[1] i imperative *be 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 invariably 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 remember* [*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.* b. *They helped me move the furniture.*

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

iii a. *All I did was to ask a question.* b. *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 *be*]

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

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

ii *I resent* [*being given so little notice*]*.* [passive *be*]

iii \**I remember* [*being working when they arrived*]*.* [progressive *be*]

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

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

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

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

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

iv *The sum* [*\_\_ spent on gambling*] *was extraordinary.*

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

ii *a poorly drafted report* )

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

ii *The letter isn't legible 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]

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

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

b. *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]

b. *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]

b. *He's a charlatan, to put it bluntly.* [supplement to a clause]

c *I've found* [*a box 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 liberties.* [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]

b. *She seems to like them.* )

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

[14] i *Such behaviour 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.* b. *I advise you to sell it.* [*to*-infinitival]

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

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

iv a. *I got arrested.* b. *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.* [oblique-complex]

iii *I resented their being given such favourable treatment.* [genitive-complex]

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

v *I resented them being given such favourable 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 best 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])

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[23i] and [ii] behave quite differently under passivisation:

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

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

iii *The performance was expected to begin at six.*

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

ii \**The performance was wanted to begin at six.*

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

ii \**It had been wanted all along for the performance to begin 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.*

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

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

b. \**I'd prefer if at all possible you to do it tomorrow.*

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

b. *What they arranged was for the performance to begin at six.*

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

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

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

ii \**Max believed 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]

b. \**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* b. *the need for us to cooperate*

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

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

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

[37] a. \**I'm thinking of for a holiday.* b. \**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 tabs 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.*

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

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

b. *That's the best course for you to take.*

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

b. *In order for the bill 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.* b. \**We're thinking of to travel by bus.*

[44] i a. *I persuaded her to buy it.* b. *I dissuaded her from buying it.*

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

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

[46] VP

X VP

*to lend him the money*

[47] a. VP b. 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.* b. *All I did was ask a question.*

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

ii *The general public 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 breaking of the seal.* [gerundial noun]

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

b. *They were entertaining the troops.* )

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

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

b. *He stopped seeing her.* )

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

b. *Anyone knowing his whereabouts should contact the police.* )

[55] i a. *It's a matter of breaking the seal.* b. \**It's a matter of to break the seal.*

ii a. *Is breaking the seal wise?* b. \**Is to break the seal wise?*

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

ii a. *It was silly breaking the seal.* b. #*It amused him breaking the seal.*

iii a. *It was silly to break the seal.* b. *It amused him to break the seal.*

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

b. *Let's have no more of this bringing food into the computer room.*

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

b. *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*]*.* b. [*Your being a shareholder*] *is important.*

ii a. *I regretted* [*leaving the firm*]*.* b. [*being a shareholder*] *is important.*

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

*firm*]*. essential.*

ii a. *I arranged* [*to leave the firm*]*.* b. [*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 remember* [*a troop of boy scouts suddenly appearing over the hill*]*.*

iv \**I remember* [*suddenly appearing over the hill a troop of boy 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* *being a friend of the judge*] *hadn't helped at all.* [subject]

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

ii [*His mother being 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 remember*] *his*/*him reading my mail.* [subject: genitive or accusative allowed]

[66] i *He resented* [*there*/\**there's having been so much publicity*]*.*

ii *I won't accept* [*this*/\**this's being made public*]*.*

[67] i *He objected to* [*the girls* / ?*the girls' being 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 b]

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

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

b. *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 available.* [dummy *there*]

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

[6] simple complex

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

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

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

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

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

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

[8] property non-raising verbs raising verbs

(b) 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 applicable: 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' being consistent with either type.

[9] i *There began to be some doubt in our minds as to whether he was trustworthy.*

ii a. *His behaviour began to alienate his colleagues.*

b. *His colleagues began to be alienated by his behaviour.*

iii a. *Jill began to unwrap the parcel.*

b. ?*The parcel began to be unwrapped by Jill.*

[10] i *It's time you began 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 being heckled by Kim.* [[11i]: *enjoy* is voice-sensitive]

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

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

b. *My papers kept blowing away.* [no selection restrictions on subject]

iii a. \**There enjoyed being problems with the photocopier.* [dummy subjects excluded]

b. *There kept being problems 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.* b. *Ed likes me reading aloud.*

ii a. *Ed kept sitting on the stool.* b. *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]

b. *These books want to be taken back to the library.* )

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

b. *These books want taking back to the library.* )

[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

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

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

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

[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 board.* [dummy *there*]

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

[6] complex simple

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

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

iii a. *Jill believed Pat to be ill.* b. \**Jill believed to be ill.*

[7] property non-raising verbs raising verbs

(b) 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.* b. *He pressed Ed to join the club.*

ii a. *He called for Ed to be sacked.* b. *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 being mistreated by Kim.* [voice-sensitive: [11i]]

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

ii a. \**I caught there being several non-members present.* [dummy excluded]

b. *I resented there being several non-members 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.* b. \**I caught apologising.*

ii a. *I resent them being exploited.* b. *I resent being 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 being 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.* b. *Pretending you were ill was wrong.*

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

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

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

ii a. *Kim remembered the cat.* b. *Kim remembered to feed the cat.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ii a. *I consider him a failure.* b. *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.* b. *He isn't a liar.*

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

iii a. *Would you regret it?* b. *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.

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

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

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

b. *The PM had been interviewed by Kim.* )

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

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

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

ii *There had been 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]

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

ii *She had not been 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 brother.*

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

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

b. *You must not start yet and nor*/\**so must your brother.*

[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 be be 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* [ambiguous]

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

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

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

b. *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: ab]

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

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

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

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

b. *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*, *be*, *can*, *may*, *need* [auxiliaries]

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

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

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

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

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

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

ii *You should just occasionally not give everyone the benefit of the doubt.*

iii *They are always not accepting new orders.*

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

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

[30] i \**This morning it began 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 b. 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 debating 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.*

*be* 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.

*be* can't precede *have* because of a more general constraint excluding perfect *have* from the complements of aspectual verbs:

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

ii \**He began having read the book.*

iii \**He stopped having read the book.*

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

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

c. *I remember* [*seeing them together*]*.* )

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

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

b. [*Not having read his book,*] *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 being invited to open the debate.*

ii *We appointed Max, he*/*him*/\**his being much the best qualified of the candidates.*

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

ii a. *He became remorseful.* b. \**He became feeling remorse.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

b. *Although having no TV himself, he was able 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]

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

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

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

b. *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 because 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.* b. *Try and not be so impatient.*

ii *Go get yourself something to eat.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[5] b 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 comparable sense); subtypes as shown in [4]

[6] *can dare*1 *do* *had better* *may*

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

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

?*contrive* *dare*2 (b) *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 *remember*1 *resolve* tw *seek*

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

*survive* *swear* tw *think*1 n *threaten*1 tw *trouble*1

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

[8] *appear* tu *be*1 *chance*1 tu *come*1 *fail*

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

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

*turn out* tu *use*

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

*scorn*

[10] *begin* *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] *be*2 *end up* *go on*2 *keep*1 *keep on* *stop*1

[13] *be*3 *have*2 *get*3

[14] *ask* tm (f) *beg* tm (f) *help* (b) ns *pay* (f) *petition* (f)

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

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

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

iii a. *Jill helped to clear up the mess* b. *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.* b. *She pledged herself to support us*.

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

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

*reckon* *wish* bp (f)

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

*be dying* *burn*  *burst* *can afford* n *care*

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

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

[22] *motion signal*

[23] *can bear* 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 bp pp

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

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

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

b. *I don't want you bringing 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 bp *recollect* tu bp

*recommend* ns tm *remember*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 buying it.* [potential buyer unspecified]

ii *I remember buying it.* [buyer = speaker]

[31] *abhor* *anticipate* *appreciate* *begrudge*  *can help* n[[4]](#footnote-4)

*celebrate* *chance*2 *contemplate* *countenance*  *defer*

*delay* *describe* *detest* *discuss* ?*dislike*?

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

*foresee* *imagine*1 *mention* *mind* n bpg  *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* bpg *justify* *mean*2 bpg

*necessitate* *oppose* *save* bpg *suggest* *support*

*understand*1

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

*back* *badger* *beckon* *beseech* *blackmail*

*bribe* *bring* *bring 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* *forbid* *force* *implore* *incite*

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

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

*oblige 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* *trouble*2 bp

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

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

*ascertain* *assert* *assume* *attest* *believe*

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

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

*discern* *disclose* *discover*1 *establish* *estimate*

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

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

*know*2 (b) 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* *enable* *let* bp b ?*make* b

?*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 behaviour.*

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*] *bank* [*on*] *count* [*on*] *depend* [*on*] *keep on*2 [*at*]*rely* [*on*]

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

[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 (b) *hear* tu (b) *notice* tu b *observe* tu (b) *overhear* (b)

*see*1 tu (b) *watch* b

[43] i a. *We saw Kim leave the bank* b. \**Kim was seen leave the bank*

ii a. *We saw Kim leaving the bank* b. *Kim was seen leaving the bank*

iii a. *We saw Spurs beaten by United* b. ?*Spurs were seen beaten by United*

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

[44] a. \**We saw Kim to leave the bank* b. *Kim was seen to leave the bank*

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

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

[46] *excuse* bp  *forgive* bp *pardon* bp *preclude* bp *prevent*

*prohibit* bp ?*stop*2

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

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

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

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

[49] *catch* *discover*2 *depict* *envy* bp *find*2

*keep*2 *leave*2 *picture* *portray* *see*2 bp

*set* *show*2 *smell* *start*2 bp

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

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

[51] i a. *I began to understand how she felt.* b. ?*I began understanding how she felt.*

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

*my life. my life.*

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

ii a. *I'd like to be a politician.* b. *I'd like being a politician.*

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

[54] a. *I remembered*1 *to lock up.* b. *I remembered*2 *locking up.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

*the safe unlocked. unlocked.*

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

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

iii a. *We considered buying one.* b. *We are considering buying one.*

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

ii *I know him to be thoroughly reliable.*

[59] i *He helped me* (*to*) *finish on time by doing the bibliography 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 (3bii) - *I heard the window broken.*

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

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

iv *Need*2 and *want*2 from 2bii 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 problem 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 believe \_\_*]*.* [clausal internal comp]

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

iii ?*An ideal husband 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 impossible to live with \_\_.*

ii *The assignment was an absolute pain to do \_\_.*

[6] i a. *awkward bad boring convenient cumbersome*

*dangerous depressing desirable difficult dreadful*

*easy embarrassing essential exciting expensive*

*fashionable fine good hard ideal*

*impossible instructive interesting nice odd*

*painful pleasant safe simple tedious*

*ticklish tough tricky useful wonderful*

b. *bastard bitch breeze cinch delight*

*devil doddle dream embarrassment joy*

*nightmare pain piece of cake pig pleasure*

ii *available beautiful fit free frosty*

*homely pretty ready soft suitable*

[7] i a. *His speech was embarrassing* / *an embarrassment* [*to listen to \_\_*]*.*

b. *It was embarrassing* / *an embarrassment* [*to listen to his speech*]*.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ii a. *There seems to have been a conspiracy between them.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

ii ?*Someone with so much enthusiasm has been 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* (*\_\_*)*.* [ambiguous]

[12] *available bad fit free good nice*

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

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

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

ii *That wasn't a very sensible 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 book to set as a text for Year 1.*

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

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

ii *That would be an interesting issue to explore.* [structurally ambiguous]

[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 bought them to give \_\_ to the children.*

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

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

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

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

iv *I thought it better 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 beginner.* [objective predicative comp]

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

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

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

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

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

b. *To refuse her request would be unthinkable.*

ii a. *It embarrassed her to see him so drunk.*

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

[2] i *amuse cause cost delight disturb*

*embarrass occur* [*to*] *pay please take*

ii *easy essential foolish good hard*

*impossible necessary possible ridiculous usual*

iii *mistake offence pleasure task way*

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

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

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

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

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

b. *It was good that they were back at school.*

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

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

[5] i *It was possible for him to walk to school.*

ii *It was possible 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 obvious for him to be lying.*

b. *It was obvious that he was lying.*

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

b. \**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.* b. *It would be good to invite them both.*

ii a. *It was good* [*that you invited them*  b. *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.*

b. *Inviting your uncle was a bad mistake.*

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

b. *It has been 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 better for the lecture to be rescheduled.*

b. \**The lecture's being rescheduled would be better.*

ii a. *To doubt her word would never have occurred to me.*

b.  ?*Doubting her word would never have occurred to me.*

[15] i *This made obtaining a loan virtually impossible.*

ii *I regard solving this problem 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 been giving moving to Sydney a good deal of thought recently.*

[18] i *His intention was* (*for the meeting*) *to begin at six.* [*to-*infinitival]

ii *All I did was print out the table of contents.* [bare infinitival]

iii *The funniest thing was* (*Kim*) *trying to hide in the coal-box.* [gerund-participial]

[19] *The grid is to prevent the cattle from wandering off.*

[20] i *To discuss melodrama, then, is* ***t****o raise questions about ` culture ' itself and the categories and oppositions by which we conceptualise it.*

ii *For any German director to attempt to make a film about 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* [*impossible* [*to follow \_\_*]]*.* [hollow]

ii *Kim was* [*anxious* [*to follow the argument*]]*.* [ordinary]

[3] ordinary subject raised subject

a. *Jill was determined to convince them.* b. *Jill was likely to convince them.*

[4] i a. *Jilli was determined that shei would convince them.* [double reference to Jill]

b. *It was likely that Jill would convince them.* [single reference to Jill]

ii a. *They were determined to be convinced by Jill.* [ 3a]

b. *They were likely to be convinced by Jill.* [= 3b]

iii a. #*This news was determined to convince them.* [violates selection restriction]

b. *This news was likely to convince them.* [no violation]

iv a. \**There is determined to be enough food available.* [dummy subject inadmissible]

b. *There is likely to be enough food available.* [dummy subject admissible]

v a. *Jill was determined for them to have a good time.* [infinitival admits subject]

b. \**Jill was likely for them to have a good time.* [infinitival excludes subject]

[5] *about apt bound certain due*

*fated liable set sure wont*

[6] *able accustomed afraid annoyed anxious*

*ashamed astonished careful concerned content*

*curious delighted depressed disgusted disposed*

*eager* f *eligible embarrassed fascinated fit*

*free frightened furious glad happy*

*hesitant impatient impotent inclined indignant*

*interested jubilant keen* f *loath perturbed*

*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 able to solve these problems.*

ii *These problems are able to be solved by primary schoolchildren.*

[8] i *There can't be any progress without goodwill on both sides.*

ii \**There isn't able 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 about \_\_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 *obligation 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 *ability eagerness* f *eligibility 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 bonn.* b. *Kim's decision to go to bonn*

ii a. *Pat was eager to help us.* b. *Pat's eagerness to help us*

iii a. [no relevant counterpart] b. *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*

b. *a proposal by the government to introduce a goods-and-services tax*

c. *the willingness of the other members 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 building*]*.*

b. *I received instructions* [*to evacuate the building*]*.*

c. *What I hadn't expected to receive was an instruction* [*to evacuate the building*]*.*

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 been announced*.

iii \**Judge Carter is their selection to head the inquiry.*

[16] i a. *Kim seemed to be distressed.* b. \**the seeming of Kim to be distressed*

ii a. *I believe them to be genuine.* b. \**my belief in*/*of them to be genuine*

iii a. *They are certain to resent it.* b. \**their certainty to resent it*

[17] i a. *the tendency for the tabloids to support Labour*

b. *the tendency for Labour to be supported by the tabloids*

ii a. *the tendency of the tabloids to support Labour*

b. *Labour's tendency* / *the tendency of Labour to be supported by the tabloids*

[18] i a. *It tends to be the wife who provides this support.*

b. \**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.*

b. \**its tendency to be more efficient to pay by credit card than by cheque*

[19] i *It had failed to become apparent, even after a day, what their intentions were.*

ii \**its failure to become apparent, even after a day, what their intentions were*

[20] i a. *They ordered the building to be evacuated.*

b. #*the order to the building to be evacuated*

c. *the order for the building to be evacuated*

ii a. *They ordered the doctor to examine the victims.*

b. *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 board your flight*]*.*

ii *He had more debts* [*than previously acknowledged*]*.*

iii *The problem turned out to be more serious* [*than expected*]*.*

[24] i a. *It is too late* [*for you to go out now*]*.*

b. *Enough people turned up* [*to form a quorum*]*.*

c. *The instructions weren't sufficiently clear* [*for us to be able to assemble it*]*.*

ii a. *Too good* [*to miss \_\_*] *is how I'd describe it.*

b. *The problem isn't important enough* [*to worry about \_\_*]*.*

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 embarrassment.*

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 bad as for you to lose your job.*

iii *They visit the area for such recreational purposes as to attend hockey matches.*

[28] i *They were asked to stand back so as not to hamper the efforts of the firefighters.*

ii *Blood for transfusion cannot be chosen so as to exclude every possibility of sensitisation.*

iii *On this matter their views are so close as to be indistinguishable.*

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.* b. *I don't know whether to go.*

ii a. *She decided what she would do.* b. *She decided what to do.*

iii a. *It doesn't matter what you say.* b. \**It doesn't matter what to do.*

[1] i a. *This provides* [*a solid foundation on which to build*]*.* [*wh* relative]

b. *This provides* [*a solid foundation to build on*]*.* [non-*wh* relative]

ii a. [*People living near the site*] *will have to be evacuated.* [gerund-participial]

b. *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 being 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 buy a washing-machine.*

ii *They arrived home to find the house had been burgled.*

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.*

b. *This done, she walked off without another word.*

ii a. *Realising he no longer had the premier's support, Ed submitted his resignation.*

b. *Born in Aberdeen, Sue had never been further south than Edinburgh.*

iii *Whether working or relaxing, he always has a scowl on his face.*

[5] i *To put it bluntly, they're utterly incompetent.*

ii *Judging from their reaction, the decision was a complete surprise to them.*

iii *Based 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.*

b. *Jim's hobby - collecting beermats - 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 able 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 possible*]*.*

[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 sober, never kiss in public.*

[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.* b. *They were arm in arm.*

ii a. *He stood at the door, hat in hand.* b. \**He was hat in hand.*

[1] i a. *Ii hope* [*\_\_i to see her next week*]*.* ) [controlled

b. *Jill asked Pati* [*\_\_i to help her*]*.* ) interpetation]

ii a. *This would involve* [*\_\_ moving to Sydney*]*.* ) [non-syntactic

b. *All Suei has had so far is a request \_\_i to accept nomination.* ) interpretation]

[2] i The matrix clause (with specifying *be*) 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 [1iib], 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 been 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*]*.*

b. *Wei requested* [*\_\_i to enter the competition*]*.*

ii a. [*Sue'si request* [*\_\_i to enter the competition*]] *has not yet been considered.*

b. *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*]*.* b. *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)