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Introducing some basic concepts for the description of the grammar of English

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## 1. INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

Consider the following extracts. They illustrate specialised uses of language (or **registers**). Can you identify the registers these extracts belong to? What enables you to identify the register? For each extract, try to describe the most salient grammatical properties:

- (1) Reel with horror at the thought of my ex-teacher ever setting eyes on Birches. Wonder what she would have liked me to achieve by now, and wish I had acquired something in the intervening 30 years apart from a street –map of medieval York under each eye.  
Drive off east towards my Alma Mater, where we learnt to avoid sentimentality and cultivate sententiousness. Recall seminars by coal fires. I can still feel the terror. Remember also hot dates. I was kissed by a few desperate youths from Lancashire, but even at the time it felt somehow theoretical.  
Drive through Barford, Burford, Bletchley and Bedford. Deplore failure of Anglo-Saxon imagination when naming towns. Here the French excel. Give them a town, the French have a sentence<sup>2</sup> for it. Colombey-les-Deux –Eglises, Sainte Maximin de la Sainte Baume, St. Jean Pied de Port. ... What we need is more saints: modern celebrity ones – the People's Saints. *EastEnders* alone could supply StPat of the Miraculous Earrings and St Matthew of the Vanishing Video. Arrive at Cambridge and park in leafy street. Must attempt to put *EastEnders* out of my mind. Realise I am quite near real tennis court. Although now as then, cannot provide convincing answer to question " What do you mean by real?"<sup>3</sup>  
The college hall is teeming with women of all ages, and two uneasy-looking young men. Atmosphere similar, I imagine, to that inside a beehive, with everyone crowding around the Queen Bee. ... Drive home and decide to spend the night in a quaint hostelry in Oxfordshire. My room is hot as Hades. Fling off my clothes, open the window, lie gleaming on the bed and wait for the cool night air to arrive. Hobbling barefoot to the bathroom, I discover carpet is hot. It's obvious. I've just got to complain. Get dressed and seek reception. Enquire whether under floor heating is necessary in mid-July. Receptionist admits there are hot pipes beneath that room, and offers me another – an executive suite, no less. I have been intransigent at last, and am rewarded.  
Awoken later by bird warbling loudly in the dark. Every year I have a near-ninghtingale experience and this is it.<sup>4</sup>
- (2) Telephoned Louie. ... Met Gordon J. Lunch Scott's. Saw film *Dr. No*. Show went OK. Audience good. Supper with Mags and Bev. Went to bank at Notting Hill gate and settled Charlie's overdraft with them. Gave them a check for the amount.  
... Show went all right. On the way home I saw a terrible fight in the court on way to Brewer St. so I flew up Berwick Mkt and got a policeman. He came back with me to scene of fight. It was quite horrible. Everyone standing watching and doing nothing<sup>5</sup>
- (3) Chicken Tikka Masala with Basmati Rice  
Dietary information: Not suitable for nut allergy sufferers. Contains: Milk.  
Storage: Keep refrigerated. Suitable for home freezing. Freeze on day of purchase and use within one month.  
Defrost: Defrost thoroughly before use and use within 24 hours. Do not refreeze once defrosted.  
Cooking instructions  
All appliances vary. The following are guidelines only. When using ovens with different powers adjust times accordingly. Check food is piping hot throughout before serving. For fan assisted ovens reduce the temperature according to manufacturer's handbook. Remove sleeve.

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<sup>1</sup> Where relevant, we refer to two basic reference textbooks in French: References to 'Rivière' refer to: RIVIERE Cl. (1995), *Pour une syntaxe simple à l'usage des anglicistes*, Ophrys; References to L&R refer to: LARREYA P. and RIVIERE Cl. (1999), *Grammaire explicative de l'anglais*, Longman. You are warmly encouraged to read these discussions, but be careful: occasionally the terminology differs. This will be pointed out in the text.

<sup>2</sup> Observe that the author does not use the term 'sentence' appropriately here!

<sup>3</sup> Court tennis= game played in court with walls, vs. lawn tennis: played on court without walls

<sup>4</sup> Adapted from Dulcie Donum, 'Bad Housekeeping. Transient intransigence' *Guardian*, Saturday Magazine, July 17, 1999, page 51

<sup>5</sup> *The Kenneth Williams diaries*, October 1962, Harper Collins: 1993/ 200-201.

Pierce film lid twice over both compartments. Cook on full power for 3 minutes. Remove film lid, stir and re-cover. Cook on full power for 4 1/2 minutes. Stand for 1 min. Remove film lid. Stir and serve. Preheat oven to 180°C. Place product on a baking tray.<sup>6</sup>

The above extracts are all illustrations of written registers. (1) and (2) illustrate diary writing ('journal intime'). One salient grammatical feature of diary writing is that the subject pronoun can be omitted. In addition, other elements such as articles (*the, a*) or the verb<sup>7</sup> *be* can be missing. In (2), two occurrences of *have* are also missing. The missing items are restored in parentheses in (1)' and (2)'.

- (1)' (I) reel with horror at the thought of .... (I) wonder what she would have liked me to achieve by now, and (I) wish I had acquired something ... (I) drive off east towards my Alma Mater.... (I) recall seminars by coal fires. (I) remember also hot dates. ... (I) drive through Barford, Burford, Bletchley and Bedford. (I) deplore (the) failure of (the) Anglo-Saxon imagination when naming towns. ... (I) arrive at Cambridge and (I) park in (a) leafy street. (I) must attempt to put *EastEnders* out of my mind. (I) realise I am quite near (the) real tennis court. Although now as then, (I) cannot provide (a) convincing answer to (the) question " What do you mean by real?"
- ... (The) atmosphere (is) similar, I imagine, to that inside a beehive, with everyone crowding around the Queen Bee. ... (I) drive home and (I) decide to spend the night in a quaint hostelry in Oxfordshire. My room is hot as Hades. (I) fling off my clothes, (I) open the window, (I) lie gleaming on the bed and (I) wait for the cool night air to arrive. Hobbling barefoot to the bathroom, I discover (the) carpet is hot.... (I) get dressed and (I) seek (the) reception. (I) enquire whether under floor heating is necessary in mid-July. (The) receptionist admits there are hot pipes beneath that room, and offers me another – an executive suite, no less. I have been intransigent at last, and (I) am rewarded.
- (I am) Awoken later by (a) bird warbling loudly in the dark. Every year I have a near-*nightingale* experience and this is it.
- (2) (I) telephoned Louie. ... (I) met Gordon J. (I had) Lunch (at) Scott's. (I) saw (the) film *Dr. No*. (The) show went OK. (The) audience (was) good. (I had) supper with Mags and Bev. (I) went to (the) bank at Notting Hill Gate and (I) settled Charlie's overdraft with them. (I) gave them a check for the amount. ... (The) show went all right.... He came back with me to (the) scene of (the) fight. Everyone (was) standing watching and doing nothing.

(3) contains the instructions for cooking a ready-made meal. In addition to omissions of articles (*a, the*), subjects and *be*, we note that sometimes the direct object of the verb is missing:

- (3)' Chicken Tikka Masala with Basmati Rice  
Dietary information: (This is) Not suitable for nut allergy sufferers. (It) contains: Milk  
Storage: Keep (this dish) refrigerated. (The dish is) suitable for home freezing. Freeze (the dish) on (the) day of purchase and use (it) within one month.  
Defrost: Defrost (the dish) thoroughly before use and use (it) within 24 hours. Do not refreeze (the dish) once defrosted.  
Cooking instructions  
All appliances vary. The following are guidelines only. When using ovens with different powers adjust (the) times accordingly. Check (the) food is piping hot throughout before serving (it). For fan assisted ovens reduce the temperature according to (the) manufacturer's handbook. Remove (the) sleeve.  
Pierce (the) film lid twice over both compartments. Cook (the dish) on full power for 3 minutes. Remove (the) film lid, stir (the dish) and re-cover (it). Cook (it) on full power for 4 1/2 minutes. Stand (it) for 1 min(ute)<sup>8</sup>. Remove (the) film lid. Stir (the dish) and serve (it).  
Preheat (the) oven to 180°C. Place (the) product on a baking tray.

In the novel extract below the author, Ruth Rendell, reproduces casual conversation. What grammatical properties does she use to characterise the speech of Mrs Crown?

<sup>6</sup> Safeway cooking instructions, 2002

<sup>7</sup> See 1.3.2.4 for the various uses of *be*.

<sup>8</sup> It is obvious that what is intended that the dish should be left to stand for 1 minute, not that the person cooking it should stand for one minute. So *stand* is a transitive verb requiring a direct object, here omitted in the register. The transitive verb *stand* here means 'leave to stand'.

- (4) A violent pounding on the front door made him jump. He went out and opened it and saw Lilian Crown standing there.  
'Oh, it's you, ' she said. 'Thought it might be kids got in. Or squatters. Never know these days, do you?' She wore red trousers and a tee-shirt which would have been better suited to Robin. Brash fearlessness is not a quality generally associated with old women, especially those of her social stratum. Timidity, awe of authority, a need for self-effacement so often get the upper hand after the climacteric – as Sylvia might have pointed out to him with woeful examples – but they had not triumphed over Mrs Crown. She had the boldness of youth, and this surely not induced by gin at ten in the morning.  
'Come in, Mrs Crown,' he said, and he shut the door firmly behind her. She trotted about, sniffing. 'What a pong! Haven't been in here for ten years.' She wrote something in the dust on top of the chest of drawers and let out a girlish giggle.  
His hands full of keys, he said, 'Does the name Farriner mean anything to you?'  
'Cannot say it does.' She tossed her dried grass hair and lit a cigarette. She had come to check that the house hadn't been invaded by vandals, come from only next-door, but she had brought her cigarettes with her and a box of matches. To have a companionable smoke with squatters? She was amazing. 'I suppose your niece had a car, ' he said, and he held up the two small keys.  
'Never brought it here if she did. And she would've. Never missed a chance of showing off.' Her habit of omitting pronouns from her otherwise not particularly economical speech irritated him. He said rather sharply: 'Then whom do these keys belong to?'  
'No good asking me. If she'd got a car left up in London, what'd she leave her keys about down here for? Oh, no, that car'd have been parked outside for all the world to see. Couldn't get herself a man, so she was always showing what she could get. Wonder who'll get her money? Won't be me, though, not so likely'.<sup>9</sup>

Once again we see that Mrs Crown's usage is characterised by subject omissions.

- (4) 'Oh, it's you, ' she said. '(I) thought it might be kids (that) got in. Or squatters. (You) never know these days, do you?'  
'What a pong! (I) Haven't been in here for ten years,'  
'(I) cannot say it does.' '(She) never brought it here if she did. And she would've. (She) never missed a chance of showing off.' Her habit of omitting pronouns from her otherwise not particularly economical speech irritated him. He said rather sharply: 'Then whom do these keys belong to?'  
'(It's) no good asking me. .... (She) couldn't get herself a man, so she was always showing what she could get. (I) wonder who'll get her money? (It) won't be me, though, not so likely'.

It is clear from the extracts that depending on the circumstances in which we are using language we may adopt certain grammatical patterns, and in order to describe these patterns with precision we need to have a solid grasp of the appropriate terminology. One goal of this grammar course is to go over some of that terminology so as to give you the analytical tools to describe language with precision. This will obviously be useful in various circumstances. For instance, when you are teaching English and you wish to differentiate English from, for instance, French or if you are engaged in research about language and you want to analyse a particular property of one or more languages, or again, if you want to characterise the linguistic properties of a literary work. For any description of language, we need to be able to identify elements of the sentence such as, to mention but a few, direct objects, subjects, articles etc.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Rendell, Ruth. *A sleeping life, An Inspector Wexford Mystery*, 1964, Arrow books 1994, pp. 87-8

<sup>10</sup> Section 1: ex.1, ex.2, ex 3.

Footnotes will be used to refer to the exercises. (In addition, we will also clarify terminology, especially when there is a difference between English and French. )

When a footnote says 'Section x, Exercise 1' this means that you can try Exercise 1 in Section x at this point. You can tackle exercises at three points in time. First you can do each exercise at the point in the course when it is signalled by the note. The exercise will allow you to apply what you have just learnt and will provide more illustrations of the concept. You can also try to do the same exercises later on, when you have covered more ground. Doing this will ensure that you still remember the notions which you have learnt previously. Finally, doing all the exercises at the end of the course prepares you for the exam.

## 1.1. Exploring grammar and language use

Language users are aware of the potential for creativity inherent in the grammar of a language and they often explore and exploit grammar in many ways. This is illustrated in the following extracts:

- (6) But today... today Rebus was just having the two drinks. He knew he could walk out after two. To stay for three or four would mean staying either until closing time or until he keeled over. But two... two was a manageable number. He smiled at that word: number, with its possible other meaning – that which made you numb. (Ian Rankin, *The Falls*, Orion, 2001, 222)
- (7) I went to the National Gallery today, but it brought back painful memories of B., so I went back to Soho and paid two pounds to watch a fat girl with spots remove her bra and knickers through a peephole. I watched her through a peephole. She didn't remove her underclothes through a peephole.  
Query: are there night classes in syntax? (Townsend, Sue. 1993. *Adrian Mole. The Wilderness Years*. Mandarin. 248-9)

Once again, if we wish to describe the exploitation of language in the above extracts we will need to have the tools to do so: we need a precise terminology that can distinguish the various uses of words. For instance we need to be able to say that the word *number* in English could be given various analyses:

- (6)' a Three is an uneven number.  
b The Association (PIABA) had 165 members five years back and now numbers nearly 600. (*Washington Post*, 29.4.3, page C2, col 1)  
c My fingers are numb because of the cold and my toes are even number.  
d Alcohol numbs the senses, it is a great number.

In (6a), the word *number* is a noun, its plural would be *numbers*. In (6b) the noun *number* has been converted into a verb, roughly meaning 'count, total'. *Numbers* here is the third person singular. In (6c) *number* is the comparative of the adjective *numb*, *number* here means 'more numb'. In (6d) the author again uses a noun *number*, but this is a special creative use: this noun *number* is related to a verb (*numb*, 'make numb'). This verb *numb* itself is a so-called **causative** verb ('x numbs y' means 'x causes y to become numb'), which is related to the adjective *numb* (6c). The causative verb *numb* is related to the adjective *numb* in the same way that the causative verb *clean* ('make clean') is related to the adjective *clean*, and the causative verb *tidy* ('make tidy') is related to the adjective *tidy*. *Number* in (d) is a noun related to the verb *numb*. The noun *number* now has the meaning 'that which numbs', 'that which makes you numb'. This **derived** noun *number* is formed in the same way that we form the N *cleaner* from the verb *clean*. The author forms new words (the verb *numb*, the noun *number*) on the basis of existing patterns (*clean*, *cleaner*). The creative use of language such as that illustrated in (6) is only possible and can only be understood if a speaker/hearer<sup>11</sup> is aware of the potential for creativity inherent in language. In this particular case, the author exploits the grammatical potential for word creation: the fact that we can **derive** one word from another. This issue will be dealt with in more detail in the linguistics programme in the second semester.

In (7) the author exploits what is called a structural **ambiguity**, the fact that one string of words may have two meanings. This issue will also be dealt with in more detail in the linguistics programme in the second semester. In order to be able to deal with the ambiguity in (7) we need to be able to divide sentences into their parts and show relationship between these parts. This is sometimes referred to as 'parsing'. Here is what the famous French linguist Antoine Culioli says about the role of parsing in all work on language:

".le stade du classificatoire, j'insiste là-dessus, c'est absolument fondamental. On ne peut pas se passer du classificatoire, comme on ne peut pas se passer de l'analyse distributionnelle, comme on ne peut pas se passer d'analyses syntaxiques les plus élémentaires que l'on puisse imaginer, comme le découpage en parties du discours par exemple!

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<sup>11</sup> Or a writer/reader when we are talking about written languages.

Tout cela, il est évident qu'il n'est pas question de le tourner en dérision, au contraire: c'est véritablement une partie du travail qui est fastidieuse, difficile, mais sans laquelle rien ne peut se faire. Et il ne faudrait surtout pas s'imaginer que l'énonciatif, c'est tourner le dos, donc, à tout un ensemble de pratiques qui ont fait la constitution des grammaires telles que nous les connaissons."  
(Antoine Culioli, *Variations sur la linguistique. Entretien avec Frédéric Fau*, Klincksieck, 2002, p.37 )

The goal of the present course is, among other things, to give you an inventory of the most important terms used for parsing, i.e. to describe word classes and to demarcate and label the components of the sentence. It may well be that you do not always find this the most riveting part of the study of English (Culioli calls it 'une partie du travail qui est fastidieuse, difficile') but it is essential for any language work.

It is clear that as users of English, and even before launching into the text below, you are familiar with many of the concepts that we will be dealing with. Consider, for instance, the underlined words in the following sentences. Which class of words (noun, verb, adjective, adverb, preposition) do you think they belong to? Before you continue reading the text below the examples, try to give your own answer to the question.

- (8) a Everybody has the right to express his opinion.  
b The right answer is not always the most obvious one.  
c They always book the same table at our local fish restaurant.  
d That book is outrageously expensive.  
e Don't worry you will be fine.  
f Be careful or they will fine you again.  
g The fine has to be paid in two weeks' time.  
h They have refused to increase my pay.  
i They don't pay well here.  
j I need some sleep.  
k We sleep in the caravan while they are changing the floorboards.  
l The place was so still that we could hear the birds in the woods.  
m They are still half asleep.  
n This is not fair: you cannot change the rules like that.  
o I met him at the local fair.  
p It took me a long time to get there.  
q I long to see her again.  
r The lay members of the organisation voted against the proposal.  
s She lay down in the luxurious bath.  
t The present members of the society presented her to the new director.  
u I have lost my ring.  
v The phone is ringing.

Answers: (8a) *right* : noun (8b); *right* adjective; (8c) *book*: verb; (8d) *book*: noun; (8e) *fine*: adjective; (8f) *fine*: verb; (8g) *fine*: noun; (8h) *pay*: noun; (8i) *pay*: verb; (8j) *sleep*: noun; (8k) *sleep*: verb; (8l) *still*: adjective; (8m) *still*: adverb; (8n) *fair*: adjective; (8o) *fair*: noun; (8p) *long*: adjective; (8q) *long*: verb; (8r) *lay*: adjective; (8s) *lay*: past tense of verb *lie*; (8t) *present* : adjective; *presented*: past tense of verb *present*; (8u) *ring* noun; (8v) *ringing*: present participle of verb *ring*.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> In the current text we have adopted a number of typographic conventions. When we mention a word or a string of words as an example IN the text we use italics (*book, door*); when we give a complete example, with its own number and set off from the text, we do not use italics. We use quotation marks to indicate the meaning of a word (the verb *clean* means 'make clean'). When we cite somebody's words in the text we use quotation marks; when a citation is set off from the text we indent it and do not use quotation marks. When we discuss a verb we will give the bare stem (*eat, sleep, clean*); note in particular that we do not add *to* unless we are particularly interested in the sequence *to* + verb.

In what follows we will examine examples of English usage and go over the various techniques that can be used to identify the words and sequences of words in a sentence and we will develop some tools to describe English sentences. We will investigate patterns of English usage and provide exercises to allow you to practice your own use of these particular patterns.<sup>13</sup>

## 1.2. Describing sentences

A sentence is a unit of grammar. There are conventions to isolate sentences. In writing, sentences tend to begin with a capital letter and end with a full stop, an exclamation mark or an interrogation mark. In speech, sentences are separated off from each other by their prosody. That sentences usually contain one or more words is presumably uncontroversial. We can also say as a first approximation that a sentence normally contains a verb and a subject (though there may be exceptions to that, as we have seen already). It is also clear that the words that make up a sentence occur in a certain order and that, although there may be some variation, word order in a sentence is by no means completely free. In example (9a), the order of the words can be changed somewhat (9b, for instance), but not all conceivable word orders are possible (9c,d). The impossible word orders in (9c) and (9d) are excluded by the grammar of English; these examples are said to be **ungrammatical** (ungrammaticality is indicated by the diacritic symbol \*, more will be said about the concept ungrammaticality in the linguistics classes).

- (9) a The teacher will meet his friend in the new gallery after lunch.  
b After lunch, the teacher will meet his friend in the new gallery.  
c \*The meet gallery will his in friend teacher the new lunch young after.  
d \*Teacher the young will meet friend his new in the gallery lunch after.

There are restrictions (or **constraints**) on the position of words in a sentence. In order to formulate these constraints, we distinguish **classes** or **categories** of words. Word classes are also referred to as **parts of speech**. Typically, we distinguish, for instance, **nouns** from **verbs**. In (9a) *teacher, friend, gallery* and *lunch* are nouns, *meet* is a verb (and so would be *abandon, eat, regulate, seem, like, please*). As we have already seen in example (8), some items belong to different classes.

Sometimes it is proposed that word classes (nouns and verbs, for instance) can be set apart **semantically** (= in terms of their meaning) in that nouns denote persons or objects and that verbs denote actions. For instance, we could say that there are two words *book*. The noun *book* denotes an object and the verb *book* denotes an activity ('make a reservation'). However, even a quick perusal of example (9e) shows that a **semantic** (also called **notional**) definition of categories is problematic: both the words *activity* and *declaration* are nouns but they clearly denote actions; the word *seem* is a verb but it is hard to relate it to an 'activity'. In the example we indicate the category of the word/the part of speech by an abbreviation. N stands for noun, V stands for verb. The square brackets [ ] are used to demarcate the unit to which the label applies, or to use the technical term, the **constituent**; [<sub>N</sub> *activity*] means that the word *activity* is a noun.<sup>14</sup>

- (9) e The recent [<sub>N</sub> *activity*] of the fire-fighters may [<sub>V</sub> *seem*] like a [<sub>N</sub> *declaration*] of war.

Because it is hard to use a notional/semantic basis for the classification of words, let us turn to some

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<sup>13</sup> In normal characters you will find the essential components of the course. In some sections in small print you find additional information which is not part of the core material of the course. We include some comments on particular constructions, on differing terminology (especially between French and English grammarians) and also notes on variation in usage which you may have observed. If you find the text hard to deal with at first, then it may be best to at first ignore the small print sections. You could return to those once you have progressed a bit more.

<sup>14</sup> The labelled bracketing notation introduced here will also be used in the linguistics TD in the second semester.

other and perhaps more reliable criteria. Very often it is proposed that we can identify the category that a word belongs to by considering its form and its distribution. These criteria will be elaborated here.

### 1.3. Parts of speech / categories

#### 1.3.1. Nouns<sup>15</sup>

In spite of their semantic differences, the words *teacher*, *friend*, *gallery*, *lunch* share a number of properties. All these words belong to the same category: they are all nouns. As nouns, the words *teacher*, *friend*, *gallery*, *lunch* share formal or **morphological** properties; more specifically they share **inflectional** properties. We talk about **inflection** when referring to the different forms that the same word can take. For instance, a noun typically can be inflected for number (plural) or it can have a genitive ending ('s).<sup>16</sup> The words *teacher*, *friend*, *gallery* and *lunch* are singular nouns, their **plural** is formed by adding the suffix *-s*:

- (10) a. a teacher            two teachers            b. a friend            two friends  
      c. a gallery            two galleries            d. a lunch            two lunches

These nouns can also be associated with the **genitive** suffix:

- (11) a. the teacher's job            b. the friend's name            c. the gallery's owner

As we will see below, like nouns, verbs and adjectives also have specific morphological/inflectional properties.

Words belonging to the same category also have a similar **distribution**: this means that they appear in similar positions in the sentence. Typically, nouns can be preceded immediately by the definite article *the*, or by the possessive pronoun *his*:

- (12) the teacher            his teacher            the friend            his friend  
      the gallery            his gallery            the lunch            his lunch

Other words belonging to the category of nouns are listed in (13):

- (13) a. mother, daughter, girl, door, window, writer, soldier, bomb  
      b. love, hatred, justice, friendship, faith, hope, charity, horror  
      c. water, food, milk, flour, sugar, cream, mud, blood, gas

In exercise (8) above, the word *right* is a noun in (8a): it can have a plural form *rights*:

- (8) a' The rights of the employees have to be protected.

Similarly, *book* in (8d), *fine* in (8g), *fair* in (8o) and *ring* in (8u) have plural forms and therefore are nouns.

There are differences between types of nouns. For instance, semantically the set of nouns in (13a) contrasts with that in (13b): (13a) lists nouns denoting concrete entities, objects or persons, while the nouns in (13b) denote abstract entities. Nevertheless, by virtue of their **distribution** the

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Rivière pp. 26-7

<sup>16</sup> In the linguistics classes in the second semester there is additional discussion of inflection and we will distinguish it from **derivation**. **Derivation** is the term used to describe a situation when we create a new word on the basis of an existing word: for instance, the word *bookish* is an adjective, it is derived from the existing word *book*, itself a N, by adding a **derivational affix** *-ish*. (cf. section 1.3.7). We have briefly illustrated derivation in example (6).

words in (13b) are nouns:

- (14) the/my love; the/my hatred; the/my justice; the/my friendship; the/my faith; the/my hope;  
the/my charity; the/my horror

There are considerable complications, some of which we briefly discuss here. (For much more discussion see also Larreya and Rivière, Chapter II, section 13). For instance, the sequence *the* + noun in (13b/14a) cannot always easily be used as such. It will sometimes have to be modified by further material:

- (i) a. \*The love moved everyone.  
b. The love for his country which inspired his actions moved everyone.

If they have no modifier, abstract words such as *love* are used without the article in English:

- (i) c. Love makes the world go round.

Some of the words in (13b) do not easily allow for plural morphology:

- (i) d. \*hatreds; \*justices.

The absence of a plural for words like *hatred* or *justice* derives from their meaning: these nouns denote abstract entities that are not conceived of as discrete units, and therefore they are not countable. Abstract nouns can become compatible with plural morphology when they are given a countable reading:

- (i) e. The friendships and loves of members of the royal family always interest the public.  
f. I have supported several charities in my life.  
g. We should never allow mankind to forget the horrors of the war.  
h. This is one of the best educations around, and if people are asked to pay £2,000 more, I think they mostly will. (about Imperial College, *Guardian*, G2, 28.1.3, page 12, col 3)

The nouns listed in (13c) are also usually incompatible with plural morphology. Again, the concepts denoted by these words are not concrete discrete entities; rather, the nouns denote non-discrete quantities. The words in (13c) are called **mass** nouns; they are not countable.

- (15) a. \*waters, \*foods, \*milks, \*flours, \*sugars, \*creams, \*muds, \*bloods.  
b. \*an/one information: \*a/one water; \*a/one food; etc.

In (8) above the nouns *pay* in (8h) and *sleep* in (8j) do not seem to have a plural form either. This means that if we simply were to only go by the form of the word, it would be hard to say that these instances of *pay* and *sleep* are nouns. However, distributionally these words do fall into the class of nouns: both the nouns *pay* and *sleep* occur in contexts in which we typically find nouns as shown in (16):

- (16) a. His sleep was disturbed by the noise.  
b. We should respect the sleep of the innocent.  
c. His pay was increased over the years.  
d. They have to work long hours and the pay is derisory.

We have so far identified one class of words, or one **lexical category**: nouns. With respect to their morphology, nouns can have plural endings or genitive endings; distributionally, nouns can typically be preceded by an article (*the*, *a*) or by a possessive pronoun (*my*, *your*, etc.).

1.3.2. Verbs

1.3.2.1. LEXICAL VERBS OR FULL VERBS<sup>17</sup>

Another word class that is easily identified at an intuitive level is the class of verbs. In our original example (9a), *meet* is a verb. The word *book* is a verb in (8c) while it is a noun in (8d), *fine* is an adjective in (8e), a noun in (8g) and a verb in (8f), *pay* is a noun in (8h) and a verb in (8i), *sleep* is a noun in (8j) and a verb in (8k), *long* is an adjective in (8p) and a verb in (8q), *lay* is an adjective in (8r) and the past tense of a verb (*lie*) in (8s), in (8t) *present* is once an adjective and once a verb.

Adopting the type of criteria developed for the identification of the noun in section 1.1, we can identify verbs by appealing to their inflectional and distributional properties. Finite verbs are inflected for **tense**, they display a contrast between a past (or preterit) tense form (e.g. *met*) and an **unmarked** form, which is often labelled the present tense. We will also be using the label present tense here, but you should bear in mind that there is no inflection on the verb which in itself indicates present tense. We say that the present tense is the unmarked form.<sup>18</sup> For regular verbs, the past tense form is composed of the stem of the verb followed by the past tense inflectional ending *-ed*; for irregular verbs - the verb *meet* is a case in point - there is an alternative past tense form. In what we refer to as the 'present tense', English verbs display agreement morphology: verbs have the third person singular inflectional ending *-s*, which attaches to the base of the verb. There are also non-finite forms of the verb, which show neither tense nor agreement inflection. Verbs may end in *-ing*; depending on its use, this form is referred to as the present participle or the gerund (see section 3.3.3.1.1.). Verbs may appear in the past participle form, which is formed by affixation of *-ed* or *-en* to the stem. Again, irregular verbs form their past participles differently. The infinitival form of the verb corresponds to the bare stem.

(17)	present tense	past tense	<i>-ing</i> form	past participle	infinitive
a	meet-s,	met,	meeting,	met,	meet
b	work-s,	work-ed,	work-ing,	work-ed,	work
c	talk-s,	talk-ed	talk-ing	talk-ed	talk

In the relevant examples of exercise (8) we have changed the tense morphology of the verbs:

- (8) c' They always booked the same table at our local fish restaurant.  
 f' I cannot believe that they fined you again.  
 i' They paid well here.  
 k' We slept in the caravan while they were changing the floorboards.  
 q' I longed to see her again.  
 t He presents her to the new director.  
 v The phone rang.

Distributionally, the bare stem (the bare infinitive) of the verb can be preceded by elements such as *will*, *can*, and *must*, which we call modal auxiliaries, or by the element *to*. We return to the status of modal auxiliaries and *to* below:

- (18) a. Thelma will meet Louise in the local gallery after lunch.  
 b. Thelma can meet Louise in the local gallery after lunch.  
 c. Thelma must meet Louise in the local gallery after lunch.<sup>19</sup>  
 d. It was important for Thelma to meet Louise in the local gallery after lunch.

<sup>17</sup> Rivière section 2, 6.2.

<sup>18</sup> For the use of these tenses see Larreya and Rivière, chapter 1, section 4.

<sup>19</sup> Observe that (18a-c) merely shows that the modal auxiliaries have the same distribution with respect to subject and verb. It is obvious that the sentences in (18a-c) do not have the same meaning: inserting a different modal brings about a change of meaning (see L&R Chapter 1, sections 8 and 9).

Again, distributionally the words that we identified as verbs in exercise (8) fit this criterion:

- (8) c'' They will always book the same table at our local fish restaurant.  
f'' Be careful or they will fine you again.  
j'' They won't pay well here.  
k'' We have to sleep in the caravan while they are changing the floorboards.  
s'' She will lie down in the bath.  
t'' He will present her to the new director.  
v The phone would ring for hours.

### 1.3.2.2. AUXILIARIES (L&R<sup>20</sup> SECTION 2.1.)

Using the criteria set out above, we conclude that words usually referred to as 'auxiliaries' are also verbs. (19) illustrates the so-called progressive (or continuous) use of *be*: the auxiliary *be* is used in combination with the present participle to express (roughly) an ongoing activity. As can be seen, progressive *be* occurs in a 'present tense form' in (19a), in a past tense form in (19b), it is a past participle in (19c), it follows a modal *will* in (19d), and it follows *to* in (19e):

- (19) a The teacher is meeting the students.  
b The teacher was meeting the students.  
c The teacher has been meeting the students for a while.  
d The teacher will be meeting the students.  
e I expect to be meeting the students.

Similarly, the perfect auxiliary *have* displays all the morphological and distributional properties of a verb (20):

- (20) a The teacher has met the students.  
b The teacher had met the students.  
c Having met the student, the teacher went home.  
d The teacher will have met the students for a while.  
e The teacher expects to have met the student by four.

However, auxiliaries have distributional properties that set them apart from the other verbs: typically, auxiliaries can **invert** with the subject - for instance in questions. Auxiliaries can be followed immediately by the negation marker *not*, and they can contract with *not*. Ordinary verbs like *meet* do not invert with the subject and the use of the negation marker *not* with such verbs triggers the insertion of the auxiliary *do*.<sup>21</sup>

- (21) a The teacher is meeting the student.      b Is the teacher meeting the student?  
c The teacher is not meeting the student.      d The teacher isn't meeting the student.

- (22) a The teacher met the student.  
b \*Met the teacher the student?      Did the teacher meet the student?  
c \*The teacher met not the student.      The teacher did not meet the student.  
d \*The teacher meetn't the student.      The teacher didn't meet the student.

If we want to emphasise that a state of affairs expressed in a sentence really holds at a certain point in

<sup>20</sup> L&R= Larreya P. and C. Rivière (1999) *Grammaire explicative de l'anglais*. Longman.

<sup>21</sup> Observe that English differs from French: in French ordinary verbs can invert with a pronoun subject and they can precede *pas*:

(i) Rencontre-t-il souvent ses étudiants?      (ii) Il ne rencontre pas ses étudiants.

time, we stress the inflected auxiliary. When there is no inflected auxiliary in the sentence, we do not stress the verb; rather we insert and stress the auxiliary *do*. This use of *do*, illustrated in (23b), is sometimes called the '**emphatic** use of *do*'.

- (23) a The teacher **IS** meeting the student. b The teacher **DID** meet the student.

Some attested examples to illustrate the emphatic use of the auxiliary *do* are given in (23c) and (23d)

- (23) c Photographers aren't allowed to alter their photos in a way that misleads you, from posing a photo to digitally deleting a stray hair or telephone wire. The *Post* does allow photographers to do some things to their pictures. They can 'enhance for reproduction', meaning they can adjust the colours slightly so they will print better on the paper's presses. (*Washington Post*, 10.12.2, page C14, col 3)
- d I am glad that Roy Grimwood points out the advantages our generation (1960s) has had from university and which, thanks to the Thatcherite legacy, we would deny others. However, while no doubt many graduates do earn extra because of their qualifications, it must not be assumed that all do. (letter to the editor Robert Bracegirdle, Rothley, Leicestershire, *Guardian*, 7.12.2, page 11, col 5)

As you can see in both examples *do* emphasises that a state of affairs is true, and opposes this to it not being true ('photographers aren't allowed... does allow'; 'many graduates do earn... it must not be assumed that all do.').<sup>22</sup>

In (24a), which contains an auxiliary, we can **ellipt** the sequence *meeting the student* (a verb phrase, see section 2.6<sup>23</sup>). If we wish to ellipt the verb phrase in a sentence without an auxiliary such as (24b), we once again insert the auxiliary *do*. In (24a') the symbol  $\emptyset$  signals ellipted material.<sup>24</sup>

- (24) a The teacher is meeting the student tonight.  
a' He is  $\emptyset$  indeed. He has been waiting for hours.  
b The teacher met the student last week.  
b' He did  $\emptyset$  indeed. He had been waiting for hours.

In (24b') ellipsis of the past tense verb phrase is not possible without the insertion of *do*, itself in the past tense.<sup>25</sup>

Auxiliaries such as *be*, *have* are typically followed by a unit (in technical terms a **constituent**) containing a least a verb (for verb phrases see section 2.6); ordinary verbs like *meet*, *eat*, *sleep* are not necessarily accompanied by such a verbal constituent. Verbs which do not have the properties of auxiliaries are referred to as **full** verbs or as **lexical** verbs. *Meet*, for instance, is a full verb.

- (25) a The teacher is [[<sub>V</sub> meeting] the student].  
b The teacher has [[<sub>V</sub> met] the student].  
c The student is [[<sub>V</sub> met] by the teacher].

In addition to *be* and *have*, there are also **modal auxiliaries** or **modals** such as *can*, *must*, *shall*, *will*, *may*. Modal auxiliaries have the distribution of auxiliaries: they are typically followed by a constituent containing a verb, they invert with the subject (26b), they can be negated with *not* (26c), they can be stressed for emphasis and the VP following them can be ellipted without the need for the insertion of

<sup>22</sup> Section 2.1, ex. 11.

<sup>23</sup> For this use of the term 'verb phrase' see also the discussion in the linguistics classes in the second semester.

<sup>24</sup> Alternatively, in (24a') the auxiliary *is* could be said to represent ('stand for') the combination of auxiliary + VP (*is* = 'is meeting the students tonight').

<sup>25</sup> Alternatively, *did* could be said to stand for *met the student last week*. (on ellipsis see L&R chapter 30, section 3).

*do* (26d,e). Formally, some modals (*can, may, shall, will*) have a past tense form (*could, might, should, would*). English modal auxiliaries do not have participles or infinitives, they must be the first verbal element in the sentence (26f).

- (26) a The teacher will [[<sub>V</sub> meet] the student].  
b Will the teacher [[<sub>V</sub> meet] the student?]  
c The teacher won't (will not) [[<sub>V</sub> meet] the student].  
d The teacher really WILL [[<sub>V</sub> meet] the student].  
e He will ∅ indeed.  
f He will be able to come.  
NOT: \*He will can come

Observe that if a verb is followed by another verb, that particular word-order as such does not automatically make the first verb of the string V-V an auxiliary. For instance, in (27) the verb *want* is followed by (*to*) *leave* but *want* is a full verb, witness its distributional properties in (27b-d):

- (27) a I want to leave now.  
b Do you want to leave? \*Want you to leave?  
c I don't want to leave? \*I wantn't to leave.  
d I don't want to ∅. \*I don't want ∅.

The verb *ought* is special in that, though it is followed by *to*, it behaves like a modal auxiliary in that it inverts with the subject and it is negated with *not*:

- (28) a He ought to leave now.  
b Ought he to leave now?  
c He oughtn't to leave.<sup>26</sup>

For the use of *dare* and *need* read the discussion in Larreya and Rivière 116-118. As you will observe, these verbs can behave like verbs (*do*-insertion) but in certain contexts (negative, interrogative) they also can behave like auxiliaries.<sup>27</sup>

### 1.3.2.3. LEXICAL ELEMENTS VS. FUNCTIONAL ELEMENTS.

Verbs such as *meet, eat, sleep*, are **lexical** verbs or full verbs. Such verbs contribute to the descriptive content of the sentence: they express a state of affairs (event, situation) involving one or more participants ('actants', 'arguments') and by their very presence they impose that certain components in a sentence become (near) obligatory. For instance, *abandon* is a so-called **transitive** verb (see section 2.3.1) which typically requires that the sentence in which it occurs contain a direct object.

Auxiliaries are typically accompanied by a constituent containing a verb (except in the case of VP ellipsis, of course). Auxiliaries do not describe a state of affairs, but rather they serve to specify the likelihood/ time/ development of the state of affairs expressed by the sentence in which they occur. The sentences in (29) all depict the same state of affairs, the same event. They obviously do not have the same meaning: because of the different choice of auxiliary, they differ in the timing, in the development, in the likelihood of the event etc.

- (29) a The teacher meets the student every week.  
b The teacher met the student every week.  
c The teacher is meeting the student every week.  
d The teacher has met the student every week.  
e The teacher will meet the student every week.

<sup>26</sup> For more discussion see Larreya and Rivière page 115 ff.

<sup>27</sup> Ex. Section 2.1. ex 8, ex 9, section 2.2. ex 19, ex 20, ex 21, ex 22

f The teacher may meet the student ever week.

That auxiliaries do not contribute to the descriptive content of the sentence is probably also the reason why they can sometimes be omitted in certain registers. In extract (2) we found:

(29) g Everyone (was) standing watching and doing nothing.

We can make an exhaustive list of all auxiliaries, while it would be impossible to list all English lexical verbs. One can create new verbs quite easily when they are needed to express new notions (*download, email, weaponise*). The class of auxiliaries is fixed by the grammar. We say that the category of verbs constitutes an **open** class; the class of auxiliaries constitutes a **closed** class. Auxiliaries are sometimes referred to as **functional** elements, as **function words** or as **grammatical** words.

#### 1.3.2.4. COPULA BE AND POSSESSIVE HAVE.

##### 1.3.2.4.1. Copula *be*

Consider the following sentences:

(30) a John Smith was the first to reach the top.      b Mary is ill.  
c The new texts are now in store.

All three examples contain just one verb, the verb *be*. Since *be* is not followed by verbal material, it might seem at first that this verb cannot be an auxiliary. However, observe that in (30), the verb *be* does not really make a descriptive contribution to the sentence. In various types of abbreviated writing such as diaries, newspaper headlines, advertisements, one might come across strings like the following, in which the verb *be* has been deleted.

(31) a John Smith the first to reach the top!      b Queen unable to come to conference.  
c Atmosphere similar, I imagine, to that inside a beehive. (cf. (1))  
d Audience good. (cf. (2))      e New computers now in store!  
f Drivers safe after 21 hours lost at sea in Sri Lanka. (*Guardian* 28.12.2, p 4, headline)  
g Homes on flood alert. (*Guardian* 28.12.2, p 5, headline)

We can easily figure out what the strings in (31) are supposed to mean. The verb *be* merely serves to link the **subject** NP (see section 2.3.1) with a **predicate**, a constituent ascribing a property to that subject. The verb *be* in this particular use is sometimes called a **linking verb** or a **copula**. Distributionally, copular *be* is like an auxiliary:<sup>28</sup>

(32) a John Smith was the first to reach the top.  
b Was John Smith the first to reach the top?  
c John Smith wasn't the first to reach the top after all.  
d John Smith really WAS the first to reach the top.  
e He was ∅ indeed. No one was able to beat him.

It is usually assumed that copular *be* is also a functional element. Whether we call it an auxiliary or not depends on our definition of the term. If we insist that an auxiliary must be associated with a verb phrase, then copular *be* is not an auxiliary strictly speaking. But if we invoke distributional criteria (inversion, negation, emphasis, ellipsis) then copula *be* is classified as an auxiliary. Note, though, that copula *be* can be accompanied by the auxiliary *do* in the imperative:<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> See also L&R chapter 22, section 2.4

<sup>29</sup> Exercise: section 2.1. ex 10

- (32) f Do be quiet. Don't be afraid.

1.3.2.4.2. Possessive have

Consider the examples in (33), they illustrate the verb *have* used to express what we could loosely label a possessive relation:

- (33) a The dog has fleas. b The cat doesn't have fleas.  
c Does your cat have fleas? d This dog really DOES have fleas.  
e It doesn't!

The examples in (33) suggest that possessive *have* is a full verb or a lexical verb. So we conclude that in addition to auxiliary *have*, English has a lexical verb *have* expressing (among other things) possession. Consider, however, the following attested examples taken from British English. In all of them, the verb *have* expresses what could again be loosely defined as 'possession'; again it is not associated with a verb phrase, and yet *have* behaves distributionally as if it were an auxiliary:

- (34) a **Has** she any children? (David Storey, *Pasmore*, Longman 1972, Penguin 1976, p58)  
b '**Have** you a boyfriend?' he asked her when their coffee came. (Barbara Vine, *The chimney sweeper's boy*, Viking 1998, Penguin edn 1998, p. 77)  
c '**Have** you a ladder on the premises?' (Ruth Rendell, *Harm done*, Penguin 2000, page 155)  
d He is alarmingly haunted by the ornate horror stories of the writer whom he contacts frequently to ask such questions as, "**Have** you an education at all?" (*Sunday Times*, 3.9.2000, Culture, page 46, col 2)  
e You **haven't** much confidence. (David Storey, *Pasmore*, Longman 1972, Penguin 1976, p53)  
f All the same, he reflected, Miss Bulstrode had something that Miss Vansittart **had** not. (Agatha Christie, *Cat among pigeons*, Fontana 1962, Harper Collins 1959, page 94)  
g 'I expect you have a recent photograph of Sanchia,' he said. They **hadn't**. (Ruth Rendell, *Harm done*, Penguin 2000, page 158)  
h 'I have nowhere to go.' '**Haven't** you your room?' Newsome asked. He didn't answer. '**Haven't** you your room, then?' Newsome said again. (David Storey, *Pasmore*, Longman 1972, Penguin 1976: 154)

Whether we call possessive *have* in (34) an auxiliary or not depends again on our definition of the term (see the discussion of copula *be*). If we insist that an auxiliary must be followed by a verb phrase, then even in the British English examples in (34) possessive *have* is not an auxiliary strictly speaking. But if we consider distributional properties (inversion, negation, emphasis, ellipsis) as defining characteristics, then in this use in (34) possessive *have* could be classified as an auxiliary.

*Have* is also used as a **causative** verb:

- (i) a I had my hair cut last week.  
b I had my students redo the test.  
c I had him working on the project.

In this causative use *have* is a lexical verb:

- (ii) a Did you have your hair cut?  
b Did you have your students redo the test?  
c Did you have them working on this project?

*Have* can also be used with a noun to create a periphrastic verbal expression:

- (iii) a We have lunch at four = we lunched  
b We have a shower at night = we shower

In this use, *have* is a lexical verb

- (iii) c We don't have lunch on Mondays

### 1.3.3. Adjectives

Adjectives such as *right, fine, fair, long, young, new, blue, linguistic, present* form a third class of words. With respect to their morphology, a sub-group of adjectives - those that are gradable - can be associated with the affixes *-er* and *-est* to express degree. The form in *-er* is the **comparative** form; the form in *-est* is called the **superlative** form. For other adjectives, the same type of meaning is expressed by means of the degree adverbs *more/most*. Co-occurrence with degree adverbs such as *more* and *most* is then one distributional property of some adjectives.

(35) Gradable adjectives: comparative and superlative

adjective	comparative	superlative
young	younger	youngest
new	newer	newest
kinder	kindest	kindest
long	longer	longest
fair	fairer	fairest
attractive	more attractive	most attractive
important	more important	most important

Other degree adverbs preceding gradable adjectives are *very, so, too, quite, rather, that* and interrogative *how*:

(36)

(a)	very young	very kind	very attractive	very important	very long
(b)	so young	so kind	so attractive	so important	so long
(c)	too young	too kind	too attractive	too important	too long
(d)	quite young	quite kind	quite attractive	quite important	quite long
(e)	rather young	rather kind	rather attractive	rather important	rather long
(f)	that young	that kind	that attractive	that important	that long
(g)	how young	how kind	how attractive	how important	how long

Non-gradable adjectives cannot be combined with degree words, since their meanings do not admit of gradation. So we need to look at other properties to define the class. Most adjectives may be used as **attributive** modifiers of a noun, in which case they occur in the following context:

(37)

a.	the	_____	noun
b.	my/your/his/her/our/your/their	_____	noun
c.	many	_____	noun

  

the young linguist	my young friend	many new galleries
the new church	my favourite recipe	many red shirts

Most adjectives can also occur as **predicates** (see section 2.2.1.), which means they can be inserted after copula *be*.<sup>30</sup>

(38)

a.	The N is _____	c.	The teacher is new.
b.	The teacher is young.		

Some adjectives have a more restricted distribution in that they only occur in the context in (37) (*mere, utter, sheer, main, principal*), others occur only in the context in (38) (*aware, alone, afraid, ill*) (see section 2.4.). Sometimes the meaning of the adjective is different depending on whether it is prenominal or whether it is a predicate:

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Rivière Section 2, 4.

- (39) a the present members They are present.  
b the late president The president is late.

#### 1.3.4. Adverbs

Where adjective typically associate with noun phrases (attributively or predicatively), adverbs are a rather heterogeneous class. Adverbs associate with verbs or with constituents containing a verb; some adverbs may also associate with adjective phrases (specifically those marking a degree), with prepositional phrases or with other adverbs. Adverbs are sometimes morphologically related to adjectives. For instance, *careful* is an adjective; *carefully* is the corresponding adverb. Other adjectives do not have a relation to adjectives (*still, already, always, now*). Like gradable adjectives, gradable adverbs such as *carefully* can be modified by degree words:

- (40) a. She painted the windows very carefully.  
b. She paints more carefully than her husband.  
c. She painted the door so carefully that no one noticed the difference.  
d. She paints too carefully; she'll never finish on time.  
e. She painted the windows quite carefully.  
f. She painted the windows rather carefully.  
g. She need not paint that carefully.<sup>31</sup>  
h. How carefully have you painted the windows?

Adverbs modify adjectival phrases in (41a,b), prepositional phrases in (41c,d,e), and in (40c,d,e,f,g) above, the adverb *carefully* is modified by another adverb (*so, too, quite, rather, that*).

- (41) a She is terribly young. b They are rather naive.  
c She is vehemently against the war. (*Guardian*, G2, 4.3/3/, page 4, col 2)  
d They are really in love. e This is totally out of the question.

As shown by the examples, the category of adverbs contains a number of distinct elements, and it is therefore hard to give it a unified treatment. Some adverbs, such as *carefully*, are morphologically related to adjectives (42a); others, such as *long, hard*, are formally identical to adjectives (42b), another group may be semantically related to adjectives but is formally different (the adverb *well* as opposed to the adjective *good* in (42c)). Degree adverbs such as *very, too, quite, rather* etc, which modify adjectives (36) or adverbs (40), or temporal or frequency adverbs such as *always, never, often, then, already, now* etc. have no obvious morphological relation to adjectives:

- (42) a. She carefully prepared the dinner. cf. A careful preparation  
b. The food has cooked too long. A long preparation  
She worked hard. This is a hard task.  
c. He did not prepare it well enough. A good preparation

#### 1.3.5. Prepositions<sup>32</sup>

A final class of words consists of items like *in, on, under, after, before* etc. These words are called **prepositions**. Morphologically, prepositions are invariant. With respect to their distribution we observe that they can typically be followed by the string determiner + noun, a noun phrase (see also section 2.1. on NP). The element that follows the preposition is called its **complement**. In (43a) the

<sup>31</sup> The demonstrative element *that* modifies an adverb *carefully* and it can be said to be used as an adverb. The demonstrative can function as a determiner in the NP (*I don't want that book*) or it can be used independently (*I don't want that*). *That* can also be a conjunction (*I think that she is ill*) and it can be used to introduce a relative clause (*The house that you see over there...*), see 4.2.

<sup>32</sup> CF. Rivière section 2, 5.1.



Alternatively, grammarians analyse the underlined words in (45a-c) as prepositions whose complement NP has been ellipited (45e). As can be seen in the attested examples, the recovery of the ellipited material will be based on contextual information.

- (45) f I had seen him [<sub>PP</sub> before [<sub>NP</sub> Ø]].  
 . Shortly [<sub>PP</sub> after [<sub>NP</sub> Ø]], Zimbabwe was suspended from the councils of the Commonwealth.

Finally, words that are identical in form to prepositions are also found in examples such as (46):

- (46) a I gave up my job when I was twenty-two.  
 b I gave my job up when I was twenty-six.  
 c I gave it up when I was twenty-six.

In these examples *up* has a close relation to the verb: *give up* means roughly ‘abandon’. Traditionally in this use *up* is called a (adverbial) **particle**, and the sequence *give up* is referred to as a **verb particle** combination or as a **phrasal** verb. (See Larreya and Rivière chapter 22, section 6 for detailed discussion and examples). Typically, when the phrasal verb takes a complement (as in (46)), the complement may follow (46a), or precede (46b,c) the particle, and when the complement is a pronoun it must precede the particle (46c).<sup>33 34</sup>

### 1.3.7. The derivation of words and change of class membership

English has a number of strategies for forming (**deriving**) new words from existing ones. For instance, in (47) you see how on the basis of the noun *author*, we form the verb *authorise* and then on the basis of that verb we form *authorisation*, a N. Affixes used to form new words are called **derivational** affixes. They contrast with inflexional affixes, which create different forms of the same word.<sup>35, 36</sup>

(47)	<u>N</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>N</u>
	author	authorise	authorisation
	victim	victimise	victimisation
	weapon	weaponise	weaponisation
	<u>A</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>N</u>
	legal	legalise	legalisation
	special	specialise	specialisation
	<u>V</u>	<u>N</u>	
	remove	removal	
	withdraw	withdrawal	
	act	action	
	work	worker	
	write	writer	
	report	reporter	
	wait	waiter	

There are also cases in which the change from verb to noun is not accompanied by any form of affixation (*sleep, pay*). The process of converting a member of one class into another class is called **zero derivation** or **conversion**.

<sup>33</sup> Section 2.1. ex 1, ex 2, ex 3, ex 4, ex 5, ex 6.

<sup>34</sup> Section 5, ex. 4, ex 5, ex 6.

<sup>35</sup> We return to the difference derivation vs. inflection in the linguistics classes of the second semester.

<sup>36</sup> Section 2.1., ex 12., section 2.2. ex. 14, 15, 16, 17

## 2. PHRASES<sup>37</sup>

### 2.1. Noun phrases (L&R chapter II, Rivière Section 2, 2.)

#### 2.1.1. Pronouns and noun phrases<sup>38</sup>

Though words are essential components in a sentence, sentences are not simply strings of words. The words in a sentence are grouped into larger sequences, **phrases**<sup>39</sup>, and these phrases have sentence-internal relations. Consider sentence (1a):

(1) a The new teacher at my school will meet all the foreign students at the party.

In (1a) the string of words *the new teacher at my school* refers to a particular individual. We can replace this string of words by a single word, the **pronoun** *she*:

(1) b She will meet all the students at the party .

Note crucially that the pronoun *she* does not just replace *teacher*, it replaces the entire string (= the **constituent**), *the new teacher at my school*. We may also ask a question such as (1c) in which the interrogative pronoun *who* replaces the string *the new teacher at my school*:

(1) c Who will meet all the foreign students at the party?

Similarly, we can replace *all the foreign students* by the pronoun *them*.<sup>40</sup> As can be seen, strings of words that can be replaced by a pronoun do not all have exactly the same components. What they do have in common is that their core element is a noun:

(2) a the new teacher at my school  
b all the foreign students

The sequences in (2a) and in (2b) are both **constituents** and can be replaced by pronouns. A pronoun typically replaces a constituent whose core component is a noun. In *the new teacher at my school* the core component is *teacher*; a noun (N). We will say that the noun *teacher* is the **head** of the phrase. In *all the foreign students* the core element is again a N, *students*. A constituent whose core element (= whose **head**) is a noun is called a **noun phrase** (NP). When we consider noun phrase (2a) in more detail, we see that it contains another noun phrase inside it. *My school* is also an NP, it can again be replaced by a pronoun:

(3) a the new teacher at my school b my school  
c My school is closed. ->It is closed.

In (4a) the sequence *all new students of English* is a constituent: it can be replaced by a pronoun. Its core element is the noun *students*, so we conclude it is an NP.

(4) a All new students of English work hard. b They work hard.

Now consider (5).

(5) a Students work hard. b They work hard.

<sup>37</sup> This part will also be covered in the linguistics TD, second semester.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Rivière section 2, 3.2.

<sup>39</sup> English *phrases* translates into French as *syntagmes*.

<sup>40</sup> Section 3.1., ex. 2, ex 3. Section 3.2. ex 7, 8.

In (5) the pronoun *they* replaces just *students*. *Students* is also a constituent of the sentence. Its most important (and in this case its only) component is a N, so *students* is both an N and also a noun phrase. It is a phrase with just one component, its head noun. Consider (6), based on (1a):

- (6) a [NP The new teacher at [NP my school]] is very shy.  
 b [NP The new teachers at [NP my school]] are very shy.

Both the strings *the new teacher at my school* in (6a) and *the new teachers at my school* in (6b) are NPs, the head is *teacher* (6a) / *teachers* (6b). The head noun determines the denotation of the full NP, *the new teacher at my school* denotes a person (of the type 'teacher'), not to a building (of the type 'school'). The number of the head noun determines the number of the full NP. In (6b) the head noun *teachers* is plural, the second N contained in that NP, *school*, is singular. But the whole NP is plural and gives rise to plural inflection on the verb (*are*).

In the remainder of this section we will briefly go over the components of the noun phrase.

### 2.1.2. Determiners<sup>41</sup>

#### 2.1.2.1. ARTICLES, DEMONSTRATIVES, QUANTIFIERS

Consider the NPs in (7), paying particular attention to the elements preceding the head noun:

- (7) a the new student of English  
 b this/that new student of English  
 c \*the this new student of English  
 d a new student of English

The initial element in the NP (7a) is the definite article *the*. Articles are members of the class of **determiners**. Determiners precede adjectival modifiers of the noun. By using the definite article *the*, the speaker signals familiarity with the referent of the NP.

We can replace the definite article *the* by the demonstrative *this* or *that*, which has the effect of relating the referent more specifically to the speaker: *this* expresses some proximity, *that* distance. Importantly, in English we can use either an article or a demonstrative, but we cannot use both. Articles and demonstratives are in **complementary distribution**. We might propose that they occupy the same slot in the English NP, so that you either insert one or the other. Articles and demonstratives are both determiners, they serve to locate the referent of the NP. The indefinite article is also a determiner. It suggests that the referent of the NP is not familiar yet.

- (7) e a new student of English

**Quantifiers** such as *every*, *each*, *some*, *any*, *no*, *(n)either*, etc also precede adjectives. You cannot normally use quantifiers with an article. Because of this distribution, it is often proposed that in the absence of an article or a demonstrative such quantifiers occupy the same slot as the determiner.

- (8) a every new student of English \*the every new student of English  
 b each new student of English \*the each new student of English  
 c some new student(s) of English \*the some new students of English  
 d any new student(s) of English \*the any new students of English  
 e no new student(s) of English \*the no new students of English  
 f either new student of English etc  
 g neither new student of English

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Rivière Section 2, 3.

Note that while the definite determiner is used for both a singular and a plural head noun, the indefinite article *a* can only be used in the singular. In the plural we use a quantifier, *some*, or nothing at all. In the latter case some grammars propose that there is a null (zero) variant of the article ( $\emptyset$ ):

- (9) a the student the students  
 b a student  $\emptyset$  students some students

Some quantifiers can, in more restricted contexts, also co-occur with definite determiners (definite article/demonstrative):

- (10) a many students of English  
 b the many students of English (from Lille)  
 c those many students of English

Cardinal numerals, such as *one*, *two* etc. also precede adjectives. They are compatible with the definite determiner.<sup>42</sup>

- (11) a three students of English b the three students of English (from Lille)  
 c those three students of English  
 d one student of English e the one student of English (from Lille)  
 f this one student of English (from Lille)

The quantifiers *both* and *all* can also co-occur with a definite article, in which case they precede the definite determiner.

- (12) a both the students all the students  
 b both these students all these students  
 c both students all students

Sometimes the determiner elements of the NP that precede the definite article and the demonstrative are called **pre-determiners**, those that follow are called **post determiners**. The article and the demonstrative are then referred to as **central** determiners. In (13) the three types co-occur:

- (13) pre-determiner central determiner post determiner A N  
 all those many difficult labels

Finally consider the NPs in (14):

- (14) a [<sub>NP</sub> Which book] did you need?  
 b [<sub>NP</sub> What country ] would you like to live in ?

In (14) an interrogative noun phrase (*which book*, *what country*) occupies an initial position in the sentence. The interrogative determiners *which* and *what* occupy the determiner slot of such interrogative NPs, and they do not co occur with other determiners:<sup>43</sup>

- (15) a \* [<sub>NP</sub> Which a book ] did you need?  
 b \* [<sub>NP</sub> What a country ] would you like to live in ?

Observe that in addition to its interrogative use *what* also has an exclamative use: exclamative *what* occupies the pre-determiner position and co occurs with the indefinite article:

<sup>42</sup> The NP *the three students* presupposes that we have a particular set of 3 students in mind.  
<sup>43</sup> Rivière section 2, 3.1.6

(16) What a woman!<sup>44 45</sup>

### 2.1.2.2. THE GENITIVE<sup>46</sup>

#### 2.1.2.2.1. Determiner genitive

In the NPs in (17a) the head noun is preceded by an NP, to which the genitive suffix 's is affixed; in the plural the genitive is signalled simply by the apostrophe (17b):

- (17) a [NP [NP That new student's ] mobile phone]] has been stolen.  
that new student + s  
b [NP [NP The students'] addresses ] are unknown.  
the students + '

The **prenominal genitive** is a NP: its head is a noun (*student* in (17a); *students* in (17b)), and it can be replaced by a (possessive) pronoun (*his, their*). Sometimes, the prenominal genitive can alternate with a post-nominal NP introduced by *of*: (See Larreya and Rivière chapter 18)

- (17) c The mobile phone of that new student was stolen last week.  
d On that table you will find the addresses of all the new students.

Distributionally, the prenominal genitive NP in (17a,b) seems to occupy the slot that is otherwise occupied by the definite article, witness the fact that (i) it is in complementary distribution with the article, (ii) it can follow the pre-determiners *all/both* and (iii) it precedes *many*, which is a post-determiner:

- (17) e \*[NP The [NP that new student's] book] has been stolen.  
f [NP Both [NP that new student's] books] have been stolen.  
g [NP [NP That new student's] many books ] have been stolen.

The prenominal genitive has the same role as the determiner in that it helps to locate the referent of the containing the NP. The prenominal genitive alternates with the possessive pronoun:

- (17) h His mobile phone has been stolen. i Their addresses are not known.

Since the genitive occupies the position normally occupied by the determiner and since the determiner precedes adjectives, the genitive is sometimes called the **determiner genitive**. We expect the genitive to precede adjectives:

- (18) a My brother's new mobile phone has been stolen.  
b My students' most recent texts have been turned down.

Observe that we refer to English elements such as *my, your, his, her, our, their* as possessive pronouns. This is because these elements serve to replace a noun phrase, and the typical pro form for an NP is a pronoun. In addition, the possessive pronoun can be co-ordinated with a genitive NP, again suggesting it has the status of an NP. The possessive form can be the subject of the gerund. The subject function is typically realised by a noun phrase. In its subject function the possessive pronoun sometimes alternates with the accusative form of the pronoun, which suggests clearly that it is a pronoun.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>44</sup> The interrogative variant of *many* is *how many*: (i) How many books do you need?

<sup>45</sup> Section 3.2. ex. 4, ex 6.

<sup>46</sup> See Rivière section 2, 2.9.2 Note that we do NOT use the term 'complement' to refer to a prenominal genitive.

<sup>47</sup> Cf also 2.1.2.4.3. In the English grammatical tradition, the possessive pronouns are considered to be the genitive forms of the personal pronouns. It should be pointed out, though, that some grammar books use

- (19) a We will meet in Mary's or my apartment.  
b No one objected to my/me joining the party subject of gerund/participle.

Both the determiner genitive and the possessive pronoun can be used independently:

- (20) a These are John's books and those are Mary's.  
b These are the teacher's books and those are the headmaster's.  
c These are Mary's books and those are mine/yours/his/hers/ours/theirs.  
d Nigeria's railways are in even worse shape than Britain's. (*Guardian*, 3.12.2. p 3, c 4)  
e Someone had thrashed our house, looked through my wife's personal things, my personal things, my children's. (*Guardian*, 20.1.3, p 7 c1, Interview Sir John Stevens)  
f Shouting "On your left" or "On your right" as you pass someone on the slopes is not showing off. It could save your life or someone else's. (*New York Times*, 2.1.3., D4;c6)  
g .When asked by an interviewer how many husbands she had had, Guggenheim replied: 'Do you mean mine, or other people's?' (*Guardian*, G2, 15.7.2, page 8, col 1)  
h It was elements like these which made elopements so irresistible not just to 19th – century novelists but to 19th-century newspapers too. Jane Austin has several: Wickham's with the 16-year old Lydia in *Pride and Prejudice* (not his first such adventure) and Julia's with John Yates, younger son of a peer and another bad lot, in Mansfield Park. (*Guardian*, 17.4.3, page 7, col 7)

We might propose that in these examples the nominal constituent that normally follows the determiner genitive has been ellipited and we could use the symbol  $\emptyset$  to represent this:

- (21) a These are John's books and those are Mary's  $\emptyset$ .  
b These are the teacher's books and those are the headmaster's  $\emptyset$ .  
Where  $\emptyset = books$

However, as shown by (21c), in the case of the independent use of the possessive pronoun a special form is used<sup>48</sup>. If we maintain an ellipsis analysis for such cases we have to say that the form of the pronoun is sensitive to ellipsis.  $[_{NP} \underline{my} - \emptyset] \Rightarrow [_{NP} \underline{mine} \emptyset]$ .

- (21) c These are Mary's books and those are mine.  
d These are Mary's books and those are  $[_{NP} \underline{my} \text{ books}]$ .  
e These are Mary's books and those are  $[_{NP} \underline{my} - \emptyset] \Rightarrow [_{NP} \underline{mine} \emptyset]$ .

An alternative approach to the independent use of pronouns and of genitives is to say that they replace the containing NP.

- (21) f These are Mary's books and those are  $[_{NP} \underline{mine}]$ .  
where *mine = my books*

#### 2.1.2.2.2. Notes on the classifying genitive

Not all genitives to the left of a noun function as determiners. The examples in (i) are a case in point:

- (i) a She lives in an **old people's** home.

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the term possessive adjective to refer to items such as *my, your, his etc* For the reasons given in the text this term is not adopted here. Adjectives do not normally co-ordinate with NPs, they do not normally function as subjects and they do not alternate with pronouns.

<sup>48</sup> Except for *his*: *This is his book/ this is his*.

- b She lives in this **old people's** home.
- c Roald Dahl is a famous **children's** author.
- d I used to love reading those glossy **women's** magazines.

In (ia) the genitive *old people's* precedes the N *home*. It is referred to as a **classifying** genitive, because it serves to classify the concept indicated by the head noun: for instance, the concept 'home' is narrowed down to 'old people's home', a specific kind of home ('maison de retraite'). This use of the genitive differs considerably from that of the determiner genitive. The classifying genitive (also called the **descriptive** genitive or the **attributive** genitive) is not in complementary distribution with the article or with a demonstrative. As you can see, it co-occurs with the indefinite article *a* in (ia) and (ic), with the demonstrative *this* in (ib), and with the demonstrative *those* in (id). This suggests clearly that this genitive does not occupy the determiner position. Second, whereas the determiner genitive precedes adjectival modifiers to the noun, the classifying genitive tends to follow them, as shown by (ic) and (id).

Compare (iia) and (iib). In (iib) the NP *the children's* refers to a particular set of children whose stories are reported on. In (iib) the genitivised NP is referential and it could be replaced by a pronoun.

- (ii) a The new children's story by Roald Dahl is incredibly good.
- b The young children's detailed stories about the accident were really implausible. They must have been making them up.                   ⇒ their detailed stories about the accident

In (ia) the genitive *children's* does not function as a determinative element, it does not determine the NP, it does not single out a particular set of children with respect to which the referent of the containing NP would be located. In (iia) the adjective *new* modifies *children's story*, in (iib) *young* modifies *children*.

- (ii) c the children's story is new  
       the detailed stories are associated with the young children

In (iia) the genitive *children's* does not serve to pick out a particular set of children but it denotes children as a kind.<sup>49</sup> Here, the category 'children' is used to narrow down the entity denoted by the head N: we talk about not just any story but a particular type of story, a story for children. The contribution of the genitive to the NP is to demarcate a subclass of stories. That is why this genitive is referred to as the classifying genitive. The classifying genitive seems to have a function similar to that of pronominal adjectives, as shown by the fact that such adjectives may precede the classifying genitive. Because the genitive in (iia) has a function that is similar to that of an adjective in attributive position, the genitive is also sometimes referred to as the attributive or descriptive genitive. You find some more attested examples of classifying genitives in the examples below. In (iid) the attributive genitive *boys'* is parallel with the attributive adjective *co-educational*. The attributive genitive *head-teacher's* in (iie) is parallel with the derived adjective *schoolteacherly* in (iif), in (iig) the attributive genitive precedes a colour adjective (*khaki*).

- (ii) d Her parents have been through this with her elder brother, Robert. Although he has ended up in a boys' school where he is happy, his parents wanted him to go to a co-educational school. (*Guardian*, G2, 15.4.3, page 12, col 3)
- e When she loses her temper on The Moral Maze, and her crisp head-teacher's voice rises and then chokes a little with indignation, it sounds different from the programme's usual staged confrontations. (*Guardian*, G2 7.3.3, page 2, col 3)
- f He gives me his best schoolteacherly look. (*Guardian*, G2, 20.1.3, page 7, col 3-7)

<sup>49</sup> Because of this general non-referential interpretation the classifying genitive in (iia) is also sometimes referred to as the **generic** genitive (see Larreya and Rivière p. 215, Rivière section 2, 2.9.3). Observe, though, that a genitive NP with generic interpretation need not be a classifying genitive, it may also function as a determiner-genitive:

- (iii) a This ruling reaffirms a citizen's right to actively participate in political process. (*Washington Post* 29.4.3, page A21, col 3).
- b The influence of diet on health depends on an individual's genetic make-up. (*Guardian*, G2, 15.5.3, page 14 col 1)

- g Not that a great deal of his figure is visible in his baggy, regulation foreign correspondents' khaki suit, which he is still wearing a week after returning to Britain (*Guardian*, G2, 28/5/3; page 5; col 1)

The determiner genitive can sometimes be used independently, without the associated noun, this is not possible for the classifying genitive. This is not surprising, since the classifying genitive is similar in function to prenominal adjectives and such adjectives too only rarely are used without the associated noun:

- (iv) a This is John's book and this is Mary's.  
b \*This is a green woman's bicycle and that is a blue man's.<sup>50</sup>  
c \*This is a green bicycle and that is a red.

Determiner genitives precede prenominal adjectives modifying the noun, classifying genitives typically follow them. Here are some more examples. As shown by (iv) both the determiner and the classifying genitive NP may themselves contain an adjective.

- (v) a [The new residents'] beautiful rooms were destroyed by fire.  
b She lives in a beautiful [old people's] home.

The determiner genitive and the possessive pronoun occupy a specific slot reserved for central determiners. They are therefore not compatible with another determiner genitive or with a possessive pronoun. This is because we assume that there is only one slot for this type of central determiner. On the other hand the classifying genitive does not occupy the determiner slot so we might expect to find NPs containing a determiner genitive AND a classifying genitive or a possessive pronoun. (ve) is an attested example:

- (v) c [Roald Dahl's] unpublished [children's] stories.  
d [his] unpublished [children's] stories.  
e He walked in twenty minutes later, still wearing his chef's uniform from a restaurant round the corner. (Ian Rankin, *The Falls*, Orion 2001, 100)<sup>51</sup>

### 2.1.2.3. PRONOUNS AND DETERMINERS

#### 2.1.2.3.1. Interrogative pronouns

We have seen that pronouns typically replace NPs:

- (22) a [<sub>NP</sub> The new student] has arrived. [<sub>NP</sub> He] has arrived.  
b [<sub>NP</sub> The students from York] have arrived. [<sub>NP</sub> They] have arrived.  
c I have met [<sub>NP</sub> the students from York]. I have met [<sub>NP</sub> them].  
d [<sub>NP</sub> This mobile phone] is broken. [<sub>NP</sub> It] is broken.  
e [<sub>NP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> The student's] phone] has been stolen [<sub>NP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> His]] phone has been stolen.

The possessive pronoun is the genitive form of the pronoun. *Who* and *what* are interrogative pronouns.<sup>52</sup> The genitive of interrogative *who* is *whose*. Like the possessive pronoun, it can be used independently (23d).

<sup>50</sup> Unless we mean a bicycle belonging to a green woman, and one belonging to a blue man.

<sup>51</sup> The interpretation is that he is wearing a uniform that belongs to him (*his*) and that is the type of uniform worn by a chef. A slightly elaborate paraphrase would be: *the chef's uniform that was his*. A second reading could be that the subject is wearing the uniform belonging to his chef. In this case the sequence *his chef* is used as the determiner genitive of the NP:

(i) [<sub>NP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> his chef's] uniform] = the uniform of his chef

With the classifying genitive we have the structure (ii):

(ii) [<sub>NP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> his] chef's uniform] = the chef's uniform that he wears

<sup>52</sup> *who* and *whose* are also relative pronouns. The antecedent of *who* in (i) and of *whose* in (ii) is *student*.

- (23) a [NP Whom] did you see?                      b [NP What] did you buy?  
c [NP [NP Whose ] car ] is that?                d [NP Whose] is that?

Observe that *what* has a number of different functions in English<sup>53</sup>:

- (24) a [NP What country] would you like to live in.                      interrogative determiner  
      [NP What person] would do that?  
b [NP What a country!] [NP What a woman!]                      exclamative (pre)determiner  
c [NP What do you need]?    interrogative pronoun

In the first two uses, *what* may be [ $\pm$  human]; when used as an interrogative pronoun it is [- human].

### 2.1.2.3.2. Independent /pronominal use of determiners

We have already seen that the possessive (or ‘genitive’) pronouns can be used either as determiners or independently. In the latter case, most possessive pronouns have a special form (*my* vs. *mine*)<sup>54</sup>. Indeed, many of the elements which can be inserted in the (pre/post) determiner slot in an NP can also occur on their own, often without change of form:

- (25) a Many students have already arrived.                      Many have already arrived.  
      Three students have already arrived.                      Three have already arrived.  
b All the students have already arrived.                      All have already arrived.

In the second column in (25), the quantifiers *many*, *three*, and *all* are used independently. They correspond to the full-fledged NPs *many students*, *three students*, *all the students*, in the first column. The independent use of determiner elements is also illustrated in the following attested examples.

- (26) a There are many other possible motives, and we will be giving each our attention during the enquiry. (*Guardian*, 30.12.2, page 7, col 1)  
b Internet entrepreneurs flourish in Ecuador’s largest cities, but many are educated businessmen with ties to the United States. (*NYT*, 2.1.3, page G5, col 2)

In grammars of English, the independently used quantifiers have been dealt with in two ways. Either it is proposed that items like *many*, *three*, *all* and the other determiner or quantifier elements used independently are pronouns in their own right, and that they replace (‘stand for’) complete NPs. Alternatively, it has been proposed that such determiners function as determiners of NPs in which the remaining part is ellipted (represented by the symbol  $\emptyset$ ).

- (27) a [NP Many] have arrived already.                      [NP Many  $\emptyset$ ] have arrived already.  
      [NP Three] have arrived already.                      [NP Three  $\emptyset$ ] have arrived already.

(i) The student who is sitting over there is doing an English degree.

(ii) The student whose desk is over there is doing an English degree.

Interrogative *whose* is only [+human], relative *whose* may also be used for [-human] antecedents:

(iii) The car, whose roof was damaged, was towed to the garage.

<sup>53</sup> In (i) *what* functions as a relative pronoun: it introduces a relative clause which does not have an antecedent (a free relative or a nominal relative). Roughly, *what* means ‘the thing(s) that...’. It is again [-human]:

(i) I have bought what I needed.

In (ii) *what* is a determiner inside an NP *what money he had* which is itself also a nominal relative clause. It is as if the antecedent and the relative pronoun have fused here. *What* here implies that he did not have much money (so called ‘paucal’ use of *what*).

<sup>54</sup> Except for *his* which is also used independently:

(i) a This is his book                      b This is his.                      c His is on the table.

- b [NP All] have passed the exam. [NP All ∅] have passed the exam.  
c We will be giving [NP each] our attention.  
We will be giving [NP each ∅] our attention.

The interrogative determiner *which* can also be used independently:

- (28) a Which text do you prefer: the French one or the English one?  
b Which do you prefer: the French text or the English one?  
c You should know your bus routes better. Learn which are the scenic routes and prepare yourself. (*Guardian*, G2 28.4.3, page 9 col 3)

One again, one might wish to say that, when used independently, *which* is a pronoun replacing an NP (28d) or, alternatively, that used independently, *which* is the determiner of an NP in which the remainder of the NP has been ellipsed. For additional uses of *which* see section 4.2 on relative clauses.

- (28) d [NP Which ] do you prefer: the French text or the English version of the film?  
e [NP Which ∅] do you prefer: the French text or the English version of the film?

Observe, however, that not all determiners can be used independently:

- (29) a Every student arrived on time. \*Every arrived on time.

Also, observe that the ellipsis analysis would raise problems for (29b):

- (29) b No students arrived late. None arrived late.

In (29b) the independently used element *none* has a form that is different from that of the determiner *no*. Further problems for the ellipsis analysis arise when we look at (30). While in its determiner use *this* may relate to all types of NPs, [<sub>±</sub> human], in its independent use *this* refers to a non-human entity.  
<sup>55 56</sup>

- (30) a This book is very interesting. This is very interesting.  
b independent pronoun analysis: [NP This] is very interesting.  
ellipsis analysis [NP This ∅] is very interesting.

#### 2.1.2.4.3. Possessive pronouns

A prenominal genitive NP with determiner function can be replaced by a pronoun, in which case the possessive pronoun is used. Like the determiner genitive, the possessive pronoun occupies the determiner position in the NP, following pre-determiner *all* and preceding *many* when used as a post-determiner. The interrogative possessive pronoun *whose* occupies the determiner position (31e). For relative *whose* see section 4.2 on relative clauses.

- (31) a This new student's book has been stolen. His book has been stolen.  
b all his books c his many books d all his many books  
e Whose texts have you used?

Recall that the possessive pronoun can also be used independently, in most cases it has a special form.

<sup>55</sup> *This* can be used with human reference in sentences like (ic), in which it is the subject of copula *be*:

- (i) a This book is very interesting -> this is very interesting  
b This student is very nice ≠ this is very nice  
c This is my father.

<sup>56</sup> Section 3.2, ex. 5

- (32) a These are Mary's books and those are mine/yours/his/hers/ours/theirs.  
b Whose are these?  
c Well aware that his is a swing seat he adds: 'Putney has always been a very radical constituency'. (*Guardian*, 15.5.3, page 9, col 8)

### 2.1.3. Adjectives<sup>57</sup>

In addition to the head noun and the determiner, NPs may contain other components. For instance, between the determiner and the noun we may find one or more adjectives:

- (33) the green convertible car                      my new mobile phone  
a nice French red wine  
the beautiful green sweater                      a nice warm sweater  
a small round table                                      her long straight hair

#### Usage note on adjectival order

The left-to-right sequencing of prenominal adjectives is not free. Roughly speaking, and oversimplifying a lot<sup>58</sup>, the following tendencies regulate the ordering:

(a) The left to right sequencing of the adjectives reflects their relation to the head noun. *A beautiful green sweater* refers to an entity of the type 'sweater', of which we say first that is green, the adjective *beautiful* then applies to the concept 'green sweater';

- |     |   |       |                         |
|-----|---|-------|-------------------------|
| (i) |   | (i)   | sweater                 |
|     | apply the concept 'green' to (i)        | ⇒     | (ii) green sweater      |
|     | apply the concept 'beautiful' to (ii) ⇒ | (iii) | beautiful green sweater |

Compare the noun phrases in (ii):

- (ii) a. chopped frozen chicken  
b. frozen chopped chicken

The NP in (iia) will normally be taken to refer to chicken that was first frozen, then chopped, while the NP in (iib) will be taken to refer to chicken that was first chopped, then frozen. The adjectives modify the denotation of the constituent to their right which they combine with. In other words *chopped* modifies *frozen chicken* in (iia) and *frozen* modifies *chopped chicken* in (iib). The following examples<sup>59</sup> illustrates the same point:

- (iii) a a handicapped elderly person      b an elderly handicapped person  
(iv) The audience leaped to its feet as a backdrop lifted and the Lips went into full instrumental flow, Coyne alternately abusing his guitar and pumping the air with his fists, responded in his usual rumped white suit. (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 28.11.2, page E5, col 1)

(b) Taxonomic adjectives, i.e. adjectives that serve to subclassify the entities denoted by the NP, will usually occur immediately to the left of the head N. *Convertible*, *mobile* and *red* are such taxonomic adjectives in (33). The adjectives serve to distinguish different classes or types of cars/phones/wines.

(c) The more subjective, speaker-related adjectives precede the more objective adjectives. For instance, a colour adjective such as *green* is more objective in that it indicates a relatively permanent property of an entity, relatively independent of the speaker, while an adjective such as *beautiful* is

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Rivière Section 2, 4.7.

<sup>58</sup> These are just general patterns and the reader should remember that there are clearly exceptions to these generalisations and intonation may also have an impact.

<sup>59</sup> (iii) from Lamarche (1991: his (17))

highly speaker-related. Similarly, the property denoted by *nice* is more subjective than that denoted by *warm*. Putting things differently, we may say that adjectives that express an inherent property of the referent will be closer to the head N than those expressing a variable and/or a subjective property. The colour of an entity often is hard to change, while appreciations such as being beautiful depend on the one making the judgement and are hence not an intrinsic part of the element.

(d) Among descriptive adjectives the following is the unmarked order:

- (v) a size > age > shape > colour > provenance  
a small round French table her long straight hair

Internally to size modifiers we find the following order:

- (v) a length > height > width > weight  
slim light volume a long wide road a big heavy suitcase

The tendencies set out here can be disrupted in a number of ways. For instance, when prenominal adjectives are separated by commas, the left-to-right stacking interpretation is no longer imposed. This is illustrated in (vi). The adjectives *fantastic* and *untainted* both modify the noun *world*, and the adjectives *long* and *loving* both qualify *sequences of animals*:

- (vi) Attenborough's programmes' invocation of a fantastic, untainted world is dangerous for two reasons... He shows us long, loving sequences of animals whose populations are collapsing, without a word about what is happening to them. (*Guardian* 17.12.2, page 7, col 1)

Adjectives normally follow numerals (post-determiners) but the other order is sometimes possible:

- (vii) 'It is a crisis by Liverpool's standards', said their midfielder Steven Gerrard.  
How different the mood is at Arsenal. The club's Boxing Day win at West Brom completed a highly satisfactory six days. (*Guardian*, Sport, 28.12.2, page 4, col 1)

#### 2.1.4. Constituents following the noun: a brief survey

The NPs below serve to illustrate that various types of constituents can follow the head N in an NP. The relevant NP is underlined. For each example we indicate the type of constituent that follows N.

- (34) a The destruction [<sub>PP</sub> of the weapons] will take a long time.  
b The teacher [<sub>AP</sub> responsible for the class] has resigned.  
Students [<sub>AP</sub> familiar with this problem] should contact the director.  
Children [<sub>AP</sub> this young] should not be allowed into the park.  
c The claim [<sub>clause</sub> that he was innocent] did not convince anyone. (complement clause)  
d The teacher [<sub>clause</sub> whom they had hired recently] has resigned. (relative clause)  
e The teacher [<sub>clause</sub> that they had hired recently] has resigned. (relative clause)  
f The teacher [<sub>clause</sub> they had hired recently] has resigned. (relative clause)  
g Students [<sub>clause</sub> working late at night] often are tired during the day.  
(non-finite relative clause, cf. 4.2.)  
h The teachers [<sub>clause</sub> invited to the conference] never showed up.  
(non-finite relative clause, cf. 4.2.)  
i The first student [<sub>clause</sub> to arrive at the party] had to get the key from the lodge.  
(non-finite relative clause)  
g People [<sub>NP</sub> their age] should not do that sort of thing.  
h I read the book [<sub>PP</sub> about your ancestors] [<sub>clause</sub> that your son published last year]  
(PP + relative clause)

## 2.2. Form and function: a first survey<sup>60</sup>

### 2.2.1. Noun phrases: form and function: subject, object, predicate

Consider (35): in each sentence we find the same noun phrase *the teacher of English*, but while the category of the constituent and its make-up remain unchanged, its **function** in the sentence varies:

- (35) a [NP The teacher of English] has invited all the students to a party.  
b All the students have invited [NP the teacher of English] to a party.  
c Bill Jones is [NP the teacher of English].  
d I gave the invitation to [NP the teacher of English] .

In (35a) the NP *the teacher of English* is the **subject** of the sentence. It is the most prominent NP of the sentence, and it determines the agreement on the verb:

- (36) a [NP The teachers of English] have invited all the students to a party.

In direct *yes-no* questions the auxiliary ( *has* ) inverts with the subject NP:

- (36) b Has [NP the teacher of English] - invited all the students?

When we replace the subject of the inflected verb by a pronoun we use the **nominative** form *he/she*. In question tags, the subject is represented by a pronoun:

- (36) c [NP The teacher of English] has invited all the students, hasn't he?

In (35b) the NP *all the students* functions as the subject, and the NP *the teacher of English* functions as the **direct object**. If we want to use a pronoun to replace the latter NP, we will use the **accusative** form *him/her*. An NP functioning as the direct object does not agree with the verb, subject-auxiliary inversion for question formation does not affect the position of the object NP with respect to the auxiliary, and the object NP is not represented in the tag:

- (37) a Have all the students invited [NP the teacher of English] to a party?  
b All the students have invited [NP the teacher of English] to a party, haven't they?

(35a) and (35b) are **active** sentences. In the **passive** counterpart, the NP which was the direct object of the active sentence will be the subject. The original subject of the active sentence may either disappear entirely (though the AGENT or CAUSE of the activity will remain implied) or if it is expressed at all in the passive variant, it will be in the form of an adjunct introduced by the preposition *by*<sup>61</sup> which we refer to as the *by*-phrase. We return to active /passive alternants in section 5. What matters for our purposes is that a direct object of an active verb corresponds to the subject in the passive counterpart of that sentence.

- (38) a [NP All the students] have been invited to a party (by the teacher of English).  
b [NP The teacher of English] has been invited to a party (by all the students).

---

<sup>60</sup> See also Rivière, section 1.3., section 2, 2.2-5.

<sup>61</sup> The *by* phrase is referred to as the 'complément d'agent' in the French tradition. We prefer not to use the term in the English terminology for two reasons. First, we will not use the label 'complement', since complements are obligatory constituents and the *by* phrase is not. It is often proposed that the term 'agent' be used to refer only to the person or people who intentionally initiate an activity. But in a passive sentence *by* phrase need not refer to a volitional agent:

(i) The house was damaged by the fire.



- (43) a Mary abandoned her studies. a' \*Mary abandoned.  
 b The lion devoured the meat. b' \*The lion devoured.

A so-called **ditransitive** verb has two NPs (44) as its **complements**:

- (44) a Mary gave [<sub>NP1</sub> her colleague ] [<sub>NP2</sub> the parcel].

In (44) NP2 refers to the entity that is transferred by the subject (*Mary*) to NP1. NP1 is the BENEFICIARY of the action or the RECIPIENT of the transferred entity. Both NP1 and NP2 are objects of the verb, they are NPs that are complements to the verb.<sup>66</sup> Ditransitive verbs with two NP complements are sometimes referred to as **double object** verbs. NP2 is the direct object of the verb, in the English tradition NP1 is referred to as the indirect object, in spite of there being no preposition and in spite of the fact that NP1 can be the subject of a passive sentence. NP1 can also appear as a PP, an option not available to the direct object NP2.

(45) shows again that a particular function can be realised by different forms: in (45a) the subject is an NP, in (45b) it is a clause (cf 3.1.), in (45c) it is a PP:

- (45) a [<sub>NP</sub> This arrangement] suits everyone.  
 b [<sub>clause</sub> That we leave the decision till tomorrow] suits everyone.  
 c [<sub>PP</sub> After lunch] would suit everyone.

### 2.2.2. Complement and adjunct

The presence of an object (direct and indirect) or of a predicate is imposed by the choice of verb: transitive verbs, for instance, require a direct object (usually an NP, sometimes a clause, cf 3.1). The English tradition in grammar writing often uses the term **complement** to refer in a general way to the constituents required by the verb. Observe that this approach does not conceive of the subject as a complement. This is so because the presence of a subject is not required by a particular verb. Rather the presence of a subject is required by the sentence as such. Normally every sentence has a subject.

In addition to constituents whose presence is required by the verb, we can add extra specifications. Constituents specifying time, place, manner, reason etc. may not be obligatorily required by the verb<sup>67</sup>. In this case, they are called **adjuncts** (also adverbial adjuncts). Adjuncts can (among other things) be realised by noun phrases:

- (45) a Mary bought the car **this week**. Cf. a' Mary bought the car.  
 b **That way** you will definitely obtain some result.

In (45a), *this week* is a constituent. Witness the fact that we can replace it by the adverb *then* and that we can question it by the interrogative adverb *when*. *This week* is a NP, given that its core element is the N *week*, and it can have a genitive form (*this week's results*). This NP functions as an adjunct, it can be omitted (45a'), the verb *buy* does not inherently require that we specify the time of the activity it denotes. Given that it has temporal reference, *this week* is called a **time adjunct** or a **temporal adjunct**. Similarly, in (45b) the unit *that way* is a constituent. We can question it by means of the interrogative adverb *how*. *That way* is a NP: its core element is the N *way*. The constituent functions as

<sup>66</sup> In the English tradition of grammar writing the term indirect object is typically restricted to such NPs which refer to RECIPIENTS or BENEFICIARIES of goods of some sort. Thus in this tradition the NP associated with the preposition *about* in (i) will not be called an indirect object but is called a prepositional complement.

(i) a They talked about him a lot. b He was talked about a lot..

<sup>67</sup> Sometimes such specifications ARE required, in which case they are complements:

(i) Mary put the book on the table. cf \*Mary put the book.

(ii) Mary worded the letter with care. cf \*Mary worded the letter.

In these examples we say that the PPs *on the table* and *with care* are complements: they are obligatory.

an adjunct, it can be omitted, the verb *obtain* does not require that we express the manner of the activity: *that way* is a **manner adjunct**.

It is important to bear in mind that the function of a constituent is determined in relation to the remainder of the sentence. In the following example the NP *that way* is a complement, since it is required by the presence of the verb *word*:

- (46) a You should word your objection that way.  
b \*You should word your objection.

Compare the following examples:

- (47) a Jane spent [NP the next three weeks] on a farm in Kent.  
b Jane stayed [NP the next three weeks] on a farm in Kent.

Both sentences contain the NP *the next three weeks*, and in both, that NP follows the verb. In (47a) the NP is a direct object; in (47b) it is an adjunct. In (47a) we cannot omit the NP without giving rise to ungrammaticality, while in (47b) the NP can be left out.

- (48) a \*Jane spent on a farm in Kent.                      b Jane stayed on a farm in Kent.

In addition, in (47a) the NP *the next three weeks* can become the subject of a passive sentence, while this is not possible in (47b):<sup>68</sup>

- (49) a The next three weeks were spent on a farm in Kent.  
b \*The next three weeks were stayed on a farm in Kent.<sup>69</sup>

### 2.2.3. The realisation of functions

In the preceding sections we have introduced various grammatical functions of NPs, and we have identified these as subject, object, predicate and adjunct; the latter can be specified semantically (adjunct of time, place, manner etc.). Obviously, these functions can also be realised by means of other categories. In (50a) the subject of the sentence is an NP, in (50b) it is a clause, in (50c) it is a prepositional phrase:

- (50) a [NP The news] surprised the students.  
b [clause That he had bought the house] surprised the students.  
c [PP After lunch] is a good time to meet.

In (51a) the predicate is realised by an NP, in (51b) it is an adjective phrase (AP), in (51c) it is a prepositional phrase (PP):

- (51) a Jane is [NP a smart student].                      b Jane is [PP very smart].  
c The books are still [PP on offer].

It is possible for two constituents to share the a grammatical function. Consider, for instance, (52):

- (52) a Mary is [NP an excellent teacher].                      b Mary is [NP a loyal friend].  
c Mary is [NP an excellent teacher] and [NP a loyal friend].

---

<sup>68</sup> It may not always be easy to decide if a constituent is a complement, required by the verb, or if it is an adjunct. We do not go into the details of this problem here.

<sup>69</sup> Section 6.2. Ex. 6

In (52a) the NP *an excellent teacher* is the predicate of the sentence, in (52b) the NP *a loyal friend* is the predicate, in (52c) the NPs are linked by the **co-ordinating conjunction** *and* and they function together as the predicate. (see L&R chapter 29 on co-ordination). Other such co-ordinating conjunctions are *or* and *but*.<sup>70</sup>

- (53) a [NP Mary's brother] or [NP her sister] will buy the house.  
b Mary is [NP an excellent teacher] but [NP a modest researcher].

In (53a) the co-ordinating conjunctions link two constituents functioning as subjects, in (53b) the co-ordinated constituents function as predicates. The co-ordinated constituents can be preceded by *both*.<sup>71</sup> In (53e) two APs are coordinated and function as predicates. Observe that even though co-ordinating *both* precedes the determiner in (53c) it is not a pre-determiner in this example. Co-ordinating *both* occurs not only to the left of co-ordinated NPs (53c) but also to the left of other co-ordinated constituents than NPs (53e).

- (53) c [Both [NP Mary's brother] and [NP her sister] ] live in London.  
d Mary is [both [NP an excellent teacher] and [NP a good researcher]].  
e The meal was [both [AP very tasty] and [AP good for your health]].

*Either... or* or *neither... nor* also can serve to co-ordinate two constituents:

- (54) a [Either [NP Mary's brother] or [NP her sister] ] wanted to buy the house.  
b Mary is [neither [NP an excellent teacher] nor [NP a good researcher].]  
c She is [either [AP very drunk] or [AP completely confused].]  
d She lives [neither [PP in the country] nor [PP in town].]

Co-ordination may affect constituents of different categories as long as they have the same function:

- (54) e She was [[PP in a bad mood ] and [AP very tense]].<sup>72</sup>

### 2.3. Adjective phrases (AP)

Adjective phrases or adjectival phrases (AP) are constituents whose core element is an adjective (A). APs may consist of just an adjective or they may contain additional components. (55) illustrates the **predicative** use of adjectives: the adjective is the head of an AP, which is the predicate.<sup>73</sup> The entire bracketed AP can be deleted or replaced by *so*:

- (55) a The student is [AP very kind to her neighbours].  
b The problem is [AP quite interesting].  
c The student is [AP proud of her work].  
d The student was [AP present].  
e The student is [AP responsible for the accounts].  
f The student is [AP aware of the problems].  
g In the interview, he is [AP very critical of the team].(based on *Guardian*, 22.1.3;p13,c7)  
h Mrs Ingram seemed [AP a little bit agitated]. Mr Ingram seemed [AP a little bit tense].  
(*Guardian*, 11.3.3, page 5, col 4)
- (56) a The student is [AP very kind to her neighbours]. She is  $\emptyset$  indeed.  
b This problem is [AP quite interesting] and so is that one.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Rivière section 2, 5.5.

<sup>71</sup> Section 2.1., ex 7

<sup>72</sup> Section 2.1. ex 7, section 6.1., ex 1.

<sup>73</sup> In the French tradition, this type of adjective is referred to as an **attribut du sujet**

The bracketed adjective phrase in (56a) contains an adjective, the adverb of degree *very* and the prepositional phrase *to her neighbours*, which is the **complement** of the adjective.<sup>74</sup> The APs in (55c, 55e, and 55f) also have a complement PP. In (55a), (55b) and (55g) the adjective is modified by a degree adverb. In (55h) the adjectives are modified by an NP, *a little bit*, which functions as a degree modifier.

In (57), the APs are prenominal. The examples illustrate the **attributive** use of the adjective<sup>75</sup>: the adjective modifies the constituent to its right:

- |      |   |                      |   |                                |
|------|---|----------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| (57) | a | a very kind student  | b | the rather interesting problem |
|      | c | the proud student    | d | the present situation          |
|      | e | the former policeman | f | a mere detail                  |
|      | g | nuclear energy       |   |                                |

In English, prenominal adjectives cannot be accompanied by a complement:

- |      |   |                                       |   |                                  |
|------|---|---------------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| (58) | a | *a [ kind to her neighbours ] student | b | *a [ proud of her work ] student |
|------|---|---------------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|

We sometimes find postnominal adjectives in the NP. This will, for instance, be the case when the adjective has a complement:

- |      |   |   |   |  |
|------|---|---|---|--|
| (58) | c | a student kind to her neighbours  | d | a student proud of her work. <sup>76</sup> |
|      | e | Yellowing leaves <u>visible on trees across the country</u> are a tell-tale sign of stressed-out, thirsty plants that cannot cope with the climate. [Leading scientists] agree that the only solution is to import foreign trees better able to cope with the effects of global warming. ( <i>Independent</i> , 5.9.3, page 3, col 1) |   |  |
|      | f | Mr Blunkett would do better spending any money <u>available for ID cards</u> on increasing the number of inspectors working to ensure decent pay and working conditions for those in casual and temporary work. (Jean Lambert, Letter to the Editor, <i>Guardian</i> , 24.9.3, page 17, col 6)  |   |  |

Not all adjectives have both a predicative and an attributive use. Adjectives that are restricted to the predicative use, cannot be used in prenominal position, but they can be used postnominally in the NP. Typically adjectives such as *aware*, *afraid*, *alone*, *ill*<sup>77</sup> are used predicatively.

- |     |   |  |
|-----|---|--|
| (i) | a | the student is <u>aware</u> of the consequences  |
|     | b | [ <sub>NP</sub> Students <u>aware</u> of the consequences] did not send in the letter. |
|     | c | *the <u>afraid</u> students (vs. the frightened students, the fearful students)        |

Among attributive (prenominal) adjectives various subclasses must be distinguished. First of all, as announced above, some of them do not have a predicative use. (ii) offers some examples.

- |      |   |                       |                           |
|------|---|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| (ii) | a | the former policeman  | *the policeman is former  |
|      | b | the current situation | *the situation is current |
|      | c | an alleged criminal   | *the criminal is alleged  |
|      | d | a mere detail         | *the detail is mere       |
|      | e | a daily newspaper     | *the paper is daily       |
|      | f | nuclear energy        | *the energy is nuclear    |
|      | g | a polar bear          | *the bear is polar        |

<sup>74</sup> Rivière section 2, 2.8.

<sup>75</sup> In the French tradition, this use of adjectives is called an **adjectif épithète**

<sup>76</sup> It has been said that postnominal adjectives are reduced forms of relative clauses

(i)	a	A person (who is) kind to her neighbours
	b	A student (who is) proud of her work.

<sup>77</sup> Cf The student is ill vs a sick student

In addition, some adjectives have a different interpretation depending on their attributive or predicative use. Compare the use of the adjective *present* in (iii):

- (iii) a The present president voted against the proposal, the former president approved.  
b The president was present at the meeting.  
c The students present voted against the proposal.

In (iiia) *present* is a temporal adjective, it means 'actual', 'current' and its function resembles that of an adverb. The 'present president' is the person who is president at the present moment, the person who is 'presently' president. *The present president* contrasts, for instance, with *the former president*, the person who was formerly president. In (iiib) the predicative AP *present at the meeting* means something like 'attending the meeting'. Observe that the postnominal adjective in (iiic) also has the latter meaning. The adjective *present* cannot be used postnominally with the meaning 'current'.<sup>78</sup>

In (59a) the adjective *successful* is an attributive prenominal adjective. It is part of a predicative NP. In (59b) *former* is used attributively; the NP *a former teacher* is a predicate:<sup>79</sup>

- (59) a John is [<sub>NP</sub> a successful teacher].  
b John is [<sub>NP</sub> a former teacher].

#### 2.4. Prepositional phrases

The bold faced constituents in (60) all contain the NP *my garden*, introduced by the preposition *in*. The preposition and the NP form a constituent, a **prepositional phrase (PP)**. This PP can be replaced by the adverb *there*. We say that the NP is the **complement** of the preposition: when you use a preposition, a noun phrase can be used to 'complete' the PP. The preposition serves to relate the NP to the remainder of the sentence. As shown by the examples, PPs may realise various functions in the sentence. In (60a) the PP is part of the subject NP (*the plants in my garden*), specifically it is a **postmodifier**. In (60b) the PP is a complement of the verb *put*; the verb *put* normally requires a direct object and a PP or an adverb of location. In (60c) the same PP functions as an adjunct (see section 2.2.2). Unlike the verb *put* in (60b) the verb *prepare* in (60c) does not require an expression of place as a complement.

- (60) a The plants **in my garden** are not growing well.  
b George left the plants **in my garden**.  
c I often prepare my classes **in my garden**.

PPs may also be used as predicates.

- (61) a The current sales figures are [<sub>PP</sub> above average].  
b Some extra help is [<sub>PP</sub> on offer].  
c All the students were [<sub>PP</sub> on time].  
d She is [<sub>PP</sub> vehemently against the war]. (*Guardian*, G2, 4.3/3/, page 4, col 2)

In English, an NP which is the complement of a preposition does not always follow that preposition. In (62a) the preposition *about* and the associated NP *which texts* are moved to an initial position in the sentence together; in (62b) the NP which is the complement of the preposition is fronted to the beginning of the sentence and the preposition is left behind (or '**stranded**')

- (62) a About which texts are you talking?      b Which text are you talking about?

<sup>78</sup> Except in co-ordination:  
(i) Presidents past and present were at the meeting.  
We will leave this case aside here.

<sup>79</sup> Section 3.1, ex 1, section 3.2. ex 6

Preposition stranding is also found in relative clauses (see section 4.2), as can be seen in (62d). In (62c), the preposition *about* is fronted with the relative pronoun *which*; in (62d) the relative pronoun *which* is fronted on its own and the P *about* is stranded:

- (62) c This is the text about which we were talking.  
d This is the text which we were talking about.

Preposition stranding is also found in passive sentences. In active (63a), the NP *these texts* is part of the complement of the verb *talk* to which it is related by the preposition *about*; in its passive counterpart (63b) the NP *these texts* has become the subject, and the preposition *about* is stranded. (63c) is an attested example of preposition stranding in the passive:

- (63) a They talked about these texts a lot.  
b These texts were talked about a lot.  
c Why should we [people using sports boats on Lake Windermere, lh] be legislated against? (*Guardian*, 31.5.3, page 12? Col 2)

A note on terminological issues is in order here. Because the NP *these texts* can become the subject of the passive sentence (63b), and because it is related to the verb by means of a preposition (*about*), some grammarians (especially in the French tradition) call the PP *about the texts* in (63a) an indirect object. In the English tradition of grammar writing the term indirect object tends to be used to refer to constituents that express the RECIPIENT/BENEFICIARY of verbs like *give* and *buy*, and which often enter into the alternation V-NP1-NP2/ V-NP2-to NP1. The latter authors use the more general label 'PP-complement of the verb' or '**prepositional complement** of the verb' to refer to PP complements of other verbs, and they refer to verbs followed by a PP complement as '**prepositional verbs**'. We adopt the latter practice here. So *about these texts* in (63a) is called the prepositional complement of *talk*.

## 2.5. Verb phrases

### 2.5.1. The core VP: a survey

The verb phrase is a constituent whose central element is a verb. Consider (64a) and (64b):

- (64) a [<sub>NP</sub> The discovery of the new evidence] will shock the world.  
b The police have discovered some new evidence.

In (64a) the string *the discovery of the new evidence* is a constituent, it is an NP, witness the fact that it can be replaced by the pronoun *it* or by the demonstrative *this/that*. In (64b) the string *discovered some new evidence* also functions as a unit: it can be deleted in particular discourse patterns and it can be replaced by *so*:

- (64) c The police has discovered some new evidence.  
They have  $\emptyset$  indeed and so has this journalist.  
 $\emptyset$ = discovered some new evidence  
*so*= discovered some new evidence

In the same way that that the N *discovery* heads the NP *the discovery of the new evidence* in (64a), the verb *discovered* heads the constituent *discovered some new evidence*. This constituent is a verb phrase (VP). The verb phrase in (64b) contains the verb and its direct object, the NP *some new evidence*. A VP may contain additional material. The VPs in (65/6) are bracketed ([ ]) and labelled [<sub>VP</sub>]. For each example, the (b)-example provides evidence that the bracketed string in (a) is a unit.

- (65) a The police have [<sub>VP</sub> carefully examined the material].  
b They have  $\emptyset$  indeed and so have the local press.  
 $\emptyset$  = carefully examined the material  
*so* = carefully examined the material
- (66) a The police will [<sub>VP</sub> examine the evidence with great interest tonight].  
b They will  $\emptyset$  indeed and so will the local press.

As can be seen, the a-sentences above contain a subject NP, a VP and an auxiliary (*have, will*). The auxiliary serves to relate the subject to the VP and to specify when/how the relation is validated. For instance, the perfect auxiliary *have* indicates that the relation between subject and VP is already a fact ('it has already happened that...', the action expressed in the VP has already taken place', the modal auxiliary *will* projects this link into the future ('it will be the case that...').<sup>80</sup>

Depending on the verb involved, certain constituents will be obligatorily present in the VP. These compulsory elements are referred to as **complements** in the English grammatical tradition. In contrast, elements which are not obligatorily present are referred to as **adjuncts**.<sup>81</sup> We discuss some aspects of verb complementation in more detail in the next sections.<sup>82</sup>

### 2.5.2. (In)Transitivity<sup>83</sup>

A verb is said to be **intransitive** if it does not require any additional constituent to form a complete VP. Intransitive verbs may make up the VP all by themselves, although they can also be accompanied by adjuncts, i.e. optional constituents that specify manner, time, place etc.

- (67) a The cat was sleeping (quietly) (on a velvet sofa).  
b She left (quickly) (with her coat only half put on) (in a red car).  
c The dogs were barking; the children were screaming.

A transitive verb, on the other hand, requires a complement, its **direct object**.

- (68) a The hungry prisoners devoured the food.

Typically, transitive verbs can be passivised and the object in the active sentence corresponds to the subject of the passive sentence:

- (68) b The food was devoured by the hungry prisoners.

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<sup>80</sup> Often a sentence does not contain any auxiliary at all:

(i) The police carefully examined the material.

For such sentences we can say that the relating function is realised by the tense of the verb: in (i) the link between the subject *the police* and the VP *carefully examined the material* is validated in the past. We return to this issue in the Linguistics classes in the second semester.

<sup>81</sup> See Rivière Section 1, 2.6. Care is needed here. The problem is that grammatical terminology is not homogeneous across linguistic traditions and this may become very confusing. Verb complementation is one particularly complicated area. The English tradition differs from the French tradition in that in the French tradition the term 'complément' covers both obligatory and optional elements. For instance the 'complément d'objet direct' is obligatory (and is also a complement in the English terminology), while a 'complément circonstanciel de temps' is very often optional (and would then be considered as an adjunct in the English tradition). In the English tradition a copula such as *be* is said to take as its complement a predicate NP, AP etc. In the French tradition, the same unit is called an 'attribut'. (cf. For French terminology Rivière section 2, 6.1)

<sup>82</sup> For more complete discussion Cf. Larreya and Rivière, chapter 22: Les compléments du verbe (pp.220-237)

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Rivière section 2, 6.1

Observe that though the subject is an AGENT in the active sentence (68a) this is by no means always the case. The subject of a transitive verb may for instance also express a CAUSE (68c), or the EXPERIENCER of a psychological state (68d):

- (68) c The storm destroyed the gate.  
d Mary liked the film.

Though the direct object is prototypically realised as an NP, it may also (depending on the verb) be realised by a clause (cf. 3.1.):

- (69) a I discovered [<sub>NP</sub> his mistake] immediately.  
b I discovered immediately [<sub>clause</sub> that he had made a mistake].

In English an NP object that appears to the right of the verb must be immediately next to that verb; a clausal complement may be separated from the verb. In (69a) the adjunct *immediately* cannot intervene between the verb and the object (69c), this order is possible with a clausal complement (69b).

- (69) c \*I discovered immediately his mistake.

Some verbs allow both a transitive and an intransitive use, depending on their meaning.

- (70) a She left at three. (intransitive use)  
b She left her office at three. (transitive use)  
c She left her husband after three years (transitive use)

Some transitive verbs can appear without their object if the nature of that object is self-evident:

- (70) c I have eaten. d Do you smoke? e Do you drive?  
f Is he there? I don't know.

However, this is not always possible, and English is more restricted than French.<sup>84</sup>

- (70) f T'as vu? f' Did you see that?  
g Tu as aimé? g' Did you like it?

A verb may also have to be related to its complement NP by means of a preposition, which means that it requires a PP complement (also called a **prepositional complement** or **prepositional object**).<sup>85</sup> For instance, *wait* requires a PP complement introduced by the preposition *for*. Verbs requiring a PP complement are referred to as **prepositional verbs**.

- (71) a They were waiting [<sub>PP</sub> for the postman].  
b They were talking [<sub>PP</sub> about a take-over].

**Careful!** Some English prepositional verbs such as *look AT*, *wait FOR*, *hope FOR*, etc., correspond to French transitive verbs:

- (72) a I am waiting [<sub>PP</sub> for [<sub>NP</sub> my brother]]. b J'attends [<sub>NP</sub> mon frère].

<sup>84</sup> See also L&R chapter 22, section 2.2

<sup>85</sup> Verbs that require a PP complement are sometimes called **prepositional transitive**. Note that in the French grammatical tradition the PP complement is referred to as an indirect object and such verbs are called indirect transitives. But in the English tradition the term indirect object is typically restricted to an NP referring to the BENEFICIARY or RECIPIENT of goods.

Conversely, some English transitive verbs correspond to French prepositional verbs:

- (73) a I oppose [<sub>NP</sub> this proposal]. b Je m'oppose [<sub>PP</sub> à [<sub>NP</sub> cette proposition]].

Verbs that can have two NP complements are called **ditransitive**:

- (74) a They gave the children their presents. b They handed the robbers the money.  
 c They bought their children some presents.

With such ditransitive verbs, one object may sometimes be realised by a clause:

- (74) d Mary told [<sub>NP</sub> her husband ] [<sub>NP</sub> the truth].  
 e Mary told [<sub>NP</sub> her husband ] [<sub>clause</sub> that she was pregnant].

### 2.5.3. Prepositional verbs and phrasal verbs

Prepositional verbs require a PP as their complement. A PP is a constituent headed by a preposition and usually containing an NP.

**Phrasal verbs**, on the other hand, are verbs which in themselves seems to consist of a verb and an adverbial particle. The combination V+particle behaves as one verb. Phrasal verbs have different patterns of use, corresponding to those found with ordinary one-word verbs. (75) summarises the patterns of use for phrasal verbs

(75)	Transitive phrasal verb	Prepositional phrasal verb	Intransitive phrasal verb
	<i>The president called off the meeting.</i>	<i>I am look forward to the summer.</i>	<i>The car broke down.</i>
	<i>The teachers gave up smoking</i>	<i>I went back on my promises</i>	<i>The bomb went off</i>
	<i>The students made up the story</i>	<i>I look up to my teachers</i>	<i>Things are looking up</i>

Phrasal verbs are sometimes confused with prepositional verbs because particles and prepositions are often identical in form:

- (76) a Switch on the light. Switch the light on. Switch it on.  
 b You can rely [<sub>PP</sub> on [<sub>NP</sub> your brother]]. You can rely [<sub>PP</sub> on [<sub>NP</sub> him]].

In (76a) *on* is an (adverbial) particle and it forms a phrasal verb together with the verb *switch*. In (76b) *on* is a preposition which forms a PP with the NP *your brother*. The PP is the complement of the verb. As seen in (76a), the pronominal object of a phrasal verb precedes the particle while a pronominal complement of a preposition does not precede the preposition.

### 2.5.4 Direct object

A direct object is prototypically realised as an NP. The direct object is an NP that is required to complete a VP whose head is a transitive verb. Typically, a direct object NP can become the subject of a passive sentence. Recall that not all NP complements of a verb are direct objects. For instance in (77) the underlined NPs are predicates. In these examples, the underlined NPs cannot become the subjects of passive sentences:

- (77) a John will become a teacher. b She remained a teacher.

In addition sometimes verbs require as their complements a measure phrase. Recall (section 2.2.2) that even if realised as an NP, such a phrase is not a direct object:

- (78) a They weigh two stone. b This book cost five pounds.

- c They stayed three weeks.

NPs that follow the verb may also function as adjuncts

- (79) a They arrived last week. b You should not have talked to her that way.

Finally, a direct object NP need not necessarily follow the verb. It may be shifted to the left as a result various operations:

- (80) a What kind of films do you like?  
b The films which I like best are the old black and white ones.  
c These films, I don't like.  
d 'He was a friend,' Rebus said. Inwardly he added, *and I let him go*. So many friendships he'd pushed away, preferring his own company, the chair by the window in the darkened room. (Ian Rankin, *The Falls*, Orion, 2001, 156)

In English the NP contained in a prepositional complement may sometimes also become the subject of a passive sentence. (Because of this, the complement of the preposition (here *about*) is sometimes referred to as the indirect object in French grammar writing.)

- (81) a They were talking about his appointment.  
b His appointment is being talked about.

#### 2.5.5 Double object verbs/ ditransitive verbs (L&R chapter 22, section 4, Rivière 2.4.)

An important difference between French and English is that in English certain verbs may actually have two NP complements. Two classes of such **ditransitive** verbs can be distinguished: those of the type GIVE ("verbs of giving": *award, bring, feed, give, grant, hand, leave, lend, offer, owe, pass, pay, prescribe, promise, read, sell, send, show, teach, tell, throw, write...*) and those of the type BUY (*buy, choose, cook, do, fetch, get, keep, make, order, paint, play, pour, reach, reserve, save, spare...*). Both types of verbs head a VP with two patterns of complementation: either there are two NP complements or else there is an NP and a prepositional phrase, with *to* typically used as the preposition of the first group and *for* as that mostly used in the second group

- (82) a V NP1 NP2<sup>86</sup>  
He had told the children some frightening stories.  
You must write Sarah a letter of apology.  
You should have bought your mother a Christmas present!  
I will make the children a nice breakfast.  
b V NP2 [PP P NP1]  
He had told some frightening stories to the children.  
You must write a letter of apology to Sarah.  
You should have bought a Christmas present for your mother!  
I will make a nice breakfast for the children.

The pattern with the preposition is preferred when the NP1 is long, or when NP2 is a pronoun.

- (82) d I had to show [NP2 my pass] [[PP to [NP1 the man at the door.]]  
e I had to show [NP2 it] [PP to [NP1 Mary.]]

<sup>86</sup> . In the English tradition of grammar writing, NP1 would be called an indirect object, in spite of the fact that there is no preposition, and NP2 is called the direct object. This is because the term indirect object in the English tradition is associated with the entity that is the RECIPIENT or BENEFICIARY of goods affected by the action.

The two classes of double object verbs pattern differently when both complements are pronominal. (83a) is typical of the GIVE class ( in which the preposition is *to*). (83b) applies to the BUY type with preposition *for*):

- (83) a I sent <sub>[NP2 it]</sub> <sub>[PP to <sub>[NP2 him]]</sub>] . OR I sent <sub>[NP1 him]</sub> <sub>[NP2 it]</sub>.  
 b I bought <sub>[NP2 it]</sub> <sub>[PP for <sub>[NP1 her]]</sub>]. but \*I bought <sub>[NP1 her]</sub> <sub>[NP2 it.]</sub></sub></sub>

Usage notes

There are many different patterns, usage of individual speakers may also vary, and we do not go into all the details here. Below are some additional examples that serve to show that usage is not stable with respect to the order of pronominal objects. If you read English texts or if you listen to English speakers, pay attention to this type of variation in usage. For your own use, it is strongly recommended you use the most common forms, i.e. the forms given as grammatical in (83).

- (i) a I thought they would have given <sub>[NP1 me]</sub> <sub>[NP2 it]</sub> for free, but I had to pay for it. (*Guardian*, G2? 18.6.3, page 6, col 4)  
 b Dad didn't really want to start causing scenes, so he said, 'Just leave it till hopefully I get out one day. Then you can win it again and show <sub>[NP1 me]</sub> <sub>[NP2 it]</sub>. (*Guardian*, 28.5.1., G2, page 4, col 3)  
 c They promised <sub>[NP1 us]</sub> <sub>[NP2 it]</sub> last year *Guardian*, 24.5.3, page 6)  
 d 'Read <sub>[NP1 us]</sub> <sub>[NP2 it]</sub> again. My hearing aid wasn't fixed. (Muriel Spark, *Memento Mori*, MacMillan 1959, Penguin, 1961, 1977: 18)  
 e On another occasion I [=ticket collector] was checking tickets at the barrier and one lady showed me her ticket back to front. Innocently I asked her if I could see the front side of the ticket. "I was showing <sub>[NP1 you]</sub> <sub>[NP2 it]</sub>, stupid. (*Guardian*, G2, 20.11.00, page 2, col 2)  
 f She had to tell <sub>[NP2 it]</sub> <sub>[NP1 me]</sub> (Nicolas Freeling, *The pretty how town*, First published in Great Britain by Little, Brown and Company 1992. Warner Futura Book, 1994. 163  
 g I was looking for paper towels when he appeared. But he was so urgent about shaking my hand that I gave <sub>[NP2 it]</sub> <sub>[NP1 him]</sub> wet. (*Independent*, Weekend review, Saturday 19.2.2000, p[age 5, col 3)

Not every *for* PP can be replaced by an object NP1:

- (ii) a I did the washing up for him. BUT \*I did him the washing up.  
 b I'll open the door for you. \*I'll open you the door.

When the *for* PP refers to a BENEFICIARY of 'transferred goods', it can be realised as an NP (NP1), but when it refers to a BENEFICIARY of 'services' this alternative is less likely. Consider (iii): in (iiia) *fix* means 'prepare, make' and NP1 is the RECIPIENT of *the drink*, but in (iiib) *fix* means 'repair' and the double NP construction is not possible.

- (iii) a I will fix a drink for you. I will fix you a drink.  
 b I will fix your laptop for you. \*I will fix you your laptop.

The same contrast is found in (iv): in (iva) the speaker will prepare the sandwich and give it to the interlocutor (BENEFICIARY of goods), in (ivb) he makes the cake to help the interlocutor (BENEFICIARY of services):

- (iv) a I will make a sandwich for you I will make you a sandwich  
 b I will make the cake for you \*I will make you the cake.

Depending on the verb, the direct object of a ditransitive verb may also be realised as a clause. In such cases the typical word order is that in (83a), with NP2 replaced by a clause:

- (84) a V NP1 clause  
 d He had told <sub>[NP1 the children]</sub> <sub>[clause that their mother would be home late]</sub>.  
 He promised <sub>[NP1 the children]</sub> <sub>[clause that they would go to the beach]</sub>.

It is also important to remember that not all verbs that have two complements allow for the two patterns in (82). Some verbs usually appear with the double NP pattern: *allow*, *ask*, *charge* (in the sense of *make pay*), *deny*, *envy*, *forgive*, *refuse*, etc.

- (85) a They denied [<sub>NP1</sub> the prisoner] [<sub>NP2</sub> the right to receive letters.]  
 b The journalists always ask [<sub>NP1</sub> Bill] [<sub>NP2</sub> embarrassing questions.]

Other verbs do not allow for the double NP pattern and always require a preposition to introduce the indirect object (i.e. to refer to the BENEFICIARY/RECIPIENT): *describe sth TO s.o.*, *explain sth TO s.o.*, *introduce s.o. TO s.o.*, *say sth TO s.o.*; *borrow sth FROM s.o.*, *buy sth FROM s.o.*, *steal sth FROM s.o.*, *take sth FROM s.o.*, etc. For this class passivisation is based on the direct object NP.<sup>87</sup>

- (86) a The teacher explained the passive form to the students.  
 B The passive form was explained to the students by the teacher.

Usage notes

When they have only one NP as their complement (i.c. NP1), *tell*, *show* and *promise* take an NP, *read* and *write* require the presence of *to*, *play* and *sing* take a complement with *to* or with *for*.

- (i) a Tell him. Show me. Promise me.  
 b Read to her \* Read her.  
 c I will play for her \*I will play her.

The verb *ask* does not normally allow an indirect object with a preposition:

- (ii) a He asked [<sub>NP1</sub>John] [<sub>NP2</sub> a question].  
 b He asked [<sub>NP1</sub>John] [if he could help].

The following verbs behave like *ask*: *advise*, *beg*, *command*, *encourage*, *implore*, *invite*, *order*, *recommend*, *remind*, *request*, *tell*, *urge*, *warn*.

Finally verbs such as *call* (=shout), *complain*, *describe*, *explain*, *grumble*, *murmur*, *say*, *shout*, *speak*, *suggest*, *talk*, *whisper* are followed by an NP introduced by *to* in the unmarked case. This NP may also be introduced by *at*, in which case an amount of aggression is implied:

- (iii) a He shouted to her. b He shouted at her.

There are many verbs which take as their complements a direct object NP and a PP, but where the PP does not refer to THE RECIPIENT/BENEFICIARY of the action. In the English tradition, this PP is NOT referred to as the indirect object. The PP will be called a prepositional complement. Such a PP does not alternate with an NP. Consider for instance (iv):

- (iv) a They charged the student with theft.  
 b She added the stamp to her collection.

In (iva) the direct object is the NP *the student* and the PP *with theft* is a prepositional complement. In (iv) *the stamp* is direct object and the PP *to her collection* is a prepositional complement. Observe that the fact that a prepositional complement is introduced by *to* (or *for*) does not make it automatically into an indirect object.

Other such verbs are: *compare sth TO sth.*, *blame s.o. FOR sth*, *pay s.o./sth FOR sth*; *accuse s.o. OF sth*, *remind s.o. OF sth/s.o.*, *rob s.o. OF sth*; *charge s.o. WITH sth* (in the sense of *accuse*), *trust s.o. WITH sth*; *blame sth ON s.o.*, *congratulate s.o. ON sth* etc. For this class of verbs passivisation is based on the direct object NP.<sup>88</sup>

- (iv) c The student was charged with theft.

<sup>87</sup> Section 5, ex 1, ex 2. , ex 3, ex 4, ex 5, ex 6.

<sup>88</sup> Section 5, ex 1, ex 2. , ex 3, ex 4, ex 5, ex 6.

- d The stamp was added to the collection.

## 2.6. Adjuncts

The number of adjuncts in a sentence is not regulated by grammatical requirements: on the one hand, a verb phrase (or a sentence) need not contain any adjuncts at all, and, on the other hand, a verb phrase (or a sentence) may contain more than one adjunct as shown by the following examples:

- (87) a In such circumstances, the police nearly always examine the material very carefully.  
a' The police examine the material.  
b Mary definitely told her husband the secret after dinner.  
b' Mary told her husband the secret.

(94a) contains three adjuncts realised by (i) the PP *in such circumstances*, (ii) the frequency adverb phrase *nearly always*, and (iii) the manner adverb phrase *very carefully*. Observe that these adjuncts do not modify exactly the same constituent: *very carefully* modifies the VP *examine the material*, the adjunct specifies the manner in which the action of 'examining the material' is executed. *Nearly always*, on the other hand, indicates the frequency of the activity of 'very carefully examining the material'. The PP *in such circumstances* sketches the background for the event expressed in sentence.  
<sup>89</sup>

## 2.7. Stacked auxiliaries<sup>90</sup>

Sentences may contain more than one auxiliary:

- (88) The police may have examined the evidence too casually.

The first auxiliary in the string, here *may*, is **finite**: *may* is a present tense as opposed to the past (preterit) *might*. Additional auxiliaries are **non-finite**. In (88) *have* is an **infinitive**. When there is subject auxiliary inversion, it is the first/finite auxiliary that inverts with the subject.

The left to right ordering of the auxiliaries determines their interpretation: (88) can be paraphrased as 'It may be the case/true that the police have examined the evidence too casually'. We first apply the meaning of the aspectual auxiliary *have* to the VP *examined the evidence too casually*, thus locating the activity of 'examining the evidence' in the past. Then we modalise this past activity: the modal auxiliary *may* expresses that, though possible, it is not certain that the event took place. (88a-c) summarises the semantic build-up of the sentence:

- (88) a examine the evidence too quickly  
b add *have*: have examined the evidence too quickly  
c add *may* may have examined the evidence too quickly

The attested example (89) contains perfect *have*, progressive *be (been)* and passive *be (being)*.

- (89) Edwards said: 'This is the final nail in the coffin of the Olympic ideal, which has been slowly being eroded for a while.'*(Guardian, 27.5.3? page 2, col 3)*

<sup>89</sup> Section 2.1. ex 13, Section 2.2. ex 18

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Rivière, section 2, 6.3.1 and 6.3.2.

### 3. SENTENCES

#### 3.1. Sentence and clause ('proposition')<sup>91</sup>

Free-standing clauses, or independent clauses can be declarative (used for making an assertion, a statement), interrogative (used for asking a question), imperative (used for giving an order) or exclamative (used as exclamations):

- |     |   |  |   |
|-----|---|--|---|
| (1) | a | Bill will leave the company.                   | Independent declarative: free-standing assertion  |
|     | b | Will Bill leave the company?                   | Independent interrogative: free-standing question |
|     | c | Leave the company!                             | Imperative: order                                 |
|     | d | What a disaster this man has turned out to be! | Exclamative.                                      |

Consider (2):

- |     |   |  |
|-----|---|--|
| (2) | a | Mary has announced [NP Bill's departure].              |
|     | b | Mary has announced [that Bill will leave the company]. |

In (2a) *announce* takes as its complement the NP *Bill's departure*. In (2b) the verb *announce* takes as its complement the string of words *that Bill will leave the company*. The string *that Bill will leave the company* corresponds to the declarative sentence in (1a). In (1a) *Bill will leave the company* is an independent declarative sentence. In terms of meaning *that Bill will leave* in (2b) closely corresponds to that sentence, but what was a free-standing assertion in (1a) has become integrated into another sentence (as the object of the verb *announce*).

Let us introduce some terminology at this point. A sentence such as (2b), which contains another sentential constituent as one of its constituents, is a **complex** sentence. A constituent such as *that Bill will leave* (in (2b)), which is a sentence but which has become part of another sentence is called a **clause**. More precisely we say it is an **embedded clause** or a **subordinate clause**. In a complex sentence the embedded clause is also often referred to as the **lower clause**, in contrast to the **higher clause**, the clause in which the embedded clause is inserted. The verb *announce* in (2a) takes a clause as its **complement** (more specifically its direct object). When a complement is realised as a clause we also call it a **clausal complement**. An object realised as a clause is similarly referred to as a **clausal object**. The sentence in which a clause has been embedded is referred to the **matrix clause** or **the main clause** or **the higher clause**. The verb of the matrix clause (here *announce*) is referred to as the **matrix verb**; the subject of the matrix clause is referred to as the **matrix subject**. We will assume that the main clause in (2) is the complete clause, i.e. the clause in which the embedded clause is a constituent. To put it differently: the embedded clause is here seen as being a part of the main clause.<sup>92</sup>

- |     |   |   |
|-----|---|---|
| (2) | c | [ <sub>main clause</sub> Mary has announced [ <sub>clause</sub> that Bill will leave]]. |
|-----|---|---|

---

<sup>91</sup> See Rivière section 3 (7.1)

<sup>92</sup> Another option is to consider the main clause to be the sentence - ('minus') its subordinate clauses. According to such a definition the main clause in (ia) would be (ib), that in (iia) would be (iib).

- |      |   |   |
|------|---|---|
| (i)  | a | Whether he is re-elected depends on whether enough people accept his arguments. |
|      | b | ...depends on...  |
| (ii) | a | His re-election depends on whether enough people accept his arguments.          |
|      | b | His re-election depends on...   |

See also Rivière Section 3, 7.2. Rivière presents the two ways of looking at main clauses and chooses a different approach from that presented here. We adopt the practice that is most widespread in the Anglo Saxon tradition.

The function of the embedded clause in (2b,c) is the same as that of the NP *Bill's departure* in (2a): it is the complement (direct object) of *announce*. In both cases there is a passive counterpart for the sentence:

- (2) d [NP *Bill's departure*] has been announced by Mary.  
e [clause *That Bill will leave the company*] has been announced by Mary.

In (2b) the word *that* is a conjunction. It serves to introduce a **declarative** embedded clause. (see section 3.2.)

Embedded clauses can realise different functions. In (2b) above, the embedded clause functions as complement (more precisely, the direct object) of the verb *announce*. In passive (2e), the same embedded clause is the subject. In (3) the embedded clauses also function as subjects:

- (3) a [clause *That Louise was leaving*] surprised all her colleagues.  
b [clause *That Louise is leaving*] is very unfortunate.

Example (2e) and those in (3) are correct but they are slightly marked. Very often when a clause functions as a subject we find that an alternative pattern is used. We can rephrase the examples as follows:

- (4) a It has been announced by Mary [clause *that Bill will leave the company*].  
b It surprised all her colleagues [clause *that Louise was leaving*].  
c It is very unfortunate [clause *that Louise is leaving*].

What happens is that the subject clause is shifted to the end of the sentence (this is called **extraposition**) and in the normal subject position the **impersonal** pronoun *it* is inserted.<sup>93</sup> The function of *it* is to point to the extraposed clause. We won't go into this type of structure in detail here.

In (5) an embedded clause is integrated into an NP; the containing NP (with the embedded clause) is the subject in (5a) and it is the direct object in (5b). When an NP contains a clause we say that the NP is **complex**. **Careful!** It is very important to remember that in cases such as (5a) the subject is the complex NP *the news that Mary was leaving*. In the embedded clause itself, *Mary* is the subject. Similarly, in (5b) the object of *confirmed* is the complex NP *the rumour that Mary was leaving*, and the subject of the embedded clause is *Mary*.

- (5) a [NP The news [clause *that Mary was leaving*]] astonished everyone.  
b The director confirmed [NP the rumour [clause *that Mary was leaving*]]].

When we passivise (5b) the complex NP *the rumour that Mary was leaving* becomes the subject:

- (5) c [NP The rumour [clause *that Mary was leaving*]] was confirmed by the director.

Embedded clauses can also be part of an AP, they function as complements of the adjective:

- (6) a The students' parents are [AP very much aware [clause *that the situation is critical*]].  
b I am [AP conscious [clause *that the situation is critical*]].  
c I am [AP confident [clause *that the problem can be solved*]].

Embedded clauses can function as adjuncts, in which case they express specifications of condition, time, cause, result etc. (L&R chapter 27, Rivière section 3, 7.4). Conjunctions are used to differentiate such adjunct clauses.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>93</sup> The 'normal' subject position is often called the **canonical** subject position. It is the subject position to the left of the non-inverted finite auxiliary.

<sup>94</sup> Section 7.2. ex. 5.

- (7) a The patients will leave hospital [clause when they can eat normally].  
b The patient can leave hospital [clause if the doctors agree].  
c The patients will meet the doctor [clause so that they can discuss the situation].  
d The patients will leave hospital next week [clause so that they will be home by Christmas].

### 3.2. Subordinating conjunctions<sup>95 96</sup>

The embedded clause in (9a) is introduced by the **subordinating conjunction** *that*, that in (9b) by the subordinating conjunction *whether*. While the embedded clause in (8a) is declarative, that in (8b) is interrogative. It corresponds to the main clause in (8c), which is a free-standing (independent) question. (For question formation see also section 4.1). *Whether* is a subordinating conjunction: it serves to embed (=subordinate) a question; it helps to integrate a question inside another sentence.

- (8) a Mary announced [ that Louise was leaving].  
b. Mary is wondering [whether Bill will ever leave].  
c Will Bill ever leave?

The subordinating conjunction *that* can often be omitted in English (9a). However, as shown by the ungrammaticality, of (9b) the conjunction *that* can by no means always be omitted. In particular, while the conjunction can be omitted in an object clause, it cannot be omitted from a clause in the canonical subject position:

- (9) a Mary announced [---Louise was leaving].  
b \*[---Louise was leaving ] surprised all her colleagues.

The interrogative subordinating conjunction *whether* sometimes alternates with *if*:

- (10) a Mary wondered [whether Bill would leave].  
b Mary wondered [if Bill would leave].

But again, this alternation is not automatic:

- (11) a [clause Whether Mary will stay] is not clear yet.  
b [clause \*If Mary will stay] is not clear yet.  
c We are all very concerned about [NP the question [clause whether Bill is leaving]].  
d \*We are all very concerned about [NP the question [clause if Bill is leaving]].  
e I talked about [clause whether we should move].  
f \*They talked about [clause if we should move].

In (11g), the prepositions *on* and *for* both take a complement clause introduced by *whether*. Here again, *if* is not possible:

- (11) g While a doctor can be roughly judged [PP on [clause whether their patient left the premises upright or flat]] and a teacher can be held responsible [PP for [clause whether their charges can do two-plus-two]] –how do you tell a state-funded arts institution is delivering? (*Guardian*, 21.6.3, page 17, col 5)

<sup>95</sup> For co-ordinating conjunctions such as *and*, *but*, *or* see 2.2.3

<sup>96</sup> See Rivière Section 2, 5.2.

*Whether* cannot be replaced by *if* when (i) it introduces a clause in the canonical subject position (11a,b), (ii) when it introduces a clause that is the complement of a noun (11c,d) and (iii) when it introduced a clause that is the complement of a proposition (1e,f,g).

As mentioned, clauses can also function as adjuncts (of time, condition, purpose etc). An adjunct realised by a clause is a **clausal adjunct**. Or, from a different perspective, a clause used with the function of adjunct is called an **adjunct clause**.

As shown by the examples in (12), specialised conjunctions are used to introduce adjunct clauses: *when*, *while*, *as soon as*, *since* introduces temporal adjunct clauses, *if* and *unless* introduce conditional clauses, *so that* introduces a purpose clause or a result clause, *because* introduces a reason clause, *(al)though* introduces a concessive clause *etc.*

- (12) a I will write to you [<sub>clause</sub> when I get home].  
b I will write to you [<sub>clause</sub> while I am waiting for the train].  
c I will write to you [<sub>clause</sub> as soon as I get home].  
d I will write to you [<sub>clause</sub> if I get home on time].<sup>97</sup>  
e I will write to you [<sub>clause</sub> unless you prefer to get an email].  
e I will send you the details [<sub>clause</sub> so that you can finalise the document].  
f I will write to him [<sub>clause</sub> so that he can transmit the information to the officials].  
g I will write to him [<sub>clause</sub> because he wants the information].  
h I will write to him again, [<sub>clause</sub> although he already has the information required].

*Before*, *after* and *since* are used as prepositions in (13). They take an NP as their complement:

- (13) a I met him [<sub>PP</sub> before [<sub>NP</sub> lunch]].                      b I met him [<sub>PP</sub> after [<sub>NP</sub> lunch]].  
c I have not met him [<sub>PP</sub> since [<sub>NP</sub> the party]].

In (14) the same items *before*, *after* and *since* serve to introduce an adjunct clause. Two approaches are possible to such examples. We either say that in (14) *before*, *after* and *since* are prepositions with a clause as their complement or, alternatively, we say that in this case the words *before* and *after* are subordinating conjunctions. We have proposed two kinds of labelling to show these two analyses.

- (14) a I met him [<sub>PP</sub> before [<sub>clause</sub> we had lunch]].                      *Before* = P  
I met him [<sub>clause</sub> before we had lunch].                      *Before* = conjunction  
b I met him [<sub>PP</sub> after [<sub>clause</sub> we had lunch]. ].  
I met him [<sub>clause</sub> after we had lunch]. .  
c I haven't him [<sub>PP</sub> since [<sub>clause</sub> we had lunch last week]. ].  
I haven't met him [<sub>clause</sub> since we had lunch last week].

Clauses can be co-ordinated (L&R chapter 29, 1.2). Sometimes the conjunction is repeated in the coordinated clause.

- (i) I thought [that Mary was there already] and [that John was about to arrive].  
[If you see her] and [(if) you get a chance to talk to her], tell her to call me.  
When[ he arrived ] and [he said he was leaving], we were astonished.

### 3.3. Finite clauses vs. non-finite clauses

#### 3.3.1. Infinitival clauses (L&R chapter 26, 2.3. and 2.4., Rivière section 2, 6.4.1)

##### 3.3.2.1. FINITE VS NON-FINITE

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<sup>97</sup> *If* can introduce an interrogative clause (i) or a conditional clause (ii)  
(i) I wonder if he will leave the company  
(ii) If he leaves the company everything will fall to pieces.

Consider the following pair of sentences, focusing at this point on the bracketed strings:

- (15) a I expect [that Thelma will leave after lunch].  
b I expect [Thelma to leave after lunch].

In (15a), the bracketed string is an embedded clause. It is the complement of the verb *expect*. The embedded clause consists of a sequence NP (*Thelma*) + auxiliary (*will*) + VP (*leave after lunch*) and it is introduced by the subordinating conjunction *that*. The form of the auxiliary *will* alternates with the past form *would* in (16a).

- (16) a I expected [that Thelma would leave after lunch].  
b I expected [Thelma to leave after lunch].

We can say that *will* is the 'present tense' of the auxiliary (or the unmarked tense) and that *would* is its past tense. In (16a) *would* replaces *will* under the influence of the past tense in the main clause (*expected*). When a clause can display variation in the tense form of the verb (past vs. unmarked/present) we say that it is **finite** or **tensed**.<sup>98</sup> Main clauses (or unembedded clauses) are normally finite. The embedded clauses in (15a) and (16a) are **finite**. The embedded clauses in (17) are also finite: they are also **tensed**.

- (17) a I expect [<sub>clause</sub> that Thelma has already left].  
b I think [<sub>clause</sub> that Thelma lives in France].  
c I thought [<sub>clause</sub> that Thelma was arriving later].

In (15b) and (16b) above the bracketed strings are similar to those in the matching (a)-sentences, semantically as well as formally. The major difference is that instead of there being a tensed modal auxiliary (*will/would*), the verb is preceded by the word *to*. *To* has a distribution similar to that of the auxiliaries but unlike the auxiliaries, *to* is invariant for tense: we say that *to* is a **non-finite** inflection marker associated with the infinitival form of the verb. The difference between the finite clause *Thelma will leave after lunch* and the **non-finite clause** *Thelma to leave after lunch* is determined by the element that links subject NP and VP: *will* is tensed, while *to* is not tensed. The tensed/non-tensed distinction or the finite/non-finite distinction has an impact on the realisation of the subject of the clause. When we replace the subject NP *Thelma* by a pronoun, the finite vs. non-finite opposition has an influence on the form of the subject pronoun. *She* is the **nominative case** and *her* is the **accusative case** of the third person singular feminine pronoun. Both pronouns, *she* and *her*, function as subjects of the bracketed clauses in (18): .<sup>99, 100</sup>

- (18) a. I expect [<sub>clause</sub> that she will dance after lunch].  
b. I expect [<sub>clause</sub> her to dance after lunch].

In (18a) the finite clause is introduced by the conjunction *that*; there is no subordinating conjunction to introduce the embedded non-finite clause in (18b). In other contexts, non-finite clauses can be introduced by *for*, which serves as the subordinating conjunction:<sup>101</sup>

- (19) a He did intend for Endrina to join him as a runner – he just didn't know at that point that she couldn't run. (*Guardian*, G2, 15.02.,01, page 4, col 2)

<sup>98</sup> Rivière section 2, 6.3. who opposes 'formes personnelles' (finite) to 'formes non-personnelles' (non-finite)

<sup>99</sup> See also Rivière 'Le cas particulier du sujet des propositions infinitives', p. 29.

<sup>100</sup> Non-finite forms do not vary depending on the tense/person. The non-finite forms are (i) the infinitive, (ii) the *ing* form (present participle, gerund), (iii) the past participle. Cf. Rivière section 2, 6.4.)

<sup>101</sup> Section 7.2., ex. 5.

In (19b) an embedded non-finite clause without the conjunction *for* is co-ordinated with an embedded non-finite clause with *for*:

- (19) b I keep expecting [her to start sucking her thumb], or [for a policeman to tap me on the shoulder]. (*Sunday Times*, 29.10.00, page 4, col 2, Style magazine)

A further difference between finite clauses and non-finite clauses is that, while a finite clause normally contains an overt subject NP<sup>102</sup>, the subject of the non-finite clause may remain implicit.

- (20) a. \*I expect that --- will see him after lunch.  
b. I expect --- to see him after lunch.

In (21a) *expect* takes a finite clause as its complement and the subject of the embedded clause must be expressed overtly. In (21b) *expect* takes a non-finite clausal complement whose subject is implicit (---). The implicit subject of *see him after lunch* in (21b) is interpreted as identical to *I*, the subject of *expect*. We can represent the fact that the subject of *dance* is implicit by using the symbol  $\emptyset$ :

- (20) c. I expect  $\emptyset$  to dance after lunch.

(21a) is a complex sentence. The main verb *wonder* selects as its complement the finite embedded clause *whether she should trust Bill*. The embedded clause is interrogative. In (21b), again, the subject of the embedded clause cannot be omitted.

- (21) a. Thelma was wondering whether she should trust Bill.  
b. \*Thelma was wondering whether should trust Bill.

(21c) differs from (21b) in one crucial way; the embedded interrogative clause is non-finite. The non-finite clause is introduced by the conjunction *whether*, which can also introduce finite clauses. Again, we can say that the subject of *trust* in (21c) is **implicit**: it is interpreted as being the same as the main clause subject, *Thelma*. Again, we signal the implicit subject of non-finite clauses by the symbol  $\emptyset$ : It is important to add that when it introduces a non-finite clause, *whether* cannot be replaced by *if* (22e):

- (21) c. Thelma was wondering [<sub>clause</sub> whether to trust Bill].  
d. Thelma was wondering [<sub>clause</sub> whether  $\emptyset$  to trust Bill].  
e. \*Thelma was wondering [<sub>clause</sub> if  $\emptyset$  to trust Bill].

In (22a) the ditransitive verb *promise* takes two complements: NP1 *John* and NP2 *a present*. In (22c) the same verb has an NP complement and a clausal complement. In (22b) the embedded clause is finite; its subject is the pronominal NP *I*. In (22c) the embedded clause is non-finite, its subject is implicit. Again we interpret the subject of the embedded clause as identical to the subject of the main clause (= *I*).

- (22) a. I promised [<sub>NP1</sub> John] [<sub>NP2</sub> a present].  
b. I promised [<sub>NP1</sub> John] [<sub>clause</sub> that I would buy him a new bicycle].  
c. I promised [<sub>NP1</sub> John] [<sub>clause</sub>  $\emptyset$  to buy him a new bicycle].

In (23a), the verb *ask* has two complements, both realised by NPs. In (23b) the second complement is realised by a finite interrogative clause whose subject *he* is a pronoun. This pronoun can be interpreted as referentially identical to the first object, NP1 *John*. In (23c) the embedded clause is non-finite and it has an implicit subject ( $\emptyset$ ), interpreted as identical to the first object:

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<sup>102</sup> But see the passages (1), (2) and (4) in the Introduction for implicit subjects in certain registers.

- (23) a. I asked [<sub>NP1</sub>John] [<sub>NP2</sub> a question].  
b. I asked [<sub>NP1</sub>John] [<sub>clause</sub> if he could help me].  
c. I asked [<sub>NP1</sub>John] [<sub>clause</sub> ∅ to help me].

In (24a) the non-finite clause functions as a subject. The non-finite clause itself has an understood subject, represented by  $\emptyset$ , the interpretation of the non-finite clause in (24a) is similar to that of the non-finite clause in (24b). The implicit subject of *buy* in (24a) is understood either as having a kind of arbitrary /general reference ('people in general') or as referring to a contextually salient referent ('us', 'you').

- (24) a. [<sub>clause</sub>  $\emptyset$  to buy a bicycle now] is a good idea.  
b. [For us/you/people to buy a bicycle now ] is a good idea.

Recall from section 3.1. that finite subject clauses may be extraposed. In this case impersonal *it* is inserted in the normal subject position. Extraposition is also possible for non-finite subject clauses:

- (24) c. It is very important [<sub>clause</sub>  $\emptyset$  to buy a bicycle now].  
d. It suited the government's strategy for Dr Kelly's name to be known. (*Guardian*, 26.8.3, page 16, col 7)

### 3.3.2.2. INFINITIVAL CLAUSES: FORM AND FUNCTION<sup>103</sup>

The category 'non-finite clause' or 'infinitival clause' is a formal category. It tells us what type of clause we are dealing with. It does not say what the particular clause type is used for. In the same way that, for instance, NPs can realise various functions in the clause (subject, object, predicate, adjunct), infinitival clauses can realise a range of functions. Just like finite clauses, non-finite clauses may be objects or subjects (see above) and they may also be integrated into a (complex) NP (25a), or they may be part of a (complex) adjectival phrase (25b), and they may function as adjuncts, in which case we will again call them adjunct clauses or clausal adjuncts (25c,d).

- (25) a. [<sub>NP</sub> The question [<sub>clause</sub> whether  $\emptyset$  to oppose the war]] is on everyone's mind.  
b. The patients are [<sub>AP</sub> very eager [<sub>clause</sub>  $\emptyset$  to leave hospital]].  
The doctor is [<sub>AP</sub> unsure [<sub>clause</sub> whether  $\emptyset$  to meet with the patients]].  
c. The patients will meet the doctor [<sub>clause</sub> (in order)  $\emptyset$  to discuss their situation].  
d. The patients left hospital on Monday [<sub>clause</sub> only  $\emptyset$  to be obliged to return the next day].

As we will see in section 4.2 both non-finite clauses and finite clause may function as relative clauses:

- (26) a. [<sub>NP</sub> The first student [<sub>clause</sub> who arrived on the scene of the crime]] became the prime suspect.  
b. [<sub>NP</sub> The first student [<sub>clause</sub>  $\emptyset$  to arrive on the scene of the crime]] became the prime suspect.

### 3.3.2.3. A NOTE ON SPLIT INFINITIVES

Consider the sentences in (27), paying attention to the underlined elements:

- (27) a. We will vigorously defend this lawsuit – if and when it is ever served – and are confident it will be dismissed].

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Rivière section 3, 7.3.3.

- b We intend to vigorously defend this lawsuit – if and when it is ever served – and are confident it will be dismissed. (Letter to the editor, C. Stephen Heard Jr, New York, *Washington Post*, 10.12.2, page A28, col 4)

In (27a) the adverb *vigorously* modifies the VP (*defend this lawsuit*). In the attested example (27b) the adverb *vigorously* has the same function, but it now modifies a VP in an infinitival clause, where it is located between the infinitival marker *to* and the verb (*defend*). Thus the adjunct effectively splits the infinitival marker *to* from the associated infinitive. This pattern is referred to as the **split infinitive**. Many grammars will say the split infinitive should not be used, but this ban is a **prescriptive** rule which for many speakers no longer corresponds to present-day usage.<sup>104 105</sup> To avoid using the pattern, we can place the adjunct either to the left of *to* or else to the right of the object:

- (27) c We intend vigorously to defend this lawsuit.  
d We intend to defend this lawsuit vigorously.

In (27e) the adverb *bluntly* modifies the verb to its left, i.e. *refused*, and the adverb *publicly* modifies the verb phrase headed by the verb *engage*.

- (27) e But many other bishops refused bluntly to publicly engage in the debate. (*Guardian*, 19.6.3, page 4, col 4)

### 3.3.3. Other non-finite clauses: a survey<sup>106</sup>

#### 3.3.3.1. -ING FORMS : A BRIEF SURVEY

##### 3.3.3.1.1. -ing forms as gerunds<sup>107</sup>

Consider the pairs of sentences in (28).

- (28) a I remember [<sub>NP</sub> John's resignation].  
b I remember [<sub>clause</sub> John resigning after a quarrel].

In (28a) the object of the verb *regret* is an NP, *John's resignation*. In (28b) it is a construction containing the *-ing* form of the verb *resign*. This form is referred to as the **gerund** of the verb. Its form is like that of the present participle, but its function is not to denote progressive aspect. Rather the gerund is a verbal construction used in an environment where we normally find nominal elements. In (28b) the gerund *resigning* has a subject, the NP *John*. In (28c) the subject of the gerund is understood as being identical to the subject of the verb *regret*:

- (28) c I remember [Ø picking up the key before I left].

In (29a) the NP *John's resignation* is the subject of the clause. In (29b) the subject of the clause is again a gerundial construction:

- (28) a [<sub>NP</sub> John's resignation] surprised everyone.  
b [John's resigning from office so soon ] surprised everyone.

<sup>104</sup> We return to the difference between descriptive and prescriptive (=normative) grammar in the linguistics course in the second semester.

<sup>105</sup> Section 2.1., ex 13

<sup>106</sup> Section 2.2., ex. 22.

<sup>107</sup> L&R chapter 26, section 2,5, Rivière section 2, 6.4.2, 6.4.15. section 3:7.3.5

When the subject of the gerund is expressed, it may have the accusative form as in (28b). If we replace *John* the subject of the gerund clause by a pronoun we will use the accusative form *him*. The subject may also be realised as a genitive; this is illustrated by (28b). Here the pronominal variant of *John's* is the possessive pronoun *his*.

Since gerundial clauses have a distribution similar to that of NPs, they may also be the complement of a preposition:

- (29) a He was arrested for stealing a bicycle.  
b I look forward to seeing you again soon.

### 3.3.3.1.2.-Ing forms as participles

The *-ing* form of the verb may also function as a participle. This is illustrated in (30). Both sentences are finite, they contain a tensed verb (in particular a tensed auxiliary, past tense *was*). *Working* and *driving* are present participles which are selected by the auxiliary *be*.

- (30) a I was working in London at that time.  
b He was driving home late at night.

Non-finite clauses may also have a participle as their verbal head. In the non-finite **participial** clauses in the (b) examples below the subject is implicit. In (31) and (32) the participial clauses function as adjuncts; they are introduced by subordinating conjunctions.

- (31) a [<sub>clause</sub> When I was working in London], I used to walk a lot].  
b [<sub>clause</sub> When ∅ working in London], I used to walk a lot].  
(32) a You should never drink [<sub>clause</sub> while you are driving].  
b You should never drink [<sub>clause</sub> while ∅ driving].

The participial clause in (33b) is non-finite counterpart of the finite relative clause in (33a). It is a participial relative clause. It differs from the finite relative clause in lacking a relative pronoun and a finite tensed verb:

- (33) a [<sub>NP</sub> Students [<sub>clause</sub> who are working late at night]] often find that they are tired during the day.  
b [<sub>NP</sub> Students [<sub>clause</sub> ∅ working late at night]] often find that they are tired during the day.

We point out that the difference between *-ing* forms functioning as gerunds and those functioning as participles is not always easy to draw. We won't go into this issue here.<sup>108</sup>

### 3.3.3.2. BARE INFINITIVE COMPLEMENTS

When an infinitive in a non-finite clause lacks the infinitival marker *to*: it is called a 'bare infinitive'. Such bare infinitive complements are restricted in use. We find them with causative verbs (*make* in (34a), *let* in (34b)) and with perception verbs (*hear* in (34c), *see* in (34d)).

- (34) a She made the students work too hard.  
b I let the students leave early.  
c We heard the farmer kill the pig.  
d I saw him leave the building.

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<sup>108</sup> Section 7.2., ex. 3.

#### 4. MANIPULATING INFORMATION: QUESTIONS AND RELATIVE CLAUSES

##### 4.1. Questions (cf Larreya and Rivière chapter 20)

###### 4.1.1. Direct questions

###### 4.1.1.1. YES NO QUESTIONS

So far, we have mainly been dealing with declarative sentences and we have only occasionally referred to interrogative sentences. In this section we concentrate on the formation of interrogative sentences. Consider the following examples:

- |     |    |                                      |    |                                      |
|-----|----|--------------------------------------|----|--------------------------------------|
| (1) | a. | Thelma will meet Louise after lunch. | b. | Will Thelma meet Louise after lunch? |
|     | c. | Thelma met Louise after lunch.       | d. | Did Thelma meet Louise after lunch?  |

(1a) is a free-standing assertion; the speaker makes a prediction about a future event, namely that Thelma will meet Louise at a certain point in time. (1b) is a free-standing question: the speaker asks about a future event, namely Thelma's meeting Louise at a certain point in time. (1a) and (1b) differ in their **illocutionary force**: (1a) is an assertion, a statement, it is said to be a **declarative sentence**. (1b) is a question, it is an **interrogative sentence**<sup>109</sup>. More precisely, (1b) is a **yes/no question** or a **polar question**: the answer to a question of this type is either *yes* or *no*. To form a (free-standing) *yes/no* question: the finite auxiliary is moved to a position to the left of the subject (1b). If there is no auxiliary in the sentence (1c), the finite inflection (tense, person) combines with the auxiliary *do* and moves to the left of the subject (1d). This reordering of subject and auxiliary is referred to as **Subject-Auxiliary inversion (SAI)**. SAI is used here to encode illocutionary force; it encodes that the sentence is a question.

Recall that when a sentence contains more than one auxiliary, SAI moves the finite (tensed) auxiliary:

- |     |   |  |  |
|-----|---|--|--|
| (1) | e | Mary will be leaving the company soon.             |  |
|     |   | -> <u>Will</u> Mary be leaving the company soon?   |  |
|     | f | Mary could have told us about this.                |  |
|     |   | -> <u>Could</u> Mary have told us about this?      |  |
|     | g | Mary has been seeing that man regularly.           |  |
|     |   | -> <u>Has</u> Mary been seeing that man regularly? |  |
|     | h | Mary has been arrested again.                      |  |
|     |   | -> <u>Has</u> Mary been arrested again?            |  |

###### 4.1.1.2. CONSTITUENT QUESTIONS

(2) below illustrates a second type of question, often referred to as **constituent question** or **wh-question**. English constituent questions begin with an interrogative constituent such as the interrogative pronoun *who(m)* in (2). Other interrogative constituents are the interrogative pronoun *what*, the interrogative adverbs *where*, *when*, *why*, *how*, and constituents containing an interrogative determiner (*what book*, *which book*, *how many tickets*, *at which time*, *for what reason*) etc. Because the typical interrogative constituents in English contain a word beginning with *wh-*, such interrogative constituents are often referred to as **wh-constituents** or **wh-phrases**.<sup>110</sup> The answer to constituent

<sup>109</sup> In fact we distinguish the interrogative form from the concept question. 'Interrogative' refers to form, 'question' refers to communicative function. Not all questions have an interrogative form:

(i) Et puis, tu as dit quoi?  
<sup>110</sup> Observe that the *wh*-word need not be the first word of the interrogative element:  
(i) For which party did he vote?  
*How* is also labelled a *wh*-phrase as it can be paraphrased by a *wh*-phrase:



*What* can also be a determiner, turning an NP into an interrogative constituent (5). In this case it can be associated with a [+/- human] NP.<sup>113</sup>

- (5) a [NP What kind of job ] are you looking for?  
[PP At [NP what time]] did he arrive?  
b [NP What woman] would not have done the same in those circumstances?  
[NP What person in their right minds] would say such a thing to a child?

*Which* is an interrogative determiner; again it turns an NP into an interrogative constituent (5c). *Which* signals that there is a choice to be made from a well-defined set of entities. Like some of the other determiners, *which* can also be used independently (5d).

- (5) c [NP Which book] did you prefer? *War and Peace* or *Anna Karenina*?  
[NP Which teacher] did you prefer? John Williams or Bill Jones?  
d [NP Which ] did you prefer?<sup>114</sup>

#### 4.1.2. Indirect questions <sup>115</sup>

##### 4.1.2.1. FINITE EMBEDDED QUESTIONS

In (6a) the bracketed clause is the complement of *think*; in (6b) it is the complement of *wonder*, a verb with interrogative meaning. The bracketed string in (6b) is a question. But it is not a free-standing question. It is a question that is itself the complement of the verb *wonder*. The bracketed question in (6b) is part of another sentence. It is an **embedded** interrogative clause.

- (6) a. I think [clause (that) Thelma will meet Louise after lunch].  
b. I wonder [clause whether Thelma will meet Louise after lunch].

In (6a) the embedded clause is introduced by the conjunction *that*. As indicated by the parentheses, the conjunction *that* may be absent. The main V of (6b), *wonder*, takes an interrogative clause as its complement, here a *yes/no* question. Free-standing questions, i.e. interrogative sentences functioning as independent sentences, are called **direct questions** (or **root questions**). Dependent questions, i.e. embedded interrogative clauses are also called **indirect questions**. In more general terms we also say that they illustrate **indirect speech** or **reported questions**. There are similarities and differences between direct and indirect questions.

Let us first compare direct and indirect *yes/no* questions. Direct *yes/no* questions are formed by means of SAI. In standard English indirect *yes/no* questions there is no SAI; the auxiliary does not precede the subject.

- (6) c \*I wonder will Thelma meet Louise after lunch.<sup>116</sup>

Indirect or embedded *yes/no* question are introduced either by the interrogative subordinating conjunction *whether* as in (6b) or by the subordinating conjunction *if*:

- (6) d I wonder [clause if Thelma will meet Louise after lunch].<sup>117</sup>

---

<sup>113</sup> In (i) *what* is exclamative. It is a pre-determiner. (i) What a wonderful surprise!  
<sup>114</sup> Again one might wish to argue that this is the result of ellipsis: [NP Which ∅] did you prefer  
<sup>115</sup> Cf. Rivière Section 3, 7.3.2.  
<sup>116</sup> This word order is possible in some variants of English, for instance those spoken in Ireland.  
<sup>117</sup> The conjunction *if* can also be used to introduce an adjunct clause of condition:  
(i) If it rains, we won't go out.

The bracketed string in (6e) is an embedded (or indirect) *wh*-question.

- (6) e I wonder [<sub>clause</sub> whom Thelma will meet after lunch].

Once again, direct and indirect *wh*-questions differ in that the former, though not the latter, display SAI. On the other hand, in both direct and embedded *wh*-questions a *wh*-phrase occupies an initial position in the clause. Additional examples of embedded/indirect constituent questions are given below. In all the examples the bracketed constituent is part of a clause, it is an embedded question. As you can see the embedded question may have different grammatical functions:

- (7) a I would like to know [who(m) you have invited]. object  
 b I would like to know [about whom you were talking]. object  
 I would like to know [who you were talking about]. object  
 c [Whose car this is] remains unclear. subject  
 [Whose this is] remains unclear. subject  
 d The question [who will write this chapter] remains unanswered.  
 complement of N (*question*)  
 e I wanted to find out [which book he preferred]. object  
 I wonder [which he preferred]. object  
 f I would like to know [what kind of job you are looking for]. object  
 I would like to know [what you are looking for]. object  
 I really wonder [what person in their right mind would say that]. object  
 g They were arguing [about [when they should leave]] . complement of P  
 They disagreed [about [how I could get here]]. complement of P  
 h [How many people they have invited] is not clear from this list. subject

In the examples in (7c) and (7h) the indirect question is a subject. Again such a subject clause may be extraposed, in which case impersonal *it* will be inserted in the canonical subject position.

- (8) a It remains unclear [<sub>clause</sub> whose car this is].  
 b It remains unclear [<sub>clause</sub> whose this is].  
 c It is not clear [<sub>clause</sub> how many people they have invited] .

#### 4.1.2.2. NON -FINITE EMBEDDED QUESTIONS

In the examples discussed above, the embedded questions are finite. We have already seen that embedded questions may also be non-finite. In (9) the complement of the verb *wonder* is an interrogative clause. The clause is non-finite: there is no tensed verb form, the verb is in the infinitival form preceded by the marker *to*.

- (9) a I wonder [<sub>clause</sub> whether to meet her before the exam].  
 b I wonder [<sub>clause</sub> whom to invite].

As mentioned before, we might wish to say that the non-finite clauses have an understood/implicit subject (represented by the symbol  $\emptyset$  in (10)), which in these examples is interpreted as identical to the subject of the main verb (*I*).

- (10) a I wonder [whether  $\emptyset$  to meet her before the exam].  
 $\approx$  I wonder whether I should meet her before the exam.  
 b I wonder [whom  $\emptyset$  to invite]. . .  
 $\approx$  I wonder whom I should invite.

Observe that while finite embedded *yes/no* questions are introduced by *if* or by *whether*, non-finite

embedded *yes/no* questions are never introduced by *if*; the only conjunction available is *whether*. Some examples of non-finite *wh*- questions are given in (11)

- (11) b I wonder [whom to invite].  
c I wonder [who to talk about at the meeting].  
d I wonder [whose text to discuss first]  
I wonder [whose to discuss first].  
d I would like to know [which book to discuss first].  
I wonder [which to discuss first].  
g I would like to know [what kind of job to look for].  
I would like to know [what to look for].  
h I will enquire [when to leave].  
I will enquire [how to get there on time].  
I will enquire [where to go from here ].  
i I will enquire [how many people to invite].  
j There are dozens of great new TVs out there. The critical question, even more than [what to buy], is [when to buy]. (*Chicago Tribune*, 22.12.2, Section 15, p. 3, col 1)

Non finite indirect questions may also function as subjects. (12a) can be reworded by extraposing the interrogative subject clause and inserting impersonal *it* in the subject position:

- (12) a [What to do about these issues] is not clear at all.  
b It is not clear at all [what to do about these issues].

#### 4.1.2.3. SOME ADDITIONAL FUNCTIONS OF INDIRECT QUESTIONS

Indirect questions (both *wh*-questions and *yes/no* questions, both finite and non-finite) may also be the complements of adjectives (13), or of nouns (14).

- (13) a I am [<sub>AP</sub> doubtful [<sub>clause</sub> what I can do about this]. ]  
b I am [<sub>AP</sub> doubtful [<sub>clause</sub> what to do about this]].  
c I am [<sub>AP</sub> doubtful [<sub>clause</sub> whether I should go]].  
d I am [<sub>AP</sub> doubtful [<sub>clause</sub> whether to go]].  
(14) a This raises [<sub>NP</sub> the question [<sub>clause</sub> what we can do about this]].  
b This raises [<sub>NP</sub> the question [<sub>clause</sub> what to do about this]].  
c This raises [<sub>NP</sub> the question [<sub>clause</sub> whether we would go to the meeting]].  
d This raises [<sub>NP</sub> the question [<sub>clause</sub> whether to go to the meeting]].

Indirect questions may be the complement of a prepositional verb. In (15c) both the subject and the prepositional complement of the verb *depend* are indirect questions. In (15d) the indirect question is a predicate.<sup>118</sup>

- (15) a His answer will depend [<sub>PP</sub> on [<sub>clause</sub> what we can do about this]].  
b His reaction will depend [<sub>PP</sub> on [<sub>clause</sub> whether we actually get to the meeting in time]].  
c [<sub>clause</sub> Whether we will be able to catch the last direct train ] depends [<sub>PP</sub> on [<sub>clause</sub> whether we can leave on time]].  
d Now the key question is [<sub>clause</sub> whether the paper will be a deep disappointment in its ambitions for renewable power ]. (*Guardian*, 19.2.3. page 8, col 5)<sup>119</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Recall that in the finite *yes/no* questions in (13c), (14c) and (15b) only *whether* is possible.

<sup>119</sup> Section 4.1.1., ex 1, Section 4.1.2. ex 2, ex 3, ex 4, ex 5, ex 6, ex 7, ex 8, ex 9, ex 10, Section 4.2.1. ex 11, Section 4.2.2. ex 12.

#### 4.1.3. Additional examples

Consider the following pair of questions, paying particular attention to the function of the interrogative phrase *which speaker*.

- (i) a Which speaker did they want to invite?  
b Which speaker did you say that they had invited?

Both (ia) and (ib) are direct questions. In (ia) the interrogative phrase *which speaker*, an NP, is the focus of the question and it is also the direct object of *invite*. In (ib) *which speaker* is the focus of the question expressed by the main clause, whose verb is *say*, but *which speaker* is actually the object of the verb of the lower clause, namely *invite*. It is as if the object of *invite* in the embedded clause in (ib) is lifted out of the embedded clause into the domain of the main verb, *say*:

- (i) c Which speaker did you say [that they had invited ---?]

The same 'long distance' pattern is found in the paired direct questions in (ii) and in the indirect questions in (iii):

- (ii) a Why has Bill been fired?  
b Why did you say [ that Bill had been fired -]?  
(iii) a I asked him which authors they would nominate for this year's award.  
b I asked him which authors he expected [that they would nominate - for this year's award].

Below are some attested examples of this long distance pattern for forming *wh*-questions:

- (iv) a Question: Subject to those qualifications, if I can now take you to that afternoon meeting. What time do you think [it started ---]? A. I think it started at about 1.30. (Hutton inquiry; transcript, Interview Jonathan Powell, [www.the-hutton-inquiry.org.uk](http://www.the-hutton-inquiry.org.uk))  
b Of Pam Teare, the MoD's director of news, who said Dr Kelly's name was bound to come out, Lord Hutton asked: 'From what source or sources did you think [ the name would leak ---]?' (*Guardian*, 21.8.3, page 8, col 3)  
c It baffles me as to who Tony Blair imagines [ --- will work in the universities of the future]. (*Guardian*, 27.11.2 page 9 col 8, letter to the editor, Hannah Cooke, Broadbottom, Cheshire)  
d She sighed out a blissful assent. "And I must say that Streffy has done things to a turn. Even the cigars--who do you suppose [-- gave him those cigars?]" (Project Gutenberg Etext of *The Glimpses of the Moon*, by Wharton, page 6)  
e "When I said to him last night," he immediately began, "that without some definite word from him now that will enable me to speak to them over there of our sailing--or at least of mine, giving them some sort of date--my responsibility becomes uncomfortable and my situation awkward; when I said that to him, what do you think [--- was his reply]?" (Project Gutenberg Etext Henry James, *The Ambassadors* 194)

## 4.2. Relative clauses <sup>120</sup>

### 4.2.1. Finite relative clauses

#### 4.2.1.1. WH-PRONOUNS AS RELATIVE PRONOUNS

Section 4.1. dealt, among other things, with constituent questions or *wh*-questions such as those in (16).

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<sup>120</sup> This section is only a survey. For more discussion you should read L&R chapter 28, and Rivière section 3, 7.6.

- (16) a. Whom did you meet at the party?  
 b. I wonder [<sub>clause</sub> whom he had met at the party].

We discussed these sentences as resulting from operation which fronts an interrogative *wh*- phrase in order to mark the focus of the question. In addition to marking illocutionary force, the fronted *wh*- phrase has a grammatical function inside the clause. For instance, in (16a) *whom* is the object of *meet*, in (16b) it is the object of *met*. Direct *wh*-questions (16a) and embedded *wh*-questions (16b) are both formed by this fronting operation. In addition, in direct questions the auxiliary (*did*) inverts with the subject.

Now consider the following sentence:

- (17) a. I interviewed [<sub>NP</sub> the man [<sub>clause</sub> whom he had met at the party]].

The direct object of the verb *interviewed* is the NP *the man whom he had met at the party*. We can replace this string of words by the pronoun *him*:

- (17) b. I interviewed him.

The head of the object NP is a noun, *man*. This noun is preceded by a determiner (*the*) and it is followed by a string, *whom he had met at the party*, whose function is to narrow down the reference of the noun phrase. The string *whom he had met at the party* helps to identify which entity with the property 'man' we are talking about. The embedded clause tells us 'which man I interviewed'. The string *whom he had met at the party* is a clause: it contains a subject (*he*) and a verb (*met*). The clause is not a main clause, it is not a free-standing clause, it does not function independently. The string *whom he had met at the party* it is part of a clause, so again it is an embedded or a subordinate clause. The embedded clause to the right of the N *man* in (17a) is identical in form to the interrogative clause in (16b). In (16b) the interrogative clause is the complement of the interrogative V *wonder*. The status of the embedded clause in (17a) is clearly different from that in (16). In (17a) the underlined clause is not the complement of a verb; rather it serves to modify a head N. The embedded clause in (17a) is called a **relative clause**.

Within the embedded clauses in (16b) and (17a) we find a number of formal parallelisms. Both in (16b) and (17a) the embedded clause starts with a *wh*-phrase (*whom*). In both examples the *wh*-phrase precedes the subject NP of the embedded clause. In both clauses the *wh*-phrase is the object of the verb *met*. However, interpretively the *wh*-phrases differ. In (16a) the *wh*-constituent is a question word: it specifies the focus of the embedded question. In (17a) the *wh*-phrase relates the content of the embedded clause to the head noun: *whom* in (17a) refers back to the noun *man*. A rough paraphrase could be as in (17c):

- (17) c (i) I interviewed a man. (ii) He had met this man at the party.

The pronoun *whom* narrows down the reference of the N *man*. The clause *whom he had met at the party*, which modifies a noun, is called a **relative clause**. The **relative pronoun** *whom* introduces a relative clause and it also has a function inside that clause. The noun to which a relative pronoun refers to is called it **antecedent**.

The relative pronouns *who* and *whom* are restricted to human antecedents. Again *who* is used for subjects, *whom* is used in complement positions. As a direct object or as the complement of a stranded preposition *whom* is often alternates with *who*, especially in spoken English. The form *whom* is used when preceded by the preposition.

- (18) a. The man [<sub>clause</sub> who arrived last is the vicar]. *Who*= subject  
 b. You need to talk to the man [<sub>clause</sub> who(m) you see over there.] *Who* = object  
 c. This is a man [<sub>clause</sub> who(m) I won't talk to any more].  
*Who(m)*: complement of P *to*, *to whom*: prepositional object/prepositional complement

- d This is the man [<sub>clause</sub> to whom we were talking.]  
*Whom*: complement of P *to*, *to whom*: prepositional object/prepositional complement

For non-human antecedents we use the relative pronoun *which*:

- (19) a I like the book [<sub>clause</sub> which you gave me]. *which* = object  
b They reviewed the books [<sub>clause</sub> which arrived first]. *which* = subject

As can be seen in the examples in (18c,d), when a relative pronoun is the complement of a preposition, it is sometimes fronted with the preposition or, alternatively, the preposition will be stranded:

- (20) a I liked [<sub>NP</sub> the man [<sub>clause</sub> [<sub>PP</sub> about whom] you were talking the other day]].  
b I liked [<sub>NP</sub> the man [<sub>clause</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> who(m)] you were talking [<sub>PP</sub> about] the other day]].  
c I enjoyed [<sub>NP</sub> the book [<sub>clause</sub> [<sub>PP</sub> about which] you were talking the other day]].  
d I enjoyed [<sub>NP</sub> the book [<sub>clause</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> which] you were talking [<sub>PP</sub> about] the other day]].

*Whose* is the genitive form of the relative pronoun. It can be used both for human and non-human antecedents.<sup>121</sup>

- (21) a I must write to the student [<sub>clause</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> whose work] I have been reading].  
*Whose work*: NP, object of *reading*; *whose*: determiner of NP *whose book*  
b This is the restaurant [<sub>clause</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> whose owner] has just killed himself].  
*Whose owner*: NP, subject of *killed*; *whose*: determiner of NP *whose owner*

Observe that many *wh*- pronouns double up as relative pronouns and as interrogative pronouns, and the clauses they introduce will accordingly be either relative clauses or interrogative clauses. In (22) we give a few examples:

- (22) a I wonder [<sub>clause</sub> who told him about Bill's departure]. Interrogative  
This is [<sub>NP</sub> the person [<sub>clause</sub> who told him about Bill's departure]]. Relative  
b I wonder [<sub>clause</sub> which I should buy him: the green sweater or the blue one]. Interrogative  
He did not like [<sub>NP</sub> the sweater [<sub>clause</sub> which I bought him]]. Relative  
c They did not say [<sub>clause</sub> in whose house the refugees are living]. Interrogative  
[<sub>NP</sub> The woman [<sub>clause</sub> in whose house the refugees are living ]] will be paid a rent. Relative

Note: long distance relatives

In the same way that an interrogative pronoun can be moved out of its own clause and function as the marker of interrogative force in a higher clause, a relative pronoun can move out of its own clause:

- (i) a I know  
[<sub>NP</sub> the students [<sub>relative clause</sub> who they say [<sub>complement clause</sub> will win the award this year]]]  
b A Pakistani jeweler said today that his picture is among those of five men [<sub>relative clause</sub> who the F.B.I. says [<sub>complement clause</sub> may have entered the United States on doctored passports. (col 2) (*New York Times*, 2.1.3., page A9; col1)

#### 4.2.1.2. SOME VARIANTS

In this section we look at some variants relative clause types:

- (23) a. I know [<sub>NP</sub> the man [<sub>clause</sub> whom she will meet at the party]].

<sup>121</sup> Remember that interrogative *whose* is restricted to [+human] entities.

- b I know [<sub>NP</sub> the man [<sub>clause</sub> she will meet at the party]].  
c. I know [<sub>NP</sub> the man [<sub>clause</sub> that she will meet at the party]].

In (23a) the direct object of *know* is the NP *the man whom she will meet at the party*. Inside that NP there is a relative clause, *whom she will meet at the party*. Inside that relative clause the relative pronoun *whom* is the object of *meet*. It has been fronted. The relative clause *whom she will meet at the party* specifies the reference of the N *man*.

In (23b) the bracketed NP consists of the sequence Det-N- *she will meet at the party*. The string *she will meet at the party* has the same function as the relative clause in (23a): it specifies the reference of the NP headed by the N *man*. In (23b) there is no relative pronoun to introduce the modifying clause the NP. In (23b), just as in (23a), the clause modifying the NP contains the verb *meet*, a transitive verb. In (23a) the relative pronoun *whom* was the direct object of *meet*. In (23b), *meet* appears to have only a subject, *she*. Though there is no direct object for the verb *meet* in (23b), we also understand *meet* as a transitive verb, 'she will meet someone' and that 'someone' is 'a man'. Observe that we don't want to say that the NP *the man* is the object of *meet*. The NP *the man she will meet at the party* as a whole is the object of *know*. *The man* is part of the object of *know*, just as it is part of the object of *know* in (23a). In order to maintain the parallelism between the use of transitive *meet* in example (23a) and its use in (23b), we could use a strategy already adopted before and we could propose that in (23b) the relative pronoun, it is a **zero relative pronoun**, represented as  $\emptyset$ . The zero pronoun can be used with human and with non-human antecedents. Or, putting it differently,  $\emptyset$  stands for either *who(m)* or *which*.

- (23) b' I know [<sub>NP</sub> the man [<sub>clause</sub> ~~whom~~ she met at the party]].  
= I know [<sub>NP</sub> the man [<sub>clause</sub>  $\emptyset$  she met at the party]].  
c I have never heard of [<sub>NP</sub> the films [<sub>clause</sub> they are showing at the festival]].  
I have never heard of [<sub>NP</sub> the films [<sub>clause</sub> ~~which~~ they are showing at the festival]].  
=I have never heard of [<sub>NP</sub> the films [<sub>clause</sub>  $\emptyset$  they are showing at the festival]].

The zero pronoun can also be the complement of a **stranded** preposition, but it cannot be the complement of a preposition that is moved along with a relative pronoun:

- (23) d I know [the films [<sub>clause</sub>  $\emptyset$  they are talking about]].  
e \*I know [the films [<sub>clause</sub> [<sub>PP</sub> about  $\emptyset$ ] they are talking]].  
cf I know [the films [<sub>clause</sub> [<sub>PP</sub> about *which*] they are talking]].

The zero pronoun will not normally be a subject of a simple relative clause:

- (24) a I know [the students [<sub>clause</sub> *who* have won that award]].  
b \*I know [the students [<sub>clause</sub>  $\emptyset$  have won that award]].

### Notes

When the subject relative pronoun is lifted from a complement clause which is itself an embedded clause in the relative clause, the relative pronoun can be deleted (i.e. we can use a null pronoun):

- (i) a I know  
[<sub>NP</sub> the students [<sub>relative clause</sub> *who* will win the award this year]]  
b I know  
[<sub>NP</sub> the students [<sub>relative clause</sub> ~~*who*~~ they say [<sub>complement clause</sub> will win the award this year]]]  
c = I know  
[<sub>NP</sub> the students [<sub>relative clause</sub>  $\emptyset$ -they say [<sub>complement clause</sub> will win the award this year]]]

In (ic) *who* is the subject of the clause *will win the award this year*, which is itself embedded under the verb *say*. The zero option is available. (cf. section 4.1.3. for a similar long distance relation for interrogative *wh* phrases) In (ii), an attested example, both variants are used:

- (ii) A Pakistani jeweler said today that his picture is among those of five men who the F.B.I. says --- may have entered the United States on doctored passports. ... (col 2) F.B.I. agents investigating falsified identify papers are expanding their dragnet for a growing list of foreign-born men  $\emptyset$  they believe --- may have entered the Unites States illegally from Canada. (New York Times, 2.1.3., page A9; col1+2)

It is interesting to note that when it undergoes this long distance movement, the relative pronoun, though a subject, seems to have acquired object properties. A relative pronoun that is clearly the subject of a finite relative, and that has undergone long distance movement is sometimes even found in the accusative form *whom*:

- (iii) I know [NP the students [<sub>relative clause</sub> whom they say  
[complement clause --will win the award this year]]]

We now turn to the third variant of the relative clauses, (23c) repeated as (27a). The relative clause is introduced by *that*:

- (27) a. I know [NP the man [<sub>relative clause</sub> that she will meet at the party]].

Many grammars of English consider the element *that* as it is used here to be a relative pronoun, which alternates both with *who* for human antecedents and with *which* for non-human antecedents:

- (27) b. I have never heard of [NP the films [<sub>relative clause</sub> that they are showing at the festival]].

In (27a) and in (27b) *that* is considered as a relative pronoun: it refers to the antecedent *man/ films* and it functions as the object IN the relative clause. Observe that *that* can introduce a relative clause in which a preposition has been stranded:

- (28) a. I know the films which they are talking about.  
b. I know the films they are talking about.  
c. I know the films that they are talking about.

Importantly, though, when used in a relative clause, relative *that* can never occur to the right of the preposition. If the preposition itself is has been fronted in the relative clause we must use the *wh-*pronoun:

- (29) a. I know [NP the films [<sub>relative clause</sub> about which they are talking]].  
b. \*I know [NP the films [<sub>relative clause</sub> about  $\emptyset$  they are talking]].  
c. I know [NP the films [<sub>relative clause</sub> about that they are talking]].

*That* can also introduce a relative clause whose relative pronoun is the subject of the relative clause:

- (30) a. I know [NP the students [<sub>relative clause</sub> who have won the award]].  
b. I know [NP the students [<sub>relative clause</sub> that have won the award]].

#### Terminology

Some grammarians however consider that if a relative clause begins with *that*, the element *that* is simply the subordinating conjunction *that* and they propose that in such examples there is once again a zero relative pronoun.

- (i) a. I know [NP the man [<sub>relative clause</sub>  $\emptyset$  that she will meet at the party]].  
b. I have never seen [NP the films [<sub>relative clause</sub>  $\emptyset$  that they are talking about]].  
c. I know [NP the students [<sub>relative clause</sub>  $\emptyset$  that have won the award]].

#### 4.2.2. Non-finite relative clauses

##### 4.2.2.1. INFINITIVAL RELATIVES

Consider the examples in (31):

- (31) a. Louise needs a friend [<sub>relative clause</sub> whom she can trust ]]  
b. Louise needs a friend [<sub>relative clause</sub> ∅ she can trust ].  
c. Louise needs a friend [<sub>relative clause</sub> that she can trust].

(31) illustrates the three variants of relative clauses we have already discussed: in (31a) the relative pronoun *whom* is fronted; in (31b) its zero counterpart (represented as ∅) is fronted, and in (31c) the relative clause is introduced by *that*. Now consider (31d).

- (31) d. Louise needs a friend [to trust].

Interpretively, (31d) is close to the (31a)-(31c). As in (31a)-(31c), we find the verb *need* in the root clause. The object of *need* is *a friend to trust*. This object NP has as its head the noun *friend*, and, like the relative clauses in (31a)-(31c), *to trust* specifies the type of friend I am referring to: the infinitival clause *to trust* narrows down the reference of the N *friend*. It seems natural that we should also analyse the embedded infinitival clause in (31d) as a relative clause, in particular this is a **non-finite relative clause**.

- (31) e. Louise needs [a friend [<sub>relative clause</sub> to trust]].

*Trust* is a transitive verb. Superficially, there is neither subject nor object in the bracketed clause in (31d). Recall that constituents in a clause can be implicit. For instance, infinitival clauses may have implicit subjects:

- (32) a. [<sub>clause</sub> ∅ to trust one's colleagues] is important.  
b. I wonder [<sub>clause</sub> whether ∅ to trust my colleagues].

Under this assumption, *trust* in (31d) could be argued to have an implicit subject, which will be interpreted as being identical to *Louise*:

- (31) f. Louise needs a friend [<sub>relative clause</sub> ∅ to trust].

There is still something missing, though: transitive *trust* in (31d) seems to have no direct object. We will analyse (31d) by analogy with our analysis of (31b), for which we postulate there is a zero relative pronoun. In (31g) both the subject and the object of *trust* are implicit, they are understood. That is why we end up with two zero symbols.

- (31) b' Louise needs [<sub>NP</sub> a friend [<sub>relative clause</sub> ∅ she can trust ]].  
g Louise needs [<sub>NP</sub> a friend [<sub>relative clause</sub> ∅ ∅ to trust ]].

In (33) the infinitival relative is introduced by a relative pronoun which is the complement of a preposition. Observe that when the preposition is stranded, the relative pronoun must not be realised:

- (33) a. I need [<sub>NP</sub> knife [<sub>relative clause</sub> with which to cut the bread]].  
b. I need [<sub>NP</sub> a knife [<sub>relative clause</sub> ∅ ∅ to cut the bread with]].

##### 4.2.2.2. PARTICIPIAL RELATIVE CLAUSES

In earlier sections we have already come across participial relative clauses (cf. 3.3.3.1.2). Some relevant examples are repeated here:

- (33) a [NP Students [working late at night ]] often are tired during the day.  
b [NP The teachers [invited to the conference]]] never showed up.

In (33a) subject is the NP *students working late at night*. Inside this NP, the head noun *students* is modified by a non-finite clause relative clause which contains the present participle *working*; in (33b) the head N *teachers* is modified by a relative clause with the passive participle *invited*. It is sometimes proposed that such relative clauses are in fact reduced variants of finite relatives. Observe that the relative pronoun in the expanded versions in (34) corresponds to the subject of the relative clause.

- (34) a Students [who are working late at night ] often are tired during the day.  
Students [~~who are~~ working late at night ] often are tired during the day.  
b The teachers[ who were invited to the conference] never showed up.  
The teachers[~~who were~~ invited to the conference ] never showed up.

### 4.3. Restrictive vs. non-restrictive (appositive) relative clauses

See discussion in L&R, chapter 28, section 3.

It is important to remember, among other things, that only restrictive relative clauses can be introduced by *that* or by a zero pronoun.

### 4.4. Do not confuse: Noun complements vs. relative clauses<sup>122</sup>

Care must be taken when faced with examples in which we find the sequence noun + *that*. The word *that* introduces a relative clause in (35a) and it introduces the clausal complement of a noun in (35b):

- (35) a [NP The book [clause that he had left on the table]] was expensive.  
b [NP The news [clause that he had left the company]] was shocking.

The subject of *was* in (35a) is the NP *the book that he had left on the table*. The embedded clause *that he had left on the table* narrows down the reference of the antecedent, *book*. *That* introduces the relative clause. We can use *which* as a variant for *that* (35c).

- (35) c The book [ which he had left on the table] was expensive.

In (35b) the subject of *was* is the NP *the news that he had left the company*. The clause *that he had left the company* is embedded and gives the content of *news*. *The news = he had left the company*. *That* is a conjunction here; it does not introduce a relative clause. *That* cannot be replaced by *which*. In (35a) the verb *left* is not followed by its direct object: the direct object of *left* in (35a) has been ‘relativized’. In (35b) *left* is followed by its object, the NP *the company*. In both (35a) and (35b) *that* introduces an embedded clause, but the nature of the clause itself is different.

In (36a) *that* introduces a relative clause (with a stranded preposition, *about*), in (36b) *that* introduces a noun complement:

- (36) a [NP The report [that we are concerned about ] ] has not been published.  
b [NP The report [that they are not concerned about their children]] is untrue.  
*the report = they are not concerned about their children.*

<sup>122</sup> Rivière section 2 2.9.5, section 3: 7.7.1

## 5. REORGANISING THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE SENTENCE: THE PASSIVE

### 5.2.1. Passive patterns: introduction<sup>123</sup>

Consider the following pairs of sentences:

- (1) a. Thelma will invite Louise. a'. Louise will be invited (by Thelma).  
b. Thelma bought this old house. b'. This old house was bought (by Thelma).

The first of each pair of sentences is referred to as an **active** sentence, the second as a **passive** sentence. The contrast active-passive is one of **voice**. (1a) is said to be in the active **voice**, (1a') is in the passive **voice**. In an active sentence, the initiator of the event (the AGENT or the CAUSE of the activity) is realised as the subject of the sentence, and the entity that undergoes the activity (the so called PATIENT or THEME) is realised as the object. In a passive sentence, the participants in the activity are realised differently: the entity that undergoes the activity, the THEME or the PATIENT, is realised as the subject and the instigator of the activity is demoted, it becomes either an adjunct (the *by*-phrase)<sup>124</sup> or it may even be omitted.

So, for instance, in the active sentence (1a), the direct object of the verb *invite* is the NP *Louise*. *Louise* expresses the PATIENT, the entity affected by the activity expressed by the verb, here *invite*. The subject of the active sentence is the NP *Thelma*, which expresses the AGENT of the activity, the person that intentionally initiates the action. In the passive counterpart (1a'), the realisation of the participants in the action has changed. The NP *Louise*, which was the object in the active sentence, i.e. the NP expressing the PATIENT, is now the subject NP. Evidence that the NP *Louise* is indeed the subject is that it is this NP that (i) inverts with the auxiliary in direct questions, and (ii) agrees with the finite verb. Moreover, (iii) when we replace the NP *Louise* by a pronoun in the active sentence, it takes the form *her*, in the passive it will be realised as *she*:

- (2) a. Will Louise be invited? b. Louise is/\*are invited. c. She will be invited.

In the passive (1b), the AGENT of the activity expressed by the verb *invite* is not realised as a subject. The AGENT seems to have been demoted to adjunct status: as indicated by the parentheses in (1a'), we are not obliged to specify the AGENT of the activity.

- (1) c. Louise will be invited.

In (1c) the AGENT of the activity expressed by *invited* is understood, it is said to be implicit. The sentence means roughly 'Louise will be invited by someone'. Being implicit, the AGENT may still have an impact on the interpretation of the sentence, as illustrated by the following examples:

- (3) a. Thelma will invite Louise just to annoy Harry.  
b. Louise will be invited just to annoy Harry.

In (3a) the purpose clause *just to annoy Harry* is an infinitival clause. Its subject is not expressed, but it is understood as being identical to the main verb subject *Thelma*. In (3b), we interpret the understood subject of the adverbial purpose clause as being identical to the understood AGENT of *invite*.

<sup>123</sup> (Larrea and Rivière chapter 24, Rivière Section 2, 6.5

<sup>124</sup> There is a terminological issue here. In the French tradition the *by* phrase is called the 'complément d'agent' (Rivière section 2, 2.7), but we do not use this term in the English tradition. On the one hand, in the English tradition the term **complement** is reserved for obligatory components, constituents which are not obligatory are called **adjuncts**. On the other hand the term AGENT tends to be restricted to entities that intentionally initiate the activity, hence AGENTS tend to be [+human] (or at least animate), and in passive sentences the *by* phrase may be used to introduce causes, i.e. elements that are not AGENTS in the narrow 'intentional' interpretation of the term.

Whether it is used in the active sentence or in the passive counterpart, the verb *invite* itself has a constant meaning: both in the active voice and in the passive voice, *invite* expresses an activity with two participants (AGENT, PATIENT). In the pair (1a)-(1a') the NP *Louise* refers to the PATIENT, the person affected by the activity and the NP *Thelma* refers to the AGENT, the person that instigates the activity. The alternation between active voice and passive voice does not affect the meaning of the verb as such; the event described does not change. Rather, voice affects the position in which the participants in the event are inserted in the sentence. We return to the relevance of the position of such elements below. Summarising the discussion, the relations between an active finite sentence and a passive sentence can be described as follows:

- the NP that is the object in the active sentence is the subject in the passive sentence;
- the NP that is the subject in the active sentence is either realised in a PP with *by* in the passive sentence. It may also be absent;
- the verb in the passive sentence takes on the participial form;
- the passive auxiliary *be* is added.

(1a) and (1a') share a large part of their interpretation: in both the AGENT of 'inviting' is Thelma and the PATIENT is Louise. The activity of inviting is located in the future in both sentences. And yet, the two sentences do not convey exactly the same interpretation. The two sentences express the same situation, but the **perspective** from which that situation is viewed differs. While active (1a) says something about Thelma, passive (1a') gives us information about Louise. (1a) is a statement about *Thelma*, (1a') is a statement about *Louise* (for a more detailed discussion of passive cf., L&R chapter 24). In the passive sentence we view the event from the perspective of the PATIENT, the entity that undergoes the action.<sup>125</sup>

Observe that tense and modal auxiliaries are kept constant between an active sentence and its passive counterpart. The following illustrate active/passive alternations, with different combinations of auxiliaries:<sup>126</sup>

- (4) a The police discovered the crucial evidence last night.  
b The crucial evidence was discovered by the police last night.
- (5) a The child may have lost the document.  
b The document may have been lost by the child.
- (6) a The inspectors are reviewing the evidence.  
b The evidence is being reviewed by the inspectors.

In the passive sentences above the AGENT is sometimes expressed in a PP introduced by *by*, but we may also decide not to express the AGENT. The latter option would be chosen, for instance, if it does not matter who the AGENT is, or if the AGENT can easily be inferred from the context. The following attested examples are from journalistic prose:

- (7) a For the first time since the 1950s, frequent young offenders can now be sent to youth detention centres from the age of 13. (*Guardian*, 7.1.3., page 6, col 2)  
b When the case against Pascal Hiblot finally came to court, he was acquitted of all charges. (*Guardian*, 7.1.3., page 6, col 8)  
c The D.C. Office of planning will hold a public meeting tonight at 6:30 to release a draft plan for revitalizing the near Southeast waterfront, part of the city's Anacostia Waterfront initiative. More than 800 million in investment is proposed for the neighborhood. The meeting will be held at Van Ness Elementary School at Fifth and M streets SE. City officials and developers will give presentations, and members of the public will be allowed to speak. (*Washington Post*, 29.4.3, page B3, col 1)

<sup>125</sup> Section 6.2, ex. 10, ex 7, ex 8, ex 9., ex 11

<sup>126</sup> Section 6.2, ex 8

The term AGENT is often restricted to refer to an entity that deliberately initiates an activity. Thus in (8) the subject NPs would not really be AGENTS in this narrow sense. Rather in (8a) *everyone* is the EXPERIENCER of a psychological state, and in (8b) *the storm* is the CAUSE of the damage. 'Liking' is not something that we do voluntarily, and 'storms' are not thought to have their own will.

- (8) a Everyone liked this picture very much  
b The storm has damaged the garage.

The sentences in (8) have a passive counterpart, in which case the *by* -phrase will express the EXPERIENCER (9a) or the CAUSE (9b):

- (9) a This picture was very much liked by everyone.  
b The garage has been damaged by the storm.<sup>127</sup>

### 5.2.2. Passive and double object verbs

Recall that double object verbs are verbs that seem to have two direct objects. We distinguished two types, those behaving like *give*, where NP1 alternates with a *to* PP, and those behaving like *buy*, where NP1 alternates with a *for* PP. Verbs of the *give* class can give rise to a number of passive variants. (10a) is called the 'first passive', where the subject corresponds to NP1. (10b) is a passive based on the alternative construction with a PP.

- (10) Mary sent [NP1 John] [NP2 the books].  
a. [NP1 John] was sent [NP1 the books] by Mary.  
b. [NP2 The books] were sent [PP to John] by Mary.

Again the perspective of the (a) and the (b)- variants differs. In (10a) we say something about John, in (10b) we say something about the books. (11) is a similar example:

- (11) They awarded [NP1 Peter] [NP2 the first prize].  
a. [NP1 Peter] was awarded [NP2 the first prize].  
b. [NP2 The first prize] was awarded [PP to [NP2 Peter]].

#### Usage notes

There is another variant, which is rarer. (i) is sometimes called the second passive. NP2 becomes the subject and NP1 follows the verb but without a preposition. Many people do not like using (i), this is why we add the diacritic %, meaning that not everyone accepts such examples.

- (i) %? [NP2 The books] were sent [NP1 Mary].  
?% [NP2 The prize] was awarded [NP1 Peter].

For the verbs in the *buy* class the situation is less clear. *Buy* itself also allows for two variants of the passive: the first passive, with NP1 as the subject (ia), and a variant with NP2 as the subject and NP1 as the complement of a preposition (ib). Observe that the 'second passive' is not possible (ic):

- (i) They bought Anna a new car (= they bought a new car for Anna).  
a. [NP1 Anna] was bought [NP2 a new car].  
b. [NP2 A new car] was bought [PP for Anna].  
c. \* [NP2 A new car] was bought [NP1 Anna].

(ii) is an attested example of a 'first passive' with *build*:

- (ii) The most popular assumption is that [NP1 Dick Cheney] is being built [NP2 a bunker] he can use without leaving home. (*Guardian*, 9.12.2, page 2, col 4)

<sup>127</sup>

Section 6.1. ex. 2, ex 3, ex 4.

Below are some more examples of passivisation of double object verbs: as you can see, there is some variation in usage. There are some examples of the so called 'second passive', but this pattern tends to be restricted to British English and we find it probably mainly when NP1 is a pronoun.

- (iii) a Wonderful as the idea of a 99p coin is, can I ask when [NP1 we ] would be given [NP2 it ] in change, so as to have it in our pockets to save the time. (*Guardian*, 26.11.1999, page 9, col 5) (cf. (10a))
- b The Metropolitan police have already been put on alert and [NP1 forces across the country] will soon be circulated [NP2 details and photographs of the men], most of whom were convicted of murder or firearms offences. (*Guardian*, 9.11.1999, page 2, col 3)
- c I do not drive, so [NP2 that dubious pleasure ] is denied [NP1 me.] (*Times*, 19.9.1999, page 20, col 4) ('second passive')
- d If [NP2 happiness] was denied [NP1 him ] for ever, was something exclusively for others, he could feel pleasure and that sometimes more intensely and sensuously than those who lived under roofs and slept in beds. (Ruth Rendell, *The keys to the street*, 1996 Hutchinson, Arrow books 1997, 39) ('second passive')
- e 'Dear Mrs Severn, ' he begins. 'By now you may have heard from others of the project I have in mind, a biographical reappraisal of the Vera Hillyard case. [NP2 Your name and address ] were given [NP1 me] by your cousin Dr. Frank Loder Hills who does not, however, personally wish to contribute a memoir...' (Barbara Vine, *A dark-adapted eye*, 1986, Penguin, 23) ('second passive')
- f The first time I heard it – [NP2 it ] was to be told [NP1 me] again on her wedding day – we were in the garden at Walbrooks one summer in the middle of the war (Barbara Vine, *A dark-adapted eye*, 1986, Penguin, 63) ('second passive')
- g [NP2 The bottle of sherry ] had been given [NP1 him ] by a man he had interviewed and done an article about in his newspaper, the new president of the Rotary Club or the Horticultural Society or something of that sort. (Barbara Vine, *A dark-adapted eye*, 1986, Penguin, 105) ('second passive')

When a double object verb takes an NP complement and a clausal complement, the NP complement will correspond to the subject of the passive sentence:

- (12) a Local politicians told [NP the physicists] [ clause to give up military research].  
b [NP The physicists] were told [clause to give up military research].
- (13) a The government asked [NP the students] [clause whether they had any property].  
b [NP The students] were asked [clause whether they had any property].<sup>128</sup>

### 5.2.3. Phrasal verbs and passivisation

(14a) illustrates the use of the phrasal verb *tear up*. In the phrasal verb construction, the verb and the particle form one unit:

- (14) a. John tore the letter up.                      *Tear up* = déchirer  
b. John tore up the letter.

In (14c) the verb component of the verb-particle construction is passivized. As we can see, the particle remains next to the verb and the object NP is the subject of the passive sentence.

- (14) c. The letter was torn up.

<sup>128</sup> Section 6.2. ex 12, ex 13.

#### 5.2.4. Passive and preposition stranding

A large number of English prepositional verbs (cf. section 2.5.3) allow for a passive construction in which the NP that was the complement of the preposition (the 'prepositional object') in the active sentence corresponds to the subject in the passive sentence. The preposition itself remains stranded after the verb.

- (15) a Last summer, the surgeon operated on my daughter.  
b Last summer, my daughter was operated on.  
(16) a A foreign nanny looked after the children.  
b The children were looked by a foreign nanny.

Compare active (17a) with passive (17b).

- (17) a. They talked [about the project] during the meeting.  
b. [The project ] was talked about during the meeting.

In (17) *talk* is a prepositional verb, it takes a PP complement introduced by the preposition *about*. The NP *the project* is part of the PP *about the project*, the NP is the complement of the preposition.

- (17) c. They [<sub>VP</sub> talked [<sub>PP</sub> about [<sub>NP</sub> the project ] ] during the meeting].

In (17b), the NP *the project* is the subject of the passive sentence, the preposition has been stranded. In (18) we illustrate the same phenomenon using a pronoun complement to the preposition.<sup>129</sup>

- (18) a. They talked about it. b. It was talked about.

#### Notes

Observe that the sequence *talk about* is not a phrasal verb: for instance, you cannot have the order *talk-NP-about*, even when the complement is a pronoun

- (i) a \*They talked John about. b \*They talked him about.

(19) is an attested example of a passive form of a prepositional verb:

- (19) We weren't quite lied to, but facts were subordinated to politics, and truth was treated as an endlessly stretchable fabric. (*Guardian*, 21.6.3, page 20, col 4, citing Nicholas Kristof, *New York Times*)

#### Notes

Below we give additional examples of more complex passivisation patterns:

- (i) a A law that was designed to protect good employees from bad employers is now being taken advantage of by bad directors of good companies. (*Guardian*, 23.1.3 page 16, col 1)  
b I want to be moved by art. I don't want to be constantly taken the piss out of, to be sniggered at. (*Guardian*, 1.11.2., page 3, col 2)  
c For imprudence is the most telling charge which can be levelled against this war. This fact is easily lost sight of. (*Guardian*, G2.7.4.3 page 5, col 2)

In (ia) it seems as if the sequence *take advantage of* is treated as one verb (= 'exploit'), and as a result the complement of the preposition *of* can become the subject of a passive sentence. In (ib) the same seems to apply to the sequence *take the piss out of* ('mock'), in (ic) *lose sight of* is passivised. In (ib) *snigger* is a prepositional verb with a PP complement with *at*. The verb is here passivised and the preposition *at* is stranded.

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<sup>129</sup> Section 6.2. ex. 5.

### 5.2.5. Passivisation and clausal complements

Consider the following sentences.

- (20) a. Everyone believes [<sub>clause</sub> that Louise is a suitable candidate].  
b. Everyone believes [<sub>clause</sub> Louise to be a suitable candidate].

(20a) is a complex sentence: the verb *believe* takes a finite clause as its complement, the clause *that Louise is a suitable candidate*. Inside this embedded clause, the NP *Louise* is the subject and the NP *a suitable candidate* is the predicate, which is linked to the subject NP by the tensed copula *is*. The complement of *believe* in (20b) is a non-finite clause: *Louise to be a suitable candidate*. There is no conjunction to introduce the embedded clause. (Note that *for* is not possible here). The subject of this non-finite clause is the NP *Louise*.

(21a) is the passive counterpart of (20a). *Believed* is a passive participle, it is associated with the auxiliary *be*. The original object of the active verb *believe*, namely the finite clause, is the subject of the passive sentence. The original subject of the active sentence, *everyone*, does not occupy the subject position but it is integrated in the *by*-phrase.

- (21) a. [<sub>clause</sub> That Louise is a suitable candidate] is believed by everyone.

In (21b) the clausal complement of *believe* has been shifted to a sentence-final position ('extraposed') and impersonal *it* occupies the subject position.

- (21) b. It is believed by everyone [<sub>clause</sub> that Louise is a suitable candidate ] .

Now compare (20b) with (22a).

- (22) a Louise is believed to be a suitable candidate.

In (22a) the NP *a suitable candidate*, the predicate of the embedded non-finite clause *to be a suitable candidate*, expresses a property attributed to the NP *Louise*, which is actually now the subject of *is* in the finite main clause. The NP *Louise* agrees with the finite verb, here the auxiliary *be*. A pronoun substitute for *Louise* would be nominative *she*. In a direct question, the NP *Louise* would take part in SAI. The main verb *believe* is passive and it is associated with the auxiliary *be*.

- (22) b. Louise is/\*are believed to be a suitable candidate.  
c. She is believed to be a suitable candidate  
d. Is Louise believed to be a suitable candidate?

In (22a), the NP *Louise*, though it is the subject of the main (passive) verb, is actually also felt to be the subject of the embedded predicate, the NP *a suitable candidate*. The NP *Louise* seems to have a dual status. It is (i) the subject of the finite main clause and somehow it also (ii) doubles up as the subject of the non-finite clause.

The verb *say* takes a finite complement clause, it does not have the non-finite complement type that we find with *believe*. Yet, it appears in two passive patterns:

- (23) a. People said that Einstein was a genius.      b. \* People said Einstein to be a genius.  
c. It was said that Einstein was a genius.      d. Einstein was said to be a genius.

#### Note

When *say* itself has an indirect object, the type of passivisation illustrated in (i) in which one NP is both the subject of the main verb and of the infinitival clause is not possible:

- (i) Some politicians said to the physicists that the A-bomb was a dreadful mistake.

The following examples again illustrate patterns in which the subject of the main finite verb seems to also double up as the subject of the infinitival clause. For each example we give a paraphrase with *it* and a finite extraposed clause:<sup>130</sup>

- (24) a Tim Montgomery and Marion Jones are believed to have turned to the former coach of Ben Johnson for help. (*Guardian*, 18.12.2, page 16, col 5)  
cf. b It is believed that Tim Montgomery and Marion Jones have turned to the former coach of Ben Johnson for help.
- (25) a The total is predicted to rise above 8,000. (*Guardian*, 7.1.3. page 9, col 1)  
b It is predicted that the total will rise above 8,000.
- (26) a He was reported to have rejected a short-term move to Birmingham City that entailed maintaining his £82.000 – a week’s wages - and adding a £300.000 bonus if the club remained in the Premiership. (*Guardian*, 7.1.3. page 14, col 7)  
b It was reported that he had rejected a short term move to Birmingham City...
- (27) a Telemarketing to residential consumers was a \$ 274 billion industry last year, and sales this year are projected to total \$ 295 billion, according to the Direct Marketing association. (*Chicago Tribune*, 30.11.2, section 1 page 13, col 1)  
b It is projected that sales this year will total \$ 295 billion.
- (28) a One of the police officers is said to have been knifed in the arm, and is being treated at North Manchester General Hospital (*Guardian*, 15.1.3, page 1, col 2)  
b It is said that one of the police officers was knifed in the arm...
- (29) a Reiziger is expected to travel to Manchester in the next week. (*Guardian*, 7.1.3.,page 16, col 8)  
cf b It is expected that Reiziger will travel to Manchester in the next week.
- (30) a More than 1m copies of *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix* are estimated to have been sold in Britain over the weekend. (*Guardian*, 23.6.3, page 6, col 4)  
b It is estimated that more than 1m copies of *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix* were sold in Britain over the weekend.

**Attention:** *tell* and *say* are different:

- (i) The physicists were said to follow the instructions  
= on disait que les physiciens suivaient les instructions (quelque chose est dit DU sujet)
- (ii) The physicists were told to follow the instructions  
= on a dit aux physiciens de suivre les instructions (quelque chose est dit AU sujet).

#### 5.2.6. Subjects and infinitival clauses

Now consider the sentences in (i). The relationship between (ia) and (ib) is very similar to that between (iia) and (iib):

- (i) a It is believed by everyone [<sub>clause</sub> that Louise is a suitable candidate].  
b Louise is believed [<sub>clause</sub> to be a suitable candidate].
- (ii) a It seems [that Louise is a suitable candidate].  
b Louise seems to be a suitable candidate.

In (ia) the subject of the main clause is impersonal *it*. *Louise* is the subject of the embedded finite clause. (ib) is closely similar in interpretation to (ia). For (ib) we saw in the preceding section that the subject of the passive verb *believed* also doubles up as a subject of the non-finite clause (*to be a suitable candidate*).

The relation between (iia) and (iib) resembles that between (ia) and (ib). In (iia) the subject of *seems* is impersonal *it*. The NP *Louise* is the subject of the finite embedded. In (iib) the embedded clause is non-finite, the NP *Louise*, which counts as the subject of the predicate *a suitable candidate*,

<sup>130</sup>

occupies the subject position of the main clause.

In the examples discussed in this section, an NP which counts as the subject of a non-finite clause occupies the subject position of the main clause. This is the result of an operation which is sometimes called 'Raising' ('*montée*' in French). It is as if we lift the subject NP from the lower non-finite clause into the subject position of a higher clause. Similar such 'raising' patterns are illustrated in the following examples.

- (iii) a It appears that the motion has caught the government by surprise.  
b The culture committee's motion was drafted by members of prime minister Silvio Berlusconi's Forza Italia party but it appears to have caught the government by surprise. (*Guardian*, 18,12,2, page 6, col 3)
- (iv) a It is likely that Mary will leave the hospital within the next few days.  
b Mary is likely to leave the hospital within the next few days.

## 6. DO NOT CONFUSE <sup>131</sup>

In the preceding text a number of words have been seen to have different functions. Make sure you don't confuse them. We list the most important ones here:

<i>which</i>	interrogative determiner, interrogative pronoun, relative pronoun <sup>132</sup>
<i>what</i>	pre-determiner ( exclamative), determiner (interrogative), interrogative pronoun, <sup>133</sup>
<i>who</i>	interrogative pronoun vs. relative pronoun
<i>when</i>	conjunction vs. interrogative adverb vs. relative adverb <sup>134</sup>
<i>that</i>	conjunction, relative pronoun, demonstrative determiner, independent demonstrative, degree adverbial <sup>135</sup>
<i>if</i>	conditional conjunction, interrogative conjunction
<i>-ing form:</i>	adjective <sup>136</sup> , participle; gerund, noun
<i>to</i>	preposition, inflectional marker of infinitive <sup>137</sup>

<sup>131</sup> See also Rivière Section 4 for these and other examples and discussion

<sup>132</sup> Section 7.1. ex 1.

<sup>133</sup> *What* is also a pronoun introducing free relative clause (i) and a determiner in a free relative (ii), in the latter case it has a so-called 'paucal' meaning:

(i) I gave him what I had bought.

(ii) I gave him what money I had.

<sup>134</sup> In the following example *when* is a relative adverb: (Rivière section 3: 7.6.1

(i) He came back to the country in 1998, since when he has been unemployed.

<sup>135</sup> Section 7.1, ex. 2,

<sup>136</sup> (i) adjective: This story is very exciting.

(ii) noun They have demolished the building.

<sup>137</sup> Section 2.2., ex. 22.