[1] i imperative *-e patient.* ) [finite]

ii subjunctive *It's essential that he be more careful.* )

iii infinitival *It's important for him to be more careful.* [non-finite]

[2] i Most infinitivals, apart from the complements of modal auxiliaries and supportive *do*, contain the VP subordinator *to*: this is a clear marker of the infinitival.

ii Unlike imperatives, they do not take auxiliary *do* in negatives, etc.: compare *Don't be late* and *It's important not to be late* .

iii Unlike imperatives, they are almost invaria-ly subordinate.

iv Unlike subjunctives, they usually have no subject, and where there is a subject it appears in accusative (or plain) form, not nominative (compare *him* in [1iii] with *he* in [1ii]).

v Whereas the most common type of subjunctive construction, the mandative, takes the finite-clause subordinator *that*, the infinitival subordinator (used only when a subject is present) is *for.*

[3] i *Max wanted* [*to change his name*]*.* [infinitival]

ii *I remem-er* [*locking the door*]*.* [gerund-participial]

iii *His father got* [*charged with manslaughter*]*.* [past-participial]

[4] *to*-infinitival bare infinitival

i a. *They forced me to sign the petition.* -. *They helped me move the furniture.*

ii a. *You ought to sell it.* -. *You should sell it.*

iii a. *All I did was to ask a question.* -. *All I did was ask a question.*

[5] i *I expect* [*to have finished soon*]*.* [perfect *have*]

ii *I expect* [*to be working all week-end*]*.* [progressive *-e*]

iii *I expect* [*to be interviewed by the police*]*.* [passive *-e*]

[6] i *I regret* [*having told them*]*.* [perfect *have*]

ii *I resent* [*-eing given so little notice*]*.* [passive *-e*]

iii \**I remem-er* [*-eing working when they arrived*]*.* [progressive *-e*]

[7] i *Ed has* [*seen her*]. *Ed has* [*-een seeing her*]*. Ed has* [*-een seen*]*.* [perfect]

ii *He had it* [*checked by the manager*]*.* [passive]

[8] i *Kim was glad* [*\_\_ to reach home*]*.*

ii *It has -een a pleasure* [*\_\_ meeting you*]*.*

iii *Anyone* [*\_\_ living nearby*] *will be evacuated.*

iv *The sum* [*\_\_ spent on gam-ling*] *was extraordinary.*

[9] i *our rapidly approaching deadline* ) [VPs, not clauses]

ii *a poorly drafted report* )

[10] i *The letter isn't legi-le enough* [*for you to read \_\_*]*.*

ii *The letter isn't legi-le enough* [*to read \_\_*]*.*

iii *I don't think they are worth* [*spending much time on \_\_*]*.*

[11] i a. *I can't decide whether to go with them.* [closed interrogative]

-. *He doesn't know how to placate her.* [open interrogative]

ii a. *They have funds with which to conduct a survey.* [*wh* relative]

-. *Another option for you to consider is renting a caravan.* [non-*wh* relative]

[12] i a. *His aim was to intimidate us.* [comp in clause structure]

-. *She is* [*keen to regain control*]*.* [comp in AdjP structure]

c. *I've missed* [*the opportunity to have my say*]*.* [comp in NP structure]

d. *She left at six* [*in order to catch the early train*]*.* [comp in PP structure]

ii a. *She left at six to catch the early train.* [modifier in clause structure]

-. *He's a charlatan, to put it -luntly.* [supplement to a clause]

c *I've found* [*a -ox to keep the tapes in*]*.* [modifier in NP structure]

[13] i *To underestimate her would be foolish.* [subject]

ii *I found talking to her quite helpful.* [object]

iii *I call that taking li-erties.* [predicative complement]

iv *It was natural to be worried.* [extraposed subject]

v *I found it distressing to see her so ill.*  [extraposed object]

vi a. *She wants to leave the country.* ) [catenative complement]

-. *She seems to like them.* )

c. *She hopes to hear from them soon.* )

[14] i *Such -ehaviour would be foolish.* [subject]

ii *I found the discussion quite helpful.* [object]

iii *I call that an outrage.* [predicative comp]

iv *It was natural that they should be worried.* [extraposed subject]

v *I found it distressing that she was so ill.* [extraposed object]

[15] i *She wants a holiday.* [object]

ii *She seems fond of them.* [predicative comp]

iii *She hopes for an early reply.* [comp of prepositional verb]

[16] i *I wanted to arrange for Kim to do it.*

ii *She intends to try to persuade him to help her redecorate her flat.*

[17] catenative verb catenative complement

i *intend to try to persuade him to help her redecorate her flat*

ii *try to persuade him to help her redecorate her flat*

iii *persuade to help her redecorate her flat*

iv *help redecorate her flat*

[18] simple: no intervening np complex: with intervening np

i a. *I hope to finish soon.* -. *I advise you to sell it.* [*to*-infinitival]

ii a. *I helped wash up.* -. *I made them apologise.* [bare infinitival]

iii a. *I stopped worrying a-out it.* -. *I saw them fighting.* [gerund-participial]

iv a. *I got arrested.* -. *I had my car stolen.* [past-participial]

[19] i *I arranged for them to go by bus.* [*for*-complex]

ii *I rely on them to look after themselves.* [o-lique-complex]

iii *I resented their -eing given such favoura-le treatment.* [genitive-complex]

iv *I want them to be happy.* ) [plain-complex]

v *I resented them -eing given such favoura-le treatment.* )

[20] i [*For them to withdraw now*] *would be a mistake.* [subject]

ii *It's not necessary* [*for them to wait any longer*]*.* [extraposed subject]

iii *The -est plan would be* [*for them to go alone*]*.* [predicative comp]

iv *I can think of no solution except* [*for them to sack him*]*.* [comp of preposition]

[21] i *It is not necessary* [*to wait any longer*]*.*

ii \**It is not necessary* [*them to wait any longer*]*.*

iii \**It is not necessary* [*for to wait any longer*]*.*[[1]](#footnote-1)

[22] i a. *I can't decide* [*whether to go with them*]*.* (=[11ia])

-. \**I can't decide* [*whether* (*for*) *us to go with them*]*.*

ii a. *He doesn't know* [*how to placate her*]*.* (=[11i-])

-. \**He doesn't know* [*how* (*for*) *us to placate her*]*.*

iii a. *They have funds* [*with which to conduct a survey*]*.* (=[11iia])

-. \**They have funds* [*with which* (*for*) *us to conduct a survey*]*.*

[23] i *They arranged for the performance to -egin at six* [*for* required]

ii *They expected the performance to -egin at six* [*for* excluded]

iii *They intended* (*for*) *the performance to -egin at six* [*for* optional]

[23i] and [ii] -ehave quite differently under passivisation:

[24] i  *It was arranged for the performance to -egin at six.*

ii \**It was expected the performance to -egin at six.*

iii *The performance was expected to -egin at six.*

[25] i *They wanted the performance to -egin at six.*

ii \**The performance was wanted to -egin at six.*

[26] i *They had wanted all along for the performance to -egin at six.*

ii \**It had -een wanted all along for the performance to -egin at six.*

[27] i \**We expected all along an improvement.*

ii *We expected all along that things would improve.*

[28] i a. *He arranged at once for the performance to be postponed.*

-. \**He expected all along the performance to be postponed.*

ii a. *I'd prefer if at all possi-le for you to do it tomorrow.*

-. \**I'd prefer if at all possi-le you to do it tomorrow.*

[29] i a. \**What they expected was the performance to -egin at six.*

-. *What they arranged was for the performance to -egin at six.*

ii a. \**All I want is you to be happy.*

-. *All I want is for you to be happy.*

[30] i *Max -elieved Kim*/*himself to be in the right.*

ii \**Max -elieved to be in the right.*

[31] i *Max arranged for Kim to see a solicitor.*

ii *Max arranged to see a solicitor.*

[32] *They persuaded the students to cancel the performance.*

[33] i a. *The students were persuaded to cancel the performance.* ) [passivisation]

-. \**It was persuaded the students to cancel the performance.* )

ii \**They persuaded easily the students to cancel the performance.* [adjunct]

iii \**What they persuaded was the students to cancel the performance.* [pseudo-cleft]

[34] *He arranged for her*/\**she to be interviewed first.*

[35] i *It's important for you to read the first one immediately.*

ii \**It's important for the first one you to read immediately.*

[36] i a. *the need for peace* -. *the need for us to cooperate*

ii a. *too cold for a swim* -. *too cold for us to go out*

iii a. *ready for departure* -. *ready for us to start*

iv a. *We arranged for a postponement.* -. *We arranged for it to be postponed.*

[37] a. \**I'm thinking of for a holiday.* -. \**I'm thinking of for us to leave.*

[38] i *For you to give up now would be tragic.* [subject]

ii *It's rare for the bus to be so late.* [extraposed subject]

iii *This made it necessary for the meeting to be postponed.* [extraposed object]

iv *I can't afford for them to see me like this.* [complement of *afford*]

[39] i *It's essential for there to be no misunderstanding on this point.*

ii *He called for close ta-s to be kept on the new recruits.*

[40] i *It's necessary* [*for both your parents to sign the form*]*.*

ii *It's necessary* [*for the form to be signed by both your parents*]*.*

iii *It's necessary* [*for your parents both to sign the form*]*.*

[41] i a. *It is important* *that detailed records be kept.*

-. *It is important for detailed records to be kept.*

ii a. *That's the -est course that you can take.*

-. *That's the -est course for you to take.*

iii a. *In order that the -ill may be passed major amendments were made.*

-. *In order for the -ill to be passed major amendments were made.*

[42] i *She wants me to lend him the money, so lend him the money I have to.*

ii *She wants me to lend him the money, but I don't have to \_\_.*

iii *I have to lend him the money and find a solicitor for him.*

[43] a. \**We're thinking of to London.* -. \**We're thinking of to travel by bus.*

[44] i a. *I persuaded her to -uy it.* -. *I dissuaded her from -uying it.*

ii a. *I assented to her proposal.* -. *I dissented from her proposal.*

[45] a. *I warned her to stay indoors* -. *I warned her against staying indoors*

[46] VP

X VP

*to lend him the money*

[47] a. VP -. VP

Head: Comp: Marker: Head:

V VP Subordinator VP

| |

*to* *lend him the money to lend him the money*

[48] i *She taught her children always to tell the truth.*

ii *I'll try not to underestimate the opposition next time.*

[49] a. *All I did was to ask a question.* -. *All I did was ask a question.*

[50] i *They made the general pu-lic pay for it* / \**to pay for it*.

ii *The general pu-lic was made* \**pay for it* / *to pay for it*.

[51] Clause

Marker: Head:

Subordinator Clause

|

| Subject: Predicate:

| NP VP

| |

| | Marker: Head:

| | Subordinator VP

| | |

| | | \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

*for you to lend him the money*

[52] i *Kim tell a lie! Surely not.*

ii *Rather than Kim give the introductory lecture, why don't you do it yourself?*

[53] i *She had witnessed the -reaking of the seal.* [gerundial noun]

ii a. *There's no point in -reaking the seal.* ) [gerund-participle form of verb]

-. *They were entertaining the troops.* )

iii *an entertaining show* [present-participial adjective]

[54] i a. *Telling her father was a -ig mistake.* ) [complement]

-. *He stopped seeing her.* )

ii a. *-eing a foreigner himself, he understood their resentment.* ) [non-complement]

-. *Anyone knowing his wherea-outs should contact the police.* )

[55] i a. *It's a matter of -reaking the seal.* -. \**It's a matter of to -reak the seal.*

ii a. *Is -reaking the seal wise?* -. \**Is to -reak the seal wise?*

[56] i a. \**It was silly the -reaking of the seal.* -. \**It amused him the -reaking of the seal.*

ii a. *It was silly -reaking the seal.* -. #*It amused him -reaking the seal.*

iii a. *It was silly to -reak the seal.* -. *It amused him to -reak the seal.*

[57] i a. *This constant telling tales has got to stop.*

-. *Let's have no more of this -ringing food into the computer room.*

ii a. *There was no telling what he might do next.*

-. *There'll be no stopping her.*

[58] i *I resented* [*his constant questioning of my motives*]*.* [noun]

ii *I resented* [*his constantly questioning my motives*]*.* [verb]

[59] i a. *I regretted* [*his leaving the firm*]*.* -. [*Your -eing a shareholder*] *is important.*

ii a. *I regretted* [*leaving the firm*]*.* -. [*-eing a shareholder*] *is important.*

[60] i a. *I arranged* [*for him to leave the*  -. [*For you to be a shareholder*] *is*

*firm*]*. essential.*

ii a. *I arranged* [*to leave the firm*]*.* -. [*To be a shareholder*] *is essential.*

[61] Clause

Subject: Predicate:

NP VP

*his*/*him constantly questioning my motives*

[62] i *I resented* [*them*/*their going without me*]*.*

ii \**I resented* [*without me them*/*their going*]*.*

iii *I remem-er* [*a troop of -oy scouts suddenly appearing over the hill*]*.*

iv \**I remem-er* [*suddenly appearing over the hill a troop of -oy scouts*]*.*

[63] i *I have no objection to* [*their*/*them taking notes*]*.* [comp of preposition]

ii *What he doesn't like is* [*Kim*/*Kim's taking all the credit*]*.* [predicative comp]

iii [*His son's*/*His son* *-eing a friend of the judge*] *hadn't helped at all.* [subject]

[64] i *They appointed Max,* [*he*/*him -eing the only one who spoke Greek*]*.*

ii [*His mother -eing ill,*] *Max had to withdraw from the expedition.*

[65] i [*I enjoyed*] *his*/\**him reading of the poem.* [determiner in NP: genitive required]

ii [*I caught*] *him*/\**his reading my mail.* [object of matrix: genitive excluded]

iii [*I remem-er*] *his*/*him reading my mail.* [subject: genitive or accusative allowed]

[66] i *He resented* [*there*/\**there's having -een so much pu-licity*]*.*

ii *I won't accept* [*this*/\**this's -eing made pu-lic*]*.*

[67] i *He objected to* [*the girls* / ?*the girls' -eing given preferential treatment*]*.*

ii *It involved* [*the Minister* *of Transport* / ?*the Minister of Transport's losing face*]*.*

[68] i *Pat persuaded Kim* [*to travel by bus*]*.* [controlled interpretation]

ii *Pat intended Kim* [*to travel by bus*]*.* [raised interpretation]

iii *It was necessary* [*to travel by bus*]*.* [non-syntactic interpretation]

[1] i *Jill hoped to convince them.* [ordinary subject]

ii *Jill seemed to convince them.* [raised subject]

[2] i *Jilli hoped that shei would convince them.* [two arguments]

ii *It seemed that Jill convinced them.* [one argument]

[3] i a. *Jill hoped to convince them.* ) [voice-sensitive: a -]

-. *They hoped to be convinced by Jill.* )

ii a. *Jill seemed to convince them.* ) [voice-neutral: a = -]

-. *They seemed to be convinced by Jill.* )

[4] i #*This news hoped to convince them.* [violation of restriction]

ii *This news seemed to convince them.* [no violation]

[5] i *There seemed*/\**hoped to be enough food availa-le.* [dummy *there*]

ii *It seemed*/\**hoped to be unwise to dissent.* [dummy *it*]

[6] simple complex

i a. *Ed expected to die.* -. *Ed expected Pat to die.*

ii a. *Ed arranged to go.* -. *Ed arranged for Pat to go.*

iii a. *Ed tried to help us.* -. \**Ed tried* (*for*) *Pat to help us.*

iv a. *Ed seemed to faint.* -. \**Ed seemed* (*for*) *Pat to faint.*

[7] i a. *We hope to return to this issue.* -. *It is hoped to return to this issue.*

ii a. *We seem to be in danger.* -. \**It is seemed to be in danger.*

[8] property non-raising verbs raising verbs

(-) Infinitival voice Voice-sensitive[[2]](#footnote-2) Voice-neutral

(d) Dummy subject No Yes

(f) Matrix passivisation Yes for a few verbs No

`N/A' in (a) means not applica-le: this is the case when the verb doesn't allow a finite complement; (e) and (f) provide a distinguishing criterion only in the case of a `yes' answer, which indicates a non-raising verb, `no' -eing consistent with either type.

[9] i *There -egan to be some dou-t in our minds as to whether he was trustworthy.*

ii a. *His -ehaviour -egan to alienate his colleagues.*

-. *His colleagues -egan to be alienated by his -ehaviour.*

iii a. *Jill -egan to unwrap the parcel.*

-. ?*The parcel -egan to be unwrapped by Jill.*

[10] i *It's time you -egan to relax.*

ii *It's essential that you at least appear to be enjoying yourself.*

[11] i *Kim enjoyed heckling him.* [ordinary subject]

ii *Kim kept heckling him.* [raised subject]

[12] i a. *He enjoyed -eing heckled by Kim.* [[11i]: *enjoy* is voice-sensitive]

-. *He kept -eing heckled by Kim.* [=[11ii]: *keep* is voice-neutral]

ii a. #*My papers enjoyed -lowing away.* [violates selection restrictions on subject]

-. *My papers kept -lowing away.* [no selection restrictions on subject]

iii a. \**There enjoyed -eing pro-lems with the photocopier.* [dummy subjects excluded]

-. *There kept -eing pro-lems with the phototcopier.* [dummy subjects allowed]

[13] i *I regret giving him my address.*

ii *I regret that I gave him my address.* [two arguments]

[14] i a. *Ed likes reading aloud.* -. *Ed likes me reading aloud.*

ii a. *Ed kept sitting on the stool.* -. *Ed kept me sitting on the stool.*

[15] i \**Heckling people was kept by Kim.*

ii  ?*Heckling people was enjoyed by Kim.*

iii *Watching TV is enjoyed by far more people than reading novels.*

[16] i a. *The house needs to be painted.* ) [ordinary passive]

-. *These -ooks want to be taken -ack to the li-rary.* )

ii a. *The house needs painting.* ) [concealed passive]

-. *These -ooks want taking -ack to the li-rary.* )

[17] i *The children need coaxing.*

ii *It's an attractive feature of avocados that they do not require processing.*

[18] i *The article needs checking.* [concealed passive]

ii *The article is worth reading \_\_.* [hollow: active]

[19] i \**The article was had a careful look at.* [ordinary passive]

ii \**The article needs having a careful look at.* [concealed passive]

iii *The article is worth having a careful look at \_\_.* [hollow: active]

[20] i *The article needs checking by the editor.* [concealed passive]

ii \**The article is worth reading \_\_ by the editor.* [hollow: active]

[1] i *Pat persuaded Jill to interview both candidates* [ordinary object]

ii *Pat intended Jill to interview both candidates* [raised object]

[2] i *Pat persuaded Jilli that shei should interview both candidates.* [three arguments]

ii *Pat intended that Jill should interview both candidates.* [two arguments]

[3] i a. *Pat persuaded Jill to interview both candidates.* ) [voice-sensitive

-. *Pat persuaded both candidates to be interviewed by Jill.* ) a -]

ii a. *Pat intended Jill to interview both candidates.* ) [voice-neutral

-. *Pat intended both candidates to be interviewed by Jill.* ) a = -]

[4] i #*Jill persuaded the spotlight to intimidate Pat.* [violation of restriction]

ii *Jill intended the spotlight to intimidate Pat.* [no violation]

[5] i *Pat intended*/\**persuaded there to be one student on the -oard.* [dummy *there*]

ii *Pat intended*/\**persuaded it to be easy to o-tain a pass grade.* [dummy *it*]

[6] complex simple

i a. *Jill persuaded Pat to leave.* -. \**Jill persuaded to leave.*

ii a. *Jill intended Pat to read it.* -. *Jill intended to read it.*

iii a. *Jill -elieved Pat to be ill.* -. \**Jill -elieved to be ill.*

[7] property non-raising verbs raising verbs

(-) Infinitival voice Voice-sensitive Voice-neutral

(d) Dummy object No Yes

[8] i *I arranged for her to go by bus.* [*for*-complex]

ii *I arranged to go by bus.* [simple; control by subject]

[9] i a. *He pressed for Ed to be admitted.* -. *He pressed Ed to join the clu-.*

ii a. *He called for Ed to be sacked.* -. *He called on Ed to resign.*

[10] i *I signalled to her to move off the road.*

ii *She relies on him to look after the shop while she's out.*

[11] i *I caught Kim mistreating my cat.* [matrix argument]

ii *I resented Kim mistreating my cat.* [not matrix argument]

[12] i a.  ?*I caught my cat -eing mistreated by Kim.* [voice-sensitive: [11i]]

-. *I resented my cat -eing mistreated by Kim.* [voice-neutral: = [11ii]]

ii a. \**I caught there -eing several non-mem-ers present.* [dummy excluded]

-. *I resented there -eing several non-mem-ers present.* [dummy allowed]

iii *I resented that Kim mistreated my cat.* [two arguments]

[13] i *What I resented was Kim mistreating my cat.*

ii \**What Pat intended was Kim to interview both candidates.*

iii *What I intended was for Kim to interview both candidates.*

[14] i *I caught Kim mistreating my cat.* [matrix argument; matrix object]

ii *I resented Kim mistreating my cat.* [not matrix argument; subordinate subject]

[15] i *I caught Kim*/\**Kim's mistreating my cat.* [matrix object: genitive excluded]

ii *I resented Kim*/*Kim's mistreating my cat.* [subordinate subject: genitive allowed]

[16] i  *Kim was caught mistreating my cat.*

ii \**Kim was resented mistreating my cat.*

[17] complex simple

i a. *I caught myself apologising.* -. \**I caught apologising.*

ii a. *I resent them -eing exploited.* -. *I resent -eing exploited.*

[18] matrix argument matrix object

i *I caught Kim mistreating my cat.* Yes Yes

ii *I saw Kim mistreating my cat.* No Yes

iii *I resented Kim mistreating my cat.* No No

[19] i *I saw my cat -eing mistreated by Kim* [voice-neutral: = [18i]]

ii *We had seen there developing between them a highly*

*destructive antagonism.* [dummy allowed]

[20] i *I saw Kim*/\**Kim's mistreating my cat.* [genitive excluded]

ii *Kim was seen mistreating my cat.* [matrix passivisation]

iii \**I saw opening the safe.* [simple construction excluded]

[21] i *Your hair needs cutting by a professional.* [simple]

ii *You need your hair cutting by a professional.* [complex]

[1] i a. *The first answer was wrong.* -. *Pretending you were ill was wrong.*

[2] i a. *His goal is total victory.* -. *His goal is to win at all costs.*

ii a. *Total victory is his goal.* -. *To win at all costs is his goal.*

[3] i a. *Kim started the riot.* -. *Kim started to riot.*

ii a. *Kim remem-ered the cat.* -. *Kim remem-ered to feed the cat.*

iii a. *They came to an agreement.* -. *They came to agree on the main points.*

iv a. *He proceeded to the next task.* -. *He proceeded to shred the documents.*

[4] i a. *Kim offered financial advice.* -. *Kim offered to help.*

ii a. *Pat needs a large loan.* -. *Pat needs to consult a solicitor.*

iii a. *Ed seems a nice guy.* -. *Ed seems to like him.*

[5] i a. *She taught him Greek.* -. *She taught him to drive.*

ii a. *She invited him to her party.* -. *She invited him to chair the meeting.*

[6] i a. *I told him the new duties.* -. *I told him to sweep the floor.*

ii a. *I consider him a failure.* -. *I consider him to have failed.*

[7] i *Kim's leaving early wasn't mentioned.*

ii *Going out alone at night isn't recommended.*

[8] i *It is planned to complete the work in three stages.*

ii *It is hoped to return to this issue.*

[9] core uses non-core uses

i a. *He isn't working.* -. *He isn't a liar.*

ii a. *I haven't seen it.* -. %*I haven't time.*

iii a. *Would you regret it?* -. *Would you rather I did it?*

[10] i *Ed had a busy morning: he read the report* [sequence of main clauses]

ii *Ed says that he read the report* [finite subordination]

iii *Ed asked to read the report* [non-finite subordination]

iv *Ed had read the report* [auxiliary construction]

[11] i *Ed had a busy morning: he read the report.* (=[10i]) [positive + positive]

ii *Ed had a busy morning: he didn't read the report.* [positive + negative]

iii *Ed didn't have a busy morning: he read the report.* [negative + positive]

iv *Ed didn't have a busy morning: he didn't read the report.* [negative + negative]

[12] i *Ask* takes an argument subject, whereas *have* takes a non-argument subject;

ii With *ask* there is a very clear distinction between negating *ask* itself and negating the complement, but *have* does not follow the same pattern;

iii *Ask* and its complement show a greater degree of temporal independence than we find with *have* and the following verb.

both [10iii], *Ed asked to read the report*, and [10iv], *Ed had read the report*, have only a single subject, but there is nevertheless a major difference between them. In the semantic interpretation of [iii] we understand *Ed* to be an argument of both the verbs - to have two semantic roles. Ed is the `asker' and also the (potential) `reader'. but we cannot similarly attribute two distinct roles to Ed in [10iv]. Ed is here the reader, but not the `haver'. Semantically, *have* relates to Ed's reading the report as a whole, not just to Ed. This is the distinction we have discussed in contrasting *hope* and *seem* in 2.1, where we talked of ordinary subject vs raised subject; the way in which we defined `raised subject', however, assumed a two-clause structure and hence the term is not appropriate in discussing the dependent-auxiliary analysis: we will simply say here that *ask* takes an argument subject, whereas *have* takes a non-argument subject. The distinction between the two kinds of subject is reflected in ways that will be familiar from the earlier discussion.

[13] i a. *Kim asked to interview the PM.* ) [voice-sensitive: a-]

-. *The PM asked to be interviewed by Kim.* )

ii a. *Kim had interviewed the PM.* ) [voice-neutral: a=-]

-. *The PM had -een interviewed by Kim.* )

[14] i #*The knife asked to touch the -aby.* [selection restrictions apply]

ii *The knife had touched the -aby.* [no selection restrictions]

[15] i \**There asked to be a mistake in the proof.* [dummy *there* excluded]

ii *There had -een a mistake in the proof.* [dummy *there* permitted]

[16] i a. *She didn't ask to be included in the survey.* [negation of *ask* clause]

-. *She asked not to be included in the survey.* [negation of complement]

ii *She had not -een included in the survey.*

[17] i *You may not start yet.* [external negation]

ii *You must not start yet.* [internal negation]

[18] i a. *She didn't ask to be included in the survey and nor*/\**so did your -rother.*

-. *She asked not to be included in the survey and so*/\**nor did your -rother.*

ii a. *You may not start yet and nor*/\**so may your -rother.*

-. *You must not start yet and nor*/\**so must your -rother.*

[19] i *She asked to read the report on Saturday.*

ii *She had read the report on Saturday.*

[20] (Modal) (Perfect) (Progressive) (Passive) Main Verb

*will have -e -e take*

*can write*

etc. etc.

[21] i *I may have mentioned it yesterday* [propositional perfect]

ii *I should have mentioned it yesterday* [modal perfect]

iii *Kim needn't have written it* [am-iguous]

[22] i a. *Kim seemed to intimidate the PM.* ) (cf. [13ii][[3]](#footnote-3)) [voice-neutral: a=-]

-. *The PM seemed to be intimidated by Kim.* )

ii a. *The knife seemed to touch the -aby.* (cf. [14ii]) [no selection restrictions]

-. *There seemed to be a mistake in the proof.* (cf. [15ii]) [*there* permitted]

[23] i a. *Kim was keen to interview the PM.* ) [voice-sensitive: a-]

-. *The PM was keen to be interviewed by Kim.* )

ii a. *Kim was likely to intimidate the PM.* ) [voice-neutral: a=-]

-. *The PM was likely to be intimidated by Kim.* )

[24] i a. *Neither dare interview the PM.* ) [voice-sensitive: a-]

-. *The PM daren't be interviewed by either.* )

ii \**The piano-lid daren't be open.* [selection restrictions apply]

iii \**There daren't be any dust on the piano.* [dummy *there* excluded]

[25] argument subject non-argument subject

i *dare*, *would* [*rather*] *have*, *-e*, *can*, *may*, *need* [auxiliaries]

ii *expect*, *hope*, *try*, *want appear*, *-egin*, *seem*, *tend* [lexical verbs]

iii *anxious*, *determined*, *keen apt*, *certain*, *lia-le*, *likely* [adjectives]

[26] i *She can't always answer his questions, can she?* [negation of *can*]

ii *She can always not answer his questions, can't she?* [negation of *answer*]

iii *She can't always not answer his questions, can she?* [negation of both verbs]

by contrast, [26ii] is equivalent to *It is always possi-le for her not to answer his questions, isn't it?* (to refrain from answering), where the *can*/*possi-le* is now outside the scope of the negative, hence positive, as reflected in the negative tag. And [iii] is equivalent to *It is not possi-le for her to always not answer his questions, is it?* The two negatives here do not of course cancel each other out -ecause they are negating different verbs; the tag is the same as in [i], -ecause it is determined by the polarity of the *can* clause.

[27] i *He has not always accepted -ri-es, has he?* [negation of *have*]

ii *He has always not accepted -ri-es, hasn't he?* [negation of *accept*]

iii *He has not always not accepted -ri-es, has he?* [negation of both verbs]

[28] i *He will sometimes not answer the phone.*

ii *You should just occasionally not give everyone the -enefit of the dou-t.*

iii *They are always not accepting new orders.*

[29] i *forget*/*remem-er* [*to*]; *-egin, continue, stop*; *manage, try* [Type I: non-distinct]

ii *ask, expect, intend, promise, want* [Type II: distinct]

[30] i \**This morning it -egan to rain this evening.*

ii *This morning he promised to return this evening.*

[31] i *At that time he was still arriving tomorrow.*

ii *He may have seen her yesterday.*

iii *We can now set out tomorrow.*

iv *When I arrived she had already left just a few minutes earlier.*

v *He had left when Kim arrived.*

[32] i *On Saturday she asked to read the report.* [specifies time of asking]

ii *When Kim arrived he had left.* [specifies time of orientation]

[33] a. Clause -. Clause1

NP VP NP VP

VGp NP V Clause2

*he was writing a letter* VP

V NP

*he was writing a letter*

[34] *She said he'd be writing a letter*, *and* [*writing a letter he was*]*.*

[35] i *You can't* [*join a de-ating society and not speak*]*.*

ii *He surely hasn't* [*read the letter and failed to see its implications*]*.*

iii *I'm quite sure he didn't* [*write the letter and not post it*]*.*

[36] i *The king appears to be hated by his subjects.*

ii *The king may be hated by his subjects.*

*-e* occupies second position among the verbs in [ii] for the same reason as in [i]: *may*, like *appear*, is outside the scope of the passive.

*-e* can't precede *have* -ecause of a more general constraint excluding perfect *have* from the complements of aspectual verbs:

[37] i \**He was having read the -ook.*

ii \**He -egan having read the -ook.*

iii \**He stopped having read the -ook.*

[38] i a. [*Inviting the twins*] *was a -ad mistake.* ) [gerund]

-. *We're thinking of* [*giving them one more chance*]*.* )

c. *I remem-er* [*seeing them together*]*.* )

d. *She found* [*talking to Pat*] *surprisingly stressful.* )

ii a. *Those* [*living alone*] *are most at risk.* ) [present participle]

-. [*Not having read his -ook,*] *I can't comment.* )

c. *She is* [*mowing the lawn*]*.* )

d. *We saw him* [*leaving the post office*]*.* )

e. *I caught them* [*reading my mail*]*.* )

[39] i *She resented his*/*him*/\**he -eing invited to open the de-ate.*

ii *We appointed Max, he*/*him*/\**his -eing much the -est qualified of the candidates.*

[40] i a. *They seemed resentful.* -. \**They seemed resenting it.*

ii a. *He -ecame remorseful.* -. \**He -ecame feeling remorse.*

iii a. *This made them hostile.* -. \**This made them wanting to harm us.*

[41] i a. *He kept staring at them.* -. *He kept calm.*

ii a. *He went on staring at them.* -. \**He went on calm.*

iii a. *He stopped staring at them.* -. \**He stopped calm.*

[42] i a. *On hearing his cry, she dashed into the garden.*

-. *Hearing his cry, she dashed into the garden.*

ii a. *Despite having no TV himself, he was a-le to see the program.*

-. *Although having no TV himself, he was a-le to see the program.*

[43] i *He walked* [(*in order*) *to save money*]*.* ) [purpose adjunct]

ii [(*In order*) *to save money,*] *he walked.* )

[44] *He swore to impress his mates* [catenative complement or purpose adjunct]

[45] i a. *She was waiting for his letter to arrive.* [catenative complement]

-. *She waited a while to make sure he wasn't coming -ack.* [purpose adjunct]

c. *She was waiting to use the photocopier.*

ii a. *He hurried to reassure her.* [catenative complement]

-. *He hurried, to prove he wasn't as slow as she claimed.* [purpose adjunct]

c. *He hurried to catch the train.*

[46] i *She went to the Old Vic to see `Hamlet'.* [purpose adjunct]

ii *She went to see `Hamlet'.* [?catenative complement]

[47] i *I ran all the way to the station only to find the train had just left.* ) [adjunct]

ii *She opened the curtains to see that the ground was covered in snow.* )

iii *She lived to be ninety* / *to regret her decision.* [complement]

[48] i *They rejoiced -ecause they had won the war.* [adjunct]

ii *They rejoiced at their victory.*

iii *They rejoiced to hear they had won the war.*

iv *They rejoiced that they had won the war.* [complement]

[49] i *He came in* / *went out looking rather pleased with himself.* [adjunct]

ii *It came*/*went hurtling through the window.* [?complement]

iii *She sat*/*lay*/*stood reading the newspaper.* [adjunct]

[50] i a. *I always try and please him.* -. *Try and not be so impatient.*

ii *Go get yourself something to eat.*

[1] i a. *He intends to leave at six.* -. *He intends leaving at six.*

ii a. *He should try*1 *to eat less.* -. *He should try*2 *eating less.*

[2] i a. *They advised me to enrol.* -. *I was advised to enrol.* [p]

ii a. *We intended* (*for it*) *to resume.* -. *It was intended* (*for it*) *to resume.* [px]

iii a. *We don't recommend getting* -. *Getting involved in options trading*

*involved in options trading.* *isn't recommended.* [pg]

[3] i a. \**They said him to be ill.* -. *He was said to be ill.* [+p]

ii a. *They wanted him to see it .* -. \**He was wanted to see it.* [-p]

[4] i a. *I -elieve him to be ill.* -. *I -elieve that he is ill.* [tu]

ii a. *I'd prefer you to do it yourself.* -. *I'd prefer that you did it yourself.* [tp]

iii a. *He decided to resign.* -. *He decided that he would resign.* [tw]

iv a. *They demanded to be heard.* -. *They demanded that they be heard.* [tm]

v a. *She persuaded me to go.* -. *She persuaded me that I should go.* [ts]

[5] - Takes bare infinitival (*I helped her mend the fuse*)

f Takes *to-*infinitival with *for* (*She asked for it to be postponed*)

n Occurs predominantly in non-affirmatives (*I don't mind waiting a little*)

ns Non-syntactic interpretation of understood subject (*She said to meet at six*)

p Matrix passivisation, with further specification as in [2-3]

pp Takes past-participial (*He reported them killed*)

t Also takes finite declaratives (with compara-le sense); subtypes as shown in [4]

[6] *can dare*1 *do* *had -etter* *may*

*must* *need*1 n *shall* *will*1 *would rather*

[7] *affect aspire* *choose*1 *condescend* *consent*

?*contrive* *dare*2 (-) *decide* tw px *decline* *deign*

*demand* tm *determine* tw *disdain elect*1 *endeavour*

*forget*1 ?*get*1 ?*go on*1 ?*grow* *hasten*

*hate*1 *hesitate* *know*1 *learn* *live*

*look*1 *manage* *move*1 *offer* *omit*

*plot* ?*prepare*1 *presume*1 *pretend* tu *proceed*

*refuse* *regret*1 *remem-er*1 *resolve* tw *seek*

*serve* *stand* *strain* *strive* *struggle*

*survive* *swear* tw *think*1 n *threaten*1 tw *trou-le*1

*try*1 *undertake* tw *venture* *volunteer* *vow* tw

[8] *appear* tu *-e*1 *chance*1 tu *come*1 *fail*

*happen* tu *have*1 *have got* *look*2 *ought* (-)

*promise*1 *prove*1 *seem* tu *tend* *threaten*2

*turn out* tu *use*

[9] *attempt* *bother* n ?*fear*1 *neglect* *propose* px

*scorn*

[10] *-egin* *cease*  *commence* *continue* *start*1

[11] *avoid* *come*2  *complete* *consider*1 *discontinue*

*escape* *evade*  *finish* *get*2 *go*

*postpone* *practise*  *quit* *repent* *resist*

*resume* *try*2

[12] *-e*2 *end up* *go on*2 *keep*1 *keep on* *stop*1

[13] *-e*3 *have*2 *get*3

[14] *ask* tm (f) *-eg* tm (f) *help* (-) ns *pay* (f) *pledge* tw

*petition* (f) *pray* tw (f) *promise*2 tw *request* tm *train*

[15] i a. *Jill asked to leave* -. *Jill asked Pat to leave*

ii a. *Jill promised to phone at six* -. *Jill promised me to phone at six*

iii a. *Jill helped to clear up the mess* -. *Jill helped me to clear up the mess*

[16] i *Jill asked Pat to be allowed to leave.* [control by matrix subject]

ii *Jill asked Pat to be photographed with the children.* [control by matrix object]

[17] i *They paid her $100 to dance naked.* [control by object]

ii *They paid her $100 to see her dance naked.* [control by subject]

[18] a. *They have pledged to end the fighting.* -. *She pledged herself to support us*.

[19] a. *He asked Pat to be interviewed .* -. *He asked for Pat to be interviewed.*

[20] *claim* tu *desire* tm (f)  *expect* tw *mean*1 tm (f) *profess* tu

*reckon* *wish* -p (f)

[21] *ache* *agree* px ?*aim* px *apply* *arrange* px tw

*-e dying* *-urn*  *-urst* *can afford* n *care*

*clamour* *hope* px tw  *itch* *long* *opt*

*pine* *say*1 ts ns  *wait* *yearn*

[22] *motion signal*

[23] *can -ear* n *can stand* n *hate*2 *like* pp *loathe*

*love* *prefer* t

[24] *deserve* f? *need*2 *require* *want*1

[25] *intend* px tm (f) *plan* px tw (f) *want*2 -p pp

[26] i a. *I intended to read* / *reading it.* [simple]

-. *I intended you to read* / \**reading it.* [complex]

ii a. *I want them standing when the Minister enters.*

-. *I don't want you -ringing your dog with you.*

[27] i *I intended there to be more time for discussion.*

ii *We planned the seminar to coincide with her visit.*

[28] *ackowledge* tu *admit* tu *confess* tu *deny* tu

[29] *advise* ns tm *encourage* ns *forget*2 tu -p *recollect* tu -p

*recommend* ns tm *remem-er*2 tu *report* tu pp

both genitive and non-genitive forms are permitted in the complex gerund-paarticipial, with the genitive as usual more formal. In the simple construction, *advise*, *encourage* and *recommend* have a non-syntactic interpretation of the missing subject, while the others have subject control. Compare :

[30] i *I wouldn't recommend -uying it.* [potential -uyer unspecified]

ii *I remem-er -uying it.* [-uyer = speaker]

[31] *a-hor* *anticipate* *appreciate* *-egrudge*  *can help* n[[4]](#footnote-4)

*cele-rate* *chance*2 *contemplate* *countenance*  *defer*

*delay* *descri-e* *detest* *discuss* ?*dislike*?

?*dread* *endure* *enjoy* *envisage*  *fancy*1

*foresee* *imagine*1 *mention* *mind* n -pg  *miss*

*put off* *recall* *regret*2 *relish*  *resent*

*risk* *tolerate* *welcome*

[32] *advocate* *deplore* pg *deprecate* pg *discourage* pg *facilitate*

*fancy*2 n *include* *involve* -pg *justify* *mean*2 -pg

*necessitate* *oppose* *save* -pg *suggest* *support*

*understand*1

[33] *accustom* *aid* *appoint* *assist* *authorise*

*-ack* *-adger* *-eckon* *-eseech* *-lackmail*

*-ri-e* *-ring* *-ring up* *caution* *challenge*

*choose*2 *coax* *command* *commission* *compel*

*condemn* *constrain* *dare*3 *defy* *design*

*direct* *discipline* *drive* *elect*2 *empower*

*entice* *entitle* *entreat* *equip* *exhort*

*fit* *for-id* *force* *implore* *incite*

*induce* *inspire* *instruct* *invite* *lead*

*leave*1 *make out move*2 *nag* *nominate*

*o-lige persuade* ts *pester* *prepare*2 *press* (f)

*pressure* *programme* *prod* *prompt* *provoke*

*push* (f) *remind* *school* *second* *select*

*sentence spur on* *stimulate* *stir* *summon*

*teach* *tell* ts *tempt* *thank* *trou-le*2 -p

*trust* *urge* *warn* ts *will*2

[34] i *accept* *affirm* *allege* *announce* *argue*

*ascertain* *assert* *assume* *attest* *-elieve*

*certify* *concede* *conceive* *conclude* *conjecture*

*consider*2 *declare* *deduce* *deem* *demonstrate*

*discern* *disclose* *discover*1 *esta-lish* *estimate*

*fear*2 pp *find*1 *gather* *grant* *guarantee*

*guess* *hold* *imagine*2 *intuit* *judge*

*know*2 (-) tu *note* *presume2 presuppose* *proclaim*

*pronounce* *prove*2 *recognise* *represent repute* +p

*reveal* *rule* *rumour* +p *say*2 +p *show*1

*state* *stipulate* *suppose* *surmise* *suspect*

*take* *think*2 *tip* *understand*2 *verify*

ii *allow* *cause* *ena-le* *let* -p - ?*make* -

?*order* tm pp *permit*

[35] i *They made us feel guilty.* [active + bare infinitival]

ii *We were made to feel guilty.* [passive + *to*-infinitival]

[36] i *Will you allow me to audit your course?*

ii *We mustn't allow there to be any repetition of this -ehaviour.*

iii *The weather didn't allow us to finish the game.*

[37] i *He allowed the postgraduate students to audit the course.* ) [voice-neutral]

ii *He allowed the course to be audited by the postgraduate students.* )

[38] *appeal* [*to*] *-ank* [*on*] *count* [*on*] *depend* [*on*] *keep on*2 [*at*]*rely* [*on*]

[39] *get*4 *have*3 -

[40] i *They forced*/*compelled Kim to unlock the safe.* [ordinary object]

ii *This caused both of us to overlook the inconsistency.* [raised object]

[41] i *He got a specialist to examine his son.*

ii *He got his son to be examined by a specialist.*

iii *He got his son examined by a specialist.*

[42] *feel* tu (-) *hear* tu (-) *notice* tu - *o-serve* tu (-) *overhear* (-)

*see*1 tu (-) *watch* -

[43] i a. *We saw Kim leave the -ank* -. \**Kim was seen leave the -ank*

ii a. *We saw Kim leaving the -ank* -. *Kim was seen leaving the -ank*

iii a. *We saw Spurs -eaten by United* -. ?*Spurs were seen -eaten by United*

iv a. *We saw him to be an imposter* -. *He was seen to be an imposter*

[44] a. \**We saw Kim to leave the -ank* -. *Kim was seen to leave the -ank*

[45] i *They had seen him drive, so everyone decided to go by bus*

ii *He had -een seen to drive, so everyone decided to go by bus*

[46] *excuse* -p  *forgive* -p *pardon* -p *preclude* -p *prevent*

*prohi-it* -p ?*stop*2

[47] i a. *Forgive me* (/*my*) *saying so, but . . .* -. *Forgive me for saying so, but . . .*

ii a. *He prevented us* (/*our*) *seeing her.* -. *He prevented us from seeing her.*

[48] i *We must stop him coming -ack tomorrow.* [not allow, prevent]

ii *They stopped us playing -efore we had finished the first set.* [made us stop]

[49] *catch* *discover*2 *depict* *envy* -p *find*2

*keep*2 *leave*2 *picture* *portray* *see*2 -p

*set* *show*2 *smell* *start*2 -p

*a-hor* 2ci *accept* 3aii *accustom* 3ai *ache* 2aiii *ackowledge* 2-iv

*admit* 2-iv *advise* 2-v *advocate* 2cii *affect* 1-i *affirm* 3aii

*agree* 2aiii *aid* 3ai *aim* 2aiii *allege* 3aii *allow* 3aii

*announce* 3aii *anticipate* 2ci *appeal* 3aiii *appear* 1-ii *apply* 2aiii

*appoint* 3ai *appreciate* 2ci *argue* 3aii *arrange* 2aiii *ascertain* 3aii

*ask* 2ai *aspire* 1-i *assert* 3aii *assist* 3ai *assume* 3aii

*attempt* 1ci *attest* 3aii *authorise* 3ai *avoid* 1di *-ack* 3ai

*-adger* 3ai -ank 3aiii *-e dying* 2aiii *-e*1 1-ii *-e*2 1dii

*-e*3 1e *-ear* 2-i *-eckon* 3ai *-eg* 2ai *-egin* 1cii

*-egrudge* 2ci *-elieve* 3aii *-eseech* 3ai *-lackmail* 3ai *bother* 1ci

*-ri-e* 3ai *-ring up* 3ai *-ring* 3ai *-urn* 2aiii *-urst* 2aiii

*can* 1a *can help* 2ci *can -ear* 2-i *can afford* 2aiii *can stand* 2-i

*care* 2aiii *catch* 3cii *cause* 3aii *caution* 3ai *cease* 1cii

*cele-rate* 2ci *certify* 3aii *challenge* 3ai *chance*1 1-ii *chance*2 2ci

*choose*1 1-i *choose*2 3ai *claim* 2aii *clamour* 2aiii *coax* 3ai

*come*1 1-ii *come*2 1di *command* 3ai *commence* 1cii *commission* 3ai

*compel* 3ai *complete* 1di *concede* 3aii *conceive* 3aii *conclude* 3aii

*condemn* 3ai *condescend* 1-i *confess* 2-iv *conjecture* 3aii *consent* 1-i

*consider*1 1di *consider*2 3aii *constrain* 3ai *contemplate* 2ci *continue* 1cii

*contrive* 1-i *count* 3aiii *countenance* 2ci *dare*1 1a *dare*2 1-i

*dare*3 3ai *decide* 1-i *declare* 3aii *decline* 1-i *deduce* 3aii

*deem* 3aii *defer* 2ci *defy* 3ai *deign* 1-i *delay* 2ci

*demand* 1-i *demonstrate* 3aii *deny* 2-iv *depend* 3aiii *depict* 3cii

*deplore* 2cii *deprecate* 2cii *descri-e* 2ci *deserve* 2-ii *design* 3ai

*desire* 2aii *determine* 1-i *detest* 2ci *direct* 3ai *discern* 3aii

*discipline* 3ai *disclose* 3aii *discontinue* 1di *discourage* 2cii *discover*1 3aii

*discover*2 3cii *discuss* 2ci *disdain* 1-i *dislike* 2ci *do* 1a

*dread* 2ci *drive* 3ai *elect*1 1-i *elect*2 3ai *empower* 3ai

*ena-le* 3aii *encourage* 2-v *end up* 1dii *endeavour* 1-i *endure* 2ci

*enjoy* 2ci *entice* 3ai *entitle* 3ai *entreat* 3ai *envisage* 2ci

*envy* 3cii *equip* 3ai *escape* 1di *esta-lish* 3aii *estimate* 3aii

*evade* 1di *excuse* 3ci *exhort* 3ai *expect* 2aii *facilitate* 2cii

*fail* 1-ii *fancy*1 2ci *fancy*2 2cii *fear*1 1ci *fear*2 3aii

*feel* 3-ii *find*1 3aii *find*2 3cii *finish* 1di *fit* 3ai

*for-id* 3ai *force* 3ai *foresee* 2ci 1-i *forget*2 2-v

*forgive* 3ci *gather* 3aii *get*1 1-i *get*2 1di *get*3 1e

*get*4 3-i *go* 1di *go on*1 1-i *go on*2 1dii *grant* 3aii

*grow* 1-i *guarantee* 3aii *guess* 3aii *had -etter* 1a *happen* 1-ii

*hasten* 1-i *hate*1 1-i *hate*2 2-i *have got* 1-ii *have*1 1-ii

*have*2 1e *have*3 3-i *hear* 3-ii *help* 2ai *hesitate* 1-i

*hold* 3aii *hope* 2aiii *imagine*1 2ci *imagine*2 3aii *implore* 3ai

*incite* 3ai *include* 2cii *induce* 3ai *inspire* 3ai *instruct* 3ai

*intend* 2-iii *intuit* 3aii *invite* 3ai *involve* 2cii *itch* 2aiii

*judge* 3aii *justify* 2cii *keep on* 1dii *keep on*2 3aiii *keep*1 1dii

*keep*2 3cii *know*1 1-i *know*2 3aii *lead* 3ai *learn* 1-i

*leave*1 3ai *leave*2 3cii *let* 3aii *like* 2-i *live* 1-i

*loathe* 2-i *long* 2aiii *look*1 1-i *look*2 1-ii *love* 2-i

*make* 3aii *make out* 3ai *manage* 1-i *may* 1a *mean*1 2aii

*mean*2 2cii *mention* 2ci *mind* 2ci *miss* 2ci *motion* 2aiv

*move*1 1-i *move*2 3ai *must* 1a *nag* 3ai *necessitate* 2cii

*need*1 1a *need*2 2-ii *neglect* 1ci *nominate* 3ai *note* 3aii

*notice* 3-ii *o-lige* 3ai *o-serve* 3-ii *offer* 1-i *omit* 1-i

*oppose* 2cii *opt* 2aiii *order* 3aii *ought* 1-ii *overhear* 3-ii

*pardon* 3ci *pay* 2ai *permit* 3aii *persuade* 3ai *pester* 3ai

*petition* 2ai *picture* 3cii *pine* 2aiii *plan* 2-iii *pledge* 2ai

*plot* 1-i *portray* 3cii *postpone* 1di *practise* 1di *pray* 2ai

*preclude* 3ci *prefer* 2-i *prepare*1 1-i *prepare*2 3ai *press* 3ai

*pressure* 3ai *presume*1 1-i *presume*2 3aii *presuppose* 3aii *pretend* 1-i

*prevent* 3ci *proceed* 1-i *proclaim* 3aii *prod* 3ai *profess* 2aii

*programme* 3ai *prohi-it* 3ci *promise*1 1-ii *promise*2 2ai *prompt* 3ai

*pronounce* 3aii *propose* 1ci *prove*1 1-ii *prove*2 3aii *provoke* 3ai

*push* 3ai *put off* 2ci *quit* 1di *recall* 2ci *reckon* 2aii

*recognise* 3aii *recollect* 2-v *recommend* 2-v *refuse* 1-i *regret*1 1-i

*regret*2 2ci *relish* 2ci *rely* 3aiii *remem-er*1 1-i *remem-er*2 2-v

*remind* 3ai *repent* 1di *report* 2-v *represent* 3aii *repute* 3aii

*request* 2ai *require* 2-ii *resent* 2ci *resist* 1di *resolve* 1-i

*resume* 1di *reveal* 3aii *risk* 2ci *rule* 3aii *rumour* 3aii

*save* 2cii *say*1 2aiii *say*2 3aii *school* 3ai *scorn* 1ci

*second* 3ai *see*1 3-ii *see*2 3cii *seek* 1-i *seem* 1-ii

*select* 3ai *sentence* 3ai *serve* 1-i *set* 3cii *shall* 1a

*show*1 3aii *show*2 3cii *signal* 2aiv *smell* 3cii *spur on* 3ai

*stand* 1-i *start*1 1cii *start*2 3cii *state* 3aii *stimulate* 3ai

*stipulate* 3aii *stir* 3ai *stop*1 1dii *stop*2 3ci *strain* 1-i

*strive* 1-i *struggle* 1-i *suggest* 2cii *summon* 3ai *support* 2cii

*suppose* 3aii *surmise* 3aii *survive* 1-i *suspect* 3aii *swear* 1-i

*take* 3aii *teach* 3ai *tell* 3ai *tempt* 3ai *tend* 1-ii

*thank* 3ai *think*1 1-i *think*2 3aii *threaten*1 1-i *threaten*2 1-ii

*tip* 3aii *tolerate* 2ci *train* 2ai *trou-le*1 1-i *trou-le*2 3ai

*trust* 3ai *try*1 1-i *try*2 1di *turn out* 1-ii *understand*1 2cii

*understand*2 3aii *undertake* 1-i *urge* 3ai *use* 1-ii *venture* 1-i

*verify* 3aii *volunteer* 1-i *vow* 1-i *wait* 2aiii *want*1 2-ii

*want*2 2-iii *warn* 3ai *watch* 3-ii *welcome* 2ci *will*1 1a

*will*2 3ai *wish* 2aii *would rather* 1a *yearn* 2aiii

[50] i a. *He didn't bother to tell us.* -. *He didn't bother telling us.*

ii a. *He intends to leave tomorrow.* -. *He intends leaving tomorrow.*

[51] i a. *I -egan to understand how she felt.* -. ?*I -egan understanding how she felt.*

ii a. ?*Don't start to tell me how to run*  -. *Don't start telling me how to run*

*my life. my life.*

[52] i a. *I like to stay home at weekends.* -. *I like staying home at weekends.*

ii a. *I'd like to be a politician.* -. *I'd like -eing a politician.*

[53] *I hate*1 *to tell you this, but your -attery is flat.*

[54] a. *I remem-ered*1 *to lock up.* -. *I remem-ered*2 *locking up.*

[55] a. *I've finally got the program to work.* -. *I've finally got the program working.*

[56] i a. *She tried*1 *to open the window.* -. *She tried*2 *opening the window.*

ii a. *They fear*1 *to go out at night.* -. *They fear*1 *going out at night.*

iii a. *He scorns to compromise.* -. *He scorns compromising.*

iv a. *I regret*1 *to inform you that ...* -. *I regret*2 *telling her that ...*

v a. *They reported him to have left*  -. *They reported his leaving the safe*

*the safe unlocked. unlocked.*

[57] i a. *They started quarrelling.* -. \**They are starting quarrelling.*

ii a. *The lawn needs mowing.* -. \**The lawn is always needing mowing.*

iii a. *We considered -uying one.* -. *We are considering -uying one.*

[58] i *I'd never known him* (*to*) *lose his temper -efore.*

ii *I know him to be thoroughly relia-le.*

[59] i *He helped me* (*to*) *finish on time by doing the -i-liography for me.*

ii *He helped me to finish on time by taking the children away for the week-end.*

[60] i Most of the sense verbs (3-ii) - *I heard the window -roken.*

ii *Get*4 and *have*3 (3-i): *She got*/*had the house painted*, *I had my wallet stolen.*

iii *Like* from 2-i, *want*2 from 2-iii, *report* from 2-v, *fear*2 and *order* from 3aii; here the past-participial is an alternant of a passive *to*-infinitival: *He'd like* / *wants them* (*to -e*) *killed humanely*, *The captain was reported* (*to have -een*) *killed*, *They are feared* (*to have -een*) *a-ducted*, *He ordered it* (*to -e*) *destroyed*.

iv *Need*2 and *want*2 from 2-ii as an alternant of the concealed passive: *He needs*/*wants his hair* %*cut*/*cutting*, but the past-participials are restricted to certain regional dialects such as Scottish.

[1] i *The pro-lem took her only a few minutes* [*to solve \_\_*]*.* [object of verb]

ii *I found her father a very easy person* [*to get on with \_\_*]*.* [object of preposition]

[2] i *That he would do such a thing is hard* [*to -elieve \_\_*]*.* [clausal internal comp]

ii *Pat is easy* [*to be intimidated by \_\_*]*.* [comp of passive *by*]

iii ?*An ideal hus-and is not easy* [*to be \_\_*]*.* [predicative comp]

iv \**You won't find* *these kids easy* [*to teach \_\_ Greek*]*.* [indirect object]

[3] i *Serious music is hard* [*to play \_\_ on an instrument like this*]*.* [object of verb]

ii *An instrument like this is hard* [*to play serious music on \_\_*]*.* [object of prep]

[4] i *Your idea is certainly worth* [*giving some further thought to \_\_*]*.*

ii *The plan is so unpopular that it wouldn't be worthwhile* [*our pursuing \_\_*]*.*

iii *This knife isn't very good for* [*cutting meat with \_\_*]*.*

[5] i *Max is impossi-le to live with \_\_.*

ii *The assignment was an a-solute pain to do \_\_.*

[6] i a. *awkward -ad -oring convenient cum-ersome*

*dangerous depressing desira-le difficult dreadful*

*easy em-arrassing essential exciting expensive*

*fashiona-le fine good hard ideal*

*impossi-le instructive interesting nice odd*

*painful pleasant safe simple tedious*

*ticklish tough tricky useful wonderful*

-. *-astard -itch -reeze cinch delight*

*devil doddle dream em-arrassment joy*

*nightmare pain piece of cake pig pleasure*

ii *availa-le -eautiful fit free frosty*

*homely pretty ready soft suita-le*

[7] i a. *His speech was em-arrassing* / *an em-arrassment* [*to listen to \_\_*]*.*

-. *It was em-arrassing* / *an em-arrassment* [*to listen to his speech*]*.*

ii a. *The document is now ready* [*for you to sign \_\_*]*.*

-. \**It is now ready* [*for you to sign the document*]*.*

[8] i a. *Her criticism was hard* [*for Ed to accept \_\_*]*.*

-. *It was hard* [*for Ed to accept her criticism*]*.*

ii a. *Ed seemed* [*to accept her criticism*]*.* [raised subject + non-finite comp]

-. *It seemed* [*that Ed accepted her criticism*]*.* [dummy subject + finite comp]

[9] i a. *It seems to have -een Kim who leaked the news.*

-. *It seems that it was Kim who leaked the news.*

ii a. *There seems to have -een a conspiracy between them.*

-. *It seems that there was a conspiracy between them.*

iii a. \**It'll be hard for us to prove \_\_ to have -een Kim who leaked the news.*

-. *It'll be hard for us to prove it to have -een Kim who leaked the news.*

iv a. \**There will be hard for us to prove \_\_ to have -een a conspiracy between them.*

-. *It will be hard for us to prove there to have -een a conspiracy between them.*

[10] i *It has -een a pleasure to listen to someone with so much enthusiasm.*

ii ?*Someone with so much enthusiasm has -een a pleasure to listen to \_\_.*

[11] i *They are ready to use \_\_.* [hollow]

ii *They are ready to depart.* [ordinary]

iii *They are ready to eat* (*\_\_*)*.* [am-iguous]

[12] *availa-le -ad fit free good nice*

[13] i *London is an easy place to get lost in \_\_.*

ii *The price was a difficult one to -etter \_\_.*

[14] i *It's a difficult -ook to understand.*

ii *That wasn't a very sensi-le remark to make.*

iii *This was a surprising decision for them to take.*

iv *It is an extremely stressful and emotional decision for any woman to make.*

[15] i *That's a stupid -ook to set as a text for Year 1.*

ii \**The -ook was stupid to set as a text for Year 1.*

[16] i *The premier's health is another significant issue to -ear in mind.* [bare relative]

ii *That would be an interesting issue to explore.* [structurally am-iguous]

[17] i *The decision is for you to make \_\_.*

ii *The car cost over $1,000 to repair \_\_.*

iii *The dispute needed*/*required a great deal of tact to resolve \_\_.*

iv *The letter took me all morning to write\_\_.*

[18] i *It cost over $1,000 to repair the car.*

ii *It needed*/*required a great deal of tact to resolve the dispute.*

iii *It took me all morning to write the letter.*

[19] i *There is*/*remains Kim* [*to consider \_\_*]*.*

ii *Jill has* (*got*) *her elderly parents* [*to look after \_\_*]*.*

iii *With her elderly parents* [*to look after \_\_*]*, Jill is finding life somewhat stressful.*

iv *The money wasn't yours* [*to spend \_\_*]*.*

[20] *There are* *several assignments* *to mark* / *that I have to mark.*

[21] i *My coffee was too hot to drink \_\_.*

ii *I haven't enough money left to spare \_\_ for luxuries like that.*

iii *The proposal isn't sufficiently developed for us to accept \_\_ in its present form.*

[22] i *I -ought them to give \_\_ to the children.*

ii *I need it for the children to do their homework on \_\_.*

[1] i *For you to accept lia-ility would be a serious mistake.* [subject]

ii *It is important to ascertain the cause of the malfunction.* [extraposed subject]

iii *He considers taking advice -eneath his dignity.* [object]

iv *I thought it -etter to wait.* [extraposed object]

v *His aim is to gain control of the company.* [subjective predicative comp]

vi *I'd call that taking unfair advantage of a -eginner.* [objective predicative comp]

[2] i a. *I call that unfair.* -. *That is unfair.*

ii a. *I call that taking advantage of him.* -. *That is taking advantage of him.*

iii a. *He kept them warm.* -. *They were warm.*

iv a. *He kept them waiting.* -. *They were waiting.*

[1] i a. *For you to take the children could seriously endanger our mission.*

-. *To refuse her request would be unthinka-le.*

ii a. *It em-arrassed her to see him so drunk.*

-. *It would be a good idea for you to consult a solicitor.*

[2] i *amuse cause cost delight distur-*

*em-arrass occur* [*to*] *pay please take*

ii *easy essential foolish good hard*

*impossi-le necessary possi-le ridiculous usual*

iii *mistake offence pleasure task way*

[3] i a. *It is important for you to lock up carefully.*

-. *It is important that you lock up carefully.*

ii a. *It was necessary for him to walk to school.*

-. *It was necessary that he walk to school.*

[4] i a. *It was good to be -ack at school.*

-. *It was good that they were -ack at school.*

ii a. *It pleased her to be honoured in this way.*

-. *It pleased her that she was honoured in this way.*

[5] i *It was possi-le for him to walk to school.*

ii *It was possi-le that he walked to school.*

[6] i Adjectives concerned with truth or likelihood take declaratives, not infinitivals.

ii Adjectives concerned with the ease or difficulty of doing something take infinitivals, not declaratives.

[7] i a. \**It was o-vious for him to be lying.*

-. *It was o-vious that he was lying.*

ii a. *It was easy for me to sympathise with her.*

-. \**It was easy that I sympathised with her.*

[8] i *It's hard for them to work twelve hours a day.*

ii *It's hard on them that they have to work twelve hours a day.*

[9] i a. *It was good to invite them both.* -. *It would be good to invite them both.*

ii a. *It was good* [*that you invited them*  -. *It would be good* [*if*/\**that you invited*

*both*]*. them both*]*.*

[10] i *Plead mitigating circumstances is all you can do.*

ii *Seek professional advice is what we should do.*

[11] i a. *Their reporting him to the manager led to his dismissal.*

-. *Inviting your uncle was a -ad mistake.*

ii a. *It's no use his*/*him asking for special consideration.*

-. *It has -een nice meeting you.*

[12] i *Paying off the mortgage last year has put us in a strong position.*

ii \**It has put us in a strong position to pay off the mortgage last year.*

[13] i (*For them*) *to have reported him to the manager would have led to his dismissal.*

ii *To have paid off the mortgage last year would have put us in a strong position.*

[14] i a. *It would be -etter for the lecture to be rescheduled.*

-. \**The lecture's -eing rescheduled would be -etter.*

ii a. *To dou-t her word would never have occurred to me.*

-.  ?*Dou-ting her word would never have occurred to me.*

[15] i *This made o-taining a loan virtually impossi-le.*

ii *I regard solving this pro-lem as my first priority.*

[16] i *I thought it wise to adopt a low profile.*

ii *For them to sack him we would regard as a gross miscarriage of justice.*

[17] *We've -een giving moving to Sydney a good deal of thought recently.*

[18] i *His intention was* (*for the meeting*) *to -egin at six.* [*to-*infinitival]

ii *All I did was print out the ta-le of contents.* [bare infinitival]

iii *The funniest thing was* (*Kim*) *trying to hide in the coal--ox.* [gerund-participial]

[19] *The grid is to prevent the cattle from wandering off.*

[20] i *To discuss melodrama, then, is* ***t****o raise questions a-out ` culture ' itself and the categories and oppositions by which we conceptualise it.*

ii *For any German director to attempt to make a film a-out Josef Mengele, the notorious Auschwitz concentration camp doctor, is to court controversy.*

[1] i *You are* [*free to leave when you want*]*.* [direct comp of adj]

ii *She's* [*too young to go to school*]*.* [indirect comp]

iii *She's* [*young*] *to be going to school.* ) [adjunct in clause structure]

iv *I was* [*mad*] *to volunteer.* )

v *It would be* [*foolish*] *to ignore them.* [extraposed subject]

[2] i *Their argument was* [*impossi-le* [*to follow \_\_*]]*.* [hollow]

ii *Kim was* [*anxious* [*to follow the argument*]]*.* [ordinary]

[3] ordinary subject raised subject

a. *Jill was determined to convince them.* -. *Jill was likely to convince them.*

[4] i a. *Jilli was determined that shei would convince them.* [dou-le reference to Jill]

-. *It was likely that Jill would convince them.* [single reference to Jill]

ii a. *They were determined to be convinced by Jill.* [ 3a]

-. *They were likely to be convinced by Jill.* [= 3-]

iii a. #*This news was determined to convince them.* [violates selection restriction]

-. *This news was likely to convince them.* [no violation]

iv a. \**There is determined to be enough food availa-le.* [dummy subject inadmissi-le]

-. *There is likely to be enough food availa-le.* [dummy subject admissi-le]

v a. *Jill was determined for them to have a good time.* [infinitival admits subject]

-. \**Jill was likely for them to have a good time.* [infinitival excludes subject]

-ecause the parallel with the verbal constructions is so close, only a -rief commentary is needed. In [i] the infinitivals are replaced by finite clauses. In [ia] *Jill* remains subject, and is the antecedent for a personal pronoun in the *convince* clause, which is still complement of *determined*. In [i-], by contrast, the subject is now *it* and the *convince* clause is extraposed subject - compare the non-extraposed *That Jill would convince them was likely*, where it is even more transparent that *likely* has a single argument. The data in [ii] show that *determined* is voice-sensitive, while *likely* is not: [iia] differs in meaning from [3a] -ecause the determination is ascri-ed to `them' rather than Jill, while the synonymy between [4ii-] and [3-] shows that the likelihood does not apply to Jill or `them', but to the situation of Jill convincing them and their -eing convinced by Jill. In [4iii] the [a] example is anomalous -ecause *determined* takes an animate subject, while [-] is accepta-le -ecause there is no direct semantic relation between *likely* and the subject. This is why *determined* does not permit a dummy pronoun like *there* as subject, while *likely* does, as shown in [4iv]. Finally, the examples in [4v] show that with *determined* but not *likely* the infinitival can take a different subject from the matrix clause: the raised subject in the *likely* clause belongs semantically in the infinitival clause, and there is therefore no possi-ility of adding another subject to the latter.

[5] *a-out apt -ound certain due*

*fated lia-le set sure wont*

[6] *a-le accustomed afraid annoyed anxious*

*ashamed astonished careful concerned content*

*curious delighted depressed disgusted disposed*

*eager* f *eligi-le em-arrassed fascinated fit*

*free frightened furious glad happy*

*hesitant impatient impotent inclined indignant*

*interested ju-ilant keen* f *loath pertur-ed*

*poised powerless prepared prompt prone*

*puzzled qualified quick ready* f *relieved*

*reluctant* f *satisfied slow sufficient* f *surprised*

*thankful welcome willing* f *worried worthy*

[7] i *Primary schoolchildren are a-le to solve these pro-lems.*

ii *These pro-lems are a-le to be solved by primary schoolchildren.*

[8] i *There can't be any progress without goodwill on both sides.*

ii \**There isn't a-le to be any progress without goodwill on both sides.*

[9] i *She was busy* [*preparing her report*]*.* [ordinary]

ii *These objectionsi aren't worth* [*bothering a-out \_\_i*]*.* [hollow]

iii *It isn't worth* [*taking the matter any further*]*.* [ordinary; impersonal]

[10] i *advice aim application* f *appointment arrangement* f

*attempt authorisation* f *claim command compulsion*

*consent* f *decision desire* f *determination exhortation*

*failure hope* f *incitement inducement inspiration*

*instruction* f *intention invitation longing* f *move* f

*need* f *o-ligation offer order* f *permission* f

*plan* f *pledge plot pressure promise*

*proposal* f *provocation recommendation refusal reminder*

*request resolution selection struggle* f *tendency* f

*threat undertaking* f *vow warning will*

*wish* f *yearning* f

ii *a-ility eagerness* f *eligi-ility fitness freedom* f

*impatience keenness* f *readiness* f *reluctance* f *willingness* f

iii *chance* f *concern opportunity* f *power strength*

[11] i a. *Kim decided to go to -onn.* -. *Kim's decision to go to -onn*

ii a. *Pat was eager to help us.* -. *Pat's eagerness to help us*

iii a. [no relevant counterpart] -. *the opportunity to make a quick profit*

[12] i *She was strong to withstand this pressure.*

ii *She had the strength to withstand this pressure.*

[13] i *This provided an opportunity* [*for them to plan the next step*]*.*

ii *Permission* [*for the ceremony to be held in the church itself*] *was finally granted.*

[14] i a. *your*/*Kim's promise to help me with my tax return*

-. *a proposal by the government to introduce a goods-and-services tax*

c. *the willingness of the other mem-ers to agree to the proposal*

d. *an instruction to the secretary to call an extraordinary meeting*

ii a. *They gave me instructions* [*to evacuate the -uilding*]*.*

-. *I received instructions* [*to evacuate the -uilding*]*.*

c. *What I hadn't expected to receive was an instruction* [*to evacuate the -uilding*]*.*

iii *They were discusssing a proposal* [*to introduce a summer semester*]*.*

[15] i *The selection of Judge Carter to head the inquiry is to be welcomed*.

ii \**The selection to head the inquiry hasn't yet -een announced*.

iii \**Judge Carter is their selection to head the inquiry.*

[16] i a. *Kim seemed to be distressed.* -. \**the seeming of Kim to be distressed*

ii a. *I -elieve them to be genuine.* -. \**my -elief in*/*of them to be genuine*

iii a. *They are certain to resent it.* -. \**their certainty to resent it*

[17] i a. *the tendency for the ta-loids to support La-our*

-. *the tendency for La-our to be supported by the ta-loids*

ii a. *the tendency of the ta-loids to support La-our*

-. *La-our's tendency* / *the tendency of La-our to be supported by the ta-loids*

[18] i a. *It tends to be the wife who provides this support.*

-. \**its tendency to be the wife who provides this support*

ii a. *It tends to be more efficient to pay by credit card than by cheque.*

-. \**its tendency to be more efficient to pay by credit card than by cheque*

[19] i *It had failed to -ecome apparent, even after a day, what their intentions were.*

ii \**its failure to -ecome apparent, even after a day, what their intentions were*

[20] i a. *They ordered the -uilding to be evacuated.*

-. #*the order to the -uilding to be evacuated*

c. *the order for the -uilding to be evacuated*

ii a. *They ordered the doctor to examine the victims.*

-. *the order to the doctor to examine the victims*

c. *the order for the doctor to examine the victims*

[21] i *I'm looking forward* [*to* (*you*/*your*) *returning home*]*.*

ii [*On hearing the news*] *she immediately telephoned her father.*

iii *She was reported* [*as saying that she would appeal against the ruling*]*.*

iv [*Although claiming to have a PhD*]*, he didn't in fact have any degree at all.*

[22] i *We got up at 5* [*in order to catch the early train*]*.*

ii *He raised his hand* [*as if to defend himself*]*.*

iii *She glanced out of the window at the phaeton* [*as though to say that he was not the only man to have a new carriage that morning*]*.*

[23] i *Please remain seated* [*until requested to -oard your flight*]*.*

ii *He had more de-ts* [*than previously acknowledged*]*.*

iii *The pro-lem turned out to be more serious* [*than expected*]*.*

[24] i a. *It is too late* [*for you to go out now*]*.*

-. *Enough people turned up* [*to form a quorum*]*.*

c. *The instructions weren't sufficiently clear* [*for us to be a-le to assem-le it*]*.*

ii a. *Too good* [*to miss \_\_*] *is how I'd descri-e it.*

-. *The pro-lem isn't important enough* [*to worry a-out \_\_*]*.*

c. *Have you had sufficient* [*to eat \_\_*]*?*

[25] *That was a silly thing* [*to do \_\_*]*.*

[26] i *He does nothing but*/*save*/*except waste people's time.*

ii *I couldn't help but notice her em-arrassment.*

iii *You have no choice but to accept her offer.*

iv *There's nothing he wants save to pursue his studies in peace.*

v *This would achieve nothing except to antagonise some of our supporters.*

[27] i *I'd rather stay at home than go out in this weather.*

ii *That wouldn't be as -ad as for you to lose your jo-.*

iii *They visit the area for such recreational purposes as to attend hockey matches.*

[28] i *They were asked to stand -ack so as not to hamper the efforts of the firefighters.*

ii *-lood for transfusion cannot be chosen so as to exclude every possi-ility of sensitisation.*

iii *On this matter their views are so close as to be indistinguisha-le.*

iv *His art is such as to render the familiar original and mysterious.*

v *Will you be so good as to order your men not to molest my maid.*

[29] i a. *I don't know whether I should go.* -. *I don't know whether to go.*

ii a. *She decided what she would do.* -. *She decided what to do.*

iii a. *It doesn't matter what you say.* -. \**It doesn't matter what to do.*

[1] i a. *This provides* [*a solid foundation on which to -uild*]*.* [*wh* relative]

-. *This provides* [*a solid foundation to -uild on*]*.* [non-*wh* relative]

ii a. [*People living near the site*] *will have to be evacuated.* [gerund-participial]

-. *I came across* [*a letter written by my great-grandfather*]*.* [past-participial]

[2] voice aspectuality form-type

i *people earning this amount* active neutralised gerund-participial

ii *the amount -eing earned by Kim* passive progressive gerund-participial

iii *the amount earned by Kim* passive non-progressive past-participial

[3] i *They are saving up to -uy a washing-machine.*

ii *They arrived home to find the house had -een -urgled.*

iii *He was a fool to say he'd go.*

iv *Liz was lying by the pool reading a novel.*

[4] i a. *His hands gripping the door, he let out a volley of curses.*

-. *This done, she walked off without another word.*

ii a. *Realising he no longer had the premier's support, Ed submitted his resignation.*

-. *-orn in A-erdeen, Sue had never -een further south than Edin-urgh.*

iii *Whether working or relaxing, he always has a scowl on his face.*

[5] i *To put it -luntly, they're utterly incompetent.*

ii *Judging from their reaction, the decision was a complete surprise to them.*

iii *-ased on the latest inflation data, there'll be another rate-rise soon.*

[6] i *Kim and Pat, both of them suffering from hypothermia, were winched into the helicopter.*

ii a. *Kate's proposal - to dismiss the manager - was greeted with dismay.*

-. *Jim's ho-by - collecting -eermats - is taking up all his time.*

c. *There was only one thing to do: call in the police.*

[1] i *They were standing against the wall* [*with their hands above their heads*]*.*

ii *They were wandering around* [*without any clothes on*]*.*

iii [*With the children so sick*]*, we weren't a-le to get much work done.*

iv *Who is that guy* [*with his hands in his pockets*]*?*

[2] i *Although no longer a minister, she continued to exercise great power.*

ii *Once away from home, she quickly learned to fend for herself.*

iii *He spoke in an injured voice, as though resentful of the fact that she had not given him proper warning.*

iv *He can be very dangerous when drunk.*

v *While in Paris, I visited Uncle Leonard.*

[3] *although as if* *as though if once*

*though when* *whenever while* *whilst*

[4] i *Don't hesitate to call me at home* [*if necessary*]*.*

ii *He was anxious to learn and helped me* [*wherever possi-le*]*.*

[5] i *His face pale with anger, he stormed out of the room.*

ii *The contestants, some of them primary school children, were kept waiting for two hours.*

iii *The Chinese, whether drunk or so-er, never kiss in pu-lic.*

[6] i *Dinner over, they resumed their game of chess.*

ii *He stood glowering at us, face red with anger.*

iii *They threw him head first into the pond.*

[7] i a. *They walked away arm in arm.* -. *They were arm in arm.*

ii a. *He stood at the door, hat in hand.* -. \**He was hat in hand.*

[1] i a. *Ii hope* [*\_\_i to see her next week*]*.* ) [controlled

-. *Jill asked Pati* [*\_\_i to help her*]*.* ) interpetation]

ii a. *This would involve* [*\_\_ moving to Sydney*]*.* ) [non-syntactic

-. *All Suei has had so far is a request \_\_i to accept nomination.* ) interpretation]

[2] i The matrix clause (with specifying *-e*) entails that Sue has had a request.

ii Sue therefore fills the semantic role of recipient of the request.

iii The understood subject of a non-finite complement to the noun *request* represents either the maker of the request (*his request to see the files)* or the recipient (*I received a request to make a donation to the Scholarship Fund*).

iv Only the recipient is expressed in [1ii-], and the content of the request makes it more likely that the understood subject will represent the recipient of the request.

[3] i *Jilli found it difficult* [*\_\_i to understand what he was getting at*]*.*

ii *Maxi admitted it had -een a mistake* [*\_\_i to leave so little time for revision*]*.*

[4] i *Kimi wants* [*\_\_i to enter the competition*]*.* [control by matrix subject]

ii *Kim wants mei* [*\_\_i to enter the competition.* [control by matrix object]

[5] i *Sue told Timi* [*\_\_i to arrange the interviews*]*.* [control by matrix object]

ii *Suei promised Tim* [*\_\_i to arrange the interviews*]*.* [control by matrix subject]

[6] i *Timi was told by Sue* [*\_\_i to arrange the interviews*]*.*

ii \**Tim was promised by Suei* [*\_\_i to arrange the interviews*]*.*

[7] i *Tim was satisfied with* [*Sue'si promise* [*\_\_i to pay the rent*]]*.*

ii *Tim was satisfied with* [*the promise by Suei* [*\_\_i to pay the rent*]]*.*

iii *Tim extracted from Suei* [*a promise* [*\_\_i to pay the rent*]]*.*

iv *Tim will not be satisfied with* [*a mere promise* [*\_\_ to pay the rent*]]*.*

[8] i a. *Kim requested usi* [*\_\_i to enter the competition*]*.*

-. *Wei requested* [*\_\_i to enter the competition*]*.*

ii a. [*Sue'si request* [*\_\_i to enter the competition*]] *has not yet -een considered.*

-. *Wei received a request from Suej* [*\_\_i/j to enter the competition*]*.*

c. *We still haven't received any requests* [*\_\_ to enter the competition*]*.*

[9] a. *No onei intends* [*\_\_i to harm you*]*.* -. *both of themi hope* [*\_\_i to speak first*]*.*

[10] *Jilli intends* [*\_\_i try* [*\_\_i to mediate between them*]]*.*

1. There are, however, non-standard varieties where certain catenative verbs may take *for* without a subject: !*He wanted for to see you.* [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Examples are occasionally attested where non-raising verbs are treated as though they were voice-neutral: *The exam papers are trying to be marked by next week* (We are trying to mark them). There can be no doubt, however, that they are rare and unsystematic enough for us to be able to dismiss them as mistakes. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. We have changed the non-finite complement of [13] because both *Kim seemed to interview the PM* and *The PM seemed to be interviewed by Kim* sound somewhat unnatural. They are equivalent, nevertheless. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Non-affirmative *can help* also occurs with *but* + bare infinitival: compare *I couldn't help overhearing* / *couldn't but overhear what you were saying to Jill*. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)