The last three chapters have dealt with the two most fundamental categories of lexeme (parts of speech) in English, verbs and nouns. Nouns are the commonest words in text, the most abundant in the dictionary, and the most productively added to the language by word-formation processes and borrowing. Verbs are fundamental in the sense that they function as head in clause structure, and they are second only to nouns in text and dictionary frequency. All canonical clauses contain at least a noun and a verb, and the simplest ones contain just one of each: *Rain fell*, *People change*, *Kim disappeared*.

[1] i a. [*Heavy rain*] *fell.* b. [*Young people*] *change.* [adjective]

ii a. *Rain* [*fell heavily*]*.* b. *People* [*change slowly*]*.* [adverb]

[2] i *They made a lot of* [*unnecessary changes*]*.* [noun]

ii *They had* [*worried unnecessarily*]*.* [verb]

iii *Their response was* [*unnecessarily long*]*.* [adjective]

iv *They had treated him* [*unnecessarily harshly*]*.* [adverb]

[3] i a. *She* [*was awake*]*.* b. *She* [*awoke*]*.*

ii a. *She* [*was dead*]*.* b. *She* [*died*]*.*

[1] i function They can appear in three main functions: attributive (*happy people*), predicative (*They are happy*), postpositive (*someone happy*).

ii gradability They are gradable, and hence accept such degree modifiers as *very*, *too*, *enough*, and have inflectional or analytic comparatives and superlatives (*happier*, *happiest*, *more useful*, *most useful*).

iii dependents They characteristically take adverbs as modifiers (*remarkably happy*, *surprisingly good*).

[2] i *my new job all other possibilities good work* [attributive]

ii *This is new. They seem suitable. We found it easy*  [predicative comp]

iii *something important a man full of his own importance* [postpositive]

[3] i *such a nuisance so serious a problem* [NP-peripheral]

ii *the rich the bigger of the two the most useful of them* [fused modifier-head]

iii *He died young. They served the coffee blindfolded.* ) [predicative adjunct]

iv *Furious, he stormed out of the room.* )

[4] adjective adverb

i a. *a rapid improvement* b. *It rapidly improved.*

ii a. *a surprising depth* b. *surprisingly deep*/*deeply*

iii a. *Progress was rapid.* b. *We progressed rapidly.*

[5] adjective adverb

i a. *an early departure* b. *They departed early.*

ii a. *Kim's performance was better.* b. *Kim performed better.*

[6] i a. *The car is rusty.* b. *The car became rusty.*

ii a. *They are impatient.* b. *This made them impatient.*

iii a. *They are all content.* b. *They all seem content.*

[7] i a. *The car is in the garage.* b. \**The car became in*/*into the garage.*

ii a. *They are behind schedule.* b. \**This made them behind schedule.*

iii a. *They are all outside.* b. \**They all seem outside.*

[8] i *Upset, the children had daubed paint on the walls.*  [AdjP]

ii *Upstairs, the children had daubed paint on the walls.* [PP]

[9] i \**Upset, there was nothing going on.*

ii *Upstairs, there was nothing going on.*

[10] Adjectives cannot head clause-initial phrases unless they are related to a predicand, whereas prepositions can.

[11] *alphabetical ancillary chief equine federal glandular*

*latter left marine medical obtainable orthogonal*

*phonological pubic residual syllabic tenth utter*

[12] non-gradable sense gradable sense

i a. *the public highway* b. *a very public quarrel*

ii a. *Christian martyrs* b. *not very Christian behaviour*

iii a. *a British passport* b. *He sounds very British.*

iv a. *The door was open.* b. *You haven't been very open with us.*

[13] *absolute complete correct equal essential eternal*

*ideal impossible perfect supreme total unique*

[14] i *His technical ignorance had proved* [*even more complete than he had thought*]*.*

ii *A* [*more perfect*] *rake has seldom existed.*

iii *The* [*most essential*] *characteristic of mind is memory.*

[15] i a. *She was* [*very helpful*]*.* b. *His delivery was* [*too hurried*]*.* [Adj]

ii a. *She acted* [*very helpfully*]*.* b. *He spoke* [*too hurriedly*]*.* [Adv]

iii a. \**It wasn't of* [*very help*]*.* b. \**He is in a* [*too hurry*]*.* [N]

iv a. \**You haven't* [*very helped*] *us.* b. \**He had* [*too hurried*]*.* [V]

[16] i a. *You haven't* [*helped us* (*very*) *much*]*.* b. *He* [*worries too much*]*.* [V]

ii a. *It wasn't* [(*very*) *much help*]*.* b. *It was* [*too much trouble*]*.* ) [N]

iii a. *It wasn't* [(*very*) *much of a success*]*.* b. *He's in* [*too much of a hurry*]*.* )

[17] i a. \**It was* [*very before lunch*]*.* b. \**We placed it* [*too above the floor*]*.*

ii a. *He's* [*very* (*much*) *in the know*]*.* b. *He was* [*too* (*much*) *out of sorts to join in*]*.*

[18] plain comparative superlative

i *flat flatter flattest* [Adj]

ii *soon sooner soonest* [Adv]

iii *enjoy* \**enjoyer* \**enjoyest* [V]

iv *success* \**successer* \**successest* [N]

[19] i *useful more useful most useful* [Adj]

ii *seriously more seriously most seriously* [Adv]

[20] i *He* [*worries more than I do*]*.* [V]

ii *It was* [*more trouble than it was worth*]*.* ) [N]

iii *It was* [*more of a success than I'd expected*]*.* )

[21] i a. *He wasn't* [*old enough*]*.* b. \**He wasn't* [*enough old*]*.* [Adj]

ii a. *He can't speak* [*clearly enough*]*.* b. \**He can't speak* [*enough clearly*]*.* [Adv]

iii a. *He doesn't* [*care enough*]*.* b. \**He doesn't* [*enough care*]*.* [V]

iv a. *There isn't* [*enough time*]*.* b. *There isn't* [*time enough*]*.* ) [N]

v a. *He isn't* [*enough of a scholar*]*.* b. \**He isn't* [*of a scholar enough*]*.* )

[22] i a. *He isn't* [*keen enough on the idea*]*.* b. ?*He isn't* [*keen on the idea enough*]*.*

ii a. *He didn't* [*care enough about me*]*.* b. *He didn't* [*care about me enough*]*.*

iii a. \**He doesn't* [*like enough the idea*]*.* b. *He doesn't* [*like the idea enough*]*.*

[23] i *I'm not* [*enough in control of things to go away for a week*]*.*

ii \**I'm not* [*in enough control of things to go away for a week*]*.*

iii ?*I'm not* [*in control enough of things to go away for a week*]*.*

iv ?*I'm not* [*in control of things enough to go away for a week*]*.*

[24] head modifier

i *They were subjected to* [*excessive force*]*.* noun adjective

ii *She* [*worries excessively*]*.* verb ) adverb

iii *He was* [*excessively persistent*]*.* adjective )

iv *They had been driving* [*excessively fast*]*.* adverb )

[25] i Phrases with a noun as non-fused head can occur as subject, object or predicative complement in clause structure.

ii Count nouns inflect for number.

iii Nouns characteristically take adjectives as pre-head modifiers.

iv Nouns take determiner dependents.

[26] i *It was a very professional performance.* [Adj]

ii *She did better than all the professionals.* [N]

[27] *a government inquiry student performance a London park the Clinton administration the Jennifer factor the biology syllabus a computer error*

[28] i a. *the federal government* b. *a federal government inquiry*

ii a. *mature students* b. *mature student performance*

[29] i a. *a red jacket* b. *The jacket is red.*

ii a. *a government inquiry* b. \**The inquiry is government.*

[30] i *They will be playing modern music, but I prefer* [*classical*]*.*

ii *She has answered* [*the most important of your criticisms*]*.*

iii *They claim the changes will benefit* [*only the very poor*]*.*

[31] *another any each either enough every*

*much neither* ***no*** *some that this*

***we***d *what*int/rel *whatever which whichever you*d

[32] a. *one*/*three*/*which*/*neither of them* b. \*(*the*) *good of them*

[33] *all both certain few little many*

*several sufficient various* cardinal numerals

[34] i a. *We made* [*too many mistakes*]*.* b. \**We made* [*too numerous mistakes*]*.*

ii a. *You gave me* [*too much sugar*]*.* b. \**You gave me* [*too hard work*]*.*

iii a. [no count singular] b. *He made* [*too serious an error*]*.*

[35] verb adjective

i a. *She was sleeping.* [progressive] b. *This was disturbing.*

ii a. *He was killed.* ) [passive] b. *He was very distressed.*

iii a. *They were seen.* ) b. *He was drunk.*

[36] verb adjective

i a. *a sleeping child* b. *some disturbing news*

ii a. *a rarely heard work by Purcell* b. *her very worried parents*

[1] i a. *He was* [*afraid of dogs*]*.* b. *He was* [*afraid*]*.*

ii a. *Kim was* [*very keen to take part*]*.* b. *Kim was* [*very keen*]*.*

iii a. *He's* [*happy to leave it to you*]*.* b. *He's* [*happy*]*.*

[2] i a. *They are* [*mindful of the danger*]*.* b. \**They are* [*mindful*]*.*

ii a. *We were* [*loath to accept their help*]*.* b. \**We were* [*loath*]*.*

iii a. *They were* [*fraught with danger*]*.* b. *They were* [*fraught*]*.*

[3] i a. *This is* [*tantamount to a confession*]*.* b. \**their tantamount confession*

ii a. *They were* [*heedless of the danger*]*.* b. *this heedless destruction of the forests*

[4] *ambulatory* *bald* *concise* *dead* *enormous* *farcical*

*gigantic* *hasty* *immediate* *jaunty* *lovely* *main*

*nefarious* *ostentatious* *purple* *quiet* *red* *regular*

*salty* *tentative* *urban* *vivid* *wild* *young*

[5] *annoyed about the delay*   *concerned about the cost*   *mad about you*

[6] *aggrieved angry annoyed concerned cross delighted*

*glad happy knowledgeable mad pleased reasonable*

[7] *aghast at the news indignant at the allegations pleased at being invited*

*adept at making people feel at home good at chess hopeless at arithmentic*

[8] *adept aghast alarmed amazed amused angry*

*astonished bad brilliant clever delighted disgusted*

*gifted good hopeless indignant mad marvellous*

*pleased puzzled skilled superb talented terrible*

[9] *very distressed by these insinuations completely unaffected by the changes*

[10] *amused distressed hurt unaffected unperturbed worried*

[11] *responsible for the poor performance bad for you greedy for power*

[12] *answerable anxious bad difficult eager easy*

*good grateful greedy necessary responsible sorry*

[13] *divorced from reality remote from everyday life distinct from each other*

[14] *alienated averse different differentiated distant distinct*

*divorced free immune remote removed separated*

[15] *bathed in sunlight fortunate in our choice confident in my ability covered in dust dressed in military uniform engaged in a court battle steeped in history*

[16] *bathed clothed confident covered decisive domiciled*

*dressed embroiled engaged fortunate inherent interested*

*lacking lucky rooted secure steeped swathed*

[17] *afraid of dogs capable of murder fond of children sure of his facts indicative of its importance supportive of her husband very kind of you*

[18] i *afraid ashamed aware beloved bereft capable*

*certain characteristic cognisant conscious constitutive convinced*

*desirous destructive devoid distrustful fond full*

*heedless ignorant illustrative indicative mindful productive*

*proud reminiscent representative respectful scared short*

*suggestive supportive sure tired wary worthy*

ii *careless considerate generous good honest idiotic*

*kind naive noble pleasant silly stupid*

[19] *based on*/*upon firm evidence bent on*/*upon vengeance incumbent on*/*upon us set on*/*upon regaining power a bit tough on the audience sweet on her*

[20] i *based bent contingent dependent incumbent intent*

*reliant set*

ii *big easy hard keen severe sweet*

[21] *accustomed to getting his own way allergic to morphine beholden to no one good to me responsible to the president similar to mine subject to revision*

[22] *accustomed allergic allied answerable attributable attuned*

*averse beholden comparable conducive congruent connected*

*devoted different distasteful due equal equivalent*

*generous good hospitable hostile impervious inclined*

*inferior injurious integral kind liable mean*

*nice opposed parallel prone proportional receptive*

*reconciled related resigned resistant responsible similar*

*subject subordinate subservient superior susceptible tantamount*

[23] *very friendly towards us strongly inclined towards the other candidate  respectful towards authority not very sympathetic towards new ideas*

[24] *antagonistic friendly hostile inclined respectful sympathetic*

[25] *careful with money conversant with the rules fed up with the noise good with her hands happy with the result obsessed with sex tinged with gold*

[26] *angry annoyed bored browned off busy careful*

*cautious comfortable compatible concerned connected consonant*

*content conversant covered cross delighted depressed*

*disappointed disgusted distressed effective enchanted familiar*

*fed up firm fraught friendly furious gentle*

*good happy harsh impatient obsessed occupied*

*parallel pleased reckless riddled rife satisfied*

*sick skilful stricken strict taken tinged*

[27] a. %*different than it used to be*  b. *the same as last time*

[28] a. %*different other* b. *same* ?*similar* *such*

[29] i *I'm* [*glad that* *you were able to come*]*.* [declarative content clause]

ii *She was* [*insistent that the charge be dropped*]*.* [mandative]

iii *I'm not* [*sure whether that will be possible*]*.* [interrogative]

iv *I was* [*amazed what a fuss he made*]*.* [exclamative]

v *She is* [*willing to renegotiate the deal*]*.* [infinitival]

vi *Kim is* [*hard to please*]*.* [hollow infinitival]

vii *She was* [*busy marking assignments*]*.* [gerund-participial]

viii *The offer is certainly* [*worth considering*]*.* [hollow gerund-participial]

[30] i *The book turned out to be* [*worth seventy dollars*]*.*

ii *Jill is* [*very like her brother*]*.*

[31] verbal *owe* adjectival *due*

i a. *The bank now owes you $750.* b.\_\_

ii a. *You are now owed $750.* b. *You are now due $750.*

iii a. *$750 is now owed you.* b. *$750 is now due you.*

iv a. *The bank now owes $750 to you.* b. \_\_

v a. *$750 is now owed to you.* b. *$750 is now due to you.*

[32] i *The bill wasn't* [*as large as we'd expected*]*.*

ii *I'm* [*fonder of them than you*]*.*

iii *They were* [*so small you could hardly see them*]*.*

iv *This is still* [*too hot to drink*]*.*

[33] i *She is* [*quite incredibly generous*]*.* [AdvP]

ii *It surely isn't* [*that important*]*.* [determinative]

iii *The nail was* [*two inches long*]*.* [NP]

iv *The view was* [*beautiful beyond description*]*.* [PP]

v *He is now* [*the fattest he's ever been*]*.* [relative clause]

[34] i *his* [*occasionally very offensive*] *behaviour* [stacked modification]

ii *his* [*quite unbelievably offensive*] *behaviour* [submodification]

[35] a. stacked modification b. submodification

AdjP AdjP

Modifier: Head: Modifier: Head:

Adv AdjP AdvP Adj

Modifier: Head: Modifier: Head:

Adv Adj Adv Adv

*occasionally very offensive quite unbelievably offensive*

[36] non-comparative comparative

i a. *very*/\**much young* b. *much*/\**very younger*

ii a. *this* / \**this much expensive* b. *this much* / \**this more expensive*

iii a. \**far excellent* b. *far superior*

[37] i [*The bigger*] *it is,* [*the more likely*] *it is to break down.* [*the*]

ii *They are* [*this tall*]*.* [*this*]

iii *The meals aren't* [*that expensive*]*.* [*that*]

iv *It's* [*no better than it was before*]*.* [*no*]

v *We're not getting* [*any younger*]*.* [*any*]

vi *It's* [*much smaller than I expected*]*.* [*much*]

vii *They spent a lot of money, but it's* [*little better than it was before*]*.* [*little*]

viii *I'm feeling* [*a little disappointed*]*.* [*a little*]

ix *I thought you were* [*old enough to know better*]*.* [*enough*]

x *He seemed* [*all confused*]*.* [*all*]

[38] i *three years old*  *five centimetres thick*  *a foot wide*  *two hours long*

ii *a great deal smaller a* (*whole*) *lot different lots better heaps worse*

iii *a bit lax a smidgin overripe a tad greasy a trifle shy plenty big enough*

[39] i *cautious to excess clear in his mind dangerous in the extreme deaf in both ears very good for a beginner happy beyond belief polite in her manner young at heart too long by a mile not very good at all*

ii *these* [*in some respects highly controversial*] *ideas* *his* [*at times very offensive*] *behaviour* *this* [*in my view quite outrageous*] *suggestion an* [*on the whole persuasive*] *argument* *their* [*to some extent perfectly valid*] *objections*

[40] i The AdjP begins with one of the modifiers *how*, *as*, *so*, *too*, *this*, *that*.

ii The AdjP has *such* or exclamative *what* as head.

[41] i [*How big a company*] *is it? It was* [*so serious a matter* *that we called the police*]*. Don't make* [*too big a fuss*]*. I've never seen* [*that big a spider*] *before.* \**They have* [*quite big a house*]*.* \**It's* [*excessively big a risk*]*.*

ii *It's* [*such a pity you can't come*]*.* [*What a waste of time*] *it was!* \**She's* [*excellent a pianist*]*.*

[42] predicative attributive

i a. *She's* [*very good at chess*]*.* b. \**a* [*very good at chess*] *friend*

ii a. *She's* [*generous to a fault*]*.* b. \**a* [*generous to a fault*] *sister*

iii a. *It's* [*easy to find*]*.* b. \**an* [*easy to find*] *place*

[43] *a* [*big enough*] *room a* [*better than average*] *result the* [*larger than expected*] *profit his* [*hard as nails*] *attitude to the workers a* [*ready-to-eat*] *TV meal*

[44] i a. *They are* [*a great deal better*]*.* b. \**some* [*a great deal better*] *proposals*

ii a. *She is* [*three years old*]*.* b. \**a* [*three years old*] *child*

[45] i a. *How safe are these cars?* b. \**How safe cars are these?*

ii a. *This coffee is too sweet.* b. \**I don't like too sweet coffee.*

[46] i *They want* [*someone young*]*.* [compound determinative as fused head]

ii *They want* [*a leader younger than you*]*.* [ordinary noun as head]

[47] i a. *They chose* [*a young leader*]*.* b. \**They chose* [*a leader young*]*.*

ii a. *We saw* [*a black swan*]*.* b. \**We saw* [*a swan black*]*.*

[48] i a. *his often irrational behaviour* b. *His behaviour was often irrational.*

ii a. *a probably futile attempt* b. *The attempt will be probably futile.*

[1] *damn drunken ersatz erstwhile eventual former*

*frigging future latter lone maiden main*

*marine mere mock only own premier*

*principal putative self-confessed self-same self-styled soi-disant*

*sole umpteenth utter veritable very would-be*

[2] attributive-only use predicative use

i a. *the late queen* (recently deceased) b. *She is late.* (behind schedule)

ii a. *my old school* (former) b. *He is old.* (has lived a long time)

iii a. *a hard worker* (one who works hard) b. *The work is hard.* (difficult)

iv a. *complete nonsense* (absolute) b. *The work is complete.* (finished)

v a. *the lawful heir* (lawfully determined) b. *It is quite lawful.* (legal)

[3] i entailment *X is a shy N* entails *X is an N* (e.g. *Tom is a shy man* entails *Tom is a man*).

ii subset *A shy N* gives an answer to the question *What kind of an N is X?* (e.g. *A shy man* is an answer to the question *What kind of a man is Tom?*)

iii modifiability *Shy* can itself be modified (e.g. *a very shy man*).

iv pro-form *Shy* can modify the pro-form ***one*** (e.g. *Tom is the shy one*).

[4] i *Tom is a lone parent* entails *Tom is a parent*.

ii *Tom is the putative father* does not entail *Tom is the father*.

[5] i *A marine biologist* is an answer to the question *What kind of a biologist is she?*

ii *A mere child* is not an answer to the question *What kind of a child is she?*

[6] i a. *a hard worker* b. *a very hard worker*

ii a. *the late queen* b. \**the very*/*apparently late queen*

[7] i a. *the main objections* b. *the main ones*

ii a. *an utter disgrace* b. \**an utter one*

[8] i  *a complete fool a definite advantage the extreme end*

*an outright lie a perfect stranger a positive joy*

*a pretty mess pure nonsense a real help*

*a right idiot sheer arrogance total disarray*

*a true heroine an utter disgrace the very edge*

ii *a blithering idiot a crashing bore a thumping majority*

[9] *her complete works the entire class full agreement*

*further instalments a lone parent an occasional truck*

*the odd lizard the only escape scant attention*

*a single objection the usual place the whole book*

[10] i *his current girlfriend an erstwhile gangster the eventual outcome*

*his former wife* *future progress a new friend*

*my old school the original plan past students*

*the present manager the previous attempt its ultimate demise*

ii  *the lower lip her right eye* *the southern states*

[11]  *clerical duties criminal law foreign affairs*

*a historical novelist a lunar landing a marine biologist*

*a mathematical genius a medical journal a medieval scholar*

*a military expert a moral dilemma musical analysis*

*a nuclear physicist Platonic realism urban policy*

[12]  *a big eater a fast worker a firm believer*

*a hard worker a heavy smoker a rapid reader*

*a slow learner a sound sleeper a strong advocate*

[13] i *the actual cause an apparent discrepancy a certain winner*

*the likely benefits a possible explanation a potential customer*

*the probable result the putative father the true course of events*

ii *a self-confessed thief* *the self-styled prince the soi-disant emperor*

iii *ersatz champagne a mock trial a would-be novelist*

[14] i *a certain house a particular area*

ii *the chief reason the prime suspect the main objection*

*our premier scientists the principal factor the ultimate perk*

[15] i *my dear mother her poor father the wretched car*

ii *a bleeding nitwit the bloody tax inspector a fucking investigation*

[16] *smoked* [*a discreet cigarette*] *a drunken brawl their insane cackle*

*a nude photo of the mayor a quiet cup of tea your own stupid fault*

[17] *ablaze* *afloat* *afoot* *afraid* *aghast* *agleam*

*aglimmer* *aglitter aglow* *agog ajar* *akin*

*alight* *alike alive* *alone* *amiss* *askew*

*asleep* *averse* *awake* *aware* *awash* *awry*

[18] *able* (inf) *accustomed* (*to*) *apt* (inf) *conscious* (*of*) *desirous* (*of*)

*devoid* (*of*) *fond* (*of*) *fraught* (*with*) *intent* (*on*) *liable* (inf)

[19] i a. *They are able to talk.* b. *an able worker*

ii a. *We are accustomed to hard work.* b. *his accustomed manner*

iii a. *I was conscious of the danger.* b. *a conscious effort*

iv a. *I'm very fond of them.* b. *fond memories*

v a. *It is fraught with danger.* b. *a rather fraught evening*

[20] i *faint* *ill* *poorly* *sick*d BrE *unwell* *well*

ii *bereft content drunk glad present rife sorry*

[21] i *restaurants aplenty flowers galore the city proper*

ii *Attorney General designate the President elect a Nobel laureate*

[22] i *It was a* [*long, long way*]*.* [intensificatory repetition]

ii *A* [*tiny little bird*] *flew in.* [intensificatory tautology]

[23] *bad big bright cold cool cruel deep fine*

*good great hard heavy high hot huge large*

*long low nasty real sad short sick small*

*smart soft tight tiny tough vast wide wild*

[24] i *In numerous, numerous instances, what he told us has turned out to be true.*

ii *This has become a powerful, powerful weapon for the government.*

iii *The company has faced a serious of major, major setbacks.*

[25] modifier of noun modifier of verb

i a. *old houses* b. \**They endured old.*

ii a. \**her quite enjoyment of it* b. *She quite enjoyed it.*

iii a. *a remarkable*/\**remarkably change* b. *It changed remarkably*/\**remarkable.*

[26] i a. *They* [*almost suffocated*]*.* [verb]

b. *The article was* [*almost incomprehensible*]*.* [adjective]

c. *She* [*almost always*] *gets it right.* [adverb]

d. [*almost all*] *the candidates failed.* [determinative]

e. *They are* [*almost without equal*]*.* [PP]

f. *She read* [*almost the whole book*] *in one day.* [NP]

ii a. *He* [*behaved annoyingly*]*.* [verb]

b. *We'd had enough of his* [*annoyingly unpredictable*] *behaviour.* [adjective]

c. *They are late* [*annoyingly often*]*.* [adverb]

d. *Annoyingly, they hadn't left us any milk.* [clause]

[27] Adverbs characteristically modify verbs and other categories except nouns, especially adjectives and adverbs.

[28] i [*According to Mary,*] *we have no chance of winning.*

ii *The basket is outside.*

[29] i *yesterday*, *today*, *tomorrow*, *tonight* [pronouns]

ii *the*, *this*, *that*, *all*, *any*, *a little*,***much***,***little***, *enough* [determinatives]

[30] i *Yesterday was the first day for weeks that it hasn't rained.*

ii *They arrived yesterday.*

iii [*Their behaviour yesterday*] *was quite embarrassing.*

[31] i a. *We haven't got* [*much time*]*.* b. *She wrote* [*this book*]*.*

ii a. *We didn't* [*like it much*]*.* b. *She is* [*this tall*]*.*

[32] i a. *their final performance* b. *They finally left.*

ii a. *the individual members* b. *We must examine them individually.*

iii a. *a real disappointment* b. *I really enjoyed it.*

iv a. *a total failure* b. *She's totally absorbed in her work.*

[33] i *afraid aghast alive asleep awake awash*

ii *inferior junior major minor senior superior*

iii *friendly leisurely lonely poorly silly ugly*

iv *hurt improved surrounded unexplained written Paris-based*

v *American British Chinese European Parisian Iraqi*

vi *blue brown green purple red yellow*

vii *big content drunk fake fat female*

*foreign good key little long macho*

*male modern nuclear old prime sick*

*small sorry tall urban woollen young*

[34] i *bodily namely partly purposely matter-of-factly*

ii *accordingly exceedingly jokingly longingly*

[35] i *afresh again aloud anew apace astray*

ii *almost already also altogether always anyhow*

*anyway somehow sometimes somewhat*

iii *edgeways lengthways sideways clockwise crabwise crosswise*

*likewise otherwise moneywise healthwise plotwise weatherwise*

iv *forthwith furthermore indeed maybe meantime meanwhile*

*moreover* *nevertheless nonetheless nowadays oftentimes* *doubtless*

v *never neither nor once thrice twice*

[36] adjective adverb

i a. *She's a hard worker.* b. *She works hard.*

ii a. *It's a real gem.* b. *That's real nice of you.*

iii a. *They make regular payments.* b. !*They pay the rent regular.*

[37] *about dead even far ill jolly just*

*only pretty sometime still straight very well*

[38] *About five people were present. You're dead right. He won't even talk to me. This one is far better. He won't speak ill of her. We had a jolly good time. It was just big enough. I've only got two dollars. It's pretty dangerous. We must get together sometime. I still love you. He went straight to bed. You are very kind. She speaks French well.*

[39] i *daily hourly weekly deadly kindly likely*

ii *downright freelance full-time non-stop off-hand outright*

*overall part-time three-fold wholesale worldwide*

iii *bleeding bloody damn*(*ed*) *fucking*

iv *clean clear dear deep direct fine*

*first flat free full high last light loud low mighty plain right*

*scarce sharp slow sure tight wrong*

v *alike alone early extra fast hard*

*how*(*ever*) *late long next okay solo*

[40] i a. *a deep wound* b. *the wrong decision* [adjective]

ii a. *It cut deep into his flesh.* b. *He guessed wrong.* ) [adverb]

iii a. *They were deeply distressed.* b. *He acted wrongly.* )

[41] i a. \**They are singing loud.* b. *They are singing louder than usual.*

ii a. \**Kim was moving slow.* b. *Kim was moving the slowest of them all.*

[42] *as but either else ever least*

*less more most no not often*

*perhaps please quite rather seldom so*

*some soon though thus too way*

*why yes yet*

[43] *about also but either however moreover*

*neither nor perhaps please therefore though*

[44] i *The subsidiary is today operating* [*almost entirely separately from the rest of the company*]*.*

ii *The duel solves disputes* [*independently of abstract principles of justice*]*.*

iii *We should make our decision* [*independently of whether we plan to take immediate action to implement it*]*.*

iv *Purchase of State vehicles is handled* [*similarly to all State purchases*]*.*

v *Foreign firms in U.S. markets are treated* [*equally with their U.S. counterparts*]*.*

vi %*There were some people who reacted* [*differently than you did*]*.*

[45] *The two plaintiffs' lawyers also dissented* [*separately*] *from most of the major recommendations in the report.*

[46] i *to*: *analogously comparably identically similarly*

ii *with*: *concomitantly concurrently consistently simultaneously*

[47] i [*Fortunately for me,*] *my mother was unusually liberal-minded.*

ii [*Luckily for them,*] *Mr Keswick decided not to call their bluff.*

iii [*Happily for the middle class,*] *the workers hate pointy‑headed intellectuals.*

[48] *annoyingly* *comfortingly* *encouragingly* *gratifyingly* *humiliatingly*

*pleasantly* *pleasingly* *rewardingly* *satisfyingly* *thankfully*

[49] i *He came to see me* [*directly he got the letter*]*.*

ii *You can watch the program, but* [*immediately it's over*] *you're to go to bed.*

[50] i *He didn't read it* [*as carefully as he should have done*]*.*

ii *She works* [*harder than he does*]*.*

iii *She spoke* [*so softly that I couldn't make out what she said*]*.*

iv *He had read the paper* [*too hurriedly to be able to see its shortcomings*]*.*

[51] i *She loses her temper* [*only very rarely*]*.* [stacked modification]

ii *They had sung* [*quite remarkably well*]*.* [submodification]

[52] i *They are fairly evenly matched.*

ii *He reads surprisingly slowly.*

iii *They had done the job really incredibly meticulously.*

[53] i *The bigger it is,* [*the sooner*] *it disintegrates.* [*the*]

ii *I hadn't expected to be able to do it* [*this easily*]*.* [*this*]

iii *I'm afraid we didn't do* [*all that well*]*.* [*that*]

iv *She can run* [*much faster than me*]*.* [*much*]

v *They had performed* [*little better than the previous time*]*.* [*little*]

vi *I had* [*no sooner*] *got into bed than the phone rang.* [*no*]

vii *She doesn't seem to have grown* [*any less*] *extravagant.* [*any*]

viii *He had answered* [*a little indiscreetly*]*.* [*a little*]

ix *You didn't express yourself* [*clearly enough*]*.* [*enough*]

x *They had begun* [*all enthusiastically*]*.* [*all*]

[54] i *We arrived* [*three hours late*]*.*

ii *He works* [*a great deal harder than he used to*]*.*

iii *Things are moving* [*a bit slowly*]*.*

iv *She died* [*later that morning*]*.*

[55] i *They had behaved* [*badly in the extreme*]*.*

ii [*Later in the day*] *the situation had improved slightly.*

iii [*Increasingly of late,*] *one of the latter varieties may dominate, particularly merlot.*

[1] i *You'll have* [*to word your reply very carefully*]*.*

ii *It is now only occasionally that they travel interstate.*

iii *I didn't hear about it* [*until recently*]*.*

iv *There's no way they can treat us* [*except leniently*]*.*

[2] semantic type position

i *Happily, they watched TV until dinner.* evaluation front

ii *They happily watched TV until dinner.* manner central

iii *They watched TV happily until dinner.* manner end

iv *They watched TV until dinner happily.* manner end

[3] i *I would frankly* [*want a lot more money than that for it*]*.* [speech-act related]

ii *I would* [*frankly explain to him what the position was*]*.* [manner]

[4] i a. *Probably they would watch TV for hours.* modality front

b. *They probably would watch TV for hours.* modality pre-auxiliary

b. *They would probably watch TV for hours.* modality post-auxiliary

ii a. ? *Contentedly they would watch TV for hours.* manner front

b. ? *They contentedly would watch TV for hours.* manner pre-auxiliary

c. *They would contentedly watch TV for hours.* manner post-auxiliary

b. *They would watch TV contentedly for hours.* manner end

b. *They would watch TV for hours contentedly.* manner end

[5] VP-oriented adjuncts

i manner *She walked unsteadily to the door.*

ii means or instrument *Planets can be detected radio-telescopically.*

iii act-related *They deliberately kept us waiting.*

iv degree *The share price has increased enormously.*

v temporal location *She subsequently left town.*

vi duration *We were staying in a motel temporarily.*

vii aspectuality *Some of the guests are already here.*

viii frequency *Do you come here often?*

ix serial order *The play was next performed in 1901.*

[6] clause-oriented adjuncts

i domain *Politically, the country is always turbulent.*

ii modality *This is necessarily rather rare.*

iii evaluation *Fortunately this did not happen.*

iv speech act-related *Frankly, I'm just not interested.*

v connective *Moreover, he didn't even apologise.*

[7] i AdvPs realising VP-oriented adjuncts are more closely associated with the VP constituents, and more likely to be positioned in the VP or adjacent to the VP.

ii AdvPs realising clause-oriented adjuncts are less closely associated with the VP constituents and less likely to be positioned in the VP or adjacent to the VP.

[8] i a. *They had luckily already left.* b. ?*They had already luckily left.*

ii a. *It probably sometimes fails.* b. ?*It sometimes probably fails.*

[9] i a. ?*Statistically, we analysed it.* b. \**Statistically we analysed it.*

ii a. ?*Are you a spy, honestly?* b. \**Are you a spy honestly?*

[10] i VP-oriented adjuncts

a. VP-oriented adjuncts often prefer end position, where prosodic detachment is not normal except to separate the indication of manner from the rest of the clause, perhaps as a kind of afterthought.

b. Central position (after the tensed auxiliary if there is one) is an alternative, especially if this means the adjunct is adjacent to the lexical verb of the VP it is semantically associated with, rather than being separated from it by secondary forms of auxiliaries. Prosodic detachment in this case is not normal, but would signal that the adjunct was an interpolation.

c. Front position is highly unusual for VP-oriented adjuncts, and if used will normally require prosodic detachment.

ii clause-oriented adjuncts

a. Clause-oriented adjuncts tend to prefer front position, where prosodic detachment is normal.

b. Central position (preferably after the auxiliary if there is one) is an alternative, with prosodic detachment often preferred.

c. End position is strongly disfavoured unless there is prosodic detachment.

[11] VP-oriented adjunct (manner)

i a. ? *Expertly, Chris had repaired it.* b. ?*Expertly Chris had repaired it.*

ii a. *Chris, expertly, had repaired it.* b. ?*Chris expertly had repaired it.*

iii a. *Chris had, expertly, repaired it.* b. *Chris had expertly repaired it.*

iv a. *Chris had repaired it, expertly.* b. *Chris had repaired it expertly.*

[12] clause-oriented adjunct (evaluation)

i a. *Luckily, Chris had forgotten it.* b. *Luckily Chris had forgotten it.*

ii a. *Chris, luckily, had forgotten it.* b. ?*Chris luckily had forgotten it.*

iii a. *Chris had, luckily, forgotten it.* b. *Chris had luckily forgotten it.*

iv a. *Chris had forgotten it, luckily.* b. \**Chris had forgotten it luckily.*

[13] *frankly* manner \* *Chris* \* *won't* *talk* *about* *it*

[14] i *Frankly he won't talk about it* and *He frankly won't talk about it* have no chance of being interpreted with *frankly* as a manner adjunct (both would be interpreted with *frankly* as speech-act related).

ii Any of *He won't frankly talk about it*, *He won't talk frankly about it*, and *He won't talk about it frankly* are fully acceptable with the manner adjunct reading.

[15] i *erratically* manner \* *Bill* \* *would* *stagger* *around*

ii *arithmetically* means \* *it* \* *was* *established* *today*

[16] act-related

*foolishly* (subjective) *she* *has* *gone* \* *to* *the police* \*

*deliberately* (volitional) ? *they* ? *were*  *delaying*

[17] i *almost* degree \* *I* *died* \*

ii *thoroughly* degree \* *I* *agree* \* *with you*

[18] i *earlier* temporal location *she* ? *had* *left* ? *for Chicago*

ii *temporarily* duration ? *we* ? *are* *staying* *with mother*

iii *already* aspectuality ? *our guests* ? *are* *here*

iv *often* frequency ? *he* ? *would* *visit her*

[19] i *last* serial order \* *I* ? *had* *eaten* *the previous day* \*

ii *next* serial order \* *Salome* ? *was*  *performed*  *in 1926* ?

[20] i *politically* domain *this* ? *will* ? *become* ? *very unpleasant*

ii *probably*  modality *she*  *will* *go* ? *with them*

[21] i *unfortunately* evaluation *they* ? *had*  *set out* ? *too late* ?

ii *frankly* speech act-related *this* ? *is* ? *becoming* ? *a joke* ?

[22] i *We ask you* [*not to leave your seats*]*.* [pre-marker]

ii *We ask you* [*to please remain seated*]*.* [post-marker]

[23] i a. *I want really to humiliate him.* b. *We aim utterly to ignore it.* [pre-marker]

ii a. *I want to really humiliate him.* b. *We aim to utterly ignore it.* [post-marker]

[24] i *I urge you* [*to really immerse yourself in the topic*]*.*

ii *I hope* [*eventually to have my own business*]*.*

iii *I want desperately* [*to see him again*]*.*

[25] i *The board voted* [*to immediately approve building it*]*.*

ii *The board voted immediately to approve building it.*

[26] i *The board voted to approve immediately building it.*

ii *The board voted to approve building it immediately.*

[27] i *I hadn't expected her to almost break the record.*

ii *Following this rule has the potential to actually create ambiguities.*

iii *I wouldn't advise you to even consider accepting their offer.*

iv *It's important not to further complicate an already very tense situation.*

[28] i *his* [*quietly confident*] *demeanour* [manner]

ii *their* [*unintentionally humorous*] *remarks* [act-related]

iii *his* [*internationally famous*] *daughter-in-law* [spatial location]

iv *his* [*recently very aggressive*] *behaviour* [temporal location]

v *his* [*permanently sullen*] *expression* [duration]

vi *an* [*already quite difficult*] *situation* [aspectuality]

vii *her* [*sometimes very harsh*] *criticisms* [frequency]

viii *his* [*again totally uncomprehending*] *response* [serial order]

ix *an* [*extremely valuable*] *contribution* [degree]

x *the* [*consequently inevitable*] *decline* [reason]

xi *their* [*nevertheless very valid*] *objection* [concession]

xii *the* [*otherwise preferable*] *course of action* [condition]

xiii *a* [*philosophically very naive*] *argument* [domain]

xiv *a* [*probably unintentional*] *slight* [modality]

xv *their* [*fortunately quite rare*] *misunderstandings* [evaluation]

xvi *this* [*frankly rather unsavoury*] *character* [speech-act related]

[29] *absolutely amazingly awfully barely completely considerably*

*dreadfully easily enormously entirely exceedingly excessively*

*extensively extremely fairly fantastically fully greatly*

*hardly highly hugely immensely incredibly infinitely*

*intensely largely moderately nearly noticeably partly*

*perfectly positively practically profoundly purely really*

*reasonably relatively remarkably simply slightly strikingly*

*strongly sufficiently supremely suspiciously terribly totally*

*tremendously truly unbelievably utterly virtually wonderfully*

[30] manner degree

i a. *They behaved dreadfully.* b. *I'm dreadfully sorry.*

ii a. *He was acting suspiciously.* b. *The kids are suspiciously quiet.*

iii a. *She solved the problem easily.* b. *She speaks easily the most fluently.*

[31] *about almost altogether as* v *bloody damn* v

*dead* v *downright even* v c *extra* v *far* c *how*

*however indeed jolly* v *just least less*

*mighty* v *more most not outright plain* v

*pretty* v *quite rather real* v *so somewhat*

*still* c *too* v *very* v *way* c *well yet* c

[32] i *far less useful*  *far too old* \**far old*

ii *much more important much too dangerous* \**much dangerous*

iii *still better* \**still too expensive* \**still expensive*

[33] i *I enjoyed the evening but it would have been still better if you had been there.*

ii *Tuesday is possible, but Friday would be better, and Sunday better still*.

[34] *as tall as Kim damn rude dead right even better extra careful jolly good*

*mighty generous plain wrong pretty stupid real kind too big very old*

[35] i *She was too tired to continue.*

ii *We didn't go out: it was too wet.*

[36] i *way more useful almost unbelievably greedy quite amazingly irresponsible*

*just barely alive not entirely too eager bloody nearly completely useless*

ii *very, very good much, much better far, far more interesting*

[37] *We are fortunate indeed to live in such a wonderful country.*

[38] i *You can* [*only exit from this lane*]*.*

ii *Jill had* [*also attended the history seminar*]*.*

[39] i a. The only thing you can do from this lane is exit.

b. This is the only lane from which you can exit.

ii a. Those attending the history seminar included Jill as well as others.

b. The seminars Jill attended included the one on history as well as some other(s).

c. The things Jill attended included the history seminar as well as others.

d. The things Jill did included attending the history seminar as well as others.

[40] i \**It is only that you can exit from this lane.*

ii *It is also that Jill had attended the history seminar.*

[41] *alone but exactly exclusively just merely*

*only precisely purely simply solely*

[42] i *He loves* [*only his work*]*.* [NP]

ii *It's the sort of thing that could happen* [*only in America*]. [PP]

iii *We opened the oysters but found the pearls in them* [*only rather small*]*.* [AdjP]

iv *He agreed* [*only somewhat reluctantly*] *to help us.* [AdvP]

v *He apparently* [*only laughed at them*] *when they confronted him*. [VP]

vi *I regret* [*only that I couldn't be there to see it*]*.* [finite content clause]

vii *She forbade* [*only his living there*]*, not just visiting.* [gerund-participial clause]

viii [*Only to help you*] *would I have anything to do with him.* [infinitival clause]

ix *Only disturb me if there's a genuine emergency.* [imperative clause]

[43] i A: *What's the matter?* B: \**Just there's nothing to do.*

ii A: *What's the matter?* B: *There's just nothing to do.*

[44] i *Only Kim resigned.*

ii a. Kim resigned.

b. Nobody except Kim resigned.

[45] i *Sue is only a tutor.*

ii *I saw them only yesterday.*

[46] *Not only Kim resigned.*

[47] i *He not only apologised, he also sent flowers.*

ii *She'll be working late not only today but also every other day this week.*

[48] i *They only gave me a sandwich for lunch.*

ii *Only Kim preferred the original version.*

[49] *Pat said that* o*nly Kim preferred the original version.*

[50] mod precedes/follows? adjacent?

i *We found only one mistake.* precedes yes

ii *We only found one mistake.* precedes no

iii *Technology alone cannot solve these problems.* follows yes

iv *Technology cannot alone solve these problems.* follows no

[51] i *I* [*only saw Granny at carefully spaced intervals*]*.*

ii *Boris doesn't eat shanks so, of course, I* [*only cook them when he's away*]*.*

[52] i *You can only access the web at this workstation.*

ii *Last Christmas he only gave money to his children.*

[53] i a. [*Only the president*] *has the key.* b. [*The president alone*] *has the key.* [NP]

ii a. [*Only reluctantly*] *did he relent.* b. \*[*Reluctantly alone*] *did he relent.* [AdvP]

iii a. *Things can* [*only improve*]*.*  b. \**Things can* [*improve alone*]*.* [VP]

[54] i *Los Angeles alone made a profit on the Olympic Games.*

Only Los Angeles made a profit on the Olympic Games. [upper bound sense]

ii *Los Angeles alone has more murders than Britain.*

Los Angeles by itself has more murders than Britain. [lower bound sense]

[55] *Musical excellence alone makes the drama memorable.*

[56] i *They paid her $50,000 for just that one performance.*

ii *They just paid her $50,000 for that one performance.*

[57] i *This surplus is alone larger than the total sales listed for aircraft.*

ii *New interactive technologies cannot alone solve the problems of education.*

[58] i *Only Kim has only one job.*

ii *Just exactly who do you think you are?*

iii *He sacked her purely and simply because he felt threatened by her.*

[59] i *I was concerned mainly about the cost.*

ii *I was mainly concerned about the cost.*

[60] *chiefly especially mainly mostly notably*

*particularly primarily* *at least for the most part in particular*

[61] *also as well too even*

[62] i a. *Kim too resigned.* b. *Only Kim resigned.*

ii a. Kim resigned. b. Kim resigned.

iii a. Someone besides Kim resigned. b. No one except Kim resigned.

[63] i a. *Sue also bought a CD.* b. *Sue bought a CD too.*

ii a. *We plan to visit Paris also.* b. *I too think the proposal has merit.*

iii a. *Also, it was pouring with rain.* b. *I realised too that he was in great pain.*

[64] i a. *Even Kim resigned.* b. *Not even Kim resigned.*

ii a. Kim resigned. b. Kim didn't resign.

iii a. Someone besides Kim resigned. b. Someone besides Kim didn't resign.

iv a. Kim was the one least likely or b. Kim was the one least likely or

least expected to resign. least expected not to resign.

[65] i *Your task will be difficult, maybe even impossible.*

ii *She can't have voted against the proposal: she didn't even attend the meeting.*

iii *We can't even afford to go to the movies, let alone the theatre.*

iv *He smiled, yet even so I sensed a deep terror within him.*

[66] i *Even you would have enjoyed dancing tonight.*

ii *You would even have enjoyed dancing tonight.*

iii *You would have enjoyed even dancing tonight.*

iv *You would have enjoyed dancing even tonight.*

v *You would have enjoyed dancing tonight, even.*

[67] *Not even digital tape recorders, which everyone is ballyhooing, can even approach the new adapter format.*