to keep it tidy throughout the year, the garden soon deteriorated.

Postponement

14.35 Extraposition

After dealing with the shifting of elements to initial position in 14.11-23, we now consider devices which have the opposite effect of removing an element from its normal position, and placing it towards or at the rear of the sentence. These devices of postponement serve the two principles of end-focus (14.3) and end-weight (14.8).

We reserve the term extraposition for postponement which involves the replacement of the postponed element by a substitute form. Extraposition operates almost exclusively on subordinate nominal clauses.

## 14.36

### Extraposition of a clausal subject

The most important type of extraposition is the extraposition of a clausal subject. The clausal subject is placed at the end of the sentence, and the nominal subject position is filled by the anticipatory pronoun *it*. The resulting sentence thus contains two subjects, which we may identify as the postponed subject (the clause which is notionally the subject of the sentence) and the anticipatory subject (*it*). A simple rule for deriving a sentence with subject extraposition from one of more orthodox ordering is:

subject- predicate → *it*+predicate + subject But it is worth emphasizing that for clausal subjects, the postponed position is more usual than the orthodox position before the verb.

Focus, Theme, and emphasis

Examples are:

Type SVC: *It's a pity to make a fool of yourself.*

(cf: *To make a fool of yourself is a pity*)

Type SVA; *It's on the cards that income tax will be abolished.* Type SV: *It doesn't matter what you do.* Type SVO: *It surprised me to hear him say that.* Type SVOC: *It makes her happy to see others enjoying themselves.* Type SKp<sup>g</sup>: *It is said that she slipped arsenic into his tea.* Type 5KPM3C; *It was considered impossible for anyone to escape.*

## 14.37

### Extraposition of participle and other clauses

The extraposed clause may be any kind of nominal clause, except a nominal relative clause (for example, *Whoever said that was wrong* cannot be rendered *\*It was wrong whoever said that*). Extraposition of a participial clause is possible:

*It was easy getting the equipment loaded* (cf *Getting the equipment loaded was easy*) but is not very common outside informal speech. Familiar informal examples are:

*It's no use telling him that*

*It wouldn't be any good trying to catch the bus*

However, the participial clause often shows itself incompletely adapted to the extraposition construction, by being incapable of bearing the main information focus. Rather than

*It's fun being a hostess* we hear *It's fun being a hostess*

with main focus on the final element of the predicate. (And we might even punctuate *It's fun, being a hostess.*) It might be concluded from this that the participial clause has just as much affinity with a noun phrase tag (14.50; as in *He's a friend of mine, that man*) as with a genuine extraposed subject.

Note

[a] For certain constructions which have all the appearance of clausal extraposition (e.g. *It seems that everything is fine*), the corresponding non-extraposed version does not occur. For example, there is no sentence *\*That everything is fine seems to correspond with It seems that everything is fine*. In such cases, we may say that

Postponement 965

the extraposition is obligatory. Other characteristics of the verbs entering into this category are presented in 14.23.

[6J Clauses with extraposed subject must be distinguished from superficially similar clauses in which it is a personal pronoun or empty 'prop' subject: It's good to eat (ie 'This Ssh etc is good to eat'); It's lovely weather to go fishing, c] If- and wAen-clauses behave very much like extraposed subjects in sentences like: It would be a pity if we missed the show

(c/It is a pity that we missed the show) It'll be a great day when you win the sweepstake

It is doubtful in both cases, however, whether the clause could act as subject, although it could act as initial adverbial clause: If we missed the show, it would be a pity. On balance, therefore, these appear to be adverbials rather than extraposed subjects.

[d] Another marginal case is the ' phrasal extraposition' of It's two hundred miles from Boston to New York, where the compound prepositional phrase, if fronted, could act either as subject or as adverbial: From Boston to New York (it) is two hundred miles, C/also: It's Wednesday today <-\* Today (it) is Wednesday (7.17).

14.38

Extraposition of a clausal object

In SVOC and SVOA clause types, nominal clauses can undergo extraposition from the position of object:

("You must find it exciting working here \_ \_] (cf'You must find working here exciting; Working here

is exciting) [i made it my business to settle the matter

[T owe it to you that the jury acquitted me SVOAi (cfl owe my acquittal to you)

[Something put it into his head that she was a spy.

14.39

Postponement of object in SVOC and SVOA clauses

When the object is a long and complex phrase, final placement for end-focus or end-weight is possible in SVOC and SVOA clause-types. This time there is no substitution of it:

[A] Shift from S V Od Co order to S V Co Od order (see 7.2 Note b):

They pronounced guilty every one of the accused except the man who had raised the alarm.

[B] Shift from S V Od A to S V A Od:

I confessed to him the difficulties I had found myself in. We heard from his own lips the story of how he had been stranded for days without food.

9S6 Focus, theme, and emphasis

14.40

Order of direct objects, indirect objects, and prepositional adverbs

There is a free interchange, where there are no pronouns involved between the two orderings

(a) O! + Od<-> Od+prepositional phrase (7.6)

(b) particle+ Od<-> Od+particle (12.19^)

The choice between the "two" is generally determined by the principles of end-focus and end-weight:

, . fThe twins told mother all their secrets

111] ■<

\The twins told all their secrets to Mother ... /He gave all his heirlooms away \He gave away all his heirlooms.

14.41

Discontinuous noun phrases

Sometimes only part of an element is postponed. The most commonly affected part is the post modification of a noun phrase. As elsewhere, the units most readily postponed are nominal (in this case appositive) clauses:

A rumour circulated that he was secretly engaged to the Marchioness

(cf. A rumour that... circulated) The problem arose (of) what contribution the public should pay

(cf. The problem (of)... arose)

However, other postmodifying clauses, and even phrases, can be so postponed:

The time had come to decorate the house for Christmas That loaf was stale that you sold me

A steering committee has been formed, consisting of Messrs Smith, Brown and Robinson

The postponement results in a discontinuous noun phrase (13.74) which is italicized in the examples. The noun phrase can be a complement or object, as well as subject:

What business is it of yours? (cf. What business of yours is it?) We heard the story from his own lips of how he was stranded for days without food

Discontinuity often results, too, from the postponement of postmodifying phrases of exception (6.49):

All of us were frightened/\*"

1

< , >the captain, [except)

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14.42

Pronouns in apposition

In many cases, the postponed elements no doubt undergo postponement because their length and complexity would otherwise lead to an awkwardly unbalanced sentence. With another type of noun phrase, however, it is clearly to give end-focus rather than end-weight that the postponement takes place. This is the noun phrase with an emphatic reflexive pronoun {himself, etc) in apposition:

He himself told me -> He told me himself LF Did you yourself LF paint the portrait? -> Did you paint the portrait yourself LF?

As the emphatic reflexive pronoun frequently bears nuclear stress, the postponement is necessary here if the sentence is to have end-focus. The postponement is possible, however, only if the noun phrase in apposition with the pronoun is the subject:

/ showed Ian the letter myself •I showed Ian the letter himself {but cf: I showed Ian himself the letter.)



## Note

With some other cases of pronominal apposition, it is customary to postpone the second element to a position immediately following the operator rather than to the end of the sentence:

They're none of them experts. They don't either of them eat enough. {cf: We've often made up our minds}

Similarly both and each (see 9.123).

### 14.43

#### Other discontinuities

Less often, elements other than noun phrases are rendered discontinuous as a result of postponement. Here, for example, it is an adjectival phrase:

I was afraid, after that, for the children alone.

{of leaving}

### 14.44

#### Postponement of comparative clauses

Comparative constructions of various types are frequently discontinuous. If we think of a comparative clause functionally as forming the Focus, theme, and emphasis

postmodification of the comp-element (11.64), then there is often a need to separate it from its head for end-focus or end-weight:

He showed less pity to his victims than any other blackmailer in the history of crime (c/5.19)

The equivalent sentence without postponement would be extremely awkward: \*He showed less pity than any other blackmailer in the history of crime to his victims. In other cases, the comparative clause, unless postponed, would anticipate the parallel structure in the main clause, making ellipsis virtually impossible;

More people own houses than used to years ago

(rather than

\*More people than used to years ago own houses)

Final position for comparative clauses following too, so much, and enough is normal, and therefore discontinuity is bound to arise whenever the comp-element is not in final position:

I was so thrilled by the present that I forgot to thank you

He was foolish enough, despite warnings, to sail the boat alone.

### 14.45

#### Structural compensation

As part of the principle of end-weight in English, there is a feeling that the predicate of a clause should where possible be longer than the subject; thus a principle of structural compensation comes into force. With the SV pattern, one-word predicates are shunned, and there is a preference for expressing simple present or past actions or states by some other, circumlocutory means. For example, the verb sang is very rarely used as a predicate in itself, although semantically complete. We may easily say He sang well or He was singing, but would rarely say simply Be sang.

A common means of 'stretching' the predicate into a multi-word structure is the construction consisting of a verb of general meaning (have, take, give, etc) followed by an 'effected object'. The bald He ate, He smoked, or He swam can be replaced by He had a meal, He had a smoke, He had a swim, etc. (Other examples are supplied in 7.20.) Again, it may be noted that the progressive forms He was eating, etc are less objectionable than the simple past.

Emotive emphasis

14.46

Apart from the emphasis given by information focus and theme, the language provides means of giving a unit purely emotive emphasis. We have noted, in various sections of the grammar, a number of features of this type. They include exclamations (7.78-79), the persuasive do in commands (7.77), interjections (7.89), expletives (7.88), and intensifiers (5.31, 5.51/, 5.54\_#" , 8.19jf), including the general clause emphasizers such as actually, really, and indeed. A thorough study of emotive expressions would take us into the realms of figures of speech such as simile, hyperbole, and irony. Here we confine ourselves to two devices which fall squarely within the province of grammar.

14.47

Stress on operators

If normally unstressed operators receive stress (especially nuclear stress), the effect is often to add exclamatory emphasis to the whole sentence: That will be nice! What Are you d6ing ? We hAve enjoyed ourselves!

DO-periphrasis is introduced where there would otherwise be no operator to bear the emphatic stress:

He 'does look pale. You 'did give me a

You d6 look a wreck. frIght.

This device is distinct from that of placing information focus on the operator (14.7). In the first place, emotive emphasis on the operator is not necessarily signalled by pitch prominence: ordinary sentence stress can have a similar effect. Secondly, emotive emphasis has no contrastive meaning; by saying That win, be nice, for example, we do not imply that now or in the past things have been the opposite of nice. Further intensification, if desired, can be achieved by placing an emphasizer such as really or certainly in front of the operator: It really does taste nice.

Note

Despite its similar emotive connotations, the 'persuasive' do in imperatives (7.77) is again distinct from the above use of do. The imperative do does not obey the rule of Do-periphrasis: one can say Do be quiet! in imperatives, but there is no corresponding statement "He Dd£S be quiet I

14.48

Non-correlative so and such

In familiar speech, and especially perhaps in the speech of older women, 970 Focus, theme, and emphasis

stress is also applied to the determiner such and to the adverb so, giving exclamatory force to a statement, question, or command:

He's so Och a nice man! I'm so afraid they'll get lost Why are you such a baby? Don't upset yourself so!

Again, for extra emphasis, the exclamatory word so or such may be given nuclear stress: I'm so pleased. So and such in statements are almost equivalent to how and what in exclamations (7.78-79):

They're so such delightful children! What delightful children they are!

But so and such can also occur, as the earlier examples show, in questions and commands.

Note

Other words of strong emotive import may take a nuclear tone for special emotive force:

I wish you'd Listen! I love that MGsk! I'm terribly sorry!

## Reinforcement

14.49

Reinforcement by repetition and pronoun 'proxy' forms

Reinforcement is a feature of colloquial style whereby some item is repeated (either in toto or by pronoun substitution) for purposes of emphasis, focus, or thematic arrangement. Its simplest form is merely the reiteration of a word or phrase for emphasis or clarity:

It's far, far too expensive (cf 5.1T)

I agree with every word you've said - every single word

A reinforcing or recapitulatory pronoun is sometimes inserted, in informal speech, within a clause where it stands 'proxy' for an initial noun phrase (cf 9.50):

This man I was telling you about - he used to live next door to me The book I lent you - have you finished it yet?

As a result, the noun phrase is not connected syntactically to the clause to which, in meaning, it belongs. Thematically, it is the 'point of departure' for the sentence, but it may be too long and unwieldy to form the

Reinforcement 971

subject of the sentence without awkwardness or danger of confusion. It is probably for this reason, or because he cannot in the act of speaking think of any way of continuing without restructuring the sentence, that the speaker decides to make a fresh start.

Noun phrase tags

The opposite case arises when an amplificatory noun phrase tag (cf 9.148) is added to the end of a sentence, repeating and clarifying the meaning of a pronoun within it:

They're all the same, these politicians

I know them, men

I wouldn't trust him for a moment, that lad

The tag generally occurs in a separate tone unit, with a rising tone. It can be inserted parenthetically, as well as placed finally:

He's got a good future, your brother, if he perseveres

A repetitive operator (or the substitute operator do) is sometimes added to the noun phrase for greater explicitness. We have therefore an amplificatory tag statement rather than a tag noun phrase:

That was a lark, that wast

He likes a drink now and then, Jim does > (familiar)

She's a lovely girl, is Ann

All of these have some familiar dialectal flavour, and the last (with the inversion of subject and operator in the tag) is a dialectism especially associated with northern BrE.

Note

The amplificatory noun phrase tag should not be confused with either vocatives (7.39) or what may be called 'tag exclamations', such as He ran away from school, the idiot (cf 9.133 Note). Both these constructions are distinguished from it intonation-ally, in that they may form the 'tail' of a preceding nucleus, instead of having their own tone unit (usually with a rising nucleus). The intonation marks the following as respectively noun phrase tag and vocative:

He's coining, I John. | He's cdMing, John. |

The exclamatory tag is further distinguished by being capable of (a) referring back to a noun phrase other than a pronoun:

That brother of mine ran away from school, the idiot, and (b) occurring initially as \*ell as finally:

The idiot, he ran away from school. 972 Focus, theme, and emphasis

Bibliographical note

Theme, focus, emphasis, and related matters are treated in Bolinger (1961); Charleston (1960); Firbas (1964) and (1966); Halliday (1967), (1967-8), (1970a); Huddleston (1971), Chapter 8; Jacobsson (1951); Lees (1960b) and (1963); Rosebaum (1967a), especially §4.1 with reference to extraposition; Svartvik (1966).

gSJ\*

## APPENDIX I WORD-FORMATION

### M-9 Introduction

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.2 Productiveness

.3 Borrowing and neo-classical formations

.4 Affixation, conversion, and compounding

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processes

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 Introduction

1.1

Relevance of word-formation to grammar

The rules by which words are constructed are important to the study of grammar for two reasons. Firstly, they help us to recognize the grammatical class of a word by its structure; we are able to tell (to take a particularly clear example) that the word organization is a noun from the fact that it ends in the suffix -ation. Secondly, they teach us that there is a flexibility in the application of grammatical rules, whereby the native speaker may transfer words, with or without the addition of affixes or other words, to a new grammatical class. If one draws the limits of what is 'grammatical' too fine, one excludes the creative licence of, for example:

Before following Bean on board, Conrad singsonged: 'Dum-de-de-dum-de-dum'  
 {Time, 28 November 1969)

where singsong (itself a compound noun based on the verb sing) is converted ad hoc into a verb.

1.2 Productiveness

For these reasons, therefore, the grammatical rules of sentence formation considered in this book need to be supplemented by some account of lexical rules of word-formation.

A rule of word-formation usually differs from a syntactic rule in one important respect: it is of limited productivity, in the sense that not all words which result from the application of the rule are acceptable; they are freely acceptable only when they have gained an institutional currency in the language. Thus there is a line to be drawn between 'actual English words' (eg: sandstone, unwise) and 'potential English words' (eg: (\*)lemonstone, (\*)unexcellent), both of these being distinct from 'non-English' words like \*selfishless which, because it shows the suffix -less added to an adjective rather than to a noun, does not even obey the rules of word-formation.

Rules of word-formation are therefore at the intersection of the historical and contemporary (synchronic) study of the language, providing a constant set of 'models' from which new words, ephemeral or permanent, are created from day to day. Yet on a larger scale, the rules themselves (like grammatical rules) undergo change: affixes and compounding processes can become productive or lose their productivity; can increase or decrease their range of meaning or grammatical applicability. In line with aims elsewhere in the book, we concentrate in this Appendix on productive or on marginally productive rules of word-

Word-formation a//

formation, leaving aside 'dead' processes, even though they may have a fossilized existence in a number of words in the language. For example, the Old English affix -th, no longer used to form new words, survives in length, depth, width (cf: long, deep, wide). A corollary of this approach is that the historical study of a word is irrelevant to its status as an illustration of present-day rules; the fact that the word unripe has existed in the English language since Anglo-Saxon times does not prevent us from using it as an example of a regular process of word-formation still available in the language.

Note

[a] New formations, invented casually for a particular occasion (as in the example singsonged in App I.I), are normally comprehensible, but are used 'at a certain cost to acceptability'. They are often referred to as nonce formations.

[b] History provides quite a number of examples where a derived form has preceded the word from which (formally speaking) it is derived. Thus editor entered the language before edit, lazy before laze, and television before televise. The process by which the shorter word is created by the deletion of a supposed affix is known as back-formation, since it reverses the normal trend of word-formation, which is to add rather than to subtract elements. It is important, however, to realize that "back-formation" so described is a purely historical concept, of little relevance to the contemporary study of word-formation. To the present-day speaker of English, the relationship between laze and lazy need be no different from that between sleep and sleepy, choose and choosy, etc.

1.3

Borrowing and neo-classical formations

A second restriction of this account is that it takes only passing notice of word-formation according to Latin and Greek, rather than English models. From the Renaissance to the early twentieth century, English word-formation, like English (or for that matter European) architecture, was dominated by neo-classicism. The vocabulary was augmented by borrowing and adaptation of Latin and Greek words, or, as time went on, by the formation of words in English-speaking countries according to the Latin and Greek models. The habit of neo-classical formation still flourishes in certain learned areas of vocabulary, particularly in the natural sciences. However, English has adapted to her own purposes a large number of Latin and Greek word-elements, and these, being productive in the 'common core' of the language, we must take into account. Moreover, some purely neo-classical affixes (-ic, -ous, etc) are so common that it would be perverse to exclude them from any account of English word-formation.

So great indeed has been the foreign or neo-classical influence on the English language, that the majority of prefixes (as distinct from suffixes) in the language are of Latin, Greek, or French origin. To give an illustration of the difference between native and neo-classical formation: *com-* (*col-jcon-jcor-lco-*) is a Latin prefix in *collect, communication*, 978 Appendix I

#### (1) AFFIXATION,

*conduct, coagulate*; but *co-*, one of its variants, has been appropriated by the English language and has developed a function of its own in such words as *co-author, co-chairman, co-education*. For our purposes, therefore, *co-* is an English rather than a classical or neo-classical prefix.

#### 1.4

#### Affixation, conversion, and compounding

A form to which a rule of word-formation is applied is called a base (as distinct from stem: see App 1.5 Note), and the chief processes of English word-formation by which the base may be modified are:

(a) adding a prefix to the base, with or without a change of word-class (eg: *author* -\**co-author*) (AppUOff)

(b) adding a suffix to the base, with or without a change of word-class (eg: *drive* -\**driver*) (AppIMff)

(2) conversion, ie assigning the base to a different word-class

without changing its form ('zero affixation', eg: *drive* v -> *drive* n)(\pp 1.31 ff)

(3) compounding, ie adding one base to another (eg: *tea*+*pot*~+*teapof*) (App IMff)

Affixation and compounding are not always easy to distinguish. For example, we have to decide whether *in-group* is a compound with a prepositional adverb as its first element, or whether the *in-* is a prefix comparable to the/*we-* of *pre-war*. In fact, the meaning (clearly relatable to that of the adverb) and the initial stress suggest that it is a compound. Another borderline example is *policeman*, which is a compound of *police* and *man* as far as writing goes, but in speech, the peculiarity that *-man* is normally pronounced /*msn*/ shows that this element has progressed part of the way to becoming an affix, and cannot be straightforwardly identified with the personal noun *man* (*jmsaf*). Meaning, spelling, and pronunciation (including compound stress, or



main stress on the first element) all help to mark the divergence between a word-element and the separate word from which, historically, it may have been derived; we shall not attempt to assign priority to any of these criteria, or to prescribe a particular point beyond which compounding becomes affixation.

### 1.5

Reapplication and combination of word-formation processes

Once a base has undergone a rule of word-formation, the derived word itself may become the base for another derivation; and so, by reapplica-

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tion, it is possible to derive words of considerable morphological and semantic complexity. A moderately complex example is the word unfriendliness, the derivation of which we set out as follows:

- (1) friend                      noun
- (2) (friend)-ly                noun-\*adjective
- (3) un-[(friend)-ly]        adjective-\*adjective
- (4) {un-[(friendly)]}-ness   adjective-\*noun

That the bracketing of (3) above correctly shows un- and friendly to be its major constituents is confirmed by the non-existence of \*unfriend, which would have been the base if the alternative derivation \*unfriend+ -ly had been attempted. Similarly, the alternative analysis of stage (4) as un-+friendliness is barred by the non-occurrence of un- with noun bases. Sometimes two analyses are possible, and reflect an ambiguity of interpretation; unmasked, for example, may be read:

the un-+masked intruder ('the intruder who was not masked') the unmask + -ed intruder ('the intruder from whom the mask had been removed')

But there are also many cases in which the choice between two analyses cannot be reasonably made, so little difference does it make: preselection might be read indifferently as pre-+selection or as preselect+-(t)ion.

There are possibilities for mixing processes of derivation in the same word; for instance, compounding and affixation are both found in colour-blindness, a word derived from the compound adjective colourblind by the same rule which derives happiness from happy.

Note

We distinguish the base of a derived word from the stem, which is the part of the word remaining after every affix has been removed: friend in the above example. In a word which has only one affix, such as friendly, the stem (friend) is also the base.

### 1.6

Word-formation, spelling, and hyphenation

Two points of orthography may be taken up from the preceding paragraph. The spelling of a word may undergo change, according to the spelling rules of English, when a suffix is added and consequently the final part of the word assumes medial position in the derived word: unfriendly-\*unfriendliness; happy->happily; red->reddish; panic-\*panicky; cause -\*■ causation (but change -\* changeable). The same spelling conventions apply here as in the addition of inflectional suffixes for verbs, etc (see 3.58 #).

Secondly, the hyphen of colour-blindness appears to indicate that the main constituent break in the word is between colour and blindness. This is because of the spelling convention that suffixes, even when added to a compound, are generally attached without a break to the end of the word, while compound elements are frequently hyphenated.

Prefixes are more like compound elements in that they are often joined to the base by a hyphen, especially if they are 'strong' prefixes which normally receive full stress (non-, pseudo-, ultra-, anti-, etc). However, a compound, unlike a prefixed word, is often spelled with a gap between the constituents, as if they were separate grammatical items: army officer. Hence an even more striking case where orthography fails to reveal the structure of a word is that of ex-army officer, where the compound army officer is spelled as if it were two separate words, and the prefix ex-, which structurally applies to the whole compound, appears to apply to the first half only. Further remarks on hyphenation are given in the section on compounds below (App 1.45), and in App III.4/.

Note

Apart from spelling variations, there can be variations in pronunciation such as nation /-eij-/ ~ nation+al /-ʔej-/; or variations in both spelling and pronunciation: deceive ~ decep + tion.

1.7

Lexical items

The above observations make clear that the grammatical word (item functioning as noun, verb, adjective, etc) is not necessarily identical with the orthographic word (j'e a sequence of symbols bounded by spaces on the page). This leads us on to note that there is a similar discrepancy between the 'grammatical word' and the 'lexical word' (or, as it is often called, the 'lexical item'), which is the unit involved in word-formation. It is well known that combinations of grammatical words, called 'idioms', often constitute a single unit as far as the vocabulary is concerned; ie constitute a single lexical item. Moreover, in the case of verb + particle constructions (phrasal verbs: 12.19^), such combinations are subject to the limited productivity of lexical rule; for example, up with certain verbs, as in eat up, cut up, use up, breakup, etc, adds the sense of 'completion' to the verb; out in draw out, last out, eke out, hold out, etc, conveys the meaning of 'continuation'. These are closely parallel, as far as word-formation is concerned, to a set such as reclaim, retake, rebuild (where re- = 'again').

Note

When the particle is placed before the verb and is orthographically joined to it, as in upset, offset, etc, we have a single word, which is structurally speaking a compound rather than a phrasal verb. This preposing of the particle often takes place when phrasal verbs are the base for derived nouns: (filler, income, outbreak, onlooker, etc) or participial adjectives (outgoing, offputting [BrE], etc). In the case of the derived nouns, compound status is reinforced by initial compound stress: 'inlet, etc. There

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is still the possibility of keeping the particle in second position, however, and so deriving 'phrasal nouns' such as passer-by, cuiter-up, blast-off, touch-down, etc. In such cases, the particle is hyphenated to the deverbal noun.

## 1.8

### Phrasal derivation

Although rules of word-formation normally operate upon grammatical words, there are occasions when they operate on idioms or lexical items which are grammatical phrases. The agent noun *passer-by* (from the verb *pass by*: see App 1.7 Note) illustrates this process, which may be called phrasal derivation. Thus a noun phrase can become the base of a derived word, by affixation or compounding: *old-maidish* (from *old maid*+*-ish*); *short-sighted* (from *short sight* + *-ed*); *veteran car collector* (from *veteran car* [BrE] + *collector*). It is to be noted that a word like *old-maidish*, although it looks like a compound, is in fact formed from a phrase by a process of affixation, and so does not actually involve the compounding process at all.

## 1.9

### Minor word-formation processes

Apart from the major word-formation processes denoted in App 1.4, English calls upon a number of minor devices (including blending, clipping, and acronymy) as means of forming new words on the basis of old. These minor processes, a number of which have attained some importance in modern times, will be exemplified in App 1.58-61. First, however, we attend to the major processes of affixation (prefixation and suffixation), conversion, and compounding, in that order.

### Prefixation

## 1.10

Prefixes do not generally alter the word-class of the base. Productive prefixes normally have a light stress on their first (or only) syllable, the main stress of the word coming on the base: [*prefabricated*]. This stress pattern will be assumed in the examples in the following tables, unless words are marked to the contrary. (The noun *^prefix* itself is one of the numerous exceptions to the stress rule: cf App 1.43.)

So that the relation between competing and contrasting prefixes can be better understood, major living prefixes are classified below according to meaning. Inevitable semantic overlaps between the categories will be signalled by cross-reference, and where an affix has two or more separate semantic or syntactic functions, it will be given two or more separate entries.

## I.11

### Negative prefixes

	meaning	added to:	examples	comments
UN- (also App I.12)	'the opposite of', 'not'	adjectives; -ed or -ing participles	<i>unfair, unwise, unforgettable;</i> <i>unassuming, unexpected</i>	Very common. Often unstressed when preceding a stressed syllable.
NON-	'not'	adjectives; nouns; verbs; etc	<i>non-conformist;</i> <i>non-smoker, non-politician;</i> <i>non-drip (paint) (adj)</i>	Can normally be regarded as derivable from clause-negation: <i>non-smoker</i> ('one who does not smoke'), etc. Frequently contrasts with <i>un-</i> in expressing binary (non-gradable) contrast, rather than the opposite end of a scale: <i>non-scientific</i> vs <i>unscientific</i> , etc.
IN- (IL- before /l/, IM- before labials, IR- before /r/)	(same as for <i>un-</i> )	adjectives	<i>insane,</i> <i>illogical,</i> <i>improper, immovable,</i> <i>irrelevant</i>	Generally preferred to <i>un-</i> in learned words of Latin or French origin; but its use, against that of <i>un-</i> , has declined. Unstressed before a stressed syllable.
DIS- (also App I.12)	(same as for <i>un-</i> )	adjectives; verbs; hence abstract nouns	<i>disloyal, discourteous; disobey,</i> <i>dislike; disfavour</i>	Unstressed before a stressed syllable.

	meaning	added to:	examples	comments
A- /ei/ or /æ/ (AN-)	'lacking in', 'lack of'	adjectives; nouns	<i>amoral, asexual;</i> <i>asymmetry</i>	Mostly found in borrowed or neo-classical words: <i>'atheist, 'anarchy, amorphous, 'atrophied.</i>

#### Note

[a] *Un-* often confers acceptability on a participial or other deverbal adjective form: contrast *\*a heeded problem* with *an unheeded problem*, *\*a speakable condition* with *an unspeakable condition*.

[b] *Non-person* and *non-event* illustrate a pejorative type of noun-formation which has recently acquired popularity. The meaning here is 'a person who is not (*ie* does not count as) a person'; 'a complete nonentity', etc.

[c] Other prefixes apart from those above have negative implications: notably, the reversative prefixes discussed below (App I.12), and the prefixes of opposition *anti-* and *counter-*, discussed in App I.15.

## I.12

### Reversative or privative prefixes

	meaning	added to:	examples	comments
UN- (also App I.11)	(a) 'to reverse the action'; (b) 'deprive of', 'release from'	(a) verbs; (b) nouns	(a) <i>undo, untie, unzip, unpack,</i> <i>unwrap;</i> (b) <i>unleash, unhorse</i>	Rare except in borrowed words, where the distinctive meaning of <i>un-</i> is difficult to express.
DE- /di/	'to reverse the action', 'to get rid of'	verbs; hence abstract nouns	<i>decode, decentralize, defrost,</i> <i>desegregate, de-escalate;</i> <i>deforestation</i>	Contrast borrowed words with the unstressed prefix /di/: <i>depend</i> , etc. However, the longer vowel of /di/ can also be reduced to /i/ in connected speech.

	meaning	added to:	examples	comments
DIS- (also App I.11)	(as for <i>un-</i> )	verbs; hence participles; nouns	<i>disconnect, disinfect, disown,</i> <i>dishearten; discoloured;</i> <i>discontent</i>	Often unstressed when preceding a stressed syllable. There are also borrowed words with unstressed prefix: <i>dispose of</i> , etc.

### I.13 Pejorative prefixes

	meaning	added to:	examples	comments
MIS-	'wrongly', 'astray'	verbs; hence abstract nouns; participles	<i>miscalculate, mishear, misfire,</i> <i>misinform, mislead; mis-</i> <i>conduct; misleading</i>	Normally unstressed if next syllable is stressed.
MAL-	'badly', 'bad'	verbs; hence abstract nouns; participles; adjectives	<i>maltreat; malfunction;</i> <i>malformed; malodorous</i>	
PSEUDO-	'false', 'imitation'	nouns; adjectives	<i>pseudo-Christianity,</i> <i>pseudo-classicism,</i> <i>pseudo-intellectual (n or adj);</i> <i>pseudo-scientific</i>	

#### Note

For other prefixes with pejorative overtones, see NON- (App I.11 Note b); ARCH- (App I.14); OVER-, UNDER-, and HYPER- (App I.14).

### I.14 Prefixes of degree or size

	meaning	added to:	examples	comments
ARCH- /ɑ(r)tʃ-/	'supreme', 'highest', 'worst'	mainly human nouns verbs, human and abstract nouns	<i>archduke, arch-enemy,</i> <i>archbishop, arch-fascist</i>	<i>archangel</i> is pronounced /ɑ(r)k-/ and generally has initial main stress. New formations in ARCH- are normally pejorative.
SUPER- (also App I.16)	'above', 'more than', 'better'	nouns; adjectives	<sup>1</sup> <i>super</i> , <i>man</i> , <sup>1</sup> <i>super</i> , <i>market</i> ; <i>supernatural, supersensitive,</i> <i>superluxury (adj) (airliner, etc)</i>	Nouns usually have initial main stress. Found also in borrowed words, sometimes with shifted stress: <i>su'perfluous</i> , etc.
OUT-	'(to do some- thing) better, faster, longer, etc than ...'	mainly intrans verbs (to form transitive verbs)	<i>outgrow, outlive,</i> <i>outrun, outweigh</i>	Very productive. Example: <i>He outran me</i> (ie 'He ran faster than I did').
SUR-	'over and above'	nouns	<sup>1</sup> <i>surcharge</i> , <sup>1</sup> <i>surtax</i>	Rare except in borrowed words, where the distinctive meaning of <i>sur-</i> is difficult to recover: <i>survey, surmount, surname</i> , etc.
SUB- /sʌb-/ (also App I.16)	'under', 'lower than', 'less than'	adjectives	<i>subhuman, substandard,</i> <i>subnormal</i>	Borrowed words with unstressed prefix /səb/: <i>subjection</i> , etc.

	meaning	added to:	examples	comments
OVER-	'too much'	verbs; <i>-ed</i> participles etc; adjectives	<i>overdo, overeat, oversimplify; overdressed; overconscientious, overconfident</i>	Contrast noun compounds with <i>over</i> as a particle: <i>over<sub>1</sub>spill</i> , etc.
UNDER-	'too little'	verbs; <i>-ed</i> participles etc	<i>undercook, underfeed, undercharge; underworked, underprivileged</i>	Contrast noun compounds with <i>under</i> as a particle: <i>under<sub>1</sub>pass</i> , etc.
HYPER- /haɪpə(r)-/	'extra specially'	adjectives	<i>hypercritical, hyperactive hypersensitive</i>	Contrast borrowed words with stress shift: <i>hy<sub>1</sub>perbole</i> , etc.
ULTRA-	'beyond', 'extremely'	adjectives	<i>ultra-violet, ultra-modern, ultra-conservative</i>	Also borrowed and neo-Latin words: <i>ultramarine, ultramontane</i> .
MINI-	'little'	nouns	<i><sup>1</sup>mini<sub>1</sub>-car, <sup>1</sup>mini<sub>1</sub>-skirt, <sup>1</sup>mini<sub>1</sub>-cab</i>	A recent prefix, often used for humorous coinages: <i><sup>1</sup>mini<sub>1</sub>-budget</i> , etc. The contrasting prefix <i>maxi-</i> ('large', 'long') and even <i>mid-</i> ('medium') are also fashionable: <i><sup>1</sup>maxi<sub>1</sub>-skirt</i> , etc.

## 1.15

## Prefixes of attitude

	meaning	added to:	examples	comments
CO- /kou-/	'accompanying', 'with', 'joint'	verbs; human and abstract nouns	<i>cooperate, coexist; co-heir, <sup>1</sup>co<sub>1</sub>-driver, co-education</i>	<i>Co-operate</i> and (especially AmE) <i>cooperate</i> are alternative spellings. <i>Co-</i> is used of mutual relationships; eg: <i>Smith is Brown's co-director</i> (director with Brown). Cf the use of the compound element <i>fellow</i> in <i>fellow-student</i> , etc.
COUNTER-	'against', 'in opposition to'	verbs; hence abstract nouns, etc	<i><sup>1</sup>counteract</i> (also <i>counter<sup>1</sup>act</i> ); <i>counter-revolution, counter-espionage, <sup>1</sup>countersink</i>	Some nouns have compound stress: <i><sup>1</sup>counter<sub>1</sub>-attraction, <sup>1</sup>counter<sub>1</sub>movement</i> . See <i>ANTI-</i> .
ANTI-	'against'	nouns (mainly to form adjectives: <i>the anti-war campaign</i> ); <i>anti-clerical; anti-clockwise</i> denominal adjectives; adverbs	<i><sup>1</sup>antibody, anti-missile, anti-war; anti-social,</i>	<i>Anti-</i> suggests simply an attitude of opposition, while <i>counter-</i> suggests action in opposition to or in response to a previous action. A <i>counterattack</i> can take place only if there has already been an <i>attack</i> .
PRO- /prou-/	'for', 'on the side of' (antonymous to <i>anti-</i> )	nouns (mainly to form adjectives: <i>the pro-Common Market lobby</i> ); denominal adjectives	<i>pro-Common Market, pro-Castro; pro-American, pro-communist</i>	Contrast numerous borrowed and neo-Latin words with unstressed /prə-/: <i>provide</i> , etc.

## 1.16

## Locative prefixes

These, like locative prepositions (6.26), may extend their meaning metaphorically to abstract spheres.

meaning	added to:	examples
super-	'over', 'above'	nouns
(also App 1.14)		
'superstructure'		

Uncommon except in borrowed or neo-Latin words: supernumerary, etc. Compound stress is usual.

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sub- 'under',  
(also App 1.14) 'beneath',  
'lesser in rank'  
nouns; adjectives;  
verbs

'sub\way, 'subjection; subconscious; sublet, subdivide, subcontract

Nouns frequently have compound stress. Contrast Latin and neo-Latin words: 'submarine, subliminal.

inter- 'between', denominal adjectives; international, inter-  
continental; Also occasionally used of time: {the)  
'among' verbs; nouns intertwine (v), intermarry, inter-war  
(years). Contrast Latin and  
interweave; 'interplay (n) neo-Latin words: intermittent, interfere.

TRANS-

'across', 'from one place to another'

denominal adjectives; verbs

transatlantic, trans-Siberian; transplant, transship

Contrast Latin and neo-Latin words: transfer, translate, etc.

Note

In 'overspill, 'underpass, etc, over and under are locative particles rather than locative prefixes. (See App 1.7 Note.)

1.17

Prefixes of time and order

meaning

added to:

examples

comments

FORE-

'before'

mainly verbs; hence abstract nouns, etc

foretell, forewarn, foreshadow; foreknowledge

Also used with the locative meaning 'front': 'foreleg, etc. Usually has compound stress with nouns.

FRE-

/pri-/

'before'

nouns (mainly to form adjectives); adjectives

pre-war, preschool (children), pre-19th century; pre-marital

The more learned competing prefix ante- 'before' is found almost entirely in borrowed and neo-Latin words antediluvian, antenatal, etc. C//pn/ in borrowed words: prevent, etc.

POST-

/poust-/

'after'

nouns (mainly to form adjectives); adjectives  
 post-war, post-election (boom); post-classical  
 C/borrowed words:postpone, etc.

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EX-

'former'

human nouns

ex-president, ex-serviceman, ex-film-star, ex-husband

Cf the more general use of ex- in borrowed words with unstressed ex-(expect) and voicing before a vowel (examine fagz-l, /igz-/-)

	meaning	added to:	examples	comments
RE- /ri-/ <small>as, like locative particle</small>	'again' 'back'	verbs; hence abstract nouns, etc	rebuild, reclaim, reuse, resell, re-evaluate; resettlement	One of the most common prefixes of the language, occurring in many words borrowed from Latin and French. Note the contrast between unstressed /rɪ/ found in borrowed words, and the /ri/ (reducible to /rɪ/) of a newer formation in recover: /rɪ/ = 'get better' and /ri/ = 'cover again'. Contrast also older borrowings with initial voicing of the base (resound /rɪz-/) and newer formations re'sound /ri's-/ (= 'sound again'). There is a similar alternation with DE- (App I.12).
UPER- <small>(also App I.14)</small>	'over', 'above'	adjectives; nouns; verbs	superstructure (noun); supercilious (adjective); superciliousness (noun)	
INFER- <small>(also App I.14)</small>	'under', 'beneath', 'lesser in rank'	nouns; adjectives; verbs	inferior, inferiority, inferiority complex; inferior; inferiority	
TRANS- LON- <small>(also App I.14)</small>	'across', 'from', 'across to', 'another'	adjectives; nouns; verbs	transatlantic, transatlanticism; transatlanticism; transatlanticism; transatlanticism	
TRANS- LON- <small>(also App I.14)</small>	'across', 'from', 'across to', 'another'	adjectives; nouns; verbs	transatlantic, transatlanticism; transatlanticism; transatlanticism; transatlanticism	

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1.18

Number prefixes

English uses a mixture of Latin and Greek prefixes to express number. Although these prefixes generally form words on neo-classical patterns, they are productive and important enough in general English to be worth illustrating here.

meaning examples



/UNI- \mono-	'one'	'ani\cycle, unilateral, 'unisex; monotheism, 'mono,plane, 'monotrail
/bi- /fai/ I.DI- /dai/	'two'	bifocal, bi-parlisan, bilingual, 'biceps, bimonthly, 'bicycle; 'dimeter, dichotomy
trt- /crai-/	'three'	tripartite, 'tripod, 'trident, 'tricycle

/multi-

\POLY-

many

multi-national, multi-racial;

polysyllabic, polygamy, >poly,glot

AUTO-

Note

Bimonthly is deplorably ambiguous, so that it can mean either 'every two months\*' or 'twice every month'. Biweekly has the same ambiguity. Biennial, according to some authoritative accounts, has only the meaning 'every two years' (in contrast with biannual 'twice a year'), but many speakers in practice find it as ambiguous as bimonthly.

1.19

auto-, neo-. pan-, proto-. semi', vice-

A number of other prefixes on the border between English and neoclassical derivation may be mentioned:

meaning

examples

comments

'self'

'autocrat, autosuggestion, autobiography, automation

C/coropounds in self-: self-denial.

'new', 'revived\*

neo-classicism,

neo-Gothic,

neo-Nazi

Used for political, artistic, etc, movements.

'all', 'world-wide'

pan-African,

pan-Anglican,

pan-American

Used especially with proper nouns for world-wide or continent-wide movements.

'first', 'original'

Proto-Germanic, 'prototype

	meaning	examples	comments
S E M l-	'half'	semi.circle.	Hemi- and demi- are
		semi'darkness.	less common prefixes
		semi-humorous	with this meaning: hemisphere, demigod.
V l C E-	'deputy'	vice-admiral,	Compare deputy-
		vice-president. 'viceroy	mayor, under- secretary, sub- manager assistant director, etc.

## 1.20

## Conversion prefixes

Finally, we tumj'o three old and only mildly productive prefixes which may be called 'conversion prefixes', since a major part of their function, in contrast to that of other prefixes, is to convert the base into a different grammatical class. In their role, they are thus more like suffixes than like prefixes.

added to —\* to form

examples

comments

BE-

(a) nouns r\* participial adjectives

(a) bewigged, bespectacled, bedevilled

(b) becalm, bedazzle, bewitch

(a) has various meanings: 'equipped with', 'covered with', 'beset with'. Often there are pejorative or facetious overtones.

EN-	nou	—■	enmesh,	Various
	ns	verbs	empower,	meanings: 'to
(em-			endanger,	make into ...',
			entrain.	to put
before			enslave	into...','to get
/p/ and/b/)				into...!.
A-/a/		verbs —*	predicative	

adjectives

astride, awash, aglimmer, atremble

The meaning is similar to that of the progressive aspect: afloat =\*floating\It is doubtful whether this prefix is still productive.

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guffixation

1.21

Classification of suffixes

Unlike prefixes, suffixes frequently alter the word-class of the base; for example, the adjective kind, by the addition of the suffix -ness, is changed into an abstract noun kindness.

Although suffixes are by no means always limited to a particular class of base, it is convenient on the whole to group them not only by the class of word they form (as NOUN suffixes, verb suffixes, etc) but also by the class of base they are typically added to (denominal, ie from nouns, DE-ADJECTIVAL, deverbal suffixes, etc). More usefully, we may extend this latter terminology, where convenient, to the derived words themselves, and talk of worker as a deverbal noun, hopeful as a DENOMINAL ADJECTIVE, etc.

The clarity which might result from the treatment of suffixes in such terms is marred by the difficulty of disentangling the neo-classical use of foreign suffixes from their acclimatized use as formatives in the English language. In many cases we can recognize a word as a noun by its ending (eg: duration); but there is no verb \*DURE in English. In other cases, there is an alternation between two words derived from the same foreign source: for example, between invade~invasion; evade~evasion; persuade ~persuasion. Such alternations, if frequent, may be worth stating as among the regular features of English word-structure. At the same time, variations in stress (and vowel quality) sometimes occur when a suffix is added to a word of borrowed or neo-classical origin: witness ^photograph, photographic, photographer. As a general rule, however, English suffixes are unstressed; the only exceptions are one or two endings of foreign origin, notably Nation.

The tables of suffixes set out below are intended only to capture the major generalizations that can be made about suffixation in English.

Note

[a] Inflectional suffixes, if any, always follow derivational suffixes: kindnesses.

[b] Deverbal nouns do not include the 'gerund' class of nouns ending in -ing (waiting, etc) which are designated verbal nouns (4.11). Because of the complete productivity of the verbal noun category, the relation between verbal nouns and the corresponding verbs is considered to be purely grammatical rather than derivational. Another class of words having arguably the same status of full productivity (see 1.14) is that of agential nouns (App 1.24): worker, etc. Notice that although not all verbs have a corresponding institutionalized agential noun (trick ~\*tricker, flout-'flouter), it is always possible to use an agential noun in a frame such as a (big) ...-er of N:

John flouts authority ~\*John is a flouter

John is a (big) flouter of authority

**L22**

**Noun → noun suffixes**

The main denominal noun suffixes are given below.

	added to → to form	meaning	examples	comments
<b>[A] occupational, etc</b>				
-STER -EER	nouns → personal nouns	'person engaged in an occupation or activity'	<i>gangster, gamester, trickster; engi'neer, profi'teer, racke'teer, pamphle'teer</i>	Except <i>engineer</i> , often pejorative; rather infrequent.
-ER (also App I.24 for <i>baker</i> , etc)	nouns → personal and inanimate nouns	varied meanings, eg 'something having X', 'inhabitant of X', 'maker of X'	<i>glover, teenager, Londoner, three-wheeler</i>	
<b>[B] diminutive and feminine</b>				
-LET	countable nouns → countable nouns	'small, unimportant'	<i>booklet, piglet, leaflet, starlet</i>	English is poor in feminine or diminutive suffixes, and those listed are used with decreasing frequency. A further diminutive suffix, <i>-ling</i> , is added to other word-classes as well as nouns, usually with a mildly contemptuous flavour: <i>princeling, weakling, underling, hireling</i> . The base of <i>waitress</i> , <i>murderess</i> , etc appears in a reduced or truncated form: <i>wait[e]r-</i> , <i>murder[er]-</i> . Certain <i>-ess</i> words are felt to be old-maidish ( <i>authoress, poetess</i> ) or indelicate ( <i>Jewess, negress</i> ), and are best replaced by periphrases ( <i>Jewish woman</i> , etc).
-LETTE	nouns → nouns	(a) 'small, compact'	<i>kitche'nette, ciga'rette</i>	
		(b) 'imitation' (material)	<i>leathe'rette, flanne'lette</i>	
		(c) 'female'	<i>ushe'rette, suffra'gette</i>	
-ESS	animate nouns → animate nouns	'female'	<i>waitress, actress, lioness, authoress, manager'ess</i>	

	added to → to form	meaning	examples	comments
(10)	<b>-Y</b> (less frequently spelled <b>-IE</b> ) (also App I.27)	nouns → nouns	<i>daddy, auntie, Johnny, pussy, nighty</i> ('nightgown')	This suffix, largely restricted to familiar contexts, has no meaning apart from that of indicating endearment or familiarity. It is frequently added to a clipped form of the base, eg: <i>undies</i> 'underclothes', <i>movies</i> [esp. AmE] 'moving pictures'.
<b>[C] status, domain, etc</b>				
	<b>-HOOD</b>	nouns → abstract nouns	'status', etc <i>boyhood, brotherhood, widowhood</i>	Only mildly productive; occasionally with adjective bases: <i>falsehood, hardship</i> . <b>-DOM</b> can add a pejorative flavour in modern formations, eg: <i>officialdom</i> .
	<b>-SHIP</b>	(as for <b>-HOOD</b> )	'status', 'condition', etc <i>friendship, membership, lectureship, dictatorship</i>	
	<b>-DOM</b> /dɒm/	(as for <b>-HOOD</b> )	'domain', 'realm', 'condition', etc <i>kingdom, officialdom, stardom</i>	
	<b>-OCRACY</b>	(as for <b>-HOOD</b> )	'system of government' <i>de'mocracy, plu'tocracy, meri'tocracy</i>	Chiefly neo-classical formations; they alternate with personal nouns in <b>-crat</b> , with stress shift: <i>democrat</i> , etc.
	<b>-ERY</b> ( <b>-RY</b> often after <i>d, t, l, n</i> except in sense (b))	chiefly nouns → (a) abstract nouns (b) concrete count nouns (c) mass nouns	(a) 'behaviour' etc (b) 'place of activity or abode' (c) 'collectivity' (a) <i>devilry, drudgery, pageantry, slavery</i> (b) <i>nunnery, rookery, refinery</i> (c) <i>crockery, machinery, gadgetry, rocketry</i>	Borrowed words such as <i>chivalry, surgery</i> are common. A few words have adjective bases: <i>snuggery, bravery</i> . Type (a) is frequently used in nonce-formations: <i>nitwitty, take-over-bidder</i> , etc.

	added to → to form	meaning	examples	comments
<b>[D] Other</b>				
(11)	<b>-ING</b>	countable nouns → mass nouns	'the substance of which N is composed' <i>matting, tubing, panelling</i>	
	<b>-FUL</b> usually /ful/ (contrast App I.27)	countable nouns → countable nouns	'the amount which N contains' <i>mouthful, spoonful, plateful</i>	

### I.23

#### Noun/adjective → noun/adjective suffixes

	added to → to form	meaning	examples	comments
(12)	<b>-ITE</b>	chiefly names → personal nouns (and occasionally non-gradable adjectives)	(a) 'member of a tribe or community' (b) 'member of a faction, sect, or type' (a) <i>Israelite, Brooklynite</i> (b) <i>Benthamite, Stalinite, laborite</i> (BrE), <i>Labourite</i> , <i>socialite</i>	Except in biblical connections, the suffix tends to be familiar in style, and nouns of Type (b) are often used derogatorily. An example of the adjectival use of <b>-ite</b> is: <i>His outlook is rather Luddite</i> .
(13)	<b>-(i)AN</b>	chiefly proper nouns → personal nouns and non-gradable adjectives	'belonging to ...', 'pertaining to ...', etc <i>Indo'nesian, Pa'risian, Eliza'bethan, re'publican, Dar'winian</i>	Often corresponding to place nouns in <b>-(i)a</b> : <i>Persia/Persian</i> , etc. Stress shift to the final syllable of the stem is common: <i>Shakes'peare/Shakes'pearean</i> , etc.

	added to → to form	meaning	examples	comments
- <b>'ESE</b>	chiefly proper nouns → personal nouns and non-gradable adjectives	'nationality', etc.	<i>Chi'nese, Portu'guese, Japa'nese</i>	Used normally for language and dialect names: <i>Canto'nese</i> , etc. Extended (usually pejoratively) to linguistic styles: <i>Johnso'nese, journa'lese</i> , etc. In attributive use, the stress generally shifts to initial position: <i>'Japanese art</i> .
- <b>IST</b>	nouns/adjectives → personal nouns/adjectives abstract nouns	'member of a party, occupation', etc	<i>masochist, racist, Buddhist, violinist, stylist, loyalist</i>	Also with verbs ( <i>typist</i> , etc). Many nouns with this suffix are borrowed, and consequently the base may not exist as an English noun. A final vowel is generally omitted from the base: <i>cello</i> → <i>cellist</i> . Words ending in <i>-ist</i> and <i>-ite</i> are frequently used attributively: <i>a Fascist government; the McCarthyite view</i> .
- <b>ISM</b>	nouns/adjectives → abstract nouns	'doctrine', 'point of view', 'political or artistic movement', etc	<i>Calvinism, idealism, impressionism, fanaticism, dualism, absenteeism</i>	Many nouns in <i>-ism</i> correspond to a noun in <i>-ist</i> which denotes an adherent of the principle, etc concerned: <i>communist/communism</i> .

I.24

Verb → noun suffixes

	added to → to form	meaning	examples	comments
-ER (-OR) (also see App I.22)	mainly dynamic verbs → mainly personal nouns	agential suffix, eg: <i>singer</i> 'one who sings (by profession)'	ANIMATE NOUNS: <i>worker, writer, driver, employer</i> INANIMATE NOUNS: <i>receiver, silencer, thriller</i> (BrE) COMPOUNDS (see further App I.50): <i>washer-up</i> (BrE), <i>window-cleaner, high-flier, eye-opener</i>	An extremely productive affix, potentially affixable to any verb in the language. The spelling of the affix is often <i>-or</i> in borrowed and neo-classical words: <i>inspector, actor, survivor</i> . There is no English verb-base for many such words: <i>author, doctor</i> , etc. Note the spelling of <i>liar, beggar</i> . -ER has 'passive' meaning in a few nouns: <i>cooker</i> (BrE) 'an apple for cooking', etc.
-ANT	verbs → personal or impersonal nouns	a less common and more learned agential suffix	<i>inhabitant, contestant, informant, lubricant, disinfectant</i>	Often corresponds to verbs in <i>-ate</i> : <i>lubricant</i> ~ <i>lubricate</i> ; <i>participant</i> ~ <i>participate</i> , etc.
-EE	verbs → personal nouns	passive suffix; eg: <i>draftee</i> 'one who is drafted'	<i>payee, appointee, trainee, employee</i>	Often the noun, while retaining its passive meaning, is not directly derived from a verb base: <i>nominee, refugee</i> . Some examples do not have passive meaning at all: <i>absentee</i> .

	added to → to form	meaning	examples	comments
-ATION /i'eɪʃn/	verbs → (a) abstract nouns (b) collective nouns	(a) 'state', 'action', etc (b) 'institution', etc	(a) <i>fi'xation, explo'ration, victimi'zation, ratifi'cation, star'vation</i> (b) <i>foun'dation, organi'zation</i>	Note stress shift to the penultimate syllable: <i>'justify</i> (/ˌfaɪ/) → <i>ˌjustifi'cation</i> (/ˌfrɪ'keɪʃn/), etc. A very common affix, regularly added to verbs in <i>-fy</i> and <i>-ize</i> and corresponding with <i>-ate</i> in <i>educate</i> ~ <i>education</i> , etc. Cf borrowed and neo-classical nouns in <i>-tion, -sion, and -xion</i> : <i>section, occasion, connexion</i> (alternative: <i>connection</i> ).
-MENT /mənt/	verbs → chiefly abstract nouns	'state', 'action', etc	<i>arrangement, amazement, embodiment, puzzlement</i>	Cf borrowed and neo-classical words: <i>detriment</i> , etc. Also used sometimes to form concrete nouns: <i>equipment, sediment</i> , etc.
-AL [ə]/	dynamic verbs → chiefly countable abstract nouns	'action', etc	<i>refusal, revival, dismissal, upheaval</i>	
-ING	verbs → (a) abstract nouns (b) concrete nouns	(a) 'activity', 'state', etc (b) 'that which results from the activity of the verb', etc	(a) <i>bathing, driving, betting</i> (b) <i>painting, building, opening, earnings, shavings</i>	Type (a) is the verbal noun (see App I.21 Note b), mentioned here for completeness, although it is strictly outside word-formation processes. Words of Type (b) may be mass as well as count: <i>stuffing, blacking</i> , etc.

	added to → to form	meaning	examples	comments
-AGE /ɪdʒ/	verbs → mass abstract nouns	'extent', 'amount', etc	<i>coverage, shrinkage, leverage, drainage, wastage</i>	Cf denominal nouns <i>frontage, baggage</i> , etc.
<b>I.25 Adjective → noun suffixes</b>				
	added to → to form	meaning	examples	comments
-NESS /nɪs/, /nəs/	adjectives → abstract nouns	'state', 'quality', etc	<i>meanness, happiness, cleverness, usefulness, selfishness, stoutheartedness, up-to-dateness</i>	Very productive. The normal way of forming an abstract noun from an adjective except where some borrowed or neo-classical form already exists, or in cases where <i>-ity</i> is preferred (see below). Note the pronunciation of <i>business</i> /ˈbɪznɪs/, /ˈbɪznəs/.
-ITY	adjectives → abstract nouns	'state', 'quality', etc	<i>'sanity, di'versity, ra'pidity, re'specta'bility, ba'nality, ela'sticity</i>	Added to many adjectives of classical or French origin, and regularly to those with the suffixes <i>-able/-ible</i> (with consequent change to <i>-a'bil-/i'bil-</i> ), <i>-al</i> , and <i>-ic</i> (App I.28). The main stress is shifted (unless already in that position) to the last syllable of the stem: <i>'similar</i> , <i>ˌsimi'larity</i> , etc. A long vowel in the last syllable of the base is often replaced by the corresponding short vowel: <i>chaste</i> /eɪ/ → <i>'chastity</i> /æ/; <i>se'rene</i> /i:/ → <i>se'renity</i> /e/; <i>ver'bose</i> /oʊ/ → <i>ver'bosity</i> /ɒ/, etc.

**I.26  
Verb suffixes**

Verb-forming suffixes are very few in English, and we may conveniently deal with them under one heading.

	added to → to form	meaning	examples	comments
-IFY /ɪfaɪ/	nouns, adjectives, etc → chiefly transitive verbs	causative	<i>beautify</i> ('to make beautiful'), <i>diversify, codify, amplify, simplify</i>	Usually in borrowed and neo-classical formations: <i>certify, identify</i> , etc. Note change of stem in <i>electrify</i> (← <i>electric</i> ), <i>liquify</i> (← <i>liquid</i> ). Coinages outside the neo-classical sphere tend to be facetious and pejorative: <i>dandify,</i> <i>speechify</i> .
-IZE (-ISE is an alternative spelling in BrE)	nouns, adjectives, etc → chiefly transitive verbs	causative	<i>decimalize</i> ('to convert currency to a decimal system'), <i>symbolize, hospitalize, publicize, popularize, legalize, modernize</i>	Widespread in borrowed and neo-classical words: <i>epitomize, organize</i> , etc. Very productive, especially in association with abstract nouns in <i>-ization</i> : <i>rationalization</i> , etc. Overuse of such nouns is often condemned as 'jargon'.
-EN	adjectives → (a) transitive and (b) intransitive verbs	(a) 'make (more) X' (causative) (b) 'become X' (where X is the base adjective)	<i>ripen, widen, deafen, sadden, quicken, tauten</i>	Now scarcely productive. All of these verbs (added principally to monosyllabic native adjectives) can be used in sense (a), and most in sense (b) as well.



I.27

**Noun → adjective suffixes**

	added to → to form	meaning	examples	comments
<b>-FUL</b> often /fəl/ (contrast App I.22)	Chiefly abstract nouns → gradable adjectives	'full of . . .', 'having . . .', 'giving . . .', etc	<i>useful, delightful, pitiful, successful, hopeful, helpful</i>	Also with verb bases: <i>forgetful</i> .
<b>-LESS</b>	nouns → adjectives	'without . . .', 'not giving . . .'	<i>speechless, childless, harmless, restless, careless</i>	There are some antonym pairs with <i>-ful</i> : <i>harmful/harmless</i> , etc.
<b>-LY</b> (also App I.30)	chiefly concrete nouns → gradable adjectives	'having the qualities of . . .', etc	<i>beastly, manly, soldierly, brotherly, worldly, cowardly</i>	Also with adjectives: <i>deadly</i> , etc. A special group of <i>-ly</i> adjectives consists of those derived from nouns of time: <i>daily</i> ('every day'), <i>weekly</i> , etc.
<b>-LIKE</b>	(as for <i>-LY</i> )	'having the qualities of . . .'	<i>childlike, cowlike, statesmanlike</i>	<i>-like</i> is now more productive than <i>-ly</i> , and is more predictable in its meaning.
<b>-Y</b> (also App I.22)	chiefly concrete mass nouns → gradable adjectives	'like . . .', 'full of . . .', 'covered with . . .', etc	<i>meaty, sandy, creamy, hairy, silky, mangy</i>	A common mode of formation, especially in familiar speech. Also with verb bases: <i>crunchy, poppy</i> (eyes), etc.
<b>-ISH</b> (also App I.29)	chiefly proper and countable nouns → (a) non-gradable and (b) gradable adjectives	(a) 'belonging to . . .' (b) 'having the character of . . .', etc	(a) <i>Swedish, Turkish, Cornish</i> (b) <i>foolish, churlish, selfish, snobbish, roguish, modish</i>	Type (a) adjectives correspond to national and regional names: <i>Sweden, Turkey, Cornwall</i> , etc (4.33). Type (b) adjectives are often pejorative.

	added to → to form	meaning	examples	comments
<b>-LESQUE</b> /'esk/	chiefly proper nouns → adjectives	'in the style of . . .'	<i>Dan<sup>1</sup>tesque, Rembrand<sup>1</sup>tesque</i>	Originally in borrowed words: <i>pictu<sup>1</sup>resque, bur<sup>1</sup>lesque</i> , etc.

**Note**

The following are three less important suffixes which usually form adjectives from noun bases:

- SOME: *burdensome, frolicsome, bothersome*
- WORTHY: *praiseworthy, seaworthy*
- ARIAN: *authoritarian, Parliamentarian* (also used to form nouns: *a vegetarian, an octogenarian*, etc)

1004 Appendix!

1.28

Some adjective suffixes common in borrowed and neo-classical words

The four endings *-al*, *-ic*, *-ive*, and *-ous* are among the most common adjective suffixes in the language, and yet have remained almost wholly in the borrowed and neo-classical sphere of English vocabulary. That they have never become fully 'naturalized' is shown by the paucity of formations from native bases: *-tidal*, *MWtonic*, *talkative*, and *thunderous* are among the exceptions. They frequently alternate with (or, in the case of *-al*, are added to) noun suffixes of classical origin; *-ive* is primarily a de-verbal suffix, whereas *-al*, *-ic*, and *-ous* are primarily denominal. It is impossible to specify a particular meaning for these suffixes: their semantic functions are extremely varied.

suf used      examples with      comments

fix

to form: corresponding  
abstract nouns

---

- primarily 'criminal (crime), Stress usually on  
AL 'cultural the  
(als non- {'culture), penultimate  
o gradable editorial syllable of the  
- adjective {'editor), 'musical base.  
ial, s ('music),  
- philo 'sophica!  
kal (phi' losophy),  
)

preferential  
('preference)

---

-ic gradable or a'tomic ('atom), em'phatic non-gradable ('emphasis), he'roic  
adjectives ('heroism), proble'matic ('problem), spe'cific (speci'ficity, specifi'cation)  
Stress usually on the last syllable of the base. Often used for language names: ^Celtic,  
'Arabic (e/the nationality adjectives 'Arab, A'rabian).

-rvE gradable or at'tractive (attraction), (also non-gradable ex]pansive  
(ex'pansion), -ative, adjectives ex'plosive (ex'plosion), -itive) pro  
'ductive (pro 'duction),  
^sensitive (sensitivity)

Stress usually on the last syllable of the base. The corresponding noun suffix is in  
most cases -ion.

-OUS primarily am'bitious (am'bition), (also gradable 'courteous  
('courtesy), -eous, adjectives erroneous ('error), -ions) 'grievous  
(grief),  
'virtuous ('virtue), vi'vacious (vi'vacity)

Stress usually on the last syllable of the base.

Note

[a] The noun suffix -toy (App 1.25) can be attached to al! the above four suffixes; but  
its addition entails certain changes. The suffix -al receives the stressed pronunciation  
l-'xU/ in place of /-si/ ('neutral—neu'trality); -ic changes its pronunciation from

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/-ik/ to /-'is-/ (e'lectric ~ elec'tricity); -ous changes its spelling to -os-, and receives the  
stressed pronunciation /-'os-/instead of /-ss/ ('curlous-'Curi'osity); -ive is unaltered,  
except that it becomes stressed: 'active ~ac'thiity.

[b] In some adjectives, -ic alternates with -ical, with a difference of meaning: a  
classic performance — classical languages ('great', 'memorable') ('Latin and  
Greek")

~ his comical behaviour

('funny') (less usual) ~ the car is economical to run

("money-saving") ~ an electrical fault

('of electricity') ~ historical research

('pertaining to history') •v po'litical parties

('concerned with politics')

[c\ There are several less common neo-classical affixes, among which -ary, -ate, and -ory are particularly notable: revolutionary, affectionate, obligatory. Adjectives in -ory alternate (with or without stress shift) with nouns in -ion: obligatory -obligation, satisfactory-satisfaction. Both -ary and -ory are reduced in BrE to /-ən/ or /-əri/; in AmE they are given a secondary stress, and are distinguished in pronunciation as /-əri/ and /-əri/.

a comic masterpiece

('of comedy') an economic miracle

('in the economy') an electric light

('powered by e.')

his 'political behaviour

('tactful') (unusual)

## I.29

## Other adjective suffixes

	added to → to form	meaning	examples	comments
-ABLE (-IBLE)	chiefly transitive verbs → adjectives	generally the meaning is passive: 'able to be V- <i>ed</i> <sub>1</sub> '; 'worthy of being V- <i>ed</i> <sub>2</sub> '; 'that ought to be V- <i>ed</i> <sub>2</sub> '	<i>acceptable, readable,</i> <i>drinkable, commendable,</i> <i>liveable with,</i> <i>(un)get-at-able</i>	Sometimes the preposition of a prepositional verb is omitted: <i>accountable</i> 'able to be accounted for', <i>unspeakable</i> 'unfit to be spoken of'. Cf borrowed or neo-classical words: <i>navigable</i> (~ <i>navigate</i> ); <i>edible</i> (~ <i>eat</i> ). The variant spelling <i>-ible</i> is used in some borrowed and neo-classical words in obedience to the Latin rules of suffixation: <i>perfectible</i> , etc. The more usual <i>-able</i> is sometimes added to nouns: <i>fashionable, reasonable</i> , etc. The suffix may also be added to intransitive verbs, with an active meaning: <i>variable</i> 'able to vary'.
-ISH (also App I.27)	gradable adjectives → gradable adjectives	'somewhat ...' (a downtoning suffix)	<i>reddish, latish, tallish,</i> <i>poorish, youngish</i>	Chiefly informal and mainly used with simple, monosyllabic bases. With ages, it has the meaning 'approximately': <i>seventyish</i> 'approximately seventy years old'.

	added to → to form	meaning	examples	comments
-ED (on participial <i>-ed</i> in adjectives, see 5.12 ff)	nouns or noun phrases → adjectives	'having ...', etc	<i>walled, wooded, pointed,</i> <i>blue-eyed, simple-minded,</i> <i>fuller-flavoured,</i> <i>odd-shaped, giant-sized</i>	More restricted with the noun base than with the phrasal base. In a few cases (as well as when /t/ or /d/ precedes: cf 3.57) the <i>-ed</i> suffix is given a syllabic pronunciation /-ɪd/: <i>dogged, wretched,</i> <i>ragged, three-legged</i> . (The present-day meaning of the suffix is absent from the first two of these examples.) This type of formation has to be distinguished from compounds of the pattern <i>much-travelled</i> <i>self-styled</i> , etc in which the second element is a verb (App I.55).

## I.30

## Adverb suffixes

	added to → to form	meaning	examples	comments
-LY (also App I.27)	adjectives → adverbs of manner, viewpoint, etc	'in a ... manner', etc	<i>happily, strangely,</i> <i>comically, oddly</i> , etc	Very productive. Following <i>-ic</i> , the suffix generally takes the form <i>-ally</i> : <i>scenically</i> , etc. On the functions of <i>-ly</i> adverbs other than manner, see Chapter 8.
-WARD(s)	prepositional adverbs, nouns → adverbs of manner or direction	manner and direction of movement	<i>onward(s), backward(s),</i> <i>earthward(s), homeward(s),</i> <i>eastward(s)</i>	In BrE <i>backward</i> as adverb is used in a purely directional sense; <i>backwards</i> means, in addition, movement 'back first'; likewise <i>frontwards</i> . In AmE, forms without <i>-s</i> are general.

	added to → to form	meaning	examples	comments
-WISE	nouns → (a) adverbs of manner (b) viewpoint adverbs	(a) 'in the manner of ...' (b) 'as far as ... is concerned'	(a) <i>crabwise, clockwise, corkscrew-wise</i> (b) <i>weather-wise, education-wise</i>	Type (b) is especially productive in informal AmE.

**Note**  
Also -STYLE and -FASHION ('in the manner/style of') are sometimes used as adverbial suffixes: They ate *American-style* (cf 8.35).

## Word-formation 1009

### Conversion

#### 1.31

#### Conversion and suffixation

Conversion is the derivational process whereby an item is adapted or converted to a new word-class without the addition of an affix. For example, the verb *release* (as in *They released him*) corresponds to a noun *release* (as in *They ordered his release*), and this relationship may be seen as parallel to that between the verb *acquit* (as in *They acquitted him*) and the noun *acquittal* (as in *They ordered his acquittal*):

verb            deverbal noun suffixation:    *acquit* -\* *acquittal*    conversion:    *release* -\* *release*

In the English language conversion is unusually prominent as a word-formation process, through both the variety of conversion rules and their productiveness. Note [a] Other, lengthier terms for conversion are 'functional conversion', 'functional shift', and 'zero derivation'. [b] Conversion includes, in this treatment, cases where the word undergoes some slight phonological or orthographic change, eg; *shelf* -\* *shelve* (see App 1.43).

#### 1.32

#### Direction of conversion

It should be noted that conversion, like other types of word-formation discussed in this Appendix, is not treated as a historical process, but rather as a process now available for extending the lexical resources of the language. Thus it is irrelevant, from one point of view, whether the verb *release* preceded the noun *release* as an acquisition of English vocabulary. Certainly difficulties arise in explaining conversion, in that one does not have the addition of a suffix as a guide when deciding which item should be treated as the base and which as the derived form. Nevertheless, it is convenient to attempt to make such a distinction, and often the semantic dependence of one item upon another is sufficient grounds for arguing its derivational dependence. For example, the verb *net* can be paraphrased in terms of the noun as 'put into a net', but no comparable paraphrase could be constructed for the noun; that is, to define *net* in some such terms as 'an instrument for netting' would be to limit the meaning of the noun quite arbitrarily to exclude (for example) *strawberry nets*, *mosquito nets*, and *hair nets*.

This criterion cannot be easily applied to release above, but one may note that release as a noun is parallel to other nouns derived from dynamic verbs as regards selection restrictions; that is, one may say His1010 Appendix I

release was sudden\on Tuesday\etc'ya&t as one may say His discoveryjpro-motionjetc was suddenjon Tuesday/etc. Moreover, release behaves as a deverbal noun in structures of nominalization' (13.34-35): His release by the government; The government's release of the prisoners. On these grounds, we treat abstract and agential nouns (eg; love, [rebel) as derived. In the survey of types of conversion that follows, we resume the principle of classification that was adopted for suffixation: this means we group words according to the class of the base and the class of the word derived. Thus release is to be classed as a deverbal noun under the heading of verb -\* noun conversion (App 1.34).

U3

Full conversion and 'partial conversion'

Some grammars make a distinction between 'full conversion' (ie, conversion as already discussed) and 'partial conversion', where a word of one class appears in a function which is characteristic of another word-class. One may argue, for instance, that in such structures as the wealthy (= 'wealthy people'), the ignorant, the wicked, the adjective is 'partially converted' to noun status, in that it is syntactically in a position (head of noun phrase) characteristic of nouns rather than adjectives (5.20-23). That there is not full conversion in such cases is demonstrated by the inability of wealthy as it occurs in sentences like The wealthy are always with us to behave inflectionally like a noun, that is, to vary in terms of number and case. One cannot say •/ met a wealthy; "Those wealthies are my friends; etc. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether this rather restricted use of adjectives should be treated as a word-formation process at all; not only is there no inflectional evidence of the word's status as a noun, but there is inflectional evidence of its unchanged status as adjective: the wealthier, etc. Moreover, there does not appear to be any of the partial productivity, of the distinction between actual and potential English words, that we have seen as one of the hall-marks of a word-formation process (App 1.2). Rather, we can claim that any adjective of a permitted class (ie applicable to human beings or to abstractions) might be used in such a structure, with no constraints of productivity:

'wealthy

kind

well-dressed

foolish

ill-behaved

etc

■are always with us

i.— /

The position adopted in this grammar, therefore, has been to treat such cases in purely syntactic terms, as 'adjective functioning as head of noun

Word-formation 10il

phrase', rather than to postulate that conversion, or the transfer of an item from one word-class to another, has taken place.

We now present the types of conversion, starting with the three major word-classes chiefly involved: nouns, verbs, and adjectives. As will be evident from the lists, conversions from noun to verb and from verb to noun are the most productive categories. Only the major semantic types are noted under each heading. It is to be understood that a word can be converted with more than one meaning: run, in different contexts, can mean \*that which is run', 'the act of running', or 'where (animals) can run',

L34

Verb-\*noun conversion

[A] 'State' (generally 'state of mind' or 'state of sensation') (from stative verbs to count or mass nouns):

desire, dismay, doubt, love, smell, taste, want

[B] 'Event/activity' (from dynamic verbs):

attempt, fall, hit, laugh, release, search, shut-down, swim, walk-out

[C] 'Object of V':

answer ('that which is answered'), bet, catch, find, hand-out [D] 'Subject of V':

bore ('someone who bores/is boring'), cheat, coach, show-off, stand-in

[E] 'Instrument of V':

cover ('something with which to cover things'), wrap, wrench

[F] 'Manner of V-ing':

walk {'manner of walking'}, throw, lie (eg in the lie of the land) [G] 'Place of V':

divide, retreat, rise, turn Note

The type of informal deverbal coinage represented by teach-in belongs to Category B rather than to any other, but unlike show-down cannot be derived from a phrasal verb (there is no \*We taught in last night). The vogue for such formations has produced sit-in, love-in, swim-in, and others. They signify an activity (that denoted by the verb) being carried on corporately (typically within an institution and with overtones of social protest). 1012 Appendix I

1.35

Adjective—noun conversion

There is no very productive pattern of adjective -9- noun conversion.

Miscellaneous examples are:

I'd like two pints of bitter, please (=type of beer, BrE) As a footballer, he's a natural (= a naturally skilled player) They're running in the final (=the final race)

Also daily ('daily newspaper'), comic ('comic actor'), regulars ('regular customers'), roast ('roast beef'), (young) marrieds ('young married people'; informal). From these examples, it is seen that adjective ->noun conversion can usually be explained in terms of a fixed adjective + noun phrase from which the noun has been ellipitd.

1.36

Noun—\* verb conversion

[A] 'To put in/on N':

bottle ('to put into a bottle'), corner, catalogue, floor, garage, position

[B] 'To give N, to provide with N':

coat ('to give a coat [of paint, etc] to'), commission, grease, mask, muzzle, plaster

[C] 'To deprive of N':

core ('remove the core from'), gut, peel, skin, top-and-tail (BrE)

[D] 'To ... with N' (More precisely the meaning of the verb is 'to use the referent of the noun as an instrument for whatever activity is particularly associated with it):

brake ('to stop by means of a brake'), elbow, fiddle, finger, glue, knife

[E] 'To-T^ In with respect to ...': 1 J \act asj r

chaperon ('to act as chaperon to'), father, nurse, parrot, pilot, referee

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[F] 'To|rke I., into N':

1 ' \changej

cash ('to change into cash'), cripple, group

UI

is

(a) mail ('to send by mail'), ship, telegraph

(b) bicycle ('to go by bicycle'), boat, canoe, motor

Most of the verbs in this category are transitive, with the exception of Type G(b), and a few members of Type D.

1.37

Adjective-\*verb conversion

[A] (transitive verbs) 'to make adj' or 'to make more adj': calm ('to make calm'), dirty, humble, lower, soundproof

[BJ] (intransitive verbs) 'to become adj' (generally adjectives in Type A can also have this function):

dry ('to become dry'), empty, narrow, weary (of), yellow

Sometimes a phrasal verb is derived from an adjective by the addition of a particle: smooth out ('make smooth'); sober up ('to become sober'); calm down ('to become calm').

This category of conversion competes with suffixation with -en (see App 1.26), and sometimes both derivations are available for the same adjective:

Tr (blackened \.. , ... He«... , J-his face with soot. [blackened)

1.38

Noun-\*adjective conversion

Membership of this category can be postulated only when the noun form occurs in predicative as well as in attributive positions (5.3):

a brick garage \*» The garage is brick

reproduction furniture ~ This furniture is reproduction

Worcester porcelain ~ This porcelain is Worcester

a very Oxbridge accent ~ His accent is very Oxbridge (BrE)

(The last example, which is the kind of improvised form one sometimes hears in speech, is a case of a noun converted to a gradable adjective.)

It is arguable, however, that in such cases the noun remains a noun even in predicative position (5.11). Other instances of nouns occurring in premodifying position (13.57-59) are definitely best treated as outside the domain of word-formation, for reasons applied to the 'partial conversion' of adjectives in App 1.33 above. It is worth noting, however, 1014 Appendix I



that a noun often functions as a premodifier in cases where the language happens to possess no adjective to perform that function. The contrast between the adjective modifier of the Zambian government and the noun modifier of the Malawi government seems to result from the accident that English has no established derivative adjective from the noun Malawi,

1.39

#### Minor categories of conversion

There are several anomalous and less productive types of conversion, chiefly used informally; among them the following are noteworthy:

[I] Conversion from closed-system words to nouns:

It is often said that any word can be converted to noun status in English. It is true that there are no limits on the ability of words when cited or named to occur as nouns, as in 'And' (ie the word and) contains three letters. But apart from such cases, it is only occasionally that items from minor word-classes can undergo this conversion. Examples are:

His argument contains too many ifs and buts

This book is a must for the student of aerodynamics

It tells you about the how and the why of flight

[II] Conversion from phrases to nouns!

Phrases, or sequences of more than one word, are sometimes reduced to noun status by conversion rather than by any of the normal patterns of compounding (App I.44jf): Whenever I gamble, my horse is one of the also-rans (ie one of the horses which 'also ran' but was not among the winners)

[III] Conversion from phrases to adjectives:

Similarly, phrases may occasionally be converted to adjectives: an under-the-weather feeling ~ I feel very under-the-weather

(lacking in health) an upper-class manner ~ His manner is intolerably upper-class

[IV] Conversion from affixes to nouns:

Very occasionally, an affix may be converted into a noun: Patriotism, nationalism, and any other isms you'd like to name.

Word-formation 1015

1.40

#### Change of secondary word-class: nouns

The notion of conversion may be extended to changes of secondary word-class, within the same major word category: for example, when mass nouns are reclassified as count nouns or vice versa (4.2<sup>^</sup>,. Such transfers are only partially productive, and yet can be explained systematically in terms of derivation. They are therefore parallel to the major conversion processes already discussed. Types of conversion (or reclassification) within the noun category are:

(a) Mass noun -\*■ count noun

(i)'A unit of N':

two coffees ('cups of coffee'); two cheeses Cii)'A kind of N\*:

Some paints are more lasting than others This is a better bread than the one I bought last

(iii) 'An instance of N' (with abstract nouns):

a difficulty; small kindnesses/ a miserable failure/ home truths

(b) Count noun -\*■ mass noun

'N viewed in terms of a measurable extent' (normally only after expressions of amount):

An inch of pencil; a few square feet of floor

(c) Proper noun -> common noun

(i) 'A member of the class typified by N':

a Jeremiah (' a gloomy prophet who denounces his age') a latter-day Plutarch (\*... chronicler of great men') Edinburgh is the Athens of the north He wore Wellingtons

(ii) 'A person, place, etc called N\*:

There are several Cambridges (' places called Cambridge \*) in the world

(iii) 'A specimen of the product/<sup>TM</sup> by W:

a Rolls Royce (' a car manufactured by Rolls Royce\*) ten Players ('ten cigarettes made by Players')

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(d) Stative noun -\*■ dynamic noun

Nouns are characteristically stative, but they can assume the dynamic meaning of 'temporary role or activity' as subject complement following the progressive aspect of be:

(fool -I

He's being a J <sup>TM</sup> isartce U He's behaving like a fool', etc). \hero

[etc J

1.41

Change of secondary word-class: verbs

Similar categories exist for verbs:

(a) Intransitive -> transitive 'Cause to V:

run the water ('cause the water to run'); march the prisoners; dive one's hand into the water; slide the bolt back

Likewise budge, fly, slither, stop, turn, twist

(b) Transitive -\*■ intransitive

(i) 'Can be V-edj1 (often followed by an intensifying adverb such as well or badly):

The clock winds up at the back ('can be wound up'); Your book reads well; The table polishes up badly Likewise: divide, drive, sail, screw up, steer, undo, unlock, wash

(ii) 'To V oneself':

Have you washed yet? ('washed yourself') Likewise: bath, behave, dress, make up, shave

(iii) 'To V someone/something/etc':

We have eaten already ('eaten something, had a meal') Likewise: cook, drink, hunt, kill, knit, sew, write

(c) Intransitive -\*■ intensive

(i) Current meaning (see 7.14,7.22):

He lay flat; We stood motionless

Likewise: float (free); ride (high); arrive (hungry); etc

(ii) Resulting meaning (see 7.14,7.22):

He fell flat; The sun was sinking low

Likewise: run (cold); boil (dry); wash (clean); etc

(d) Intensive -> intransitive

What must be, must be ('exist')

(e) Monotransitive -\*■ complex transitive

(i) Current meaning:

We catch them young ('... when they are young') Likewise: can't bear, buy, find, hate, like, sell

(ii) Resulting meaning:

I wiped it clean ('made it clean by wiping it') Likewise: knock (... unconscious); lock (... fast); tease (... mad)

Note reflexive objects: I laughed myself silly, etc.

1.42

Change of secondary word-class: adjectives

(a) Non-gradable -\*- gradable (5.39,5.70)

He's more English than the English; Some people's behaviour is rather incredible, I have a very legal turn of mind

(b) Stative -\*■ dynamic (5.38)

As in App 1.40 (d) above, dynamic meaning is signalled by the progressive aspect of be.

He's just being friendly ('acting in a friendly manner'); Your uncle is being bigoted, as usual; He's being awkward about it; Martha is being desirable this evening.

1.43

Approximate conversion; voicing and stress shift

In some cases conversion is approximate rather than complete; that is, a word, in the course of changing its grammatical function, may undergo a slight change of pronunciation or spelling. The most important kinds of alteration are (1) voicing of final consonants, and (2) shift of stress. Both kinds (like most phenomena of word-formation) are unpredictable and idiosyncratic in respect of the particular instances that occur.

(1) VOICING OF FINAL CONSONANTS

The unvoiced fricative consonants /s/, /f/, and /θ/ in the following 1018 Appendix I Word-formation 1019

examples of noun-verb conversion are voiced to /z/, /v/ and /ð/ respectively:

NOUN

house /-s/ advice j-sj use /-s/ abuse /-s/ grief/-f/ shelf/-f/ half/-f/

VERB

house /-z/ advise /-z/ use j-zj abuse /-z/ grieve /-v/ shelve /-v/ halve /-v/

NOUN

thief/-f/ belief/-f/ relief/-f/ mouth /-e/ sheath /-θ/ teeth (pi.) /-θ/ wreath /-θ/

## VERB

thieve /-v/ believe /-v/ relieve, /-v/ mouth /-5/ sheathe /-o/ teethe /-6/ wreathe /-5/

It should be noted that in BrE, the difference between licence (n) and license (v), like that between practice (n) and practise (v), is one of spelling only: both noun and verb are pronounced with a final /s/. In AmE, the conversion is complete, both noun and verb having the spellings license, practice.

A substantial change of pronunciation, including modification of the final vowel, is observed in pairs such as: breath (/e-/)~breathe (/i-/); glass (J-X'l in AmE, /-a-/ in southern BrE)~glaze (/ei-/); emphasis (/i-/)~emphasize (/ai-/). In other pairs, such as blood-bleed, food-feed, it is the vowel alone that changes.

(2) shift of stress (see App II.5)

When verbs of two syllables are converted into nouns, the stress is sometimes shifted from the second to the first syllable. The first syllable, typically a Latin prefix, often varies its vowel from /a/ (in the verb) to some other vowel (in the noun):

He was convicted (/kan-/) of theft, and so became a ^convict (/kon-/)

The following is a fairly full list of words undergoing this stress shift:

abstract, compound, compress, conduct, confine (noun plural only), conflict, conscript, consort, construct, contest, contrast, convert, convict, digest, discard, discount, discourse, escort, export, extract, ferment, import, impress, incline, increase, insult, misprint, perfume, permit, pervert, present, produce, progress, protest, rebel, record, refill, refit, refund, regress, reject, resit, segment, survey, suspect, torment, transfer, transform, transplant, transport, upset

Occasionally, a word of more than two syllables varies in this way: overflow (v)->!overflow (n). There are many examples of disyllabic

noun-verb pairs which do not differ in stress; for example, Contact (v) and ^contact (n) both have forestress (as is usual where the verb is derived from the noun), and de'bate (v) and debate (n) both have end-stress.

Compounds

1.44

Definition

A compound is a unit consisting of two or more bases (see App 1.4). Such 'compound words' can be nouns (eg: bloods test=bloodtest), adjectives (eg: tax-\-free-tax-free), or verbs (eg: spring + clean = spring-clean). There is no one formal criterion that can be used for a general definition of compounds in English (cf 13.57 jf).

1.45

Orthographic criteria

Orthographically, compounds are written

(a) solid, eg: bedroom

(b) hyphenated, eg: tax-free

(c) open, eg: reading material

There are no safe rules-of-thumb that will help in the choice between these three possibilities. Practice varies in many words, and some may even occur in three different compound forms, for example, flowerpot, flower-pot, flowerpot. In AmE

there seems to be a trend away from the use of hyphens: compounds are usually written solid as soon as they have gained some permanent status; otherwise they are written open. In BrE, however, there tends to be more extensive use of the hyphen. The following examples found in two standard dictionaries can serve as illustrations of different practice in this respect in the two varieties of English:

air-brake, call-girl, dry-dock, letter-writer (BrE) air brake, call girl, dry dock, letter writer (AmE)

For the use of hyphens, see further App III.4/.

US

Phonological criteria

Phonologically, compounds can often be identified as having a main stress on the first element and a secondary stress on the second element.

1020 Appendix I

Hence the compound blackbird ('a species of bird') has the stress (— ,— in contrast with r— '— for black bird('3L bird which is black'), which is the normal stress-pattern for noun phrases consisting of a premodifying adjective and a noun head. On the other hand, many speakers have a secondary stress on the first element in, for example, headmaster, sociolinguistics. For the stressing of compounds, see further App II.6\_#".

1.47

Semantic criteria

Semantically, compounds can be seen to be isolated from ordinary syntactic constructions by having a meaning which may be related to but can not simply be inferred from the meaning of its parts. For example, a darkroom ('a room used for photographic processing') is not just 'a dark room', since most dark rooms are not darkrooms. A hothouse ('a heated glass building for growing plants') is a type of building with a special use, but its last element has enough in common with uses of the word house for us to recognize the resemblance. On the other hand, it is difficult to see anything in common between the ordinary noun dog and the second element in the compound hot dog ('a sausage in a sandwich').

1.48

The treatment of compounds

Since the term 'compound' covers a wide range of different relations between bases, none of these three markers (orthographic, phonological, or semantic) can be used as strict denning criteria. We will have to be content with a broad definition of compounds as isolated multi-base units which function as single words and reflect certain grammatical processes. It is in keeping with the approach of a grammar to concentrate on the productive or creative types of compounding, and to indicate the relations of the compounding elements by syntactic paraphrases. As an example of this approach, we may take the two compounds playboy and call-girl, which are superficially similar, consisting of verb-1-noun. Yet the relations of their elements, and hence the 'grammatical' meanings of the two compounds, are different:

playboy~the boy plays, ie verb+subject, but call-girl^ X calls the girl, ie verb + object  
Similarly, daydreaming and sightseeing can be analysed in terms of their sentential analogues:

X dreams during the day, ie verb + adverbial, but X sees sights, ie verb + object.

Word-formation 1021

compounds 1.49 Subject and verb compounds

---

SUNRISE                      bee-sting  
subject+deverbal noun    catcall  
~ the sun rises              daybreak  
Very productive type.      earthquake  
                                      frostbite  
                                      headache  
                                      heartbeat  
                                      landslide  
                                      nightfall  
                                      rainfall  
                                      sound change  
                                      toothache, etc

---

RATTLESNAKE              crybaby  
verb+subject                driftwood  
~ the snake rattles         drip coffee  
Only weakly productive flashlight  
type.  
                                      glowworm  
                                      hangman  
                                      playboy  
                                      popcorn  
                                      stinkweed  
                                      tugboat  
                                      turntable  
                                      watchdog, etc

---

DANCING GIRL              cleaning woman  
verbal noun in              - firing squad  
ing+subject  
~ the girl dances            flying machine  
                                      investigating  
                                      committee  
                                      wading bird  
                                      washing machine  
                                      working party, etc

---

1.50

Verb            and            object  
compounds

---

BLOODTEST  
object + deverbal noun  
"" X tests blood  
"\* the testing of blood;

count nouns book review crime report haircut  
{primarily) mass nouns birth-control dress-design1022 Appendix  
suicide attempt

"an attempt at suicide Moderately productive type. Self is a frequent first element.

handshake suicide attempt tax cut, etc

meat delivery

office management steel production self-control self-destruction self-determination,  
etc

### SIGHTSEEING

object + verbal noun in -ing (c/App 1.54, man-eating) ~ X sees sights ~ the seeing of  
sights (Number is neutralized in

the compound.) This type is very productive. It consists of abstract compounds  
referring to human activity.

air-conditioning

book-keeping

book-reviewing

brainwashing

dressmaking

faultfinding

housekeeping

letter-writing

oath-taking

story-telling

town-planning, etc

### TAXPAYER

object+agential noun in -er

-" Xpays tax(es)

Very productive type, which designates concrete (usually human) agents. Note  
however dishwasher, lawn-mower, penholder, record-player. Neutralization of  
number is normal; cf: cigar smoker ~ X smokes cigars, etc

cigar smoker

computer-designer

crime reporter

gamekeeper

gate-crasher

hair-splitter

language teacher

matchmaker

radio-operator

songwriter

stockholder

window-cleaner, etc

### CALL-GIRL

verb+object ~ X calls the girl (~ the girl is on call)

drawbridge knitwear mincemeat pin-up girl punchcard push-button scarecrow treadmill, etc

### CHEWING GUM

verbal noun in -ing+object — X chews gam ~ gum for chewing

cooking apple drinking-water eating apple reading material spending money, etc

Word-formation 1023

1.51

Verb and adverbial compounds

### SWIMMING POOL

verbal noun in -ing + adverbial (consisting of a prepositional phrase)

~ X swims in the pool

— a pool for swimming

A very productive type.

### PLACE

diving board (dive from a board) drinking cup (drink out of a cup) freezing point (freeze at a point) frying pan (BrE: fry in a pan) hiding-place (hide in a place) living room {live in a room} typing paper (type on paper) waiting room (wait in a room) writing desk (write at a desk)

### OTHER

adding machine (add with a machine) baking powder (bake with powder) carving knife (carve with a knife) sewing machine (sew with a machine) walking stick (walk with a stick) washing machine (wash with a machine), etc

### DAYDREAMING

adverbial+abstract verbal noun

in -ing ^[X dreams)

\dreaming ,

Moderately productive type (e/App 1.55, ocean-going).

ams\, . . . ,

{during the day ungf

### PLACE

churchgoing (go to church) horse riding (ride on a horse) rope-dancing (dance on a rope) sun-bathing (bathe in the sun)

### TIME

sleepwalking (walk in one's sleep)

### OTHER

fly-fishing (fish with a fly) handwriting (write by hand) shadow-boxing (box against a shadow), etc

### BABY-SITTER

adverbial + agential noun in -er " Xsits with the baby Moderately productive type.

### PLACE

backswimmer (swim on the back) city-dweller (dwell in the city) factory-worker (work in a factory) housebreaker (break into a house) playgoer (go to a play) rope-dancer (dance on a rope) sun-bather (bathe in the sun) theatre-goer (go to the theatre)

### TIME



daydreamer (dream during the day), etc

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## HOMEWORK

adverbial + deverbal noun ~ X works at home Moderately productive type. Most examples are countables:

boat-rides, etc. Compare

gunfight here with

gunfighting, which is of the

daydreaming type.

## PLACE

boat-ride (ride in a boat) field-work (work in the field) homework (work at home)

table talk (talk at the table) moon walk (walk on the moon)

## TIME

daydream (dream during the day) night flight (fly during the night)

## OTHER

gunfight (fight with a gun)

smallpox vaccination (vaccinate against

smallpox)

tax-exemption (exempt from tax) telephone call (call on the telephone), etc

## SEARCHLIGHT

verb + adverbial

- X searches with a light

1.52

Verbless compounds

## PLACE

dance hall (dance in a hall) springboard (spring from a board) workbench (work at a bench)

## OTHER

grindstone (grind with a stone) plaything (play with a thing), etc

windmill

air-brake

oouidi + noun2

air rifle

~ noun [powers/operates] nouns cable car i- the wind powers the mill

hydrogen bomb

motorcycle steam engine, etc

## TOY FACTORY

oni

nouna [produces/yields] noun! the factory produces toys

honey-bee oil well power plant silkworm tear gas textile mill water pistol, etc

Word-formation 1025

---

BLOODSTAIN bloodstain

nourii + noun 2 cane 'sugar

r\* nouni eiderdown

[produces/yields]

noun2

- the blood produces food poisoning

stains

gaslight  
hay fever  
sawdust  
tortoise-shell  
water spot  
whalebone, etc

---

DOORKNOB

arrowhead

noun1 + noun2

bedpost

~noun [has] noun2

bottleneck (metaphorical)

~ the door has a knob

cartwheel

A very productive piano keys type.

Noun1 is inanimate. shirt-sleeves

Animate

nouns have the -s table leg

genitive:

compare the table leg telephone receiver with

the boy's leg.

television screen  
window-pane, etc

---

GIRL-FRIEND

animate

nouns

inanimate nouns

nounx + noun2

drummer boy

blinker

tight

~ noun2 [is] noun1

killer shark

feeder bus

~ the friend is a girl

manservant

oak tree

NounL refers to a pussy-cat

pine tree

subspecies of

the species denoted by woman writer, measure.

tape

etc

etc

---

DARKROOM

blackboard

adjective+noun

blueprint

~noun [fc] adjective

double-talk

~ the room is dark

dry-dock

handyman

hothouse

longboat

madman, etc

---

FROGMAN

butter-bean

nouiii + nouna

catfish

~ nouna [is Hke] dragonfly

nouni

- the man is like a frog goldfish

A very productive kettledrum type.

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Word-formation 1027

sandwich-man tissue paper T-square, etc

SNOWFLAKE

nouni + nouna

~nouna [consisting of] nouni

~ a flake of snow

bread-crumble chocolate bar dustheap raindrop sand dune soap flake, etc

ASHTRAY

noun! + noun 3

~nouna [is for]

~ the tray is for ash

This highly productive type expresses purpose. It is similar to the swimming pool and searchlight types, which however have sentential analogues with verbs.

birdcage breakfast time coffee time cough drops cowshed doghouse facecloth fire engine fish-pond flowerbed flypaper safety belt tearoom, etc

Note

The difference between teacup (~'cup for tea') and cup of tea (~'cup containing tea') is paralleled in flowerpot, matchbox, winebottle, and soap plate, etc.

1.53

Bahuvrihi compounds

paperback noun+noun

is a 'bahuvrihi compound' in that birdbrain

it names an entire thing by blockhead

specifying some feature of it. butterfingers

Thus a paperback is 'a book featherbrain

which has a paper back', an featherweight

egghead is 'a person who has a hunchback

head like an egg\*, ie, 'an pot-belly, etc intellectual'.

adjective+noun bluebell fathead hardhat

('construction

worker') hardtop heavyweight highbrow loudmouth paleface redcap, etc

Adjective compounds 1.54

Verb and object compounds

MAN-EATING

object+/-«£ participle

- Xeats men (c/App 1.50, sightseeing)

Productive type.

Self is a frequent first element.

breathtaking

fact-finding  
heart-breaking  
life-giving  
record-breaking  
self-defeating  
self-justifying, etc

1.55

Verb and adverbial compounds

OCEAN-GOING

adverbial+-ing participle "" X goes across oceans (c/App 1.51, daydreaming)

fist-fighting law-abiding lip-sucking mouth-watering, etc

HEARTFELT

adverbial + -ed participle

- X feels it in the heart

The type is particularly productive when the noun has agential meaning and consists of self-: self-employed, self-taught.

airborne

custom-built

handmade

home-brewed home-made

suntanned thunder-struck town-bred weather-beaten, etc

hard-working

adjective/adverb+-ing participle - X works hard

easy-going

everlasting

far-reaching

good-looking

high-sounding

well-meaning, etc

Quick-frozen

adjective/adverb+-ed participle ~ X is frozen quickly

far-fetched new-laid true-born well-meant widespread, etc

Word-formation 1029

Note

[a] The idiomatic isolation of some compounds of this type is evident in the replacement of lexical items in sentential analogues, eg: ssw-laid (eggs)~ X has laid (the eggs) recently.

[b] The superficially similar adjective compounds well-meant and well-behaved differ in respect of voice: a well-meant remark ~ a remark that is meant well (passive), but a well-behaved person\* a person that behaves well (active).

1.56

Verbless compounds

## CLASS-CONSCIOUS

noun (denoting respect) +  
adjective

^conscious with respect to class Very productive type with certain adjectives that are frequently complemented by prep+noun (5.36), eg: free, proof, sick, tight, weary.

duty-free

tax-free

dustproof

fireproof

foolproof

airsick

carsick

homesick

air-tight

watertight

foot-weary

war-weary, etc

.:■:

## GRASS-GREEN

noun+adjective

fas adjective as noun \adjective like noun

ash-blonde bottle-green brick red midnight blue ocean green sea-green, etc

SWEDISH-AMERICAN (contacts)

adjectivd + adjectives in a coordinating

relationship ~ (contacts between) Swedish and

American {people) In many such compounds, the first

element is not a separate word and has

a linking -o-. The main stress is on the

second element.

bitter-sweet

deaf-mute

phonetic-syntactic

Anglo-American

Franco-German

socio-economic

psycholinguistic, etc

Note

In compounds used as premodifiers of the word dictionary, the first adjective indicates the language used as the basis for the dictionary. For example, an English-French dictionary translates words from English into French.

1.57

Verb compounds

Verb compounds include a back-formation like baby-sit, which is formed from baby-silting and baby-sitter. This process is a reversal of the normal trend of word-

formation, by which a new word is formed by adding rather than subtracting elements; ie the verbal nouns singer and singing are taken to be formed from the verb sing. But the name 'back-formation' draws attention to a purely historical order of development (c/App 1.2 Note b).

There are two types of syntactic relation in verb compounds formed by back-formation.

#### SIGHTSEE

object+verb ~ Xsees sights

brain-wash fire-watch house-hunt housekeep lip-read, etc

#### SPRING-CLEAN

adverbial+verb

— X cleans in the spring

baby-sit bottle-feed chain-smoke day-dream sleep-walk spring-clean whip-lash window-shop, etc

Note

Some difficulty is felt with forms like sightsee and baby-sit which have irregular inflections of the verb. Speakers are inclined to avoid both forms like babysat and \*baby-sitted and to use only infinitive forms: She might babysit for us.

1.58

#### Reduplicatives

Some compounds have two or more elements which are either identical or only slightly different, eg: goody-goody ('affectedly good', informal). The difference between the two elements may be in the initial consonants, as in walkie-talkie, or in the medial vowels, eg: criss-cross. Most of the reduplicatives are highly informal or familiar, and many derive from the nursery, eg: din-din ('dinner'). The most common uses of reduplicatives are

(a) to imitate sounds, eg: rat-a-tat (knocking on door), tick-lock (of clock), ha ha (of laughter), bow-wow (of dog) 1030 Appendix I

(b) to suggest alternating movements, eg: seesaw, fiip-flop, ping-pong

(c) to disparage by suggesting instability, nonsense, insincerity, vacillation, etc: higgledy-piggledy, hocus-pocus, wishy-washy, dilly-dally, shilly-shally

(d) to intensify, eg: teeny-weeny, tip-top

#### L59 Clipping

The term 'clipping' denotes the subtraction of one or more syllables from a word, which is also available in its full form. The clipped form is normally felt to be informal. The shortening may occur at

(a) the beginning of the word:

phone            telephone

plane            airplane, aeroplane

bus              omnibus (full form now rare)

(b) the end of the word (more commonly): ad                      advertisement)

photo	photograph
exam	examination
mike	microphone
mini	mini-skirt
memo	memorandum
taxi	taxicab

(c) at both ends of the word (not a common type of clipping):

flu

fridge (esp. BrE)

influenza refrigerator

1.60

Blends

In a blend at least one of the elements is fragmentary when compared with its corresponding uncompounded word form. For example brunch (especially AmE, 'a meal subsuming breakfast and lunch') is derived from br(eakfast) + (l)unch. Many blends have only a very short life and are very informal, eg: swimsation~swim+sensation. They are often

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conscious and deliberate formations, and hence perhaps particularly common in commercial language, eg: lubritecton~lubrication+pro-tection. Quite a few blends, however, have become more or less fully accepted in the language, eg:

bit	-	binary digit
breathalys	-	breath
er	'	analyser
electrocute	-	electro+execute
Eurovision	-	European television
heliport	-	helicopter+(air)p ort
Interpol	-	international • police
moped	~	motor+pedal (cycle)
motel	-	motor hotel
■		
newscast	v	news
<		broadcast
paratroops	-	parachute troops
smog	~	smoke + fog
telecast	-	television broadcast
transistor	-	transfer +

resistor  
 travelogue ~ travel  
 catalogue

1.61

### Acronyms

Acronyms are words formed from the initial letters (or larger parts) of words that make up a descriptive phrase or a proper name. New acronyms are freely produced in Modern English, particularly for names of organizations. There are two main types:

(1) Acronyms which are pronounced as sequences of letters can be called 'alphabetisms\*', eg CO.D./si ou di/. In writing, the more institutionalized formations have no periods between the letters.

(a) The letters represent full words:

CO.D. cash on delivery  
 EEC European Economic Community  
 FBI Federal Bureau of Investigation  
 MIT Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
 UN the United Nations

(b) The letters represent elements in a compound or just parts of a word:

TV television  
 GHQ General Headquarters  
 ID TB

identification card (AmE) tuberculosis

(2) Acronyms which are pronounced as a word, eg NATO /'neitoo/ and are often used without knowing what the letters stand for:

NATO the North Atlantic Treaty Organization UNESCO the United Nations Educational,  
 Scientific and Cultural Organization

WASP White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (AmE, informal) laser lightwave  
 amplification by stimulated emission of  
 radiation radar radio detecting and ranging

### Bibliographical note

Marchand (1969) is the most up-to-date and compendious reference work on English word-formation. Jespersen (1909-49), Vol vi, and Koziol (1937), although recent, are also valuable for detailed documentation. Stein (1973) should be consulted for bibliography.

Other books of general coverage are Adams (1973); Ginzburg et al (1966).

The periodical *American Speech* frequently publishes articles on new words and trends in AmE word-formation.

Some other contributions to the study of English word-formation are Biese (1941); Brown (1927); Brown (1954); Danielsson (1948); Harder (1968); Hatcher (1960); Lees (1960a); Lindel&f (1937); Ljung (1970); McDavid-Mencken (1963), especially Part V, "The Language Today"; Reifer (1955); Thun (1963); Zimmer (1964).



APPENDIX II  
STRESS, RHYTHM, AND INTONATION

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U.1

It should be made clear at the outset that the study of stress, rhythm, and intonation is an extremely complex and controversial area of linguistics to which it is impossible to give adequate attention within the space of this Appendix. Our aim must here be strictly limited to presenting an outline of the part these features play in English grammar, to explaining the allusions that have been made to them in this book, and to guiding the reader to the selective reading list with which the Appendix ends.

The three phenomena are less distinct from each other than their separate names might imply, since all are concerned with the perception of relative prominence. We speak of stress when we are considering the prominence with which one part of a word or of a longer utterance is distinguished from other parts. Thus we will say that indig~nant has stress on the second syllable or that the word like is stressed in 'Does he like it?', and we can show this with the notation explained in AppII.3:

Indignant Does he 'like it?

We speak of rhythm when we are considering the pattern formed by the stresses being perceived as peaks of prominence or beats, occurring at somewhat regular intervals of time, the recurring beats being regarded as completing a cycle or 'measure'. Thus, as a language with a tendency for 'stress-timed' rhythm, English

often shows an identity of rhythm in sentences like the following, provided that the number of syllables does not vary too widely:

'John's at 'home to'night 'John's 'here 'now

The processor's in 'London this 'evening

We speak of intonation when we associate relative prominence with pitch, the aspect of sound which we perceive in terms of 'high' or 'low'; thus we will say that the 'intonation nucleus' in the following sentence (using a notation explained in App 11.12) has a 'falling tone':

The 'man has g6ne and that it would have the value of a question if this nucleus had a rising tone:

The 'man has gone

Stress, thym, and intonation 1035

## II.2

physical properties

The physics of these phenomena cannot here concern us, though we must utter a warning against simple equations such as regarding stress as identical with loudness. Stress is closely associated with loudness or amplitude on the one hand and articulatory force on the other, but other factors are or can be involved - notably duration and pitch. This last seems to be the most important factor when a stress is final in a phrase (or when a word is spoken in isolation): the stress is then associated with (or realized by) pitch prominence and often with pitch movement. But what matters is that the hearer expects sharp contrasts of prominence and expects peaks of prominence at particular places in a word or phrase; and that his understanding is severely handicapped if such expectations are frustrated.

Again, we can agree on discriminations between various kinds (and even degrees) of 'rhythmicality' without achieving agreement over the nature of English rhythm itself. The stresses are regarded by speaker and hearer as beats at more or less regular intervals of time, thus creating an accentual sequence analogous to the quasi-isochronous feet in a poetic metre, each foot consisting of a stressed syllable, usually with one or more unstressed syllables. Perception of the rhythmic base may involve observing variations in loudness or pitch, or measuring intervals of time - or a combination of these, but these are matters of controversial debate and current experiment, to which we cannot turn our attention.

So far as pitch is concerned, we should recognize that, although 'fundamental frequency' is doubtless a more predominant component than anything else in providing cues to our perception, nevertheless loudness or intensity is a significant co-occurrent factor and can readily, in fact, replace fundamental frequency: largely through amplitude variation (though doubtless other factors are involved), whispered speech is perceived as having the same intonation as normal voiced speech. We need' also to distinguish intonation from musical melody. As distinct from music, there is no absolute pitch and there are no fixed intervals to be observed in intonation; one cannot speak 'out of tune', and all pitch distinctions are acoustically relative, however linguistically absolute they maybe.

Lastly, it should be noted that the three interrelated factors here discussed are not the only distinctions that are observed in the stream of speech modifying an utterance

while the grammar and vocabulary are held constant. Other prosodic systems, as they are called, include for example tempo, the relative speed of utterance. It is widely agreed, however, that stress, rhythm, and intonation are the most pervasively important and we shall virtually exclude the others from consideration in this sketch.

Appendix II

Note

It will be observed that the linguists' use of prosodic is based upon the use of this term in traditional rhetoric but with considerable difference in emphasis and specialization.

Stress and rhythm

Stress within the word

Patterns

IL3

As soon as an utterance is longer than a single syllable, the syllables are arranged in rhythmic patterns comprising a succession of strong-weak-strong-weak, etc; this is true whether the polysyllabic stretch is a sentence, a phrase or a single word. It is possible to distinguish (with more or less difficulty) four or five degrees of stress in a sequence of as many syllables; but it would seem that what is most linguistically relevant is a simple binary opposition - stress versus no stress - though it is often relevant to distinguish an intermediate or secondary stress. As is customary, we shall mark stress with a high vertical stroke before the syllable carrying the stress, leaving lack of stress unmarked. When a stronger stress needs to be indicated, a double vertical mark is used, and where it is desirable to indicate secondary stress, this will be marked by a low vertical stroke before the syllable concerned. For example:

'several 'pretty 'women

icontri'butiun

We shall first discuss normal stressing, leaving the special features of 'contrastive stress' to App II.9.

Although, as we shall see, we have a good deal of freedom in assigning stresses in utterances longer than a word, the placing of the stress within English words is - save for relatively minor exceptions - so rigorously invariant that it is often difficult for us to understand a word where the accentuation is deviant. If instead of the correct ipalatali'zation one were to say •pa|latali|zation

the moving merely of the secondary stress one syllable to the 'right' could be enough (along with the vowel changes that regularly accompany

Stress, rhythm, and intonation 1037

stress shift) to make the word incomprehensible. Deviant stress would have at least as great an effect with a shorter and commoner word such as \*e'nergy (in place of 'energy)

In numerous words, on the other hand, interchange of primary and secondary stress would produce a comprehensible pronunciation. This is especially so with words where native speakers themselves show variation, as in imaga'zine or 'magazine

But although the stresses are normally in a fixed position in a word, their position is unpredictable in the sense that - in contrast with some languages - there is no single

position where the main stress of a word can be expected to fall. For example, to count from left to right, it may be on the

first syllable: 'answer

second syllable: a'bove

third syllable: managerial fourth syllable: incomprehensible fifth syllable: palatalization

Thus, to a large extent, the accentual pattern of each word has to be learnt separately, though we shall see that with some classes of words it is helpful and relevant to count syllables from the end rather than from the beginning.

#### II.4

For there are some noteworthy generalizations, though they are complicated by the mixed nature of English vocabulary - the basic core of Germanic words surrounded by a much larger number of words from foreign languages (notably French, Latin and Greek). Native words and early French adoptions tend to have the main stress on the root syllable and to keep it there, regardless of the affixes that word-formation may add:

'kingly

'standing)

'passion

'kingliness

under'stand(ing)

'passionately

un'kingliness

misunder'standfing)

dis'passionate

By contrast, with the more recent adoptions and coinages, especially those based on words from the classical languages (cf App 1.3), the place of the stress varies according to the affixation:

antepenultimate

penultimate 'telegraph

te'legraphy

tele'graphic

te'lepathy

tele'pathic

'phoneme e'conomy l emblem 'sympathy

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"photo(graph)

pho'tography

photo'graphic 'transport

trans'portable

Iranspor'tation

'argument

argu'mentative

argumentation

The last two items exemplify a particularly valuable generalization: all abstract nouns ending in -ion are stressed on the syllable preceding this ending. Other examples: suspicion, tabulation, petrification, revision.

#### II.5

But there are numerous other comparable generalizations which help us to predict the placing of English stress. Thus it falls on the syllable before adjectival -ic (App 1.28):

penultimate

pho'nemic

eco'nomie

emblem'atic

sympa'thetic

and on the syllable before nominal -ity (App 1.25):

antepenultimate u'nanimous

una'nimity

'curious

curi'osity

promiscuous

promis'cuity

as also on the syllable before nominal or adjectival -ian

antepen ultimate 'library lib'rarian  
'grammar gram'marian u'tility utilitarian  
"Cromwell Crom'wellian

We may contrast the rather similarly used affix -ite which leaves the place of the accent unchanged:

'Trotsky 'Trotskyite  
■Jefferson 'Jeffersonite

c/App 1.23.

A fairly numerous set of words that can operate without affixal change as noun or adjective on the one hand, and as verb on the other, have an accentual difference in the two functions (App 1.43); for example:

noun or adjective verb 'conduct con'duct  
"contrast con'trast

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'convict 'present 'perfect 'attribute  
con'vict pre'sent per' feet at'tribute

In one of these (contrast) and in several of the other examples that might have been cited (eg: export), there is a tendency to discontinue a separate verb form and to use in all functions the form as stressed for the noun.

11.6

Compounds

Compound nouns (App 1.44 ff) are generally stressed on the first element but with a strong secondary stress on the second element:

'black,bird 'blackboard 'greenfly

(contrast the complex noun phrases: a \black \*bird, a \black Aboard, a green Jffy)

'earthquake 'lifeboat 'waitingroom 'fire-ex|tinguisher

When such a compound is made part of another compound, the stress and secondary stress are re-distributed to give the same rhythm:

'lighthouse but 'lighthouse-ikeeper

A somewhat smaller number of compounds consisting of free morphemes preserve the stress pattern of the phrases from which they are derived, with main stress on the final component:

isreh'bishop ivice'chancellor

lapple'sauoe ifirst'rate

Many of these compounds are not nouns, but verbs (\back-\fire), adverbs (thenceforth), and especially adjectives (Jtnee-^deep, tfiat-'footed). In some cases we may be in doubt as to whether we should regard sequences with this stress pattern as compounds or free syntactic phrases, and we vacillate in writing between hyphenation and leaving as separate words (for example, \lawn(-)Hennis, icountryi-house); c/App 1.45, App Hi. 5. On the other hand, we vacillate in our stressing of some examples which are apparently in the process of becoming recognized as compounds of the 'blackbird type; for example:

ifield 'marshal or 'field jmarshal lover'seas or 'overseas

In any case, the stress often shifts from second component to first when the compound is being used attributively in a noun phrase:

The room is 'downstairs but A "downstairs 'room His work is 'first-class but His "first-class 'work

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Note

In AmE there is a strong tendency to give initial stress to many compounds, and in normal AmE use we have, for example, 'applesauce, 'lawn, 'temple, 'back, fire. This stress distribution occurs quite often in BrE also.

Stress in phrases and other syntactic units Phrases compared with compounds

n.7

The examples and the discussion have already taken us outside the limits of the word and into the distribution of stresses in phrases and other syntactic units. It is usual to emphasize the distinction between the word, where convention and semantic integration fix a stress and rhythm which the individual cannot alter, and connected speech, where the disposition of stresses is subject to the speaker's will and the meaning he wishes to convey. There is much validity in this but it must not be pressed too far, since it depends on a much sharper distinction between phrases and (compound) words than English grammar and lexicology in fact warrant. It will not do to say that initial stressing (as in \black\bird) indicates compounds, and final stressing (as in \New Weal) the syntactic phrases of connected speech. We have seen compounds like 'downstairs which (despite similarity with phrases like 'down the street) we would not wish to analyse as phrases. And 'still Wife (in painting), which is usually stressed in BrE as though it was a phrase, shows that it is a compound in having a different plural (still lives) from the simplex noun (lives): cf 4.65. So too there are initial-stressed phrases that linguists do not normally regard as compounds, since (as is not general in word-formation: c/App 1.2) we are as free to form such sequences as we are to form any other kind of syntactic unit:

The 'strawberry 'picking",

-'mas gone well.

The 'cabbage feeding )

II.S

Moreover the stress distribution provides a firm basis for distinguishing not between compound and phrase but different underlying relations between the juxtaposed items:

A 'toy [factory (a factory that produces toys) A 'bull ifight (a fight that involves bulls)

A 'French |teacher (one who teaches French) A 'slate quarry (where slate is quarried)

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beside

A |toy 'factory (a factory that is a toy) A ,bull 'calf (a calf that is a bull) A |French 'teacher (a teacher who is French) A |Slate 'roof (a roof that is of slate)

Thus the distribution of stresses in units higher than the word is interestingly subject to rule just as it is within the word. Apart from 'object' premodifiers (as in ^French \teacher), there is a main stress on the head of a noun phrase where the head is the last item in the phrase:

A rea'listic ,little |toy 'factory

■Several 'stale |half-'eaten 'currant "'buns

Postmodified noun phrases have the main stress on the last stressable item in the postmodification:

The |toy 'factory he 'got for his "'birthday The 'currant 'buns that I 'tried to Beat

With equal regularity (and subject to the special factors explored in Chapter 14), a non-contrastive main stress falls on the head of a verb phrase, or on the subsequent particle if the head is a phrasal verb (such as wash up: 12.24), or on the operator in an elliptical verb phrase:

'Will he have "gone?

'Yes, he "will.

He 'must be 'working. Yes, he "must tbe.

She 'can't have been 'washing "up.

In these last examples, the verb phrases have each come at the end of sentences. This is a point where in any case a climax of prominence is expected and this normally occurs on the last word unless this is a pronoun or (frequently) a preposition:

He 'told his 'mother

It's the ad'dress he 'sent the 'letter |to.

Note

[a] Even so, final position in this last example has given the preposition a secondary stress although in a syntactically analogous non-final use the preposition would be unstressed:

He 'sent the 'letter to the ad'dress he'd been "given.

[b] Peaks of prominence in syntactic units of the kinds discussed in this and later paragraphs would in actual speech be normally associated with pitch, and we shall shortly (App 11.12) reinterpret these points in terms of intonation. For the present purpose, however, this fact may be ignored without undue distortion.

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IL9

Contrastive stress

It is clear, then, that the language determines stress location almost as rigidly in phrases and sentences as it does in individual words, and we should not attempt to impose too sharp a distinction between 'words' and 'connected speech' on these grounds. Let us look now at the individual's ability to place stress freely in units larger than the word. Contrastive stress is capable of highlighting any word in a sentence. This is particularly striking in the case of the closed-system words (2.14) which are normally unstressed, making widespread use of the 'schwa'vowel: [and] or [an] and, [bat] but, [av] of, [waz] was, etc. Under contrastive stress, they assume the form that they have as dictionary items: [and], [bAt], [ov], [woz], etc:

'John "and his 'mother 'went (=it is not true that only one of them went) (Will "he have 'gone? (=granted that others have gone, is it true of him also?)

This focus device (cf 14.3) involves pitch prominence and we shall therefore return to it when we are dealing with intonation. For the present we must observe, however, that it is not limited to sequences longer than the word: the normal accentuation

within the word can also be distorted at the speaker's will if he wants to make a contrastive point. Thus instead of (tm) happy one might say ^unhappy in a context such as

a: She was looking happy tonight

b: You thought so? She seemed 'unhappy to me.

Note

Contrastive stress can also override the distinctions made in App II.8: in / 'said she was a 'French ,tacker, not a "fresh ,teacher, we could be referring to nationality.

Rhythm JU.IO

In all the phrases and sentences given as examples in App 11.4/ one single point of prominence was indicated, because we were looking at analogies to word-stress in syntactic units. In fact, of course, this ignores entirely the rhythm that each of these sentences must possess by virtue of the alternation of stressed and unstressed portions throughout. Broadly speaking, and in the absence of contrastive stress, English connected speech has stresses on the (stressed syllables of) open-class items, and absence of stress upon the closed-system words accompanying them:

He 'told his "mother He 'sent it to his "mother

.

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It's the address he 'sent the 'letter |to She was 'looking •happy to'night

The natural rhythm of English, when unaffected by other factors such as hesitation which may slow down the speaker or excitement which may speed him up, provides roughly equal intervals of time between the stresses. This means that if the first two examples above were spoken by the same person under similar conditions, they would take approximately the same time, would have the same rhythmic pattern, and would oblige the speaker to utter the sequence sent it to his more rapidly than the sequence told his which occupies the same rhythmic unit.

mi

Regularity of rhythm

It is necessary to emphasize that absolute regularity of rhythm is the exception rather than the rule, and that when the intervals between stresses cease to be merely 'roughly equal' and achieve something like metronomic equality, the stylistic effect is oppressive. One exception is in counting: when we have to count a fairly large number of items, it seems easier to prevent ourselves from getting lost if we adopt a strict isochronous rhythm:

'one 'two 'three 'four ... 'seventeen 'eighteen 'nineteen... seventy-'four seventy-'five seventy-'six ... a hundred-and-'three a hundred-and-'four...

So too when we are compiling an inventory, giving a list of names, or the like. By contrast, an insistent regularity may also be introduced for emphasis, especially when one is implying repetition of something which ought to be accepted without argument, and especially again perhaps when the speaker is expressing irritation or sarcasm:

You should 'never 'move the 'papers 'on my 'desk



It is the requirements of rhythm rather than of the message which here causes the normally unstressed on to be emphasized, and we commonly find that the special use of regular rhythm distorts the normal stress patterns in this way. An earlier example was a hundred-and-Uhree in a counting rhythm where this number in isolation would have two stresses: a ^hundred'ond-Hhree. So too Seventeen, etc, but in isolation, seventeen. But, for the most part, approximations to strictly regular rhythm are rare, brief and rhetorical: in public emotive address, for example, such as appeals, sermons, political speeches. More prolonged use, of course, occurs with the listener's full sanction in the reading of poetry and in forms of religious discourse (especially prayer).

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Intonation

n.12

Tone unit, nucleus, and the falling fane

Intonation is normally realized in tone units consisting of a sequence of stressed and unstressed syllables but on occasion the unit may consist of a single pitch-prominent syllabic. The peak of greatest prominence is called the nucleus of the tone unit and it is indicated in this book by being printed in small capitals. We shall now review some of the examples quoted earlier reclassifying as nuclei certain peaks of prominence previously marked as stresses. Others will be reclassified as 'onsets'. The onset is the first prominent syllable in a tone unit, and it is commonly preceded by one or more syllables with light stress and on a low pitch. Its position will be indicated by a preceding thin vertical (|) and the end of the tone unit will be marked by a thick vertical (|). Between these two points, each tone unit has one of the nuclear patterns outlined in App II. 12-15. Examples of tone units:

(a) He |told his MOTHer|

(b) It's the ad|dress he 'sent the LETter [to|

(c) She was llooking HAPpy to'night|

(d) You (thought 'so|

(e) She (seemed UNhappy to me|

Usually, pitch prominence is associated with pitch change - and the commonest change is a fall in pitch. We would expect a fall on the nuclear syllable in both (a) and (b) above, for example, and we expect it likewise on that of most sentences and most questions beginning with a wh-word, as in (f) and (h), on one-word answers to questions, on words or names or even letters uttered in isolation, as in (g) and (i). It might be said that a tone unit has a falling nucleus unless there is some specific reason why it should not:

(f) |Wbat's his name|

(g) Phy|LAKUs|

(h) (What's the first Lferter| CO IH

n.i3

The rising tone

When there is such a reason, the falling nucleus is more frequently replaced by a rising one than by any other. Broadly speaking, this is when we wish to indicate that

our utterance is non-final or that we are leaving it open and inconclusive. This may be because we are counting or listing and have not come to the last item; or because another clause

is going to follow; or because we seek a response from someone (but not by means of a wA-question):

... |twɛlveɪ (THiRteen| |FʊRteen| |fɪrteen| There are |fɪfɪfeɪn|

(Notice again the difference between 'teens' in sequence and in isolation)

| |When he came| |I [GRfeEd him!

I |saw him this MQRNɪŋ| and incited him to Drnner|

You're |going aɪREADy| (must you|

Some of the examples in App 11.12 might well have a rising nucleus, especially (c) perhaps, not so much in order to make it a question as to suggest politely that a (confirmatory) comment would be welcome. Alternatively, one might add a tag question (7.59), with a falling nucleus :

She was (looking HAPpy to'night| |wAsn't she|

The absence of dogmatic finality in the rise enables us to make an imperative gentle and persuasive:

(Don't be unPLEASant| Other nuclear tones

n.i4

There are no nuclear tones anything like so common as the fall and the rise, but four other tone contours are nevertheless important. The fall-rise occurs in many 'contingency' environments (for example as the nucleus of a doubtful condition), but it is perhaps especially common with initial adverbials (8.7):

I'll (see him if he cOmes|

we deɪcided not to gɒ|

The converse of this, the rise-fall, must be sharply distinguished from it since it is really a rather persuasive variant of the falling tone, used to express a genuine or sarcastic warmth or on the other hand a feeling of surprise or shock:

|That's wʌNderful| He's a com|plete fɒl|

Rarest of all, the level tone seems to be a variant of the rise (see App 11.17 Note), and it is used to suggest (often somewhat pompously) the exact predictability of what is to follow:

He (dr&nk| he |stɒl| he was |soon desrɪsɛdɪ

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n.15

The remaining tone pattern is by no means rare: it is probably used more often than any other except fall and rise, but we have left it till the end because, unlike the others, this pattern has two nuclei. It is the fall-plus-rise and (especially in BrE) it would be expected in example (e) of App 11.12 above:

She [seemed CɪNhappy to me|

The nucleus is always a peak of semantic or 'information' content in the tone unit; with the fall-pl us-rise we have two such peaks of information interest, and they are related, the first being superordinate (cf 14.6 Note a). That is, when we introduced this example in the first place (App II.9), it was in order to illustrate 'contrastive stress'. Now contrastive stress usually involves moving a tonal nucleus from its

normal, unmarked position on to the contrasted item. But it by no means necessarily requires the tone unit concerned to have two nuclei:

Are you |HAPpy|

| No I'm (jNhappy|

Compare also the distinction between first and subsequent mention, as in

|This book cost 'five DCJLlarsI and [this one three 'dollars] (\*... 'three D6Llars|)

beside

(This book cost 'five r>6Llars| and |this one 'three p6unds| (\*... THRfeE 'pounds|)

What the fall-plus-rise does is this: it allows the speaker to express a double contrast.

In the example contrasting happy and unhappy ('She seemed UNhappy to me'), the two nuclei enable us to say (a) that she is wnhappy as opposed to happy, and (b) that this is my view as opposed to yours.

In addition to contradictions of this kind, the fall-plus-rise is commonly used with marked focus (cf \A."iff), with the fall placed on the displaced and focused item, the rise on the final lexical item in the tone unit. For example:

It's his |w1fe that I don't l(ke| = The |one that I don't l(ke|

is his |wtFE| It's his |wiFE that's always NASTy|

beside the unmarked

I |don't like his wife| His |wife is always NASTy|

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Intonation in relation to other features H.16

Tone of voice, pitch, and music

'Intonation' must be distinguished from 'tone of voice' on the one hand and from 'intoning', chanting or singing on the other. One's tone of voice may be warm or cold, kind or harsh, happy or sad, irrespective of the intonation pattern, the length of the tone unit, the location of the nucleus, or the direction of the pitch movement. Indeed, while there can be no doubt that intonation is linguistically relevant (it can distinguish interrogative from declarative, after all), there must be considerable doubt as to whether tone of voice involves linguistic parameters at all. True, on hearing someone say

I've |bought acAR|

we can add to our understanding of this statement the inference that the speaker sounded happy or proud or perhaps nervous, but merely because we deduced this from the way he spoke we need not go to the lengths of regarding the deduction as springing from the linguistic form. We might equally have deduced that he had a cold - or food in his mouth."

As to the distinction between intonation and intoning, something has already been said in App II.2. One cannot 'speak out of tune' because the movements in linguistic pitch are purely relative, in sharp contrast to the specific intervals of a musical scale.

A person speaking with a high-pitched voice may end a fall at a point far higher than the point at which a fall began as uttered by a low-pitched voice: yet despite total dissimilarity in frequency or acoustic quality both falls would be instantly recognized as linguistically identical. Again, even where they begin at the same point in pitch, two speakers will differ very considerably in the amount of pitch movement that may constitute a rise, yet both rises may be received by hearers as linguistically identical.

Nor indeed is it necessary for a speaker to be consistent in his width (App 11.17) of pitch movement, even in consecutive tone units.

Note

The part played by musical tone in English is very slight, but it may be of interest to mention that calls (including taunting 'cat-calls') make considerable use of descending minor thirds. A wife may call jocularly to her husband down the garden when supper is ready:



'Come and get it I'

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The second bar would be the tune also in trying to attract the attention of a person some distance away: 'Ro-bert!' 'Ma-ry!\*' It appears also in the ending of the long-standing children's taunt, the words of course being freely varied:



'Johnnie's torn his trousers!'

Pitch height and pitch range

In the previous section reference was made to the fact that it is possible to make what is linguistically the same nuclear tone with considerable variety in actual pitch and pitch movement. Without diminishing the validity of this, and without suggesting further comparison with the specific tonal intervals of music, we must note the existence of other relative systems in intonation which will allow certain broad differences in pitch height and pitch range to assume linguistic significance.

By pitch height we are referring to the point on the pitch scale at which a stressed syllable occurs in relation to the previous syllable. Most commonly, there is a gentle stepping down in pitch level from syllable to syllable, and against this expected pattern, variations stand out clearly. A step upwards in pitch (f) or a marked step downwards (l) can add considerably to the feeling that is being conveyed; thus

His |wife is j always t NASTyl

would be one way of emphasizing both the adverbial and the complement of this sentence, and, at the same time, of indicating that the nastiness has not been mentioned by either speaker before or is perhaps alleged as a matter of potential dispute between the speakers. A variant form

His [wife is always |nAstv|

might suggest that while the nastiness needs emphasis, it is of a familiar kind. In conjunction with a pointedly regular rhythm, a regularly ascending or descending pitch height can be very effective in achieving climax:

And jail the f people of t this f great f c6uNtryl... jWhy on \ earth don't you \ do some | w6rk|

By pitch range we are referring to the amount of pitch movement on the nucleus or from stress to stress in the course of the tone unit, irrespective of whether the starting-point is high or low. An ingratiating.

warmly interested or excited attitude can be indicated by a wide range, while a narrow range, as well as being used to indicate boredom for example, is frequent on the nucleus of subordinate clauses. But these are by no means the only contrasts we can imply by altering our pitch range. As for notation, to use (as elsewhere in this Appendix) that of Crystal and Davy 1969, contrasts in pitch range can be indicated by enclosing the words affected in quotation marks and stating 'wide' or 'narrow' in the margin.

Nota

It is through the prosodic property of pitch range that we should relate the association of level nuclei to rising ones (App 11.14). That is, level nuclei occur most frequently where rising ones might be expected, and we could thus regard the level as a very narrow rise. We need to be aware, however, that the nuclei in pre-final subordinate syntactic units may be not only narrow rises or levels but not infrequently narrow falls.

II.IS

Pause and tempo

It will have become clear that, little by little, we are developing a notation for expressing on paper the more important linguistic distinctions that are made not by words but by sound patterns affecting syllables and syllable sequences. There is one further parameter that we must not ignore. The pause in speech is by no means of random occurrence: together with the tone unit, it tends to divide up the stream of speech into grammatically and lexically relevant sections, and although it is by no means essential to pause at the end of the spoken 'sentence', lengthy pauses are more usual at such points than elsewhere. Speech is however more flexible than writing in allowing us to introduce a 'space', to suit speaker's or hearer's needs, before (or perhaps after) a difficult or specially significant lexical item, even if this occurs in the middle of a noun phrase. Pauses are most relevantly measured in terms of a speaker's own rhythm and tempo, and we take the unit of pausing (-) as equivalent in time to one rhythmic measure or cycle (see App II. 1/):

She is un|HAPpy| - |vERy un'happyl

As for tempo, to which reference has just been made, we quite often find it valuable to contrast with a given speaker's normal speed of utterance the relatively slow (*lento*) or fast (*allegro*) stretches that occur from-time to time, as he displays - for example - special care or seriousness at one point, or an off-handed dismissal or cheerful levity at another point. Here, as with height and range or with tone of voice (App 11.17/), we can easily slip beyond the normal bounds of linguistic description. 1050

Appendix II

Prosodic marking compared with punctuation 11.19

Even ignoring, as we must, several other features of oral English, we now have a system of conventions capable of expressing on paper for spoken English what the system of punctuation marks does (on the whole, much less well) for written English. There are numerous respects in which conventional punctuation is inadequate (see, for example, App III.5), but we need mention here only one or two such points to show how our prosodic notation both explains and transcends the difficulty. Since the

early nineteenth century, institutionalized usage has disallowed any punctuation (except correlative or self-cancelling punctuation: App 111.21 ff) between subject and predicate. Yet (as student essays show) ordinary users of English are still strongly motivated to put a comma between a long noun phrase subject and the verb, just as they were in Napoleonic times:

... the pretensions of any composition to be regarded as Poetry, will depend upon ...  
(George Crabbe, Preface to Tales, 1812)

There is a very good reason for this. After a long noun phrase the coherence of the structure just completed is regularly marked in speech by a prosodic break, usually realized by the end of a tone unit, often by a pause as well. Thus a normal reading of the Crabbe example would be as follows:

... the prehensions of 'any icompo'sition to be re'garded as  
| p6tTryi will de|pend U|pon ...

11.2(1)

Again, although in rather informal punctuation we can indicate emphasis (usually by means of italics) we cannot distinguish emphases of radically different sound and value:

(a) You shouldn't give her any flowers

(=You must give her no flowers at all)

(b) You shouldn't give her any flowers

(=You must give her only certain flowers)

Our prosodic notation, however, adequately represents the difference we hear:

(a) You jshouldn't give her fANyflowersI

(b) You |shouldn't give her XNy flowers|

Consider now the prosodic realizations which give sharply different meanings to the various members within each of the following sets of

Stress, rhythm, and intonation 1051

sentences; in each case we begin with the 'unmarked' and most neutral form the sentence might have.

(1) I should [g6] I should |g6| jI should go| I |sh6uld go|

I j SH&JLD go|

(Is that your advice?)

(Not you!)

(And I defy you to deny it) (But I don't think I will)

(2) | Somebody must have TAKEn it|

jSomebody must have fTAKEn it| (Surprising as it may seem) | Somebody f must have 'taken it| (It's no use your arguing) |s6MEbody must have 'taken it| (Even if you didn't)

(3) You | said he would c6me| |You said he would c6me| You |said he would come|

You | said he would come| You [said he would c6me|

(I was personally doubtful) (You didn't say that his wife was coming as well) (But that doesn't mean he really will) (And, my goodness, there he is!)

## Combined prosodic systems illustrated

All the examples so far have been of isolated tone units or very short sequences. The systems of stress, rhythm and intonation operate significantly, however, over considerably longer stretches of speech, indicating degrees of connection (c/ 30.2) and providing significant cues to interrelationship of sentences and parts of sentences. This is of course particularly vital in natural, unprepared discourse, but illustration from such material would necessitate far more explanation of specifically oral aspects of English than we have been concerned with in this book. It may be more relevant instead to quote from the transcription of a radio talk which will show how a speaker, beginning from sentences on paper, can bring his language to oral life with the aid of a complex selection from the repertoire of prosodic devices. Notice, for example, the way in which training and purpose are prosodically coordinated. The passage is quoted (with some simplification) from Crystal and Davy 1969, p 249, and their conventions are followed of using capital letters only in tonal nuclei and of using marginal glosses to characterize other prosodically marked stretches. 1052  
Appendix

'rhythmic' his |work as a f CARicaturist| - 'is [that in 'which he ■most deLiGHTEd|'-it was |NEVer| a [matter of 'formal f TRAiNing| or |set f PtiRPose with 'him] - it bejgan with 'marginal SKETCHes| in his (school and 'college n&te-books|-- (when william fR&THen'stein| e|rupted into f6xford| to |do a f series of | portrait |DRAWings|-he (gave encouragement and -f help) - - it was |he|  
'narrow' 'who |taughtMAx| to |makehis fDRAWings|' - [not  
"mere 'personal f CARicatures| - but [decorative desfGNs|  
'allegro' with an aes[thetic existence of their f6wN] --'and we can [easily f trace this 'process!'

## Bibliographical note

On stress, see Arnold (1957); Gimson (1970), especially Part III; Chomsky and Halle (1968), especially Chapter 3; Halle and Keyser (1971).

On rhythm, see Abercrombie (1967), Chapter 6; Chatman (1965), especially Chapters 2 and 5; Leech (1969b), Chapter 7; and Uldall (1971).

On intonation, see O'Connor and Arnold (1961); Kingdon (1958); Bolinger (1963) and (1965), especially Part I; Halliday (1970b); and (for AmE) Pike (1945).

On grammar and intonation, see Quirk (1968), especially Chapters 12, 13; and Halliday (1967).

A detailed account of all prosodic systems is given in Crystal (1969), especially Chapters 4ff, and these are related to style in Crystal and Davy (1969).

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## Introduction

m.i

In App II we surveyed a set of prosodic devices whereby differentiations of various kinds could modify the stream of speech, thus endorsing and helping us to communicate the grammatical and other distinctions in the English we speak. The purpose of the present Appendix is to examine the visual devices that perform a similar role for the English we write. Our task in App IT was more difficult, for although the proso-dic devices are acquired naturally by the native speaker (he does not have to be taught them formally), our ordinary educational tradition has largely - for this reason - ignored them and so we had to begin by isolating, describing, and labelling them. With punctuation, the array of devices is well recognized; there are established names for the individual items; and their use is (to some considerable extent, at any rate) equally institutionalized, through education and the insistently regular practice of the printing organizations.

There are three stretches of written language formally recognized by name whose bounds are indicated visually: the paragraph, the sentence, and the word. The limits of the paragraph are indicated by beginning it on a new line (usually 'indented' like



the present paragraph which began with the previous sentence) and by beginning the next likewise even if this means leaving part of a line blank (but see App 111.18). The paragraph consists of one or more sentences each of which must begin with a capital (or 'upper case') letter and will normally end with a period ('full stop' or 'full point' or -informally - 'dot') like the present one. If the sentence is a question it will however end with a 'question mark' and there are several other, less frequent termination points, as we shall see presently. Each sentence consists of one or more words and these are delimited as orthographic units (App 1.6) by being preceded by a space and by being followed either by a space or by a punctuation mark and a space. This laborious statement is necessary to admit as 'words' the italicized parts of the following:

. . . the grammar of... .. in scorn, when ... .. the co-authors are ... .. the reader's aim  
...

The remaining punctuation marks - by far the majority - perform functions within the sentence (and a very few within the word) but do not mark off clearly defined or well-established units analogous to the sentence or the word. Their functions however are for the most part clear and readily describable.

Punctuation 1065

111.2

In considering the individual punctuation marks, it will be useful to see them in relation to principles underlying the punctuation system as a whole. Two broad purposes are served, separation and specification, the former of these itself inviting a twofold division:

#### SEPARATION

(a) Successive units: that is, the orthographic symbol separates units which can be regarded as being in a simple linear relation to each other, as when a space separates two successive words.

(b) Included units: that is, the unit which is separated is in the position of interrupting some larger unit and the orthographic symbol must therefore be correlative, marking both the beginning and the ending of the included unit. For example, the commas which mark off the parenthetical clause in

He is, / think, a teacher.

#### SPECIFICATION

It is convenient to treat as a class those punctuation marks which (often in addition to marking the point at which one unit is separated from another) have a clear role in specifying a function. Thus the apostrophe in the reader's specifies the ending as genitive in contrast to the phonologically identical plural in the readers.

In respect of these purposes, punctuation practice is governed primarily by grammatical considerations and is related to grammatical distinctions. Sometimes it is linked to intonation, stress, rhythm, pause, or any other of the prosodic features which convey distinctions in speech, but this is neither simple nor systematic, and traditional attempts to relate punctuation directly to (in particular) pauses are misguided. Nor, except to a minor and peripheral extent, is punctuation concerned

with expressing emotive or rhetorical overtones, as prosodic features frequently are (see App 11.17, for example). It follows that there is much less room in punctuation than in prosody for personal decision in the use of the various devices: necessarily so, since in writing, the originator of the message is not usually present to clear up any difficulty that may arise. Punctuation marks tend, therefore, to be used according to fairly strict conventions and even in the peripheral areas where universal convention does not obtain, each individual publishing house imposes one for all materials that it puts forth in print.

There are two important qualifications to make to the foregoing generalizations. In the first place, there is, as we shall see, a great deal of flexibility possible in the use of the comma, and this punctuation mark does in fact provide considerable opportunity for personal taste and for

~

implying fine degrees of cohesion and separation. Secondly, the conventions as a whole are observed with a variety and low level of consistency in manuscript use (especially personal material, such as private letters) which could not be inferred from the rigour that obtains in the majority of printed material.

We shall now examine the punctuation system according to the major purposes outlined above.

Separation

Separation of successive units

in.3

Hierarchy of punctuation marks

We have a well-defined hierarchy of signs reaching (as we have already seen to some extent) from the word to the paragraph. The full hierarchy can be illustrated from the following passage:

... and the chairman was careful to point out the help he had had from the secretary and from the members recently elected to the committee. He mentioned two other men, since co-opted: Smith and Fox; they had been very useful. Votes of thanks were proposed and unanimously carried.

Before the meeting closed, some further business was transacted. A motion proposed by Johnson sought to raise money by ... [1]

Thus we have: unseparated letters

hyphen (-) word-space comma (,) colon (:) semi-colon (;)

period (.) paragraph

111.4

The hyphen

The hyphen's function in

... opted ... .. co-opted...

... since co-opted ...

... men, since co-opted ...

... men, since co-opted: Smith...

... men, since co-opted: Smith and Fox;

they... .. men, since co-opted: Smith and Fox;

they had been very useful. Votes of

thanks...

... had been very useful. Votes of thanks were proposed and unanimously carried.

Before the meeting closed, some further business was transacted ...

the above hierarchy is twofold. First, it""

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used to separate a word into two parts between the end of one line of text and the beginning of the next. Since the printer can vary the space between words, he uses his skill and ingenuity to avoid dividing words in this way (especially in books), more than is absolutely necessary. When division is unavoidable, it is made at a natural point in the structure of a word. That is, one would not leave *str-* at the end of a line and begin the next with *ucture*. But there can of course be much difference of opinion as to what constitutes a 'natural' point. AmE practice is to respect the phonologically natural points - in other words, syllable division; this would divide *structure* at *struc-*. BrE practice is to give more weight to morphological and etymological considerations, being thus more inclined to make a break in the word at *struct-*. With many words the different criteria give the same result, however, so the net divergence in usage is slight.

Secondly, the hyphen is used to separate the prefix of a newly (or temporarily) formed word such as *psycho-mechanics*, and especially where the second part has a capital letter as in *un-French*. CfApp 1.45. It may also separate the prefix where juxtaposition would suggest a misleading pronunciation as in *co-opt* or *pre-eminent*. In such cases AmE practice (which in general shows fewer hyphens than BrE) occasionally favours the diaeresis as in *cooperate*, but more generally it ignores the problem and prints such words 'solid': *cooperate*, *preeminent* (but, it so happens, *co-opt*).

Note

The diaeresis is also occasionally used to indicate separate syllables in words where juxtaposed vowels do not result from affixation and where the hyphen could not be used; for example, *naive*. More commonly, however, such words are spelled without indication of the separate syllabification: *naive*.

m.5

The word in speech and "riling

We shall mention other and related uses of the hyphen below (App 111.31/), but there is one general point we should make at this stage concerning visual indicators of word limits. It was pointed out in App II. 19 that there were numerous respects in which we could not reproduce in writing distinctions made prosodically in speech. Here we have the converse. In speech, we do not normally attempt to make a difference in pronunciation between a nice drink and an ice(d) drink or (especially in BrE) between the phrases *by far the best* and *by Father Best*. In writing, such distinctions are absolute and must be regularly made. Similarly, irrespective of the sound we make in speech, we must often decide in writing between total separation, hyphenation, and total juxtaposition: *taxpayer*, *tax-payer*, and *taxpayer*. Examples like these are an important

1058 Appendix III  
reminder (a) that, while the rules of punctuation are related to grammar and lexicology, they are by no means necessarily so related through an intermediate

connection with speech; (b) that there is an element of arbitrariness in punctuation, and hesitation is especially unavoidable in relation to the hyphen, with the ultimate decision poised uneasily between the lexicographer, the school-teacher and the publishing house; and (c) that consistency and regularity assume an importance in punctuation (as in spelling) quite unparalleled in the analogous signalling function of prosodic systems in speech.

Note

Ja] Phrases written as a sequence of single words when predicative are frequently hyphenated when they are made to premodify. Thus

John's reputation is well established beside John's well-established reputation

So also a do-it-yourself job. See further 13.45.

[b] Coordination of hyphenated items, especially in formal or technical writing, frequently involves ellipsis with word-space following a hyphen, as in pro- and anti-government opinion or those who are speech- and language-impaired. Cf 13.69. For additional information on the use of the hyphen, see App 111.31/.

The comma

III.6

Although the hierarchy in App III.3 gives three signs for making distinction between the unit 'word' and the unit 'sentence', the comma is the only sign that is truly used for separating parts of the sentence. The other two, the colon and semicolon, are chiefly used to separate closely associated units within a sentence which are so constituted that each part has the elements necessary to operate as a sentence in its own right.

I have some news for you: John has arrived. [2]

The house badly needed painting; the garden was overgrown with weeds. [3]

The comma has no such restrictions. Indeed, it is the most flexible of all punctuation marks in the range of its use and it has eluded grammarians' attempts to categorize its uses satisfactorily. Clearly it is also the most important of the punctuation marks apart from the period, having a frequency of use almost identical with that of the period and being about ten times as frequent as the next most heavily used punctuation mark.

Note

The frequency reported in Summey's description of American punctuation (1949 p 161) is confirmed for BrE by the Survey of English Usage files.

Punctuation 1069 The comma with coordinated clauses

in.7

One dominant use of the comma can be described in the precise terms just used to denote the use of the colon and semicolon: 'to separate closely associated units within a sentence which are so constituted that each part has the elements necessary to operate as a sentence in its own right'. Yet different kinds of close association are involved, and we could not substitute a comma in either [2] or [3]. In the case of [2], this is because the second part is in an appositive relation (9.177) to an element in the first part and so provides the classic condition in which the colon is appropriate (App 111.14). In [3] we should need to connect the two parts with and, thus exemplifying

the point made above that the comma essentially separates parts of a sentence, and in this case a coordinate sentence:

The house badly needed painting, and the garden was overgrown with weeds.  
[4]

This sentence now in fact admirably illustrates the conditions under which a comma is used in compound sentences:

- (a) the parts are semantically related (both dealing in the present instance with the bad physical condition of premises);
- (b) they are conjoined (in this case by and);
- (c) they are grammatically similar (determiner and number of subject, tense of verb);
- (d) there is no ellipsis in the second part.

If condition (a) did not obtain, the two parts could scarcely be brought within one sentence unit at all. If condition (a) obtained but not (b), a comma could not be used, though a semicolon would be appropriate enough, as in [3]. The effect of condition (c) is normally to render a comma merely optional and even where desirable for clarity's sake, it would be by no means essential. Finally, frustration of condition (d) would make a comma both unnecessary and frequently undesirable as well:

The house badly needed painting and looked deserted. [5]

Note

Despite condition (b), it is not uncommon to find coordinate clauses separated only by commas, especially when the clauses are short, aphoristic, and (often) three in number:

I must, I can, I will.

m.8

There are important refinements of these conditions that influence our decision over punctuation. For example, under (c), one important variable is whether or not the subject of the second part is co-referential with that of the first: The house... //... as opposed to The house... the garden ... If it is, a comma is less desirable than if it is not. But our decision in this respect very much depends upon condition (a): if, despite close semantic connection, there is a contrast prompting the use of but (or and yet) rather than and as the appropriate conjunction, a comma will be preferred even where the subjects are referentially identical:

The house badly needed painting, but it looked comfortable.

[6]

Thus in a recent examination of materials in the Survey of English Usage it was found that three-quarters of the sentences coordinated with but had a comma (' + ,' in Fig 111:1), whereas only about a half of the compound sentences using and contained a comma. The latter does not however imply random use of the comma: within the and sentences it was found relevant to make a further distinction according as the subject of the second part was expressed ('and +S' in Fig 111:2) or ellipted ('and — S'). Where subject ellipsis took place, as in [5], the comma appeared in only a third of the sentences while a comma was used in three-quarters of the sentences which had an expressed subject in both parts.

100

50

and+S

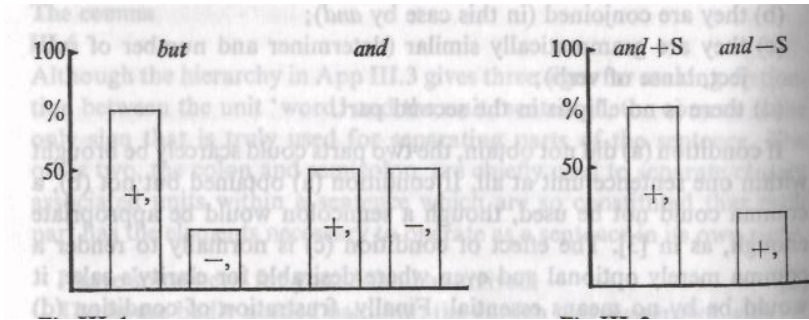


Fig 111:1

Fig 111:2

These results show that we are dealing with tendencies which, while clear enough, are by no means rules. There are plenty of sentences where despite coordination with *and* and despite subject ellipsis, a comma is nevertheless preferred. In such cases, it is probable that the general truth that punctuation conforms to grammatical rather than rhetorical considerations is in fact overridden. If we compare the following two sentences, the extent to which we prefer a comma in the second is a measure of our wish that the punctuation should endorse the meaning - the separation of the second part matching the moment's pause that is mentioned:

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He put on his spectacles and then picked up the phone. He paused for a moment, and then began to speak.

It is fair, however, to summarize the position by saying that the closer the relation between the parts of a sentence, the less need there is for punctuation.

The comma with adverbial units IU.9

The same principle can be applied when we consider the use of the comma to mark off certain adverbials within the simple sentence. It would seem that 'closeness of relation' in this case is linked to adverbial mobility: just as the least mobile are normally those with closest and most indispensable connection with the rest of the sentence, so the least mobile are those least requiring separation by a comma:

He put the chair between you and me. 7Between you and me he put the chair. He failed the exam, between you and me. Between you and me, he failed the exam.

[7a] [7b] [8a] [8b]

On the distinction between adjuncts and other adverbials, see 8.2 ff. Even those adverbial elements that are so closely related to the rest of the sentence as not to need a comma in final position, however, often need to be thus separated when they are preposed:

You'll succeed if you try. If you try(,) you'll succeed.

n i- a ■ t a- subsequently. He lived in India-; -A.

Rafter the war.

Subsequently(,)1, r a ■ t a-\*r. 1. ,(he hved in India. After the war(,)J

[9a] [9b]

[10a] H0b]

A somewhat analogous principle dictates the use of the comma in index entries; cf: John Quincy Adams but Adams, John Quincy when the surname is moved from its normal end-position. As the parentheses in [9b] and [10b] show, the comma is optional even with many such preposed adverbials, but becomes especially desirable with non-finite and verbless clauses having more than one element:

To visit his mother, he drove through thick fog. Out of breath, he slumped down in a chair.

[Ha] [lib]

It is also desirable on occasion where its absence might cause the reader to stumble. Thus, although the adverbial has identical function in [12a] and [12b], it is necessary in the latter to avoid misleading the

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Punctuation 1063

reader into thinking at first that the prepositional phrase is longer than it is:

After dark(,) I strolled around the square. [(2a)

After dark, men and women strolled around the square. [12b]

For a comparable reason, a comma would be preferable in He tried in vain to find her, in his underclothes. [12c]

since it would help to avoid suggesting that she was in his underclothes. And although no ambiguity or comic overtones could affect the following example, the sequence 'in in' would seem less confusing with the separation provided by a comma:

They hurried on in, in great excitement. [12d]

in.io

In general, the length of an adverbial is irrelevant in determining punctuation as is also its structure, whether a single word, a phrase, or an entire clause. Indeed a full clause may often need marking off less than an elliptical or, as in [lib], a verbless one:

Though he was suffering great pain(,) he walked home alone. [13a] Though

suffering great pain, he walked home alone. [13b]

Often, however, mere length of an adverbial will make it seem less closely linked to the rest of the sentence than a short one and so seem to need marking off by a comma; and mere length may also make punctuation desirable for sheer clarity's sake:

It was difficult to decide precisely why he had written at such inordinate length, since it was clear that he could have made the point more succinctly.

Function, however, is usually more important than length. Thus even where an initial adjunct needs no comma, as in [14a], the same adverb as disjunct (8.3 Note b) requires one, as in [14b]:

Again he felt hesitant (= 'Once more ...') [14a]

Again, he felt hesitant (= 'It should be added that...') [14b]

Here indeed is another case where punctuation somewhat mirrors the prosodic difference, since [14a] would usually constitute one tone unit in speech (App 11.12) while there would be two for [14b]:

a|GAiN he felt' hesitant| | he |felt irtsitant|

[14a] [14b]

Not\*

The need for easy recognition of structure determines the convention of using commas between thousands in numerals: 41,396,728. Sometimes, spaces are used instead of commas for this purpose: 41 396 728.

Where separation by comma is disallowed

So far, only adverbials have been considered in relation to the comma. With the main clause constituents, S, V, O and C, there is a strict rule that they cannot be interrupted by punctuation except where 'inclusion' (App 111.21) or 'specification' (App 111.28) is involved, and with one or two additional but minor exceptions that we shall outline presently. Thus whether such a sentence element consists of a phrase or a clause, it cannot be separated from the verb by a comma:

•The man over there in the corner, is obviously drunk. [15]

•I know, that you are tired. [16]

\*It is perfectly natural, that men should grow bald. [17]

\*He gave the leading lady, a bouquet [18]

In speech, [15] and possibly [17] and [18] might have a tone unit break where the unacceptable comma has been inserted and (as pointed out in App 11.19) we are sometimes tempted to match this with a comma in writing, though the rule is clear enough and is strictly observed in print. Equally clear (and this time generally observed unhesitatingly even in manuscript) is the rule that phrases constituting any of the elements S, V, O, C or A cannot be interrupted by successive-unit commas:

•The old, man died.

•He may, go there.

•They emigrated after, the war.

The comma with relative clauses, appositives, and lists

m.i2

The exceptions to these rules are threefold. First, a comma may come between S and V when there might otherwise be momentary confusion, as for instance through two occurrences of the same word (c/ the similar problem in example [12d]):

What his name is, is of no interest to me.

Whatever he does, does not concern me.

What one man may think of, another may not.

Rarely, a comma may also come between S and O or C where V is ellipted:

The schools must change their examination methods, and the universities, their selection procedures. 1064 Appendix III

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And a comma is placed (as we shall see: App 111.26) between a subject-verb sequence and direct speech.

Secondly, a comma occurs before the relative pronoun in a non-restrictive relative clause (13.14), matching the commencement of a new tone unit:

He sent for Edward Fenton, who lived in a nearby street. Similarly, with non-restrictive apposition (9A39ff):

He sent for an old friend, Edward Fenton. as distinct from the restrictive analogues (13.8, 9.160):

He sent for someone who lived nearby. He sent for his friend Edward.



The third exception concerns coordination of adjectives, adverbs, verbs, and prepositions, though in fact we should make a distinction between these. With the first, we have the choice of putting either a comma or and between adjectives as coordinate premodifiers (13.60):

His long, slow strides [19a]

His long and slow strides [19b]

Or, if we wish to indicate not that the strides were both long and slow but that they were slow strides which were (of course) long (13.60), we may ignore punctuation and conjunction:

His long slow strides [19c]

We may however wish to add to [19a] yet further coordinate adjectives, and if so we would place a comma after each except the last adjective of the string, or if we put and before the last adjective, we might omit the previous comma:

His long, slow, steady, deliberate strides [19d]

His long, slow, steady(,) and deliberate strides [19e]

Adverbs are coordinated with similar punctuation possibilities:

He slowly, carefully moved the chair. [19f]

He slowly and carefully moved the chair. [19g]

He slowly, carefully(,) and deliberately moved the chair. [19h]

But there is no adverbial analogue to [19c] unless the adverbs belong to different subclasses (8.10 and Fig 8:2), as in He often carefully moved the chair.

By contrast with [19a] and [19f], we cannot choose between a comma and and in coordinating two verbs or two auxiliaries in a verb phrase: \*He can, should do it. [20a]

\*He eats, drinks too much. [20b]

but must use and without punctuation:

He can and should do it [20c]

He eats and drinks too much. [20d]

With additional items, however, commas would be used in the same way as in [19e]:

He can, may, should(,) and will do it. [20e]

He eats, drinks(,) and talks too much. [20f]

In prepositional phrases, coordinated prepositions follow the same rule: Government of, by(,) and for the people. [21]

ffl.13

In [19e], [20e] and [21] we see, in fact, examples of the last separation function of the comma that we need to mention: its use in listing, irrespective of the linguistic status of the items listed. Again the comma before the last item is optional, provided that this is preceded by and:

She bought eggs, butter, cheese, bread, rice(,) and coffee. He wrote down 73, 12,41,9, 7Q and 13, and added them up.

Note

What has been said of the inclusive conjunction and applies also to the exclusive conjunction or (as in to or from town; by, mth(,) or to a person; butter, eggsQ or

fruit), except that when or connects appositives (9.145) a preceding comma is almost obligatory: He became an oculist, or eye-doctor.

The colon 111.14

The colon was placed between the comma and the semicolon in App III.3 not because it makes a stronger separation than the one and a weaker separation than the other, but because it indicates a closer interdependence between the units separated than does the semicolon. Indeed, it indicates as close a relation as the comma does, but it is a different relation. The functions of the colon, a rather infrequent punctuation mark, can be summed up as follows: what follows (as in this sentence) is an explication of what precedes it or a fulfilment of the expectation raised (even if raised only by its own use). Thus,

I have some news for you: John has arrived. [22]

Those who lead must be considerate: those who follow must be responsive. [23a]

In the former example, [22], it will be noticed that the explication is a clause which can be viewed as being in apposition to a noun phrase in the preceding clause; compare: The news is that John has arrived

1066 Appendix III

and such an appositive relation is typical between units separated by a colon. A further example:

The man had been drinking heavily: this, not age, explained his unsteady walk. [23b]

Here the pronoun this refers back to the whole of the preceding clause ('the fact that the man. . .'). Sometimes the relation is more indirect and subtle, however, as in Joan and Mary were obviously weary: [ got up to go.

[23c]

where the colon helps to indicate that it was my observation of their weariness that made me decide to go.

It should be noted that in the foregoing examples, a semicolon could replace the colon, and with examples [23a-23c] a semicolon would be more usual, the colon appearing only in the work of the more discerning writers. On the other hand, provided that a coordinating conjunction were introduced between the clauses, the colon could also be replaced in [23a-c] by a comma or by no punctuation. In this respect, too, the [23] set are thus distinguished from [22], in which we have the more central colon situation with its 'as follows' or 'namely' implication. This use is considered more closely in the next paragraph.

III.1?

So far, the illustrations have shown the colon separating only clauses. But it commonly separates smaller units such as phrases, and it was its potentiality to do so that justified its place between comma and semicolon in the hierarchy in App III.3.

There remained one thing he desired above all else: a country cottage.

The use of the colon in examples like this resembles most closely the purpose it serves when introducing a quotation or (especially in technical or specialized writing) when it precedes a formal list of items, often preceded by its verbal equivalents for

example, eg, namely (sometimes written viz), ie, as follows, or the like (c/9.138). For example:

Please send the stipulated items, namely:

(i) birth certificate (ii) passport (iii) correct fee  
[24]

When it appears in such a formal or official use as [24] implies, it is sometimes followed by a short dash (:-), but this is generally regarded as

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rather 'heavy' punctuation (App 111.20). Certainly, when it is introducing lists in non-technical writing, as in the illustration of the hierarchy in App III.3, it would never be followed by a dash.

On the contrary in fact: one will find the colon replaced by a comma at many points where a list is clearly to follow. This hierarchically 'lower' form of punctuation could well be found following 'namely' in such cases as [24]. In this connection-one of the few in which the colon and the comma seem to be interchangeable - it is of interest to note that, whereas the vocative formula at the beginning of letters is normally separated by a new line and sentence capitalization, it is additionally marked by a comma or (in AmE formal use) by a colon;

Dear John,

Thank you ... Dear Mr Wilson:

Thank you ... (AmE, formal)

Note

On the special conditions for the use of colon in introducing direct speech, see App 111.27.

The semicolon

m.i6

The semicolon is next below the period in importance and it is best regarded as the coordinating mark of punctuation, corresponding most nearly in value to the linguistic coordinating conjunction and. That is, when two independent clauses are regarded as being sufficiently related to belong to one sentence, this may be shown by prosody in speech (App 11.13) - for example, narrow pitch range or a rising nucleus at the end of the first clause, with or without a coordinating conjunction. In writing, it may be shown by a comma followed by a coordinating conjunction as in [6],

The house badly needed painting, but it looked comfortable, or by a semicolon without such a conjunction as in [3],

The house badly needed painting; the garden was overgrown with weeds.

Thus if we represent an independent clause as S VOA, we can compare the use of commas and semicolons connecting such clauses as follows:

SVOA, and (then) (S)VOA is equivalent to

SVOA; (and) (then) SVOAI

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where and represents the coordinators and, but, or, while then represents any appropriate way of additionally linking the clauses (10.11 ff). It is notable that while the adverb is optional in either case, a coordinator is obligatory with the comma; and

that ellipsis of the subject, though frequently found with the comma (App III.7), scarcely occurs after a semicolon.

ra.17

As the last sentence of App III. 16 shows, however, the use of the semicolon is wider than has so far been stated: here we see it (a) being followed by a coordinator, as is quite common in fact, and (b) coming between two coordinate clauses which are not independent but functioning as nominal clauses related to anticipatory *it*. Such a use (in effect, replacing a comma) is chiefly found in rather formal writing and in sentences whose complexity already involves the use of one or more commas and whose major divisions call for a hierarchically superior punctuation mark if the reader is not to be momentarily puzzled or misled. A simple but convenient application of this principle occurs in lists, where it is often desirable to show subgroupings:

The chief commodities are butter, cheese, milk, eggs; lamb, beef, veal, pork; oats, barley, rye, and wheat.

[25]

Somewhat related is the chief point at which the semicolon shows affinity of use with the colon; namely, the convention (as in this sentence and in [26a]), of preceding such apposition indicators as *namely* or *that is* by a semicolon. Without such an indicator, as in [26b], a colon would usually be appropriate:

In one respect, government policy has been firmly decided;

that is, there will be no conscription.

[26a]

In one respect, government policy has been firmly decided:

there will be no conscription.

[26b]

Punctuating for sentence and paragraph 111.18

The two highest separators constitute combinations of symbols. We mark off one orthographic sentence from the next by terminating it with a period or (as it is usually called in BrE) a full stop, and by beginning the next with a capital letter; between the period and the capital, there will usually be a somewhat wider space than we normally have between words. The paragraph is also marked off by a complex of symbols in most writing: leaving blank the remainder of the line in which it ends; indentation of the line beginning the new one; and (sometimes) a slightly

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larger space between lines at this point. At the beginning of a chapter or section, new paragraphs normally (as in this book), begin without indentation, and in some styles of writing this practice is followed with all paragraphs; as a result, if the end of the previous paragraph happens to coincide with the end of a line, the new one may not in effect be marked at all.

Note

[a] Numbered sections of a chapter, as in (his book, are sometimes called 'paragraphs' even where they comprise more than one 'punctuation' paragraph.

[b] On capitals at the beginning of letters and direct speech, see App III. 15, 26.

It was stressed in App III.2 that punctuation was linked primarily to grammar rather than to prosody. This does not mean that the sentence and the paragraph, as punctuated, are obvious grammatical units -except to the extent that they are co-

terminous with one or more grammatical units and that hence no grammatical units extend beyond their limits. The decision to coordinate several independent clauses within one sentence or to separate them as different sentences, with or without formal sign of their logical connection, is dependent largely upon the style of material one is handling or indeed upon the personal preference of the writer. Guidance on sentence limits which invokes criteria such as 'completeness', 'independence', 'intelligibility as a single whole' is essentially circular, since (a) the writer will necessarily have to decide for himself how 'complete' to make any part of his argument, and (b) punctuation of itself imposes the impression of completeness and independence on units marked off as sentences and conversely helps to show connection between units grouped within sentence limits.

Such points apply, of course, even more obviously in the case of paragraph limits. Rather than attempting to recommend an ideal size of paragraph or models for its ideal identity, we should note that the paragraph enables a writer to show that a particular set of sentences should be considered as more closely related to each other, and that those grouped within one paragraph are to be seen as a whole in relation to those that are grouped in the paragraphs preceding and following.

ra.2o

Light and heavy punctuation

One further point on punctuation style may be added. It was shown in App III.9 that an initial adverbial was one obvious part of a sentence that could be separated from the rest by a comma. If however we do so in the following,

?Slowly, he strolled over and she smiled gaily at him.

[27a] 1070 Appendix

the punctuation may suggest that slowly applies (almost nonsensically) to both clauses in the remaining part of the sentence. Alternatively, the punctuation may seem illogical in making a break within the first clause (in effect, He strolled over slowly) where there is none between the first and second. So, given the constituents of [27a], we may feel obliged to add more punctuation to counteract these objections:

Slowly, he strolled over, and she smiled gaily at him. [27b]

This is a simple example of how punctuation marks can enforce proliferation, so that once a little punctuation is admitted, much more is necessary in order to preserve a consistent and logical ordering of hierarchical relationships. In preference to rather heavily punctuated sentences like [27b], writers often move in the opposite direction towards a 'light' punctuation, just sufficient to make their sentences quickly and easily understood.

Separation of included units

Correlative punctuation marks, typical included units, and the comma

ni.21

An adverbial element such as that which opens [26] need not, of course, be placed initially but may occur medially, like of course in the present sentence. In such cases the decision to mark it off by punctuation involves not one comma but two: Government policy has, in one respect, been firmly decided ... [26c]

The convention is especially appropriate for conjuncts (8.89 Jf) such as of course, however, moreover or parenthesized clauses such as / think, you know, or that is. Consider this further (and clumsy) alteration of [26a]:

Government policy has, in one respect, been firmly decided; there will be, that is, no conscription. [26d]

The effect of the punctuation is to indicate appropriately that the italicized items are not part of the clauses in which they are located: that they are not integrated with these clauses but merely included parenthetically within them. For this reason, as well as for clarity and to comply with the rule about separating S, V and C (App 111.7), commas must precede as well as follow the included items. Thus we cannot have:

•Government policy has in one respect, been firmly decided; there will be, that is no conscription. [26e]

In other words, punctuation marks used for inclusion must be correlative: two instances of the same sign must occur, the first indicating the beginning and the second the end of the included item.

Punctuation 1071

Note

The separation by punctuation at the beginning and end of included units reflects to some extent the distinguishing of such included units in speech by frequently giving them a separate tone unit with perhaps also a change in pitch range or other prosodic feature. Cf App II.12#.

111.22

Adverbial elements and parenthetic clauses are not, however, the only common types of included items. Others are appositions (9.130<sup>^</sup>), ellipses (9.91), and analogous parallel structures, as in:

The other man, David Johnson, refused to make a statement. [28] The man we need, the man we have been waiting for, is someone adequately trained in business management. [29] He is a close friend to, and supporter of, the Republican candidate. [30]

He should, or rather must, attend better to his studies. [31]

Her masculine, indeed ungainly, strides made her unattractive. [32]

So also with vocatives:

I think, John, that you would be wiser not to go. [33]

But how, ladies and gentlemen, are we to proceed to a freer society? [34]

in.23

Dashes and parentheses

Although commas are the only items so far illustrated, two other common sets of correlative punctuation marks can be used to mark the separation of such included units as those illustrated in App 111.21 /. They are dashes and parentheses, the latter known in BrE also as 'brackets' (c/AppIII.24 Note a):

The other man - David Johnson - refused to make a statement. [28a] The other man (David Johnson) refused to make a statement. [28b]

But this is far from meaning that these three types of inclusion mark are interchangeable. The comma is the least obtrusive and for that reason is preferred unless there is a strong counter-reason, such as the danger of confusion with other neighbouring commas or of failure to mark adequately a rather lengthy inclusion. In these cases dashes or parentheses are preferable, except that dashes tend to give a somewhat more dramatic and informal impression, suggesting an impromptu aside, rather than a planned inclusion:

At that time, the students - goodness knows for what reason -reversed their earlier, more moderate decision, and a big demonstration was planned.

[35] 1072 Appendix

Punctuation 1073

In this sentence, three commas are used for separation purposes and if commas were to be used for the included clause also, the reader would experience unnecessary difficulty. At the same time, the inclusion is sufficiently informal and violent an interruption to justify dashes rather than parentheses.

Under certain circumstances, even short included items tend to be enclosed by parentheses. In formal writing, for example, they are used for cross-references and the figures denoting life span:

We shall see below (p 63) that Eleanor's first love was William

Bevan (1812-73).

[36]

111.24

Inclusion approximating to succession

At the opening point of an inclusion, none of the correlative punctuation marks can co-occur with any other separation mark, and the following is therefore inadmissible:

\*I spoke to Mr Wilson, (my neighbour) when I next saw him.

At the close of an inclusion, this is also true so far as the comma and dash are concerned:

•I spoke to Mr Wilson - my neighbour -, when I next saw him. But a closing parenthesis can co-occur with other separation items, as in: I spoke to Mr Wilson (my neighbour), when I next saw him. [37]

An important indication that parentheses are hierarchically superior to comma and dash is that parentheses alone can be used to show the 'included' status of a whole sentence and even (though rarely) a whole paragraph:

He married Mary in 1968. (His father had forbidden him to do so earlier.) She was then twenty-four ... [38]

But they otherwise show their hierarchical status only by the degree to which the included unit is grammatically distinct from the including unit. That is, their 'superiority' does not mean that they must be given priority when there is an inclusion within an inclusion. In this situation any of the paired marks may enclose any other, but care has to be taken (a) to match the enclosing pairs so that the 'inner' inclusion is clearly complete before the 'outer' one is closed, and (b) to use different including marks for the two (or more) included units:

He had, I was (by then) quite sure, become utterly depraved. He had (I was, by then, quite sure) become utterly depraved. He had, I was - by then - quite sure, become utterly depraved.

\*He had -1 was, by then - quite sure, become utterly depraved. ?He had, I was, by then, quite sure, become utterly depraved.

Note

[a] In popular BrE usage parentheses are called 'brackets', a term reserved in AmE for what are in BrE called 'square brackets', sometimes used when inclusions have to be made within inclusions:

The other man (David Johnson [alias Wilson]).

[b] These 'square brackets' are used in serious writing also to include the author's or editor's comment upon the form rather than on the content:

He said that Thursday was his normal visiting day [*italics mine*]. It was stated that the heir to the property was Jon [sic] Roberts.

[c] It is noteworthy that all forms of bracket, including the braces used in mathematics and other technical writing, {}, differ from other inclusion marks in clearly distinguishing the opening (left-hand) and closing (right-hand) items in the correlative pair. The fact that each item thus indicates independently its correlative status makes parentheses the clearest of the inclusion signs and especially appropriate for lengthy inclusions.

111.25

Included units in relation to lightness of punctuation

Inclusion marks can necessitate the use of additional punctuation that would not otherwise have been desirable and so (as we saw in App 111.20) we can be forced from light to unfortunately heavy punctuation. Consider the effect of including the participial clause seeing this in the following example:

He smiled at Joan and Mary was cross.

\*He smiled at Joan and Mary, seeing this, was cross.

[39a]

[39b]

The latter is unacceptable in seriously misrepresenting the hierarchy of grammatical relations: it would make the reader think at first that and was coordinating the two names rather than the two clauses, and so we must have:

He smiled at Joan, and Mary, seeing this, was cross.

[39c]

So also, although a comma is optional in [40a], it is obligatory when in short has been included, as in [40b]:

If this is what he seems to want(,) he can have it. [40a]

If this, in short, is what he seems to want, he can have it. [40b]

Quotation and quotation marks IU.26

There is one further correlative pair of inclusion marks that is of great importance and in frequent use: the 'quotation marks', informally 'quotes', or (especially BrE) 'inverted commas'. Like parentheses, they

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Punctuation 1075

can co-occur with other marks of punctuation, and like parentheses too their shape distinguishes between opening and closing item:

Note



The words 'Keep out' were shouted in a loud voice. Hearing the words 'Keep out', he stopped.

[41] [42]

In [41] and [42], the included item begins with a capital letter because it represents a spoken sentence. The logic of this does not, however, extend to terminating the quoted sentence with a period unless the quotation ends the including sentence; otherwise, the end of the quoted 'sentence' is overridden by the fact that the including sentence is not complete:

'I am delighted to see you,' he said. He said, 'I am delighted to see you.'

[43]

[44]

In [43] in fact, the ' illogical' comma coinciding with the end of quotation is placed within the quotation marks, according to the dictates of punctuation convention (especially in print). In addition, both [43] and [44] infringe a rule given in App III.1 1, and we must now state the exception that when the object in a clause or sentence is a piece of direct speech it may be (and usually is) separated by punctuation from the verb and subject elements.

Note

On the punctuation of quoted questions and exclamations, see App 111.28/ra.27

Quotation marks may be single \*...' or double"...". The latter are more usual in handwritten material and in American printing; the former are more usual in British printing, but the choice lies primarily with individual printing houses. Whichever form is not used for ordinary quotation is then used for quotation within quotation:

'I heard "Keep out" being shouted,\* he said, (especially BrE) "I heard 'Keep out' being shouted," he said, (especially AmE)

Quoted matter does not always require quotation marks. In dramatic dialogue and in newspaper reports of speeches or court proceedings, a series of speakers' names will usually be followed by a colon and the quotation:

Judge Harlan: If you do not answer frankly, the jury will draw its own conclusions.

And only short quotations from other writers will be put in-quotation marks in serious writing; longer quotations will be indented and given without quotation marks.

In some writing, an extensive quotation will have an opening quotation mark at the beginning of each new paragraph though a closing mark will occur only at the end of the entire quotation.

Specification

m.28

Question and exclamation marks

Although in App III.2, specification was exemplified with the use of the apostrophe to mark the genitive, in many ways a more obvious example is the question mark. This indicates that the sentence it terminates is a question, whether it is interrogative or (less frequently) declarative in form:

What can be done to help these people?

[45]

You are leaving already ?

[46]

In the case of [46] the question mark matches in writing the prosodic contrast between this sentence as question and the same sentence as statement (App 11.13). In [45], as with other wA-questions, there is no necessary prosodic distinction from declarative sentences to match the punctuation contrast between period and question mark.

The exclamation mark is more rarely used and indeed its excessive use is often taken as a sign of frivolous or immature writing. It is however quite normal in representing an exclamatory sentence, whether or not this has interrogative form:

How silly she is! Isn't she silly!

Both question and exclamation mark exclude the use of other separation punctuation and have the value of a period inasmuch as what follows begins with the capitalization of a new sentence. But when they co-occur with the end of quotation, they come within the quotation marks and if more of the including sentence follows, no capital letter is used:

'How silly she is!' he thought. Note

Imperative sentences do not terminate with an exclamation mark unless they represent very peremptory orders:

"Get outside!" he shouted angrily.

For rather different reasons, not all sentences which are interrogative in form end in a question mark. A period is often preferred if the question is lengthy and ends with subordinate clauses, or if the interrogative form is operating as a request:

Would the gentleman who left a silk scarf on the manager's desk care to retrieve it from the porter's office. 1076 Appendix 111

Punctuation 1077

111.29

Specification of included units

The use of punctuation in the following illustrates important features of practice in relation to included material:

Did you see the words-; ,v ,, . ,, Ion the wall 7 [47a]

I saw the words-j, y u aPpy< Loid you see them? [47b]

Di(iyousee.hewOTds{;^XolSPy?}) I«\*1

Did you see the words 'Are you happy'? [47d]

?Did you seethe words 'Are you happy'?? [47e]

\*I saw the words 'Are you happy?'. [47f]

These words ('Are you happy?') were on the wall. [47g]

TThese words, 'Are you happy?', were on the wall. [47h]

Though logically correct, [47e] is less acceptable than either [47d] or the corresponding part of [47c] as a means of handling the same problem. It will be noted that in any event a period or other separation mark cannot follow either of these specificatory signs, question or exclamation.

Although they are primarily used at the end of interrogative or exclamatory sentences, question and exclamation marks may also be used, especially in formal or technical writing, to specify doubt or surprise about individual parts of a sentence; in such use, they are often enclosed in parentheses, following the relevant item, though

the question mark may sometimes precede (our practice in this book when indicating doubtfully acceptable sentences):

A further semantic (?) problem may be formulated as follows. The old woman insisted that her name was Shirley Temple (!) and muttered something about being born in what sounded like Abbis(?) Ababa.

Note

[a] The use of ? or !! and the like to suggest extreme doubt or surprise is confined to very informal writing such as stories for children.

[6] As well as expressing doubt or surprise at individual items in a sentence, we can indicate that individual items have been introduced from a different style (usually by quotation marks, as with the colloquialism in [48a]) or from a foreign language (usually by italics-underlining in manuscript-as in [48b] and [49JJ]. We can further use quotation marks to give the meaning of an expression, as in [48b].

The stranded colonel was obliged to 'hitch' a ride from a passing motorist. [48a]

The word *schadenfreude*, which means 'malicious enjoyment', is quite fashionable in English. [48b]

His slightest *yeu d'esprit* was impressive. [491]

[c] Quotation marks as in [43a] may indicate a hesitant or apologetic introduction of a doubtful or discordant item. But elsewhere they may equally imply that the item is of doubtful validity because merely alleged; in this usage they may be sly or sarcastic and match a heavy prosodic marking in speech:

I told him that his 'wife' had come and let him know by the way I said it that I didn't think she really was his wife.

Id} As in this last example, italics (ie underlining in manuscript) can be used informally to indicate emphasis.

m.30

The apostrophe

While the apostrophe is most frequently used in serious writing to denote genitive singular and plural as in the girl's and the girls' (where speech treats these the same as each other and as the non-genitive plural, the girls: 4.96), in ordinary use it also marks the colloquial contractions in the verb phrase: I'm, he's, we're, can't, won't, etc (3A7jf). It is still occasionally found marking such well-established shortened forms as 'phone, 'cello, 'flu, and in light fiction or other casual writing it is sometimes used to indicate colloquial pronunciation in such forms as goin', 'cos (= 'because'), and the like. It is similarly used informally for contraction of year numbers, especially in figures; thus for 1974 we have '74.

The apostrophe is frequently used before the plural s with items which lack institutionalized spelling:

There are three i's in that word The late 1970's

[50]

[51]

But more often the s is affixed without an apostrophe {1970s) if there is no danger of misreading (as there would be in example [50]).

m.31

Dashes and other specifiers of breaks

A break or anacoluthon is indicated by a dash, but naturally this rather crude device belongs largely to informal or melodramatic writing:

They gave him a prize for getting top marks - and a certificate as well. [52]

'I hoped that you -' His voice broke. [53]

John wasn't altogether -I thought he seemed a little unhappy. [54]

An analogous use of the dash is made to suppress (now rarely) a name or obscenity ('Mr B—'; 'F— off'). A more formal analogy is the short dash used to abbreviate a sequence of numbers: 'pp 14-23'.

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Note

[a] Anacoluthon is also frequently expressed by means of dots (normally three), which could replace the dash in [53] though perhaps giving the impression of trailing away rather than an abrupt break. In formal writing, the dots can indicate 'that which it is unnecessary to specify':

Take a sequence of prime numbers (1,3, 7,11,13,17, ...) and consider ...

[b] Stammering is sometimes informally indicated by hyphens and reduplication of letters:

'P-p-p-please t-t-try;' his teeth chattered through fear and cold.

111.32

Abbreviations and the use of special signs Abbreviation is marked most generally by a single period following an initial letter or shortened form of a word, as in Prof. Smith, i.e., e.g., etc. When the abbreviation includes the final letter of the word abbreviated, there is a widespread convention (especially in BrE) of ignoring the need for a period: Dr, Mr, for example. Indeed, in much modern practice, abbreviation is carried out by means of word shortening without the use of periods: etc or &c, cf, un, usa, pto, for example. Such abbreviations as etc are used sparingly in formal writing, though rsvp with or without periods is found almost only in formal use (on invitation cards).

Note

In numerals, the period (often raised above the line) marks the point at which integers cease and decimal fractions begin:

71.53 (where the period is read as 'point')

It is similarly used in currency statements, where, however the period is ignored in reading:

\$3.40 -read as 'three dollars and forty cents' or 'three forty' £1.20 -read as 'one pound twenty (pence)'

Small numerals are usually spelled out and it is not usual to introduce mathematical symbols into ordinary writing; such symbols as the following are normally flanked only by numerals, not words:

= read as 'equals'

+ read as 'plus\*' or 'and'

— read as 'minus' or 'take away'

x read as 'times' or 'multiplied by'

■\*■ read as 'over' or 'divided by'

√ read as 'the (square) root of'

Thus:  $(17-\sqrt{9+})-(4\times 3)=15$  would be read as 'Seventeen minus the square root of nine, plus sixty-five over five, minus four times three, equals fifteen.'

Numerals in word form between 20 and 100(except the multiples of ten) are hyphenated: twenty-one, eighty-six, etc; written fractions likewise: four-fifths, seven-twelfths, etc. C/4.129.

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In date abbreviations, numerals are separated by solidus (App IH.34), colon or period. Thus

7/2/72

7.2.72

7:2:72 (less commonly)

could all be used for '7th February 1972' (BrE) or 'July 2nd, 1972' (AmE). Numerals in abbreviations for time of day use colon (especially AmE) or period (especially BrE), as in:

c/r. Read as 'six-thirty\*' or "half past six\*")

o.JU J

ra.33

Use of capitals

In addition to specifying proper names (for example, persons, places, works of literature, days of the week, the names of the months - but not usually the seasons; the planets - but not the earth, the sun or the moon),

initial capitals are used for accompanying appositive titles; thus:

John Mills is a colonel but He is Colonel John Mills  
Edinburgh is a city in Scotland but The City of Edinburgh is in Scotland

So also

Those present included Mr Jones, Miss Graham, Dr Rabin, Mrs Willis, Professor Maisky, and Mrs McDonald.

Occasionally, initial capitals are used to mark key words in formal discourse, especially at the point where such words are introduced for the first time.

The next problem, that of Ultraviolet Radiation, is one on which considerable progress has been made.

Capitals for key words are a particular feature of legal usage:

The Company's Registrars must receive a copy of the Letter together with the Form of Renunciation.

At the opposite extreme, capitals are sometimes used in light or facetious writing to indicate spoken prominence for the words so specified:

'I must certainly see the Man of the House,' she announced, pompously. 'And what do YOU want?' he growled.

Capital letters also appear in the specification of many abbreviations as we saw in App 111.32, whether the items abbreviated are proper names (where the use of capitals is normal) or not, as usually in *pto*, *rsvp*. In the 1080 Appendix III latter instances, we seem to have an extension of the use of capitals in block language (7.90), notices, and the like ('No Exit').

Note

In the Middle Ages, the letters *ij*, and *y* were used to some extent interchangeably and it is for complicated reasons of paleographical preference (rather than the egocentric immodesty it might suggest) that capital *i*, itself an alternant of *j*, emerged as the regular spelling of the 1st-person singular pronoun.

UL34

The solidus and miscellaneous conventions

Lesser punctuation conventions may be grouped as (a) chiefly technical, and (b) formulaic:

(a) Parenthesized figures or letters commonly distinguish parts of an exposition, like the (a) and (b) in this section; a) and b) are common variants.

The solidus (alias 'slant', 'slash', 'oblique') is used to indicate abbreviation and also to specify alternatives and subsectioning:

the academic year 1975/6

c/o (in postal addresses, read as 'care of')

students and/or staff

Rule A/32

Bold face draws special attention to an item. Prefixing a name by a cross may indicate a church dignitary, and suffixing a name by an obelisk (†) may indicate that the person is dead.

(b) In App 111.18 it was pointed out that beginning a new line was part of the complex symbol separating one paragraph from another. A new line may also specify the formulaic termination of a letter before the signature on a further new line. This convention requires a capital at the beginning of the formula and a comma at the end:

Yours sincerely, (especially BrE) Sincerely yours, (especially AmE)

A new line (often indented) is also used to specify each major item in the structure of postal addresses, except that city and state appear as one line in AmE practice; again each line may terminate with a comma, but a 'light punctuation' variant is also possible and is especially common in AmE use:

Punctuation 1081

Note

A new line is commonly used also for each item in a formal list such as an index\*.

Bibliographical note

Accounts of AmE practice are given in Summey (1949); and University of Chicago Press (1969), pp 103-146; and of BrE practice in Carey (1957); Hart (1974); and Vallins (1952), pp 81-107, and (1953), pp 121-141. AmE and BrE conventions are compared in the alphabetized articles on each of the main punctuation marks in Nicholson (1957). Some aspects of punctuation theory are treated in Firbas (1955).

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