

Aspects of English morphosyntax

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 The language and the speakers

1.2 Theoretical orientation

In short, this note is based on Basic Linguistic Theory (Dixon 2009, 2010, 2012) with generative flavor. It would cost too much space to given an outline of the descriptive framework here; TODO: turn note-1 into a note about formalism

Chapter 2

Parts of speech

2.1 Overview and preliminaries

This section discusses form classes – or parts of speech, using terms in traditional grammar – in English. I will talk about lexical entries roots, derivational processes of them, and the phrases the roots project into. In principle, the structures of phrases can be covered when discussing their head words, so in some traditional grammars, all morphosyntactic information – besides phonology, the writing system, cultural background, etc. – falls under the part about “parts of speech”. This note is strongly influenced by the structuralist-generative tradition and reject to do so, because of the size difference of objects in grammar. Indeed, the structures of the extended phrases of nouns and verbs are too large to be placed into one chapter: They are the main focus of the following several chapters. The structure of adjective phrases and adverb phrases, however, are covered in this chapter, as well as some sub-word components, like affixes and roots.

Box 2.1: Describing parts of speech involves forward references

Characterization of parts of speech and their contexts unavoidably involves information about larger constructions like NPs or clauses. Forward references to the following chapters are to be expected in this chapter.

2.1.1 Wordhood in English

2.1.2 Distinguishing parts of speech

Now we talk about parts of speech division in English. We can assume universal noun-like features or verb-like features, but how they are related to concrete, language-specific form classes needs argumentation (§ ??). With respect to the parameters of openness, the content-function dichotomy, and whether function items are similar to content items enough, there are roughly four types of parts of speech: a) open content categories with clear part of speech labels like noun, verb or adjective; b) close content categories with clear part of speech labels like noun, verb, or adjectives; c) close grammatical categories which may still be seen as noun-like or verb-like (like pronouns), and d) close grammatical categories like particles or affixes that don't really need part of speech labels. The four types are going to be discussed immediately below.

Box 2.2: Grammatical words

The third and the fourth classes are usually primarily exponents of functional heads. A word in the third class may contain some features making it look like a word from the first two classes, like the categorizer feature or the person/number/case feature, while a word in the fourth class may not.

Gradience occurs between the boundaries of the four types of parts of speech. Surface realizations of a specifier position, if limited to a few (like adverbs filling certain positions), may be bleached into realization of functional heads, thus coming into the third and fourth types of parts of speech. Competing analyses occur when this change is happening. The boundary between the latter isn't clear, and so is the boundary between the first type and the second type

(because many so-called closed content word classes sporadically accept new members), and the second type and the third type (for example, when the number of verbs is so-limited – say, only a handful – then is it a better idea to regard the verb class as the exponents of different light verbs?), and also the third type and the fourth type (since the criteria of “looking like a noun or a verb” are never clear).

TODO: combining forms (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, p. 1661)

2.1.2.1 Open content categories

Since English still has some inflectional morphology, the class of **countable nouns** can be easily told from others: When we see the single/plural \emptyset /-s alternation, it has to be a countable noun. The class of **uncountable nouns** can be tell from

The verb class can be distinguished by its inflection (§ ??).

TODO: strike n. strike v.

The English adjective class – there is only one adjective class, not two or more, which is the case in Japanese – can be distinguished by

Box 2.3: Why semantics doesn't decide form class

It's often said that nouns are about objects, verbs are about events, and adjectives are about properties. This mapping from word class to semantics is a coarse one and should be refined for more systematic description of languages.

It should be noted that actions and processes can be conceptualized as objects: We have, for example, *his playing of the national anthem*, where *play* is nominalized into *playing* (this is not an ING-participle – see TODO: ref). The boundary between objects and properties is also hard to draw: Apart from pronouns or demonstratives that directly refer to the conversation context and pull out a specific object from the listener/reader's memory (and therefore introduce a free variable in the semantic interpretation of the utterance), nouns denote *sets of objects*, and we know we can have a one-to-one mapping between a set A and a predicate in the form of $\cdot \in A$: A noun like *toothbrush* can be immediately mapped to an adjective, like *toothbrush-like*, and therefore whether *toothbrush* really means a set or a predicate becomes an undecidable question. And similarly a property can also be conceptualized as an object: as a set, or maybe as a kind of “essence” (compare *the ice harvesters are [manly]_{about property} men* and *the ice harvesters have strong [manliness]_{object?}*).

The boundary between actions and properties is also not clear: In traditional grammar they are all called “predicates”. When translated into logical expressions, a clause about an event introduces an event argument (§ ??). The difference between events and properties may be that while a clause about the fact that an object has a property can be simply interpreted as ‘property(x)’, or if we want to reduce the number of logical predicates (to avoid the necessity of using higher-order logic), ‘ $x \in$ the-set-with-the-property’. But of course having a property is temporal, so *this is beautiful* is to be interpreted as ‘ $\exists e(\text{time}(e, \text{speech-time}) \wedge \in\text{-in-a-time}(x, \text{what-is-beautiful}, e))$ ’. This doesn't seem quite different from the meaning of a clause about an event, although there may still be some subtle differences like whether the e in clauses about properties can be the invisible topic, which seems to be the reason for the mysterious *wa/ga* alternation in Japanese (Heycock 2008).

So in the end, nouns are prototypically about objects, and they may denote events, and whatever they denote, they can be thought as properties in semantic interpretation. What makes a root a noun is essentially its *syntactic environment*. Intuitively, we say nouns are similar to pronouns, demonstratives, etc., which, however, can never be interpreted as properties. That's because these words contain a determiner fused inside and therefore have clear and direct reference (§ 3.7), and the reason we say nouns are like them is that a noun can be placed at the center of a DP, and the DP now has almost the same syntactic distribution with pronouns, etc.

Semantically, verbs are about actions and properties, but again, they are *categorized* as verbs not because of inherent semantic properties, but by the syntactic environment (being immersed in the ν P-TP-CP projections). Thus, in principle we don't really need content words other than nouns, which is indeed the case in some languages with very limited verb classes.

The semantic function of adjectives can in principle always be realized by nouns or verbs.

The role of them is highly language-specific, and they appear when a meaning is hard to convey using existing constructions concerning nouns or verbs. For example, in English, when it comes to gradience of properties (manifested in comparative constructions), nouns are of limited use, so adjectives are indeed necessary. But we still have *he's more a scientist than a public health official*, and the adjective version *he's more scientist-like than public health official-like*, despite being grammatical, is awkward and only appears in language games instead of natural, everyday speech.

Note that the above discussion may be well found in an introduction to, say, “Radical Construction Grammar”, in which it’s argued that grammatical categories only make sense in constructions. This note, however, takes the stance that constructions are not routinized structureless strings, but are made of building blocks that are subject to universal constraints. It’s my theoretical assumption that a root being categorized into a noun has nothing substantiality different from adding an article before a noun, although when it comes to processing, the first may be more “automated” and “fossilized”.

2.1.2.2 Closed content categories

Languages like Japanese have the second type of words (usually verbs, adjectives in the case of Japanese), but that’s not the case for large word classes in English. Still, some subclasses of verbs seem to be closed
TODO: ref.

2.1.2.3 Grammatical words looking like nouns, verbs, etc.

The prototypical members of this type are all classes of pro-forms. Division between this class and “pure” grammatical items however is sometimes hard to make (Box 2.2).

2.1.2.4 “Pure” grammatical items

Grammatical words in this type – the type without much resemblance to prototypical content words – don’t really need part of speech tags, but since they are surface realizations of different grammatical categories, and exponents of different values of the same set of categories usually have similar distributions, dividing these items into groups helps us to organize the grammar, though unlike labels like noun or verb, these labels have less substantiality in the mind of native speakers.

Box 2.4: Part of speech tags for pure grammatical items in other languages

For example, in a language with case particles, we may set up a word class called “case particles”, which falls under the class of “particles”. This is the case for traditional Japanese grammar, which proves to be useful: If you find the usage of an item (word or morpheme, depending on your standard of words (§ ??)) strange and from the position, you are sure it’s a particle, then you can go straight to a reference grammar or a “grammar dictionary” and search this item and find grammatical constructions listed in its entry.

Huddleston and Pullum (2002, p. 330) introduces the class of determinatives. A full list of determinatives are given by Huddleston and Pullum (2002, p. 356).

2.1.3 Derivational devices

2.1.3.1 Derivation-inflection distinction in English

This section only covers derivational processes. The accepted wisdom is “derivation relates one lexeme to another lexeme, while inflection relates one lexeme to its form in the final utterance”. This definition however still has intrinsic vagueness. It involves two parameters: structure size and fossilization. Regarding structure size, derivation is on the level of lexemes, which are smaller than phrases, and also smaller than “finished words” – inflected words – that involve influences from the external syntactic environment. Regarding fossilization, derivation should be less synchronically active than inflection (and therefore less productive). There is certain amount of correlation between the two parameters: Small units are easier to lexicalize, so compound words are more likely to have established meanings,

and compounding is therefore prototypically derivational. But of course the parameters may not always agree with each other, and both parameters have vagueness. The derivation-inflection distinction is therefore not appropriate in some cases (Dixon 2009, p. 221).

Box 2.5: Example in vagueness of the derivation-inflection distinction

Here are some examples of the vagueness. Concerning structure size, in case stacking, should the inner case markers be considered as inflection? And note that a valency changing device also doesn't apply to all verbs that seem to have an appropriate number of arguments – indeed, Jacques (2021) calls valency changing *derivation*. A further subtlety is the parameter of fossilization should be further split into two: some constructions may appear less frequently but still have largely compositional meaning, while others – like the Latin *com-* prefix – appear everywhere but the meanings of resulting words can hardly be inferred regularly.

In English a relatively clear derivation-inflection distinction can be established, partly because English inflection has already been simplified. Certain subtleties still exist. Inflection sometimes still occurs before inflection, as in, say, dephrasal derivations like *his holier-than-thou attitude* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, p. 1646);. Whether the *-ly* suffix for adjective-to-adverb derivation should better be considered as an inflection is debated (TODO: ref).

Box 2.6: Terminology in derivational morphology

The most general term for units participating derivation is *base*. A root with no category is a primitive base, and a fully derived, ready-to-inflect unit is a maximal base. People sometimes call the latter a *stem*.

It should be noted that the term *base* may denote a *form* of base. In agglutinative languages like Japanese, attaching a suffix to an existing unit slightly changes its tail (we may say each suffix carries a morphophonological command at the initial dictating this change), and there are a finite number of such changes. Thus, we may say “this unit is conjugated into the 2nd base before accepts that suffix”. Here the term *base* means a particular type of ending of a base in this note.

2.1.3.2 The hierarchy of derivational morphology and order of processes

Roots don't have categories, but of course, for some (usually semantic) reasons, each root usually has a prototypical part of speech, so we may still informally talk about a *noun root* or a *verb root* (§ ??).

Box 2.7: What's the level that derivation works on?

The above terminology leads to a confusion: When we say a verb undergoes a deverbal nominalization procedure and is turned into a noun, does it mean the noun is obtained by adding a “noun” label to the category-free root of that verb, or does it mean the noun is obtained by adding a “noun” label *outside of* the “verb” label? It seems both mechanisms exist in derivational morphology. Some “symmetric” word class conversion seems to be alternation between two possible categorizations of the same category-free root, while asymmetric conversion involves two part of speech labels (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, p. 1641; Siddiqi 2009, p. 62, (15)). And note that derivational affixes are not merely part of speech tags: There are subtle (yet inferrable, not fossilized) meaning differences between *healthful* *healthy*.

The symmetric/asymmetric distinction seems to be orthogonal to whether the conversion has zero marking. A symmetric conversion can have explicit marking (*speech* N ‘the action of speaking’ – note that here I'm not talking about the meaning ‘an event in which someone publicly speaks’), and a non-symmetric conversion can have zero marking (*attempt* N ‘the action of attempting’).

A general tendency is compounding happens before derivation. Many so-called violations of this tendency comes from the fact that the orthographical wordhood (roughly corresponding to the phonological wordhood) doesn't necessarily imply the underlying morphosyntactic structure. The compound noun *acceptability judgement*, for example, is better analyzed as [*acceptability judge*]-*ment*, which follows the derivation-after-compounding scheme well.

The compatibility between derivational devices involves several factors. a) Most derivational devices select categorized bases, and wrong part of speech tags cause incompatibility. Specifically, some

affixes are terminal ones: The part of speech tags carried by them are never accepted by any other derivational devices. Once they are added, no further derivation is possible. b) Some combinations of affixes are not possible because of redundancy: the complex *??-ness-ful*, for example, is extremely rare, because usually *-ness* is attached to an adjective, and the whole sequence *-ness-ful* therefore adds nothing new semantically. The fact that it does appear in manufactured examples, like *awkwardnessful*, to show a sense of cumbersomeness, confirms the above claim that its rarity is largely semantically motivated. c) Some combinations of affixes are not possible because of realizational reasons: **-ic-ly* is not possible because this combination is somehow “hard to pronounce” in English, and there is no vowel insertion rule pertaining to this configuration to ease the problem. We have to add a *-al* between the two suffixes. On the other hand, although *-ize-tion* is also awkward, *-a-* is inserted, and the resulting *-ization* is completely fine. d) A variant of the realizational incompatibility problem is not due to phonology, but (possibly historical) stylistic reasons. The combination **-ness-al* isn’t good, because *-ness* is of Germanic origin, while *-al* is of Romance origin. Thus, usually the two affixes are not used together. TODO: why?

Certain – although highly limited – degree of recursion exists in English derivational morphology. The sequence *-ize-tion-al* is an example. The verb *renormalize* is a term in physics, which means to systematically modify the effective values of constants in a theory when throwing away unneeded degrees of freedom (and a formally similar procedure used to solve divergence problems). From it we have *renormalization*, and hence the adjective *renormalizational*, ‘having something to do with renormalization, or is expressed in the theoretical framework of renormalization’. The form **renormalizationalize* is not acceptable. This however seems to come from the absence of a feasible meaning. In a highly marked context, where we talk about “how to make a theory that is usually not written down in the renormalizational framework renormalizational”, *renormalizationalize* is no longer completely unacceptable, and hence we have *renormalizationalization* or even *renormalizationalizational*, etc. The reason why people decide that such use of derivation is not authentic English is complicated: It involves the tendency to reject long words, rejection of replication, lack of established meaning, and maybe even more.

It should also be noted that mismatch between the realization and the underlying structure is also possible in derivation. The structure *[cross-language]-ic* is realized as *cross-linguistic*. Here *linguistic* is not to be interpreted as “related linguistics”, but merely a collective realization of the root *language* and the adjectivizer *-ic*, ignoring the real constituency structure.

2.1.3.3 Compounding

Although there are prototypical ways to interpret a compound when it is created for the first time, most compounds have gained established meanings.

2.1.4 Historical remarks

2.1.4.1 Origin of words and roots

Finally we discuss the sources of the lexicon inventory of English.

A generalization is Romance affixes are usually added before Germanic affixes, which seems expected, because the Germanic affixes are integrated parts of the grammar and interact naturally with external environments (TODO: coordination of affixes, etc.), while Romance affixes are not, so Romance affixes are unable to appear at the edge between the inner structures of the lexeme and the external morphosyntactic surroundings.

Derivational affixes are easier to borrow than inflectional ones, for quite obvious reasons: to borrow a mini-tree from one language to another, the smaller the tree is, the better the compatibility will be. Indeed, some affixes in English originate from inflectional affixes in other languages, but since then are reanalyzed into derivational devices.

2.2 Nouns

2.2.1 Compound nouns

Compound nouns – a compound where the two immediate constituents are all nouns – can be divided into centered and non-centered ones (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, pp. 1646-1648). The semantic relation between the two branches of a centered compound noun is highly diverse; some compounding

structures seem to be head-complement or head-modifier constructions, while for others, what relates the two branches is merely “aboutness”: when an established meaning is absent, the form A-B means “B that has something to do with A”. Non-centered compound nouns (or **dvandva nouns**, which is the term in Sanskrit) are relatively rare compared with the case in Sanskrit.

2.2.1.1 Conditions for centered noun compounding

The two constituents in a compound noun usually can’t bear any inflection. However, irregular plurals are sometimes permitted. This means the threshold of noun compounding has a “lightweight” requirement: The branch A *has to* bear the “category is noun” feature, but *nothing more*. Thus ordinary plurals have a number feature higher than the category feature and are excluded from engaging in noun compounding, while in fused plurals like *mice*, the root, the noun category feature and the plural number feature are all realized into one unit, so compounding is licensed (Siddiqi 2009, § 7.1)

2.2.2 Adjective-noun compounding

An adjective-noun compound is usually a modifier-head structure, but not always: *sick-bed* receives an aboutness interpretation outlined in § 2.2.1, where the adjective *sick* is used as a category-less root, which means *sickness* here.

2.2.3 Verb-centered compound nouns

2.2.4 Deverbal nominalization

Nominalization of a verb either gives a noun about the action or state described by the verb (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, p. 1700), or gives a noun referring to an object or person that is a semantic argument of the verb (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, p. 1697). The two kinds of nominalization are semantically similar to content clauses and relative clauses, respectively. Thus, cross-linguistically, we often see nonfinite forms of a verb serving as its normalized forms, either in the first meaning or in the second meaning mentioned above. In English, the relative clause-like use of participles is rare, but the content clause-like use of participles is highly frequent (1, 2).

- (1) [His playing the national anthem]_{ING-participle complement clause} amazed us.
- (2) [His playing of the national anthem]_{ING-nominalization} is amazing.

2.2.4.1 Zero derivation

the one doing something: *coach*, *spy*
the action of *read*, *go*, *attempt*

2.3 Pronouns

2.3.1 Personal pronouns

2.3.2 Demonstratives

2.4 Numerals

There are four types of numerals in English: the cardinal numerals, the ordinal numerals, the adverbial numerals, and the multiplicative numerals. There is no affixational derivation to show the rank or quality of something (which is attested in the Latin ordinal numeral plus *-āris* derivation): The meaning is conveyed by

Cardinal numerals prototypically appear in NPs, possibly in a

2.5 Adverbs and adverb phrases

Derivation into adverbs is terminal: No further derivation is possible after that.

2.5.1 Distributions

Adverbs appear at the initial (3) or at the end of a clause (4, 5), or in the verbal complex (6, 7). The verbal complex positions can be further divided into the positions after the first auxiliary (6) and the position before the main verb (10). Similarly – though less apparently – there are also two types of clause final adverbs, one with a pause in utterance, usually shown by a comma (4), the other without a pause (5). All the five positions – actually there are further subtypes – have structural and meaning differences (Table 5.2): (3, 4) are in the speech act-related positions, (6, 5) are in the manner-like positions, and (7) is in the TAM-related region.

- (3) [Strikingly], he is a liar.
- (4) He is quite smart, [frankly].
- (5) He finished the task [quite cleverly].
- (6) He might [now] be hoping to skip the test.
- (7) If you were me, you would have [smartly] answered the question.

2.5.2 Origins

2.5.2.1 The -ly derivation

TODO: terminal derivation; only -c-al-ly is acceptable, except *puclcly*.

2.6 Prepositions

Prepositions are usually regarded as extensions of the case system (Dixon 2009, § 5.4). From this perspective, in a surface-based analysis, we should do away with the term *preposition phrase*, because in this case prepositions aren't lexical heads (they are realization of functional heads and therefore are markers of grammatical relations in a surface-oriented analysis). Some English prepositions can indeed be seen as such, but there are more complicated cases. Prepositions can take modifiers (8), and may be stacked in limited cases (9). The prepositions in the above cases also seem to have lexical meanings instead of mere grammatical functions. Also, prepositions can be attached to non-NP constituents (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, p. 609). The prepositional constructions in English therefore deserve more careful treatment.

- (8) The spot is [[ten meters]_{degree} [behind]_{preposition} the house]_{pp}
- (9) The sample is collected [from under] the glacier.

TODO: case-like preposition, place preposition, path preposition Svenonius (2010)

2.6.1 Distributions

TODO: copular PP and adverbial PP

2.6.2 Comparison with adjectives and adverbs

The word *worth* has an exceptional property that makes it similar to prepositions: It takes an NP complement directly. The overall properties however are still adjectival (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, p. 607).

- (10) The paintings are worth thousands of dollars.

Chapter 3

Noun phrase

3.1 Overview

English has a pretty rigid surface constituent order, directly reflecting the inner structure of NPs. Typologically speaking, the constituent order of English is Dem Num A N (1). A more refined template of the noun phrase is given in Fig. 3.1. Note that we may encounter fused-function constructions (§ 3.7): The demonstrative *these*, for example, may appear as a determiner, but may also appear in a fused-function construction, covering the functions from the head to the determiner (§ 3.7.2).

Box 3.1: Form and function in NP constituent order typology

The labels in Fig. 3.1 are about function and not form; in typology, we use the symbols Dem, Num, A, and N to represent their prototypical syntactic function in NPs: Dem = the determiner-like region, A = the attributive region, etc. Saying English has a Dem Num A N constituent order doesn't mean the attributives are all adjectives, etc.

English NPs may have – sometimes must have – one determiner, which may be a demonstrative (1), an article (2), or others, like a quantifier or a degree expression, and several determiners may appear together (§ 3.4). The region below the determiner-like region is the **nominal** (§ 3.3), following the notation in Huddleston and Pullum (2002, p. 329). If we remove the determiner(s), the bare nominal can still have limited distribution as an attributive (3, § 3.3), although not as a full NP (§ 3.3.1). A nominal plus its determiner(s) is a minimal NP.

- (1) He was frightened by [[these]_{Dem} [three]_{Num} [ugly]_A [bears]_N].
- (2) This is [[a]_{article} book about learning Vim in [[the]_{article} difficult way]_{NP}]_{NP}.
- (3) We plan to plant four more [Fuji apple]_{nominal} trees.

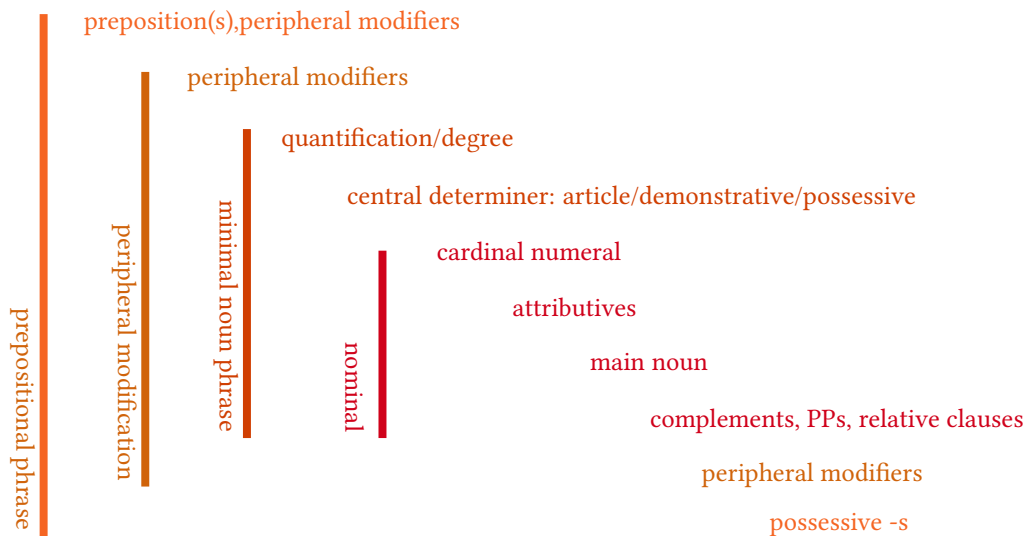


Figure 3.1: The structure of English noun phrase (the indentation means linear order and not constituency relations)

Box 3.2: The cartography of NPs (DPs)

In generative terms, the nominal corresponds to the NumP domain. The NumP itself is similar to the role of TP, and the various adjectives are similar to specifiers of AdvPs in the TP domain, and the complementation is similar to the VP layer (Laenzlinger 2017).

Though quantifiers are often seen inside NPs, their semantic scopes are definitely larger. This is TODO

It should be noted that when studying the structure of DP, we should distinguish semantics and syntax. The meaning of *determination* may be realized by something like the English articles, but it may also be realized by something that looks very like an adjective, as is the case in Latin. What is uncontroversially universal is a set of atomic syntactic features and related semantic meanings, not how they are packaged into concrete constructions, and whether NPs and clauses follow the same cross-linguistic template is still a disputed problem (see the info box in note 1).

Above the minimal NP region, we still have peripheral modifiers available, like *even* or *along* (TODO: ref). Note that the peripheral modifier *along* appears on the right side of the modified minimal NP. Above peripheral modifiers we have prepositions and the possessive *-s* clitic; a part of them can be conceptualized as a periphrastic case system; other prepositions license subjects and should better be modeled as TODO .

Note that although traditionally, complement clauses are regarded as *nominal clauses*, this notion is given up in this note, because the inner structure of complement clauses is too different from prototypical NPs, and they are therefore excluded from the class of NPs.

The semantic interpretation of an NP is not a one-to-one translation of the underlying syntactic structure: When, for example, there is no syntactic quantifier, the NP still receives semantic quantification, and quantification, strictly speaking, is a phenomenon involving the semantics of the whole clause and is not restricted to the NP: The (final, not immediately – see Box 3.7) interpretation of an NP within a clause is like ‘ $\forall/\exists x (x \text{ is something} \wedge \dots x \dots)$ ’, with possible change of the conversational context; the content of the NP more branches containing x after the logical quantifier. introduce a conjunctive branch like ‘ x is a student’ introduce a quantifier to bind the variable, Below is an example of this procedure.

- The sentence *[students] usually take [at least four courses] [each year]* – which contains three NPs – is to be interpreted as ‘ $\forall x(\text{is-student}(x) \wedge x \in \text{context} \wedge x \text{ usually take at least four courses each year})$ ’.
- The part *x usually take at least four courses each year* is in turn interpreted as ‘ $\forall y(\text{is-year}(y) \wedge \exists e(\text{time}(e, y) \wedge \text{frequency}(e, \text{habitual}) \wedge x \text{ takes at least four courses in the event } e))$ ’.

- c) The part *x takes at least four courses in the event e* can further be interpreted as ‘ $\exists S(|S| \geq 4 \wedge S \subseteq \text{all-courses} \wedge \text{action}(e, \text{take}) \wedge \text{agent}(e, x) \wedge \text{patient}(e, S))$ ’. The number 4 here can further be expanded into things like ‘ $\exists c_1, c_2, c_3, c_4 (c_1, c_2, c_3, c_4 \text{ are all different} \wedge \dots)$ ’.

Fortunately the organization of the semantic concepts still largely follows the hierarchy in Fig. 3.1 and will be discussed in corresponding sections.

TODO: possibly related literature:

- Chapter 1 Reference and Quantification in Nominal Phrases: The Current Landscape and the Way Ahead in Determiners and Quantifiers
- Definiteness By Christopher Lyons
- Layers in the Determiner Phrase by Rob Zamparelli
- The English noun phrase in its sentential aspect by SP Abney
- [Laenzlinger \(2017\)](#): the end part of it!!

3.2 The (extended) noun

3.3 The structure of nominals

3.3.1 Nominal attributives

A **nominal attributive** is an attributive that is a nominal. There seems to be a tendency that a nominal attributive should normally be “small” enough: It can contain adjectives or another nominal attributive, but the modification construction usually has an established meaning and is regarded “as a word”.

TODO: more precise definition

- (4) [The [Ministry of Defense]_{nominal attributive} officials]_{NP} are having a secret meeting in that room.
- (5) We planted [an [apple]_{nominal attributive} tree]_{NP} yesterday.
- (6) [The [[Fuji apple]_{nominal attributive} nominal attributive tree] variety]_{NP} has a reddish-green color.

3.3.2 Adjectival attributives

3.3.3 Attributive possessives

Possessive NPs can also serve as attributives.

- (7) There are three teachers’ books on the desk.

3.3.3.1 Interpretation of attributives: restrictive and non-restrictive

If an attributive is removed in an NP and the reference of that NP remains the same, we say it’s non-restrictive. Non-restrictive attributives are “comments” or “afterthoughts” concerning the reference of the NP. In *members of the music club, [who have developed very close friendship], are all going to the same college*, the relative clause (TODO: ref) is not necessary to decide who the members of the music club are.

If the concept of definiteness were perceived according to Russell’s theory of description (Box 3.5), then the distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive attributives would by definition be categorical: Restrictive attributives are about uniqueness of the NP’s reference, while non-restrictive attributives are not. The position of this note is however more contextualist, TODO: how we treat Of course, *some* attributives are still bound to be restrictive or non-restrictive for various reasons: If an NP is definite, TODO: why removing some attributives makes a definite NP unnatural?? (TODO: ref).

3.3.4 Ordering and compatibility of attributives

3.3.5 Cardinal numerals

There can be zero or one cardinal numeral in a nominal, and it always appears over all attributives.

- (8)

3.4 The determiner and the like

Above the nominal layer, we have a series of determiner-like grammatical functions, filled by various forms. In this note, I define the prototypical grammatical function of articles, demonstratives, and “determining” possessives as the **central determiner**. I also assume a quantification function over the determiner function to account for expressions like *all the things*, where *all* is the syntactic quantifier and *the* the central determiner.

Box 3.3: The determiner-like region or the DP field

The higher determiner-like region corresponds to the DP domain, which contains D_{det} (the DP version of FinP; § 3.4.1), the quantifier Q position (§ 3.4.2), which is placed over the determiner (Gianollo et al. 2021), the DP version of topic (§ 3.4.3), and the D_{deixis} position (§ 3.4.4), which corresponds to the ForceP in the CP domain and is about whether the DP is referential, etc., quite similar to the way ForceP expresses what the clause is intended for (Laenzlinger 2005). Note that in English we don’t have NP-inside topics and focuses, between D_{deixis} and D_{det} , although some Romance languages allow them.

Box 3.4: About *determiners* and *predeterminers*

Huddleston and Pullum (2002, p. 331) takes a slightly different definition of the term *determiner*, and it also recognizes a syntactic function called the *predeterminer*. The rules seem to be the follows: If there is no article or demonstrative or any other thing that is prototypically a determiner, then the lowest determinative is the determiner; otherwise the article or demonstrative or ... is the determiner, and determinatives lower than it are modifiers. Thus, in *the three cute cats*, *three* is a modifier, while *the* is the determiner (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, p. 356, [4ii]), although in *three cute cats*, *three* is the determiner (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, p. 355, [2ii]). In *all vases*, *all* is the determiner, while in *all the vases*, *all* is the *predeterminer* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, p. 356, [4i]).

I find the term *predeterminer* unnecessarily complicate the matters, and to say something is a *predeterminer* tells us nothing about its position in Fig. 3.1 or its possible semantic interpretations. *Predeterminers* in Huddleston and Pullum (2002, p. 433) all seem to be some kind of quantification, so I just skip the term *predeterminer* in Fig. 3.1, and explicitly inserts a quantifier position.

On the other hand, the analysis that the cardinal numeral is the determiner when there is no other determiner does make some sense, because it seems the article *a* is very similar to the numeral *one* without *the*, and therefore a cardinal numeral without a higher determiner appears to be an indefinite determiner. An alternative analysis is to assume that the so-called article *a* in fact a specific cardinal numeral (Lyons 1999, § 2.5).

So, a wise terminology is to replace the term *predeterminer* with *quantifier*. Since some grammars use the term *determiner* to cover all determiner-like grammatical functions, Quirk et al. (1985, p. 253) call the position prototypically filled by articles and demonstratives the *central determiner*. TODO: whether to use this notation

One typological property of English is the prominence position of determiner, as opposed to some other Indo-European languages, like Latin. In Latin the determiner – like a demonstrative – looks just like an attributive: Morphologically speaking, it has the adjectival declension pattern (there is no such thing as an article category), and its surface position in the NP is as flexible as other attributives, modulated by the information structure. In English, on the other hand, we have prototypical fillers of the determiner position – articles *a* and *the* – and

3.4.1 The central determiner and identifiability

The coverage of a nominal can be extremely huge. to decide what are being talked about, a simple way, which is used in the above example, is to add quantification on them. but the speaker/writer may instead invite the listener/reader to identify the object(s) referred by the NP from the conversational context and/or some uniqueness conditions. The usual syntactic device to send such an invitation is **definiteness** (in this note, it’s the determiner function), and the corresponding semantic concept is called **identifiability**.

Box 3.5: The weakness of the naive theory of description

The fact that definiteness implies identifiability has long been noticed in the study of semantics. Russell's theory of description interprets *the* as a logical symbol ι , and $Q(\iota x P(x))$ means $\exists x(P(x) \wedge Q(x) \wedge \forall y(P(y) \wedge Q(y) \rightarrow x = y))$. This is a neat approximation of the definiteness concept, but still has some subtle differences from definiteness in natural languages. When the uniqueness condition is broken, usually we don't say the sentence has a false truth-value: We say it doesn't make sense at all. (Some may develop more delicate logic systems to handle this, but I feel this is not necessary: as is outlined in § ??, I guess natural language sentences are more like "commands" in imperative programming than logical expressions, and of course a subroutine can throw an error and give no return value.) The position of this note is theory of description is not one hundred percent correct, and is better replaced by a contextual account (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, p. 368), though the techniques used in the theory of description are of course of great importance: We may, for example, correct the description theory by letting P be the mix of the interpretation of a nominal and contextual information.

3.4.1.1 The articles *the*

There are several degrees of identifiability that may be conveyed by *the*; with low-degree identifiability, the reference of an NP containing *the* is to be decided partially by its inner attributives and partially by the context.

Logical uniqueness is the strongest, but this is usually constrained to mathematical objects (9). Uniqueness from empirical observation or man-made rules is slightly weakened: The article *the* in (10) is almost never replaced by *a*, because for almost all companies, the CEO position is unique.

A further weakened version is uniqueness in the conversational context. In (11), of course the speaker isn't implying that there is only one T-shirt in the world: but if *in the context of the conversation*, there is only one T-shirt, then the sentence makes perfect sense. This gives rise to the famous *a-the* alternation in discourses: When a person or an object first appears, *a* is used, and then the entity is referred to with *the*.

But even this can be loosen: It may be the case that there are several entities in the conversational context that satisfy the conditions, but it's OK to randomly pick up one, and this is still a kind of identifiability.

- (9) [The set containing no element] is [the empty set].
- (10) The CEO of this company declined to comment.
- (11) Pass [the green T-shirt] to me.

3.4.1.2 The abstract generic usage of *the*

- (12) I like playing the guitar.
- (13) The computer replaces the typewriter.
- (14) The kangaroo lives in Australia.
- (15) The dermatologist specializes in skin care.

Modification also destroys the possibility of the abstract generic reading. This is also a piece of evidence that there are more fine-grained structure within the nominal, specifically, an "extended noun" (TODO: ref).

- (16) *The towel absorbs water.
- (17) I like playing the high-quality guitar.
'I like play that specific guitar that has high quality. / *I like play all high-quality guitars.'

3.4.1.3 The subject-determiner possessives

Note that the possessive NP is also a complement or "argument" of the head noun, and in some morphologically rich languages, the possessive NP is indeed marked as an argument (Jacques 2021, § 5.1.2.1). Thus we may say the possessive is the subject in the NP, and it's therefore the subject-determiner (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, p. 467).

3.4.1.4 We and you as determiners

Box 3.6: About *we the people*

Not all personal pronouns appearing at the initial of an NP are determiners. In *we the people*, *we* seems to be TODO: appositive

3.4.1.5 Indefiniteness and numerals as determiners

Indefiniteness is the opposite of definiteness, and occurs whenever identifiability can't be established.

The function of *a* and the function of *one* when there is no other determinative in the NP seems to be the same (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, p. 372), which may be the reason why Huddleston and Pullum (2002, p. 385) claims the numeral sometimes is the determiner. TODO: so what should be my analysis?

It should be noted that there is something asymmetric between definiteness and indefiniteness. A definite NP directly refers to some objects *on its own*, while an indefinite NP doesn't: It may gain specificity from the context (TODO: ref), but itself doesn't have specific reference. Thus, an indefinite NP *always* introduces a bound variable when interpreted and involves quantification, while a definite NP doesn't necessarily involve quantification. The status of indefinite is not the same as the status of definite semantically, and also possibly syntactically (Gianollo et al. 2021; Klockmann 2020)

Box 3.7: About the “quantifier-less” interpretation of definite NPs

The end of Box 3.5 shows that even in the contextualist approach taken in this note, an existential quantifier can still bind the logical variable introduced by a definite NP, so in the first glimpse, definiteness and indefiniteness has nothing different concerning quantification. But for a definite NP, in principle, *immediately after it is interpreted*, it's possible that we don't see any quantifier introduced: The interpretation of a subject NP may just be '*P*(concept-to-set(interpretation-of-nominal))', where *P* is the interpretation of the VP (in the sense of this note). Of course, to *finally* eliminate the function concept-to-set, we still need to use the techniques in Box 3.5 and introduce quantifiers, but it's not the *immediate* result of interpreting the definite NP. On the other hand, for an indefinite NP, its *immediate* interpretation *always* comes with a logical quantifier.

3.4.2 Syntactic quantifiers

Syntactic quantifiers in English are given by Huddleston and Pullum (2002, p. 361, [9]), replicated here:

3.4.2.1 Quantification

In mathematics, quantification is about bound variables, while definiteness is essentially a template which maps a predicate to a set (Box 3.7). In natural languages, we need to note that syntactic marking of quantification can be applied on top of definiteness: We have *all the things I've heard about* and *both the parents*: Quantification can act as a “filter” to further filter what is retrieved from the conversational context. The reverse is not possible, possibly for semantic reasons.

Apart from that, we get the familiar universal-existential distinction (as in mathematics). Note that in natural languages, usually syntactic \forall implicates semantic \exists : This may be motivated by the “iterating-over” meaning of \forall , where iterating over an empty set throws an error.

3.4.2.2 Collective or not?

One important parameter – although without explicit syntactic coding in English – is the **joint (or collective)-distributive distinction**. The speaker/writer may only talk about a certain part of the objects retrieved from the conversational context (universal), or he or she may talk about all of them (existential). The object denoted by NP may jointly participate in the predication (joint) so that it's not correct to say one object participate in the predicate, or maybe individually (distributive). Ambiguity may occur here. Someone says the student selects four courses – does it mean the student takes the four courses one by one in the course selection system (distributive), or does it mean the student selects

the four courses at once (by, say, using the worksheet of the course selection system)? The ambiguity has to be settled by contextual information.

3.4.2.3 The negative polarity items

The *any* family

Box 3.8: Is the semantico-pragmatic approach correct?

One problem is whether we are heading to the wrong direction here. It may just be the case that the distribution of *any*, *anyone*, etc. is determined by syntactic factors. Indeed, usually people consider the misuse of these items a *grammatical* problem instead of a logical or feasibility problem (Zeijlstra 2013, p. 812). *I know the current King of France* is of course wrong, but it's valid; **I know anything about this topic* is grammatically wrong. This criticism however doesn't kill the semantico-pragmatic approach, because the latter focuses on the syntax-semantic interface instead of purely semantic or pragmatic issues. Using the programming language metaphor, misusing negative polarity items doesn't break AST generation, but it does break the compiling procedure because the AST can't be mapped to machine codes. For ordinary people, the machine of grammar contains the syntax proper-LF interface. A comparable example is the English *wa-ga* alternation, which seems to be motivated pragmatically but is usually regarded as a part of the grammar.

3.4.3 Specificity

It should be noted that definiteness doesn't necessarily imply *specificity*, because while any kind of specificity implies identifiability, the weakest sense of identifiability is not specificity; and specificity – or more generally, identifiability – also doesn't imply definiteness. In *a man was sent to hospital after the shooting*, *a man* usually receives a identifiable reading because of scalar implicature: If I say there is one man sent to hospital, then it's highly unlikely that I mean there are two men sent to hospital. So there is sort of a uniqueness condition concerning *a man*. But still, we use the indefinite article *a*, because the nominal *man* itself isn't enough for us to retrieve who is sent to hospital from the conversational context (while, say, even if Tom's father is unknown to us, we know there is someone – and likely only one – who is his father, so *Tom's father* still fixes the reference).

Box 3.9: Specificity as a syntactic function

Here in English, specificity is purely semantic. Cross-linguistically, the semantic concept of specificity may be realized by a syntactic function higher than the determiner, which also serves as the "NP-inside topic" position (Ihsane and Puskás 2001), which is absent in English.

3.4.4 Referentiality

Another semantic parameter of NPs is whether it's referential, i.e. whether its appearance introduces a new entry in the old information list that can be referred to by a following pronoun. There is no explicit syntactic marking of referentiality in English.

Note that referentiality is not strongly coupled to determination or quantification: Although the reference of an indefinite NP can never be determined on its own (even with contextual information), indefinite NPs are still referential.

- (18) [Teachers]_{indefinite NP, i} here are expected to be patient. They_i shouldn't give up on a child too quickly.

Non-referential usages of NPs are relatively limited. The cases include negative NPs (TODO: ref), interrogatives (TODO), and meta-linguistic usages as in [*"Mary"*] is a famous name for girls (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, p. 400).

Box 3.10: Referentiality as a syntactic function

3.4.5 Ordering and compatibility

The order of all determiner-like elements is highly rigid (Table 3.1). The compatibility between them however shows certain degree of variations.

Table 3.1: Possible values of the determiner-like region

Quant.	Det.	Num.	Nominal
			<i>things</i>
		<i>a/one</i>	<i>thing</i>
		<i>two/three/four/...</i>	<i>things</i>
<i>all</i>			<i>things</i>
<i>all</i>		<i>three/four/...</i>	<i>points</i>
<i>all</i>	<i>the/these/those</i>		<i>things</i>
<i>all</i>	<i>the/these/those</i>	<i>three/four/...</i>	<i>things</i>
	<i>we/you</i>		<i>engineers</i>

3.5 Peripheral modifiers

3.6 Possessive constructions

Possessive NPs appear in TODO

3.7 Fused-head constructions

A fused-head NP is an NP in which the function of the main noun – the (lexical, not functional) head – is fulfilled by another constituent. We know *all* in *[all] of these statements* carries the function of head as well as its usual function of quantification, because it selects complementation (*of these statements*): Compare, say, *all [instances]_{head} of these statements* (and also because of the theoretical orientation of this note that the “noun category” feature has to be realized by something).

Fused-head constructions allow less variations than ordinary NPs. For example, when the quantification and the head is fused, modifications are no longer possible.

3.7.1 Personal pronouns

- (19) *[No car in the race]_i broke down and [it]_i had to be repaired.

Box 3.11: Pronouns are not gap fillers

Pronouns are not residue of NPs moved out, even with coreferential relations. In (19), for example, if the pronoun *it* can be analyzed by the trace left by *no car in the race*, then there is no reason for the unacceptability. This means coreferences are not always generated by movement.

3.7.2 Demonstratives

3.8 Preposition constructions

TODO: *in spite of* is an established form but still has a synchronically meaningful constituency structure

Chapter 4

Verb phrase

4.1 The verbal complex

4.1.1 The structure of the regular verbal complex

Now we can combine everything in the verbal complex together. When there is no auxiliary needed, the tense feature is lowered to the main verb. In other cases, the highest auxiliary – the first auxiliary – is lifted to the tense position, before negation and the default position of many adverbs.

4.1.2 Regular lexical verbs

Box 4.1: Inflectional forms are about realization and not underlying structure

Traditional grammars usually have a large paradigm with its row and column headers being grammatical categories. (When there are too many categories – and in this case the language in question is usually agglutinative – the paradigm will be unbearably large, and another way – like the School Grammar of Japanese – is needed to cover verb inflection. Still, partial paradigms are useful in this case.) This is a morphosyntactic way to represent the inflection of a word, but if we are talking purely about the *morphological* part (i.e. how grammatical relations and categories are realized), then it's sometimes not necessary to recognize so many forms: If a verb appears exactly the same in two different syntactic environments, then we say there is only one *inflectional form* of that verb. For languages like Latin, the traditional large-paradigm way is handy, while for English, we can zip the paradigm severely (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, Ch 3. § 1.2).

Modern English has already lost most of its verb inflection. Following the analysis of Huddleston and Pullum (2002, Ch 3. § 1.1), for lexical verbs, there are six remaining inflectional forms: the past form, the plain present form, the 3sg present form, the plain form, the *ING*-participle, and the *ED*-participle. The two present forms and the past form appear solely with trivial aspectual values and trivial modality. They are **primary** forms: They already have all TAM categories marked on them. The plain form and the two participles are **secondary** forms: They usually appear after auxiliaries in a periphrastic construction to have full TAM marking, though a subjunctive clause may sometimes get rid of any auxiliary verb, as in *he suggests that she [complete] this task first* (§ 6.1.1.1).

Examples of these forms are illustrated in Table 4.1. This is a copy of [1] in Huddleston and Pullum (2002, § 1.1). It can be noticed that the plain form is usually the same as the plain present form. However, since modal verbs (see below) have no plain form, and that the syntactic environments of the plain form and the present plain form are too different, if Table 4.1 is to be regarded as a paradigm – that is, to be incorporated with morphosyntactic information – then the two forms should occupy two cells.

Table 4.1: Paradigms of lexical verbs

			<i>take</i>	<i>want</i>	<i>hit</i>
Primary	past form		<i>took</i>	<i>wanted</i>	<i>hit</i>
	present form	3sg	<i>takes</i>	<i>wants</i>	<i>hits</i>
		plain	<i>take</i>	<i>want</i>	<i>hit</i>
Secondary	plain form		<i>take</i>	<i>want</i>	<i>hit</i>
	ING-participle		<i>taking</i>	<i>wanting</i>	<i>hitting</i>
	ED-participle		<i>taken</i>	<i>wanted</i>	<i>hit</i>

Box 4.2: The name of the forms

Here I deviate from the practice in (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, Ch 3) and pick up the more common names for some of the forms.

The ING-participle is frequently called the *gerund*, because it now has the function of both a gerund and an active participle. Huddleston and Pullum (2002) call it the *gerund-participle*. Some grammars use the term *present participle*. Since in Modern English, the ING-participle no longer carries any tense information, the historical term *present participle* is abandoned in this note.

The traditional name *past participle* for the ED-participle makes more sense, because it's morphologically related to the past form for regular verbs and it still has some sense of "past": It is strongly related to the PERFECT and therefore has some sense of the past, though it doesn't carry the past tense. A better term would be the one in Latin grammar: the *perfect passive participle*, but this is in conflict with the name of the *having been done* construction.

A usual name for the plain form is the infinitive form, which I reject here because the morphological marking of the main verb after modal auxiliary verbs (*would [like]*), the verb in a subjunctive clause (*he suggests that she [complete] this task first*), and the verb in a real infinitive clause are all the same, and therefore it makes no sense to use the term *infinitive* to cover the morphological form of all the three.

The ING-participle is regularly formed by adding *-ing* to the end of the plain form (TODO: -tt- in splitting). The ED-participle and the past form are usually obtained by adding *-ed* to the end of the plain form, but for irregular verbs they can't be inferred from the plain form. Thus English verbs have three **principal forms**: the plain form, the past form, and the ED-participle. We may also say there are three stems in English: the plain form, the past form, and the ED-participle, with only the first one being productive for further morphological processes.

4.1.3 Types of irregular verbs

As is mentioned above, for a number of irregular verbs, the ED-participle and the past form can't be inferred from the plain form. Whether there are still some patterns between the three, or in other words, the formation of the principal parts, is investigated in detail in Quirk et al. (1985, pp. 105-120).

4.1.4 Auxiliary verbs

English also has a number of auxiliary verbs (§ ??). All auxiliary verbs have tense-dependent forms, because all of them may appear as the first word in an auxiliary chain, and the tense category is to be marked on the highest i.e. the first of them (§ 4.1.5). Thus, we say English auxiliaries also have primary forms. Modal auxiliaries don't have a separate 3sg present form, but *do*, *have* and *be* (when used as auxiliary verbs) do. It should be noted that the past forms of many auxiliary verbs don't just appear in past clauses: They may have distinct meanings (§ ??).

Modal auxiliaries don't have secondary forms, probably because they never appear after another auxiliary verb or in nonfinite clauses, but *do*, *have* and *be* do.

English auxiliary verbs also have negative forms, which are obtained by attaching *-nt* to the end of auxiliary. The *-nt* is a contraction form of the negator *not*, but in modern English the negative suffix moves together with the auxiliary in subject-auxiliary inversion (§ 4.1.9). Thus, it's recognized as a part of the auxiliary (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, p. 91). This seems to be purely about phonetic realization: There seems to be no large morphosyntactic differences between auxiliary-*not* and the

negative auxiliary besides subject-auxiliary inversion. All auxiliaries don't have secondary negative forms, though *do*, *have* and *be* have primary negative forms.

Since auxiliary verbs are a part of the grammar, here I list the paradigms TODO

Box 4.3: Auxiliary constructions are single-clause ones

Huddleston and Pullum (2002) treat auxiliary verbs as verbs taking complement clauses (as in, say, [11] in p. 782). This is not the position of this note: Here I follow the standard practice in generative syntax (probably also American structuralism) and assume auxiliary verb constructions are always single-clause constructions. *Historically*, auxiliaries may origin from complement-taking verbs, but now *synchronically*, they have the same function of inflectional affixations. Complement clause constructions may (or may not) have the same *semantics* of auxiliary verb constructions and inflectional affixations, but they never have the same *structure*.

The main reasons Huddleston and Pullum (2002) analyze auxiliary verbs as complement-taking verbs or *concatenative verbs* in their terms are shown in their Ch 14, § 4.2.2. However, these arguments are based on interpretation of constituency trees like [*would* [*like to do*]] as complement clause constructions, which doesn't necessarily hold. They also confuse lexical heads and (PF realization of) functional heads. They therefore bring in much inconsistency when they argue that the complementizer *that* isn't a head. In this note, I follow the standard definition of (lexical) headhood in the descriptive literature while fully being aware of the generative functional head analysis.

Evidences supporting my claim that auxiliary constructions are indeed single-clause ones can be obtained by observing how auxiliaries interact with clausal dependents. If Huddleston and Pullum (2002) are correct on their claim that English auxiliary verbs take bare infinitive clauses, then we expect the verbal phrase after an auxiliary verb to receive any modification that's acceptable for a bare infinitive clause. However, as we see in § 4.1.7, there is a strong tendency for adverbs to appear after the first auxiliary, which can be easily explained by assuming the first auxiliary undergoes some kind of fronting (§ 4.1.8), or after all auxiliaries and before the main verb, and the functions of adverbs in the two positions have clear correlation with the positions. This pattern are hard to account for when we assume auxiliary verb constructions are complement clause constructions, because nothing motivates it. If, on the other hand, auxiliary verb constructions are single-clause constructions, then we can say the distribution of adverbs and auxiliaries show is just the surface reflection of a deep functional hierarchy, just like the subject is somehow higher than the object.

4.1.5 Minimal auxiliary chain

In a declarative finite clause, the order of auxiliaries is constantly given by Table 4.2. Table 4.2 is a part of the larger picture of clause structure: The auxiliary *do* (§ 4.1.6), adverbs (§ 4.1.7) and the negator (§ 4.1.8) may be inserted into somewhere between two auxiliaries. Other types of clauses still largely follow the scheme but may undergo subject-auxiliary inversion (§ 4.1.9).

The auxiliaries positions can be filled by the corresponding auxiliaries or be just left blank, without creating ungrammatical constructions. The MODAL slot may be filled by a modal auxiliary. The PERFECT slot may be filled by the auxiliary version of *have* with the correct inflection, and the PROGRESSIVE and PASSIVE slots may be filled by the auxiliary version of *be* with the correct inflection.

The rules of inflection are the follows. The tense category is always marked on the first auxiliary (not necessarily one of the slots in Table 4.2 – it may be an inserted *do*), and when there is no auxiliary, it's marked on the main verb. Note that it isn't true that if the first auxiliary is in the past form, it always means a past event (§ ??). The modal auxiliary is always followed by a plain form, and the progressive marking *be* is always followed by an ING-participle, and the perfect marking *have* is always followed by an ED-participle, and so is the passive marking *be*. When the clause is finite and the tense is PRESENT, and the MODAL slot is empty, if the subject is 3sg in number, then the first non-empty slot in Table 4.2 is in the 3sg present form, which means for verbs other than *be*, the -s suffix is attached to it; for *be* the correct form is *is*. This is the only case subject-verb agreement happens in English other than the case of *be* (1). For *be*, the tense is still TODO: subjunctive

In nonfinite forms, the MODAL slot has to go; the rest are still there, following the same inflectional pattern as is described above (2). Note that the subject-verb agreement is missing in all nonfinite clauses, be it the third person singular -s or inflectional forms of *be*.

Table 4.2: The order of auxiliaries and some examples

MODAL	PERFECT	PROGRESSIVE	PASSIVE	main verb
				<i>takes</i>
			<i>am/are/is/was/were</i>	<i>taken</i>
	<i>have/has/had</i>	<i>am/are/is/was/were</i>		<i>taking</i>
	<i>have/has/had</i>	<i>been</i>	<i>being</i>	<i>taken</i>
<i>will/would</i>	<i>have</i>	<i>been</i>	<i>being</i>	<i>taken</i>

- (1) a. I [like] this.
b. He [likes] this.
- (2) The award is reported [to have been being taken]_{complement clause: TO-infinitive}
- (3)

4.1.6 Do insertion

4.1.6.1 Obligatory do insertion

Do insertion happens in two circumstances. The first is we need an auxiliary but there isn't one. This is the case when we negate a clause with no auxiliary verb (§ 4.1.8), and the case when subject-auxiliary inversion happens but there is no auxiliary verb (§ 4.1.9). In both cases, *do* is inserted before the main verb, and is regarded as an auxiliary, which carries the tense feature and the subject-verb agreement information and is inflected accordingly (4, 5).

We may say the *do* is the default realization of the tense category and the agreement when these can't find an appropriate host. It's roughly in the same position of MODAL in Table 4.2. Then, expectedly, adverbs can be inserted between *do* and the main verb (6).

- (4) I do not like the gift. I don't like the gift.
- (5) Did he enter the room that night?
- (6) I do not particularly like that kind of flower.

4.1.6.2 Do for emphasis

Unlike (4, 5, 6), we can also just insert *do* to emphasize on the action, and in this case the inserted *do* receives stress. The morphology of *do* is the same as the obligatory *do* insertion, and so is the distribution of adverbs.

- (7) Your company [*do*]_{do insertion} [have]_{main verb} lots of rules!

4.1.7 Adverbs in the auxiliary chain

The adverbs mentioned in this section are manner-like adverbs, TAM-related adverbs and speech act-related adverbs (§ ??), instead of adverbial peripheral arguments. Adverbs are never inserted between the first auxiliary (if any) and the negator. TODO: what else?

- (8) He [is]_{PROGRESSIVE} [vigorously]_{TODO:} [doing]_{main verb} [his job]_{object}.

4.1.8 Negation in the auxiliary chain

The rule of the negator *not* is close to the rule of adverbs: If *not* is used, it is *always* after the first auxiliary (while adverbs can appear before the first auxiliary in marked cases), which may be the inserted *do* (9). Any auxiliary-*not* sequence may be replaced by the negative form of that auxiliary if there is one (10, 11).

- (9) He [does]_{do inserted, pres, 3sg} [not]_{negation} love his job.
- (10) He doesn't love his job.

- (11) He isn't vigorously doing his job.

It should be noted the surface position of the negator doesn't determine the scope of negation (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, p. 668). See, for example, the ambiguity of (12). Here the ambiguity is an indicator that there are at least two available syntactic position of the reason clause (TODO: ref). Another ambiguity arises when negation appears together with modality (13, 14). This means the negator-after-first-auxiliary rule is about *realization* and not about the underlying syntactic structure (§ ??), if we assume the semantic difference has structural significance. This, together with the fact that auxiliaries have negative forms and that the existence of *not* blocks subject-auxiliary inversion of the main verb, may lead to the conclusion that the negator *not* is a quasi-verbal clitic which is always attached after the highest verbal element. We, however, shouldn't rush to such a conclusion, because it's also possible that the rule is actually the highest verbal element is always moved *before* the negator. Note that

TODO: the Tense - Negation - Modality - Perfect - ... sequence

- (12) I don't appoint him because he is my son.
'I appoint him, but because of his talent, not because his relation with me. / I don't appoint him, because he's my son and I don't want to appoint him and leave a bad impression on my colleagues.'
- (13) He shouldn't play football in the streets.
'It's required that he doesn't play football in the streets./ *It's not required that he plays football in the streets, but he can if he wants to.'
- (14) He can't play football.
'It's not possible/permitted that he plays football./ *He can suppress the desire to play football.'

4.1.9 Subject-auxiliary inversion

In interrogative sentences and in other cases (§ 5.1), the first auxiliary in the chain undergoes leftward movement,¹ often to the initial position but may be preceded by preposed constituents (§ 5.1). This is called **subject-auxiliary inversion**. When there is no auxiliary, the correct form of *do* carrying the tense and agreement features is inserted.

- (15) [Do]_{inverted auxiliary} [you see my umbrella]_{nucleus}
(16) Only then do we cook

4.1.10 Semi-auxiliaries

4.1.11 Comparability with moods

4.2 Clausal dependents and verb frames

4.2.1 Overview

4.2.2 Prepositional object

Verb-preposition constructions and verb-particle constructions can be classified according to the following parameters: a) whether it's a transitive preposition or a particle (an intransitive preposition, or something else), b) whether the construction can be interpreted in a compositional way or has already gained an established (idiomatic) meaning, c) how the choice of preposition/particle is restricted by the verb, d) the mobility of the preposition/particle in, say, WH-movements, and e) complement-related properties of the associated NP coming with the preposition/particle, like whether it can be passivized (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, pp. 272-274).

Box 4.4: Intransitive prepositions

The term *particle* here covers intransitive prepositions; the term *preposition* is used to cover transitive prepositions. Although strictly speaking, this terminology confuses form and function

¹Note that this is head movement and are often attributed to post-syntactic operations in Distributed Morphology, making the operation kind of "morphological". See § ?? for theoretical issues concerning this.

(prepositions are a word class, and can be used intransitively in some cases), I choose to do so to keep the notation consistent with the current grammar writing practice.

Concerning verbs coming with a single preposition, trivially, if a verb doesn't specify the preposition following it, the preposition is always mobile. Thus we have a three-fold classification: a) verbs with non-specified prepositions, b) verbs with specified but mobile prepositions (**preposition verbs with mobile prepositions**; Huddleston and Pullum 2002, p. 273), and c) verbs with specified and fixed prepositions (**fossilized preposition verbs**; Huddleston and Pullum 2002, p. 277). Note that a non-specified prepositional phrase is still a complement (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, p. 273).

The parameters of established meaning and complement properties are largely independent to the classification made above. Passivization is completely not predictable from the classification made above (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, p. 276 [11]). Fossilized verb-preposition constructions are usually idioms, but some, like *break with*, still have largely inferrable meaning; the same applies for verbs with specified prepositions (indeed, the presence of a specified preposition introduces a sense of directed volition (Dixon 2005, p. 293)); verbs with non-specified prepositions usually are less idiom-like, but this is because if they are idiomatic enough, we will recognize them as verbs with specified prepositions.

The classification of verb-preposition constructions, therefore, is given in Table 4.3. The examples used in the table is based on Huddleston and Pullum (2002, p. 278, [17]).

Table 4.3: Classification of verb-single-preposition constructions

passivization of NP after preposition	idiom	non-specified preposition	specified preposition	
			mobile	fixed
yes	yes		<i>call on?</i>	<i>see to</i>
	no	<i>sleep in</i>	<i>refer to</i>	<i>fuss over</i>
no	yes		<i>stand for</i>	<i>come across</i>
	no	<i>fly to/from</i>	<i>feel for</i>	<i>come into</i>

Beside the classification given by Table 4.3, another parameter is the origin of preposition verb constructions. Some of them are similar to verbs licensing oblique cases (found in languages with rich case morphology, like Latin), like *refer to*, the verb parts of which rarely appear alone or with other prepositions. For others, like *see to*, the verb part of the construction (usually a simple, monosyllabic one) does appear alone or with other prepositions. In the first case, the “idiom-or-not” parameter is actually not so important, because we can consider the preposition as a part of the verb lexeme, while in the second case, the parameter is important, because *stand at the door* is of course not idiomatic, while *stand for* has an established meaning.

The complement introduced by the preposition of a preposition verb is object-like (TODO: ref), and therefore preposition verbs are transitive (Dixon 2005, p. 291, p. 297; Huddleston and Pullum 2002, p. 277).

4.3 Agreement

If you take a closer look to how native speakers of English do subject-verb agreement, you'll find some more subtle details than the textbook rule that when the tense is present and the subject is 3sg, -s is added to the first auxiliary or the main verb (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, Ch 5, § 18).

4.4 Voice

One thing that happens in the verb phrase and strongly influences the structural building process is the category *voice*. English doesn't have a rich set of valency changing devices, and the active-passive distinction is the only regular valency changing mechanism. There are other alternations of verb valency, but they are much more strongly determined by the lexicon.

4.4.1 Passivized argument

Passivization depends on - though not in a very apparent way – the properties of the main verb. TODO:
passivized argument

Chapter 5

Simple clauses

After several chapters about each part of the clause, this chapter discusses how the parts are assembled into one. The details of how a clause is embedded into another are not covered in this chapter – they are covered in Ch 6.

5.1 Overview of clause structure

5.1.1 The template

The template of English clause structure is shown in Fig. 5.1. The figure displays the four rough levels of clause structure. Each layer in Fig. 5.1 as well as justification of them, if not described in chapters above, are described in the rest of this chapter.

The first layer contains the verb-argument (core or peripheral) grammatical relations, TAM marking (by inflection, auxiliary construction, or adverbs), and negation. In structuralist tradition as is described in Huddleston and Pullum (2002), this layer is the **verb phrase**. It contains the auxiliary chain and the main verb (§ 4.1.5), internal complements (§ ??), and adverbials that prototypically appear in the clause-final position (TODO: ref). Note that that these clause-final adverbials appear *higher* than the internal complements in the constituency tree: The former are after the latter for some other reasons (TODO). The first layer has several sub-layers: First the core argument structure, then peripheral arguments, then auxiliary verbs and negation and also TAM marking by adverbs, and also the category of voice.

The second and the third layers shown in Fig. 5.1 are much slimmer than the first layer. They are shown as separate layers mainly because the subject-predicate relation and the subject-auxiliary inversion traditionally gain more attention. The second layer highlights the prominent status of the subject (§ ??). A subject plus a verb phrase is a **nucleus clause**. A declarative clause without information packaging operations can just be a nucleus clause without further syntactic operations. The third layer is optional: It arises when subject-auxiliary inversion happens (§ 4.1.9), which is the case in question formation (§ 5.7.1).

The fourth layer is also optional and may have several preposed constituents, each of which may be preposed by a different reason, and interacts freely with the subject-auxiliary inversion. This is also a fat layer: There exist several types of preposing operations (§ 5.1.3.1), and the layer also contains some high-level adverbials which are about speech force, etc., like *frankly* (§ 2.5).

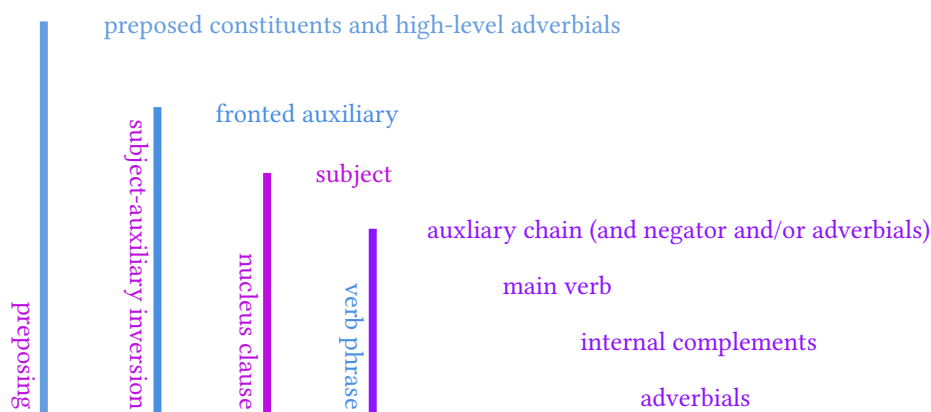


Figure 5.1: English clause structure (the indentation means linear order and not constituency relations)

Box 5.1: About the term *verb phrase* and *predicate*

Dixon argues against using the term *verb phrase* in the sense of this note; his *verb phrase* is Table 4.2. The two definitions of *verb phrase* are all frequent in modern descriptive grammars. When the term *verb phrase* is used in the sense in Fig. 5.1, Dixon's verb phrase is sometimes called the *verb complex* (Friesen 2017).

Another terminology issue is many people – like Dixon – use the term *predicate* for the syntactic function of the verb complex (i.e. the realization of functional heads), while others use it for the syntactic function of the verb phrase (i.e. a lower part of the TP – see Box 5.2). To avoid this endless confusion, I will just avoid the notion of *predicate* as much as possible (Box 5.3).

Box 5.2: The *vP-TP-CP* projection

Roughly speaking, in Fig. 5.1, the verb phrase is the part of TP that is lower than the projection in which the subject is introduced. The subject-predicate structure is roughly the complete TP. Layer 3 and layer 4 are about CP.

Note that clause linking is not represented in Fig. 5.1. Linked clauses may appear before or after the main clause. Supplementation and subject-sharing coordination is also not covered (§ 6.4, § 6.5). Nor is clausal derivation illustrated in the figure (§ 5.1.3), because arguably, some post-internal complement adverbials are likely to be the result of heavy constituent postponing (TODO: ref). Apart from the above constructions, the scheme illustrated in Fig. 5.1 works for all clause types (1, 2, 3), including nonfinite clauses, though for the latter, the properties of the subject and the allowed auxiliaries deviate from the finite case, and this is also the same for allowed preposing constructions. (1) is a fused relative clause, in which there is WH-fronting but no subject-auxiliary inversion (TODO: ref). In (2) we see two preposing constructions, one topicalization (TODO: ref) and WH-movement for question formation (TODO: ref), and the only verb – the copula *is* – is moved out of the verb phrase because of subject-auxiliary inversion. The

- (1) [[What]_{i,WH-preposed: WH-pronoun} [[Max]_{subject:NP} [said Liz bought –_i]_{verb phrase}]_{nucleus}]_{WH-preposing}
- (2) [[In your opinion]_{topicalized} [[what]_{i,WH-preposed} [is [–_i the most dangerous]_{verb phrase}]_{SAI}]_{WH-preposing}]_{topic-preposing}
- (3) [[what]_{i,WH-preposed} [to [do –_i]_{verb phrase}]_{nucleus}]_{WH-preposing}

Box 5.3: Confusing form and function

If you are familiar with the structuralist method documented in Huddleston and Pullum (2002), you may already notice my annotation in Fig. 5.1 and the above examples confuse *function* (predicate) with *form* (verb phrase). However, English verb phrases – roughly *vP* after case assignment, etc. – almost never appear outside a clause, and it doesn't provide additional information to introduce separate terms for form and function in Fig. 5.1. This is also the practice taken in most works adopting the notion of verb phrase, like Friesen (2017).

5.1.2 Moods or clause types

Box 5.4: Mood and modality

Dixon (2009) firmly argues against using the term *mood* for the syntactic marking of modality, while Huddleston and Pullum (2002) uses the term *mood* for the syntactic marking of modality and uses *clause type* to specifically refer to Dixon's *mood*. To avoid confusion (*clause type* is too vague), this note follows the definition of Dixon.

The confusion seems to arise from traditional Latin grammar, in which there is no significant difference between a declarative sentence and an interrogative sentence, while there is significant difference between the verbal morphology in indicative and subjunctive clauses. On the other hand, in imperative clauses there is no indicative-subjunctive distinction. Therefore the imperative-non-imperative distinction is fused with the indicative-subjunctive distinction and is named *mood*. This relies on the specificities of Latin grammar and surely is not a universal category for all languages. English also has modal clauses with auxiliaries like *would* or *should*, but that's about modality, not mood. There is indeed a subjunctive clause type in English, but it has already been restricted to complement clauses, and never appear as a full sentence. TODO: ref

Traditionally, the distinction between finite and non-finite clauses is defined by the ability to be a sentence: a finite clause is able to be a sentence i.e. a clause that is an utterance on its own, while a nonfinite clause is usually embedded, and when it does appear as an utterance, it behaves more like an NP that's used as an utterance. By this standard, English finite clauses may be in the imperative mood and non-imperative moods. The distinction between the two can be decided by compatibility with the auxiliary verbs. The former doesn't allow any nontrivial modality and aspect, and the tense is always present, while non-imperative moods interact freely with all TAM categories.

Box 5.5: Sentence v.s. utterance

In this note, an *utterance* is a unit spoken by a speaker, while a *sentence* is a "maximal" clause that is an utterance. An utterance doesn't have to be a sentence: It can be an NP, as a concise reply to a question, or even a single word.

Some people use the term *sentence* to cover all utterances. Huddleston and Pullum (2002, p. 45, p. 853) uses the term *sentence* almost as a synonym of *utterance*, and all discussions concerning the syntax in their account of English grammar are about clauses.

The difference between non-imperative finite moods is small. The formation of interrogative clauses only takes two (often skipped) syntactic steps (§ 5.7.1), which can be attributed to a focus construction which also happens in declarative clauses (TODO: ref). Indeed, some, like Dixon (2005, p. 25), only recognize two moods. This note still keeps the declarative-interrogative distinction for convenience.

Nonfinite clauses are deficient in TAM marking (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, p. 1174, [5-7]), and never appear as full sentences. This doesn't mean finite clauses are all full sentences: Some may be embedded clauses.

Table 5.1: Classification of clauses based on independence and finiteness

independent		embedded embedded		
		finite		nonfinite
imperative	"normal"	subjunctive	infinitive	participle
1	2 3			

The class of participles contain ED-participles and ING-participles. The class of infinitive clauses can be further divided into TO-infinitives and bare infinitives Huddleston and Pullum (2002, Ch 14, § 1.4.3). The class of TO-infinitives have three superficial constituent order: *to do sth.*, *sb. to do sth.*, and *for sb. to do sth.* However, the *sb. to do sth.* sequence doesn't correspond to a separate type of infinitive clause: The *sb.* position is always an object position licensed by the verb. Indeed, we never find the *sb. to do sth.* sequence in constructions other than the in-VP use of infinitives. Thus we only have two types of infinitive clauses: the one without *for* and with a null subject, and the one with *for* and a visible subject.

Nonfinite clauses prototypically appear as complement clauses, but they can also be relative clauses and adverbial clauses (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, p. 1264).

There is a further class of clauses – the **verbless clause** (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, p. 1266) – that may be placed into the nonfinite column, but some think it’s just a type of sub-clausal phrase. Its distribution is also very different from other types of clauses.

The subjunctive clause is not nonfinite (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, p. 83) TODO: why, and more about it

Of course, the inner structure of nonfinite clauses are strongly related to their licensing environments, which we discuss in the next chapter.

5.1.3 Clausal derivations

(TODO: heavy NP shift, final adverbial with a pause)

5.1.3.1 Preposing

(§ 5.3)

5.2 Minimal declarative clause

5.2.1 Clausal dependents

Putting purely grammatical items (like auxiliary verbs) aside, clausal dependents are traditionally divided into arguments (or “complements”) and adjuncts (i.e. adverbials). Both types have many diverse subtypes, and sometimes, a subtype of arguments and a subtype of adjuncts can be quite similar. Similar to the case in other languages, clausal dependents in English can be summarized as Table 5.2.

Prototypical core semantic roles (§ ??), like agent, patient, theme, etc., are always clausal complements and never adjuncts. The passive *by*-phrase is also an argument, not an adjunct (§ ??).

Prototypical peripheral roles, like location or instrument, can also be arguments, but they can also be adjuncts. The concepts of manner, whether the action in question creates frustration (e.g. *I spent the whole day working on that problem [in vain]*), etc. are sometimes grammaticalized as arguments, as in *we were treated [badly]*, without which the clause is not grammatical, but more frequently they are adjuncts.

The term **peripheral argument** usually means adjuncts with prototypical peripheral semantic role, but it may also be about manner or frustrative expressions like *in a stupid way*: The latter can still be asked about (4), just like prototypical peripheral arguments (5). The cell corresponding to prototypical peripheral arguments is colored blue in Table 5.2; the cell corresponding to less-prototypical peripheral arguments is colored light blue in Table 5.2.

The term **oblique argument** means syntactic arguments with oblique case marking, i.e. not nominative or accusative. Their cells are colored light and pale green in Table 5.2.

Box 5.6: The term *argument* and the argument-adjunct distinction

Note that here is a terminological confusion: The term *argument* is used sometimes as opposed to more grammatical clausal components like TAM adverbs (as in *peripheral argument*, i.e. any specifier positions that allows large variation with regard to its content), and sometimes as opposed to *adjunct*, i.e. an element that doesn’t have very strong relation with the verb. Here we have two descriptive parameters when we talk about arguments: one is the ability of variation (core arguments, peripheral arguments, oblique arguments can be filled by diverse constituents, while TAM adverbials only allow a limited number of adverbs), and the other other is the closeness to the lexical head, which is the main verb here (core arguments, oblique arguments are closely related to the main verb, while TAM adverbials and peripheral arguments are not). The parameter of closeness to the lexical head is the parameter used for argument-adjunct distinction in Table 5.2.

Quirk et al. (1985, p. 732) says we need gradient analysis in cases like *we were treated [quite badly]*. This is correct, but doesn’t say much about the essence of English grammar: At a given time, for a given speaker, we can still tell how close the constituent *quite badly* is to the verb. Here, the requirement of gradience comes from the inherent deficiency of the terms *argument*

and *adjunct*. The emphasis of the authors on this kind of construction seems to arise from confusion between form and function: AdvPs “should” only occur as adjuncts and not complements, and when they actually appear to be complements, some make-up mechanisms are needed to maintain the generalization that AdvPs are adjuncts.

TAM adverbials are adverbials that mark the TAM categories in the way that can be also found in Ch ???. They are usually quite limited in variation, resembling the tense or aspect system in the verbal complex. Adverbials like *yesterday* or *in that very moment* (TODO: ref) seem to be peripheral arguments, instead of a part of TAM marking devices, because their syntactic functions allow too much variation and therefore can’t be captured by that kind of feature combination (“S before R” or “S=R”, etc.) usually seen in TAM devices.

- (4) - [How] did they treat you? - They treated us [quite badly].
- (5) - [Where] did they detained you? - They detained us [in a building near the sea].

Table 5.2: English clausal dependents

meaning	syntactic position	
	argument (i.e. complement)	adjunct
prototypical core roles	[I] loves [that apartment]	
prototypical peripheral role	She lives [in that apartment]	The machine is fixed with this new tool
manner, frustrative, etc.	We were treated [quite badly]	He answered the question in a silly manner
TAM-related adverbials		I [always] feel tired
peripheral adverbials		[Frankly], I think you are fooled by them

There are of course subtleties between the classification of meanings in Table 5.2. The instrument role, for example, may appear in the subject position or as a peripheral argument, while the manner expression is similar with the peripheral instrument argument in their forms (prepositional constructions or “oblique cases”) and the ability to be *wh*-extracted (4, 6).

- (6) - How did you finish this article? - I finished it with LaTeX.

Prototypical core arguments, peripheral arguments and oblique arguments representing prototypical peripheral semantic roles allow quite diverse choices when it comes to how to fill them. Manner-like phrases – be them oblique arguments or peripheral arguments – allow less variations. TAM adjuncts are usually highly limited in their contents. Peripheral adverbials, on the other hand, allow much more variation (TODO: ref).

Some adverbials are even higher than the speech act-related adverbials mentioned in Table 5.2, but they are too high to be considered as clausal dependents: many of them are clause linking devices (§ 6.3). Subordinated adverbial clauses may be about cause and result (*now*), concession, and condition (*if...then...*, with the “reason” clause being semantically irrealis). There are also connective adjuncts like *moreover* or *alternatively*, which refer to *discourse* structures, instead of syntactic structures.

Box 5.7: Adverbial classification in the literature

Different authors have slightly different terminologies concerning adverbials. Huddleston and Pullum (2002, p. 576) put TAM adverbials (except modality adverbials) and peripheral arguments under the class of VP-oriented adverbials, while modality adverbials and speech-act-like adverbials are called clause-oriented adverbials. Dixon (2005, p. 386) on the other hand put all TAM adverbials and speech-act-like adverbials into the category of sentential adverbials (he calls them *adverbs*) and the non-prototypical peripheral arguments are packaged into the class of manner adverbials, though some of them are not really about manner – for example it may be about degree Huddleston and Pullum (2002, p. 576).

5.2.2 Clausal continuation

TODO: *not even* construction, heavy NP shift, etc.

5.2.3 Logic and default information structure

5.2.3.1 Descriptive parameters

TODO: position of quantifiers for NPs with or without determiner, and the difference between *all*, *every*, *some*, *any*; the position and scope of negation; how the position of NPs (subject or object) influences quantification; the relation with information structure (if a subject NP is never given, it tends to be read as a representative of its kind and is therefore bound by \forall ; but it's never the case for objects)

5.3 Topicalization

5.4 Cleft constructions

5.4.1 It-cleft

A *it*-cleft construction contains a dummy subject *it*, a finite form of *be*, a focused constituent, and a THAT-clause in which there is a gap (7, 8). Note that here *it* never changes into, say, *she* or *they*, and is doesn't show any agreement with the focused constituent. This is the expected behavior: Note that it's pretty fine for the syntactic numbers of the NPs before and after *be* to be different in non-cleft clauses, and *be* always agrees with the subject.

(7) It is [him]_{i,focused} that he wanted to murder $-_i$!

(8) It is [by this new method]_i that we have achieved such success $-_i$.

The range of constituents able to be focused can be found in Huddleston and Pullum (2002, pp. 1417-1419). We seems to have a generalization: If the focused constituent is an adverbial, it has to be able to be an answer to a *how* question – and therefore can appear after *be*.

The *it*-cleft construction seems to be a clausal idiom: The dummy *it* can be raised when the *it*-cleft construction is in an infinitive form and embedded into a complement clause construction. Note that the *it*-cleft construction can't be a verbless clause: This makes the focusing reading inaccessible.

TODO: *that* or *who*??

Thus, although the *it*-cleft construction is already an established construction with a fixed meaning (i.e. focusing), it's still analyzable as a bi-clausal construction following the usual syntactic constraints found elsewhere in English.

5.4.2 Wh-cleft

5.5 Expletive subject constructions

5.5.1 There be existential construction

(9)

5.5.2 It seems that ...

5.6 Focus constructions

The English focus construction involves subject-auxiliary inversion and preposing of the focused constituent. Note that the fronted constituent can be a copular complement, a locative adverbial, TODO: list but never an object in a prototypical transitive construction. This seems to be motivated for functional reasons, because in the latter case it's impossible to correctly restore the meaning.

(10) [On the top of the mountain]_{locative PP} lies [a small church]_{subject}.

Box 5.8: Focusing is not valency changing

This note follows the analysis in Huddleston and Pullum (2002, p. 244) and regard this as a type of information packaging but not a voice construction. Some grammars, like Quirk et al. (1985,

p. 736), analyze the fronted constituent as the subject. This is not the position of this note TODO: why?

5.7 Interrogative moods

5.7.1 Overview

There are two movements involved in forming a canonical interrogative clause: the subject-auxiliary inversion, and fronting of the WH-phrase, if any. Both operations can be omitted in casual speech.

5.7.2 Yes-no questions

5.7.3 Open questions

5.7.4 Tag questions

(11) The car is broken, isn't it?

5.8 The imperative mood

The imperative mood is only compatible with active clauses. Passive imperatives are never possible, and the intended meaning may be alternatively expressed by

5.9 The to-infinitive

Chapter 6

Clause combining

6.1 Complement clause constructions

Complement clauses or *content clauses* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002) are clauses embedded as arguments of certain verbs. English adverbial clauses have the same form of complement clauses, and therefore Huddleston and Pullum (2002) use the term *content clause*. Here I'll just stick to the more common terminology in linguistic description.

6.1.1 Types of complement clauses

According to Dixon (2010, § 18.4), there are usually three types of complement clauses: a) the Fact type, which looks like a full sentence and usually express a fact, b) the Activity type, which looks like an NP but still keeps key features of clauses and usually express an ongoing activity without specifying the time (and thus with deficient TAM marking), and c) the Potential type, which describes the potential or plan to do certain things and also has deficient TAM marking, but is formally less similar to NPs. In English, the three types correspond to precisely the finite complement clause, the participle clause, and the infinitive clause. Note that the classification is pseudo-semantic: It is similar to § ??, which names constructions with their prototypical – but not unique – semantic function. Indeed, a Fact clause – a finite complement clause – is able to express a potential, like *that I would spend my summer in Paris*, and an Activity clause can express a fact (*[Being an engineer], he has a sharp mind when solving practical problems*).

6.1.1.1 Subjunctive clauses

6.1.2 Infinitive constructions

Before going into details of each construction, I list some parameters to classify infinitive complement clause constructions.

6.1.2.1 Infinitive appearing in subject

It's possible for an infinitive clause to appear in the subject position (1). However, this use of infinitive clauses has nothing particularly interesting: The complement clause has almost parallel behaviors with an NP (2).

- (1) [To try your best] also includes to ask for help when it's necessary.
- (2) [The skill to ask for help]_{subject:NP} is a strength.

TODO: Is this control? We may analyze this as (semi-)control: The null subject of *to travel a lot* seeks reference and can only has coreference with the object. However, this doesn't seem like a purely syntactic process compared with raising: Similar coreference requirements can be found in several constructions with little structural resemblance (TODO: CGEL chapters). The coreference here may be better analyzed as a semantic effect: The only "active" NP in the clause is the object *him*, and therefore the null subject has to refer to the object. This creates another problem: Whether the classical object control is also from the same mechanism.

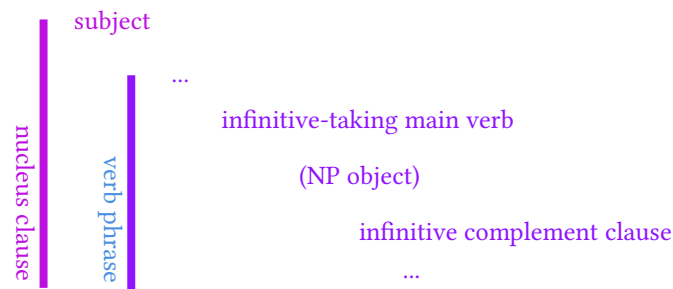


Figure 6.1: The template of all infinitive clause constructions

- (3) To travel a lot annoys him.
- (4) To travel a lot sometimes is annoying for him.
- (5) For her, to travel a lot is never a burden.

TODO: see [Huddleston and Pullum \(2002, p. 1269\)](#)

However, the subject of an infinitive is not always coreferential with an argument within the clause:

- (6) To smoke around babies is dangerous.

If we try hard enough (actually not that hard, because what is done below clearly has semantic motivation), the *annoy* clause can receive an analysis very similar to the object control: Here *him* is the experiencer, and may be higher in the vPstructure, and thus in a certain stage of the syntactic derivation, *him* indeed controls the null subject in *to travel a lot*. This, however, can also be done at the syntax-semantic interface: We may say *him* *semantically* controls the null subject of the infinitive clause when interpreted.

Syntactic versus semantic control S Wurmbrand - Linguistik aktuell/linguistics today, 2 is also useful

6.1.2.2 Object and post-object infinitives

Infinitive clauses in the VP, on the other hand, have much richer behaviors. This section discusses infinitive clause constructions with the constituent order shown in Fig. 6.1, where the object position and the infinitive complement clause position are all internal complements shown in Fig. 5.1, and the object position may be absent.

The subject and the object of the matrix clause may originate from the subject of the infinitive. If this is the case, then there are two possibilities regarding the mechanism that connects the matrix subject/object and the infinitive subject: control and raising [Huddleston and Pullum \(2002, pp. 1194-1197\)](#). With the control mechanism, the NP in question bears two argument roles, one from the main verb of the matrix clause, and the other from the main verb of the infinitive clause. With the raising mechanism, however, the NP in question receives no argument role from the main verb of the matrix clause. This results in several structural and semantic differences, which will be talked about later.

Box 6.1: The control/raising distinction from a Minimalist perspective

Essentially, the difference between control and raising is whether the “object” bears more than one θ -role, and historically people assume that a DP can only bear one θ -role, so control can’t be from movement. This however is disputed from a Minimalist lens, and the “single θ -role” condition can be loosen without overgeneration, and therefore both control and raising come from movement [Hornstein \(1999\)](#).

The real problem, however, is not whether control *can* be accounted for by a movement theory, but whether it’s appropriate to do so: If doing so TODO: semantic theory of control fits better crosslinguistically??

Some generalizations further narrow down the number of possible infinitive clause constructions. English has a strong tendency to spell out only one copy of a moved constituent, so if the subject of the main clause is linked to the subject of the infinitive, then the latter is not visible, and the object of the main clause, if any, has to be base-generated; and if the object of the main clause is linked to

the subject of the infinitive, the latter is also not visible, and the subject of the main clause has to be base-generated.

The subject can also be a dummy in other complement clause constructions. When the complement clause is an infinitive, however, this seems impossible (7).

- (7) a. It seems that he is mad.
b. *It seems for he to be mad.

Subject raising (i.e. raising the subject of the infinitive to the subject of the matrix clause) is not compatible with the object position. This seems to have a semantic motivation: If a verb doesn't have an agentive role – which is always true in the case of subject raising, by the definition mentioned above – then it also doesn't have a patientive role, and therefore the object position is not licensed. Subject control, on the other hand, allows the object position.

Thus, possible infinitive clause constructions with the infinitive in the VP are summarized as follows:

Table 6.1: Infinitive constructions with the infinitive being in VP

subject	object	example
subject raising	no object	(8)
subject control	no object	(9)
	object base generated	(10)
subject base generated	no object	(11)
	object base generated	(12)
	object control	(13)
	object raising	(14)

- (8) [The student]_{i,subject} seems [–_{i,raised} to be cheerful]_{infinitive}.
(9) [I]_{i,subject} want [–_{i,controlled} to join your group]_{infinitive}.
(10) [I]_{i,subject} promise [her]_{base-generated object} [–_{i,controlled} to go away]_{infinitive}.
(11) I want [for her to complete this task tomorrow]_{sealed infinitive}.
(12) I promise [you]_{base-generated object} [for John to come here]_{sealed infinitive}.
(13) I want [him]_{i,object} [–_{i,controlled} to complete this task tomorrow]_{infinitive}.
(14) I ask [you]_{i,object} [–_{i,raised} to do this tomorrow].

The above classification has direct consequence in the form of the infinitive clause. (11, 12) have no essential difference with (1). (12) is less frequent but is still attested (Dixon 2005, p. 243).

The next step is to analyze the *form* of these infinitive clauses appearing in raising/control/no-raising-or-control environments. Whenever raising or control appears, *for* is absent; and if an infinitive clause isn't meant to be involved in raising or control, then *for* is usually present, because otherwise the construction is interpreted as a control or raising construction (15). Thus, we conclude that a) The word *for* in an infinitive clause seals the clause and turns it into an NP-like construction with invisible inner structure in the eyes of the syntactic environment, and b) In non-control-or-raising infinitive constructions listed in Table 6.1, the infinitive clauses are the NP-like infinitives just mentioned and are put in object-like positions. (compare (16) and (12))

- (15) I want [to join your group].
‘*I want someone else to join your group.’
(16) The great powers promised the Jews [an independent nation].

TODO: bare infinitives, let sb. to, make sb. to, see sb. do Huddleston and Pullum (2002, p. 1236, p. 1254)

6.1.2.3 Semantic classification of infinitives

Semantically, an infinitive clause either expresses a potential situation, or a subjective judgement (Dixon 2005, p. 245). A judgement infinitive clause is always in a subject-raising construction or an object-raising construction, probably for semantic reasons: A verb taking a judgement infinitive clause takes a cognitor semantic argument, TODO: but why can't there be a *for* infinitive clause? **I find for this food to be bad*

6.1.2.4 Interpretation of the null subject

The *to do sth.* type of infinitive has null subject. What the null subject refers to is sometimes decided by structural factors, as in the cases of control and raising, and sometimes by semantic and pragmatic feasibility.

TODO: semantic subject interpretation

6.1.2.5 Subject-raising

- (17) The boy seems unhappy.

6.1.2.6 Object raising

- (18) I wanted them to start.

6.1.2.7 Control

- (19) I ask them to be helpful.

Although Dixon (2005, p. 15), Dixon (2010, p. 388) argue that it's not necessary to introduce the concept of object raising in English, TODO

6.1.3 Quoted speech

It should be noted that direct quoted speech is not as simple as a sequence of sound: It's possible for a VP to appear as a quoted speech.

- (20) In closing, they said they "stand ready and willing to help you win Michigan in 2024."

6.2 Relative clauses

The relative clause construction is formed by

6.2.1 Types of relative clauses

It should be noted that the *wh*-movement in relative clauses is not structurally the same as the *wh*-movement in interrogative constructions. Consider the pair in (21): It clearly demonstrates that the relative *wh*-phrase is structurally higher than the topic, while the opposite is true for interrogative constructions. This may have a semantic motivation Radford (2009, p. 330): In question formation, the *wh*-movement is just a marking strategy of the *focus*, which appears below the topic, while in the formation of relative clauses, *wh*-movement happens *last*, marks the whole clause as a relative clause, and "seals" the whole relative clause, separating its content and the matrix clause.

- (21) a. [In you opinion]_{topic}, [what]_{focus:wh} [is]_{fronted auxiliary} our most urgent task right now?
b. [[What], [in his opinion]_{topic}, is our most urgent task right now]_{relative clause} still remains unknown for the listeners.

6.2.2 Purpose relative clause

A rare type of

- (22) I need [a house [to live]_{purpose}]_{object: NP}
(23) I need [a house [to live in]_{purpose}]_{object: NP}

6.3 Clause linking: subordination

6.4 Clause linking: coordination

Parameters concerning variation of coordination include number of coordinates, number of coordinators, and whether we have correlative items like *both* in the coordination construction.

TODO: [Huddleston and Pullum \(2002, p. 1276\)](#)

This section talks about FANBOY TODO: subject extraction

6.5 Supplementation

Chapter 7

Comparative construction

Comparative constructions appear to fill a “degree” position of adverbs, adjectives, and sometimes, nouns and verbs. TODO: compare with *how old* constructions

Chapter 8

Prosody, punctuation, and spelling conventions

Box 8.1: The notion of *thought group*

It should be noted that so-called *speech groups* and *thought groups* are neither morphosyntactic or semantic concepts. When the subject is light (for example, when it's a personal pronoun), the subject and the verbal complex may be grouped into one "thought group", but that doesn't mean the subject and the verb constitute a constituency: it merely arises from prosodical considerations. In real world utterances, we may also see subject-only sentences with the object omitted, but this may be about production of utterance: I already have some templates of clause structures in our mind (though with inner hierarchical structures, as in Tree-Adjoining Grammar), and after we fill the subject position of one of the templates, somehow – possibly because I forget what to say – I just stop filling the template and pour the half-finished sentence to the one I'm talking with (§ ??). But still, though groups have something to do with stress allocation, which indeed is influenced syntactically (Kahnemuyipour 2009, p. 7).

Chapter 9

Notable variations

9.1 Early Modern English

Dialects, etc.

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