ELEVEN
THE COMPLEX SENTENCE

11.1
Coordination and subordination

Subordination is a non-symmetrical relation, holding between two clauses in such a way that one is a constituent or part of the other. Compare the coordination in

```
1              1                      2                    2
[I like John]       and        [John likes me]
1                     1             2                    2
['independent']                 ['independent']
```

with the subordination in

```
1                        2                               21
[I like John        [because John likes me]]
1                                                        1
['superordinate' or 'independent' or 'main']
                        2                                2
                 ['subordinate' or 'dependent']
```

The above examples also illustrate the terms commonly associated with the clausal units distinguished.

The device of subordination enables us to organize multiple clause structures. Each subordinate clause may itself be superordinate to one or more other clauses, so that a hierarchy of clauses, one within another, may be built up, sometimes resulting in sentences of great complexity. A relatively simple example:

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          X-          Y-                    Z-          -Z-Y-X
       ( I think [ that you can do it { if you try } ] )
```

Here the clause beginning at Z- is subordinate to the clause beginning at Y-, which in turn is subordinate to the clause beginning at X-. Both Y and

Z are dependent clauses, while X is the independent clause, and is identical with the sentence as a whole: *I* as S, *think* as V, *that you can do it* as O, and *if you try* as A.

Dependent clauses may be classified either by STRUCTURAL TYPE, *ie* in terms of the elements they themselves contain, or by FUNCTION, *ie* the part they play in the superordinate clause.

11.2
Finite, non-finite, and verbless clauses
Analysing by structural type, we arrive at three main classes:

> FINITE CLAUSE: a clause whose V element is a finite verb phrase (3.23)
>
>> *eg: John has visited New York*
>> *Because John is working*, he . . .
>
> NON-FINITE CLAUSE: a clause whose V element is a non-finite verb phrase (3.23)
>
>> *eg: Having seen the pictures*, he . . .
>> *For John to carry the parcels* was a . . .
>
> VERBLESS CLAUSE: a clause containing no V element (but otherwise generally analysable in terms of one or more clause elements)
>
>> *eg: Although always helpful*, he . . .
>> John, *then in New York*, was . . .

All clauses – finite, non-finite, or verbless – may of course themselves have subordinate clauses which are finite, non-finite, or verbless. *Eg* the following verbless clause has a finite clause within it:

> Although always helpful *when his father was away*, he . . .

11.3
Finite and non-finite clauses
The finite clause always contains a subject as well as a predicate, except in the case of commands (7.58 *ff*) and ellipsis (9.21, 10.44 *ff*). As nearly all independent clauses (in discursive English, though not in 'block language': 7.66) are finite clauses, it is these that are most clearly related to the clauses dealt with in Chapter 7. In contrast, non-finite clauses can be constructed without a subject, and usually are. The four classes of non-finite verb phrase (3.23) serve to distinguish four classes of non-finite clause:

> [1] INFINITIVE WITH *to*
>> without subject: The best thing would be *to tell everybody*
>> with subject: The best thing would be *for you to tell everybody*

The use of *for* to introduce the subject should be noted. The infinitive clause with *to* and with a subject is found characteristically in anticipatory *it* constructions (14.25): *It would be better (for you) to tell everybody.*

[II] INFINITIVE WITHOUT *to*
    without subject: All I did was *hit him on the head*
    with subject: Rather than *John do it*, I'd prefer to give the job to Mary

[III] *-ing* PARTICIPLE
    without subject: *Leaving the room*, he tripped over the mat
    with subject: *Her aunt having left the room*, I declared my passionate love for Celia

[IV] *-ed* PARTICIPLE
    without subject: *Covered with confusion*, I left the room
    with subject: We left the room and went home, *the job finished*

When the subject of adverbial participial clauses is expressed, it is often introduced by *with*:

$$\text{With the tree} \begin{Bmatrix} growing \\ grown \end{Bmatrix} \text{tall, we get more shade}$$

The normal range of clause types (7.2) is available, with active and passive forms broadly as in the corresponding finite clauses, but there is a restriction on the *-ed* participial clause, which is both syntactically and semantically passive, and therefore admits only the four passive clause types SV_{pass}, $SV_{pass}C$, $SV_{pass}A$, and $SV_{pass}O$:

Defeated, he slunk from the room
    Type $(S)V_{pass}$ (= active Type SVO)

11.4
Structural 'deficiencies' of non-finite clauses

The absence of the finite verb from non-finite clauses means that they have no distinctions of person, number, or modal auxiliary. Together with the frequent absence of a subject, this suggests their value as a means of syntactic compression. Certain kinds of non-finite clause are particularly favoured in the careful style of written prose, where the writer has the leisure to make a virtue out of compactness. But the advantage of compactness must be balanced against the stumbling block of ambiguity; for the absence of a subject leaves doubt as to which nearby nominal element is *notionally* the subject:

We met you [*when you?/we? were*] leaving the room

When no referential link with a nominal can be discovered in the linguistic context, an indefinite subject 'somebody/something' may be inferred, or else the 'I' of the speaker:

> *To be an administrator* is to have the worst job in the world
>   ('For a person to be ...')
> The prospects are not very good, *to be honest*
>   ('... if I am to be honest')

Note
[a] In negative non-finite clauses, the negative particle is placed immediately before the verb:

> It's his fault for *not* doing anything about it
> The wisest policy is (for us) *not* to interfere

It should be observed that the *not* precedes the *to* of the infinitive.
[b] The inseparability of *to* from the infinitive is also asserted in the widely held opinion that it is bad style to 'split the infinitive'. Thus rather than:

> ?He was wrong to *suddenly* leave the country

many people (especially in BrE) prefer:

> He was wrong to leave the country *suddenly*

It must be acknowledged, however, that in some cases the 'split infinitive' is the only tolerable ordering, since avoiding the 'split infinitive' results in clumsiness or ambiguity. For example:

> I have tried to *consciously* stop worrying about it

11.5
Verbless clauses
With the verbless clause, we can usually infer ellipsis of the verb *be;* the subject, when omitted, can be treated as recoverable from the context:

> Dozens of people were stranded, *many of them children* (many of them *being* children)
> *Whether right or wrong*, he always comes off worst in an argument
>   (Whether *he is* right or wrong . . .)

Verbless clauses can also, on occasion, be treated as reductions of non-finite clauses:

> *Too nervous to reply*, he stared at the floor
>   (*Being* too nervous to reply . . .)

Here the verbless clause itself contains a non-finite clause, *to reply.*
As with participle clauses (11.3), the subject is often introduced by *with:*

> *With the tree now tall*, we get more shade

Since the verbless clause is basically an elliptical intensive verb clause (Type *SVC* or *SVA:* 7.2), the variations of its structure are somewhat limited. The following, however, are among possible combinations:

> She marched briskly up the slope, *the blanket across her shoulder*
> $$S [V_{intens}] A$$
> *When ripe*, these apples will be delicious   *when* + [S V_{intens}] C_s
> His gaze travelled round, *irresolute*   [S V_{intens}] C_s

Optional adverbials may also be added, either initially or finally:

> She looked with disgust at the dog, *quiet now in Dinah's grasp*
> $$[S V_{intens}] C_s A_{time} A_{place}$$

11.6
Formal indicators of subordination
In general, subordination is marked by some indication contained in the subordinate rather than superordinate clause. Such a signal may be of a number of different kinds: it can be a subordinating conjunction; a *wh*-element; the item *that;* inversion; or (negatively) the absence of a finite verb form. Especially in *wh*-items (*where, when*, etc), we can see a fusion of conjunction and pro-adjunct.

11.7
Subordinators
Subordinators (or more fully 'subordinating conjunctions') are perhaps the most important formal indicators of subordination. Like prepositions, which they resemble in having a relating or connecting function, subordinators forming the core of the class consist of a single word; and again as with prepositions, there are numerous compound items which act, to various degrees, like a single conjunction. In addition, there is a small class of correlative subordinators, *ie* combinations of two markers, one (a conjunction) occurring in the subordinate clause, and the other (normally an adverb) occurring in the superordinate clause.

SIMPLE SUBORDINATORS
> *after*, (*al*)*though, as, because, before, if, once, since, that, until, when, where, while*, etc

COMPOUND SUBORDINATORS
ending with *that:*
> *in that, so that, such that, except that*, etc; *in order that* (or *to* + infinitive clause)

ending with optional *that:*
> *now* (*that*), *provided* (*that*), *supposing* (*that*), *considering* (*that*), *seeing* (*that*), etc

ending with *as:*

> *as far as, as long as, as soon as, so long as,* etc;
> *so as* (+ *to* + infinitive clause)

ending with *than:*

> *sooner than* (+ infinitive clause), *rather than* (+ non-finite or verbless clause)

other:

> *as if, as though, in case*

CORRELATIVE SUBORDINATORS

> *if . . . then; (al)though . . .yet/nevertheless; as . . . so*
> *more/-er/less . . . than; as . . . as; so . . . as; so . . . (that);*
> *such . . . as; such . . . (that); no sooner . . . than*
> *whether . . . or*
> *the . . . the*

Note

[a] Some subordinators (*as, since, until, till, after, before, but*) also function as prepositions: *since the war,* etc.

[b] *For, with,* and *without,* elsewhere prepositions, might be added to the list of subordinators when they introduce the subject of a non-finite or verbless clause:

> *for* him to interfere (11.3); *with* so many people there (11.3, 11.5)

[c] Some of the above-listed subordinators introduce non-finite and verbless clauses (*eg: if a nuisance*), others do not (*since a nuisance*). Details are given under relevant sections (11.21, 11.22, 11.24, 11.26, 11.29).

11.8
Borderline subordinators

Three borderline categories may be mentioned: (a) habitual combinations of a subordinator with a preceding or following intensifying adverb (*just as, if only*); (b) participle forms (*supposing . . .*), bearing a resemblance to participle clause disjuncts like *judging from . . ., speaking frankly,* etc; (c) expressions of time which, although adverbial in form, act like a single temporal conjunction (*eg: directly/immediately/the moment* (*that*) *I had spoken*).

11.9
Other indicators of subordination

Now we give a brief preliminary survey of other indicators of subordination, apart from subordinating conjunctions.

(a) *Wh*-ELEMENTS are initial markers of subordination in, for example, dependent interrogative clauses. The *wh*-words (such as *who*) function as or within one of the clause elements subject, object, complement, or adverbial.

(b) Subject-operator inversion (14.13) is a marker of subordination in some conditional clauses, where the operator is *had, were,* or *should.* Other unusual syntactic orderings also play a role in distinguishing a subordinate clause: for example, *Sad though I was* (11.26 Note).

There are only two types of subordinate clause that contain no marker within themselves of subordinate status: these are

[I] Nominal clauses which may or may not have *that* (11.13):

> I suppose *you're right* (*cf* I suppose *that* you're right)

[II] Comment clauses (11.45) of a kind relatable to the *main* clause in the previous example:

> You're right, *I suppose*

11.10
Functional classification of dependent clauses

Dependent clauses may function as subject, object, complement, or adverbial in the superordinate clause:

subject: *That we need more equipment* is obvious
direct object: I know *that she is pretty*
subject complement: The point is *that we're leaving*
indirect object: I gave *whoever it was* a cup of tea
object complement: I imagined him *overcome with grief*
adjunct: *When we meet,* I shall explain everything
disjunct: *To be honest,* I've never liked him
conjunct: *What is more,* he has lost the friends he had

In addition, they may function *within* these elements, as postmodifier, prepositional complement, etc; *eg*

postmodifier in noun phrase (13.5 *ff*): A friend *who remains loyal*
prepositional complement (6.2): It depends on *what we decide*
adjectival complement (12.11 *ff*): Ready *to act promptly*

Note
Dependent clauses rarely act as conjuncts, as object complements, or as indirect objects. As object complement, they must be non-finite clauses in complex-transitive complementation (12.20 *ff*). As indirect object, they must be nominal relative clauses (11.11).

11.11

Just as noun phrases may occur as subject, object, complement, appositive, and prepositional complement, so every NOMINAL CLAUSE may occur in some or all of these roles. But the occurrence of nominal clauses is limited by the fact that they are normally abstract; *ie*

they refer to events, facts, states, ideas, etc. The one exception to this generalization is the nominal relative clause (11.16), which may refer to objects, people, substances, etc, and may in fact be analysed, on one level, as a noun phrase consisting of head and postmodifying relative clause, the head and relative pronoun coalescing to form a single *wh*-element (4.88).

11.12
ADVERBIAL CLAUSES (11.20–36) operate as adjuncts or disjuncts. In this respect, they are like adverbs, and are often commutable with prepositional phrases. Compare:

> *Because the soloist was ill*, they cancelled the concert
> *Because of the soloist's illness*, they cancelled the concert

COMPARATIVE CLAUSES (11.37–44), like sentential relatives, are difficult to fit into any of the major functional categories. They often have the appearance of adverbial or adjectival modifiers:

> I love you *more* deeply *than I can say*
> He's not *as* clever *a man as I thought*

They also have some features in common with adverbial clauses, however. Semantically, we may consider them, together with their correlative element (*more, as, -er,* etc) in the main clause, as equivalent to a degree adverb.

COMMENT CLAUSES (11.45*f*) perform the function of disjunct or (occasionally) conjunct, and often express the speaker's attitude to the main clause, or his manner of asserting it:

> Food is cheap in England, *I believe*

Each of these functional types will now be examined in greater detail, leaving others to later chapters: relative clauses (13.5 *ff*), clauses in structures of complementation (12.12 *ff*).

Nominal clauses
11.13
That-clauses
The *that*-clause can occur as:

> subject: *That she is still alive* is a consolation
>
> direct object: $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{I told him} \\ \text{I knew} \end{array} \right\}$ *that he was wrong*
>
> subject complement: The assumption is *that things will improve*

appositive: Your assumption, *that things will improve*, is unfounded
   (13.13, 9.45)
adjectival complement: I'm sure *that things will improve*

It cannot, however, occur as prepositional complement (6.2) or as object complement.

When the *that*-clause is object or complement (or delayed subject: 14.25), the conjunction *that* is frequently omitted in informal use, leaving a 'zero' *that*-clause:

$$\left.\begin{cases} \text{I knew} \\ \text{I told him} \\ \text{I'm sure} \end{cases}\right\} \textit{he was wrong}$$

When the clause is subject and not extraposed, *that* cannot be omitted and is usually expanded to *the fact that*, except in very formal English:

(The fact) that she is still alive consoles me

Note

[a] The zero *that*-clause is particularly common when the clause is brief and uncompli-
cated. In contrast, the need for clarity discourages or even forbids the omission of
that in complex sentences loaded with adverbials and modifications. Any parenthe-
tical material between the verb of the superordinate clause and the subject of the
that-clause is especially likely to inhibit deletion:

   We had hoped, in a moment of optimism, *that* the Government would look
   favourably on our case

The position of *that* after the second comma, rather than before the first comma, in
this sentence, is decisive in assigning the parenthetical adverbial to the main clause
and not the *that*-clause. The omission of *that* would leave the structure of the sen-
tence unclear.

[b] Direct passive transforms of clauses with a *that*-clause object are rare, the version
with extraposition (14.25) being preferred: *It is thought that he will come*. The same
point applies to other nominal clauses.

[c] While *that*-clauses, like most other nominal clauses, cannot be object complements,
an alternative (and rather formal) *to*-infinitive construction is available with some
verbs. Contrast [1] and [2]:

   I thought his argument absurd ↔ I thought his argument *to be* absurd   [1]

   *I thought his argument   I thought his argument   [2]
    that we should pay   ↔   *to be* that we should pay

11.14
Wh-interrogative clauses

The dependent *wh*-interrogative clause occurs in the whole range of functions available to the *that*-clause, and in addition can act as pre-positional complement:

subject: *How the book will sell* depends on its author
direct object: I can't imagine *what made him do it*

subject complement: The problem is not *who will go,* but *who will stay*
appositive: My original question, *why he did it at all,* has not been
    answered
adjectival complement: I wasn't certain *whose house I was in*
prepositional complement: No one was consulted on *who should
    have the prize*

As regards meaning, these clauses resemble *wh*-questions (7.52 *f*) in that
they leave a gap of unknown information, represented by the *wh*-element.
Compare the negative and interrogative with the positive declarative in
the following:

I'm not sure *who* is coming
Do you know *who* is coming?
I'm sure ⎫
I know ⎬ that *John* is coming

There is also a grammatical similarity to *wh*-questions in that the *wh*-ele-
ment is placed first; indeed, apart from the absence of subject-operator
inversion in the dependent clause, the structures of the two types of
clause are in all respects parallel. We have, in the *wh*-interrogative clause,
the same choice between initial and final preposition where the preposi-
tional complement is the *wh*-element:

He couldn't remember ⎰ *on which shelf* he kept it (formal)
                      ⎱ *which shelf* he kept it *on*

An infinitive *wh*-clause can be formed with all *wh*-words except *why:*

He was explaining *how to start the motor* ('. . . how one should . . .')
I never know *where to put my coat* ('. . . where I ought to . . .').

Note

[a] In literary style, there is an occasional subject-operator inversion when the *wh*-
element is the A of an *SVA* type clause, or the C of an *SVC* type clause:

I told them *how strong was my desire* to visit the famous temple

There is also an informal but chiefly dialectal inversion (*eg* in Irish English), as in:

He asked me *where was I staying*

[b] The preposition preceding a *wh*-clause is optional in certain circumstances:

I was not certain (*of*) *what to do*

11.15
Yes-no interrogative clauses

The dependent *yes-no* interrogative clause (*cf* 7.45 *ff*) is formed with *if* or
whether:

Do you know *if/whether the banks are open?*

The dependent *alternative* question (*cf* 7.54 *f*) has *if/whether . . . or:*

> I don't know *whether it will rain or be sunny*
> I don't care *if your car breaks down or not*

Only *whether* can be directly followed by *or not:*

> I don't care $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\textit{whether or not}\\ \textit{*if or not}\end{array}\right\}$ your car breaks down

A clause beginning with *whether* cannot be made negative, except as the second part of an alternative question:

> I don't care $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{if it doesn't rain}\\ \text{*whether it doesn't rain}\\ \text{whether it rains or (whether it does) not}\end{array}\right.$

On the other hand, *if* cannot introduce a subject clause:

> $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Whether}\\ \text{*If}\end{array}\right\}$ it rains or not doesn't concern me

Note

With certain introductory verbs or adjectives a negative *whether*-clause is acceptable:

> $\left.\begin{array}{l}\text{I wonder}\\ \text{I'm not sure}\end{array}\right\}$ whether he doesn't expect too much from her

In fact, however, such sentences have a positive rather than negative meaning: 'I think he expects too much from her'.

11.16
Nominal relative clauses

The nominal relative clause, also introduced by a *wh*-element, can be:

> subject: *What he is looking for* is a wife
> direct object: I want to see *whoever deals with complaints*
> indirect object: He gave *whoever came to the door* a winning smile
> subject complement: Home is *where your friends and family are*
> object complement: You can call me *what(ever) (names) you like*
> appositive: Let us know your college address (that is, *where you live in term time*)
> prepositional complement: Vote for *which(ever) candidate you like*

The nominal relative clause is much closer to noun phrase status than other nominal clauses are. It can normally be paraphrased by a noun phrase containing a postmodifying relative clause:

> I'll give you *however much tobacco you need* ('. . . any amount . . . that you need')
> Quality is *what counts most* ('. . . the thing that counts most')

There is a difference between UNIVERSAL and DEFINITE meaning as expressed by the *wh*-form of a relative clause. We see this in the paraphrases of the examples above: the first is paraphrased in 'universal' terms (*any amount*), the second in 'definite' terms (*the thing*). Contrast with the latter:

Quality is *whatever counts most* ('. . . anything that . . .')

The form *who* is rarely used in present-day English in this nominal relative function (**Who told you that was lying*), being replaced in many contexts, for both universal and definite meanings, by *whoever:*

Whoever told you that was lying $\begin{cases} \text{'The person who . . .'} \\ \text{'Anyone who . . .'} \end{cases}$

Where the *wh*-word chosen is available for both nominal relative and interrogative clauses, an ambiguity arises:

They asked me *what I didn't know* ('They asked me that which I didn't know' *or* 'They asked me "What don't you know?"')

11.17
To-infinitive nominal clauses
The *to*-infinitive nominal clause can occur as:

subject: *For a bridge to collapse like that* is unbelievable
direct object: He likes *everyone to be happy*
subject complement: My wish is *to be a pilot*
appositive: His ambition, *to be a straight actor*, was never fulfilled
adjectival complement: I'm glad *to help you* (see 12.13)

The subject of a *to*-infinitive clause is normally preceded by *for* (which is perhaps acting here more as a conjunction than as a preposition). The subject, when a pronoun, is in the objective case:

The idea is $\begin{cases} \text{that } we \text{ should meet on Thursday} \\ \text{for } us \text{ to meet on Thursday} \end{cases}$

When the clause is a direct object, however, the *for* is omitted:

He wants me to leave (*rather than:* *He wants for me to leave)

On *wh*-infinitive clauses, see 11.14.

Note
[a] The infinitive clause resembles the *that* clause (in contrast to the *-ing* clause) in never being a prepositional complement.
[b] The correspondence between 'The idea is *to meet*' and 'The idea is *that we should meet*' shows the putative nature of the infinitive clause (*cf* 11.51).

11.18
Nominal *-ing* clauses

The nominal *-ing* clause, a PARTICIPLE CLAUSE, occurs in the following positions:

> subject: *Telling lies* is wrong
> direct object: No one enjoys *deceiving his own family*
> subject complement: His favourite pastime is *playing practical jokes*
> appositive: His hobby, *collecting stamps*, absorbed him
> prepositional complement: I'm tired of *being treated like a child*
> adjectival complement: The children were busy *building sandcastles*

It is the commonest type of participle clause, that which has no subject, that is illustrated above. When a subject is required, there is sometimes a choice as follows (but *cf* 12.24):

GENITIVE case in formal style:

> I'm surprised at *his/John's* making that mistake

OBJECTIVE or COMMON case (for personal pronouns or nouns, respectively) in informal style:

> I'm surprised at *him/John* making that mistake

It is commonly claimed that the genitive is the only 'correct' form, but in fact it frequently has a stilted effect, and is particularly unsuitable when the subject is an inanimate or abstract noun phrase which would not normally take the genitive case, or a 'group' genitive phrase (13.74):

> ? The crisis has arisen as a result of *recent uncontrolled inflation's* having outweighed the benefits of devaluation

On the other hand, a pronoun in the objective case is disliked in subject position:

> *Him being a Jesuit* was a great surprise (very informal)

Many prefer to avoid both possibilities where alternatives are available:

> It was a great surprise that he was a Jesuit

Note

As compared with the *-ing* clause, the genitive is obligatory where the *-ing* item constitutes the head of a noun phrase:

His/him criticizing John was very unfair
His/*him criticizing of John was very unfair

See 13.20, 23 Note.

11.19
Bare infinitive and verbless clauses
The *to* of the infinitive is optionally omitted in a clause which supplies a predication corresponding to a use of the pro-verb *do:*

All I did was (*to*) *turn off the gas*

When the infinitive clause is initial, *to* has to be omitted: *Turn off the tap was all I did.*

Note
In the following sentence, the lack of concord between *carpets* and *is* shows that the subject is not a noun phrase:

Wall-to-wall carpets in every room is very expensive

Rather, it should be seen as a nominal verbless clause, paraphrasable as 'Having wall-to-wall carpets in every room'. On the other hand, the similarity often causes these verbless clauses to be given the concord demanded with noun phrases:

Are *fast cars in cities* really very wise?

Adverbial clauses
11.20
Adverbial clauses, like adverbials in general (8.3), are capable of occurring in a final, initial, or medial position within the main clause (generally in that order of frequency, medial position being rather rare). Attention will be drawn, in the paragraphs that follow, to modifications of this general statement. On problems of tense, aspect, and mood, see 11.47 *ff.*

11.21
Clauses of time
Finite adverbial clauses of time are introduced by such subordinators as *after, before, since, until, when:*

When I last saw you, you lived in Washington
Buy your tickets *as soon as you reach the station*
Our hostess, *once everyone had arrived,* was full of good humour

The *-ing* clause may be introduced by *after, before, since, until, when(ever),* and *while; -ed* clauses by *once, until, when(ever),* and *while;* and verbless clauses by *as soon as, once, when(ever),* and *while:*

He wrote his greatest novel *while working on a freighter*
Once published, the book caused a remarkable stir
When in difficulty, consult the manual

In addition, *-ing* clauses without a subject are also used to express time relationship:

Nearing the entrance, I shook hands with my acquaintances
  ('when/as I neared . . .')

The stranger, *having discarded his jacket*, moved threateningly towards me ('after he had discarded . . .')

Temporal clauses are common in initial position.

Note

[a] With *until* and its variant *till*, the superordinate clause is negative if the time reference is to a commencement point (cf 6.23 f):

*He started to read *until he was ten years old*
He didn't start to read *until he was ten years old*
He walked in the park *till it was dark*

In the negative sentence, *not* (. . .) *until* means the same as *not* (. . .) *before*.

[b] There is no semantic subordination with a type of *when*-clause which occurs finally in sentences in formal narrative style and in which *when* means rather *and then*:

The last man was emerging from the escape tunnel *when a distant shout signalled its discovery by the guards*

[c] Infinitive clauses of 'outcome' may be placed among temporal clauses:

I awoke one morning *to find the house in an uproar*

Such sentences could be paraphrased by switching the relationship of subordination, and using a *when*-clause:

When I awoke one morning, I found the house in an uproar

Their restriction to final position suggests an analogy between these infinitive clauses and result clauses (11.32), which they resemble in meaning.

11.22

Clauses of place

Adverbial clauses of place are introduced by *where* or *wherever*:

They went *wherever they could find work*
Where the fire had been, we saw nothing but blackened ruins

Non-finite and verbless clauses occur with both the subordinators:

Where(ver) known, such facts have been reported
Where(ver) possible, all moving parts should be tested

Note

In this last example, as in the *When in difficulty* example of 11.21, we see a general contingency relation similar to conditions: *wherever possible, whenever possible, if possible*. This generality of meaning is characteristic of verbless and non-finite clauses (cf 11.36) but is common also in finite clauses (*Whenever anyone finds this possible*), and in part reflects fundamental similarities between several adverbial relationships.

11.23

Clauses of condition and concession

Whereas conditional clauses state the dependence of one circumstance or set of circumstances on another:

If you treat her kindly, (then) she'll do anything for you

concessive clauses imply a contrast between two circumstances; *ie* the main clause is surprising in the light of the dependent one:

Although he hadn't eaten for days, he (nevertheless) looked very fit

The parenthesized items illustrate the possibility of correlation (11.7) in both types of clause.

From this, we see that *although* as a subordinator is the approximate equivalent of *but* as a coordinator (9.18):

He hadn't eaten for days, *but* he looked strong and healthy

The overlap between conditional and concessive clauses comes with such subordinators as *even if,* which expresses both the contingent dependence of one circumstance upon another and the surprising nature of this dependence (11.26):

Even if he went down on bended knees, I wouldn't forgive him

Both conditional and concessive clauses tend to assume initial position in the superordinate clause.

11.24
Clauses of condition
Finite adverbial clauses of condition are introduced chiefly by the subordinators *if* (positive condition) and *unless* (negative condition):

He must be lying *if he told you that*
Unless the strike has been called off, there will be no trains tomorrow

The latter means roughly '*If* the strike has *not* been called off ...'. But there is a slight difference between an *unless*-clause and a negative *if*-clause in that *unless* has the more exclusive meaning of 'only if ... not' or 'except on condition that ...'. It is thus the opposite of the compound conjunction *provided* (*that*) or *providing* (*that*), which means 'if and only if ...':

Provided that no objection is raised, we shall hold the meeting here

Other compound conditional conjunctions approximately synonymous with *provided* (*that*) are *as long as, so long as,* and *on condition that.*

If and *unless* often introduce non-finite and verbless clauses: *if ready,*
unless expressly forbidden, etc. Also to be noted are the residual positive and negative conditional pro-clauses *if so* and *if not* (10.36).

11.25
Real and unreal conditions
A 'real' condition leaves unresolved the question of the fulfilment or

non-fulfilment of the condition, and hence also the truth of the proposition expressed by the main clause. In an 'unreal' condition, on the other hand, it is clearly expected that the condition will *not* be fulfilled. Thus:

Real: If he comes, I'll see him.   If she was awake, she certainly heard the noise.

Unreal: If he came, I'd see him.   If she'd been awake, she would have heard the noise.

On the association of past with 'unreal', see 3.47, 11.48. On conditional clauses as disjuncts, see 8.49.

If-clauses are like questions in implying uncertainty. They tend therefore to contain non-assertive forms such as *any*, *ever* (see 7.35):

If you *ever* have *any* trouble, let me know

Clauses beginning with *unless*, on the other hand, lay stress on the excluded positive option, and so normally contain assertive forms:

I won't phone you, unless *something* unforeseen happens
(=I'll phone you when something unforeseen happens – but we
   can exclude this as unlikely)

For the same reason, *unless*-clauses are not usually unreal conditions. Hence the negative unreal conditional clause *If I had not arrived* has no equivalent *unless*-clause, *Unless I had arrived.

Note

[a] The combination *if only* is an intensified equivalent of *if*, typically used in preposed unreal conditions (with no non-assertive requirement) to express a wish:

If only somebody had told us, we could have warned you

[b] The subjunctive or *should* (3.50) is sometimes used in formal real conditions:

If he $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} be \text{ found} \\ should\ be \text{ found} \end{array} \right\}$ guilty, his wife will suffer terribly

[c] The infinitival clause can be used conditionally:

You have to be strong *to lift a table like that* ('if you're going to lift')
He'd be stupid *not to accept that offer* ('if he didn't accept')

Such clauses contain an element of purposive meaning (11.51).

[d] Conditional clauses (especially unreal) may have subject-operator inversion without a conjunction:

Had I known, I would not have gone

11.26
Clauses of concession
Clauses of concession are introduced chiefly by *though* (also a conjunct: 8.53) or its more formal variant *although*. Other conjunctions include *while*, *whereas* (chiefly formal), *even if*, and occasionally *if*.

No goals were scored, *though it was an exciting game*
Although I enjoyed myself, I was glad to come home
Whereas John seems rather stupid, his brother is clever
Even if you dislike music, you would enjoy this concert
If he's poor, at least he's honest

Non-finite and verbless clauses of concession are often introduced by conjunctions, but not by *whereas*. For example, *though a young man; although often despairing of rescue; even if still operating; even though given every attention.*

Note

Concession is sometimes rather formally expressed with the subordinators *as, though,* and *that* occurring after the subject complement; less frequently other predications may be preposed:

Naked as I was, I braved the storm
Sneer unkindly though you may, John is very popular

11.27
Alternative conditional-concessive clauses

The correlative sequence *whether* (. . .) *or* . . . is a means of coordinating two subordinate clauses, combining conditional meaning with disjunctive meaning:

Whether they beat us or we beat them, we'll celebrate tonight
Whether (living) in London or not, John enjoyed himself
Whether or not he finds a job in New York, he's moving there

The concessive element of meaning comes in secondarily, through the implication that if the same thing takes place in two contrasting conditions, there must be something surprising about at least one of them.

11.28
Universal conditional-concessive clauses

The universal conditional-concessive clause, introduced by one of the *wh*-compounds (*whatever, whoever*, etc), indicates a free choice from among any number of conditions:

She looks pretty *whatever she wears*

That is, *even though* she were to wear overalls or a space suit. There is a subtle semantic difference between such conditional clauses and apparently identical time and place clauses:

Wherever you live, you can keep a horse

The locative meaning would be 'You can keep a horse at any place where you may live'; the conditional-concessive meaning is 'It doesn't matter where you live, you can keep a horse – not necessarily in that same place'.

The longer constructions *it doesn't matter wh-* and the more informal *no matter wh-* may be added to the list of universal conditional-concessive clause introducers:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{No matter} \\ \textit{It doesn't matter} \end{array} \right\} \textit{how hard I try,} \text{ I can never catch up with him}$$

Note
With an abstract noun phrase subject of an *SVC* clause, the verb *be* can be omitted from a universal conditional-concessive clause:

> *Whatever your problems (are)*, they can't be worse than mine
> *However great the pitfalls (are)*, we must do our best to succeed

11.29
Clauses of reason or cause
Clauses of reason or cause are most commonly introduced by the conjunctions *because, as,* or *since:*

> I lent him the money *because he needed it*
> *As/since Jane was the eldest*, she looked after the others

These different positional tendencies (characteristic of the respective conjunctions) reflect a different syntactic status: *because*-clauses are adjuncts, whereas *as-* and *since*-clauses are disjuncts. Informally, however, a final *because*-clause sometimes functions as a disjunct of reason:

> They've lit a fire, *because I can see the smoke rising*

Non-finite and verbless clauses can be used for cause (11.36), but without conjunction:

> *Being a man of ingenuity*, he soon repaired the machine

11.30
Clauses of circumstance
Clauses of circumstance express a fulfilled condition or (to put it differently) a relation between a premise (in the subordinate clause) and the conclusion drawn from it (in the main clause). *Because, since,* and *as* can convey this meaning, but in addition there is a special circumstantial compound conjunction, *seeing (that):*

> *Seeing that the weather has improved*, we shall enjoy our game

Non-finite clauses and verbless clauses are often used (11.36), but without subordinator:

> *The weather having improved*, we enjoyed the rest of the game

11.31
Clauses of purpose

Clauses of purpose are adjuncts, usually infinitival, introduced by (*in order*) (*for* N) *to, so as to:*

> I left early *to catch the train*
> They left the door open *in order for me to hear the baby*

Finite clauses of purpose may be introduced by *so that, so* (informal), or *in order that* (formal):

$$\text{John visited London} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{in order that} \\ \text{so (that)} \end{Bmatrix} \text{he could see his MP}$$

In the purpose clause, which has 'putative' meaning (11.51), the modal auxiliaries *should* and *may* (past tense *might*) are used.

Note

Negative purpose is expressed by *for fear* (*that*), (in BrE) *in case*, or the now rather archaic and very formal conjunction *lest:*

> They left early for fear they would meet him (= in order that . . . not . . .)

11.32
Clauses of result

Result clauses (disjuncts, placed finally in superordinate clauses) are factual rather than 'putative'; hence they may contain an ordinary verb form without a modal auxiliary. They are introduced by *so that*, informally *so:*

> We planted many shrubs, *so* (*that*) *the garden soon looked beautiful*

11.33
Clauses of manner and comparison

Clauses of manner are introduced by (*exactly*) *as,* (*just*) *as:*

> Please do it (*exactly*) *as I instructed* ('in the way that . . .')

If an *as*-clause is placed initially, the correlative form *so*, in formal literary English, may introduce the main clause:

> (*Just*) *as a moth is attracted by a light,* (so) he was fascinated by her

Such examples provide a transition to the adverbial clauses of comparison, introduced by *as if, as though:*

> He looks *as if he is going to be ill*

If there is doubt or 'unreality', the modal past is used:

> He treated me (*just*) *as if he had never met me*

Note

Clauses of comparison sometimes show subject-operator inversion:

> The present owner collects paintings, *as did several of his ancestors*

11.34

Clauses of proportion and preference

Proportional clauses express a 'proportionality' or equivalence of tendency or degree between two circumstances, and are either introduced by *as* (with or without a formal correlative *so*) or by fronted correlative *the . . . the* plus comparatives:

> *As he grew disheartened,* (so) his work deteriorated
> *The more* he thought about it, *the less* he liked it
> *The harder* he worked, *the happier* he felt

Clauses of preference are introduced by *rather than, sooner than*, with a bare infinitive structure; but *rather than* is less restricted:

> $\left.\begin{array}{l}\textit{Rather than}\\ \textit{Sooner than}\end{array}\right\}$ go there by air, I'd take the slowest train

> $\textit{Rather than}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\textit{sitting quietly at home,}\text{ he preferred to visit his friends}\\ \textit{a new car,}\text{ he bought a colour television}\end{array}\right.$

Non-finite and verbless clauses
11.35

IMPLIED SUBJECT

If the subject is not actually expressed in a non-finite or verbless clause, it is assumed to be identical with the subject of the superordinate clause:

> *When ripe, the oranges* are picked and sorted
> *He* took up anthropology, *stimulated by our enthusiasm*
> *She* hesitated, *being very suspicious,* to open the door
> *He* opened his case *to look for a book*

Commonly, however, this 'attachment rule' is violated:

> ? *Since leaving her, life* has seemed empty

In this case, we would assume that the superordinate clause means 'Life has seemed empty *to me*' and that the subject of the *-ing* clause is also first person. Such 'unattached' ('pendant' or 'dangling') clauses are frowned on, however, and are totally unacceptable if the superordinate clause provides no means at all for identifying the subordinate subject. In the following sentence, for example, it cannot be *a dog*:

> *Reading the evening paper, a dog* started barking

Note

[a] The attachment rule does not need to be observed with disjuncts:

> *Speaking candidly* (S='I'), *John* is dishonest

[b] Tense, aspect and mood are also inferred in non-finite and verbless clauses from the sentential context. *Cf* 13.5, 13.14 *ff.*

11.36
SEMANTIC DIVERSITY

We have seen that many of the relationships (time, reason, etc) discussed earlier can be expressed by means of non-finite and verbless clauses.Where these are introduced by conjunctions, the relationship may be quite explicit: *if necessary, since being here*, etc. Where they are not so introduced, there may be considerable indeterminacy as to the relationship to be inferred:

$$\text{John,} \begin{cases} \textit{soon to become a father} \\ \textit{feeling considerable anxiety} \\ \textit{told of his good fortune} \\ \textit{sad at the news} \end{cases}, \text{ went to Mexico}$$

In this position, the clauses could have the function merely of non-restrictive postmodifier of *John* (*cf* 13.17). But their potential relationship to the whole superordinate clause rather than only to the subject is indicated by their mobility. For example:

> *Soon to become a father*, John went to Mexico
> John went to Mexico, *feeling considerable anxiety*

Clearly, their formal inexplicitness allows considerable flexibility in what we may wish them to convey. Thus according to the context, we might want to imply a temporal relation (*eg: 'When he was* told of his good fortune'), a causal relation (*eg: 'Because he was* soon to become a father'), a concessive relation (*eg: 'Although he was* soon to become a father', '*Although he was* sad at the news'). In short a CONTINGENCY is implied, but for the hearer or reader the actual nature of the contingency has to be inferred from the context.

Comparative sentences
11.37

In a comparative construction, a proposition expressed in the superordinate clause is compared with a proposition expressed in the subordinate clause by means of a 'COMP(arative) ELEMENT'. This comp-element specifies the standard of comparison (*eg: health*) and identifies the comparison as equational or differentiating. The comp-element is linked with the subordinate clause by a correlative sequence: equational *as . . . as*, or differentiating *less . . . than, more . . . than* (where the first item may be replaced where relevant by the inflectional comparative). See 5.32. *Eg:*

$$\text{Jane is} \begin{cases} \textit{as healthy as} \\ \begin{cases} \textit{less healthy} \\ \textit{more healthy} \\ \textit{healthier} \end{cases} \textit{than} \end{cases} \text{her sister (is)}$$

The standard of comparison involves only a scale, without commitment to absolute values; thus, in the above examples, neither Jane nor her sister need be 'healthy'.

11.38

Like the Q-element of a question, a comp-element can be any of the main elements of clause structure (apart from the verb):

> comp-element = S: *More people* use this brand than (use) any other window-cleaning fluid
>
> comp-element = C_s: I'm *happier* about it than my husband (is)
>
> comp-element = O_d: He knows *more* than most people (know)
>
> comp-element = O_i (rare): That man has given *more children* happiness than anyone else (has)
>
> comp-element = A: You've been working *much harder* than I (have)

Note

[a] Constructions with *more . . . than* and *less . . . than* do not necessarily introduce comparative clauses. There is a type of non-clausal comparison in which *than* is followed by an explicit standard or yardstick of comparison, normally a noun phrase of measure, or a noun phrase implying degree:

> The books weigh *more than four pounds*
> It goes faster *than 100 miles per hour*
> The strike was nothing *less than a national catastrophe*

Here *than* is best considered a preposition, and the phrase which follows it a prepositional complement.

[b] There is a second type of *more . . . than* construction not introducing a comparative clause. This is the quasi-coordinative type of construction illustrated by

> I was more angry than frightened   (cf I was angry rather than frightened)

A distinguishing characteristic of this construction is the non-occurrence of the suffixal form of comparison:

> *I was angrier than frightened

11.39

Ellipsis in comparative sentences

Ellipsis of a part of the subordinate clause is likely to occur whenever that part is a repetition of something in the main clause. Since it is normal for the two clauses to be closely parallel both in structure and content, ellipsis is the rule rather than the exception in comparative constructions. It is worth while pointing out, however, that there is no necessary parallelism between the main and comparative clauses, and that the comparative clause, so long as it overlaps with the content of the main clause in respect of the comp-element, can be of independent structure. Thus we may take two *wh*-questions of disparate clause types:

{ How quickly does he speak?
{ How quickly can his secretary take dictation?

and use them to construct the comparative sentence:

He speaks more quickly than his secretary can take dictation

Optional ellipses and substitutions (by pronoun and by pro-predication) are illustrated in the following:

(a) James enjoys the theatre more than Susan enjoys the theatre
(b) James enjoys the theatre more than Susan enjoys it
(c) James enjoys the theatre more than Susan does
(d) James enjoys the theatre more than Susan

It should be noted that ellipsis of the object cannot take place unless the verb too is ellipted (9.2); thus we could not expand (d) as:

*James enjoys the theatre more than Susan enjoys

But, if the object is the comp-element itself, the verb may remain:

James knows more about the theatre than Susan (knows)

Obligatory ellipsis, on the other hand, applies to the standard of comparison which cannot be specified again in the subordinate clause (*Jane is healthier than her sister is healthy*), though different aspects of a single standard may be specified in each clause. This occurs with 'size' and 'ability' in the following examples:

The bookcase is wider than it is tall
Jane is as successful at sport as her sister is successful academically

11.40
Ambiguity through ellipsis
When normal ellipses have taken place, ambiguity can arise as to whether a remaining noun phrase is subject or object (9.23):

He loves the dog more than his wife

could mean either [1] '. . . than his wife loves the dog' or [2] '. . . than he loves his wife'. If *his wife* were replaced by a pronoun, formal or fastidious English could disambiguate this example:

He loves the dog more than she   [1]
He loves the dog more than her   [2]

Informally, however, the ambiguity would remain, since *than* plus the objective case tends to be used for both [1] and [2]. See 4.83 and *cf* 10.36, 11.38 Note *a* on the quasi-prepositional value of *than*. Since objections

can be raised against both (stiffness or over-familiarity), we sometimes steer a middle course using additional pro-forms (*than she does, than he does her*).

11.41
Ellipsis and partial contrast

If the two clauses in a comparison differed solely in the comp-element (*I hear it more clearly than I hear it*), only nonsense would result, of course. But the elements in the two clauses may be lexically identical and differ only in tense or mood. In such cases it is normal to have ellipsis of all identical items except any that are necessary to express the contrast:

> I hear it more clearly than I did (*ie* hear it)
> I get up as early as I should (*ie* get up)

If the contrast lies in tense only, it may be expressed in the subordinate clause solely by an adverbial:

> She'll enjoy it more than (she enjoyed it) last year

This provides the basis for the total ellipsis of the subordinate clause in examples like

> You are slimmer (*ie* than you were)

Note

[a] In negative superordinate clauses, *as* can be replaced by *so* especially when there is total or considerable deletion in the subordinate clause:

> He's not as naughty as he was
> He's not so naughty (now)

[b] There is a second type of circumstance in which the comparative clause is omitted: this is where there is anaphoric reference to an implied or actual preceding clause or sentence (*cf* 10.43), as in:

> I caught the last bus from town; but Harry came home even *later*
> (*ie* 'later than that', 'later than I came home')

11.42
Noun phrase and comp-element

If we were to say:

> There are more intelligent monkeys than Herbert

we would normally mean that Herbert is an intelligent monkey; that is, by placing the comparative adjective in front of the noun phrase, we put the whole noun phrase in an intensive relation with the noun phrase in the comparative clause. On the other hand, if *more* and the adjective are placed after the noun, we readily admit the plausible interpretation that Herbert is a man:

> There are monkeys more intelligent than Herbert

Note

More may be the comparative quantifier:

John has more new clothes than I have

that is, a greater quantity of *new clothes*, not *newer clothes*. The modifying sequences *less/more of a . . ., as much of a . . .* occur with gradable noun heads (4.3 Note):

He's more of a fool than I thought (he was)

Cf the *How*-question, *How much of a fool is he?*

11.43
Enough and *too*

There are comparative constructions with *enough* and *too*, which convey the contrasting notions of 'sufficiency' and 'excess', and which are related through negation. Paraphrase pairs may be constructed, using antonymous adjectives or adverbs, as follows:

$\begin{cases} \text{The grass is too short (to cut)} \\ \text{The grass isn't long enough (to cut)} \end{cases}$

$\begin{cases} \text{He's not too poor (to own a car)} \\ \text{He's rich enough (to own a car)} \end{cases}$

The infinitive clause which follows the comp-element may be omitted if the context allows.

The negative force of *too* is shown in the use of non-assertive forms like *any* or *anything*; compare:

She's *old enough* to do *some* work
She's *too old* to do *any* work

Like other infinitive clauses, the subordinate clause in these constructions may have an expressed subject:

The blade moves too quickly for most people to see (it)

As in this example, the expressed subject permits also the optional expression of an object pronoun (here representing *the blade*). When the subject is not expressed, it may be identified with the superordinate subject or with an indefinite subject:

I've lived long enough to understand these things
The writing is too faint to read

With neither subject nor object expressed, ambiguity is possible (*cf* 12.13):

The lamb is too hot $\begin{bmatrix} \text{(for us)} \\ \text{(for it)} \end{bmatrix}$ to eat $\begin{bmatrix} \text{(it)} \\ \text{(anything)} \end{bmatrix}$

Note

With gradable nouns, we have *enough/too much of a . . .* (*cf* 11.42 Note); *cf* also 'He was *fool enough* to go without a coat'.

11.44

So ... (that) **and** *such ... (that)*

The correlatives *so ... (that)* and *such ... (that)* are linked to *too* and *enough*, by paraphrase relations. For example:

{ It flies fast enough to beat the speed record
{ It flies so fast that it can beat the speed record

{ It's too good a chance to miss
{ It's such a good chance that we mustn't miss it

It will be observed that in these paraphrases, the verb in the *that*-clause contains a modal auxiliary; when the modal auxiliary is absent, the *so/such ... (that)* construction has the more definitive meaning of result or outcome:

He was so wild *that we let him escape*
I so enjoyed it (*or* I enjoyed it so much) *that I'm determined to go again*

The alternation between *so* and *such* depends on grammatical function. The *that* which introduces the comparative clause is sometimes omitted in informal English:

He polished the floor so hard *you could see your face in it*

The somewhat formal construction *so/such ... as to* plus infinitive clause is sometimes used in place of *so* or *such* followed by a *that*-clause:

His satires were *so* brilliant *as to make even his victims laugh*
The brilliance of his satires was *such as to make even his victims laugh*

Note

An emphatic fronting of the comp-element, accompanied by inversion of subject and operator, is sometimes found in formal (especially literary) English:

To such lengths *did she go* in rehearsal that two actors walked out
So strange *was his appearance* that no one recognized him

Comment clauses
11.45

Comment clauses are somewhat loosely related to a superordinate clause, and may be classed as disjuncts or conjuncts. In general, they may occur initially, finally, or medially, and have a separate tone unit (App II.7):

The SMÍTHS, | *as you probably KNÓW,* | are going to AMÈRICA |

As the following list of types shows, comment clauses vary in form:

(1) Like a main clause:

At that time, *I believe*, labour was cheap

(2) Like an adverbial clause (introduced by *as*):

I'm a pacifist, *as you know*

(3) Like a nominal relative clause as conjunct (8.53):

What's more, we lost all our belongings

(4) *To*-infinitive clause as style disjunct (8.48 *f*):

I m not sure what to do, *to be honest*

(5) *-ing* clause as style disjunct (8.48 *f*):

I doubt, *speaking as a layman,* whether television is the right medium

(6) *-ed* clause as style disjunct (8.48 *f*):

Stated bluntly, he has no chance of winning

11.46

In the first type of clause, which is perhaps the most important, the verb or adjective requires an indirect statement as complementation (11.13, 11.55, 12.17). We may therefore set up a one-to-one relationship between sentences containing such clauses, and indirect statements:

$\Big\{$ At that time, I believe, labour was cheap
I believe that, at that time, labour was cheap

To convert an indirect statement into a sentence with comment clause, one has to reverse the relation of subordination between the two clauses, making the *that*-clause into the main clause and the main clause into the comment clause. Because of this reversal of syntactic roles, the two examples above are not exact paraphrases; but the relationship between them illuminates the function of the comment clause.

Since the *that* of a *that*-clause is normally deletable (11.13), cases arise in which only the intonation (reflected by comma separation in writing) distinguishes which is the superordinate and which the subordinate clause:

You KNOW, | I | think you're WRONG |⎫ (*You know* is a comment
You know, I | think you're WRONG | ⎬   clause)
                                    ⎭

You | know (that) I think you're WRONG | (*You know* has an object
                                                        clause)

Quite a number of Type 1 comment clauses introduced by 1st or 2nd person subjects are the stereotyped *I see, you know,* etc, inserted to give informality or warmth. Outside this group, however, clauses can be fairly freely constructed, and variations of tense and aspect, additions of adjuncts, etc, are permitted·

The Indian railways (*my uncle was telling me some time ago*) have
always made a profit

The subordinator *as* may be added to Type 1 clauses converting them to
Type 2, with virtually no change of meaning:

The Indian railways (*as my uncle was telling me some time ago*)
have always made a profit

Note

[*a*] There are also comment clauses which may be related to a main clause introducing
an indirect question:

What's he doing, *I wonder?*   (*cf* I wonder what he's doing)

Sometimes a comment clause is itself in the form of a direct question:

What's he doing, *do you think?*

[*b*] Clauses which introduce direct speech (11.52) may be considered comment clauses
of Type 1:

'It's time we went,' *I said*

The verb phrase in dependent clauses
11.47
The present tense with subordinators

To express future meaning, the present tense is used in preference to the
auxiliary *will/shall* in certain types of adverbial clauses:

$$not \begin{Bmatrix} *\text{When} \\ *\text{Before} \\ *\text{If} \end{Bmatrix} \text{he } \textit{will arrive, the band will play the National Anthem}$$

$$but \begin{Bmatrix} \text{When} \\ \text{Before} \\ \text{If} \end{Bmatrix} \text{he } \textit{arrives, the band will play the National Anthem}$$

The subordinators chiefly involved belong to the temporal and condition-
al (in part also, concessive) categories:

TEMPORAL: *after, as, before, once, till, until, when(ever), as soon as*
OTHER : *if, unless, provided (that), given (that), assuming (that),*
         presuming (that), even if, in case, as (manner), *whatever,*
         etc

Thus:

Even if tomorrow's match *is* cancelled, Newcastle will still be
top of the league
He will come in case we *need* him
Next time I'll do as he *says*

Nominal *that-* and *wh-*clauses tend to contain present tense verbs when
the main clause (as well as the subordinate clause) refers to the future; but

when the main clause refers to the present, the future *will* is likely to be used in the subordinate clause. Contrast:

I shall ask him what he *wants* tomorrow
The question is what he *will want* tomorrow

However, there are exceptional verbs like *hope*, *suppose* (in the imperative), and *assume*, after which the simple present can often be used as readily as *will*:

I hope that the parcel *comes* in time
Let's assume our opponents *win* the election

Note
There are two exceptions to the rule that *will/won't* cannot appear in *if*-clauses (and in some of the other types of clause mentioned above):

(i) Where *will/won't* has a volitional or habitual meaning, rather than a pure future meaning:

If you *won't* (='refuse to') help us, all our plans will be ruined

(ii) Where even though the *if*-clause refers to the future, the condition expressed by the whole sentence obtains in the present:

If he *won't* arrive before nine, there's no point in ordering dinner for him
If it *will* make any difference, I'll gladly lend you some money

In both these sentences, the future contingency expressed in the *if*-clause determines a present decision.

11.48
The modal past
The past tense is used, as already explained (11.25), in unreal conditional sentences:

If we *had* enough money, I wouldn't have to work so hard

The corresponding superordinate verb phrase is *would/should* + infinitive, except when the past of another modal auxiliary is used:

If we had enough money, we *could* buy a tape-recorder

Other constructions in which the modal past is used are illustrated below (on the subjunctive *were*, see 3.46):

It's time you *were* in bed
He behaves as though he *was/were* a millionaire
It's not as though we *were* poor
Just suppose/imagine someone *was/were* following us
I'd rather we *had* dinner now
If only I *had* listened to my parents!

From each of these sentences a negative inference can be drawn: 'but

you're not in bed', 'but he isn't a millionaire', etc. Unreal meaning in past time is indicated by *had* plus the *-ed* participle:

> We could have got married today, if you'*d* really *wanted* to
> If he *had listened* to me, he wouldn't have made the mistake

With past reference, the unreal meaning is more absolute than in the present, and amounts to an implied rejection of the condition: 'but in fact you didn't want to'; 'but in fact he didn't listen'. With present and future reference, the meaning may be merely one of improbability and negative expectation:

> If you *listened* to me, you wouldn't make mistakes
>   ('... but I don't suppose you will listen to me')

11.49
Perfect aspect with *since*, etc
When *since* is used in a temporal sense, the perfect is used in the superordinate clause, also sometimes in the subordinate clause, in referring to a stretch of time up to (and potentially including) the present:

> Since we have owned a car, we *have gone* camping every year
>   (*or possibly:* ... we *go* camping, *where* own *implies duration*)
> She *has been drinking* Martinis ever since the party started
>   (*not:* She *is drinking* ..., *where* start *excludes duration*)

The same applies to *since* as preposition and as prepositional adverb:

> Scholars *have been writing* English grammars since the sixteenth
>   century

After and *when*, in referring to a sequence of past events, can be followed either by a past perfect or by a simple past tense verb:

$$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text{After}\\\text{When}\end{array}\right\}\text{he}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{had returned}\\\text{returned}\end{array}\right\}\text{from work, his wife served dinner}$$

All four of these are acceptable, and mean roughly the same. The only difference is that *when* with the simple past tense (probably the most popular choice) suggests that the one event followed *immediately* on the other. There may however be a contrast:

$$\text{He went away when I}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{visited}\\\text{had visited}\end{array}\right\}\text{her}$$

The variant with the past tense would normally mean 'as soon as I visited her' or 'at the time that I was visiting her', that with the past perfect 'after I had visited her'.

Note

If the verb phrase of the main clause is progressive in aspect, or contains a stative verb, *when* indicates the simultaneity, rather than successivity of the events:

> When he returned from work, his wife was (working) in the kitchen.

11.50
Present subjunctive in conditional clauses, etc

The present subjunctive (3.46) is used very occasionally and in rather formal use, as we have seen, in real conditional clauses and concessive clauses:

> *Whatever be the reasons for it*, we cannot tolerate this disloyalty
>   (*cf* Whatever *may be* the reasons . . .)

Clauses of concession and purpose may also very occasionally contain a verb in the subjunctive mood to express 'putative' meaning (see 11.51):

> Though he $\begin{Bmatrix} is \\ be \end{Bmatrix}$ the President himself, he shall hear us

The subjunctive is also possible in *that*-clauses expressing wish, hope, or intention (though *should* would be more usual):

> Congress has voted/decided/decreed/insisted that the present law
>   *be* maintained

The present subjunctive is more common in AmE than in BrE, where it is rare outside legal style.

The past subjunctive *were* is used in formal clauses of hypothetical meaning, such as those introduced by *if, as if, as though, though,* and the imperative verbs *suppose* and *imagine:*

> Suppose he *were* here . . .
> If the truth *were* known . . .

11.51
Putative *should*

The modal auxiliary *should* is used quite extensively in *that*-clauses to express not a subordinate statement of fact, but a 'putative' idea. It can usually be replaced by the indicative without much difference of meaning. Compare:

> I am surprised that he *should feel* lonely (= he feels)
> I am told that he *feels* lonely (≠ he should feel)

The first sentence alludes to a report over which doubt may be allowed to linger, while the second accepts the report as a fact.

Other superordinate constructions which introduce a *that*-clause with *should* can be illustrated as follows:

It's a pity
I'm surprised
It's disgraceful } that he should resign
It's unthinkable
It worries me

Most of these are constructions in which the *that*-clause is an extraposed subject (14.24*f*, 12.12, 12.17). Notice that in the first two cases, despite the *should*, the event is assumed to have taken place already. This is because the 'factual' bias of the main clause construction overrides the doubt otherwise implicit in the *should* construction. Nonetheless, there is still a difference of feeling between *I'm surprised that he should resign* and *I'm surprised that he has resigned:* in the first, it is the ' very idea' of resignation that surprises; in the second, it is the resignation itself, as an assumed fact.

Note
Putative *should* also occurs in some idiomatic questions and exclamations:

How *should* I know?
Why *should* he be resigning?
That he *should* dare to attack me!
Who *should* come in but the mayor himself!

11.52
Direct and indirect speech

The difference between direct speech and indirect (or reported) speech is shown in:

He said: 'I am very angry' (DIRECT SPEECH)
He said that he was very angry (INDIRECT SPEECH)

Indirect speech subordinates the words of the speaker in a *that*-clause within the reporting sentence. In the case of direct speech, his words are 'incorporated' (in writing by quotation marks) within the reporting sentence and retain the status of an independent clause. Nevertheless, the 'incorporated' speech has in part the function of an element in the clause structure of the reporting sentence:

He said *this* (O_d), namely '*I am very angry*'

Structurally, the reporting clause, in direct speech, may be classed as a comment clause (11.46). It may occur before, within, or after the speech itself. Except when it occurs in initial position, there is likely to be an inversion of the subject and a reporting verb in the simple present or past tense:

'I am your friend,' $\begin{cases} \textit{said John} \\ \textit{John said} \\ \textit{he said} \end{cases}$

Inversion is unusual and archaic, however, when the subject of the reporting clause is a pronoun: ... *said he*. The medial placing of the reporting clause is very frequent:

'As a result,' said John, 'I am very angry'

Note

'Direct and indirect speech' will be used here as traditionally, but 'speech' must be allowed to include unspoken mental activity when the reporting verb may be *think, believe, feel*, etc; but *cf* 11.58. It should also be noted that indirect report frequently involves paraphrase or summary of the speech or thought it represents.

11.53

Back-shift and other changes

Several changes are made in converting direct to indirect speech (subject to the exceptions in 11.54), and their effect is one of distancing. 1st and 2nd person pronouns are changed to 3rd person:

'*I*'ll behave *myself*,' he promised
   →He promised that *he*'d behave *himself*
'*You* are beautiful,' he whispered
   → He whispered that *she* was beautiful

Frequently, there is a change from *this/these* to *that/those*, from *here* to *there*, and from *now* to *then*:

'I live *here*,' he explained → He explained that he lived *there*
'I shall do it *now*,' he said → He said that he would do it *then*

The most important alteration takes place, however, in the verb phrase: this is the change of tense that is referred to as BACK-SHIFT. When the reporting verb is in the past tense, verbs in the reported speech are changed as follows:

DIRECT	INDIRECT
(1) present	→ past
(2) past	
(3) present perfect	→ past perfect
(4) past perfect	

Thus, if we move into the past for the reporting clause, there is a corresponding shift into the past (or if necessary, further into the past) in the reported clause. Examples of each part of the rule are:

(1) 'I *am* tired,' she complained
      → She complained that she *was* tired

(2) 'The exhibition *finished* last week,' explained Ann
  → Ann explained that the exhibition *had finished* the preceding week

(3) 'I've *won* the match already!' exclaimed our friend
  → Our friend exclaimed that *he had won* the match already

(4) 'The whole house *had been ruined*,' said the landlord
  → The landlord said that the whole house *had been ruined*

If, on the other hand, the reporting verb is in the present, there is no tense change:

She keeps saying, 'I *am* a failure'
  → She keeps saying that she *is* a failure

11.54
Exceptions to the distancing rules
The change to the more 'distant' meaning (*eg* to 3rd person pronouns) does not always take place, in that the use of forms appropriate to the reporting situation must take precedence over those appropriate to the reported speech situation. For example:

' *You* are wrong, John,' said Mary
  → [John reporting] 'Mary said that *I* was wrong'

Analogously, the rule of back-shift can be ignored in cases where the validity of the statement reported holds for the present time as much as for the time of utterance. Thus, while back-shift is obligatory in the first of the following examples, it is optional in the second:

'I *am* a citizen, not of Athens, but of the world,' said Socrates
  → Socrates said that he *was* a citizen, not of Athens, but of the world

'Nothing *can* harm a good man,' said Socrates
  → Socrates said that nothing $\begin{Bmatrix} could \\ can \end{Bmatrix}$ harm a good man

11.55
Indirect statements, questions, exclamations, and commands
Our examples have so far been of indirect statements. Questions, exclamations, and commands are converted into indirect speech as follows:

INDIRECT QUESTION: dependent *wh*-clause or *if*-clause
INDIRECT EXCLAMATION: dependent *wh*-clause
INDIRECT COMMAND: *to*-infinitive clause (without subject)

For example:

>'Are you ready yet?' asked Joan   (*yes-no* QUESTION)
>→ Joan asked (me) *whether I was ready yet*
>'When will the plane leave?' I wondered   (*wh*-QUESTION)
>→ I wondered *when the plane would leave*
>'What a hero you are!' Margaret told him   (EXCLAMATION)
>→ Margaret told him *what a hero he was*
>'Keep still!' she said to the child   (COMMAND)
>→ She told the child *to keep still*

What has been said about back-shift applies to questions and exclamations as well as to statements. Indirect commands, in contrast, cannot incorporate back-shift, as they contain no finite verb. The reporting verb, in the case of indirect commands, has to be followed by an indirect object or prepositional object: for the indirect speech version of '*Sit down,*' *I snapped,* one would write not **I snapped to sit down,* but *I snapped at him to sit down.* With a verb like *sneer* one could render an indirect command with *tell* and an appropriate adverbial:

>'Go back to the nursery,' he sneered
>→ He told them $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sneeringly} \\ \text{with a sneer} \end{array} \right\}$ to go back to the nursery

Note
Alternative questions are made indirect with *whether . . . or* on a model similar to *yes-no* questions:

>Are you satisfied or not?   → I asked him *whether or not he was satisfied*

11.56
The modal auxiliaries and indirect speech
Although *He would go* is not the past of *He will go* (3.51), it is the back-shifted form in indirect speech. So too with the other modal auxiliaries:

>'*May I go?*' she asked → She asked if *she might go*

If a modal auxiliary in direct speech has no past tense equivalent (this includes auxiliaries which are already past, such as *could*, *might*, as well as *must*, *ought to*, *need*, and *had better*), then the same form remains in indirect speech:

>'I would like some tea,' he said → He said (that) he *would like some tea*

The element of speaker involvement which is often present in the meaning of some modal auxiliaries (*eg: may*='permission', 3.49) is naturally assigned in indirect speech to the subject of the indirect statement. Thus,

John said that I might go would mean that John was giving me permission to go (corresponding to the direct 'You may go'), whereas *I might go* outside indirect speech would mean that I was considering the possibility of going.

Note

If the reporting verb phrase is modal and perfective (I + II, 3.24), it counts as past for purposes of the back-shift rule. Compare:

He *asks* what John *is* doing   He *has asked* what John *is* doing

but

He *may have asked* what John *was* doing

11.57

Free indirect speech

Free indirect speech is a half-way stage between direct and indirect speech, and is used extensively in narrative writing. It is basically a form of indirect speech, but (1) the reporting clause is omitted (except when retained as a parenthetical comment clause), and (2) the potentialities of direct-speech sentence structure (direct question forms, vocatives, tag questions, etc) are retained. It is therefore only the back-shift of the verb, together with equivalent shifts in pronouns, determiners, and adverbs, that signals the fact that the words are being reported, rather than being in direct speech:

> So that was their plan, was it? He well knew their tricks, and would show them a thing or two before he was finished. Thank goodness he had been alerted, and that there were still a few honest people in the world!

Very often, in fiction, free indirect speech represents a person's stream of thought rather than actual speech. It is quite possible, therefore, that *he thought* would be the appropriate reporting clause to supply for the above passage, rather than *he said*.

11.58

Transferred negation

There are several ways in which 'indirect speech' involving mental activity verbs (*he thought*, etc) differs from that where the reporting verb is one of language activity (*he said*, etc). A very important difference involves negation; thus, while both clauses can be made independently negative with *say*, etc:

> He did not say that Mary was pretty
> He said that Mary was not pretty

(so that these two sentences are sharply different in meaning), it is usual

with *think, believe, suppose, imagine, expect*, etc for a superordinate nega-
tive to apply also in the subordinate clause. For this reason, the following
pairs of sentences would normally be regarded as virtually synonymous:

{ He didn't think that Mary was pretty
{ He thought that Mary wasn't pretty

{ I don't suppose he has paid yet
{ I suppose he hasn't paid yet

The transfer of the negation can be seen clearly in the second pair above,
with the non-assertive *yet* (7.35) appearing in the subordinate clause even
when the verb in this clause is not negated. Another indication is the form
of the tag question (7.48 *f*) in:

I don't suppose (that) he cÀRES, DÒES he?
(*cf* He doesn't cÀRE, DÒES he?)

The tag question in this sort of sentence is attached to the *that*-clause
rather than to the independent clause, as is clear from the tag subject, *he*.
Since a tag question with a falling tone contrasts in positive/negative
terms with its main clause, however, we would expect DOEsn't *he*? in this
context. That in fact a positive tag question occurs is thus evidence of the
negativeness of the *that*-clause.

Note

[a] Not all verbs in the semantic field of belief, uncertainty, etc, take transferred nega-
tion:

I don't assume that he came ≠ I assume that he didn't come

So too *surmise, presume*. Conversely, a few verbs outside the field of mental activity
(for example, *seem, happen*) permit the transfer.

[b] A condensed sentence like *I don't think so* contains transferred negation, and is thus
synonymous with *I think not; cf* 10.36.

Bibliographical note

On nominal clauses, see Lees (1960a); Vendler (1968), especially Part I. On compara-
tive clauses, see Huddleston (1971). On non-finite clauses, see Hudson (1971).

THE VERB AND ITS COMPLEMENTATION

12.1

This chapter will deal with units which complement the verb and which are, in general, obligatory in clause structure (but *cf* 7.3 *f*, and also the possibilities for ellipsis discussed in 9.21 *ff*). We have earlier (2.7 *f*) distinguished between different categories of verbs with respect to their potentialities for complementation. We shall here discuss these categories in greater detail, concentrating in turn on intransitive verbs, intensive verbs, and transitive verbs. But before we do so, we shall consider cases where the main verb and one or more particles seem to combine as a multi-word verb.

12.2

Intransitive phrasal verbs

One common type of multi-word verb is the intransitive phrasal verb consisting of a verb plus a particle, as exemplified in

The children were *sitting down*   He is *playing around*
Drink up quickly   *Get up* at once
The plane has now *taken off*   Did he *catch on*?
The prisoner finally *broke down*   He *turned up* unexpectedly
When will they *give in*?   The tank *blew up*

Most of the particles are place adjuncts or can function as such (8.25). Normally, the particle cannot be separated from its verb (**Drink quickly up*), though particles used as intensifiers or perfectives (8.25) or referring to direction can be modified by intensifiers (*Go right on*).

A subtype of intransitive phrasal verb has a prepositional adverb (6.5) as its particle, the particle behaving as a preposition with some generalized ellipsis of its complement:

He *walked past* (the object/place)
They *ran across* (the intervening space)

In some instances, the particles form the first element in a complex preposition:

> *Come along* (with us/me)
> They *moved out* (of the house)

Phrasal verbs vary in the extent to which the combination preserves the individual meanings of verb and particle. In instances like *give in* ('surrender'), *catch on* ('understand'), and *turn up* ('appear'), it is clear that the meaning of the combination cannot be predicted from the meanings of the verb and particle in isolation.

12.3
Transitive phrasal verbs

Many phrasal verbs can take a direct object:

We will *set up* a new unit	They are *bringing over* the whole
Find out whether they are	family
coming	She is *bringing up* her brother's
Drink up your milk quickly	children
They *turned on* the light	They *called off* the strike
They *gave in* their resignation	I can't *make out* what he means
He can't *live down* his past	He *looked up* his former friends

As we see from the examples here and in 12.2, some combinations (*drink up*, *give in*) can be either transitive or intransitive, with or without a difference of meaning (*cf* App I.30).

With most transitive phrasal verbs, the particle can either precede or follow the direct object:

> They *turned on* the light ~ They *turned* the light *on*

although it cannot precede personal pronouns: *They turned it on* and not **They turned on it* (except, rarely, with contrastive stress: App II.5). The particle tends to precede the object if the object is long or if the intention is that the object should receive end-focus (14.2).

Many transitive phrasal verbs have prepositional adverbs:

> They *dragged* the case *along* (the road)
> They *moved* the furniture *out* (of the house)

In these examples the particles have literal meanings. We can contrast

> She *took in* the box ('brought inside')
> She *took in* her parents ('deceived')

As with the intransitives, transitive phrasal verbs vary in the extent to which they form idiomatic combinations. For example, the verb and

particle in *put out the cat* preserve their individual meanings in that combination and in a wide range of other combinations (*eg: put + down/outside/away/aside; take/turn/bring/push/send/drag + out*). There are fewer alternative combinations that the verb and particle in *turn out the light* can enter (*turn + on/off/down/up; switch + on*). Finally, in *put off* ('postpone') the verb and particle are fused into a new idiomatic combination, which does not allow for contrasts in the individual elements.

Note
With *put N out* we can compare *put N straight* and other complex transitive constructions (12.26).

Prepositional verbs
12.4
The preposition in a prepositional verb must precede its complement. Hence, we can contrast the prepositional verb *call on* ('visit') with the phrasal verb *call up* ('summon'):

They *called on* the man   They *called up* the man
They *called on* him   *They *called up* him
*They *called* the man *on*   They *called* the man *up*
*They *called* him *on*   They *called* him *up*

On the other hand, the prepositional verb allows an inserted adverb after the verb and a relative pronoun after the preposition:

They *called* early *on* the man   *They *called* early *up* the man
The man *on* whom they *called*   *The man *up* whom they *called*

In general, prepositional verbs, such as *call on* or *look at*, plus their prepositional complements differ from single-word verbs plus prepositional phrases, as in *They called at the hotel* and *They called after lunch*, in that they allow pronominal questions with *who(m)* for personal noun phrases and *what* for non-personal noun phrases but do not allow adverbial questions for the whole prepositional phrase:

They called on the man ~ Who(m) did they call on?
    ~ *Where did they call?
They looked at the picture ~ What did they look at?
    ~ *Where did they look?
They called at the hotel (*or* after lunch) ~ *What did they call at
    (*or* after)? ~ Where (*or* when) did they call?

Many prepositional verbs allow the noun phrases to become the subject of a passive transformation of the sentence:

They called on the man ~ The man was called on
They looked at the picture ~ The picture was looked at

Other prepositional verbs do not occur in the passive freely, but will do so under certain conditions, such as the presence of a particular modal:

> Visitors didn't walk over the lawn
> ~ ?The lawn wasn't walked over (by visitors)
> Visitors can't walk over the lawn
> ~ The lawn can't be walked over (by visitors)

Other examples of prepositional verbs: *ask for, believe in, care for, deal with, live on, long for, object to, part with, refer to, write about.*

Like phrasal verbs, prepositional verbs vary in their idiomaticity. Highly idiomatic combinations include *go into* (*a problem*), 'investigate', *come by* (*the book*), 'obtain'.

12.5

A sentence like *He looked at the girl* can be given two analyses. In one, there is an intransitive verb (*looked*) followed by a prepositional phrase (*at the girl*) functioning as adverbial. In the other analysis, implied in the previous section, the prepositional verb *looked at* is a transitive verb and *the girl* is direct object.

ANALYSIS 1:
ANALYSIS 2:

He   looked   at   the   girl
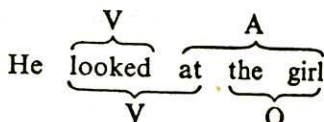
(V / A for Analysis 1; V / O for Analysis 2)
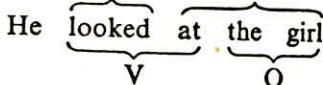
Analysis 1 (verb + adverbial) accounts for the similarity of such a sentence to others having a single-word verb and adverbial with respect to relative clauses and the positioning of adverbs:

The girl { at whom he looked/(who(m)) he looked at
          { to whom he came/(who(m)) he came to

He { looked nervously at the girl
   { stood nervously near the girl
   { *watched nervously the girl

Analysis 2 (prepositional verb + direct object) accounts for the similarity of the sentence to others having a transitive single-word verb with respect to passivization:

The girl was { looked at
             { watched
             { *stood near

The two analyses are equally valid ways of looking at the same sentence, and account for different aspects of it. In this chapter, in which we are concerned with complementation of the verb, we adopt the second analysis and consider prepositional verbs to be transitive verbs.

12.6
Phrasal-prepositional verbs

Some multi-word verbs consist of a verb followed by two particles:

He *puts up with* a lot of teasing ('tolerates')

As with prepositional verbs, we can analyse these as transitive verbs with the following noun phrase as direct object. They allow pronominal questions and under certain conditions can occur in the passive:

He can't put up with bad temper ~ What can't he put up with?
                                   ~ Bad temper can't be put up with
                                        for long

As with single-word transitives and prepositional verbs, we cannot insert an adverb immediately before the object:

*He *puts up with* willingly that secretary of his

though it is possible to do so between the particles:

He *puts up* willingly *with* that secretary of his
We *look forward* eagerly *to* your next party

In relative clauses and questions, the particles are positioned after the verb:

The party we were *looking forward to* so eagerly
Who(m) does he *put up with* willingly?

or (less commonly) the final particle can be brought into initial position:

The party *to* which we were *looking forward* so eagerly
With whom does he *put up* willingly?

Like phrasal and prepositional verbs, these multi-word verbs vary in their idiomaticity. Some, like *stay away from* ('avoid'), are easily understood from their individual elements, though often with figurative meaning, *eg: stand up for* ('support'). Others are fused combinations, and it is difficult or impossible to assign meaning to any of the parts, *eg: put up with* ('tolerate'). There are still others where there is a fusion of the verb with the first particle or where one or more of the elements may seem to retain some individual meaning. For example, *put up with* can also mean 'stay with', and in that sense *put up* constitutes a unit by itself (*cf: stay with, put up at*, and the transitive phrasal verb *put up* in *I can put you up*). Similarly, *check up on* (*his record*), 'investigate', is analysable as consisting of the prepositional verb *check on* plus the intensifying *up*. We also have the single-word verb *check*, and therefore three transitive verbs of similar meaning, together with the intransitive *check* and *check up*.

Other examples of phrasal-prepositional verbs: *break in on* (*the conversation*), 'interrupt'; *cut down on* (*expenses*), 'curtail'; *get away with* (*such behaviour*), 'avoid being reprimanded or punished for'; *look down on* (*somebody*), 'despise'; *look in on* (*somebody*), 'visit'; *look up to* (*somebody*), 'respect'; *walk out on* (*the project*), 'abandon'.

12.7
Intransitive verbs
There are some verbs that are always intransitive, *ie* can never take an object:

Your friends have *arrived*

Other verbs can be either intransitive:

He *smokes* every day   The tomatoes *are growing* well

or transitive, with or without a change in participant role:

He *smokes cigars* every day   He is *growing tomatoes*

In this book we regard verbs that can be either intransitive or transitive as belonging to two categories. We consider the relation between, for example, the intransitive verbs *smoke* and *grow* and the transitive verbs *smoke* and *grow* to be that of conversion (7.3, 7.10, App I.30).

Note
[a] The verb *live* takes an adjunct as an obligatory element. *Live* in the sense 'reside' requires a position adjunct (*He lives in China*) and in the sense 'maintain life' or 'subsist' a process adjunct (*He lives very comfortably, They live on rice*). For *live* in the sense 'be alive' a time adjunct is virtually obligatory (*They lived in the nineteenth century*). The verb *get* also has an obligatory adjunct use; in this case the obligatory adjunct is a direction adjunct (*I'll get into the car*).
[b] Some of the intransitive phrasal verbs could not be used intransitively if the particle were omitted. Besides *get* as in *get up* ('arise'), the verbs include *find* (*find out*, 'discover'), *keep* (*keep away*, 'stay away'), *set* (*set off*, 'depart').
[c] Intransitive verbs with a 'passive' sense (converted from transitive verbs: App I.30) virtually require an adjunct: *The book is selling badly, The door unlocks easily.*
[d] Verbs of measure require an adjunct, usually a noun phrase: *weigh* (*five pounds*), *cost* (*a dollar*), *contain* (*much*). Cf 7.14 Note.

Intensive complementation
12.8
Copulas
There is intensive complementation of the verb when a subject complement is present (7.6). The verb in such a sentence is a 'copula' or 'linking verb'. The most common copula is *be*. Other copulas fall into two main classes, according to whether the role of the subject complement is that of current attribute or attribute resulting from the event described in the

verb (7.9). The most common of these are listed below. Most of them are used only with a subject complement that is an adjective phrase or a noun phrase with gradable noun head. Those that are commonly used with a noun phrase as well are followed by '(N)'.

'Current' copulas: *appear, feel* (N), *look* (N), *remain* (N), *seem* (N), *smell, sound, taste*

'Resulting' copulas: *become* (N), *get* (chiefly informal), *go, grow, turn* (N); *make* (N only)

12.9
Noun and adjective phrases as subject complement

The copulas which allow the widest range as subject complement are *be* for current attribute and *become* for resulting attribute:

$$\text{John} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{was} \\ \text{became} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{a doctor} \\ \text{healthier} \end{Bmatrix}$$

Like the other copulas, *be* is commonly used to introduce a characterization or attribute of the subject, as in the example just given, but with complement noun phrases it also commonly introduces an identification of the subject:

John was the doctor (that I mentioned)

The verb *feel* has two copula uses. In the meaning 'have a sensation' the subject must be personal and the complement an adjective or gradable noun:

He felt foolish/ill/a fool

In the meaning 'give a sensation', the subject is concrete but without other restriction, the complement being adjectival only:

The table felt rough

Note

[a] *Look* requires a visual feature:

The pit looked a danger to health

$$\text{The smell} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{*looked} \\ \text{seemed} \end{Bmatrix} \text{a danger to health}$$

Turn is used to indicate a change of occupation or allegiance: *He turned plumber/ Democrat/traitor/nasty. Go*, when its complement is a noun phrase, seems to be restricted to change in political allegiance: *He has gone Democrat/socialist.* Adjectival complementation is restricted to a few items, *eg: go mad/bald.* Both *turn* and *go* are normally disparaging, and with both the indefinite article is omitted before a noun phrase.

[b] Where the subject is a clause, the subject complement must be an adjective phrase or a generic noun modified by an adjective:

That he didn't come⎱ was ⎰strange
To see him there   ⎰   ⎱a strange thing

Usually, of course, this structure has extraposition (14.24 *f*): *It was a strange thing* . . . *Cf* 12.13.

12.10
Predicative adjuncts

The only copula that allows an adverbial as complementation is *be* (5.42). The adverbials, termed predicative adjuncts in this function, are mainly place adjuncts (8.25):

The children are at the zoo/. . . are outside

but time adjuncts are also common with an eventive subject (8.44):

The party will be at nine o'clock/. . . will be tonight

Other types of predicative adjuncts:

The two eggs are for you ['recipient' adjunct: 6.29]
The drinks are for the journey ['purpose' adjunct: 6.28]
The increase in food prices this year was because of the drought ['cause' adjunct: 6.27]
Transport to the mainland is by ferry ['means' adjunct: 6.31 *f*]

Complementation of adjective phrase as subject complement
12.11
Adjective complementation by prepositional phrase

Some adjectives (at least when used in a particular sense) require complementation by a prepositional phrase, the preposition being specific to a particular adjective:

Joan is *fond of* them
They are *conscious of* their responsibility
We are *bent on* a vacation in Mexico

Other adjectives that must be complemented by a prepositional phrase include the following, which are listed together with the required preposition: *intent on, reliant on, averse to, liable to, subject to, inclined to, (un)familiar with.*

Many adjectives can take such complementation but are not obliged to. Usually, the prepositions are specific to a given adjective or to a given kind of complementation:

⎧of him ('They feared him')
They were afraid ⎨for him ('They were anxious about him')
⎩of leaving the house

He was $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{angry} \\ \text{pleased} \end{array} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{at Mary('s) getting married} \\ \text{with Mary for getting married} \\ \text{about the wedding} \end{array} \right.$

As these examples show, the complement of the preposition can be an
-*ing* participle clause (6.2), whose subject, if introduced, may or may not
be a genitive (11.18). As well as the stylistic choice there can be differ-
ences in semantic implication, *cf* 13.23 Note. Thus,

I am angry at Mary getting married

could imply anger at Mary because she has got married (*cf: I am angry at
Mary for getting married*) rather than merely anger at the marriage (*cf: I
am angry at the fact that Mary got married*), which would be the obvious
interpretation of . . . *angry at Mary's* . . .

When -*ed* participial adjectives are used, the constructions have active
analogues:

John is interested in English grammar ~ English grammar
    interests John
We were worried about the situation ~ The situation worried us
He was surprised at her behaviour ~ Her behaviour surprised him

The verbs in the active have a causative feature, *eg: The situation worried
us ~ The situation caused us to worry.*

12.12
Adjective complementation by finite clause
Finite clauses as complementation may have

(a) indicative verb: I am sure that he is here now
(b) putative *should:* I was angry that he should ignore me
(c) subjunctive verb (3.46): I was adamant that he be appointed
    (formal in BrE, but *cf* 12.17 Note)

An indicative verb is used if the adjective is 'factual', *ie* concerned with
the truth-value of the complementation. An indicative verb or putative
should (11.51) is used if the adjective is 'emotive', *ie* concerned with atti-
tude. A subjunctive verb or *should* (sometimes putative, but often obliga-
tional) is used if the adjective is 'volitional', *ie* expressing indirectly some
command. (For adverb analogues to the first two types of adjective, see
8.50 *ff.*) The subjunctive is more usual in AmE in such cases, while BrE
prefers *should*.

The finite clause is commonly a *that*-clause, but factual adjectives
admit *wh*-clauses as well: *I'm not sure why he came, I'm not clear where
she went.* Clauses introduced by *whether* or (less commonly) *if* are used
with factual adjectives if the adjective is negative or has a negative sense:

$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{I'm not sure} \\ \text{I'm doubtful} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{whether} \\ \text{if} \end{Bmatrix}$ he is here yet

Personal subject + copula + adjective phrase + finite clause:

  factual adjective: I am aware that he was late

  emotive adjective: He is angry that $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{they should be late} \\ \text{they are late} \end{Bmatrix}$

  I am amazed that $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{he should have got the post} \\ \text{he got the post} \end{Bmatrix}$

  volitional adjective: He was $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{keen} \\ \text{insistent} \end{Bmatrix}$ that $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{they be present} \\ \text{(formal in BrE)} \\ \text{they should be present} \end{Bmatrix}$

With emotive adjectives, the complementation expresses cause. This can be shown by a variant construction in which the complementation is the subject of the sentence. It is particularly evident when the emotive adjective is participial, in which case there is a corresponding active (*cf*. 12.13):

He is angry that they should be late ~ That they should be late has made him angry

I am amazed that he got the post ~ That he got the post amazes me

Participial adjectives in this construction are commonly emotive adjectives.

12.13
Adjective complementation by *to*-infinitive clauses
We distinguish five main types of construction in which the adjective phrase is followed by a *to*-infinitive clause. They are exemplified in the following five sentences, which are superficially similar, though, as we shall see, only 2, 3, and 4 are wholly concerned with adjective complementation:

(1) Bob is splendid to wait
(2) Bob is slow to react
(3) Bob is furious to hear it
(4) Bob is hesitant to agree with you
(5) Bob is hard to convince

In Types 1–4, the subject of the sentence (*Bob*) is also the subject of the infinitive clause. We can therefore always have a direct object in the infinitive clause in these four types if the verb is transitive. For example, for Type 1 if we replace intransitive *wait* by transitive *make*, we can have *Bob is splendid to make that for you*.

Type 1 (*Bob is splendid to wait*) has an analogue with a construction

involving extraposition (14.24 *f*): *It is splendid of Bob to wait*. As alternatives to the adjective phrase, we can use a noun phrase that has as its head a degree noun (4.3 Note) or a generic noun modified by an adjective: *David must be (quite) a magician to make so much money, Bob is a splendid man to wait*.

In Type 2 (*Bob is slow to react*), the sentence has an analogue in which the adjective is transformed into an adverbial:

Bob is slow to react ~ Bob reacts slowly

In Type 3 (*Bob is furious to hear it*), the head of the adjective phrase is an emotive adjective (commonly a participial adjective) and the infinitive clause expresses causation:

Bob is furious to hear it ~ To hear it has made Bob furious
   ~ It has made Bob furious to hear it
1 was excited to be there ~ To be there excited me
   ~ It excited me to be there

In Type 4 (*Bob is hesitant to agree with you*), the head of the adjective phrase is a volitional adjective. Common adjectives in this type are *eager, keen, willing, reluctant*. Along with Type 3, this type often admits *feel* as the copula.

In Type 5 (*Bob is hard to convince*), the subject of the sentence is the object of the infinitive clause, which must therefore have a transitive verb (**Bob is hard to arrive*). We distinguish two subtypes:

(a) There is an analogue with a construction in which the adjective is complement to the infinitive clause:

   Bob is hard to convince ~ To convince Bob is hard
     ~ It is hard to convince Bob

The adjectives used in this subtype are chiefly *hard, difficult, impossible, easy, convenient*. Unless there is ellipsis, we cannot omit the infinitive clause, and hence there is no semantic relation between the sentences *Bricks are hard to make* and *Bricks are hard*.

(b) There are no analogues of the kind that we have exemplified: *The food is ready to eat* (**To eat the food is ready*), and we can generally omit the infinitive clause: *The food is ready*.

As with Type 1, we can use a noun phrase as an alternative to the adjective phrase: *Bob is a hard man to convince; Bob is a pleasure to teach*. In both (5a) and (5b), the subject of the sentence can be the complement of a preposition in the infinitive clause: *He is easy to talk to, The paper is flimsy to write on*.

See also

Transitive complementation
12.14

Monotransitive verbs require a direct object, which may be a noun phrase, a finite clause, or a non-finite clause (infinitive or participle clause). Prepositional verbs and phrasal-prepositional verbs do not admit as direct object *that*-clauses (whether *that* is retained or omitted) or infinitive clauses (6.2). We illustrate the possibilities and restrictions with the prepositional verb *approve of*:

$$\text{Tom approved of} \begin{cases} \text{the meeting} \\ \text{what had been decided} \\ \text{meeting her} \\ \text{*(that) they should meet} \\ \text{*to meet her} \end{cases}$$

However, the restriction involving *that*-clauses applies only if the *that*-clause is direct object, and hence the preposition can be retained in the passive (*That they should meet was approved of*), even in extraposition, where the preposition immediately follows the passive verb phrase (*It was agreed to eventually that they should meet again soon*).

Note
Certain transitive verbs expressing causation of movement have an adverbial following the direct object, normally an adjunct of place:

> The hostess showed me to the door
> He saw Mary home
> John put the car into the garage
> Mary placed/set a vase on the table
> We kept them out of trouble

With the above verbs (in the senses exemplified) where the adverbial is obligatory, there is a similarity with complex transitive complementation: *cf* 12.26 *f*, 8.29, 8.44.

Noun phrases as direct object
12.15

Direct objects are typically noun phrases. It is usually possible for the direct object of an active sentence to become the subject of a passive sentence, with the subject of the active sentence as the prepositional complement in an optional *by*-phrase (7.5):

> The boy caught the ball ~ The ball was caught (by the boy)

It is, however, usual to omit the *by*-phrase, often because it is irrelevant or unknown, as in

> Order has been restored without bloodshed and without concessions
> The Prime Minister was attacked last night during the debate

or because it is redundant in the context, as in

> Jack fought Michael last night and Jack was beaten

The passive transformation is blocked when there is co-reference between subject and object, *ie* when there are reflexive, reciprocal, or possessive pronouns in the noun phrase as object:

John could see $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Paul} \\ \text{himself} \end{array} \right\}$ in the mirror

$\sim \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Paul} \\ \text{*Himself} \end{array} \right\}$ could be seen in the mirror

We could hardly see each other in the fog

$\sim$ *Each other could hardly be seen in the fog

The other waitress wiped $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{the tables} \\ \text{her hands} \end{array} \right\}$

$\sim \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{The tables} \\ \text{*Her hands} \end{array} \right\}$ were wiped by the other waitress

Note

[a] A shift of meaning may accompany shift of voice in verb phrases containing auxiliaries that have more than one meaning, *eg: shall, will*, and *can* (*cf* 3.48 *ff*):

John cannot do it $\sim$ It cannot be done (by John)

In the active sentence *can* would normally be interpreted as expressing ability, whereas in the passive sentence it is interpreted as expressing possibility.

[b] With dynamic verbs (3.35) we can distinguish between 'actional' passives, illustrated above in this section, and 'statal' passives. The latter express a state:

The house is already sold

Corresponding actives require an aspectual shift to the perfect (3.27 *ff*):

Someone has already sold the house   (*Someone already sells the house)

A sentence such as *They were married* is ambiguous between an actional interpretation (*They were married in church yesterday*) and a statal interpretation (*They were married when I last heard about them*).

12.16

A small group of transitive verbs, the most common of which is *have*, normally do not allow a passive transformation of the sentence:

They *have* a nice house   Will this *suit* you?
He *lacks* confidence   John *resembles* his father
The coat does not *fit* you

These verbs are sometimes considered to form a separate category of non-transitive verbs taking noun phrases as their complementation (*cf* also verbs of measure, 12.7 Note *d*). They include 'reciprocal' verbs such as *resemble, look like, equal* (*Two times three equals six*), *agree with, mean* ('*Oculist*' *means* '*eye-doctor*'); verbs of 'containing' or their opposite, such as *contain* (*The library contains a million books*), *hold* (*The audi-*

torium holds over a thousand people), comprise, lack; and verbs of 'suiting', such as *suit, fit, become (This dress becomes her). Contain* and *hold* occur in a similar sense in the passive but without a *by*-phrase: *A million books are contained in that library.*

12.17
Finite clauses as direct object

Like finite clauses as complementation of adjective phrases (12.12), finite clauses as direct object may have an indicative verb, putative *should*, or a subjunctive verb, depending on the class of the superordinate verb:

(a) factual superordinate verb, with indicative subordinate verb:

> They agree that she is pretty
> I know how he did it
> He forgot why they complained

(b) emotive verb, with indicative verb or putative *should:*

> I regret that $\begin{cases} \text{she should worry about it} \\ \text{she worries about it} \end{cases}$

(c) volitional verb, with subjunctive verb (3.46) or *should* (not clearly differentiated between its putative and obligational uses):

> I proposed that he $\begin{cases} \text{admit all applicants} \\ \text{should admit all applicants} \end{cases}$

Factual verbs that are used to convey an indirect question are followed by clauses with *whether* or (less commonly) *if:*

> He asked
> He doubted $\Big\}$ $\begin{cases} \text{whether} \\ \text{if} \end{cases}$ they had arrived
> He didn't know

A verb may belong to more than one class. For example, *He suggested that she went* is ambiguous: if *suggested* is a factual verb, *she went* is a factual report, whereas if it is a volitional verb, *she went* is a suggested action. Similarly, within the class of factual verbs, *say* may be used with both a *that*-clause and (more commonly in the negative or in a question) a *whether/if* clause: *I didn't say that/whether they had arrived.*

Examples of the three classes of verbs are listed.

(a) factual verbs: *admit, agree, answer, believe, declare, deny, expect, hope, insist, know, report, say, see, suggest, suppose, think, understand*

factual verbs commonly followed by *whether/if: ask, discuss, doubt, find out, forget, (not) know, (not) notice, (not) say, wonder*

(b) emotive verbs: *deplore, prefer, regret*
(c) volitional verbs: *command, demand, insist, order, propose, recommend, suggest*

Finite clauses as direct object can become the subject of a corresponding passive sentence:

Everybody admitted that she sang well
  ~ That she sang well was admitted (by everybody)

However, it is far more usual for the passive to have extraposition with anticipatory *it* (14.24 *f*):

  ~ It was admitted (by everybody) that she sang well

Non-finite clauses as direct object
12.18
Among non-finite clauses as direct object, we distinguish between those with a subject and those without a subject, and within each type between infinitive and participle clauses:

non-finite clause object	without subject	*to*-infinitive	*He likes to talk*
		-ing participle	*He likes talking*
	with subject	infinitive: *to*-infinitive	*He wants her to come*
		infinitive: bare infinitive	*He saw her come*
		participle: *-ing* participle	*He saw her coming*
		participle: *-ed* participle	*He found the seats taken*

12.19
Non-finite clauses without subject
In non-finite clauses without an overt subject the verb is either an infinitive preceded by *to* or an *-ing* participle (but *cf* Note c). The implied subject is normally the subject of the superordinate clause. There are verbs which take

(1) only an infinitive clause:

$$\text{John longed} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{to do} \\ \text{*doing} \end{Bmatrix} \text{homework}$$

(2) only a participle clause:

$$\text{John denied} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{having stolen} \\ \text{*to have stolen} \end{Bmatrix} \text{the money}$$

(3) either an infinitive or a participle clause:

John began $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{to write} \\ \text{writing} \end{Bmatrix}$ a letter

Where both constructions are admitted, there is usually felt to be an aspectual difference that influences the choice. The participle construction generally implies 'fulfilment' and the infinitive construction 'potentiality':

He started $\begin{cases} \text{speaking and kept on for more than an hour} \\ \text{to speak but stopped because she objected} \end{cases}$

Another factor influencing the choice is that the participle tends to express the progressive aspect (3.33 *ff*):

I heard the door $\begin{cases} \text{slamming all night long} \\ \text{slam just after midnight} \end{cases}$

The progressive aspect may also influence a preference for the participle after verbs of beginning, continuing, and ending, when multiple activities are involved:

He began $\begin{cases} \text{opening all the cupboards} \\ \text{to open the cupboards} \end{cases}$

While some verbs in this semantic group allow both constructions (*begin, continue, cease, start*), others allow only the participle construction (*finish, go on, keep* (*on*), *stop*).

For the three verbs *forget, remember* and *regret*, there is a temporal (and perhaps also modal) difference between the two constructions. The infinitive construction indicates that the action or event takes place after the mental process denoted by the verb has begun, while the reverse is true for the participle construction:

$\begin{cases} \text{I remembered to fill out the form} \quad \text{('I remembered that I was to} \\ \quad \text{fill out the form and then did so')} \\ \text{I remembered filling out the form} \quad \text{('I remembered that I had} \\ \quad \text{filled out the form')} \end{cases}$

$\begin{cases} \text{I forgot to go to the bank} \quad \text{('I forgot that I was to go to the bank} \\ \quad \text{and therefore did not do so')} \\ \text{I forgot (about) going to the bank} \quad \text{(rare without } about; \text{ 'I forgot} \\ \quad \text{that I went to the bank')} \end{cases}$

$\begin{cases} \text{I regret to tell you that John stole it} \quad \text{('I regret that I am about} \\ \quad \text{to tell you that John stole it')} \\ \text{I regret telling you that John stole it} \quad \text{('I regret that I told you that} \\ \quad \text{John stole it')} \end{cases}$

For one small group of verbs (*deserve, need, require,* and, less commonly, *want*), the choice involves a difference in voice, the participle construction corresponding to a passive infinitive construction:

Your shoes need $\begin{cases} \text{cleaning} \\ \text{to be cleaned} \end{cases}$

We list some common verbs according to the non-finite clauses that they allow, omitting the three small groups that we have discussed above:

verbs with infinitive only: *agree, arrange, ask* (see Note *d*),
  choose, decide, demand, deserve, expect, hope, learn, long,
  manage, mean, offer, pretend, promise, refuse, threaten, want,
  wish
verbs with participle only: *deny, dislike, enjoy, fancy, finish,*
  (cannot) help, keep (on), don't mind, miss, put off, risk, cannot
  stand, stop, suggest
verbs with infinitive or participle (mainly emotive verbs or verbs
  expressing striving or lack of striving): *cannot bear, delay, hate,*
  intend, like, love, neglect, omit, plan, prefer, try

There is in general no passive for sentences whose object is a non-finite clause without a subject. The exceptions are with a few verbs (notably *agree, arrange, decide*) and then only if there is extraposition:

They decided to meet in London ~ It was decided to meet in London

Note

[a] With verbs like *need*, the subject of the superordinate clause is not the implied subject of the participle clause, but rather its implied direct object: *Your shoes need cleaning* implies that you or someone needs to clean the shoes.

[b] We might consider here also several verbs with infinitive clauses which are not direct objects. With *appear, happen,* and *seem*, the infinitive clause is more plausibly seen as part of the subject: *He appears to like the show ~ That he likes the show appears (true)*. The quasi-adverbial function of the main verb can be shown by the paraphrase *He apparently likes the show*. There are analogies with such adjectives as *sure, certain, bound* in relation to infinitive clauses: *He is certain to like the show ~ That he will like the show is certain ~ He will certainly like the show.*

[c] The verb *help* can be followed by a construction with the bare infinitive: *I helped her (to) do it*. Otherwise, the bare infinitive is found only in a few set phrases, eg: *make do, make believe, (live and) let live, let go.*

[d] Some factual verbs will permit as direct object a non-finite indirect question, but not of the *yes-no* type: *He asked/inquired how to get there.* Cf: *He arranged/forgot when to do it.*

Complex transitive complementation
12.20
Non-finite and verbless clauses with subject
When a clause as object in a monotransitive sentence (a) is non-finite or verbless, and (b) has its subject expressed, this subject behaves as though

it alone were the direct object of the superordinate verb; it can therefore be the subject in a passive transformation. Compare (1a) and (2a) with (1b) and (2b):

(1a) Everyone expected *that Mary would marry John*
     That Mary would marry John was expected by everyone
     (*Mary* was expected by everyone *would marry John*)

(1b) Everyone expected *Mary to marry John*
     Mary was expected by everyone *to marry John*
     (*Mary to marry John* was expected by everyone)

(2a) John thought *that Mary was exceptionally clever*

(2b) John thought *Mary exceptionally clever*
     Mary was thought *exceptionally clever*

It is this divisibility of an essentially clausal object that is the outstanding characteristic of complex transitive complementation.

To-infinitive clauses with subject
12.21

Two classes of verb have to be distinguished as taking complex transitive complementation: factual and non-factual. With factual verbs the subordinate clause normally has a stative verb and (especially when the subordinate verb is other than *be*) a finite construction is preferred in ordinary usage to the non-finite, except that the latter provides a convenient passive form. The attribute of *be* in this construction is required to be 'current' (7.9):

John believed that the stranger was a policeman
John believed the stranger *to be a policeman*
The stranger was believed *to be a policeman*

The professor assumed that the student knew some French
The professor assumed the student *to know some French* (formal)
The student was assumed *to know some French*

Other common factual verbs: *feel, find, imagine, know, suppose, think.*

The non-factual verbs with this non-finite construction express a causative, volitional or attitudinal relationship with the subordinate clause. There is no restriction on the class of verbs in the non-finite clause and no stylistic restriction on its use:

John intended that Mary should sing an aria
John intended Mary *to sing an aria*
Mary was intended *to sing an aria*

With some of the superordinate verbs no finite-clause construction of this type is possible: notably, *get, want, like:*

> John wanted Mary *to play the piano*
>> (*but* that Mary (should) play the piano *occurs in AmE*)

Other common non-factual verbs: *cause, expect, hate, mean.*

When the subject of the subordinate clause is identical with that of the superordinate one, the non-finite construction is possible with factual and causative verbs only if the reflexive is expressed (as it commonly is with *get*):

> I believed that I had won
> I believed myself to have won (rare)
> *I believed to have won

With volitional and attitudinal verbs, however, co-referential subjects are readily allowed but the subordinate subject cannot be expressed in the non-finite clause (*cf* 12.19):

> I intended that I should go
> I intended to go

Note
A few verbs, *get, hate, like, want,* do not have a corresponding passive, while a few others, in particular *say,* occur only in the passive form of the construction:

> He was said to come from Ireland ~ *They said him to come from Ireland

12.22

Prepositional verbs with *for* use *for* to introduce a *to*-infinitive clause:

> He arranged for Mary to come at once

The infinitive construction is therefore a direct object of the prepositional verb, which may be emotive or volitional. Some common verbs with this construction: *ask, call, long, plan, wait.*

Note
Prepositional verbs that are ditransitive allow another object (perhaps also introduced by a preposition) to precede the infinitive clause:

> He $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{telephoned} \\ \text{arranged with} \end{Bmatrix}$ John for Mary to come at once

Cf: He telephoned John/He arranged with John for another meeting.

12.23

Bare infinitive clauses with subject
Three causative verbs take a bare infinitive in their infinitive clause: *have* ('cause'), *let, make:*

> They had/let/made Bob teach Mary

Some verbs of perception take the bare infinitive in the active: *feel, hear, notice, observe, see, smell, watch.* The verbs of perception also occur with the *-ing* participle clause (12.24):

I watched Bob teach(ing) Mary

In the passive, the bare infinitive is replaced by the *to*-infinitive: *Bob was made to clean his room, They were heard to shout something.* This does not apply to *have* and *let*, which have no passive, except for perhaps as in *He was let go.* Only *let* has a passive of the infinitive clause: *They let Mary be taught (by Bob).* With the verbs of perception, there is a passive with *being* (12.24): *I watched Mary being taught (by Bob).* For the passive corresponding to the infinitive clause after *have* and *see* as in *I had Bob teach Mary ~ I had Mary taught (by Bob),* see 12.25.

12.24
-ing participle clauses with subject
Verbs taking an *-ing* participle clause fall into two classes: those which permit the subordinate subject to be genitive (predominantly emotive verbs with personal nouns or pronouns) and those which disallow the genitive.

Genitive optional (*cf* 11.18):

I dislike him/his driving my car

With this type, the subject of the subordinate clause cannot be the subject of the superordinate clause in the passive: **He is disliked (by me) driving my car.* When the superordinate and subordinate subjects are co-referential, the subordinate subject is not expressed: *I dislike driving my car.*

Genitive disallowed:

I found $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{him}\\\text{*his}\end{array}\right\}$ driving my car

With this type, the subject of the subordinate clause can be the subject of the superordinate clause in the passive: *He was found driving my car.* When the superordinate and subordinate subjects are co-referential, the subordinate subject is expressed by the reflexive: *I found myself driving my car.*

Where there is a choice between *-ing* participle or infinitive (whether bare or *to*-infinitive), there is usually felt to be an aspectual difference that influences the choice (12.19):

I hate the door $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{slamming all night long}\\\text{to slam just after midnight}\end{array}\right.$

Verbs taking a non-finite clause with subject may have

(1) only an -*ing* participle clause:

>I started Bob cleaning the car

(2) either an -*ing* participle or a bare infinitive clause:

>I watched Bob $\begin{cases}\text{doing his homework}\\\text{do his homework}\end{cases}$

(3) either an -*ing* participle or a *to*-infinitive clause:

>I hate Bob $\begin{cases}\text{working in the garden}\\\text{to work in the garden}\end{cases}$

We list common verbs according to whether they permit or disallow the genitive, and within each class, we note the verbs which, in addition to the -*ing* construction, permit the infinitive construction, with or without *to:*

genitive optional: (1) -*ing* participle only: (*cannot*) *afford, enjoy, forget,* (*not*) *mind, regret, remember, resent, risk,* (*cannot*) *stand*, (2) -*ing* participle or *to*-infinitive: *dislike, hate, like, love, prefer*
genitive disallowed: (1) -*ing* participle only: *catch, find, keep, leave, start, stop*; (2) -*ing* participle or bare infinitive: *have* ('cause'); verbs of perception – *feel, hear, notice, observe, see, smell, watch*; -*ing* participle or *to*-infinitive: *get*, informal (*I got Bob cleaning/to clean his room*)

12.25
-*ed* participle clauses with subject

We can distinguish between three types of construction involving -*ed* participle with subject:

causative/volitional verb: *He got the watch repaired*
factual verb expressing an event: *He saw the watch stolen*
factual verb expressing a current state: *He found the watch stolen*

Some of the causative/volitional verbs have analogous finite clauses with a subjunctive verb or *should* (12.17): *He ordered that the watch* (*should*) *be repaired*. Similarly, the factual verbs have analogous finite clauses with an indicative verb: *He saw the watch stolen* ~ *He saw that the watch was being stolen, He found the watch stolen* ~ *He found that the watch was stolen. Have* can be either causative or factual: thus *He had a watch stolen* is ambiguous between 'He caused the watch to be stolen' and 'He suffered the loss of a watch' (14.23 Note *a*).

Common verbs of the three types are:

> causative/volitional: *get, order, have* ('cause'), *want*
> factual, expressing event: *see, have* ('suffer')
> factual, expressing state: *find, keep, leave*

The factual verbs allow passivization:

> The tourists found the chairs occupied
>   ~ The chairs were found occupied (by the tourists)

Verbless clauses with subject
12.26

In both the -*ing* and -*ed* clauses just considered, it is reasonable to see the non-finite clauses in many cases as resulting from ellipsis of infinitival *be:*

> I hate *him (to be) driving my car*
> They found *the chairs (to be) occupied*

With complementation by verbless clauses, we can also see underlying *be* clauses:

> I consider {
>   that John is a good driver
>   John to be a good driver
>   *John a good driver*
> }

The two elements of such verbless clauses are thus in an intensive *subject-complement* relation, but since the whole construction is itself the object in the superordinate clause, we do not depart from the tradition of describing them as *object* and *object complement* respectively. As with other transitive sentences, the 'object' can be the subject in a passive transformation (*John is considered a good driver*), and as with other intensive clauses, the complement element can usually be realized by either a noun phrase or an adjective phrase:

> He made the girl {
>   his secretary
>   much happier
> }

When the object complement is an adjective it may be a 'current' or a 'resulting' attribute (7.9). Verbs taking a current attribute include: *call, consider, declare, find, have, keep, leave, like, prefer, think, want:*

> I called him stupid
> I always have my coffee hot

Verbs taking a resulting attribute: *get, make, paint,* as well as *call, declare,* etc, in their formal 'performative' use:

> I made her very angry
> I declare the meeting open

Some combinations of verb and adjective resemble transitive phrasal verbs (12.3) in that the adjective can precede or follow the noun phrase and (like the particle) cannot precede a personal pronoun:

She *put* the tablecloth *straight*	She *put* the tablecloth *out*
She *put* it *straight*	She *put* it *out*
She *put straight* the tablecloth	She *put out* the tablecloth
*She *put straight* it	*She *put out* it

Likewise, the adjective cannot be separated from the verb by an adverb as adjunct:

She quickly *put* the tablecloth *straight*	She quickly *put* the tablecloth *out*
*She *put* quickly the tablecloth *straight*	*She *put* quickly the tablecloth *out*
*She *put* the tablecloth quickly *straight*	*She *put* the tablecloth quickly *out*

Make is commonly the verb in such combinations: *make clear (the reason)*, *make possible (the meeting)*, *make plain (the difference)*. Among adjectives, *open, loose, free,* and *clear* are particularly common: *push open, keep loose, shake free, leave clear*. In many cases, there is a close meaning relationship between verb and adjective: *cut short, wash clean, drain dry, pack tight*.

The adjective retains its potentialities for modification:

He *pushed* the door *wide open*
She didn't *wash* the shirts *as clean as Mary did*

12.27
Many of the verbs mentioned in 12.26 as taking adjective phrases as object complement will also admit noun phrases (exceptions include *get*, *have* and *put*). When the object complement is a noun phrase it can, as with the adjective phrase, be 'current' or 'resulting'. In general, however, the noun phrase as current attribute is uncommon and somewhat formal (unless it is indefinite with a gradable noun head and hence with an adjectival quality):

They thought John the leader (rather uncommon)
They thought John a fool

As resulting attribute, on the other hand, the noun phrase is freely used:

They $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{elected} \\ \text{made} \\ \text{appointed} \\ \text{named} \end{array} \right\}$ John $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(the) chairman} \\ \text{(the) ambassador to Peru} \end{array} \right.$

They made John a useful mechanic

The verbs *appoint, crown, elect,* and *consider* are commonly used with an alternative *as* construction:

They elected him (as) their leader

The following verbs are among those that can have complex complementation only with *as* or (less commonly) *for: accept as, class as, describe as, intend as, interpret as, know as, mistake for, recognize as, regard as, take as/for, treat as, use as/* for example: *They recognized John as intelligent/their spokesman.*

Most verbs taking a noun phrase as object complement will also admit an adjective phrase; outstanding exceptions include verbs of appointing such as *appoint, choose, elect, name.*

Note
The object complement may precede the 'direct object' when the latter is lengthy or requires special emphasis:

They will elect chairman anyone willing to serve
He thought desirable most of the women in the room

Limitedly, an analogous inversion can occur with the *-ing* and *-ed* clauses of 12.24 *f.* *Cf* also 12.3.

Ditransitive complementation
12.28
Noun phrase as both indirect object and direct object
Ditransitive complementation involves two objects that are not in intensive relationship (7.6): an indirect object (normally animate), which is positioned first, and a direct object (normally concrete):

He   gave   the girl   a doll
S   V O_i O_d

Indirect objects can be omitted without affecting the meaning or function of the rest of the sentence:

He gave the girl a doll $\begin{cases} \sim \text{He gave a doll} \\ \sim \text{He gave the girl} \end{cases}$

He bought the girl a white hat $\begin{cases} \sim \text{He bought a white hat} \\ \sim \text{He bought the girl} \end{cases}$

They can usually be replaced by a corresponding prepositional phrase, which normally follows the direct object:

He gave a doll to the girl
He bought a white hat for the girl

We list some common verbs which allow the indirect object to be replaced by a prepositional phrase, the preposition concerned being indicated:

ask (*a question*) *of* (*John*), *bring to, do* (*a favour*) *for, do* (*a disservice*)
*to, find for, give to, leave for/to, lend to, make for, offer to, owe to,
pay for, pour for, promise to, read to, save for, show to, teach to, tell
to, throw to*

A few verbs disallow the variant with a prepositional phrase: *allow, re-
fuse, wish*. With *allow* and *wish*, it would be exceptional to have either of
the noun phrases omitted.

One group of verbs (chiefly *ask, owe, pay, teach, tell, show*) taking
ditransitive complementation allow either object to be omitted:

$$
\text{I paid John the money} \sim
\begin{cases}
\text{I paid John} \\
\text{I paid the money} \\
\text{I paid the money to John}
\end{cases}
$$

Note

[a] The verb *give* allows considerable flexibility: the direct object can be abstract and
the indirect object inanimate, though in such cases the latter has no variant with a
prepositional phrase:

He gave the car a wash ('He washed the car')
   ~ *He gave a wash to the car

Sentences with some ditransitive verbs have two passives:

$$
\text{He gave the girl a doll}
\begin{cases}
\sim \text{The girl was given a doll} \\
\sim \text{A doll was given the girl}
\end{cases}
$$

Of these two passives, the first is the more common. The second is usually replaced
by the corresponding prepositional phrase:

A doll was given to the girl

[b] The verb *make* admits several different constructions:

monotrans: She made a cake
ditrans: She made him a cake (~ a cake for him)
complex trans: She made him a good husband (~ him into a good husband)
intensive: She made a good wife
intensive with 'indirect object': She made him a good wife (~ turned out to be
a good wife to/for him)

12.29

Ditransitive prepositional verbs

Ditransitive verbs whose direct object must be introduced by a preposi-
tion (*ie* ditransitive prepositional verbs) normally allow only one passive,
with the indirect object as subject:

We reminded him of the agreement
   ~ He was reminded of the agreement

They differ from most ditransitive verbs (*cf* 12.31) in frequently allowing
the indirect object to be expressed alone: *We reminded him* (*of the agree-
ment*).

Common verbs of this type enter into constructions of the form *accuse X of Y*, where with most of the verbs X is usually a person and Y is usually a thing:

> *charge with, compare to, congratulate on, convince of, deprive of, inform of, introduce to, punish for, refer to, remind of, rob of, sentence to, treat to*

But there are notable exceptions, such as *explain X to Y*, where X would normally be a thing and Y a person.

With several verbs (*eg: blame, provide, supply*), either of the noun phrases in the complementation can follow the verb immediately, the other requiring a preposition:

> She blamed John *for* the damage ~ She blamed the damage *on* John
> They provided the homeless *with* blankets ~ They provided blankets *for* the homeless
> They supplied the terrorists *with* guns ~ They supplied guns *for/to* the terrorists

12.30
Idiomatic expressions consisting of verb+noun phrase+preposition

Some verbs form an idiomatic unit when combined with certain noun phrases followed by certain prepositions and in this respect resemble many prepositional verbs (12.4). There are two passive forms of the sentence, since either of two noun phrases can become the subject of a passive sentence:

> They had *made good use of* the house
> > ~ *Good use* had been *made of* the house
> > ~ The house had been *made good use of* (informal)

Other examples of the latter kind of passive (chiefly informal) are:

> Mary realized she was being *made fun of*
> Her beauty was *made much of*
> Pretty girls will always be *taken notice of*
> The children were *taken good care of*

The following list includes some common idioms consisting of V + NP + prep:

catch sight of	make allowance for	put a stop to
give place to	make fun of	set fire to
give way to	make a fuss over/about	take account of
keep pace with	make room for	take advantage of
lose sight of	make use of	take care of

lose touch with	pay attention to	take note of
lose track of	put an end to	take notice of

12.31
Noun phrases as indirect object+finite clauses as direct object

With some verbs the indirect object is obligatory:

John convinced me that he was right
~ *John convinced that he was right

With other verbs, it can be omitted:

John showed me that he was honest
~ John showed that he was honest

Common verbs in this type of construction are listed according to whether the indirect object is obligatory or optional.

indirect object obligatory: *advise, assure, convince, inform, persuade, remind, tell*

indirect object optional: *ask* (+indirect question), *promise, show, teach, warn*

The indirect object often occurs without the direct (*cf.* 12.29).

The sentence can be passivized, with the indirect object as subject of the passive sentence: *I was convinced that he was right.* The verbs *show* and *tell* allow also the direct object to become subject of the passive sentence, though normally there is extraposition: *That he was an honest man was shown (to me)* ~ *It was shown (to me) that he was an honest man.*

Some verbs require a prepositional phrase introduced by *to* instead of the indirect object. They all allow the omission of the prepositional phrase:

John mentioned (to me) that they were sick

They allow a passive form with the direct object becoming subject of the sentence, though normally there is extraposition: *That they were sick was mentioned (to me) (by John)* ~ *It was mentioned (to me) (by John) that they were sick.* Common verbs used in this construction include *admit, announce, confess, declare, explain, mention, point out, remark, report, say, state, suggest.*

12.32
Noun phrases as indirect object+non-finite clauses as direct object

Many of the superordinate verbs in 12.31 will allow the clausal direct object to be a *to*-infinitive clause:

They persuaded John $\begin{cases} \text{that he should see me} \\ \textit{to see me} \end{cases}$

This is possible only when the indirect object is identical with the subject of the direct object clause: thus, *They persuaded John that Mary should see me* has no corresponding form with a non-finite clause as direct object. The subject of the non-finite clause can become the subject of a passive superordinate clause:

John was persuaded *to see me*

Not all verbs taking a finite clause allow the non-finite clause as direct object but among the common verbs that permit both constructions we should mention *ask* (with *wh*-indirect questions), *persuade, remind, teach, tell* and *warn*. There are several verbs which permit the non-finite clause but which do not (or do not freely) admit the finite clause; for example, *ask* (= 'request'), *encourage, force, help,* and *order:*

Mary helped John to carry the bag
   (*Mary helped John that he might carry the bag)

There is a superficial similarity between certain complex transitive and ditransitive examples:

complex trans: He wanted Mary to teach Bob   [1]
    ditrans: He persuaded Mary to teach Bob   [2]

The difference can be seen when the subordinate clause is made passive:

He wanted Bob to be taught by Mary   [3, =1]
He persuaded Bob to be taught by Mary   [4, ≠2]

This difference depends on the fact that, with complex transitive verbs, the infinitive clause (*Mary to teach Bob*) is direct object and *Mary* is not itself a constituent of the superordinate clause. With the ditransitive verb *persuade*, however, *Mary* as indirect object is indeed a separate constituent (the subject of the infinitive clause in this instance being only implied). In [4], this indirect object function is taken over by *Bob*, and hence the radically changed meaning.

Note
When a *wh*-clause is object to a verb of stating, the subject is identical with the indirect object; with verbs of asking, however, it is identical with the superordinate subject:

He told them where to go (= where *they* should go)
He asked them where to go (= where *he* should go)

Bibliographical note
On types and problems of complementation, see Aijmer (1972); Allen (1966); Bald (1972); Halliday (1967–68); Huddleston (1971), Ch 3, 4; Machaček (1965); Poldauf (1972); Rosenbaum (1967); van Ek (1966); Stockwell *et al* (1973), Ch 8.

THE COMPLEX NOUN PHRASE

13.1

Just as the sentence may be indefinitely complex (11.1), so may the noun phrase. This must be so, since sentences themselves can be reshaped so as to come within noun-phrase structure. For example, the following sentences – simple and complex – can become one simple sentence with a very complex noun phrase as subject:

The girl is Mary Smith	[1a]
The girl is pretty	[1b]
The girl was standing in the corner	[1c]
You waved to the girl when you entered	[1d]
The girl became angry because you waved to her	[1e]

The pretty girl standing in the corner who became angry because
you waved to her when you entered is Mary Smith   [2]

Moreover, starting from [2], we could unhesitatingly reconstruct any of the sentences listed in [1] – and in fact we could not understand the noun-phrase subject of [2] unless we recognized its component parts as they are set out in [1]. Yet [2] has introduced many changes. We have suppressed all or part of the verbs in [1b] and [1c] (different in tense and aspect); we have put the complement *pretty* of [1b] before the noun *girl;* we have replaced *the girl* of [1e] by *who*. The purpose of the present chapter is to state the conditions governing such changes.

13.2

In describing complex noun phrases, we distinguish three components:

(a) *The head,* around which the other components cluster and which dictates concord and other kinds of congruence with the rest of the sentence outside the noun phrase. Thus, we can have [1], [2], and [3], but not [4]:

     The pretty girl *standing in the corner* ... is ...   [1]
     The pretty girls *standing in the corner* ... are ...   [2]

He frightened *the pretty* girl *standing in the corner*   [3]
*He frightened *the pretty* lampshade *standing in the corner*   [4]

That is, there are no constraints affecting *frighten* and *the pretty* . . . *standing in the corner* but only *frighten* and the head *lampshade*.

(b) *The premodification*, which comprises all the items placed before the head – notably adjectives and nouns. Thus:

> *The pretty* girl
> *Some pretty college* girls

(c) *The postmodification*, comprising all the items placed after the head – notably prepositional phrases, non-finite clauses, and relative clauses:

> The girl *in the corner*
> The girl *standing in the corner*
> The girl *who stood in the corner*

13.3
Restrictive and non-restrictive

Modification can be restrictive or non-restrictive. That is, the head can be viewed as a member of a class which can be linguistically identified only through the modification that has been supplied (*restrictive*). Or the head can be viewed as unique or as a member of a class that has been independently identified (for example, in a preceding sentence); any modification given to such a head is additional information which is not essential for identifying the head, and we call it *non-restrictive*.

In example [2] of 13.1, the girl is only identifiable as Mary Smith provided we understand that it is the particular girl who is *pretty*, who was *standing in the corner*, and who *became angry*. Such modification is restrictive. By contrast, if a man (in a monogamous society) says

> Come and meet my beautiful wife

the modification *beautiful* is understood as non-restrictive. Again,

> Mary Smith, who is in the corner, wants to meet you

has a non-restrictive relative clause since Mary Smith's identity is independent of whether or not she is in the corner, though the information on her present location may be useful enough. In these examples, the modification is *inherently* non-restrictive, since the heads in question – being treated as unique – will not normally admit restriction. But any head can be non-restrictively modified:

> The pretty girl, who is a typist, is Mary Smith

Here the only information offered to identify the girl as Mary Smith is the allusion to her prettiness; the mention of her work as a typist is not offered as an aid to identification but for additional interest.

Modification at its 'most restrictive' tends to come after the head: that is, our decision to use an item as a premodifier (such as *silly* in *The silly boy got lost*) often reflects our wish that it be taken for granted and not be interpreted as a specific identifier. Secondly, restrictive modification tends to be given more prosodic emphasis than the head; non-restrictive modification, on the other hand, tends to be unstressed in pre-head position, while in post-head position, its 'parenthetic' relation is endorsed by being given a separate tone unit (App II.7), or – in writing – by being enclosed by commas.

13.4
Temporary and permanent

There is a second dichotomy that has some affinities with the distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive but rather more with the contrast of non-progressive and progressive in predication (3.27), generic or specific reference in determiners (4.16), or permanent and temporary in agentials (App I.13 Note *b*). Modification in noun-phrase structure may also be seen as permanent or temporary (5.18), such that items placed in premodification position are given the linguistic status of permanent or at any rate characteristic features. Although this does not mean that post-modification position is committed to either temporariness or permanence, those adjectives which cannot premodify have a notably temporary reference. Thus *The man is ready* would be understood as having reference only to a specific time and this corresponds to the non-occurrence of **The ready man*. On this basis, we see that timidity and fear are contrasted in part according as the first is seen as permanent, the second as temporary:

> A man who is timid ~ A timid man
> A man who is àfraid ~ *An afraid man

Just as some modifiers are too much identified with temporary status to appear in pre-head position, so there can be modification constrained to pre-head position because it indicates permanent status. Compare *original* in *the original version* and *his work is quite original*; in the latter, it would permit adverbial indication of time span (*now, always, . . .*), as well as use in premodification.

Postmodification
13.5
Explicitness

As we saw in 13.1, premodification is in general to be interpreted (and

most frequently can only be interpreted) in terms of postmodification and its greater explicitness. It will therefore be best to begin our detailed study of noun-phrase structure with the forms of postmodification.

Explicitness in postmodification varies considerably, however. It is greater in the finite relative clause

The girl who was standing in the corner

than in the non-finite clause

The girl standing in the corner

from which the explicit tense (*is?*/*was?*) has disappeared, though this in turn is more explicit than the prepositional phrase

The girl in the corner

from which the verb indicating a specific posture has also disappeared. We are able (and usually must be able) to infer such facts as tense from the sentential context much as we infer the subject of non-finite adverbial clauses (11.35):

The girl standing in the corner $\begin{Bmatrix} now \\ last\ night \end{Bmatrix}$ is my sister

Have you spoken to the girl in the corner?

Part of the relative clause's explicitness lies in the specifying power of the relative pronoun. It is capable (a) of showing agreement with the head and (b) of indicating its status as an element in the relative clause structure.

Agreement is on the basis of a two-term 'gender' system, personal and non-personal (4.58 *ff*, 4.81):

Joan, who ...	London, which ...
The boy/people who ...	The fox/animals which ...
The human being who ...	The human body which ...
The fairy who ...	The unicorn which ...

It will be seen from these examples that 'personality' is ascribed basically to human beings but extends to creatures in the supernatural world (angels, elves, etc) which are thought of as having human characteristics such as speech. It does not extend to the body or character, in part or whole, of a human being, living or dead, when this is considered as separate from the entire person. Pet animals can be regarded as 'personal' (at least by their owners):

Rover, *who* was barking, frightened the children

On the other hand human babies can be regarded (though rarely perhaps by their parents) as not having developed personality:

This is the baby *which* needs inoculation

Though ships may take the personal pronoun *she* (4.64), the relative pronoun is regularly non-personal:

Is *she* the ship *which* is due to leave for New York tomorrow?

It is noteworthy that collective nouns (4.62) are treated as personal when they have plural concord, non-personal when they have singular:

The $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{committee} \\ \text{group} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \textit{who were} \\ \textit{which was} \end{Bmatrix}$ responsible for this decision . . .

13.6
Case in the relative pronoun

Case is used to indicate the status of the relative pronoun in its clause. There are two situations to consider. First, if the pronoun is in a genitive relation to a noun head, the pronoun can have the form *whose:*

The woman *whose* daughter you met is Mrs Brown
    (The woman is Mrs Brown; you met *her* daughter)
The house *whose* roof was damaged has now been repaired
    (The house has now been repaired; *its* roof was damaged)

In examples like the latter where the antecedent head is non-personal, there is some tendency to avoid the use of *whose* (by using, for example, *the roof of which*), presumably because many regard it as the genitive only of the personal *who.*

Secondly, with a personal antecedent, the relative pronoun can show the distinction between *who* and *whom*, depending on its role as subject of the relative clause or as object or as prepositional complement:

The girl who spoke to him	[1]
The girl to whom he spoke	[2]
The girl who(m) he spoke to	[3]
The girl who(m) he met	[4]

It will be noticed that when the governing preposition precedes its complement (*cf* 6.3) as in the rather formal [2], the choice of *whom* is obligatory. When it does not, as in the more informal [3], or when the relative pronoun is the object, as in [4], there is some choice between *who* or *whom*, the latter being preferred in written English and by some speakers, the former being widely current informally.

13.7
Relative pronoun and adverbial

The relative pronoun can be replaced by special adjunct forms for place, time, and cause:

That is the place *where* he was born	[1]
That is the period *when* he lived here	[2]
That is the reason *why* he spoke	[3]

There are considerable and complicated restrictions on these adjunct forms, however. Many speakers find their use along with the corresponding antecedent somewhat tautologous – especially [3] – and would prefer the *wh-* clause without antecedent:

That is *where* he was born
That is *when* he lived here
That is *why* he spoke

If *how* is used, such clauses cannot in any case have an antecedent noun:

That is *how* he spoke

Moreover, there are restrictions on the antecedent nouns that can occur in [1–3]. With [3], *reason* is virtually alone, and with [1] and [2], it is also the most general and abstract nouns of place and time that seem to be preferred. Thus while

The office *where* he works . . .   The day *when* he was born . . .

are acceptable to most users of English, others would prefer a prepositional phrase in each case:

The office $\begin{cases} \text{at which . . . (formal)} \\ \text{which . . . at} \end{cases}$ The day $\begin{cases} \text{on which . . . (formal)} \\ \text{which . . . on} \end{cases}$

or one of the less explicit forms that we shall now be considering (*The office he works at, The day he was born*).

Restrictive relative clauses
Choice of relative pronoun
13.8

Though most of the examples in 13.5 *ff* have been of restrictive clauses, it is in the non-restrictive relative clauses that the most explicit forms of relative pronoun are typically used. In restrictive clauses, frequent use is made of a general pronoun *that* which is independent of the personal or non-personal character of the antecedent and also of the function of the pronoun in the relative clause:

The boy *that* is playing the piano . . . (or *who*)	[1]
The table *that* stands in the corner . . . (or *which*)	[2]
The boy *that* we met . . . (or *who(m)*)	[3]
The table *that* we admire . . . (or *which*)	[4]
The boy *that* the dog ran towards . . . (or *towards whom*)	[5]
The table *that* the boy crawled under . . . (or *under which*)	[6]

Provided the relative pronoun is not the subject of the relative clause, as in [1] and [2], a further option exists in relative clause structure of having no relative pronoun at all: the clause with 'zero' (∅) relative pronoun. The examples [3–6] could take this form:

The boy we met ... (who(m), that)
The table we admire ... (which, that)
The boy the dog ran towards ... (towards whom, who(m)/that ... towards)
The table the boy crawled under ... (under which, which/that ... under)

Some choice exists in placing a preposition which has a *wh-* pronoun as its complement (13.6); there is no such choice with *that* and zero, where the preposition must be postposed.

The choices are summarized in the diagram:
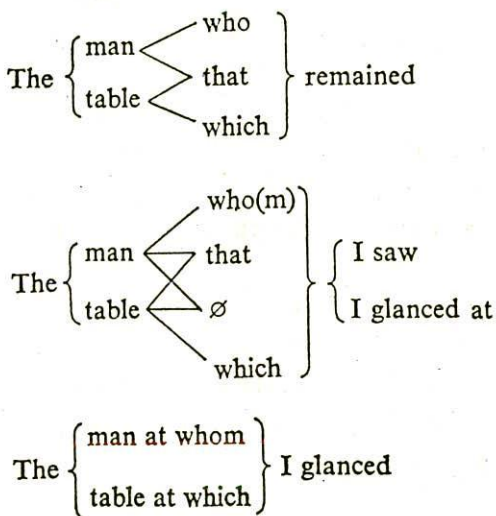
Note
Choices are not only connected with relative formality. Some prepositions cannot be postposed (*the meeting that I slept during*). *Who* is often preferred to *that* when it is subject and when the antecedent is personal (*people who visit me*); but *that* is preferred to *who(m)* when it is object, in part perhaps to avoid the *who/whom* choice (*people that I visit*). When the verb in the relative clause is *be*, the complement pronoun must be *that* or zero (*John is not the man he was*). This example illustrates one of the most favoured uses of zero: *ie* when the pronoun is object or complement, the subject is pronominal, and the relative clause is short. When the antecedent is long and complex, *wh-* pronouns are preferred:

I have interests outside my daily professional work which give me great pleasure

13.9

Just as *that* and zero are available when the relative pronoun is dominated by a preposition, so they can be used when the relative pronoun is part of a place, time, or cause adjunct. With place adjuncts, the preposition must usually be expressed:

> This is the garden (that) he sunbathes in
> This is the university (that) he works at

But with the time adjuncts, omission of the preposition is usual whether the pronoun is *that* or zero (*cf* 6.25 *f*):

> This is the time (that) he normally arrives (at)
> Monday was the day (that) he left (on)

In many cases, indeed, omission of the preposition is obligatory, especially when the antecedent is itself the head of a time adjunct phrase:

> He worked the whole time (that) he lived there

But when (less frequently and more formally) the pronoun is *which*, the preposition must be expressed in these instances and it would be usual to make it precede the pronoun (*cf* 13.7):

> This is the time *at which* he normally arrives
> Monday was the day *on which* he left

With cause and manner adjuncts, the usual pronoun is *that* or zero, and there is no preposition:

> This is the reason (that) he came
> This is the way (that) he did it

But with manner adjuncts, it would not be abnormal to find *which* with a preposition in a more formal style:

> This is the way *in which* he did it

13.10

Quantified heads

Beside the noun phrase *the girls that he knew*, we may have one in which the head is made quantitatively indefinite with the predeterminer *such*, the relative pronoun *that* being replaced by *as:*

> *Such* girls *as* he knew were at the party

Compare: *As many girls as he knew* . . . A further connection with comparative sentences (*cf* 11.37 *ff*) can be seen in:

> $\left.\begin{array}{l}\textit{More} \\ \textit{Fewer}\end{array}\right\}$ girls *than* he knew were at the party

13.11
Non-restrictive relative clauses
The loose non-restrictive relationship is often semantically indistinguishable from coordination (with or without conjunction) or adverbial subordination, as we indicate by paraphrases of the examples below. The repertoire of pronouns is limited to the *wh-* items:

Then he met Mary, $\begin{cases} who \text{ invited him to a party} \\ and\ she \text{ invited him to a party} \end{cases}$

Here is John Smith $\begin{cases} ,\ who(m) \text{ I mentioned the other day} \\ ;\text{ I mentioned } him \text{ the other day} \end{cases}$

He got lost on Snowdon, $\begin{cases} which \text{ was enveloped in fog} \\ when\ it \text{ was enveloped in fog} \end{cases}$

He got lost on Snowdon, $\begin{cases} which \text{ he was exploring} \\ while \text{ he was exploring } it \end{cases}$

Note
As a determiner, *which* appears in non-restrictive clauses that are introduced especially by temporal adjuncts, but this is largely in formal style:

He emigrated in 1840, *at which time* there was much hardship and unrest

13.12
Sentential relative clauses
One type of non-restrictive clause has as its antecedent not a noun phrase but a whole clause or sentence or even sequence of sentences. As with the clauses in 13.11, the relationship frequently resembles coordination, but these clauses are also very much like disjuncts. For example:

He admires Mrs Brown, which $\begin{cases} \text{surprises me} \\ \text{I find strange} \end{cases}$

Cf 'and this surprises me'; 'to my surprise'.

Quite often, *which* is used in these clauses as a determiner of factive nouns which represent the antecedent clause or sentence:

The train may have been held up, *in which case* we are wasting our time

13.13
Appositive clauses
The appositive clause (9.58) resembles the relative clause in being capable of introduction by *that*, and in distinguishing between restrictive and non-restrictive. It differs in that the particle *that* is not an element in the clause structure (subject, object, etc) as it must be in a relative clause. It differs also in that the head of the noun phrase must be a factive abstract noun

such as *fact* itself, *proposition, reply, remark, answer,* and the like. For example:

The belief *that no one is infallible* is well-founded
I agree with the old saying *that absence makes the heart grow fonder*

As with apposition generally (*cf* 9.45), we can link the apposed units with *be* (where the copula typically has nuclear prominence):

The belief *is* that no one is infallible (. . . Is . . .)
The old saying *is* that absence makes the heart grow fonder

Or we may replace deverbal nouns like *belief* by the corresponding verb plus object clause: *He believes that no one is infallible.* It will be noticed that these restrictive examples have the definite article before the head noun: this is normal but by no means invariable (except with a few nouns referring to certainty, especially *fact*):

A message *that he would be late* arrived by special delivery

Plural heads are also rare with appositive postmodification and are regarded as unacceptable, for example, with *belief, fact, possibility.*

Note
Non-restrictive appositive clauses can less easily resemble relative clauses since irrespective of non-restrictiveness they still involve the particle *that*, in sharp contrast with non-restrictive relative clauses:

This fact, that *that* is obligatory, should be easy to remember

Postmodification by non-finite clauses
13.14
-ing participle clauses
Postmodification of the noun phrase is possible with all three of the non-finite clause types (11.3), and the correspondence between restrictive relative and non-finite clauses will be illustrated.

The man who { will { write / be writing } / writes / is writing / wrote / was writing } the obituary is my friend

The man *writing the obituary* is my friend

The latter will be interpreted, according to the context (*cf* 13.15), as equivalent to one of the former more explicit versions. So too:

A tile *falling from a roof* shattered into fragments at his feet
('which *fell* from a roof')

At the station you will see a man *carrying a large umbrella*
('who *will be carrying* a large umbrella')
The man *writing on the board* when you came in
('who *was writing* . . .')

But not all *-ing* forms in non-finite postmodifiers correspond to progressive forms in relative clauses. Stative verbs, which cannot have the progressive in the finite verb phrase, can appear in participial form:

He is talking to a girl *resembling Joan* ('who *resembles* Joan' not '*who is resembling Joan*')
It was a mixture *consisting of oil and vinegar* ('that *consisted* . . .')

In all instances, the antecedent head corresponds to the deleted subject of the non-finite verb clause; there is no non-finite postmodifier, therefore, corresponding directly to the relative clause in

The obituary *that the man is writing* will be published tomorrow

without recourse to the passive, *being written by the man* (13.15).

13.15
-ed participle clauses
Consider now the different versions of the following:

The only car that $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{will be repaired}\\ \text{is (being) repaired}\\ \text{was (being) repaired}\end{array}\right\}$ by that mechanic is mine

The only car (*being*) *repaired by that mechanic* is mine

Again, the latter will be interpreted, according to the context, as equivalent to one of the former. Thus:

The only car $\left[\begin{array}{l}\text{repaired}\\ \text{being repaired}\\ \text{repaired}\\ \text{repaired}\end{array}\right]$ by that mechanic $\left[\begin{array}{l}\text{next week . . .}\\ \text{now . . .}\\ \text{on Tuesdays . . .}\\ \text{before he left . . .}\end{array}\right.$

Another example:

Any coins *found on this site* must be handed to the police
('that are found . . .' or, more precisely, 'that may be found . . .')

The antecedent head is identical with the deleted subject of the *-ed* postmodifying clause as it is with the *-ing* construction, but in this case the participle concerned is as firmly linked with the passive voice as that in the *-ing* construction is linked with the active. Hence, with intransitive verbs, there is no *-ed* postmodifier corresponding exactly to a relative clause:

The train *which has arrived at platform one* is from York
*The train *arrived at platform one* is from York

13.16
Infinitive clauses
The non-finite clause in

The next train *to arrive* was from York

could, in a suitable context, have precisely the same meaning as the relative clause *which arrived*. But the subject of an infinitive clause need not be the antecedent. It may be separately introduced by the *for*-device (11.3) or it may be entirely covert:

The man *for John to consult* is Wilson
The man *to consult* is Wilson

where the latter non-finite clause could be understood, according to context, as '(The man) that *you/he*, etc should consult' or 'that *everyone* should consult'. Still more elliptically, the infinitive clause may omit also an entire adjunct phrase, as in

The time *to arrive* is 8 pm
A good place *to stay* is the White Hart

where a fairly common alternative is to introduce the relative pronoun and retain the infinitive clause:

... time *at which to arrive* ...
... place *at which to stay* ...
 } *(the subject obligatorily absent)*

Compare *the way in which to do it* beside *the way to do it*.
Finally it should be noted that voice and mood are variable, the latter covertly:

The time *to arrive* (=at which you should arrive)
The case *to be investigated* (=that will *or* is to be investigated)
The money *to buy* food (=with which you may buy)
The procedure *to be followed* (=which must *or* should *or* will be followed)

13.17
Non-restrictive postmodification
Non-restrictive postmodification can also be achieved with non-finite clauses:

The apple tree, *swaying gently in the breeze*, had a good crop of fruit ('which was swaying . . .')
The substance, *discovered almost by accident*, has revolutionized medicine ('which was discovered . . .')

This scholar, *to be seen daily in the British Museum,* has devoted
his life to the history of science ('who can be seen . . .')

These clauses can be moved to initial position without change of meaning,
but in that case they can no longer be expanded into finite relative clauses.
Indeed, they have an implicit semantic range beyond that of a relative
clause (*cf* 11.36). Thus the non-finite clause in this example:

The man, wearing such dark glasses, obviously could not see clearly

could be a reduction of a relative clause 'who was wearing . . .' or of a
causal clause 'because he was wearing . . .' or of a temporal clause such
as 'whenever he wore . . .'.

Note
Cf the semantic versatility noted in finite non-restrictive relative clauses, 13.11.

13.18
Appositive postmodification
Appositive postmodification is fairly common by means of infinitive
clauses. A restrictive example:

The appeal *to join the movement* was well received

which would correspond to the finite *that people should join the movement.*
A corresponding non-restrictive example:

This last appeal, *to come and visit him,* was never delivered

There are cases of non-finite postmodification where no corresponding
finite apposition exists:

Any attempt *to leave early* is against regulations
(*. . . that one should leave early . . .)
He lost the ability *to use his hands*

In all these examples, the construction obliges us to infer the (often in-
definite) subject of the infinitive clause from the context. But a subject
may be explicitly introduced by a prepositional device:

The appeal *for John* to join . . .
Any attempt *by John* to leave . . .

Notes
On *-ing* clauses in appositive structures, see 13.20.

Postmodification by prepositional phrases
13.19
Relation to more explicit modifiers
In 13.5 we saw that the sentence 'The girl was standing in the corner'
could yield the noun phrase, *The girl in the corner.* A prepositional phrase

is by far the commonest type of postmodification in English: it is three or four times more frequent than either finite or non-finite clausal postmodification. The full range of prepositions is involved:

The road *to Lincoln*	Two years *before the war*
A tree *by a stream*	A man *from the electricity board*
The house *beyond the church*	This book *on grammar*

including the complex prepositions (6.4):

Action *in case of fire*	Passengers *on board the ship*

and including those having participial form:

A delay *pending further inquiry*

Among the prepositions less commonly used in postmodification we should mention *like* in the sense 'resembling': 'The man *like John* is over there'. But it is common and fully acceptable in the sense 'such as':

A man *like John* would never do that

It is natural to relate such prepositional postmodifications to *be* sentences ('the man in the corner' ~ 'the man *is* in the corner'), though in some instances more seems to be ellipted than the verb *be*. For example, we presumably need to regard

The university *as a political forum*

as related to a somewhat fuller predication:

The university is $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{acting} \\ \text{regarded} \end{Bmatrix}$ as a political forum

Again, although there is no problem with

The present *for John* cost a great deal
    (The present is for John)

we cannot interpret so straightforwardly

The man *for the job* is John (= the *right* man for the job . . .)

Again, it is not through *be* sentences that we must understand

The man *with a red beard*	The girl *with a funny hat*

but rather through *have* sentences ('The man *has* a red beard'): *cf* 6.37.

13.20
The *of*-genitive
It is with *have* sentences that we find the most obvious resemblance when

we turn to the commonest prepositional postmodification of all, the *of-*phrase:

A man of courage ∼ The man has courage

But, as we saw in 4.69 *ff*, many relationships find expression through the *of-*genitive, and one that deserves brief consideration here is the appositive relation which in fact resembles a *be* sentence:

The pleasure of your company ∼ Your company is a pleasure

Where the postmodification has an *-ing* clause, the subject may have to be inferred from the context or it may be identified with a premodifier of the head:

The hope of winning a prize (= X hoped that X would win a prize)
John's hope of winning a prize (=*John* hoped that *he* would . . .)

But a separate subject may be introduced:

John's hope of *Mary('s)* winning a prize (−John hoped that *Mary* would . . .)

On *Mary* versus *Mary's* here, see 11.18. Where the postmodification has a deverbal noun, a specified 'subject' must, of course, be genitive:

John's hope of *Mary's* arrival (= John hoped that *Mary* would arrive)

13.21
Restrictive and non-restrictive
Prepositional phrases may thus be non-appositive or appositive, and in either function, they can be restrictive or non-restrictive:

This book on grammar   (non-appositive, restrictive)
This book, on grammar,   (non-appositive, non-restrictive)
The issue of student grants   (appositive, restrictive)
The issue, of student grants,   (appositive, non-restrictive)

But we must mention some limitations. The second example in each case is rare and rather awkward: non-restrictive appositives would more usually be without a preposition, as in

The issue, student grants

and would thus have the primary form described in 9.49 *ff*. On the other hand, if the ambiguous noun phrase

The issue of student grants

had its non-appositive meaning (objective *of:* 'someone issued student grants'), non-restrictive function would be rare and unnatural, plainly suggesting an awkward afterthought.

13.22
Position and varied relationship

As with non-finite postmodifiers when non-restrictive, so with prepositional phrases, the non-restrictive function merges with adverbial expressions; compare

The children $\begin{cases} \text{behind the fence} \\ \text{on the bus} \end{cases}$ jeered at the soldiers

which means 'Those children who were . . .'

The children, $\begin{cases} \text{behind the fence} \\ \text{on the bus} \end{cases}$, jeered at the soldiers

which may mean 'The children, who (by the way) were . . .' or, on the other hand, 'The children, now that they were (safely . . .)': *cf* 9.54 Note. It is rather this latter implication that becomes uppermost if the prepositional phrase is moved into initial position:

$\begin{cases} \text{Behind the fence,} \\ \text{On the bus,} \end{cases}$ the children jeered at the soldiers

Again, the prepositional phrase in the following is poised between interpretation as non-restrictive postmodifier and as adverbial:

Money, in aid of the refugees, was collected from students and staff

In the former interpretation, the money collected was in aid of the refugees, whereas in the latter, *the act* of collecting money was in aid of the refugees, since in this case the adverbial modifies the whole predication just as it would in initial position:

In aid of the refugees, money was collected . . .

13.23
Deverbal noun heads

We should not, however, exaggerate the difference between the prepositional phrase as adverbial and the prepositional phrase as postmodifier. The second of these should rather be regarded as a special instance of the first, depending for its interpretation on our ability to relate it to a sentence in which it is adjunct. In the following, for instance,

(a) A quarrel broke out *in the morning over pay*

both the prepositional phrases are introduced as adjuncts. If we wish to refer again to the quarrel, these adjuncts may now become postmodifiers:

(b) The quarrel *in the morning* ruined their friendship
(c) The quarrel *over pay* was the reason for his resignation

The relation of postmodifier to adjunct may be even clearer if instead of (a) we take a sentence in which *quarrel* occurs as a verb:

(d) They quarrelled in the morning over pay

to which we also relate (b) and (c) but in this case through conversion of the verb (App I.24). Such conversion should be distinguished from the process (11.18) whereby (d) could become a non-finite clause as subject of sentences like (b) or (c):

Their quarrelling over pay was the reason for his resignation

The subject of this sentence is a clause rather than a noun phrase, as we can see from the fact that in such cases adjective modification is often inadmissible. By contrast, a deverbal head (App I.13, I.16) will not permit premodifying adverbs:

The violent quarrel over pay   *The violently quarrel over pay
 *Their safe arriving in Cairo   Their safe arrival in Cairo

Note

As well as distinguishing between the deverbal noun (*eg: quarrel, arrival, suggestion, painting* as count noun) and the corresponding verbal nouns in *-ing*, we need to recognize a complex gradience through what is traditionally called 'gerund' to the purely participial form in a finite verb phrase:

Some paintings of Brown's (*ie* some paintings that Brown owns)   [1]
Brown's paintings of his daughter (*ie* paintings owned by Brown, depicting his daughter but painted by someone else)   [2]
Brown's paintings of his daughter (*ie* they depict his daughter and were painted by him)   [3]
The painting of Brown is as skilful as that of Gainsborough (*ie* Brown's (a) technique of painting *or* (b) action of painting)   [4]
Brown's deft painting of his daughter is a delight to watch (*ie* it is a delight to watch while Brown deftly paints his daughter)   [5]
Brown's deftly painting his daughter is a delight to watch (= [4b] and [5] in meaning)   [6]
I dislike Brown's painting his daughter (*ie* I dislike *either* (a) the fact *or* (b) the way Brown does it)   [7]
I dislike Brown painting his daughter (= [7a])   [8]
I watched Brown painting his daughter (*ie:* either I watched Brown as he painted *or* I watched the process of Brown('s) painting his daughter)   [9]
Brown deftly painting his daughter is a delight to watch (= [4b] and [5])   [10]
Painting his daughter, Brown noticed that his hand was shaking (*ie* while he was painting)   [11]
Brown painting his daughter that day, I decided to go for a walk (*ie* since Brown was painting)   [12]
The man painting the girl is Brown (*ie* who is painting)   [13]
The silently painting man is Brown (*ie* who is silently painting)   [14]
He is painting his daughter   [15]

13.24
Minor types of postmodification

We come now to some relatively minor types of postmodification. These are (a) adverbial modification (*cf* 5.28); (b) the postposed adjective (*cf* 5.4 *f*); and (c) the postposed 'mode' qualifier. For example,

(a) *The road back* was dense with traffic
(b) *Something strange* happened last night
(c) *Lobster Newburg* is difficult to prepare

In (a) we recognize some such sentence as '*The road* which leads *back* (to London)', from which all but the subject and an important adjunct have been dropped. Similarly '*The way* (which leads) *in* (to the auditorium)', '*The people* (who are sitting) *behind*'.

In (b), we have in fact two subtypes. The first has been illustrated. The indefinite pronouns such as *anybody, someone* can be followed but not preceded by adjective modification. The pronouns concerned are the *any-, some-, no-* series (4.91 *ff*) plus one or two others (*cf: what else, who next,* etc). But we are not free to postpose with indefinites all modifying items that can be preposed with ordinary noun heads:

A party official is waiting   *but not*   **Somebody party* is waiting

Even adjectives need generally to be 'permanent' and hence eligible equally for attributive and predicative use (13.4; *cf* 5.13 *ff*); thus

Somebody timid   *rather than*   *Somebody afraid

The other subtype in (b) consists chiefly of the sprinkling of noun plus adjective phrases (modelled on French) like *blood royal, heir apparent.* These are of little importance in themselves, being infrequently used (though our ability to form names like *Hotel Majestic* suggests that they are more than mere fossils) and it is likely that the native speaker feels them to be very similar to compound nouns. Nevertheless, beside this subtype, there is a similar but much more general phenomenon. When a head is non-restrictively modified by a coordinated string of adjectives, it is common to postpose them:

A man, timid and hesitant, approached the official

though the potential mobility of the string allows it to be detached from the noun phrase altogether (*cf* 13.17). Even a restrictively modifying adjective can be postposed if it is itself modified (by an adjunct, not by the intensifier *very: cf* 5.5):

A man always timid is unfit for this task (*cf: *A man very timid*)

This is particularly common where the modification is of a 'temporary'

nature (13.4). Thus beside *The finest available car*, we have *The finest car* (*currently*) *available*.

With (c), we again encounter a French model: *Lobster Newburg*. Though virtually confined to cuisine, it is moderately productive within these limits, perhaps especially in AmE. In BrE one finds *veal paprika* and many others, but there is some resistance to this type of postposition with other than French lexical items, as in *pâté maison, sole bonne femme*.

Though technically a prepositional phrase phenomenon, expressions involving *à la* clearly belong here. It appears in culinary formations like *chicken à la king*, and also (informally or facetiously) to designate style:

> *Another play à la Osborne* has appeared, though I forget
>   who wrote it

13.25
Multiple modification

(a) A head may have more than one postmodification. Thus

> The girl in the corner   *and*   The girl talking to John

can be brought together as

> The girl in the corner (and) talking to John

Without conjunction, there would usually be a hierarchy:

> {[The girl (in the corner)] talking to John}

(b) A modification may be applicable to.more than one head. Thus

> The girl in the corner   *and*   The boy in the corner

can be brought together by multiple-head rules which permit the determiner to apply to both heads (*cf* 9.37):

> The girl and boy in the corner

By bringing (a) and (b) together, we can produce complexes such as:

> The girl and boy in the corner (and) talking to John

(c) The head of a modifying phrase may itself be modified; thus

> The girl in the corner   *and*   The corner nearest the door

may be brought together as

> The girl in the corner nearest the door

By bringing (a), (b), and (c) together, we form

> The girl and boy in the corner nearest the door talking to John

though many fastidious users of English would prefer to end with a relative clause here ('. . . who are talking to John'), no doubt in response to an instinct that prompts the introduction of explicitness at a point which is relatively distant from the head.

13.26
Ambiguity and constraints on multiple modification
Frequently, careful ordering of constituents in a noun phrase is essential to communicate all (and only) one's intention. To take an obvious example, the following pair differ in meaning and are not mere stylistic variants:

The man in black talking to the girl
The man talking to the girl in black

One of the chief reasons for preferring the *of*-phrase to the *-s* genitive is to avoid discontinuity (with unwanted humour); thus

The ears of the man in the deckchair

and not

*The man's ears in the deckchair

(But *cf*, with group genitive, *The man in the deckchair's ears:* 4.74.)

A special type of multiple modification that requires careful ordering occurs when the modifying clause becomes itself embedded in a clause. Consider the following series:

John will write a poem for you
Tom hopes (that) John will write a poem for you
I will read the poem (*which*) Tom hopes (that) *John will write for you*

In this last sentence, the relative pronoun (*which*) is object in the italicized relative clause. When, however, a relative pronoun is subject, the conjunction *that* must be omitted

A poem will be written for you
Tom hopes (that) a poem will be written for you

I will read the poem (*which*) Tom $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} hopes\ will \\ *hopes\ that\ will \end{array} \right\}$ *be written for you*

Note
Even with simpler examples and the most careful ordering, we may find clarity and acceptable grammar difficult to attain in multiple modification. Beginning with

He liked the smiles of delight on all the faces

a noun phrase based on this sentence and having *smiles* as its head may be ambiguous in one ordering:

The smiles of delight on all the faces that he liked

(was it the smiles or the faces that he liked?), and grammatically awkward in another.

Premodification
13.27
Types of premodifying item
Holding constant a lexical frame (*his ... cottage*) and non-restrictive function, we have the following range of premodifying items:

(a) ADJECTIVE
    I visited *his delightful cottage*
      (His cottage is delightful)

(b) PARTICIPLE
    I visited *his crumbling cottage*
      (His cottage is crumbling)
    I visited *his completed cottage*
      (His cottage has been completed)

(c) -S GENITIVE
    I visited *his fisherman's cottage*
      (The cottage belonged to a fisherman)

It should be noticed that if we had used a more normal genitive example (*his uncle's cottage*) we would have changed the relationship of *his*.

(d) NOUN
    I visited *his country cottage*
      (His cottage is in the country)

(e) ADVERBIAL
    I visited *his far-away cottage*
      (His cottage is far away)

(f) SENTENCE
    (?) I visited *his pop-down-for-the-weekend cottage*
      (*cf* His cottage is ideal to pop down to for the weekend)

This type is largely playful and familiar. Somewhat more generally used are noun phrases which can be interpreted either as having a sentence as premodifier or as being object (usually of *know*) in an embedded noun clause:

    He asked *I don't know HÒW many people*

13.28
Premodification by adjectives
A premodifying adjective, especially when it is the first item after the determiner, can itself be premodified in the same way as it can in predicative position (5.23):

    His *really quite unbelievably* delightful cottage

Some intensifiers tend however to be avoided with premodifying adjec-

tives. Thus the predicative phrase in *His cottage which is so beautiful* would seem a little affected in premodification: *His so beautiful cottage.* With indefinite determiners, *so* would be replaced by *such* (*cf* 5.27):

A cottage which is so beautiful ~ Such a beautiful cottage

Or else *so* plus adjective would be placed before the determiner: *So beautiful a cottage.*

There is resistance also to transferring clause negation to a structure of premodification, and this is possible only in limited circumstances (usually *not* plus intensifier or negative affix):

$$\text{The dinner was not} \begin{cases} \text{very pleasant} \\ \text{unpleasant} \end{cases} \sim \text{The not} \begin{cases} \text{very pleasant} \\ \text{unpleasant} \end{cases} \text{dinner}$$

Note
On adjectives that cannot be used in premodification, see 5.18. By contrast, there are premodifying adjectives that cannot be related to clauses with a corresponding predicative usage: *cf* 5.13 *ff.*

Premodification by participles
-ing participles
13.29
Everything here depends on the potentiality of the participle to indicate a permanent or characteristic feature. To a lesser extent, gradability (especially as indicated through intensification by *very*) is involved.

She has a very interesting mind

shows *interesting* as fully adjectival (5.46 *f*) despite the direct relation to the verb *interest:*

Her mind *interests* me *very much*

But an item can be a premodifier and yet disallow *very:*

A roaring bull (*very roaring)

And the converse can be true:

$$\text{The man was very} \begin{cases} \text{reassuring} \\ \text{shocked} \\ \text{surprised} \end{cases} \qquad \text{?He was a} \begin{cases} \text{reassuring} \\ \text{shocked} \\ \text{surprised} \end{cases} \text{man}$$

This last example will illustrate the crucial significance of the 'permanence' characteristic; such participles can freely premodify nouns such as *look, smile:*

$$\text{He greeted me with a very} \begin{cases} \text{reassuring} \\ \text{shocked} \\ \text{surprised} \end{cases} \text{expression}$$

The man himself cannot have shock or surprise attributed permanently to him, but a particular look can of course be permanently associated with such a value. So too we may speak of *a smiling face* rather than of *a smiling person*. It is thus necessary to realize that we are not here concerned with particular participles so much as with their contextual meaning. *A wandering minstrel* is one habitually given to wandering, but if we saw a man wandering down the street, we could not say

*Who is the wandering man?

Again, someone who told good stories could be *a (very) entertaining person* but one could not say this of someone who happened, at the moment of speaking, to be entertaining his friends with a good story.

13.30

As we have noted before (13.4), the indefinite article favours the habitual or permanent, the definite article the specific or temporary. Thus

?The approaching train is from Liverpool

is strange (especially in BrE) but not

He was frightened by an approaching train

where we are concerned perhaps with what is characteristic in 'approaching trains'. Similarly, *?The barking dog is my neighbour's*, compared with the quite normal, *I was wakened by a barking dog*. On the other hand, after an indefinite head has been postmodified by an -*ing* clause, the -*ing* participle can premodify the same head plus definite article:

A proposal offending many members . . . → The offending
  proposal . . .

In addition, the definite article may be used generically (4.16) and hence evoke the same generality and permanence as the indefinite:

The beginning student should be given every encouragement

-*ed* participles
13.31

Much of what has been said of -*ing* participles applies to -*ed* participles also, but there are additional complications. In the first place, the -*ed* participle can be active or passive, but as with postmodification (13.15) the active is rarely used in premodification. Contrast

The immigrant who has arrived   *with*   *The arrived immigrant

The vanished treasure ('The treasure which has vanished') and *A retired*

teacher are exceptional, but exceptions are somewhat more general when an active participle is adverbially modified:

> The newly-arrived immigrant
> Our recently-departed friend

Within the passive we must distinguish the statal from the actional or true passive (12.15 Note *b*); a statal example:

> Some complicated machinery ~ The machinery is complicated
>   (*The machinery was complicated by the designer)

Here belong also *born* and some uses of *hidden, married, troubled, darkened*, etc, but in premodification they must either have 'permanent' reference or be adverbially modified: *a married man, a newly-born child, a carefully-hidden spy*. The last example illustrates a noteworthy general contrast between *-ing* and *-ed* participles. Beside the similarity in post-modification

> A spy, carefully hidden in the bushes,⎫
> A spy, carefully hiding in the bushes, ⎬ kept watch on the house

the latter unlike the former resists premodification

> *A carefully-hiding spy

13.32

Most *-ed* participles are of the agential type and naturally only a few will easily admit the permanent reference that will permit premodifying use. We may contrast

> The wanted man was last seen in Cambridge
>   (The man goes on being wanted by the police)
> *The found purse was returned to its owner
>   (The purse was found at a particular moment)

But *a lost purse* is grammatical, because although a purse is no longer regarded as 'found' after it has been retrieved, a purse will be regarded as 'lost' throughout the period of its disappearance. So too: *the defeated army, a broken vase, a damaged car, its relieved owner*. But not: *a sold car, *the mentioned article, *a built house, *a described man*.

But there are exceptions which suggest that the semantic and aspectual factors are more complicated than here described. For example, although a sum of money can go on being needed, one does not normally say **the needed money*. Modified by adverbs, of course, the starred examples become acceptable: *a recently(-)sold car*, etc.

Finally, modifiers in *-ed* may be directly denominal and not participles at all (see App I.21): *the vaulted roof, a fluted pillar, a wooded hillside*. But

constraints occur (perhaps dictated merely by semantic redundancy), such that there is no *a powered engine*, *a haired girl*, *a legged man*, though we have *a diesel-powered engine*, *a red-haired girl*, *a long-legged man*.

13.33
Premodification by genitives

A noun phrase like *a fisherman's cottage* is ambiguous: the cottage belongs to a fisherman or belonged to a fisherman (or resembles the cottage of a fisherman). As distinct from *a delightful cottage* or *a completed cottage*, the determiner need not refer forward to the head: more usually, it refers only to the genitive. If the latter, then any intermediate modifiers between the determiner and the genitive must also refer only to the genitive. Thus

These nasty women's clothing

where *these* must predetermine the plural *women's* and the phrase must mean 'the clothing of these nasty women' and not 'the nasty clothing of these women' which would require the order *These women's nasty clothing*. If the former ('the clothing of . . .') then an intermediate modifier will be interpreted as referring to the head. Thus

This nasty women's clothing

would mean 'this nasty clothing belonging to (or designed for) women'. Ambiguous instances are however common: *an old man's bicycle* (contrast: *a man's old bicycle*) could mean 'the bicycle belonging to an old man' or 'an old bicycle designed for a man' (or even 'a bicycle designed for an old man').

Note
On genitive modification in general, see 4.67 *ff*.

Premodification by nouns
13.34

Noun premodifiers are often so closely associated with the head as to be regarded as compounded with it (App I.34 *ff*). In many cases, they appear to be in a reduced-explicitness relation with prepositional postmodifiers:

The question of partition ~ The par'tition question
The door of the cupboard ~ The cupboard 'door
A village in Sussex ~ A Sussex 'village

But not all noun premodifiers have prepositional phrase analogues:

Bernard Miles was both actor and producer ~ The actor–pro'ducer

13.35

Attention must be drawn to two important features in noun premodifications.

(1) Plural nouns usually become singular (cf 4.33 Note b), even those that otherwise have no singular form:

> The leg of the trousers ~ The ˈtrouser leg

But while singularization is normal it is by no means universal (cf: arms race), especially with noun premodification that is not hardening into a fixed phrase or compound: *The committee on promotions ~ The proˈmotions committee.*

(2) According to the relationship between the two nouns, the accent will fall on the premodifier or the head; for example, *An iron ˈrod* but *A ˈwar story.* The conditions under which the latter stress pattern is adopted are by no means wholly clear but they are also connected with the conventionalizing of a sequence in the direction of compounding.

A notable constraint against making postmodifying phrases into premodifying nouns is the relative impermanence of the modification in question. Thus while *The table in the corner* will readily yield *The corner table*, we cannot do the same with

> *The girl in the corner* (spoke to me) ~ **The corner girl . . .*

We must insist again that this is not a property of the lexical item (in this instance, *corner*) but of the semantic relation. Premodification confers relative permanence which befits the assignment to a corner of a table or even a waitress, but not a girl as such.

Multiple premodification
13.36
With single head

The three types of multiple modification specified in 13.27 apply to premodification also. More than one premodifier may be related to a single head, with no grammatical limit on the number:

> His brilliant book ~ His last book ~ His (. . .) book ~ His last brilliant (. . .) book

This is however misleading in giving the impression that the multiple modifiers constitute an unordered and coordinate string. It usually follows a recursive process:

> His book → His brilliant book → His [last (brilliant book)]

We would here mean that of several brilliant books we are speaking only of his last one; by contrast

His book → His last book → His [brilliant (last book)]

indicates that his last book was brilliant without commitment to whether any of his others were. In some instances, however, we do indeed have multiple modifications in which no priority among modifiers need be assumed; to these we may give separate prosodic emphasis or introduce commas in writing:

His LÁST BRÍLLiant BÒOK

or formally coordinate them. Thus there would be little difference between

His forceful, lucid remarks   *and*   His lucid (and) forceful remarks

When such coordinated modifiers relate to properties that are normally thought to conflict, the coordinator will probably not be *and:*

His handsome but dirty face   His dirty but handsome face

13.37
With multiple head
Modification may apply to more than one head (*cf* 9.37):

The new table
The new chairs } ~ The new table and chairs

The multiple head thus produced can now be subject to recursive or coordinate modification:

The new table and chairs → { The beautiful new table and chairs
{ The new (but) ugly table and chairs

If we coordinated *learned papers* and *books* as in (*He wrote*) *learned papers and books*, we would suggest that *learned* applies to both *papers* and *books*. To clarify, we can either re-order (*books and learned papers*) or introduce separate determiners (*some learned papers and some books*).

13.38
With modified modifier
We have already seen two types of modification with modified modifier:

His *really quite unbelievably delightful* cottage (13.28)
These nasty women's clothing (13.33)

In a third type, the noun premodifier can be itself premodified by either

adjective or a noun and, if the latter, this can in turn be similarly premodified:

The office furniture → { The *small office* furniture
                        { The *tax office* furniture——
┌——The *property tax* office furniture ◄—————┘
└—►The *house property* tax office furniture

It should be noted, however, that if we were to introduce an adjective in this last noun phrase, already clumsy and improbable, (i) it would have to come immediately after the determiner, and (ii) it would normally be interpreted as relating directly to the head *furniture* rather than to *house*, the only other possibility:

The {pleasant [⟨(house property) tax⟩ office] furniture}

This is not to say however that obscurity cannot exist or that noun premodifiers can modify only the next following noun. Consider *A new giant size cardboard detergent carton*, where *size* does not premodify *cardboard* and *cardboard* does not premodify *detergent* but where the linear structure is rather:

A ⟨new {(giant size) [cardboard (detergent carton)]}⟩

13.39
Other complexities in premodification

A friendship between a boy and girl becomes *A boy and girl friendship*. A committee dealing with appointments and promotions can readily be described as *The appointments and promotions committee*, while one whose business is the allocation of finance can be *The allocation of finance committee*.

A noun phrase in which there is noun premodification can be given the denominal affix which puts it into the 'consisting of' class of adjectives (5.20) while retaining the noun premodifier; hence, from *party politics* we have *a party political broadcast*.

Similarly, a noun phrase having a denominal adjective may itself take a denominal affix to become a premodifier in a noun phrase. For example, beside *cerebral palsy* (= 'palsy' of the cerebrum), we have *cerebral palsied children* which has the structure (*cf* 13.32, App I.21):

{[(cerebral palsy)ed] children}   *and not*   *[cerebral (palsied children)]

Note

There are analogies in the group genitive: 4.74. Coordination gives rise to numerous difficulties in premodification. Beside the relatively explicit *children with impaired speech*, we have the premodified form *speech-impaired children*. But since speech and hearing are so often jointly impaired, we are involved in the need to have a corresponding premodification, *speech(-) and hearing(-)impaired children*, clear enough in spoken English but possibly requiring clumsy hyphenation to make it clear in writing.

Relative sequence of premodifiers
13.40
DENOMINAL AND NOMINAL

The item that must come next before the head is the type of denominal adjective often meaning 'consisting of', 'involving', or 'relating to', and this can be preceded by a wide range of premodifying items:

the $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{extravagant} \\ \text{pleasant} \\ \text{only} \\ \text{London} \end{Bmatrix}$ *social* life   a $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{serious} \\ \text{city} \\ \text{mere} \\ \text{United States} \end{Bmatrix}$ $\begin{matrix} political \\ \text{problem} \end{matrix}$

Next closest to the head is the noun premodifier, already exemplified with *London* and *city* in the foregoing examples. When two nouns premodify, one which corresponds to the head as object to verb will follow one relating to material or agency:

a $\begin{Bmatrix} detergent \\ cardboard \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{container} \\ \text{carton} \end{Bmatrix}$ a *cardboard detergent* $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{container} \\ \text{carton} \end{Bmatrix}$

my $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ciga}^\text{l}\text{rette} \\ {}^\text{l}\text{gas} \end{Bmatrix}$ lighter   my ₁*gas ciga*ˡ*rette* lighter
                                    not   *my cigarette gas lighter

13.41
CLASSES OF ADJECTIVES

Next before a noun modifier, the most important class of items is the adjective of provenance or style:

a *Russian* trade delegation   *Gothic* church architecture

and preceding this type is the participle:

a *carved* Gothic doorway   some *interlocking* Chinese designs
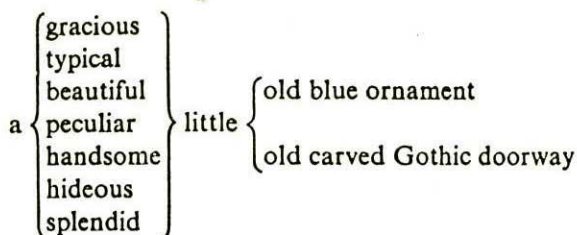
Preceding the participle, we have adjectives of colour:

a *black* dividing line   a *green* carved idol

These are preceded by adjectives of age, together with the premodifiers and postmodifiers that these and other freely gradable adjectives may have:

an *old* blue dress   a *really very elderly* trained nurse
a *very young* physics student   a *large enough* lecture room

Next comes the large class that we may call 'general', except that between 'general' and colour (and usually all other modifiers to the right) comes the diminutive unstressed use of *little*. Thus, not *an old little blue ornament*, but:

$$
a \begin{cases} \text{gracious} \\ \text{typical} \\ \text{beautiful} \\ \text{peculiar} \\ \text{handsome} \\ \text{hideous} \\ \text{splendid} \end{cases} \text{little} \begin{cases} \text{old blue ornament} \\ \\ \text{old carved Gothic doorway} \end{cases}
$$

See *Fig* 13:1 which illustrates the relative positions of items in premodification.

Note

There are many qualifications to the foregoing. The 'general' adjectives, for example, are not placed randomly but comprise several subclasses. We would prefer *a small round table* to *?a round small table; several thick even slices* to *several even thick slices; a fierce shaggy dog* to *a shaggy fierce dog; a tall angry man* to *an angry tall man; a brief hostile glance* to *a hostile brief glance.* Evaluative or subjective adjectives frequently precede those that are relatively objective or measurable; size often precedes shape; within size, height often precedes girth. 'General' adjectives are themselves preceded by semantically weak items like *nice*, by non-predicable items like *mere*, by quantifiers, numerals, determiners and associated closed-system items (4.5 *ff*).

Determiners	general	age	colour	participle	provenance	noun	denominal	head
the	hectic						social	life
the	extravagant					London	social	life
a				crumbling		church		tower
a			grey	crumbling	Gothic	church		tower
some	intricate	old		interlocking	Chinese			designs
a	small		green	carved		jade		idol
his	heavy	new					moral	responsibilities

Fig. 13:1 Examples of premodification sequence

Discontinuous modification
13.42

It is not uncommon for the noun phrase to be interrupted by other items of clause structure. Note for instance the time adjunct between the head and postmodifier in the following:

You'll meet *a man* tomorrow *carrying a heavy parcel*

There are more striking examples:

I had *a nice glass of beer* but in *an ugly glass*

This is not as contradictory as it may seem, since it is only in the second
noun phrase that *glass* is premodified by an adjective; in the first, it is
better to regard *glass of beer* as a complex unit modified as a whole but
with *glass* being less a concrete noun than a unit of measure. So too with
a weak cup of tea, and phrases of the form *kind/sort of N* which take pre-
modifiers plainly related to *N* rather than *sort*, both in semantics and in
concord:

A big awkward sort of *carton*
?These big awkward kind of *cartons*

13.43

Discontinuous modification more aptly applies to examples like the fol-
lowing (*cf* 5.5):

Comparable facilities to ours
Different production figures from those given earlier

The prepositional phrases here do not directly relate to the head (as they
do in *roads to London, people from the village*) but to the premodifying
adjective: 'facilities comparable to ours', 'figures different from those'.
Compare also *The tall man that I saw* with *The first man that I saw*
(='The man that I saw first'); 'An *attractive* scheme *financially*' (='A
scheme which is *financially attractive*'); *cf* 5.23 Note *a*.

Most discontinuities, however, are brought about by interpolating a
parenthesis or the finite verb of the sentence (where the noun phrase is
subject) between the head and the postmodifier; and the usual motive is
to correct a structural imbalance (*cf* 14.30) as in '*The story* is told *that he
was once a boxer*', or to achieve a more immediate clarity as in:

The woman is by the DȮOR, who sold me the TɪcKets and told me
    the play doesn't begin till THRÉB

Bibliographical note

For treatment of the noun phrase as a whole, see Bourquin (1964) and Fries (1970).
On adjectives and other premodifiers, see Bolinger (1967*b*); on modification in relation
to function, see Aarts (1971). On relative clauses, see Jacobsson (1970); Quirk (1968);
Huddleston (1971); Stockwell *et al* (1973), Ch 7.

FOURTEEN
FOCUS, THEME, AND EMPHASIS

14.1

In previous chapters, particularly Chapter 7, we have seen how English sentences are built up from various phrase types which serve a range of constructional functions within the grammar (subject, verb, adverbial, etc). We have also seen (7.9 *ff*) how the elements which have these functions have also a different kind of function (a participant role) describable in terms such as 'agentive', 'recipient', 'attribute'. In this final chapter, we come to a third way in which one may view these parts of the sentence: as items which can be manipulated within the structure of sentences for different kinds of prominence. There are three kinds to be considered: focus, theme, and emotive emphasis. Studying these aspects of linguistic structure makes one aware of language as a sequentially organized communication system, in which judicious ordering and placing of emphasis may be important for the proper understanding of the message and its implications. For illustrative purposes, we generally use independent clauses which constitute simple sentences.

Information focus
14.2
End-focus and contrastive focus

We start by considering how the English language organizes a spoken message into units of information, as signalled by intonation (*cf* App II.7 *ff*). Each tone unit represents a unit of information, and the place where the nucleus falls is the focus of information. As the clause is the unit of grammar that most closely corresponds to the tone unit, the best way to consider the positioning of the information focus is to relate it to clause structure, taking examples in which clause and tone unit correspond in extent.

The neutral position of focus is what we may call END-FOCUS, that is (generally speaking) chief prominence on the last open-class item or proper noun in the clause (App II.4):

Dylan Thomas was born in swÀnsea

Special or contrastive focus, however, may be placed at earlier points, and so may fall on any of the non-final elements of the clause. For example:

Focus at S:

[Who was born in Swansea?] Dylan THÒMas was (born in Swansea)

Focus at V:

[Dylan Thomas was married in Swansea, wasn't he?] NO, he was BÒRN in Swansea

Focus at O$_d$:

[I hear you're painting the bathroom blue.] NÒ, I'm painting the LÌving-room blue

Focus at A:

[Have you ever driven a Cadillac?] YÈS, I've ÒFten driven one

Contrastive focus can also be signalled by placing the nucleus on a final item which normally would not have end-focus; for instance, on closed-system items like pronouns and prepositions:

Who are you working FÒR? (not *with*)
He was speaking to MÈ (not to *you*)

Note
The principle that focus normally comes at the end of a tone unit explains why a parenthesis (which is normally bordered by tone-unit boundaries) can be used rhetorically to throw emphasis on a word immediately preceding it:
And THÌs, | in SHÓRT, | is why I refÙsED |

14.3
Contrastive focus on words and syllables
The above examples show that whichever element is contrastive receives nuclear prominence on its last fully stressed syllable. Intonation can also focus more narrowly on a particular word of a phrase, rather than phrase of a clause:

DỲLan Thomas was born in 1914 (not *EDward Thomas*)
I put them ÒN the bed (not *ÙNder it*)

or even on PART of a word, with a contrastive shift from normal word-stress:

I'm afraid that BUreaucracy can be worse than AÙtocracy

Normally word-stress, and hence nuclear prominence, would fall on the second syllable: *bu·reaucracy* and *au·tocracy*.

Note

Noun compounds and phrases with 'compound' stress (App II.3) are exceptional in that end-focus does not fall on the last open-class word: *He's an insÙRance agent.* But nuclear prominence can be transferred to the final noun for contrastive purposes: *He's an insurance ΛGent* (*not an insurance BRÓKer*).

14.4

Given and new information

Focus is related to the difference between GIVEN and NEW information; that is to say, between information already supplied by context and information which has not been prepared for in this way. The focus, signalled by the nucleus, indicates where the new information lies, and the unit carrying such information has the nucleus in final position. Hence if the nucleus falls on the last stressed syllable of the clause (according to the end-focus principle), the new information could, for example, be the entire clause, or the predication of the clause, or the last element of the clause. In the following sentence, we mark three possible extents of new information in the same sentence; each of the three questions indicates how much is already assumed by speaker and audience before the reply is made:

Whole clause is new (neutral information focus):

NEW

[What's on today?] We're going to the RACes

Predication is new:

NEW

[What are we doing today?] We're going to the RACes

Final adverbial is new:

NEW

[Where are we going today?] We're going to the RACes

By contrast, where the new item comes earlier in the clause, the prosodic form is distinctive:

NEW

[Who's going to the races?] WE are going to the races

14.5

Variation in the scope of new information

Different interpretations are also possible when the nucleus occupies the terminal part of a complex non-final element. Compare:

NEW
┌───────────────────┐
William wòRDsworth is my favourite English pόet
(not John Keats)

NEW
    ┌──────────┐
William woRDsworth is my favourite English pόet
(not William Shakespeare)

If the nucleus comes on the final word, either the whole phrase or only the final part of it may be 'new'. 'New', therefore, may be varied in scope from a whole clause to a single word, or even to a single syllable.

Note

[a] The second half of the complex fall-plus-rise pattern (App II.10) represents subsidiary information: *eg: Pass me my CÒAT, JÓHN* (where John is assumed to be present, although he has not been actually mentioned).

[b] Pre-final focus is habitual in some colloquial sentences, where the assumed 'givenness' of the final item derives from cultural norms (4.20); *eg*

The KÈTtle's boiling
The MÌLKman called
Is your FÁTHER at home? (*Contrast* Is your father oÚT?)

[c] There may be more than one contrasted element in the same clause. In the following there are three:

DYLan Thomas was born in nineteen-fourTÈEN in swÀNsea, but

HUGH Thomas was born in eighteen-eighty-THRÈE in ÀNGlesey

14.6

Focus on the operator

One type of focus so far ignored is focus on the operator (*cf* 14.35), which often has the function of signalling contrast between positive and negative meaning. Where the verb phrase is without an item that can function as operator, *do* is introduced:

[A: I thought John worked hard.] B: But he DÌD work hard.
[A: Why haven't you had a bath?] B: I HÀVE had a bath.
[A: Look for your shoes.] B: I AM looking for them.
[A: Surely he can't drive a bus?] B: NÒ, but he CÀN drive a CAR.

When the operator is positive, the meaning is 'Yes in contrast to No' when the operator is negative, the meaning is the opposite contrast:

So you HÀVEn't lost, after ÀLL! ('I thought you had')

The operator emphasizes positiveness or negativeness when it bears the focus (as it normally does) in elliptical replies (10.29):

[A: Have you seen my books?] B: No, I HÀVEn't.
[A: Does this bell work?] B: Yes, it DÒES.

With a rise or fall-rise intonation, focus on past and future auxiliaries often puts contrastive emphasis on the tense rather than on the positive/ negative polarity:

> He owns – or DĬD own – a Rolls ROYCE
> We've sold OUT, but we WĬLL be getting some

Similarly, the nucleus on auxiliaries such as *may* and *ought to* often signals a contrast between the supposed real state of affairs, and a state of affairs thought desirable or likely:

> The opinion polls MĂY be right ('but I suspect they're not')
> My purse OŬGHT to be HÈRE ('but it probably isn't')

14.7
Ellipsis and substitution

We have referred to the use of the operator in elliptical replies (14.6). In general, an important reason for ellipsis is to focus attention on new information by avoiding repetition of given information (9.1 *ff*, 9.21 *ff*, 10.44 *ff*):

> I haven't spoken to your brother yet, but I will later today
>   (= will speak to your brother later today)
> A: When are you seeing her?   B: Tomorrow.
>   (= I'm seeing her tomorrow)

A similar effect is achieved by substituting pro-forms for given information (10.25 *ff*):

> Give Joan the red cup and take the blue one for yourself
>   (the blue one = the blue cup)
> Susan won a prize last year and will do so again this year
>   (will do so = will win a prize)

Ellipsis and substitution are useful in unambiguously marking the focus of information in written English, where intonation is absent (*cf* 14.15).

Voice and reversibility
14.8
Voice, end-focus, and end-weight

Three factors contribute to the presentation of the content of a clause in one particular order rather than another. One is the tendency to place new information towards the end of the clause – the principle of end-focus (14.2). Another is the tendency to reserve the final position for the more complex parts of a clause or sentence – the principle of end-weight.

Since it is natural to express given information briefly (*eg* by pronoun substitution), these two principles work together, rather than against one another.

A third factor is the limitation of possible clause structures to those outlined in 7.2, with their associated sets of participant roles (7.9 *ff*). These restrictions determine, for example, that an 'agentive' role cannot be expressed by an object or complement, but only by the subject, or by the agent of a passive clause. From this, one sees the importance of the passive voice as a means of reversing the normal order of 'agentive' and 'affected' elements, and thus of adjusting clause structure to end-focus and end-weight:

A: *Who* makes these chairs?   B: They're made by *Ercol*.

A finite clause as subject is readily avoided by switching from the active to the passive voice, in accordance with the principle of end-weight:

{*That he was prepared to go to such lengths* astounded me
{I was astounded *that he was prepared to go to such lengths*

14.9
Converses

Quite apart from the grammatical contrast between active and passive, the language possesses other grammatical or lexical means for reversing the order of roles:

{An uncle, three cousins, and two brothers *benefited from* the will
{The will *benefited* an uncle, three cousins, and two brothers
{An unidentified blue liquid *was in* the bottle ·
{The bottle *contained* an unidentified blue liquid
{A red sports car was *behind* the bus
{The bus was *in front of* a red sports car

The items or sequences in italics are converses; *ie* they express the same meaning, but with a reversal of the order of participants. The second sentence in each case is generally preferable, since the element with the definite determiner, containing given information (4.20), would normally not take terminal focus.

Theme and inversion
14.10
Theme

The initial unit of a clause (with the exception of initial adverbials referred to in 14.11 Note) may be called its THEME. Apart from the last stressed element of clause structure (that which most naturally bears

information focus), the theme is the most important part of a clause from the point of view of its presentation of a message in sequence.

The expected or 'unmarked' theme of a main clause is

(1) Subject in a statement: *He* bought a new house
(2) Operator in a *yes-no* question: *Did* he buy a new house?
(3) *Wh*-element in a *wh*-question: *Which house* did he buy?
(4) Main verb in a command: *Buy* a new house

The theme may be characterized as the communicative point of departure for the rest of the clause.

The two communicatively prominent parts of the clause, the theme and the focus, are typically distinct: one is the point of initiation, and the other the point of completion. The theme of a clause is 'given information' more often than any other part of it. Yet the two can coincide; for instance, when the focus falls on the subject:

[Who gave you that magazine?] BÌLL gave it to me

14.11
Thematic fronting or 'marked theme'

One may take as theme of a clause some element not usually assuming that function. Elements placed initially for thematic prominence vary in style and effect.

In informal speech, it is quite common for an element to be fronted with nuclear stress, and thus to be 'marked' (or given special emphasis) both thematically and informationally:

C_s as theme:

   JOÈ his NÁME is

C_o as theme:

   RelaxÁtion you call it!

O_d as theme:

   Really good cÒcktails they made at that hotÉL

It is as if the thematic element is the first thing that strikes the speaker, and the rest is added as an afterthought. The possible insertion of a comma suggests that the non-thematic part is almost a tag (14.38) in status: *Joe, his name is*.

A second type of marked theme is found in rhetorical style, and helps to point a parallelism between two units in the clause and two related units in some neighbouring clause of contrasting meaning:

Prepositional complement as theme:

His FĂCE I'm not FŎND of (but his character I despise)

O_d as theme:

... but his CHĂRacter I desPÌsE

C_s as theme:

RĬCH I MÀY be (but that doesn't mean I'm happy)

Predication as theme:

(I've promised to do it,) so ¹do it I SHÀLL

A as theme:

In LÒNdon I was BÓRN, and in LŎNdon I'll DÌE

Such clauses often have double information focus, one nucleus coming on the theme, and the other on a later (usually terminal) part of the clause.

One may thirdly distinguish examples characteristic of written English, and in which the marked theme seems to have the negative function of ensuring that end-focus falls on the most important part of the message:

Most of these problems a computer could take in its stride
To this list may be added ten further items of importance

Note
Some adverbials (mainly disjuncts and conjuncts) appear characteristically in initial position, and so should not be accorded thematic status at all. However, certain adjuncts, especially those which would otherwise immediately follow an intransitive or intensive verb, may be treated as 'marked theme' when placed initially. Furthermore, adjustment of end-focus may also involve the initial placing of adverbials.

Inversion
14.12
SUBJECT-VERB INVERSION

Here comes the bus (A V S)
There, at the summit, stood the castle in its medieval splendour
    (A A V S A)
In went the sun and down came the rain (A V S, A V S)
Equally inexplicable was his behaviour towards his son (C V S)
'Go away!' said one child; 'And don't come back!' growled
    another. (... V S, ... V S) (*cf* 11.52)

This type of inversion (*cf* 8.28) is mainly found in clauses of Types *SVA* and *SVC* where a normally post-verbal element is so tied to the verb that

when that element is 'marked' theme the verb is 'attracted' into pre-subject position. The last example illustrates a different type of inversion, with verbs of saying.

Note
Adverbial *there* in the second example is stressed, and so is distinguished from the unstressed existential *there* (14.19 *ff*), which can also appear in preverbal position.

14.13
SUBJECT-OPERATOR INVERSION

So absurd was his manner that everyone stared at him (11.44 Note)	[1]
Far be it from me to condemn him (7.64)	[2]
Under no circumstances must the switch be left on (7.37)	[3]
Hardly had I left before the quarrelling started (7.39)	[4]
I worked and so did the others (10.29 *ff*)	[5]
Well may he complain of the misfortunes that have befallen him (formal)	[6]
Throwing the hammer is champion William Anderson, a shepherd from the Highlands of Scotland	[7]

The inversion of [6] is decidedly literary in tone, and unlike the preceding examples, is optional. Normal subject-verb order, with the adverb following the auxiliary, would usually be preferred. Example [7] is a journalistic type of inversion, in which the predication is fronted in order to bring end-focus on a complex subject.

14.14
Theme in subordinate clauses
In subordinate clauses, the usual items occurring as theme are subordinators, *wh*-elements, and the relative pronoun *that*. Other items occur as theme only in idiomatic or literary constructions of minor importance:

Should you change your plan . . . (11.25 Note *d*)
Keen though I am . . . ⎫
Say what you will of him . . . ⎬ (11.26 Note)

The first example is a conditional clause, and the others are conditional-concessive clauses.

Cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences
14.15
CLEFT SENTENCES
A special construction which gives both thematic and focal prominence to a particular element of the clause is the cleft sentence, so called because it divides a single clause into two separate sections, each with its own verb.

Most cleft sentence statements begin with the pronoun *it* followed by the verb *be*, which in turn is followed by the element on which the focus falls. From a single clause such as *John wore his best suit to the dance last night*, it is possible to derive four cleft sentences, each highlighting a particular element of the clause:

S as focus:

It was JÒHN who/that wore his best suit to the DÁNCE last night

O_d as focus:

It was his best sùIT (that) John wore to the DÁNCE last night

A_{time} as focus:

It was last NÌGHT (that) John wore his best suit to the DÁNCE

A_{place} as focus:

It was to the DANCE that John wore his best sUIT last night

The cleft sentence unambiguously marks the focus of information in written English, where intonation is absent. The highlighted element has the full implication of contrastive focus: the rest of the clause is taken as given, and a contrast is inferred with other items which might have filled the focal position in the sentence. Thus each of the above sentences has an implied negative, which can be made explicit, as in the following examples:

It wasn't Jim, but John, who/that . . .
It wasn't to the theatre, but (to) the dance . . .

Apart from S, O_d, and A, the two less common clause elements O_i and C_o can marginally act as the focal element of a cleft sentence:

O_i as focus:

It was *John* (that) he gave the book
 (but *It was John (that) he gave the book to,* or *It was to John (that) he gave the book,* with focus on *John* as prepositional complement, is more likely)

C_o as focus:

It's *dark green* that we've painted the kitchen

V does not occur at all as focus, but the restriction is sometimes circumvented by using the verb in a non-finite form and substituting *do* for it in the second part of the sentence:

?It's teach(ing) that he does for a living

Note

The introductory part of a cleft sentence is largely restricted to *It is* or *It was* though other forms of *be* occur:

It *must have been* his brother that you saw

14.16

THE 'RELATIVE CLAUSE' IN CLEFT SENTENCES

The final part of the clause, after the focal element, is obviously close in structure to a restrictive relative clause: pronouns used in relative clauses (*who, that,* 'zero' pronoun) are also used to introduce cleft sentences, and they can be fronted, even from a position in a prepositional phrase:

It's *the girl* that I was complaining about (not the boy)

There are differences, however, from relative clauses, in that the *wh*-forms are rare in comparison with *that* and zero. Characteristic intonation is also different:

It was the DòG I gave the wÁTer to (*dog* is focus in cleft sentence)
It was the dog I gave the wÁTer to (*dog* is head of postmodified noun phrase)

A further difference is that the focal element in cleft sentences may be an adverbial:

It was *because he was ill* (that) we decided to return
It was *in September* (that) I first noticed it

A *wh*-pronoun cannot be used at all in cleft sentences where the focal element is an adverbial.

Note

[a] The cleft sentence structure can be used in questions, exclamations, and subordinate clauses:

Was it for this that we suffered and toiled?
Who was it who interviewed you?
What a glorious bonfire it was you made!
He told me that it was because he was ill that they decided to return

[b] The focusing function of the cleft sentence may be compared with that of the additive and restrictive adverbs *too, only,* etc (8.8 *ff*).

14.17

PSEUDO-CLEFT SENTENCES

Like the cleft sentence proper, the pseudo-cleft sentence makes explicit the division between given and new parts of the communication. It is an *SVC* sentence with a *wh*-relative nominal clause as subject or complement. The following are virtually synonymous:

$\begin{cases} \text{It's a good rest that you need most} \\ \text{A good rest is what you need most} \end{cases}$

The pseudo-cleft sentence occurs more often, however, with the *wh*-clause as subject:

What you need most is a good rest

And it is less restricted than the cleft sentence in that, through use of *do* as pro-form (10.29), it permits marked focus to fall on the verb or predication:

What he's done is (to) spoil the whole thing
What John did to his suit was (to) ruin it

The complement or 'focus' of these sentences is normally in the form of an infinitival clause (with or without *to*).

Progressive or perfective aspect in the original sentence is regularly represented in the *wh*-clause of the pseudo-cleft sentence. With the progressive, the aspect is equally reflected in the non-finite clause and this is quite often the case also with the perfective:

They are ruining the economy
   → What they *are doing* is *ruining* the economy
They have ruined the economy
   → What they *have done* is *ruined* the economy

In other respects, the pseudo-cleft sentence is more limited than the cleft sentence. Only with *what*-clauses does it freely commute with the cleft sentence construction. Clauses with *who*, *where*, and *when* are sometimes acceptable, but mainly when the *wh*-clause is subject-complement:

The police chief was *who I meant*
Here is *where the accident took place*

But *whose*, *why*, and *how*, for example, do not easily enter into the pseudo-cleft sentence construction.

14.18

Sentences of the pattern *She's a pleasure to teach*

There is a type of construction that gives the emphasis of thematic position in the main clause to the object or prepositional object of a nominal clause. The item so fronted replaces anticipatory *it* as subject of the main clause (*cf* 14.24 *ff*):

To teach her is a pleasure → It's a pleasure to teach her
                      → She's a pleasure to teach
It's fun for us to be with Margaret → Margaret is fun for us to be with

There is a similar construction for *be sure* and *be certain*, *seem* and *appear*, *be said*, *be known*, etc (*cf* 12.13). In these cases, however, the corresponding construction with anticipatory *it* requires a *that*-clause, and it is the subject of the nominal clause that is fronted:

It seems that you've made a mistake
    → You seem to have made a mistake

Existential sentences
14.19
Existential sentences are principally those beginning with the unstressed word *there*, and are so called because when unstressed *there* is followed by a form of the verb *be*, the clause expresses the notion of existence:

There is nothing healthier than a cold shower
    ('Nothing healthier exists than a cold shower')

There is a regular relation of equivalence between existential clauses with *there + be* and clauses of the standard types (7.2). The equivalence applies, however, only if the clause of the normal pattern has (1) an indefinite subject, and (2) a form of the verb *be* in its verb phrase. We may derive existential clauses from regular clauses by means of a general rule:

subject + (auxiliaries) + *be* + predication
    → *there* + (auxiliaries) + *be* + subject + predication

The subject of the original clause may be called the 'notional' subject of the *there*-sentence, so as to distinguish it from *there* itself, which for most purposes is the 'grammatical' subject (14.20).

Existential *there* is a device for leaving the subject position vacant of content; *there* may be regarded as an empty 'slot-filler'. As we have seen (14.10) the subject of a clause is thematic in typically conveying given information. But when the subject is an indefinite noun phrase, it introduces new information (4.20). Hence, in sentences like *A book is in the cupboard* there is a certain awkwardness, which may be avoided by introducing *there* and postponing the indefinite noun phrase to a non-thematic position: *There is a book in the cupboard.*

Examples of the seven clause types (7.2) are:

    SVC: Something must be wrong → There must be something wrong
    SVA: Was anyone around? → Was there anyone around?
      SV: No one was waiting → There was no one waiting
    SVO: Plenty of people are getting promotion → There are plenty of people getting promotion

SVOC: Two bulldozers have been knocking the place flat → There have been two bulldozers knocking the place flat

SVOA: A girl is putting the kettle on → There's a girl putting the kettle on

SVOO: Something is causing her distress → There's something causing her distress

Passive versions also occur:

SV_{pass}: A whole box has been stolen → There has been a whole box stolen

$SV_{pass}C$: No shops will be left open → There'll be no shops left open

Note

[a] The 'bare existential' sentence simply postulates the existence of some entity or entities. It has a simple clause structure *there* + *be* + indefinite noun phrase:

Undoubtedly, there is a God ('God exists')

There have always been wars ('Wars have always existed/taken place')

[b] The rule that existential sentences should have an indefinite noun phrase as 'notional subject' prevents the derivation of sentences like **There's the money in the box* from *The money is in the box*. This limitation can be waived, however, in answers to existential questions (actual or implied):

A: Is there anyone coming to dinner?
B: Yes, there's Harry and there's also Mrs Jones

Also acceptable is the indefinite exclamatory *the* followed by the superlative as in:

There's the oddest-looking man standing at the front door!

[c] Existential *there* occurs widely in dependent clauses:

Let me know if there's anyone waiting

It is also fronted as subject in a type of sentence discussed in 14.18:

There appears to be something wrong with the engine

14.20
Existential *there* as subject

The *there* of existential sentences differs from *there* as an introductory adverb both in lacking stress, and in behaving in most ways like the subject of the clause:

(a) It often determines concord, governing a singular form of the verb (especially in declarative sentences) even when the following 'notional subject' is plural (see 7.18 Note *a*):

There's two patients in the waiting room (informal)

occurs alongside:

There are two patients in the waiting room

(b) It can act as subject in *yes-no* and tag questions:

> *Is there* any more soup?
> There's nothing wrong, *is there?*

(c) It can act as subject in infinitive and *-ing* clauses:

> I don't want *there to be any misunderstanding*
> He was disappointed at *there being so little to do*

14.21
Existential sentences with 'relative clauses'

There is an important additional type of existential sentence which consists of *there* + *be* + noun phrase + clause resembling a postmodifying clause (*cf* 14.16). Such sentences can be related to sentences of basic clause types without the two restrictions mentioned in 14.19: the verb need not be a form of the verb *be*, and although there must be an indefinite element, it need not be subject:

> Something keeps upsetting him
> → There's something (that) keeps upsetting him
> I'd like you to meet some people
> → There's some people (that) I'd like you to meet

It is interesting that the pronoun *that* can be omitted even when it is subject of the 'relative clause', something not permissible according to the rule for normal relative clause formation.

There is also a common existential sentence pattern *there* + *be* + noun phrase + *to*-infinitive clause:

> There was no one for us to talk to
> There's (always) plenty of housework to do

Such infinitive clauses are also allied to relative clauses (*cf* 13.16), as we see on comparing

> At last there was something to write home about

with the stiffly formal construction

> At last there was something about which to write home

This type of existential sentence sometimes has a definite noun phrase as notional subject:

> There's the man next door to consider

Note
Also there is a restricted idiomatic construction consisting of *there* + *be* + negative + participial *-ing* clause:

> There's no telling what he'll do

14.22

Existential sentences with verbs other than *be*

We have finally to consider a less common, more literary type of existential clause in which *there* is followed by a verb other than *be*:

> There exist similar medieval crosses in different parts of the country
> There may come a time when Europe will be less fortunate
> Not long after this, there occurred a revolution in public taste

This construction, which may be accounted for by a simple rule S + V → *there* + V + S (where S is indefinite), is equivalent in effect and style to subject-verb inversion after an initial adverbial. One may notice that the *there* can be freely omitted in sentences of the structure A_{place} + *there* + V + S:

> In front of the carriage (there) rode two men in uniform

The notional subject of the sentence, again, usually has indefinite meaning, and the verb is selected from verbs of existence, position and movement (*lie, stand, come*, etc).

14.23

Existential sentences with *have*

Corresponding to the type of existential sentence discussed in 14.19 (*there* + *be* + S + predication) there is a type in which the thematic position is not 'empty', but is filled by a noun phrase subject preceding the verb *have* (or especially in BrE, *have got*):

> He has several friends in China

> > (*cf* There are several friends (of his) in China; Several friends (of his) are in China – Type *SVA*)

> I have two buttons missing (on my jacket)

> > (*cf* There are two buttons missing . . .; Two buttons are missing . . . – Type *SV*)

> They had a few supporters helping them

> > (*cf* There were a few supporters helping them; A few supporters were helping them – Type *SVO*)

The subject of *have* refers to a person, thing, etc, indirectly involved in the existential proposition. Often the subject's role is that of 'recipient' (7.11); but the nature of the 'recipient's' involvement in the sentence can be very vague, and the more specific meanings of *have* (eg possession) are not necessarily implied. A sentence such as *My friend had his watch*

stolen, in fact, indicates not possession, but lack of possession. The relation of the subject to the rest of the clause can often be expressed by other means, *eg* by a genitive:

> He has a brother in the navy
>> (=There is a brother of his in the navy; A brother of his is in
>> the navy)

Unlike the *there*-existential clause, the *have*-existential clause can have a 'notional subject' with definite meaning:

> He has his eldest son in a boarding school
> The car had its roof damaged
>> (*cf* *There was its roof damaged)

Furthermore, sentences with an underlying clause structure *SVA* often have a pronoun prepositional complement which refers back to the subject of *have:*

> He had his wife working for *him*
>> (*cf* His wife was working for him)
> The trees had loads of apples on *them*

Have-existential sentences can also contain relative and infinitive clauses:

> I've something I've been meaning to say to you
>> (*cf* There's something . . .)
> He has a great deal to be thankful for

The infinitive clause cannot have a subject introduced by *for* in this construction, as its semantic function has already been appropriated by the subject of *have;* contrast:

> There's a great deal *for him* to be thankful for

Note

[a] In the passive, the verb is generally actional rather than statal (*cf* 12.15 Note *b*):
My friend had his watch stolen implies 'Someone stole my friend's watch' rather than 'My friend was without a watch because it was stolen'.

[b] In a further use of this construction (especially, but not necessarily, with the passive) the subject of *have* gives up its 'recipient' role for one of indirect agency: *He had all his enemies imprisoned* is most likely to mean 'He caused all his enemies to be imprisoned'.

Postponement
Extraposition
14.24
There are devices that have the effect of removing an element from its normal position, and placing it towards or at the end of the sentence.

These devices of postponement serve the two principles of end-focus (14.2) and end-weight (14.8).

We use the term EXTRAPOSITION for postponement which involves the replacement of the postponed element (especially a nominal clause) by a substitute form.

14.25
EXTRAPOSITION OF A CLAUSAL SUBJECT

A clausal subject is often placed at the end of the sentence, and the subject position is filled by the anticipatory pronoun *it*. The resulting sentence thus contains two subjects, which we may identify as the postponed subject (the clause which is notionally the subject of the sentence) and the anticipatory subject (*it*). A simple rule for deriving a sentence with subject extraposition from one of more regular ordering is:

subject + predicate→*it* + predicate + subject

But it is worth emphasizing that for clausal subjects, extraposition is more usual than the basic position before the verb:

> *SVC:* It's a pity *to make a fool of yourself*
>   (*cf: To make a fool of yourself is a pity*)
> *SVA:* It's on the cards *that income tax will be abolished*
> *SV:* It doesn't matter *what you do*
> *SVO:* It surprised me *to hear him say that*
> *SVOC:* It makes her happy *to see others enjoying themselves*
> *SV*$_{pass}$: It is said *that she slipped arsenic into his tea*
> *SV*$_{pass}$*C:* It was considered impossible *for anyone to escape*

14.26
EXTRAPOSITION OF PARTICIPLE AND OTHER CLAUSES

Most kinds of nominal clause may be extraposed. A notable exception is the nominal relative clause; thus *Whoever said that was wrong* cannot be rendered **It was wrong whoever said that*. Extraposition of a participle clause is possible:

> It was easy *getting the equipment loaded*
>   (*cf* Getting the equipment loaded was easy)

but is not very common outside informal speech. Informal examples frequently involve negative + *use/good:*

> It's no use *telling him that*
> It wouldn't be any good *trying to catch the bus*

Note

[a] For certain constructions (*cf* 14.18, 12.19 Note *b*) which have all the appearance of clausal extraposition (*It seems/appears/happened/chanced/etc*), the corresponding

non-extraposed version does not occur. For example, there is no sentence *That everything is fine seems to correspond with It seems that everything is fine. In such cases, we may say that the extraposition is obligatory.

[b] Clauses with extraposed subject must be distinguished from superficially similar clauses in which it is a personal pronoun or empty 'prop' subject: It's good to eat (eg 'This fish is good to eat'); It's lovely weather to go fishing.

14.27
EXTRAPOSITION OF A CLAUSAL OBJECT
In SVOC and SVOA clause types, nominal clauses can or must undergo extraposition from the position of object:

SVOC
  I find it exciting working here
  (cf I find working here exciting: Working here is exciting)
  He made it his business to settle the matter

SVOA
  I owe it to you that the jury acquitted me
  (cf I owe my acquittal to you)
  Something put it into his head that she was a spy

14.28
Postponement of object in SVOC and SVOA clauses
When the object is a long and complex phrase, final placement for end-focus or end-weight is often preferred in SVOC and SVOA clause-types, but there is no substitution by it:

[A] Shift from S V O_d C_o order to S V C_o O_d order:
  They pronounced guilty every one of the accused except the man who had raised the alarm

[B] Shift from S V O_d A to S V A O_d:

  I confessed to him the difficulties I had found myself in
  We heard from his own lips the story of how he had been stranded for days without food

14.29
Order of direct objects, indirect objects, and particles
There is a free interchange, provided there are no pronouns involved, between the two orderings

(a) O_i + O_d ↔ O_d + prepositional phrase (7.6)
(b) particle + O_d ↔ O_d + particle (12.3)

The choice between the two is generally determined by the principles of end-focus and end-weight:

(a) $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{The twins told mother all their sEcrets}\\\text{The twins told all their secrets to мother}\end{array}\right.$

(b) $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{He gave all his heirlooms awλY}\\\text{He gave away all his hèIRlooms}\end{array}\right.$

14.30

Discontinuous noun phrases

Sometimes only part of an element is postponed. The most commonly affected part is the postmodification of a noun phrase, the postponement resulting in a discontinuous noun phrase (13.42):

> *A rumour* circulated *that he was secretly engaged to the Marchioness*
>   (*cf* A rumour that . . . circulated)
> *The time* had come *to decorate the house for Christmas*

The noun phrase can be a complement or object, as well as subject:

> *What business* is it *of yours?* (*cf* What business of yours is it?)
> We heard *the story* from his own lips *of how he was stranded for days without food*

Discontinuity often results, too, from the postponement of postmodifying phrases of exception (6.40):

> *All of us* were frightened *except the captain*

14.31

Pronouns in apposition

In many cases, the postponed elements undergo postponement no doubt because their length and complexity would otherwise lead to an awkwardly unbalanced sentence. With another type of noun phrase, however, it is clearly to give end-focus rather than end-weight that the postponement takes place. This is the noun phrase with an emphatic reflexive pronoun (*himself*, etc) in apposition:

> He himsÈLF told me → He told me himsÈLF
> Did you yoursÉLF paint the portrait? → Did you paint the portrait yoursÉLF?

As the emphatic reflexive pronoun frequently bears nuclear stress, the postponement is necessary here if the sentence is to have end-focus. The postponement is possible, however, only if the noun phrase in apposition with the pronoun is the subject:

> *I* showed Ian the letter *myself*
> *I showed *Ian* the letter *himself*
>   (*but cf* I showed *Ian himself* the letter)

Note

With some other cases of pronominal apposition, it is customary to postpone the second appositive to a position immediately following the operator rather than to the end of the sentence:

They're none of them experts
They don't *either of them* eat enough
We've all made up our minds

Similarly *both* and *each* (*cf* 9.42).

14.32

Other discontinuities

Comparative constructions of various types are frequently discontinuous. If we think of a comparative clause functionally as forming the postmodification of the comp-element (11.37 *ff*), then the demands of end-focus or end-weight often result in its separation from the head:

He showed less pity to his victims than any other blackmailer in the history of crime (*cf* 5.5)

The equivalent sentence without postponement would be extremely awkward: ?**He showed less pity than any other blackmailer in the history of crime to his victims.* In other cases, the comparative clause, unless postponed, would anticipate the parallel structure in the main clause, making ellipsis virtually impossible:

More people own houses *than used to years ago*

(rather than ?**More people than used to years ago own houses*). Final position for comparative clauses following *too, so,* and *enough* is normal, and therefore discontinuity is bound to arise whenever the comp-element is not in final position:

I was *so thrilled* by the present *that I forgot to thank you*

Other adjective phrases are occasionally discontinuous:

I was *afraid* after that $\left\{ \begin{matrix} to\ leave \\ of\ leaving \end{matrix} \right\}$ the children alone

14.33

Structural compensation

As part of the principle of end-weight in English, there is a feeling that the predicate of a clause should where possible be longer than the subject, thus a principle of structural compensation comes into force. With the *SV* pattern, one-word predicates are rare, and there is a preference for expressing simple present or past actions or states by some other, circumlocutory means. For example, the verb *sang* is very rarely used as a predicate in itself, although semantically complete. We may easily say *He sang well* or *He was singing,* but would rarely say simply *He sang.*

A common means of 'stretching' the predicate into a multi-word structure is the progressive aspect, as we have just seen. Another is the construction consisting of a verb of general meaning (*have, take, give,* etc) followed by an 'effected object'. The curt *He ate, He smoked,* or *He swam* can be replaced by *He had a meal, He had a smoke, He had a swim* (cf 7.15). Similarly, the habitual use of the present or past in *He smokes* and *He smoked* can be expressed by an *SVC* structure: *He is/was a smoker.*

Emotive emphasis
14.34

Apart from the emphasis given by information focus and theme, the language provides means of giving a unit purely emotive emphasis. We have noted in various chapters a number of features of this type. They include exclamations (7.63), the persuasive *do* in commands (7.58 *ff*), interjections, expletives, and intensifiers (5.14, 5.23 *ff*, 8.12 *ff*), including the general clause emphasizers such as *actually, really,* and *indeed.* A thorough study of emotive expressions would take us into the realms of figures of speech such as simile, hyperbole, and irony. Here we confine ourselves to two devices which fall squarely within the province of grammar.

14.35
Stress on operators

If an auxiliary is stressed or given nuclear prominence, the effect is often to add exclamatory emphasis to the whole sentence:

That wÌLL be nice!   What ÁRE you DÒING?   We HÁVE enjoyed
                                                   ourselves!

Auxiliary *do* is introduced where there would otherwise be no operator to bear the emphatic stress:

You DÒ look a wreck.   He 'does look PÁLE.   You 'did give me
                                                    a FRÍGHT.

This device is distinct from that of placing information focus on the operator (14.6). In the first place, emotive emphasis on the operator is not necessarily signalled by pitch prominence: ordinary sentence stress can have a similar effect. Secondly, emotive emphasis has no contrastive meaning; by saying *That wÌLL be nice,* for example, we do not imply that now or in the past things have been the opposite of nice. Further intensification, if desired, can be achieved by placing an emphasizer such as *really* or *certainly* in front of the operator: *It really does taste nice.*

14.36
Non-correlative *so* and *such*

In familiar speech, and especially perhaps in the speech of older women, stress is also applied to the determiner *such* and to the adverb *so*, to give exclamatory force to a statement, question, or command:

> He's sùch a nice man!
> Why are you 'such a bàby?
> Don't upsèt yourself 'so!

Again, for extra emphasis, the exclamatory word *so* or *such* may be given nuclear prominence: *I'm sò pleased. So* and *such* in statements are almost equivalent to *how* and *what* in exclamations (7.63):

> They're ʰsuch delightful children!
> What delightful children they are!

Note
Other words of strong emotive import may take a nuclear tone for special emotive force:

> I wìsh you'd lìsten!   I'm tèrribly sòrry!

Reinforcement
14.37
Reinforcement by repetition and pronouns

Reinforcement is a feature of colloquial style whereby some item is repeated (either completely or by pronoun substitution) for purposes of emphasis, focus, or thematic arrangement. Its simplest form is merely the reiteration of a word or phrase for emphasis or clarity:

> It's *far, far* too expensive (*cf* 5.33)
> I agree with *every word* you've said – *every single word*

A reinforcing pronoun is sometimes inserted, in informal speech, within a clause where it substitutes for an initial noun phrase (*cf* 9.52 Note *b*):

> This man I was telling you about – he used to live next door to me

The speaker may insert the pronoun because the initial phrase is too long and unwieldy to form the subject of the sentence without awkwardness or danger of confusion or because he cannot in the act of speaking think of any way of continuing without restructuring the sentence and therefore decides to make a fresh start.

14.38
Noun phrase tags

The opposite case arises when a noun phrase tag (*cf* 9.52 Note *a*) is added

to the end of a sentence in informal speech, clarifying the meaning of a pronoun within it:

They're all the sÀME, these poliTÍcians

The tag generally occurs in a separate tone unit, with a rising tone. It can be inserted parenthetically, as well as placed finally:

He's got a good future, your brother, if he perseveres

An operator is added to the noun phrase for greater explicitness in some dialects. We have therefore a tag statement rather than a tag noun phrase:

That was a lark, *that was!*
He likes a drink now and then, *Jim does*

Bibliographical note
Theme, focus, emphasis, and related matters are treated in Firbas (1966); Halliday (1967–8) and (1970); Huddleston (1971), Chapter 8; Lees (1960b); Rosenbaum (1967); Svartvik (1966).