They may be either copular (clause pattern SV/C), or complex transitive (clause pattern SV/C):

\[
\begin{align*}
SV/C: & \quad \text{break even, plead guilty, lie low} \\
SV/C: & \quad \text{cut N short, work N loose, rub N dry}
\end{align*}
\]

Sometimes the idiom contains additional elements, such as an infinitive (play hard to get) or a preposition (ride roughshod over ...).

(The 'N' above indicates a direct object in the case of transitive examples.)

(b) VERB-VERB COMBINATIONS

In these idiomatic constructions (cf. 3.49-51, 16.52), the second verb is nonfinite, and may be either an infinitive:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{make do with, make (N) do, let (N) go, let (N) be}
\end{align*}
\]

or a participle, with or without a following preposition:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{put paid to, get rid of, have done with}
\end{align*}
\]

(leave N standing, send N packing, knock N flying, get going)

(c) VERBS GOVERNING TWO PREPOSITIONS

These are a further variant on prepositional verbs:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{It developed from a small club into a mass organization in three years.}
\end{align*}
\]

Similarly: struggle with N for N, compete with N for N, apply to N for N, talk to N about N. Normally either one or both prepositional phrases can be omitted; eg:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{It developed into a mass organization in three years.}
\end{align*}
\]

Note: To end this survey of verb idioms and their grammatical characteristics, mention may be made of rare patterns such as make sure(certain) followed by a that-clause; see fit followed by a to-infinitive; and verb + noun combinations such as turn turtle and turn traitor.

Verbs in relation to verb complementation

In 16.20-67 we survey types of verb complementation, before turning to adjective complementation (16.68-83), and (more briefly) to noun complementation (16.84-5). Many verbs are versatile enough to allow several complementation types (cf. the discussion, for example, of get in 10.3). It is therefore likely to be misleading to talk of ‘intransitive verbs’, ‘monotransitive verbs’, ‘complex transitive verbs’, etc. Rather, it is often better to say that verbs have ‘monotransitive use’, ‘monotransitive complementation’, etc. Although one verb may belong to a number of different complementation types, it is usually possible to observe a common ground of meaning in the various uses.

For each type of complementation, we give a list of verbs belonging to that pattern. No claim of completeness is made for these lists: when the membership of a type is small, a fairly exhaustive list of verbs is given, whereas when the membership is very large (as in the case of intransitive verbs, or monotransitive verbs with a noun phrase object), we can give only a sample of common verbs. In any case, it should be borne in mind that the list of verbs conforming to a given pattern is difficult to specify exactly: there are many differences between one variety of English and another in respect of individual verbs, and many cases of marginal acceptability.

Note: The term ‘valency’ (or ‘valence’) is sometimes used, instead of complementation, for the way in which a verb determines the kinds and number of elements that can accompany it in the clause. Valency, however, includes the subject of the clause, which is excluded (unless extraposed) from complementation.

Verbs in intransitive function

16.19 Where no complementation occurs, the verb is said to have an INTRANSITIVE use. Three types of verb may be mentioned in this category:

(I) ‘PURE’ INTRANSITIVE VERBS, which do not take an object at all (or at least do so only very rarely):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{John has arrived.} \quad \text{Your views do not matter.}
\end{align*}
\]

Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{appear} & \quad \text{die} \quad \text{fall} \quad \text{happen} \quad \text{rise} \\
\text{come} & \quad \text{dissipate} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{lie} \quad \text{wait}
\end{align*}
\]

(II) VERBS WHICH CAN ALSO BE TRANSITIVE WITH THE SAME MEANING, and without a change in the subject–verb relationship. Informally, such verbs can be described as having an ‘understood object’ (cf. App 1.54):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{He smokes (a pipe).} \quad \text{I am reading (a book).}
\end{align*}
\]

But in some cases the intransitive verb acquires a more specific meaning, so that a particular kind of object is ‘understood’; eg: \text{John drinks heavily [drinks alcohol]}.

Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{approach} & \quad \text{drive} \quad \text{help} \quad \text{pass} \quad \text{win} \\
\text{drink} & \quad \text{enter} \quad \text{leave} \quad \text{play} \quad \text{write}
\end{align*}
\]

(III) VERBS WHICH CAN ALSO BE TRANSITIVE, but where the semantic connection between subject and verb is different in the two cases; eg the intransitive use has an affected participant as subject (cf. 10.21f), whereas the transitive use has an agentive as subject (cf. App 1.54):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{The door opened slowly.} \quad \text{cf: Mary opened the door.} \\
\text{The car stopped.} \quad \text{cf: He stopped the car.}
\end{align*}
\]

Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{begin} & \quad \text{close} \quad \text{increase} \quad \text{turn} \quad \text{walk} \\
\text{change} & \quad \text{drop} \quad \text{move} \quad \text{unite} \quad \text{work}
\end{align*}
\]

Type (III) also includes intransitive verbs with MUTUAL PARTICIPATION (cf. 13.60), as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{I have met you.} \quad \text{We have met.}
\end{align*}
\]

The bus collided with the car. \text{The bus and car collided.}

Intransitive verbs are numerous, particularly in categories (II) and (III).
Types of verb complementation

16.20 There are four main types of complementation to consider:

[A] Copular, eg: John is only a boy.
[B] Monotransitive, eg: I have caught a big fish.
[C] Complex transitive, eg: She called him a hero.
[D] Ditransitive, eg: He gave Mary a doll.

Although these complementation types have already been generally discussed in 2.16 and elsewhere, it is necessary now to list the verbs of each type in more detail, paying particular attention to the active-passive relation (cf 3.69f). In this survey, we shall also list variants on the above patterns; for example, cases where the verb is followed by a finite or nonfinite clause. Such variants will be distinguished by numbers: [A1], [B2], etc. The various sub-types of complementation under these headings are illustrated Table 16.20.

In addition, we shall use where necessary the suffixes ‘ph’ (for phrasal verbs), ‘pr’ (for prepositional verbs), and ‘ph-pr’ (for phrasal-prepositional verbs). For example, [B4ph-pr] will refer to a class of phrasal-prepositional verbs taking a wh-clause as prepositional object (eg: find out about whether . . .). It is not always necessary to recognize such detailed classifications, but it is useful to be able to do so when the occasion arises.

Two points may be noted about complementation of multi-word verbs. First, a phrasal verb cannot normally be interrupted by a clause as object:

He left off driving a car. = *He left driving a car off.

Second, a Type I prepositional or phrasal-prepositional verb is appropriately classified, for the purposes of complementation, as monotransitive, since the prepositional object is analogous (eg with respect to the active-passive relation) to a direct object (cf 16.14). In general, multi-word verbs behave like other verbs of the same general type, and we will make a point of mentioning them or listing them separately only when they are numerous or where there is something special to be noted about them.

(Note: in Table 16.20, +S = ‘with subject’; −S = ‘without subject’)

Table 16.20 Verb complementation types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variants</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>COPULAR (Types SYC and SV/A)</td>
<td>The girl seemed restless.</td>
<td>(16.21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[A2] Nominal C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[A3] Adverbial complementation</td>
<td>The kitchen is downstairs.</td>
<td>(16.24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONOTRANSITIVE (Type SYO)</td>
<td>Tom caught the ball.</td>
<td>(16.26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[B1] Noun phrase as O (with passive)</td>
<td>Paul lacks confidence.</td>
<td>(16.27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[B2] Noun phrase as O (without passive)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[B3] That-clause as O</td>
<td>I think that we have met.</td>
<td>(16.30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[B5] Wh-infinite as O</td>
<td>I learned how to sail a boat.</td>
<td>(16.37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[B6] To-infinite (-S) as O</td>
<td>We’ve decided to move house.</td>
<td>(16.38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[B7] -ing clause (-S) as O</td>
<td>She enjoys playing squash.</td>
<td>(16.39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[B8] To-infinite (+S) as O</td>
<td>They want us to help.</td>
<td>(16.41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[B9] -ing clause (+S) as O</td>
<td>I hate the children quarrelling.</td>
<td>(16.42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPLEX TRANSITIVE (Types SVOC and SV/O/A)</td>
<td>That music drives me mad.</td>
<td>(16.44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[C1] Adjectival C, verb</td>
<td>They named the ship ‘Zeus’.</td>
<td>(16.46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[C2] Nominal C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[C3] O + adverbial</td>
<td>I left the key at home.</td>
<td>(16.48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[C4] O + to-infinitive</td>
<td>They knew him to be a spy.</td>
<td>(16.50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[C5] O + bare infinitive</td>
<td>I saw her leave the room.</td>
<td>(16.52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[C6] O + -ing clause</td>
<td>I heard someone shouting.</td>
<td>(16.53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[C7] O + -ed clause</td>
<td>I got the watch repaired.</td>
<td>(16.54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DITRANSITIVE (Type SV/O/O)</td>
<td>They offered her some food.</td>
<td>(16.55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[D1] Noun phrases as O &amp; O2</td>
<td>Please say something to us.</td>
<td>(16.26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[D2] With prepositional O</td>
<td>They told me that I was ill.</td>
<td>(16.59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[D3] O + that-clause</td>
<td>He asked me what time it was.</td>
<td>(16.61)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[D4] O + wh-clause</td>
<td>Mary showed us what to do.</td>
<td>(16.62)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[D5] O + wh-infinitive clause</td>
<td>I advised Mark to see a doctor.</td>
<td>(16.63)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Within the sub-types [A1], [A2], etc it is sometimes valuable to distinguish additional semantic sub-types, for which the roman numerals (i), (ii), etc will be used. Other distinguishing marks applied to verbs in the following sections will be explained where they occur.

Copular complementation

16.21 A verb is said to have copular complementation when it is followed by a subject complement (C) or a predicative adjunct (cf 2.16, 2.22, 8.26f), and when this element cannot be dropped without changing the meaning of the verb. The verb in such a clause is a copular (or linking) verb, and is equivalent in function to the principal copula, the verb be. Copular verbs fall into two main classes, according to whether the subject complement has the role of CURRENT ATTRIBUTE or of RESULTING ATTRIBUTE (cf 10.20). This
distinction corresponds to that between CURRENT copulas and RESULTING copulas (cf conclusive verbs, 4.35). Normally, current copulas are stative (cf 4.28f), and cannot cooccur with the progressive aspect.

The distinction is illustrated below with an adjectival complement, the first kind of complementation we will consider:

**CURRENT:** The girl **seemed** very restless.

**RESULTING:** The girl **became** very restless.

The following is a fairly full list of verbs regularly used in this pattern, together with typical adjectival complements:

**CURRENT**

(i) **be** (friendly) [N]

(ii) **appear** (happy) [N]

(iii) **remain** (uncertain) [N]

(iv) **become** (older) [N]

(v) **burn** (low)

(vi) **blush** (bright red)

**RESULTING**

(i) **come** (true)

(ii) **end up** (happy) [N]

(iii) **wind up** (drunk) [N] 〈informal〉

(iv) **become** (an expert)

(v) **fall** (silent)

(vi) **spring** (open)

End up, turn out, and wind up are copular phrasal verbs. The verbs marked [N] in the list also occur with a noun phrase complement (though not all with the same freedom or acceptability; cf 16.22). The roman numerals in the list identify semantic groups which are discussed in 16.24 below.

In addition to the copular verbs above, there are verbs which have this function with severe restrictions on the words occurring in the complement (cf 10.16). The restriction may be a lexical restriction to certain idiomatic verb-adjective sequences such as rest assured (cf 16.17), or it may be a semantic restriction (eg the meaning of blush restricts the adjective to a subset of colour words: blush scarlet, but not blush green). Some examples are given below, with typical adjectival complements:

**CURRENT**

(v) **burn** (low)

lie (flat)

loom (large)

play (rough)

plead (innocent)

rest (assured)

stand (firm)

stand up (straight)

**RESULTING**

(vi) **blush** (bright red)

fall (silent)

fall down (dead)

freeze (solid)

run (wild)

slam (shut)

spring (open)

Many of these verbs resemble intransitive verbs, the complement being added almost as an optional specifier.

Note [a] Go is current in go hungry/naked, but is normally resulting elsewhere, as in go 〈= ‘become’〉 sour/red/wild/mad.
Semantic notes on copular verbs

16.23 The main verb be is the most central copular verb, and the most neutral in meaning. It is also overwhelmingly the most common. Although it generally has current and stative meaning, notice should be taken of its use also in reference to events and activities:

There was a roar as the ball bounced off the goalpost.
You’re being very helpful. (cf4.31)

In some cases, be is close in meaning to become:

Ann will be a qualified nurse next year.
Cora was angry when she heard about the accident.

As the lists in 16.21–2 show, copular verbs apart from be fall into three classes. First, there is the division between current and resulting verbs; then the current verbs divide further into ‘verbs of seeming’ (ii) (including seem, appear, and the perception verbs look, sound, etc), and ‘verbs of remaining’ (iii) such as remain, stay, and keep. The resulting verbs (iv) are in the main ‘verbs of becoming’, but their meanings differ in detail, as we shall now briefly show.

Become is a process verb (cf4.34), placing emphasis on the duration of the change, whereas get places more emphasis on the agency behind the event or on the result of the change: Get ready! but not *Become ready! Go and turn tend to refer to changes which happen in spite of human agency, and therefore are often used for deteriorations: go mad; go wild; go sour; go stale; turn liquid; turn white [of hair]; turn sour. Turn more especially seems to apply to natural changes from one state to its opposite: turn green/brown [of leaves]; turn fine/cold [of weather]; turn ripe [of fruit]. Grow is also associated with natural changes, especially with gradual changes (grow old, grow tall), and is likely to occur with comparative adjectives as in grow cooler, grow more content. In many cases, more than one verb can occur with the same adjective, and it is difficult to give precise conditions for selecting one rather than another.

Note: Come is very restricted as a copular verb, but it makes an interesting contrast with go in examples like go wrong/come right. The association of go with deterioration (go rotten, etc) is complemented by the association of come with improvement in come true, etc. These associations may be connected with the positive and negative direction (from the speaker’s viewpoint) of come and go as verbs of motion.

[A3] Complementation by an adjunct

16.24 The principal copula that allows an adverbial as complementation is once again be. The complementing adverbials, termed predication adjuncts in this function, are mainly space adjuncts (cf8.3, 8.39ff):

The children are at the zoo. The kitchen is downstairs.

but time adjuncts too are common with an evitative subject (cf8.76):

The party will be at nine. The outing is tomorrow.

and other types of predication adjunct are grammatical (for further examples cf10.10).

Get and keep are two more copular verbs which occur specifically with place adjuncts (or adjuncts metaphorically related to these):

At last we got home. Get off that chair!
They kept out of trouble. How did you get here?

Be, get, and keep are clearly copular verbs in this function because of their inability to occur without the adjunct: *The children are; *At last we get; *They kept. More marginally, other verbs such as live, come, go, remain, stay, stand, lie belong to this category (cf8.27). These also occur as intransitive verbs with roughly the same locative (or abstract locative) meaning, but are in many contexts felt to be incomplete unless some complementation is added:

My aunt lives in Shropshire.
My aunt lives.

The need for the verb to be followed by some complementation is perhaps strongest in pure locative statements such as Cannes lies on the French Riviera. Whereas verbs like live and lie show the resemblance of adverbial complementation to the ‘zero complementation’ of intransitive verbs, verbs like remain, stay, come, go, turn, and grow show its similarity to copular complementation by adjectival phrases. The parallel is brought out by pairs such as:

He turned red. She grew tall.
He turned into a monster. She grew into a fine woman.

However, for our purposes it will be preferable to treat sequences such as turn into and grow into as copular prepositional verbs (cf16.22 Note [b]).

Note: [a] The verbs of ‘seeming’ (cf16.23) seem, appear, look, sound, feel, smell, and taste are complemented by an adverbial clause beginning as if (or less frequently as though) in sentences such as the following:

I’ll look as if she had seen a ghost.
It seems as if the weather is improving.

(In a similar meaning, appear and seem can also be followed by a that-clause: of16.34.) An alternative construction is one in which the as if clause is replaced by a phrase introduced by like:

That music sounds like Mozart. (as ‘like the music of Mozart’)
Bill looks (just) like his father.

After the same verbs, one also frequently hears clauses introduced by like, but these are often regarded as nonstandard: It seems like the weather is improving.

[b] There is also a curious idiomatic use of feel like (cf16.22 Note [a]) meaning want.

I feel like a cup of coffee.

Arguably, this is not copular; it belongs rather to the category of montransitive prepositional verbs [from] (cf16.28).

[c] More exceptional cases of verbs with adverbial complementation are:

(i) behave followed by an adverbial of manner:

He behaved like a prisoner of conscience.

(However, behave can also occur intransitively or reflexively as in: Why don’t you behave (yourself)?)

(ii) last and take followed by an adverbial of measure (duration):

Thehaymaking lasted (for) a week.

[Note: (cf16.23)]
In the case of take the duration adverbial is obligatory, since the verb entails the completion of the task. In the case of last, the adverbial is omitted in such examples as:

The hot weather won't last.

**Monotransitive complementation**

Verbs used in monotransitive function require a direct object, which may be a noun phrase, a finite clause, or a nonfinite clause. In addition to these categories the verb may be a Type 1 prepositional verb (cf 16.5) or phrasal-prepositional verb (cf 16.9), which for our present purposes will be treated as analogous to a verb with a direct object. We will begin by considering the straightforward case of verbs with a noun phrase as direct object, and then continue with variants of this basic pattern.

Complementation by a noun phrase as direct object

**[B1] With the passive**

Direct objects are typically noun phrases which may become the subject of a corresponding passive clause:

*Tom caught the ball.* ~ *The ball was caught by Tom.*

(On the limitations of the passive transformation, cf 3.67ff.) Common examples of monotransitive verbs allowing the passive are:

- begin desire get love pass support
- believe do hear make produce take
- bite doubt help marry receive use
- bring end hold mean remember visit
- call enjoy keep meet require want
- carry expect know mind want wash
- close feel lead move see waste
cut find like need start watch
describe follow lose obtain study win

Some of these verbs, such as *end* and *move*, belong to types which can be either intransitive or transitive (cf 16.19). Something of the range of monotransitive verbs can be seen by dividing them into semantic groups according to the kinds of subject and object that they take:

(i) Typically animate subject + typically concrete object:

Professor Dobbs won the prize.

~ The prize was won by Professor Dobbs.

- carry cover examine see throw win
- clean eat lower stop watch write

(ii) Typically animate subject + either concrete or abstract object:

Everybody understood the problem.

~ The problem was understood by everybody.

- abolish define explain incite report utter
- cover discuss forget lose rule win

(iii) Typically animate subject + typically animate object:

Mrs Wood liked the new neighbours.

~ The new neighbours were liked by Mrs Wood.

- admire despise hug kiss reject ridicule
- beat flatter kill meet respect support

(iv) Typically concrete or abstract subject + animate object:

The news shocked our family.

~ Our family was shocked by the news.

- affect bother fascinate incense satisfy trouble
- appal deceive grieve please surprise upset

Note: The following is a sample of monotransitive (or Type II) phrasal verbs [B1ph] with typical objects. Further examples are illustrated in 16.4.

- back up ['support someone'] let down ['disappoint someone']
- blow down (a tree) make up (a story)
- break off (negotiations) pass over (a question)
- bring about (a change) put across (an idea)
- burn down (a house) put off (an appointment)
- draw up (a contract) tell off ['rebuke someone']
- fill out (a form) turn off (the light)
- knock down (someone) win over ['convince someone']

These, like the verbs in (i–iv) above, can be used in the passive voice.

**[B2] Without the passive**

A few stative monotransitive verbs, the most common of which is *have*, normally do not allow a passive transformation:

*They have a nice house.* ~ *A nice house is had by them.*

These so-called MIDDLE VERBS, including *have, lack, fit, suit*, and resemble, are discussed in detail in 10.14.

Note: A related type of verb is found in expressions of measure such as *cost ten dollars; weigh 20 kilos*; but these can equally well be analysed as having an obligatory adjunct as complementation, since *How much ... ?* is an alternative question to *What ... ?* in eliciting this kind of expression as a reply:


A: *How much* ... ? B: *Twenty kilos.*

**Variants of monotransitive complementation**

Complementation by noun phrase as prepositional object

**[B1pr] Prepositional verbs**

Although verbs such as *look at* have been classified as 'Type I prepositional verbs' (those without a direct object; cf 16.5), in the analysis of complementation they fit more happily with monotransitive rather than intransitive verbs. This is partly because of the resemblance of the prepositional object to a direct object, eg in accepting a passive voice (cf 16.14), though usually with some awkwardness of style:
The management paid for his air fares.

~ His air fares were paid for by the management.

But also when a prepositional verb is followed by a that-clause or a to-infinitive clause, the preposition disappears, and the prepositional object merges with the direct object of the monotransitive pattern. Compare the following two series, (A) with a prepositional verb and (B) with an ordinary monotransitive verb:

(A) They agreed to meet each other.
    on the meeting.
    on when to meet.
    (that) they would meet.
    to meet each other.

(B) They remembered meeting each other.
    the meeting.
    it.
    meeting each other.
    when to meet.
    (that) they had met.
    to meet each other.

Yet the preposition omitted before a that-clause can reappear in the corresponding passive: That they should meet was agreed (on), even in extraposition (cf 18.33/4), where the preposition immediately follows the passive verb phrase:

It was agreed (on) eventually that they should meet.

Examples of Type I prepositional verbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Account for</th>
<th>Concentrate on</th>
<th>Look after/on</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Add to</td>
<td>Conform to</td>
<td>Pay for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Admit to</td>
<td>Contribute to</td>
<td>Pray for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree with/ on/to</td>
<td>Deal with</td>
<td>Preach about/on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aim at/ for</td>
<td>Decide on</td>
<td>Provide for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allow for</td>
<td>Dwell (up)on</td>
<td>Quarrel about/ with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apply for</td>
<td>Enlarge (up)on</td>
<td>Read about</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argue about</td>
<td>Hear about/ of</td>
<td>Refer to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrange for</td>
<td>Hint at</td>
<td>Rejoice at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ask for</td>
<td>Hope for</td>
<td>Rely on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attend to</td>
<td>Insist on</td>
<td>Resort to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Believe in</td>
<td>Interfer with</td>
<td>Run for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Call for/ (up)on</td>
<td>Learn about</td>
<td>Speak about/on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Care for</td>
<td>Lecture about/on</td>
<td>Think about/ of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comment on</td>
<td>Listen to</td>
<td>Take to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complain about</td>
<td>Live on</td>
<td>Think about/ of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conceive of</td>
<td>Long for</td>
<td>Wish for</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[b] Prepositions may combine with that to form complex subordinators such as in that, save that, except that (cf 14.12).
[c] In general, choice of preposition is the same for morphologically related verbs and nouns: refer to ~ reference to: believe in ~ belief in, etc. There are exceptions, however: hope as a verb is followed by for, while the corresponding noun construction has of: He hopes for success, but His hope of success.

[1ph-pr] Phrasal-prepositional verbs

16.29 Type I PHRASAL-PREPOSITIONAL VERBS also take a prepositional object. As we saw in 16.9, such verbs can, like prepositional verbs, occur in the passive (eg: She dealt with the problem ~ The problem was dealt with); but many of them are awkward, in fact barely acceptable, in this construction: *The discussion was walked out on (by the principal negotiator). In the sample list below, the verbs marked [P] are among those that can fairly readily occur in the passive:

break in on
(someone's conversation) keep away from [*avoid*]
keep up with (the Joneses)
catch up on (my reading) look down on [*despise*] [P]
catch up with [*overtake*] look forward to
come down with (a cold) 'anticipate with pleasure' [P]
look out for [*watch for*]
cut down on (expenses) look up to [*respect*] [P]
do away with [*abolish*] [P] put up with [*tolerate*] [P]
do away with (a crime) run away with
face up to [*confront*] [P] stand up for [*defend*]
get away with (a crime)
get down to (serious talk) turn out for (a meeting)

Phrasal-prepositional verbs are rather informal, and many of them have idiomatic metaphorical meanings which are difficult or impossible to paraphrase (eg: run away with).

Complementation by a finite clause

16.30 The conjunction in that-clauses which function as object may be zero, as in I hope he arrives soon; but when the clause is made passive, the that cannot be deleted, and thus obeys the same rules as other that-clauses as subject (cf 15.4). The normal passive analogue has it and extraposition, that being again optional:

Everybody hoped (that) she would sing.

~ [stilted]

That she would sing was hoped by everybody.

*She would sing was hoped by everybody.

It was hoped by everybody (that) she would sing.

That-clauses have one of three types of verb phrase, depending on the 'governing' verb in the matrix clause:
We may subdivide factual verbs into 'PUBLIC' and 'PRIVATE' types. The former consists of speech act verbs introducing indirect statements:

Types of verb complementation

1. The verb also occurs in the active with a to-infinitive directly following:
   *He promised to come* (cf. 16.38).
2. The verb also occurs with a following noun phrase followed by a to-infinitive: *They supposed her to be dead* (cf. 16.50).
3. The verb is also a member of the suasive group below, in 16.32.
4. The pro-form *can* stand in place of the that-clause (cf. 12.28); eg: *I think so.*
5. *Say* occurs with an infinitive, as in *She said to come before ten* in the directive sense of 'She told us to come before ten'.

Examples:

1. **acknowledge**
2. **boast**
3. **declare**
4. **mention**
5. **report**

6. **add**
7. **certify**
8. **deny**
9. **object**
10. **retort**

11. **affirm**
12. **claim**
13. **disclose**
14. **predict**
15. **say**

16. **agree**
17. **complain**
18. **explain**
19. **promise**
20. **suggest**

21. **allege**
22. **concede**
23. **forecast**
24. **pronounce**
25. **state**

26. **announce**
27. **confess**
28. **foretell**
29. **prophecy**
30. **swear**

31. **assent**
32. **confide**
33. **guarantee**
34. **prove**
35. **testify**

36. **bet**
37. **contend**
38. **insist**
39. **repeat**
40. **swear**

41. **convey**
42. **describe**
43. **maintain**
44. **reply**
45. **write**

Types of verb complementation

The 'PRIVATE' type of factual verb expresses intellectual states such as belief and intellectual acts such as discovery. These states and acts are 'private' in the sense that they are not observable: a person may be observed to *assert that God exists*, but not to *believe that God exists*. Belief is in this sense 'private'. Examples of such verbs are:

1. **accept**
2. **doubt**
3. **imagine**
4. **realize**

5. **anticipate**
6. **dream**
7. **imply**
8. **reason**

9. **assure**
10. **establish**
11. **infer**
12. **recollect**

13. **believe**
14. **estimate**
15. **insure**
16. **recognize**

17. **calculate**
18. **expect**
19. **judge**
20. **reflect**

21. **check**
22. **fancy**
23. **know**
24. **remember**

25. **conclude**
26. **fear**
27. **learn**
28. **revel**

29. **conjecture**
30. **feel**
31. **mean**
32. **see**

33. **consider**
34. **find**
35. **note**
36. **sense**

37. **decide**
38. **foresee**
39. **notice**
40. **show**

41. **deduce**
42. **forget**
43. **observe**
44. **signify**

45. **deem**
46. **gather**
47. **perceive**
48. **suppose**

49. **demonstrate**
50. **guess**
51. **presume**
52. **suspect**

53. **determine**
54. **hear**
55. **presuppose**
56. **think**

57. **discern**
58. **hold**
59. **pretend**
60. **understand**

Many of these verbs, especially the 'public' verbs, are also used for introducing direct speech, eg:

*Perhaps it's time to leave*, suggested Tim.
Types of verb complementation

16.32 These verbs can be followed by a that-clause either with putative should (cf 14.25) or with the mandative subjunctive. A third possibility, a that-clause with an indicative verb, is largely restricted to BrE:

People are demanding that she should leave the company. [1]

It is more difficult, in the case of suasive verbs, to make a subdivision between ‘PUBLIC’ and ‘PRIVATE’ verbs: for this reason, we present the verbs below in a single list. Nevertheless, generally it is useful to see a distinction between the ‘public’ verbs which describe indirect directives (such as request; cf 14.33), and the ‘private’ verbs which describe states of volition or desire, such as intend:


The superscripts 1, 2 and 4 have the same meaning as in 16.31 above. The choice between the three constructions in the that-clause in [1] above varies between AmE and BrE. For detailed discussion of these preferences, cf 14.25.

It will be noted that the noun phrase + infinitive construction (cf 16.50) is a common alternative to the that-clause for suasive verbs:

They intended to have the news to be suppressed.

Types of verb complementation

16.33 This consists of a small group of verbs such as regret, marvel, rejoice, and wonder, which can occur with (A) the indicative or (B) the putative should construction, but not with the subjunctive complementation:

I regret that she should worry about it.

They intended that the news (should) be suppressed. (more formal)

With some verbs, such as allow, the infinitive construction is by far the more usual.

Other types of verb with that-clause complementation

Type (iii): Emotive verbs

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Other types of verb with that-clause complementation

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I regret that she should worry about it.

They intended that the news (should) be suppressed. (more formal)

With some verbs, such as allow, the infinitive construction is by far the more usual.

Other types of verb with that-clause complementation

Type (iii): Emotive verbs

16.33 This consists of a small group of verbs such as regret, marvel, rejoice, and wonder, which can occur with (A) the indicative or (B) the putative should construction, but not with the subjunctive complementation:

I regret that she should worry about it.

They intended that the news (should) be suppressed. (more formal)

With some verbs, such as allow, the infinitive construction is by far the more usual.

Other types of verb with that-clause complementation

Type (iii): Emotive verbs

16.33 This consists of a small group of verbs such as regret, marvel, rejoice, and wonder, which can occur with (A) the indicative or (B) the putative should construction, but not with the subjunctive complementation:

I regret that she should worry about it.

They intended that the news (should) be suppressed. (more formal)

With some verbs, such as allow, the infinitive construction is by far the more usual.
The verb which occurs as preparatory object is in this case optional, although the omission is not usual. In the comparable construction take it that, the it is obligatory: I take it that you are enjoying yourselves.

[b] Compare the complementation of seem, appear, etc by an at if clause (cf 16.24 Note [a]).

c] On the related constructions It strikes me that, It occurs to me that ... of 16.59 Note, 16.60 Note.

[B4] Wh-clause as object

16.35 Many of the verbs which take a that-clause as object can also take a wh-interrogative clause (cf 15.5ff):

I asked her to confirm whether the flight had been booked.
Can you confirm which flight we are taking?
They haven’t yet confirmed how much the flight costs.

Notice that in all three illustrative sentences above, confirm occurs in what may be described as a nonassertive context (cf 2.53). The use of the wh-interrogative clause (which generally implies lack of knowledge on the part of the speaker) is particularly common where the superordinate clause is interrogative or negative. On the other hand, there are some verbs which themselves express uncertainty, such as ask and wonder: these occur with the wh-clause without this nonassertive constraint. Examples of verbs taking the wh-interrogative clause are:

- anticipate [NA]
- doubt
- note [NA]
- argue [NA]¹
- enquire², ³
- notice [NA]³
- arrange [NA]³
- establish³
- observe [NA]³
- ascertain³
- explain³
- perceive [NA]³
- ask², ³
- express
- point out [NA]
- beware²
- fathom [NA]
- ponder³
- calculate [NA]³
- find out², ³
- predict [NA]
- care [NA]², ³
- forget³
- prove
- check², ³
- guess
- realize [NA]
- choose³
- hear [NA]²
- record [NA]
- confirm [NA]
- imagine [NA]³
- reflect²
- consider [NA]³
- indicate [NA]³
- remember [NA]³
- decide², ³
- inquire², ³
- say [NA]
- demonstrate³
- judge³
- see [NA]³
- depend²
- know [NA]³
- show³
- disclose
- learn [NA]³
- tell [NA]¹, ³
- discover³
- make out [NA]
- think [NA]³
- discuss³
- mind [NA]³
- wonder³

The symbol [NA] after a verb indicates that this complementation is particularly likely to occur in a nonassertive context. The superscripts 1–3 are interpreted as follows:

1: This verb is part of a negative or predominantly negative construction when combined with the wh-interrogative clause: not care; not mind; can’t fathom; can’t tell.
2: The verb is basically a prepositional verb, and has a preposition which may be optionally added (see below).

3: The verb can also occur with a following wh-infinitive clause (cf 16.37); eg: I didn’t know what to say.

The preposition of a prepositional verb is optionally omitted before a wh-clause, and hence it is convenient to include in the above list verbs for which the wh-clause is basically a prepositional object. For example:

I inquired (about) whether the tickets were ready.
They haven’t yet decided (on) which flight they will take.

For the corresponding passive, again, the preposition is optional, whether or not the nominal clause is in extraposition:

Which flight they will take has not yet been decided (on).
It has not yet been decided (on) which flight they will take.

Sometimes there is a slight difference of meaning if the preposition is included; contrast:

She asked what he wanted.
≠ She asked about what he wanted.

Whereas ask introduces the question which the speaker actually asked and for which she requires an answer, ask about does not indicate what the question might have been. Other prepositional verbs in this class are: argue (about); beware (of) (cf 3.54 Note); not care (about); check (on); depend (on); hear (about); reflect (on). There is also the phrasal-prepositional verb find out (about).

Note A few verbs are followed by a wh-exclamative clause (indirect exclamation: cf 10.104) beginning with what or how: I realized what a fool I had been; I know how busy you are. These clauses are difficult to distinguish from wh-interrogative clauses. Other verbs in the pattern include eat, drink, enjoy, express, marvel, reflect, think.

Complementation by a nonfinite clause

16.36 When a nonfinite clause follows the verb it is often difficult to separate three of the major types of complementation which we distinguished in 2.16. This is especially true if a noun phrase intervenes between the superordinate verb and the verb of the nonfinite construction:

They like the children to visit them. [1]
They supposed the children to be guilty. [2]
They asked the children to bring some food. [3]

On the face of it, all three of these sentences conform to the same pattern (verb + noun phrase + to-infinitive ...). But there are reasons for classifying them differently:

[1] exemplifies MONOTRANSITIVE complementation (16.38ff)
(cf: They like the children’s visits – SVO)
[2] exemplifies COMPLEX TRANSITIVE complementation (16.43ff)
(cf: They supposed the children guilty – SVOC)
(cf: They asked the children a question – SVOO)

We will return in 16.64ff to differences between examples such as these. At present, since we are dealing with monotransitive complementation, we are concerned only with the type illustrated by [1]. In nominal function, only two kinds of nonfinite clause normally occur: the to-infinitive clause and the -ing participle clause. Hence nonfinite clauses functioning as object can be distinguished, for the present purposes, in terms of the categories in Table 16.36:

Table 16.36 Nonfinite clauses as object

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Without subject</th>
<th>With subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to-infinitive</td>
<td>[B6] Jack hates to miss the train.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 16.36, the italicized parts are analysed as nonfinite clauses acting as direct object. The status of the infinitive clause and its subject in pattern [B8] is discussed in 16.41. Later, in 16.66, we consider the arguments for considering her an object in the [B8] and [B9] examples.

The following criteria confirm that the italicized portion of [B6–B9] is basically a nonfinite clause as direct object:

(A) The nonfinite clause can be replaced by a pronoun it coreferring to a clause, or by a noun phrase nominalizing the meaning of a clause: Everyone likes it; He likes her frequent visits.

(B) The nonfinite clause can be made the focus of a pseudo-cleft sentence (cf 18.29):

What everyone likes (best) is to talk to her.  [B6]
What everyone likes (best) is talking to her.  [B7]
What he likes (best) is for her to call often.  [B8]

In this version of [B8], as the infinitive clause is now in complement position, the introductory for has to make its appearance.

(C) For [B8] the introductory for itself, where it appears, is a marker of the construction as a nonfinite clause.

(D) Correspondingly, for [B9], a subject pronoun in the objective case can often be replaced, in formal style, by a possessive pronoun (cf 14.6):

He doesn't like me/my coming often.

This is what one would expect (cf 15.12) given that me and my can both be subjects of an -ing clause.

Not all verbs that we consider direct objects satisfy all these criteria. Nevertheless, it is on this basis that the verbs listed below are included in the classes [B6–B9].

[16.37] Wh-infinitive clause as object

It is as well to begin the survey of nonfinite clauses as objects with clauses which happen to be immediately related to those dealt with in 16.35. These are wh-infinitive clauses (cf 15.5):

He learned how to sail a boat as a small boy.
You must not forget when to keep your mouth shut.
I couldn't decide (on) which bicycle to buy.

The last example illustrates the occurrence of the optional preposition with prepositional verbs, as already observed with finite clauses of the same type. The corresponding passive pattern also occurs:

The Curies discovered how to isolate radioactive elements.
How to isolate radioactive elements was discovered by the Curies.

The passive with extraposition (cf 16.30, 16.35) is also sometimes possible:

Early in the present century, it was discovered how to isolate radioactive elements.

The verbs marked '3' in the list in 16.35 above provide a sample of verbs occurring with the wh-infinitive clause as object.

Note Many verbs which introduce wh-infinitive clauses rarely if ever introduce yes-no interrogative clauses (introduced by whether) of the same type: I have forgotten how to swim but not I have forgotten whether to swim. Among such verbs are demonstrate, discover, and explain. Nevertheless in unusual contexts such sentences can be found:

I have forgotten whether to unfreeze this food before cooking it.

[16.38] Subjectless infinitive clause as direct object

16.38 When a subjectless infinitive clause is direct object, the 'understood' subject of the infinitive clause is always the same as the subject of the superordinate clause. Verbs taking this kind of complementation are listed below, subdivided into semantic categories:

(i) dread [B7, B8] (iv) choose [B7] (vi) ask [B7] (vii) affect [B7]

hate [B7, B8] hope beg claim
loathe [B7, B8] mean [B7, B8] demand offer [B7]


commence [B7] undertake vow [B7]
continue [B7] learn manage


regret [B7]
The symbols to the right of some verbs indicate that these verbs also occur with the subjectless -ing clause (Type [B7]) or with the infinitive clause with a subject (Type [B8]). From the latter group, however, verbs such as ask are excluded, because the construction of sentences like He asked me to help is ditransitive (cf 16.63) rather than monotransitive.

We now add a list of prepositional verbs belonging to the same pattern [B6pr]. The preposition is omitted before the infinitive clause object excluded, because the construction of sentences like The children come to eat lunch. is obvious, as is clear from the possibility of fronting the infinitive clause:

You have to pay to go in.
- (In order) to go in, you have to pay.
He waited to see her.
- (In order) to see her, he waited.

Similarly, unlike begin + infinitive, the infinitive following stop is purposive; contrast:
She [S] began [V] to eat lunch [O].
BUT: She [S] stopped [V] to eat lunch [A].

The to-infinite here, however, has a resultative meaning which makes the construction resemble on the one hand that of a catenative verb, and on the other hand that of an intransitive verb followed by an adjunct. With pay and (to a lesser extent) want, the adjunct status is more obvious, as is clear from the possibility of fronting the infinitive clause:

You have to pay to go in.
- (In order) to go in, you have to pay.

He waited to see her.
- (In order) to see her, he waited.

The meaning of this sentence is equivalent to that of He recommended introducing a wealth tax. It is clear that the person recommending the tax is likely to be different from the person(s) who would be responsible for introducing it. The meaning of this sentence is equivalent to that of He recommended introducing a wealth tax.

In the following list of verbs in the pattern of [B7], Types (i) and (ii) correspond to Type [B6(i)] ('emotive') and Type [B6(ii)] ('aspectual'). The verbs grouped under (iii) are however in this case a miscellany, since further semantic grouping is difficult.

16.39 Again, with this type of complementation, the subject of the nonfinite verb is usually identical with the subject of the preceding verb:

I love listening to music.
The accused denied having met the witness.
('The accused denied that he/she had met the witness')

This rule accounts for the restriction that when the participle is followed by a reflexive pronoun, the pronoun normally has to agree (in number, person, and gender) with the subject of the superordinate clause:

She enjoys singing to herself.
He enjoys singing to himself.

But with one small group of verbs (marked '2' in the list below) it is not the understood subject of the participle, but its understood object that is identified with the subject of the superordinate clause. In such cases, therefore, the participle construction matches in meaning the passive of the corresponding infinitive construction [B6]:

Your shoes need mending.
That door needs painting.

(The above use of need is often replaced, in dialectally restricted usage, by an equivalent use of want.)

For an additional group of verbs (marked '3' in the list below), the subject of the participle is indefinite, and is independent of the subject of the preceding verb. For example, in He recommended introducing a wealth tax, it is clear that the person recommending the tax is likely to be different from the person(s) who would be responsible for introducing it. The meaning of this sentence is equivalent to that of He recommended the introduction of a wealth tax.

He recommended the introduction of a wealth tax.

In the following list of verbs in the pattern of [B7], Types (i) and (ii) correspond to Type [B6(i)] ('emotive') and Type [B6(ii)] ('aspectual'). The verbs grouped under (iii) are however in this case a miscellany, since further semantic grouping is difficult.
Types of verb complementation

This paraphrase relation, however, exists mainly with verbs of dynamic meaning: contrast verbs of stative meaning:

I admit knowing him.
≠ I admit having known him.

5: On the construction with try, cf 16.40.

Examples of prepositional verbs belonging to this class ([B7pr]) are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bank on</th>
<th>Decide on</th>
<th>Play at</th>
<th>See about</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Count on</td>
<td>Delight in</td>
<td>Resort to</td>
<td>Shrink from</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of the phrasal verbs ([B7ph]) are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Break off</th>
<th>Give up</th>
<th>Leave off</th>
<th>Put off</th>
<th>Take up</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Examples of ([B7ph-pr]) are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do away with</th>
<th>Get around to</th>
<th>Go in for</th>
<th>Look forward to</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The following sentences illustrate these patterns:

We counted on getting there early.  [B7pr]
I've taken up playing tennis.  [B7ph]
Jim is looking forward to having the house to himself.  [B7ph-pr]

It is important to notice that the to in get around to, look forward to, and resort to is not an inflective marker, but a preposition. Hence I am looking forward to seeing you is grammatical, but not I am looking forward to see you.

Note

[a] The superscript '1' in the above lists is not added to verbs like stop, although a noun phrase can be inserted between the participle and the preceding verb in such cases:

They stopped (her) working all night.

This is because the construction containing the extra noun phrase (her in the above example) is arguably complex transitive (cf 16.53) rather than monotransitive (as is evident from the marginally acceptable *She was stopped working all night*).

[b] Also we exclude from the above lists catenative verbs such as go as in We went running and get in Get moving (cf 3.49).

Choice between the infinitive and participle constructions ([B6] and [B7])

Where both constructions [B6] and [B7] are admitted, there is usually felt to be a difference of aspect or mood which influences the choice. As a rule, the infinitive gives a sense of mere 'potentiality' for action, as in *She hoped to learn French*, while the participle gives a sense of the actual 'performance' of the action itself, as in *She enjoyed learning French*. In the case of try, the double meaning is particularly clear:

Sheila tried to bribe the jailor.  [1]
Bribing the jailor.  [2]

[1] implies that Sheila attempted an act of bribery, but did not manage it; [2] implies that she actually did bribe the jailor, but without (necessarily) achieving what she wanted. With other verbs, the difference is more subtle, and may be overruled or neutralized by the meaning of the verb of the main clause. For example, the negative meaning of avoid and escape cancels out the sense of 'performance' in He escaped/avoided being branded as a traitor.

The verbs of Type (i) preceded by a negative (such as can't bear) have a built-in negative bias, so that they cannot occur in straightforward assertive contexts:

Cora doesn't mind waiting.

They can, however, occur in nonassertive contexts:

Do you mind waiting?
How can anyone bear wearing clothes like that?

and also in 'second instance' contexts, i.e. where the construction refers back to a nonassertive occurrence of the same construction earlier in the discourse:

A: I can't stand [don't fancy] working with that girl.
B: Well, I'm afraid you'll have to [stand it]. fancy working with her.

Superscripts in the above lists are interpreted as follows:

1: The verb also occurs in pattern [B9], i.e. with a subject preceding the participle (cf 16.42).
2: The participle has a 'passive' interpretation (see above).
3: The participle has 'independent' interpretation; i.e. the subject of the participle clause is not necessarily coreferential with the subject of the preceding verb, and may have indefinite meaning.
4: The participle may occur with a perfective construction:

I admit having seen it.  [1]
But with such verbs, the nonperfective construction can also be used with past meaning. Thus [1] is synonymous with [2]:

I admit seeing it.  [2]
Let us consider more carefully three classes of verb which take both constructions:

(i) EMOTIVE VERBS (see Type (i) in the lists in 16.38 and 16.39). With the verbs which take both constructions (dread, hate, like, loathe, love, and prefer) the bias of the infinitive towards 'potentiality' tends to favour its use in hypothetical and nonfactual contexts, eg:

Would you like to see my stamp collection?
I hate to seem rude, but you're blocking the view.

On the other hand, the participial construction is favoured where the speaker is referring to something which definitely happens or has happened:

Brian loathed to live in the country.

(But with would loathe, the infinitive is just as acceptable as the -ing participle.)

Here to live implies that Brian could exercise choice about where to live, whereas living presupposes that he actually did live in the country, and probably had no choice in the matter. But in other contexts there is little appreciable difference between the two constructions:

Do you prefer to cook for yourself, or to eat in a restaurant?

(ii) ASPECTUAL VERBS of beginning, continuing, and ending also in many cases take both constructions:

Lucy started/continued/ceased to write while in hospital.

In such examples as this, there is no observable difference of meaning between the constructions. But in other cases, a contrast between 'potentiality' and 'performance' may influence the choice:

He started to speak, but stopped because she objected.

The association of the -ing participle with the progressive aspect may also influence a preference for the participle where multiple activities are involved:

He began to open all the cupboards.

Here opening is more appropriate than to open. While some verbs in this group (begin, continue, cease, start), allow both constructions, others (finish, stop) allow only the participle construction. (Go on and keep(on) may be classified as catenative verbs (cf 3.49); on finish/stop followed by the infinitive, cf 16.38 Note [b].)

(iii) RETROSPECTIVE VERBS. For three verbs forget, remember, and regret, the 'potentiality/ performance' distinction becomes extended into the past so that there is a temporal (as well as in part modal) difference between the two constructions. The infinitive construction indicates that the action or event takes place after (and as a result of) the mental process denoted by the verb has begun, while the reverse is true for the participle construction, which refers to a preceding event or occasion coming to mind at the time indicated by the main verb:

I remembered to fill out the form. ['I remembered that I was to fill out the form and then did so']
I remembered filling out the form. ['I remembered that I had filled out the form']
I forgot to go to the bank. ['I forgot that I was to go to the bank, and therefore did not do so']
I forgot (about) going to the bank. [rare without about; 'I forgot that I went to the bank' or '... that I should have gone ... ']
I regret to tell you that John stole it. ['I regret that I am about to tell you that John stole it']
I regret telling you that John stole it. ['I regret that I told you that John stole it' or '... that I am now telling you ... ']

[B8] Complementation by to-infinitive clause (with subject)

16.41 The verbs in this group (as distinct from the apparently similar 'object + infinitive' construction; cf 16.50) are restricted to a small number chiefly denoting (not) liking or wanting: (can't) bear, desire, hate, like, love, prefer, want, and wish:

They don't like the house to be left empty.
I wouldn't want you to lose your way.

After these verbs, the noun phrase preceding the infinitive cannot be made the subject of a passive main clause: *The house isn't liked to be left empty (by them).*

There is moreover an alternative construction (chiefly restricted to AmE) in which the noun phrase is preceded by for which marks it as the subject of an infinitive clause, rather than as object of the main clause:

Jack prefers for his wife to drive the truck. *<esp AmE>*

These two observations point in the direction of a monotransitive analysis of such verbs.

In the following, however, for has a different status and must occur in both AmE and BrE:

They arranged for Mary to come at once.

In this case the construction is that of a prepositional verb arrange for ([B8pr]), the infinitive clause acting as prepositional object. Other examples
Verbs which accept this pattern comprise a considerable subset of those verbs which are followed by a direct object. Compare: *Have you arranged the meeting?* *Have they arranged for the food to be served indoors?* *Have you arranged for the food to be served indoors? (cf 16.56f)*

Thus the *from* is optional.

In the very few cases where we have a choice between an *-ing* participle and a *to*-infinitive construction there is usually felt to be a difference of aspect or mood such as that described in 16.40:

I hate the children to quarrel [.. they're ordinarily such good friends].

I hate the children quarrelling [.. all the time].

[1] focuses on the children's 'potential' for quarrelling; [2] emphasizes their 'performance' - the point being that they did quarrel, rather often in fact. An aspectual difference is uppermost in:

I hate the clock *chiming* (.. all night long).

The infinitive suggests a single chime, while the participle suggests continual chiming (cf 4.35, 4.67f).

Note Verbs of the 'observational' type, eg: notice in *I noticed him writing a letter*, do not belong in this group, and are dealt with in 16.53. For such verbs, the genitive is not a possible alternative: *I noticed his writing a letter*.

### Complex transitive complementation

16.43 In 2.16 we applied the term complex transitive to verbs in the patterns *SVO*C and *SVO*A. In this chapter we extend the term to other clause patterns in which an object is followed by another element which is not an object (eg a nonfinite clause). A distinguishing characteristic of complex transitive complementation is that the two elements following the verb (eg object and object complement) are notionally equated with the subject and predication respectively of a nominal clause. For example:

**MONOTRANSITIVE:**

She presumed *her father was dead.* [1]

**COMPLEX TRANSITIVE:**

*She presumed* her father *to be dead.* [2]

*She presumed* her father *dead.* [3]

In [3], her father (O) and *dead* (C) are equivalent in meaning to a separate clause, viz the *that*-clause in [1]. This relationship remains where the object complement is expanded into an infinitive clause, as in [2]. Yet *her father to be dead*, in spite of its clause-like meaning and appearance, does not act syntactically as a single constituent, as is evident in the passive, where the O is separated from its complement:

*Her father was presumed* (by her) *to be dead.*

This divisibility into two elements of a semantically clausal construction following the verb is the defining property of complex transitive complementation.

We begin with three already familiar patterns of complex transitive complementation: those corresponding to [A1–A3] (cf 16.21–4).

Note On the similarities between complex transitive and ditransitive complementation, see 16.66ff.
16.44 Adjective phrase as object complement
The SVOC pattern (cf. 2.16) in which the object complement is an adjective phrase is found with verbs which, like copular verbs, may be divided into current and resulting types:

You should keep the cabbage fresh.  
That music drives me mad.

The verb keep in [1] introduces the current attribute fresh, while the verb drive in [2] introduces the resulting attribute mad. These two verbs therefore exemplify the two main categories of complex transitive complementation in this pattern. The current verbs (cf. 16.21ff) are usually stative, and the resulting verbs are always dynamic. Further examples of each type are:

**CURRENT**  
(i) hold [C2]  
keep [C2]  
leave [C2]  
(ii) believe [B3, C2]  
consider [B3, C2]  
deem [B3, C2]  
find [B3, C2]  
hold [B3, C4]  
imagine [B3, C2]  
judge [B3, C2]  
prefer [B3]  
wish [B3, C2]  
(iv) prefer [B3]  
want [B3, C2]  

**RESULTING**  
(v) drive [C4]  
get [C4]  
make [C2, C4]  
prove [B3, C2, C4]  
render [C4]  
turn [B3, C2, C4]  
certify [B3, C2, C4]  
declare [B3, C2, C4]  
proclaim [B3, C2, C4]  

Type (i) is a category of current verbs of general meaning; Type (ii) consists of factual speech act verbs (cf. 16.31); Type (iii) of volitional verbs; Type (iv) of verbs of intellectual state; Type (v) of general resulting verbs; and Type (vi) of resulting verbs referring to speech acts which have the performative force of declarations. (Hold occurs twice in the above list: as a general verb [Type (i), as in She held her head high]; and as an intellectual state verb [Type (iv), as in I hold you responsible].) The symbols added after some verbs indicate other related complementation types to which those verbs belong:

[16.45] In addition to the verbs listed in 16.44 above, there are many verbs which belong more peripherally to Type [C1]. Their membership is more peripheral in one or both of the following respects: (a) They occur only in restricted sequences such as rub...dry (cf. 16.17); (b) They can occur in the [B1] monotransitive construction without appreciable change of meaning; ie, the object complement is optional, and resembles an optional adverbial. In the following typical collocations, the object noun phrase is symbolized by N:

[B3] The verb can also be used monotransitively (cf. Note [a]) with a that-clause.
[C2] The verb can also occur with a noun phrase as object complement.
[C4] The verb can also occur with an object + infinitive construction.

Examples:

The secretary left all the letters unopened.  
(i)  
The doctors pronounced her condition utterly hopeless.  
(ii)  
I want my coffee stronger than this.  
(iii)  
We've always found the assistants very friendly.  
(iv)  
The long walk made us all hungry.  
(v)  
They have declared the house unfit for habitation.  
(vi)

Note that the adjectival complement may contain modifiers and adjectival complementation (cf. 16.68–83). A passive construction in which the direct object becomes subject is also an important criterion:

All the letters were left unopened (by the secretary).  
(i)  
Her condition was pronounced utterly hopeless (by the doctors).  
(ii)  

Note:  
[a] There is sometimes a meaning difference between the object complement construction and the corresponding that-clause [B3] or object + infinitive [C4] construction:

1. I imagined myself severely ill.  
2. I imagined myself to be severely ill.  
3. I imagined myself to be severely ill.  
4. Sentence [3] suggests that the speaker is indulging in a flight of fancy; sentence [4] suggests that the speaker is deluding himself (eg that he is a hypochondriac). A difference is also to be observed between [5] and [6]:

They got him angry  
[5]  
They got him to be angry.  
[6]  
where [5] suggests 'made him angry in spite of himself', and [6] suggests 'persuaded him to be angry'. (Yet a third meaning is represented by Don't get me wrong! 'Don't misunderstand me'.)

Two further contrasts are:

We found the children undernourished. ['We encountered them in that condition'].  
[7]  
We found the children to be undernourished.  
[8]  
[Our examination revealed their condition]

and:

He declared the meeting official.  
[9]  
He declared the meeting to be official.  
[10]  
where [9] has a performative and resultative force (The meeting became official as a result of his announcement) not regularly present in [10].

[b] Here in sentences such as We have two employees sick is not a member of the [C1] category, but belongs to a special have-existential construction to be discussed, with existential sentences in general, in 18.51. Since it has no passive, this clause construction lacks one criterial feature of complex transitive constructions: *Two employees are had sick.

c] There is a variant order in which the object complement precedes the object, eg: He thought desirable most of the women in the room (cf. 16.37). This order tends to occur when the object is a long noun phrase.
Note [a] Some collocations require the object to be a reflexive pronoun: I laughed myself sick; They roared themselves hoarse. Here the object complement cannot be omitted: *I laughed myself.

[b] The resultative pattern illustrated in this section is quite productive, and occurs with rare or newly-converted verbs such as selfloafe and scotch-lope: selfloape N flat (BrE); scotch-lope N flat (AmE). Similarly, I’ve deepfrozen the bread solid.

[C2] Noun phrase as object complement

6.46 Most of the verbs listed in 16.44 can occur also with a noun phrase complement. In addition, there are a few verbs which occur with a noun phrase, but not with an adjective phrase, as complement, eg: appoint. These verbs, marked ‘1’ in the list below, can also occur with the object + infinitive construction:

The queen appointed William Cecil (to be) her personal secretary.

The list is subdivided into categories corresponding to those in 16.44:

CURRENT
bring (a child) up healthy
buy N cheap
return (a letter) unopened
serve (food) hot/cold
sell N cheap/new

RESULTING
boil (an egg) soft
crop (hair) short
freeze N hard
draw N red/blue
roll N flat
sweep (the floor) clean
colour N blue/yellow

dye N pink/green

knock (someone) senseless
polish N smooth

scrape N clean
swing (a door) open

For those combinations marked ‘1’, the object complement could be easily omitted without a change in the basic sense of the verb.

Among resulting attributes, the adjectives open, loose, free, and clean are particularly common: push N open, shake N loose, set N free, wipe N clean.

The collocations make sure and make certain are peculiar in that the object is a that-clause and always follows the adjectival complement:

Please make sure/certain that you enclose your birth certificate.

There is no passive *be made sure/certain . . . With other collocations, the that-clause object is postponed by extraposition (cf 18.35):

He found it strange that no one else had arrived.

I think it very odd that she left without saying goodbye.

The emperor pronounced it illegal for landlords to enfranchise their tenants.

Extraposition is optional with make N clear, and therefore the preparatory it may be omitted: She made (it) clear that we were regarded as trespassers.

Types of verb complementation

(i) hold
keep
leave

(ii) call
confess
profess
pronounce

(iii) wish

(iv) believe
consider
deem
esteem
find
imagine
judge

(v) appoint
choose
decide
elect
make
prove
vote

(vi) baptize

The superscript ‘2’ indicates that the as-construction (cf 16.47) is also possible. The superscript ‘3’ indicates that the verb is also monotransitive, and that the verb retains the same meaning when the object complement is omitted. Hence She appointed him secretary implies that she appointed him. Examples of each sub-type follow. With profess and wish, which are used to illustrate sub-types (ii) and (iii) respectively, a reflexive pronoun as object is normal.

She held her niece (a) captive for several years.

The prince professed himself a supporter of free speech.

I have often wished myself a millionaire.

Charles does not esteem him a trustworthy adviser.

The committee has elected you its chairman.

Her parents named her Sophia after her grandmother.

Some verbs in this pattern are unlikely to occur in the active; eg: think, believe, esteem. The following are examples of the passive construction:

Her niece was held (a) captive for several years.

She was named Sophia after her grandmother.

As with Type [C1], the object may be a clause postponed by extraposition:

We have made it a condition that the new agreement be signed by all the original signatories.

He has proved it a fallacy that old age brings wisdom.

Note [a] The zero article occurs optionally with captive and prisoner as object complements, as in (i) above: She held her niece (a) captive. Hold . . . captive/prisoner and keep . . . captive/prisoner are unusual in that the omitted article is indefinite rather than definite. Examples of the zero article with definite meaning are:

Edgar was judged overall winner.

They appointed Sue captain of the athletics team.

[b] The object + infinitive construction with to be, as with Type [C1], is not always equivalent to the pattern with a phrasal object complement. For example, name can be used with to be only if the following noun phrase designates a future role or status:

Her parents named her (to be) Gladys.

The selectors named her (to be) a member of the touring team.

As can be used with name only on the same condition as applies to to be: *Her parents named her as Gladys (cf 16.47 below).

[e] The copular relation can obtain not only between the object and compliment as in [1], but also between subject and complement as in [2]:

Her niece (a) captive for several years.
The preposition function of prepositional object complement:

Most verbs in \[elpr\] and \[e2pr\] can also introduce an adjective phrase in the same way as:

for verbs in column

complement rather than a prepositional object.

In the following list, for verbs in column

of prepositional verb: one that is followed by a prepositional object:

\begin{align*}
\text{He struck me as a brilliant strategist.}
\end{align*}

where a brilliant strategist is subject complement.

16.47 Object complement following prepositional verb

The preposition designates a copular relation, particularly in specifying a role or status associated with the direct object: The church condemned the relic as a fraud. Following a complex transitive verb and a direct object, the prepositional complement of as functions semantically as an attribute, and may be termed a 'prepositional object complement' in the same way as the noun phrase following a transitive prepositional verb is called a prepositional object:

\begin{align*}
\text{We considered him a genius.} & \quad \text{[C2]} \\
\text{as a genius.} & \quad \text{[C2pr]} \\
\text{to be a genius.} & \quad \text{[C4]}
\end{align*}

\[\sim \text{He was considered } (\text{as}) \text{ a genius.} \quad \text{[C2pr]} \]

Consider as, like regard as, class as, etc, therefore exemplifies yet another type of prepositional verb: one that is followed by a prepositional object complement rather than a prepositional object.

Occasionally the preposition for occurs in this copular function, instead of as:

\begin{align*}
\text{He took these words as evidence.} & \quad \text{He took me for a fool.}
\end{align*}

In the following list, for verbs in column (i) the preposition is optional, where for verbs in column (ii) the preposition is obligatory:

\begin{itemize}
\item \text{(i) appoint (as)\textsuperscript{1}}
\item \text{choose (as)}
\item \text{consider (as)}
\item \text{count (as)}
\item \text{deem (as)}
\item \text{esteem (as)\textsuperscript{1}}
\item \text{rate (as)}
\item \text{reckon (as)}
\item \text{report (as)}
\item \text{elect (as)\textsuperscript{1}}
\item \text{certify (as)}
\item \text{crown (as)\textsuperscript{1}}
\item \text{make (into)\textsuperscript{1}}
\item \text{proclaim (as)}
\end{itemize}

\[\text{Most verbs in [Clpr] and [C2pr] can also introduce an adjective phrase in the function of prepositional object complement:}\]

\begin{itemize}
\item \text{The experts rated his paintings (as) poor but representative of their class.}
\item \text{They classed Jane as partially sighted.}
\item \text{The media described the situation as hopeless.} \[\sim \text{The situation was described as hopeless.}\]
\end{itemize}

Verbs not allowing this construction are marked '1' in the above lists. The construction is exceptional in allowing an adjective phrase to occur after a preposition. A more orthodox construction is obtained by adding the word being before the adjective phrase, and thereby converting the prepositional complement into a nominal -ing clause:

\begin{itemize}
\item \text{The media described the situation as being hopeless.}
\end{itemize}

\[\text{Note [a] Count as and rate as can also occur in an analogous as-construction without the object, as 'prepositional' copular verbs, e.g. 'This counts/ rates as a notable success' (cf 16.22 Note [b]):} \]

\[\text{[b] Although as is classed as a preposition in the above pattern, it in some ways resembles the conjunction as which introduces clauses of comparison (cf 15.71). Consider the following curious examples, in which as introduces on the one hand a clause and on the other hand a noun phrase in an appositional relation to the clause:} \]

\begin{itemize}
\item \text{Report me as I am – a superannuated don.}
\item \text{He described her as he found her, a liar.}
\end{itemize}

16.48 Complementation by object and adjunct

Our next category, Type [C3], consists of verbs which occur in the \textit{SVOA} pattern (cf 2.16), ie verbs which have as their complementation an object followed by a predicative adjunct. The most characteristic adjuncts to occur in this pattern are prepositional phrases of space, and more particularly of direction; eg:

\begin{itemize}
\item \text{I slipped the key into the lock.} \[\text{[1]}\]
\item \text{He stood my argument on its head.} \[\text{[2]}\]
\item \text{Take your hands out of your pockets.} \[\text{[3]}\]
\end{itemize}

\[\text{The passive is illustrated by:} \]

\begin{itemize}
\item \text{The key was slipped into the lock.} \[\text{[1a]}\]
\end{itemize}

\[\text{Sentence [2] exemplifies the abstract or metaphorical use of such verbs and adjuncts. Many of the verbs which fit into this pattern are causative verbs of motion: put, get, stand, set, sit, lay, place, send, bring, take, lead, drive, etc.} \]

\[\text{The class is open-ended, since verbs normally without causative meaning can be adapted to this function; eg: show, see, elbow, etc in:} \]

\begin{itemize}
\item \text{The attendant showed us to our seats. ['conducted us ...']} \[\text{[4]}\]
\item \text{May I see you home? ['escort you ...']} \[\text{[5]}\]
\item \text{He elbowed and bribed his way to fame.} \[\text{[6]}\]
\item \text{They talked me into it. ['persuaded me ...']} \[\text{[7]}\]
\end{itemize}

\[\text{Other verbs are associated with space position adjuncts rather than direction adjuncts:} \]

\begin{itemize}
\item \text{They left the papers at my office.}
\item \text{Always keep your eyes on the road when driving.}
\end{itemize}
The attackers caught us off our guard. He wished them at the bottom of the sea.

Again, the spatial meaning of the adjunct may be understood in some abstract or metaphorical sense, as in the third example above. Adjuncts of other semantic types are less common, but instances are the adjunct of manner following treat:

```
badly.
Her parents treated her as if she were a baby. 
as if she were a small child.
```

and the optional adjunct of duration following last:

```
This money will have to last you ((for) six months).
```

Note [a] Treat has a different meaning when the adjunct is omitted:

```
Her parents treated her. (= 'did something pleasant for her')
```

[b] Superficially similar to the above pattern is that illustrated by remind and furnish followed by an object and a prepositional phrase:

```
She reminds me of my sister. 
They furnished all the passengers with life jackets.
```

These however are classed as transitive prepositional verbs (cf 16.7–8), and will be dealt with in 16.50f below. The difference between these prepositional verbs and verbs of complementation Type [C3] is that in the former case the lexical verb governs a particular preposition, remind ... of, furnish ... with. (Alternative prepositional constructions are sometimes available, however: provide ... with, provide ... for.)

Variants of complex transitive complementation

6.49 We now examine variants of complex transitive complementation in which the direct object is followed by a nonfinite clause acting as predication adjunct. All four kinds of nonfinite construction (cf 14.6–8) are possible:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[C4] to-infinitive:</th>
<th>[C6] -ing participle:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They knew him to be a spy.</td>
<td>I caught Ann reading my diary.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[C5] bare infinitive:</th>
<th>[C7] -ed participle:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I heard someone slam the door.</td>
<td>We saw him beaten by the World Heavyweight Champion.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nonfinite clause in these patterns (in italics in the above table) has no subject itself, but its implied subject is always the preceding noun phrase, which is object of the superordinate clause. This noun phrase, which if a personal pronoun is in the objective case, is commonly termed a RAISED OBJECT (cf further 16.64ff): semantically, it has the role of subject of the nonfinite verb; but syntactically it is 'raised' from the nonfinite clause to function as object of the superordinate verb. Hence in general, this noun phrase (in italics in the table below) can become subject of the corresponding passive. (The passive of [C5] normally requires substitution of a to-infinitive for a bare infinitive; the passive of [C7] is of marginal currency; cf 15.64 Note [a].)

| [C4] He was known to be a spy. | [C6] Ann was caught reading my diary. |
| [C5] Someone was heard to slam the door. | [C7] He was seen executed by a firing squad. |

On the face of it, the patterns [C4] and [C6] are indistinguishable from the montransitive patterns [B8] (eg: She hates the train to be late) and [B9] (eg: She hates the train being late), in which the nonfinite clause has a subject of its own. The ability of the noun phrase preceding the nonfinite verb to become subject of a passive is, however, an important distinction between them (see further 16.51 and 16.53).

Note These patterns [C4] and [C6] are distinguished from corresponding patterns in which the nonfinite clause is an adverbial by the fact that the implied subject of the nonfinite verb is O rather than S. Note the ambiguity of:

```
She left him to finish the job. 
She left him holding the baby.
```

16.50 The verbs in this group are rather numerous, and may be subdivided, semantically, into the following categories:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(i) announce</th>
<th>(iii) intend</th>
<th>(vii) assist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>declare</td>
<td>mean</td>
<td>bother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proclaim</td>
<td>elect</td>
<td>bribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronounce</td>
<td>name</td>
<td>condemn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>report</td>
<td>vote</td>
<td>due</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>repulse [esp P]</td>
<td>cause</td>
<td>defy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rumour [P only]</td>
<td>drive</td>
<td>encourage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>say [P only]</td>
<td>force</td>
<td>help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tip [esp BrE]</td>
<td>induce</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v) cause</td>
<td>inspire</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vi) allow</td>
<td>press</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feel</td>
<td>summon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>find</td>
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<td>imagine</td>
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<td>know</td>
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<td>know</td>
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<tr>
<td>pressure</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reckon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see [P only]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suppose</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>think [esp P]</td>
<td>understand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[P = Passive]
Types (i) and (ii) correspond to the factual verbs of category [B3] discussed in 16.31: the nonfinite construction following these verbs can often be replaced by a that-clause with an indicative verb. Compare:

(i) The police reported that the traffic was heavy.  
[B3]

(ii) The police reported the traffic to be heavy.  
(formal)  
[C4]

(iii) John believed that the stranger was a policeman.  
[B3]

(iv) John believed the stranger to be a policeman.  
(formal)  
[C4]

With factual verbs such as these, the nonfinite clause normally contains the verb be or some other verb of stative meaning. Especially when the nonfinite main verb is other than be, the finite clause (of pattern [B3]) is preferred to the infinitive one, except that the infinitive construction provides a convenient passive form:

- The traffic was reported to be heavy.
  
- The stranger was believed to be a policeman.

Some verbs in this construction have no that-clause equivalent:

- They tipped him to be the next president.  
(esp BrE)

  ~ He was tipped to be the next president.

  (*They tipped that he would be the next president.)

Some verbs (marked [P only] in the list above) occur only in the passive version of this construction:

- The field marshal was said to be planning a new strategy.
  
  (*Someone said the field marshal to be planning a new strategy.)

Other verbs (marked [esp P]) occur chiefly in the passive:

- The Broadway production was thought to have made Max's fortune.
  
  (*Newsmen thought the Broadway production to have made Max's fortune.)

Of the two classes of factual verbs, Type (i) consists of public verbs (cf 16.31) referring to a speech act, and Type (ii) consists of private verbs expressing belief, etc.

---

16.52

This pattern occurs with a relatively small number of verbs:

(i) have

(ii) feel

(iii) help

(iii) make

(iv) know

(v) lead

(vi) let

(vii) notice

(vIII) observe

(i) You shouldn't let your family interfere with our plans.

We must make the public take notice of us.

(~ The public must be made to take notice of us.)

(ii) Did you notice anyone leave the house?

The crowd saw Gray score two magnificent goals.

(~ Gray was seen to score two magnificent goals.)

(iii) Sarah helped us (to) edit the script.

I have known John (to) give better speeches than that.

(~ John has been known to give better speeches than that.)

Know followed by the bare infinitive is confined mainly to BrE, and to the perfective aspect: have known. Let in group (i) is in other constructions classified as similar to an auxiliary (cf 3.51). Let has an apparent passive in combination with such verbs as let go and let fall, but these are best regarded as fixed expressions, in which let has an auxiliary or particle-like function:

- They let the prisoner go home.
  
  (~ The prisoner was let go home.)

---

16.51

Of the remaining semantic types, Type (iii) consists of verbs of intention (on intend itself cf 16.41 Note [b]); Types (iv) and (v) consist of causative verbs, where the infinitive clause identifies the resultant state (Type (iv) verbs also belong to class [C1]); Type (vi) consists of verbs with a modal character, expressing such concepts as enablement, permission, and compulsion; and Type (vii) consists of a variety of verbs of 'influencing' between which a common factor appears to be that the nonfinite clause has a purposive meaning. Examples are:

(iii) They intended Mary to sing an aria.

  (~ Mary was intended to sing an aria.)

(iv) The meeting elected Mr Martin to be the next treasurer.

  (~ Mr Martin was elected to be the next treasurer.)
The verbs in category [C6] consist of verbs of perception (Type (i)), verbs of encounter (Type (ii)), and two verbs of coercive meaning (Type (iii)):

(i) feel [C5]
(ii) catch [C5]
(iii) have [C5]

Perception verbs marked [C5] occur also with the bare infinitive pattern [C5]. With such verbs there is an aspect difference between [C5] and [C6], as described in 4.61f:

Tim watched Bill mend/mending the lamp.

The bare infinitive, having nonprogressive meaning, implies that Bill did the whole job while Tim was watching; the -ing clause, with progressive meaning, has no such implication.

This complementation pattern differs from that of [B9], not only in its progressive aspect, but also in that the noun phrase following the superordinate verb cannot take the genitive (or possessive) form (cf 16.42):

I saw him lying on the beach ~ *I saw his lying on the beach.

Another difference from pattern [B9] is that the -ing predication can normally be omitted without radically altering the meaning:

I saw him lying on the beach. [entails: I saw him]

Contrast:

I hate my friends leaving early. [does not entail: I hate my friends]

Note: Feel occurs especially with a reflexive pronoun object: She felt herself falling in love.

[16.54] Object + -ed participle complementation

We can distinguish three small groups of verbs complemented by a raised object followed by an -ed participle clause:

(i) CAUSATIVE verbs: get, have

They got/had the watch repaired immediately.

(ii) VOLITIONAL verbs: want, need, like

I want/need this watch repaired immediately.

(iii) PERCEPTUAL verbs: see, hear, feel (oneself), watch

Someone must have seen/heard the car stolen.

A fourth group is peripheral to this construction:

(iv) Verbs for which the -ed participle describes a resulting state: find, discover, leave

They found/discovered/let him worn out by travel and exertion.

In this construction, as in that of [C6], have can have either an agentive causative meaning, or a stative meaning. Hence The guard patrol had two men shot is ambiguous, meaning either ‘The patrol caused two men to be shot’, or ‘The patrol suffered the los s of two men by shooting’. The latter meaning is that of the have-existential construction (cf 18.51ff). In general, this complementation type is semantically equivalent to one with an infinitive form of the verb be. Thus in Type (ii), I would like my room cleaned is synonymous with I would like my room to be cleaned; in Type (iii), He saw the team beaten is synonymous with He saw the team be beaten.

Note: There is no passive for most verbs in pattern [C7], and as best the passive is dubious: The car must have been seen stolen. The acceptability of the passive with Type (iv) is exceptional:
The indirect object is normally animate, and is the recipient or beneficiary of the process described by the verb (cf. 10.19). Unlike ditransitive verbs of category [D1] (eg: give), ditransitive verbs with prepositional objects normally have only one passive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Passive 1</th>
<th>Passive 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tell</td>
<td>[D1 + 2a + 2b]</td>
<td>Mary told only John the secret.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[D2a] Mary told the secret only to John.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[D2b] Mary told only John about the secret.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>offer</td>
<td>[D1 + 2a]</td>
<td>John offered Mary some help.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[D2a] John offered some help to Mary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>envy</td>
<td>[D1 + 2b]</td>
<td>She envied John his success.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[D2a] She envied John for his success.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blame</td>
<td>[D2a + 2b]</td>
<td>Helen blamed the divorce on John.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[D2a] Helen blamed John for the divorce.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>say</td>
<td>[D2a]</td>
<td>Why didn't anybody say this to me?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warn</td>
<td>[D2b]</td>
<td>Mary warned John of the dangers.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The different constructional possibilities of certain verbs provide a means of achieving different focus (cf. 18.37f). Compare the following pairs of sentences as pronounced with unmarked (end) focus:

- [D1] Mary blamed the broken vase on John.
- [D2] John was blamed by Mary.
- [D1] The government supplied blankets for the homeless.
- [D2] Blankets were supplied by the government.

Note: [a] The above constructions are presented in the most typical syntactic ordering, but postponement of the direct or indirect object may take place in contexts where end-focus or end-weight is required (cf. 18.37f); eg: John offered to Mary the help that she needed.
[b] Additional prepositional verb patterns should be briefly mentioned. There is, for example, the double-prepositional-verb pattern noted in 16.17(c).
There is a further possibility that two prepositional objects may follow a direct object:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type [D1]</th>
<th>Type [D2a]</th>
<th>Type [D2b]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>examples</td>
<td>serve (Jack)</td>
<td>serve (Jack)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>serve (scampi)</td>
<td>serve (scampi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[D1 + 2a + 2b]</td>
<td>pay</td>
<td>pay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>provide (AmE)</td>
<td>provide for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>serve</td>
<td>serve to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tell</td>
<td>tell to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[D1 + 2a] (i)</td>
<td>bring</td>
<td>bring to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>deny</td>
<td>deny to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>give</td>
<td>give to</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>grant</td>
<td>grant to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>hand to</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>leave</td>
<td>leave to</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lend</td>
<td>lend to</td>
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<td></td>
<td>offer</td>
<td>offer to</td>
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<td></td>
<td>owe</td>
<td>owe to</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>promise</td>
<td>promise to</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>read</td>
<td>read to</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>send</td>
<td>send to</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>show</td>
<td>show to</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>teach</td>
<td>teach to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>throw</td>
<td>throw to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) do</td>
<td>do for</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>find</td>
<td>find for</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>make</td>
<td>make for</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>order</td>
<td>order for</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reserve</td>
<td>reserve for</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>save</td>
<td>save for</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spare</td>
<td>spare for</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) ask</td>
<td>ask of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16.57 Verbs of complementation types [D1] and [D2]

The following list gives some of the verbs that occur in Types [D1], [D2a], [D2b], organized according to the cross-classifications of 16.56 above. We are interested here only in synonymous or nearly synonymous constructions, in which the same participant roles (cf. 10.18ff) occur. Hence many possible prepositional verbs are ignored. Pay for, for example, is ignored because it introduces a further participant (the commodity bought) not included in pay (with) and pay (to).

Table 16.57

The membership of [D2b] is numerous. Here are further examples, arranged by prepositions:

- thank for
- convince of
- rob of
- refer to
- present from
- deprive of
- respect of
- sentence to
- protect from
- inform of
- warn of
- subject to
- interest in
- persuade of
- congratulate on
- treat to
- accuse of
- relieve of
- confine to
- charge with
- convict of
- remind of
- introduce to
- compare with

Note that reflexive verbs (cf. 6.25) sometimes occur with a prepositional object; eg: We pride ourselves on the service we offer. Some of the verbs above (such as compare with) can have two inanimate objects.

In Table 16.57, we have distinguished, under [D1 + 2a], verbs taking to as their preposition from those taking for; eg:

(i) She sent Paul a present. ~ She sent a present to Paul.
(ii) She made Paul a meal. ~ She made a meal for Paul.

Occasionally, a preposition other than to and for occurs in this function:

(iii) She asked Paul a favour. ~ She asked a favour of Paul.
16.60 Corresponding to monotransitive verbs ofType [B3](cf.16.30) are ditransitive verbs for which the direct object is a *that*-clause:

John convinced me (that) he was right.

Thus the first passive (cf.16.55) above is the only passive that can occur with this pattern. With some verbs, such as convince above, it is impossible to delete the noun phrase object:

John convinced (that) he was right.

With other verbs, such as show, the indirect object is optional:

The professor of mathematics showed me that Pythagoras was mistaken.

Ditransitive verbs followed by a *that*-clause may be divided into a subtype introducing an indirect statement, and a subtype introducing an indirect directive (cf.14.33). In the indirect statement, the *that*-clause contains an indicative verb; in the indirect directive the verb may be indicative or subjunctive, and often contains putative *should* or another modal verb (cf.16.32 for the distribution of these options).

**INDIRECT STATEMENT:**

May I inform you that your order is ready for collection?

**INDIRECT DIRECTIVE:**

She petitioned the king that her father *might be* pardoned.

In the following list, Type (i) verbs introduce indirect statements, and Type (ii) verbs introduce indirect directives. The indirect directive construction is rare and formal in comparison with the similar infinitive construction (cf.16.63):

*I begged her that she* would help. *(formal)*

*I begged her to help.* *(more usual)*

For those verbs marked 'O' the indirect object is obligatory; for those marked '(O)', the indirect object is optional; for those marked '((O))' the indirect object is not only optional, but unusual:

(i) advise (O) remind (O) (ii) ask (O) beg (O) bet (O) show (O) charge (O) convince (O) teach (O) command (O) forewarn (O) tell (O) instruct (O) inform (O) wager (O) order (O) notify (O) warn (O) petition (O) persuade (O) write (O) promise (O)

The superscripts are interpreted as follows:

1: *Persuade* in the sense of 'convince' belongs to Type (i); but it may also be used in a Type (ii) sense of 'persuade someone to do something'.
2: *Write* is found with an indirect object + *that*-clause especially in AmE.
3: With verbs so marked, the indirect object can be replaced by a prepositional object (cf.16.60).

**Note** Superficially similar to the [D3] pattern is the 'impersonal' construction *it strikes* me (that)

... as in:

It strikes me this work is for his own amusement.

But here the *that*-clause (as in 16.34) is the extraposed subject of the verb. Compare: *He strikes me as*. *(cf.16.46 Note[c]) and *It occurs to me that*. *. (cf.16.34 Note[c]).

[D3pr] Prepositional object + *that*-clause object

16.60 The verbs marked '3' in the above list can be optionally followed by a preposition, thus forming a category similar to [D2a] in 16.56:

He promised (to) me that the debt would be repaid.

For most verbs of [D3] which permit a prepositional object, the preposition is to:

He wrote to me . . .

He reported to me that . . . etc

Exceptions are ask and beg, which (in somewhat formal usage) are followed by the preposition of:

I ask/beg of you that you will keep this secret. *(formal)*

There is, in addition, a group of verbs which were classified in 16.31–32 as monotransitive, but which optionally allow the preposition to preceding a prepositional object. These may be distinguished as Type [D3pr], and subdivided into sub-types (i) and (ii), as in the parallel description of [B3] verbs:
Joan mentioned (to me) that her father was sick. [Type (i)]
Dr Day recommended (to her) that the treatment be continued. [Type (ii)]

For example:

(i) acknowledge declare remark (ii) propose admit explain report recommend
announce mention say suggest
complain point out signal
confess prove state

As before, Type (i) verbs introduce indirect statements, and the less numerous Type (ii) verbs introduce indirect directives. As before, too, some exceptional verbs take a preposition other than to:

She demanded of me that . . . She agreed with me that . . . etc

Unlike the nonprepositional verbs of [D3], these prepositional verbs allow the that-clause to become subject of a corresponding passive clause, an option which is more acceptable with extraposition:

That several ministers are resigning has been admitted to our correspondent.
~ It has been admitted to our correspondent that several ministers are resigning.

It has been shown to us all that Miss Jones was innocent.

Without the preposition, ie with an ordinary indirect object, such sentences are at best marginally grammatical: ?It has been shown us all that Miss Jones was innocent.

Note: The constructions of It appears/happens/occurs/seems to me that . . . superficially appear to belong to the pattern [D3p], but in fact these contain monotransitive verbs with an extraposed that-clause as subject:
It occurred/seemed to me that he was lying.
Cf similar patterns with extraposition in 16.34, 16.59 Note.

[D4] Indirect object + finite wh-clause object

16.61 This pattern of complementation is primarily found with the verb ask, which introduces a reported question:

John asked me what time the meeting would end.
~ I was asked (by John) what time the meeting would end.

Also used with this pattern are verbs which take an indirect object followed by a that-clause (Type (i) of [D3]), but for these the wh-clause tends to be limited to nonassertive contexts (cf 16.35). Compare:

George didn’t tell them that the train was late. [1]
George didn’t tell them whether the train was late. [2]

The difference of meaning between the that- and whether-constructions can be stated in terms of presupposition. Sentence [1] typically implies that the train was late, while [2] is noncommittal on the matter. [D4] verbs can also introduce other question words such as where and how:

Jim was reluctant to inform us (of) where he got the money.
Would you remind me (about) how we start the engine?

A preposition may always be placed before the wh-clause. In the above cases, the preposition is optional, but in the case of verbs like enquire of (Type [D4p]) the preposition is obligatory: I enquired of the clerk which documents were needed. The complex preposition as to can be rather generally used for introducing the wh-clause; eg: I enquired . . . as to which documents were needed.

[D5] Indirect object + wh-infinitive clause object

16.62 This is yet another complementation pattern (comparable with [B5], 16.37) which may be taken by some verbs listed under [D3] in 16.59:

advise ask instruct remind show teach tell warn
The instructor taught us how to land safely.
~ We were taught (by the instructor) how to land safely.
They advised him what to wear in the tropics.
Please remind me where to meet you after lunch.

The equivalent prepositional verb pattern [D5p] is illustrated by suggest to, recommend to:

Could you please suggest to the visitors which museums to visit?

Here, as in the [D4] type, a prepositional phrase introduced by as to can be used:

Helen advised us (as to) how to maintain the machine.

[D6] Indirect object + to-infinitive clause object

16.63 We have seen that the [D3] pattern may be used to introduce indirect statements, and that the [D4] pattern may be used to introduce indirect questions. Now we turn to the verbs of class [D6], which introduce indirect directives (cf 14.33):

I told/advised/persuaded Mark to see a doctor.
~ Mark was told/advised/persuaded to see a doctor.

This complementation category looks like those of [B8] and [C5], in that the verb is followed by a noun phrase and an infinitive construction. But the [D6] pattern differs from these in that the noun phrase following the verb is an indirect object, as will be clarified in 16.66 below. As with other verbs introducing indirect speech, the subject refers to the speaker of some speech act, and the indirect object refers to the addressee. Like [D3] verbs, [D6] verbs form only the first passive exemplified in [2] above: we do not find *To see a doctor was told Mark.

The following verbs belong to this class:

advise command entertain instruct remind teach
ask counsel exhort incite request tell
beg detail forbid order recommend urge
beseech direct implore persuade
challenge enjoin incite pray
Those verbs marked with a raised '1' do not have the equivalent construction with a that-clause containing a modal or a subjunctive verb (Types [B3(ii)], [D3(ii)]). Contrast:

They \{begged\} \{invited\} her to stay another week.

They \{begged\} \{invited\} (her) that she would stay another week.

The alternative that-clause construction, however, is more formal, especially when the indirect object is present.

### Multiple analysis and gradience in verb complementation

Before we leave verb classification, it is important to reflect on the problems of dividing verbs into complementation types. The major division of complementation patterns into copular [A], monotransitive [B], complex transitive [C], and ditransitive [D] categories (introduced in 2.16) has been extended with little difficulty to include patterns in which the verb's complementation includes finite and nonfinite clauses. This is the basis for the classification of verbs into types in 16.20–63 above. But unavoidably, our aim of presenting a clear classification has obscured some problems of gradience and multiple analysis (cf 2.60ff), and to illustrate these we return to three superficially identical structures already discussed in 16.36. These are now illustrated with three new examples, each of which conforms to the pattern \(N_1 V N_2 \rightarrow V N_3\), (where \(N = \) noun phrase, and \(V = \) verb phrase).

### Table 16.64a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(N_1)</th>
<th>(V)</th>
<th>(N_2)</th>
<th>(N_3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[B8]</td>
<td>S V</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>We</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[C4]</td>
<td>S V</td>
<td>O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>They</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[D6]</td>
<td>S V</td>
<td>O_1</td>
<td>O_2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>We</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note

[a] The verb promise, when it occurs with this kind of complementation, is exceptional in that the understood subject of the infinitive is identified with the subject rather than with the object of the main clause:

\[= \text{Sam promised me that he would get some food.}\]

\[= \text{Sam promised me that I would get some food.}\]

The present pattern [D6] is, however, less common with promise than the [B6] pattern without the indirect object: \text{Sam promised to get some food.}

[b] Only order can be followed by a passive infinitive: \text{He ordered them to be imprisoned/released.}

### Sentence [1]

Sentence [2], however, partakes of both these descriptions. From the semantic point of view, it requires the analysis of Fig 16.64b (cf: They expected \{that James would win the race\}). But from the structural point of view, the analysis in Fig 16.64c is more appropriate, reflecting \(N_2\)'s ability to become subject of the passive sentence: \text{James was expected to win the race}. We might reasonably say that in [2], \(N_2\) behaves like an object (\(O_2\) rather than \(O_1\)) in relation to the first verb, but like a subject in relation to the second, infinitive verb. The term \text{RAISED OBJECT}, applied in 16.49ff to the intermediate noun phrase of patterns [C4 – C7], incorporates yet another way of recognizing this double analysis, by envisaging a process whereby the subject of the infinitive becomes the object of the preceding finite verb. This raised object will be symbolized, in what follows, S/O.

### Sentence [3]

Given that the double analysis above provides some insight into clauses containing nonfinite complementation, we could take such an analysis further, and apply it to all complex transitive patterns, including the more straightforward \(SVOC\) and \(SVOA\) patterns of [C1 – C3]:

\[= \text{I consider John to be a good driver.}\]

\[= \text{John a good driver.}\]

The parallelism of meaning and phrasal relations demonstrated in these three sentences recommends an analysis in which the complementation of pattern [C2], \text{John a good driver}, would be regarded as a clause in its own right: \text{is as a verbless clause consisting of S = John and C_2 = a good driver, without an intervening V}. This description would not, however, displace the by now familiar \(SVOC\) analysis, but would rather be seen as an alternative way of looking at the same construction.
Gradience

The technique of multiple analysis still leaves some subtleties unexposed. What this technique has suggested is that there are the following three categories corresponding to [1–3] in 16.64:

\[
\begin{align*}
N_3 &= S : \text{We like all parents to visit the school.} \\
N_3 &= S/O: \text{They expected James to win the race.} \\
N_2 &= O : \text{We asked the students to attend a lecture.}
\end{align*}
\]

But more than three categories can be appropriately distinguished if we recognize [1] and [3] as end-points of a gradient, with [2] at some point on the scale between them. This area of grammar affords a good example of gradience.

At the monotransitive end of the scale, [1] can be characterized by a number of criteria which suggest that \( N_2 \rightarrow V \, N_3 \) (all parents to visit the school) constitutes the direct object of an SVO pattern:

(a) It can be replaced by a pronoun referring to the clause or noun phrase nominalizing it: \( \text{We like it; We like all parents' visits.} \)

(b) It can be an answer to a \textit{what}-question:

\[ A: \text{What do you like best?} \]
\[ B: \text{We like all parents to visit the school.} \]

(c) In some dialects, it can be preceded by the infinitive clause introducer \( \text{for: We like (ii) for all parents to visit the school.} \)

(d) It can easily (when preceded by \( \text{for} \)) be the focus of a pseudo-cleft sentence: \( \text{What we like (best) is for all parents to visit the school.} \)

(e) When the sequence \( N_2 \rightarrow V \, N_3 \) is turned into the passive form \( N_3 \) to be \( V \, N_2 \) by \( N_1 \), there is no change of meaning:

\[ \text{We like all parents to visit the school.} \Rightarrow \text{We like the school to be visited by all parents.} \]

(f) In a reduced construction the infinitive marker to remains: \( \text{We like them to.} \)

At the other, ditransitive end of the scale, a contrasting set of criteria characterize [3], and support the analysis of \( N_2 \) (the students) as an indirect object and to \( V \, N_3 \), (to attend a lecture) as a clausal direct object:

(a') \( \text{to} \, V \, N_3 \) can be replaced by a pronoun, a noun phrase, or a finite clause, with \( N_2 \) still functioning as indirect object:

\[ \text{We asked the students} \]
\[ \text{something.} \]
\[ \text{a question.} \]
\[ \text{what they wanted.} \]

(b') \( \text{to} \, V \, N_3 \) can be the answer to a \textit{how}-question, while \( N_2 \) functions as indirect object:

\[ A: \text{What did you ask the students?} \]
\[ B: \text{We asked them to attend a lecture.} \]

(c') When the sequence \( N_2 \rightarrow V \, N_3 \) is turned into the passive sequence \( N_2 \) to be \( V \, N_3 \) by \( N_1 \), the meaning is always changed:

\[ \text{They asked the students to attend a lecture.} \Rightarrow \text{They asked a lecture to be attended by the students. (In this case, indeed, the passive transform results in an absurdity.)} \]

(d') \( \text{to} \, V \, N_3 \) can marginally become the focus of a pseudo-cleft sentence: \( \text{What they asked the students was to attend a lecture.} \)

(e) \( N_2 \), which like O in general is usually 'personal', can be detached from its place after the first V to become subject of a corresponding passive sentence: \( \text{The students were asked to attend a lecture.} \)

(f') In a reduced construction, the infinitive marker to can be omitted: \( \text{We asked them; We persuaded them; etc.} \)

Note

[a] With some ditransitive verbs, criterion (a') has to be interpreted as the replacement of the infinitive clause by a preposition and prepositional object (cf. 16.66–8):

\[ \text{They reminded him of his responsibilities.} \]

[b] Criterion (d') is less reliable than the others, since the pseudo-cleft sentence is unacceptable for many verbs. But a pseudo-cleft sentence in which the indirect object is replaced by a prepositional object tends to be more grammatical: \( \text{What they asked the students was to attend a lecture.} \)

The alternative construction with the substitute verb \( \text{to} \), which also occurs with [1], is always more acceptable: \( \text{What they asked the students to do was to attend a lecture.} \)

16.67 To give a simplified illustration of the analysis of gradience in the sequence \( N_1 \, V \, N_2 \, V \, N_3 \), we now take a subset of the criteria listed above, and apply them to a range of verbs on the gradient connecting [1] and [3] of 16.66.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CRITERIA</th>
<th>VERB CLASSES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) ask, tell, etc</td>
<td>(2) elect, allow, etc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ (a') \text{to} \, V \, N_3 \text{can be replaced by a finite clause} \] + - - -
\[ (c') \text{change of meaning in passive of} \, N_2 \text{to} \, V \, N_3 \] + + - -
\[ (e') \, N_2 \text{can become subject of passive} \] + + + -

Fig 16.67 A complementation gradient

The matrix uses only three criteria, and thereby distinguishes only four categories. This is sufficient to indicate the principle, however, that the three categories [B8], [C4], and [D6] of our taxonomy could be broken down into a finer spectrum of categories between which the differences are small. In effect, Fig 16.67 distinguishes two subcategories of [C4]: one (including elect and allow) which is closer to the ditransitive type, and one (including intend and expect) closer to the monotransitive type. Elect and allow respond to criterion (c'):

They elected Miss Coe to succeed the present secretary.

\[ *=\text{They elected the present secretary to be succeeded by Miss Coe.} \]

We don't allow residents to entertain visitors.

\[ *=\text{We don't allow visitors to be entertained by residents.} \]
while intend and expect do not:

They intended the students to see the professor.

They expected the students to enjoy the classes.

They were expected to enjoy the classes.

For verbs in group (3), the voice of the infinitive clause and the voice of the main clause may be independently varied, with the result that a sentence like They expected the students to enjoy the classes has three corresponding passives with the same meaning:

They expected the classes to be enjoyed by the students.

The students were expected to enjoy the classes.

The classes were expected to be enjoyed by the students.

The last example has a passive verb phrase in both the superordinate clause and the infinitive clause.

Adjective complementation

Categories of complementation in adjective phrases (cf. 2.28, 7.21–2) are similar in variety to those of verb complementation. We distinguish [E1–E5] as follows:

-E1 Complementation by a prepositional phrase
-E2 Complementation by a that-clause
-E3 Complementation by a wh-clause
-E4 Complementation by a than-clause
-E5 Complementation by a to-infinitive clause
-E6 Complementation by an -ing participle clause

These complementation patterns can occur after an adjective (and its modifiers, if any) in various syntactic functions. For example:

The violin is (rather) difficult to play.
(adjective phrase as C)

Mary found the violin (rather) difficult to play.
(adjective phrase as C)

The violin is an instrument (rather) difficult to play.
(adjective phrase as postmodifier)

The only position in which an adjective cannot normally be followed by its complementation is the premodifying position in a noun phrase: *a keen child on chess. But here, too, with certain constructions (Types [E5(i)] and [E5(v)]) the complementation can follow discontinuously after the head noun: The violin is a difficult instrument to play (cf. discontinuity with comparative constructions, 15.75). For illustrative purposes, we will confine examples in the following sections to the subject complement function. The lists, like the verb lists in 16.20–63, will be selective.

16.69 Like prepositional verbs, adjectives often form a lexical unit with a following preposition: good at, fond of, opposed to, etc. The lexical bond is strongest with adjectives for which, in a given sense, the complementation is obligatory: Max is averse to games = *Max is averse. Such adjectives are marked '1' in the following lists.

The lists make a distinction between participial (cf. 7.15–19) and nonparticipial adjectives. The difference between participial adjectives and the -ed participle of the passive construction is discussed in 3.75–77. These lists provide only a small sample of the adjectives accompanying the prepositions concerned. In particular, it is often possible for the same adjective to go with two or more prepositions, as in angry about, angry at and angry with.

ABOUT: He was very worried about her reaction. (cf. 9.60)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NONPARTICIPIAL</th>
<th>PARTICIPIAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>angry</td>
<td>knowledgeable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glad</td>
<td>mad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>happy</td>
<td>reasonable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>delighted</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AT: She was bad at mathematics. (cf. 9.62)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NONPARTICIPIAL</th>
<th>PARTICIPIAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>angry</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brilliant</td>
<td>hopeless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clever</td>
<td>terrible</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FROM: The village is remote from the bustle of city life. (cf. 9.18, 9.47)

different distant distinct free remote

OF: She was aware of his difficulties.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NONPARTICIPIAL</th>
<th>PARTICIPIAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>afraid</td>
<td>conscious1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ashamed</td>
<td>empty1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>capable</td>
<td>fond1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>certain</td>
<td>full1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ON/UPON: Their plan was based on cooperation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NONPARTICIPIAL</th>
<th>PARTICIPIAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>contingent1</td>
<td>intent1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dependent</td>
<td>keen1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note There is a considerable parallel, as the categories [E1–E5] above demonstrate, between patterns associated with adjectives and those associated with monotransitive verbs. The chief difference is that adjectives cannot be followed by a noun phrase object. To bring out the parallel further, we could describe adjectives exemplified in 16.69 below (averse to, conscious of, etc) as 'prepositional adjectives' comparable with prepositional verbs. We could moreover identify 'phrasal adjectives' (derived from participial forms of phrasal verbs) such as run down ('exhausted, depressed') and 'phrasal-prepositional adjectives' such as fed up (with). These latter variants, however, are rare enough to be disregarded in the following lists.
6.70 Like established fact. The following pairs illustrate choices of construction:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NONPARTICIPIAL</th>
<th>PARTICIPIAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>answerable</td>
<td>accustomed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
<td>inclined</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liable</td>
<td>opposed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>averse</td>
<td>allied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>due</td>
<td>similar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

WITH: This plan is not compatible with our principles.

6.71 (i) THAT-CLAUSE HAS INDICATIVE VERB ONLY (cf Note [a] below)

These adjectives express degrees of certainty or confidence: aware, certain, confident, sure.

We were confident that Karen was still alive.

(ii) THAT-CLAUSE HAS PUTATIVE SHOULD, OR SUBJUNCTIVE VERB (or marginally also an indicative verb)

The three principal adjectives in this class are anxious, eager, and willing:

Are you willing that he should be permitted to resign?

Are you willing that he is permitted to resign?

(On the distribution of these three alternatives, cf 16.30.)

(iii) THAT-CLAUSE HAS INDICATIVE VERB OR PUTATIVE SHOULD

These adjectives express emotions:

I'm so thankful that nobody was hurt.

Were you surprised that Ray should win the prize?

Note
[a] In general, choice of preposition remains the same after morphologically related verbs, adjectives, and nouns: different from, differ from, difference from. But this correspondence is not always to be relied on: contrast full of with, filled with: proud of with pride in.
[b] Other prepositions which less commonly enter into adjective + preposition idioms include for and towards: grateful for, sorry for, inclined towards.
[c] Used followed by the preposition to, a more informal synonym of accustomed (to), is participial in spelling, but has the special pronunciation /'akskomstid/ Unlike accustomed, however, used does not occur with a following infinitive (cf 16.79). This adjectival used to, in spite of identity of spelling and pronunciation, is quite distinct from used to as a marginal modal (cf 3.44). Contrast:

I used to work hard.

I'm used to hard work.

d] In the past, prescriptive objections have been made to the use of to rather than from after averse and different. However, to is the normal preposition to follow averse, and different to is quite widely used (esp in BrE) as an alternative to different from. On different from, cf 15.66 Note, 16.74.
[e] With can be omitted after (in)compatible if the subject is plural, cf 'mutual participation', 13.60.

*Carl is incompatible. BUT: Carl and Eva are incompatible.

[E2] Adjective complementation by a that-clause

Like that-clauses following a verb, that-clauses following an adjective may have:

(A) indicative verb: I am sure (that) he is here now.
(B) subjunctive verb: They were insistent (that) we be ready. (formal)
(C) putative should: I'm sorry (that) he should have left. (formal)

The uses of the mandative subjunctive and of putative should have been discussed in 3.59 and 14.25 respectively. Putative should often occurs after expressions of emotion (sorrow, joy, displeasure, surprise, wonder, etc), and is often accompanied by intensifying expressions such as so, such, like this/that, ever, or at all. The indicative that-clause, on the other hand, refers to an established fact. The following pairs illustrate choices of construction:

I am sorry (that) I have to leave so early.

I am sorry (that) you should have been (so) inconveniented.
Complementation of verbs and adjectives

**[E2b] Adjectives with anticipatory it as subject**

The *that*-clause in this construction is an extraposed subject. Three types are again distinguished, matching those in 16.71.

(i) THAT-CLAUSE HAS INDICATIVE VERB ONLY (cf 16.71 Note [a])

These adjectives have to do with truth or knowledge:

- apparent, evident, likely, possible, untrue
- certain, implicit, obvious, true, well-known
- clear, indubitable, plain, unlikely

(ii) THAT-CLAUSE HAS PUTATIVE SHOULD, OR SUBJUNCTIVE VERB (or marginally, also, an indicative verb)

These adjectives express concepts concerned with modality or vocation:

- It is essential that the ban be lifted tomorrow.
- It is appropriate that the project be initiated.
- It is compulsory that the student study hard.

(iii) THAT-CLAUSE HAS INDICATIVE VERB OR PUTATIVE SHOULD

This group consists mainly of emotive adjectives, and includes a large number of participial adjectives ending in -ing:

- It is strange that she is late.
- It is upsetting that he is ill.

**Nonparticipial**
- awkward, odd, disastrous, sad, extraordinary, fortunate, irrational

**Participial**
- logical, peculiar, disappointing, tragic

Various -able/-ible adjectives also belong to this group: admirable, commendable, deplorable, despicable, incomprehensible, inconceivable, lamentable, remarkable, understandable, unjustifiable, etc.

Adjective complementation

**[E3a] Adjective complementation by a *wh*-clause**

As with *that*-clauses, we have to distinguish those adjectives ([E3a]) which are predicative of an experiencer (normally a person) as subject, and those ([E3b]) which go with anticipatory it. In the latter case, the *wh*-clause is an extraposed subject. Examples are:

1. John is careful (about) what he does with his money.
2. [E3a] I was unsure (of/about) whether the problem was solved.
3. [E3b] It was unclear what they would do.

Type [E3a] consists of adjectives which are constructed with prepositions, and which therefore belong also to Type [E1]. The preposition is sometimes omitted before the *wh*-clause (cf 15.5 Note [e]). In Type [E3b], on the other hand, no preposition can be inserted: *It was unclear about what they would do.* Also no infinitive *wh*-clause is possible (cf 16.37): It is unsure where to go is unacceptable unless it refers to some animate being (such as a mouse), and is consequently not interpreted in terms of extrapolation.

Returning to Type [E3a], we note that in some cases the adjective takes a *wh*-clause in assertive contexts: eg: careful (about), doubtful (as to), fussy (about), puzzled (as to), unclear (about), uncertain (of), undecided (about), unsure (of), unaware (of):

John is careful (about) what he does with his money.

Most of these adjectives are intrinsically negative in meaning. In other cases, although elsewhere it is associated with an indicative *that*-clause ([E2a(i)], the adjective tends to occur with a *wh*-clause in nonassertive contexts (cf 16.35), eg: aware, certain, clear, sure:

- Are you sure (of) how much the machine costs?
- I wasn’t altogether clear (about) what we had to do.

A similar division may be made among adjectives of the anticipatory-it type ([E3b]). Those which intrinsically express doubt, and therefore take this structure even in assertive contexts, include doubtful, uncertain, unclear, unsure, and unknown. Those normally occurring with an indicative *that*-clause (ie Type [E2b]) include apparent, certain, obvious, and plain. They can take a *wh*-clause in nonassertive contexts. Each type is illustrated in:

It was unclear whether an amendment would be accepted.
It was not obvious how far the westernization process would go.
After adjectives of Type [E3a] there may also occur an infinitive wh-clause: I was uncertain (of) what to do. This is preferable to the finite clause in cases illustrated by [1-3] above, since the subject can remain unexpressed in the reduced nonfinite version.

[16.74] Adjective complementation by a than-clause

There is an unusual construction in which a noncomparative adjective is followed by a comparative than-clause as complementation. Different is the only adjective which fits into this pattern, and even then there is a tradition which regards the use of than here as improper. There is, however, no felicitous alternative to the different than construction in examples such as:

She's quite a different girl than she was five years ago.

The various stylistic variants of, and alternatives to, the than-clause after different are examined in 15.66 Note [b]. When the clause is reduced to a noun phrase, it becomes possible to use from as an alternative to than:

The unions are taking a very different attitude from the employers.

When the noun phrase following than/from cannot be derived by ellipsis from a clause, than is decidedly less acceptable than from:

The main languages of southern India are totally different in origin from those of the northern part of the country.

[Note (a) On different from and different to, cf. 16.69 Note [d].
(b) It is also possible for a than-clause to be used after the adverb differently:
In the west of the country, they pronounce their vowels quite differently than (they do) in the east.

The same prescriptive objections are made to differently than as to different than.

[16.75] Adjective complementation by a to-infinitive clause

We distinguish seven kinds of construction in which an adjective is followed by a to-infinitive clause. They are exemplified in the following sentences, which are superficially alike:

(i) Bob is splendid to wait.
(ii) Bob is slow to react.
(iii) Bob is sorry to hear it.
(iv) Bob is hesitant to agree with you.
(v) Bob is hard to convince.
(vi) The food is ready to eat.
(vii) It is important to be accurate.

In Types (i-iv) the subject of the main clause (Bob) is also the subject of the infinitive clause. We can therefore always have a direct object in the infinitive clause if its verb is transitive. For example, if we replace intransitive wait by participle build in (i), we can have: Bob is splendid to build this house.

For Types (v-vii), on the other hand, the subject of the infinitive is unspecified, although the context often makes clear which subject is intended.

In these types it is possible to insert a subject preceded by for; eg in Type (vi): The food is ready (for the children) to eat.

Note

Infinite complementation following adjectives modified by soo and enough is discussed elsewhere, in 15.73.

[16.76] Bob is splendid to wait

Type (i) has an analogue in a construction involving extraposition (cf. 18.33): It is splendid of Bob to wait. This type of construction also permits a head noun between the adjective and the infinitive:

Bob must be a splendid craftsman to build this house.

As this example shows, the infinitive may be perfective. We may also compare constructions in which an evaluative noun with its determiner replaces the adjective:

You're foolish to spend so much.
You're wonderful to wait for me.

Adjectives in this group are evaluative of human behaviour. They include:
careful crazy mad silly wise
careless greedy nice unwise wrong

These adjectives can also occur with anticipatory it and an -of-phrase as additional complementation (cf. 16.82):

It was foolish of you to spend so much.

[16.77] Bob is slow to react

In Type (ii), the sentence corresponds to one in which the adjective becomes an adverb, while the infinitive becomes the finite verb:

Bob is slow to react. ~ Bob reacts slowly.

In another analogue, the adjective is followed by in and an -ing participle: Bob is slow in reacting. The infinitive verb phrase must be simple; for example, unlike the infinitive phrase in [E5(i)], it cannot be perfective: *Bob is slow to have reacted. Other adjectives in this small group are quick and prompt.

Note

There is also a partial adverbial analogue (cf. 8.122ff) for Type (i), but in Type (ii), unlike Type (ii), the perfective infinitive, and even the get-passive (cf. 3.66) can be used:

Joan was wise to resign. ~ Joan wisely resigned.
Joan was careless to get beaten. ~ Joan carelessly got beaten.
Joan is careless to have got beaten.

[16.78] Bob is sorry to hear it

In Type (iii), the head of the adjective phrase is an emotive adjective (commonly a participial adjective), and the infinitive clause expresses causation:

Bob is sorry to hear it
I'm sorry to have kept you waiting. ['I'm sorry because I have kept you waiting']
I was excited to be there. ['To be there excited me']

Adjectives in this group correspond closely to the adjectives followed by a that-clause in 16.71 (Type E2a(iii)):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NONPARTICIPAL</th>
<th>PARTICIPIAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>afraid</td>
<td>happy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angry</td>
<td>impatient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ashamed</td>
<td>indignant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>content</td>
<td>jubilant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>furious</td>
<td>thankful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glad</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

[E5(iv)] Bob is hesitant to agree with you

In Type (iv), the head of the adjective phrase expresses volitional meaning, or a modal meaning such as ability, possibility, or liability. Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NONPARTICIPAL</th>
<th>PARTICIPIAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>able</td>
<td>keen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anxious</td>
<td>liable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apt</td>
<td>likely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>certain [E2b]</td>
<td>loath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>curious</td>
<td>powerless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>due</td>
<td>prone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eager</td>
<td>ready [E5]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eligible</td>
<td>reluctant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fit [E5]</td>
<td>sure [E2b]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>free [E5]</td>
<td>unable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>greedy</td>
<td>welcome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hesitant</td>
<td>willing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impotent</td>
<td>worthy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The adjectives marked [E2b] occur with a corresponding construction with extraposition of a that-clause:

Jill is likely to attend. = It is likely that Jill will attend.

Those marked [E5] are capable of occurring with an infinitive construction of 'passive' meaning, i.e., with an indefinite implied subject and a coreferential implied object:

They are not fit to eat. = They are not fit to be eaten.

Some of the most common adjectives in this list have a tendency to coalesce with the preceding copula to form a semi-auxiliary verb (cf. 3.47): be able to, be willing to, be sure to. In addition to modal and volitional adjectives, some adjectives of aspeccual meaning, such as accustomed and wont may be placed here:

We are accustomed to take tea on the terrace. <formal>
He was wont to leave the office at 5 p.m. <formal, archaic>

[E5(v)] Bob is hard to convince

16.80 In Type (v), the subject of the sentence is identified with the unexpressed object of the infinitive clause, which must therefore have a transitive verb; hence the unacceptable *Bob is hard to arrive. There is an analogous construction in which the adjective is complement to an infinitive clause acting as (extraposed) subject (cf. 16.36):

Bob is hard to convince. = To convince Bob is hard.
= It is hard to convince Bob.

Adjectives so used refer to degrees of ease or comfort, and include:

awkward  hard
convenient impossible  tough <informal>
difficult  nice <informal>  unpleasant
easy  pleasant

Unless there is ellipsis, we cannot omit the infinitive clause, and so there is no semantic implication between (say) The bread was hard to bake and The bread was hard. Unlike the preceding types, Type (v) permits for + subject to be inserted at the beginning of the infinitive clause: Those darts are tricky (for a beginner) to use. Where the infinitive has no overt subject, its implicit subject is understood to have an indefinite meaning:

Jack is easy to fool. = Jack is easy for anyone to fool.

Note With some adjectives in this group, such as nice or unpleasant, the entailment relation between be + adjective > object of the infinitive clause. But unlike Type (v), Type (vi) has no analogous construction with an infinitive clause subject:

The food is ready to eat. = To eat the food is ready.

Also, we can generally (a) omit the infinitive clause, or (b) substitute a passive infinitive clause without change of meaning:

Are these cups available (to use)?
= Are these cups available (to be used)?

Some adjectives of this type, such as available, fit, free, ready, and sufficient, belong additionally to Type (iv), so that a sentence like The lamb is ready to eat is ambiguous, in one sense (the most accessible) being equivalent to the passive The lamb is ready to be eaten. Then there is a wider set of adjectives which often occur without complementation at all:

The air is frosty (to breathe).
Its fur is soft (to touch).
We saw in 16.72 that a that-clause following an adjective may prove to be a subject postponed by extraposition (cf 18.33). A to-infinitive clause following an adjective may have the same source:

It is essential to spray the trees every year.

To spray the trees every year is essential.

The infinitive clause can also be introduced by for + subject:

It is vital (for the children) to be properly clad.

It will be strange (for us) to be living alone.

Adjectives of Types (ii) and (iii) in 16.72 ([E2b]) may have this construction: important, fortunate, lucky, surprising, etc. Possible also belongs to this group.

An additional group of adjectives occurring after anticipatory if are those adjectives (chiefly naming evaluative attributes of persons) which occur in pattern [E5(ii)] (cf 16.76). The adjective in this group is often followed by an of-phrase identifying the person being discussed:

It was wrong (of him) to tell lies. It is nice of you to phone.

[A6] Adjective complementation by an -ing participle clause

A number of sub-types of this pattern may be mentioned.

(i) Busy is followed by an -ing participle clause without subject:

Margery is busy writing letters.

(ii) Worth and worthwhile, on the other hand, occur both with and without subject:

It is scarcely worthwhile (you / your) going home.

Here worthwhile follows preparatory if, and the participle clause is an extraposed subject (cf 18.34). Other adjectives of this pattern are pointless and useless (It's pointless buying so much food), and adjectives of Type [E2b(iii)] (cf 16.72) also sometimes have this complementation: absurd, awkward, fortunate, annoying, etc.

(iii) Elsewhere worth and worthwhile accompany an -ing participle clause without subject, but with a passive meaning, comparable to that of the infinitive clause in pattern [E5(v)] (cf 16.80):

16.84 In this concluding section we will show, as a connecting link between this chapter and the next, how the patterns of complementation described for verbs and adjectives in 16.20-83 are also to be found with abstract nouns which are morphologically related to those verbs and adjectives. (Cf nominalization, 17.51ff, and appositional constructions, 17.26, 17.35.) For example, the noun likelihood is derived from, and semantically related to, the adjective likely. It is therefore not surprising that a construction associated with the adjective is found with the corresponding noun:

It is likely that Joan will get married.

The cartons are worthwhile saving.

~ It's worthwhile saving the cartons.

(iv) There is a variant construction in which a preposition occurs between the adjective and the participle clause. In some cases the preposition is optional (cf (i) above):

I'm busy (with) getting the house redecorated.

We're fortunate (in) having Aunt Mary as a baby-sitter.

In other cases, the preposition is obligatory:

We are used to not having a car (cf 16.69 Note [c]).

I'm hopeless at keeping the garden tidy.

She's not capable of looking after herself.

Note [a] The adjectival constructions in (ii) above may be compared, in some cases, with nominal constructions of equivalent meaning:

It's no good / use telling him anything.

There's no point (in) telling him anything.

Such constructions are introduced either by anticipatory if (cf 18.33) or by existential there (cf 18.45). AmE also has There's no use telling him anything.

[b] Worthwhile is sometimes spelled as two words. The vacillation between the spellings worthwhile and worthwhile reflects an unclarity about the status of this sequence, which may alternatively be regarded as the preposition worth (cf 9.6) followed by a noun. Compare:

It's not worth your while staying. It's not worthwhile (your) staying.

Complementation of abstract nouns

The cartons are worthwhile saving.

~ It's worthwhile saving the cartons.

(iv) There is a variant construction in which a preposition occurs between the adjective and the participle clause. In some cases the preposition is optional (cf (i) above):

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We're fortunate (in) having Aunt Mary as a baby-sitter.

In other cases, the preposition is obligatory:

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Note [a] The adjectival constructions in (ii) above may be compared, in some cases, with nominal constructions of equivalent meaning:

It's no good / use telling him anything.

There's no point (in) telling him anything.

Such constructions are introduced either by anticipatory if (cf 18.33) or by existential there (cf 18.45). AmE also has There's no use telling him anything.

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~ It's worthwhile saving the cartons.

(iv) There is a variant construction in which a preposition occurs between the adjective and the participle clause. In some cases the preposition is optional (cf (i) above):

I'm busy (with) getting the house redecorated.

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1 Introduction
In sentences such as [1]:

[1] They made it green

the construction is of a type that GCE850ff describes as COMPLEX TRANSITIVE. Of the elements in question, it and made are related as in the simple transitive:

[2] They made it
while it and green are related as in a simple copular sentence:

[3] It is green

of the type that, following Lyons (1977:469ff), we will call ascriptive. But green also stands in a direct relationship to made, the object and adjective exemplifying a single pattern of verb complementation. This pattern can be said to represent a fusion (GCE850) of the simpler transitive and ascriptive types.

If the ascriptive can be fused with the transitive can it also be fused with the intransitive? In sentences such as [4]:

[4] It turned green

the construction is usually identified with that of [3]; in both examples the
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verb is described as copular or, in the terminology of GCE: 820 f, as taking 'intensive' complementation. But neither description is quite appropriate to both cases. In the ascriptive sentence there is indeed no more than a copula, or grammatical link, between the adjective and its subject. But plainly this is not true of [4], whose verb, TURN, has its own specific meaning. If turned is a full verb it must then be the governor of green, as made is in [1]; in that sense there is complementation. But we express nothing by assigning such a complementation to the copula. A solution is to consider [4] as a COMPLEX INTRANSITIVE, its construction being an extension of the simple intransitive:

[5] It turned

precisely as that of [1] is extended from that of [2].

2 Fused constructions

Let us take our cue from GCE's reference to 'fusion'. In the simple or unfused transitive [2], the construction consists of a single predicate (made), which in a dependency analysis has both the subject and the object as its dependents or, to adapt GCE's term, has both a subject and an object as its complementation. In that sense [2] has a KERNEL construction (Lyons 1977), which cannot be reduced to more elementary relationships of predication. So too has the simple intransitive [5], with it dependent on, or forming the complementation of, turned. So too has the simple ascriptive [3]; its predicate, on the analysis of Lyons and others, is the adjective green. One reason for relating the subject to the adjective is that the elements are jointly subject to selectional restrictions. A reason for not relating either to the copula is that the latter stands aside from these restrictions, adding none of its own.

In a fused construction the pattern is neither strictly kernel nor straightforwardly non-kernel. In the complex transitive [1], both it and they are again direct dependents of made; these relations are shown below the words in Fig 1, by directed arcs (labelled a and b) leading outward from the predicate. So is green (arc c), this too being supported by selectional restrictions. We are therefore dealing with a single clause, rooted in made, of which each word is a distinct element. But green is also a predicate in relation to it (arc d). In that way we are dealing with two kernel patterns, the four-term clause incorporating both the three-term transitive and the two-term ascriptive.

In Fig 1 we have diagrammed what any grammarian will propose, provided that his terminology, or his notational apparatus, allow him to say it. But similar reasoning applies to the construction which we have called the complex intransitive. Of the relationships shown in Fig 2, that of green to it (arc c) is again as in the ascriptive, and needs no further comment. But the final element is clearly subject to additional restrictions. With TURN it must be either an adjective or an undetermined noun (He turned pink, He turned king's evidence); a determined phrase is excluded (He turned a frog). Unless the prepositional form is also considered (He turned into a frog). With GO the exclusion is absolute: one cannot even say He went into a criminal. The adjective is also limited to specific collocations. For example, one can say It turned sour or It went sour, but it is harder to accept It grew sour. Conversely, one can say He grew old, but not He went old. On that evidence we may establish a relationship of dependency between green and turned (arc b). The verb too can then be related to the subject (arc a).

In both our examples there is one term, it, which is a dependent in both the ascriptive and the verbal kernel (Fig 1, arcs b and d; Fig 2, arcs a and c). The fusion is then effected by a further link (Fig 1, arc c; Fig 2, arc b) in which the second of the two predicates, green, is incorporated as a dependent of the first. It is to this last relation that Quirk and his colleagues, in the case of the complex intransitive, have applied the term 'intensive complementation'; we might accordingly describe the valency of TURN, or of TURN in this case, as that of an 'intensive intransitive'. But the insight may also be extended to the complex transitive. In that spirit MAKE, or MAKE as used in sentences such as [1], might appropriately be described as an 'intensive transitive'.

Fig 1

[42]

Fig 2

[43]
3 Distinctions between the complex intransitive and other, partly similar, constructions

For a three-term construction, Fig 2 shows the maximum number of interconnections, with each term related to each of the others. The minimum is one; thus for the ascriptive [3] we have adopted the structure shown in Fig 3, with the second term no more than a marker, or supporting element, for the predicative relation between the first and the third. But this leaves five other possibilities, which in theory might be realized. Just as the second element can be a marker, as in Fig 3, so too might the third; in that case only the verb would be a predicative, with only the subject related to it. This structure does not seem to be realized, at least not in a way which is relevant to our analysis. A second possibility is that only the verb and the adjective might be related; in that case both predicatives would be impersonal, with the subject a mere place-filler. This structure might conceivably be suggested for examples such as [6]:

[6] It got mistier

with a so-called ‘ambient’ it. But although it may indeed be ambient with respect to mistier, it need not follow that it is ambient with respect to got.

In the remaining cases no element is a marker; but there are only two, instead of three, interconnections. If there were no link between the subject and the verb (Fig 2, arc o), the verb itself would again be impersonal. In transformational terms, its surface subject would be derived by raising (Postal 1974) from a subordinate adjectival clause. If there were no ‘intensive’ link between the first and second predicatives (Fig 2, arc b), the verb would be a simple intransitive, taking just the subject as its complementation; the construction of the adjective would then be circumstantial. In [7], for example:

[7] He arrived sober

grammars do not establish an intensive, or copular, use of ARRIVE. Finally, if the ascriptive link were broken (Fig 2, arc c), the third element would no longer be a predicative. Its role would instead be ADVERBIAL as in [8]:

[8] He ran fast

There is no doubt that the intensive construction is distinct from the adverbia] and that sober in [7] is at least more circumstantial than green in It turned green. But the subject-verb relation is more problematic, in that a raising transformation has been proposed for one, at least, of the GCE’s intensive verbs. Let us therefore take that distinction first.

3.1 Of the twenty or so ‘most common’ intensive verbs (GCE 821), SEEM and APPEAR particularly lend themselves to transformational analysis. On the evidence of sentences such as [9]:

[9] It seemed that they were green

it is natural to establish an underlying structure:

(a) [they were green] seemed

in which seemed is related not to they and green individually, but to the whole adjectival subject. From the same structure a sentence such as [10]:

[10] They seemed to be green

can then be derived by further transformations of subject raising and infinitive formation. From the structure realized by [10], we are naturally tempted to derive the complex intransitive [11]:


by a further transformation deleting the copula.

For SEEM the rules deriving [10] and [11] would both be optional. But for other verbs, such as TURN or GO, we could make them obligatory: so, It turned green could be the only realization of an underlying it was green’s turned, the ‘ambient’ It got mistier – [6] above – a realization of, say, g mistier’s got, and so on. If the obligatory rules were then restricted to the copula, we would also ensure that any other form of embedded structure (she left’s turned or she kissed her’s grew) was filtered out. By such means a treatment which is widely accepted for SEEM, and for which the evidence is at first compelling, could be extended, if it were thought appropriate, to the entire intensive intransitive class.

There are good reasons for not thinking it appropriate. In a sentence such as [12]:

[12] Harry got drunk

one is not simply talking of a state that resulted (‘It got so that Harry was
drunk', or 'Harry's drunkenness happened'). Nor is Harry a mere theme or topic ('As to Harry, drunkenness happened to him'). The subject is, potentially at least, an actor: getting drunk was something that Harry did. The verb may accordingly take a 'subject adjunct' (GCE:466.f): thus I deliberately got drunk or He foolishly turned traitor. It may also supply the complement of a conative verb (I did try to get drunk), may appear in the imperative (Don't get drunk!), and so on. For some collocations this potentiality is doubtless harder to realize (compare He deliberately turned blue with He deliberately turned nasty, or He tried to grow older with He tried to grow faster); but that is precisely the case for subjects and predicates generally. It is this semantic role that justifies the first link shown in Fig 2, which an impersonal structure, as in (b):

(b) [Harry was drunk], got

would relegate to the surface.

If (b) is wrong for Harry got drunk, a transformationalist should consider more carefully whether a similar structure is correct for Harry seemed drunk. Let us assume that it is correct for the construction with a that-clause (It seemed that Harry was drunk); for SEEM and APPEAR a clausal complement does form one possibility. Let us also accept that SEEM has a constant sense in all its constructions. But for other 'current' intensives (GCE:820.f) the evidence is more complex. With SOUNO a that-clause can be forced: for example, if a dative is inserted (It sounds to me that they aren't coming). There is also an impersonal construction with as if:

[13] It sounds as if they were green

which might be thought to derive from the same source. The construction of [13] is also acceptable with LOOK (It looks as if they aren't coming). But between it and the complex intransitive we can find clear disparities in meaning. In [13] the judgment is based on indirect clues: what 'sounds', or appears from audible information, is indeed the whole proposition 'they were green'. But in the complex intransitive [14]:

[14] They sound drunk

it is based on sounds that they are making. For that reason it is harder to make sense of They sound green. Likewise They look drunk means that they, from their appearance, are so. But in It looks as if they are drunk the speaker does not even imply that he has seen them. (Compare From what you say, it looks as if they are drunk.) If we wanted a complex source, it would be tempting to relate [14] not to the impersonal [13], with raising, but rather to the personal [15]:

[15] They sound as if they are drunk

with the second they deleted.

[46] Personal and impersonal are often hard to separate, as Palmer (1972) and before him Bolinger (1961a) have shown. Of this group of intensives, TASTE and SMELL are the most restricted in meaning, and it is with these that the impersonal construction, as in [9] and [13], is least acceptable. With TASTE neither seems likely: It tastes to me that the soup is salty. It tastes to me as if they are sweet. If the second example can be interpreted, it is by virtue of a blending with the personal construction (compare It tastes as if it . . . ). With SMELL the construction of [13] may be more acceptable (It smells to me as if dinner is ready), but the blending remains. With FEEL a non-tactic sense is possible (It feels likely), but is less established than the broader senses of LOOK or SOUND (compare It looks likely, It sounds likely). It is in this case that my judgment is least secure: would one say, for example, It feels (or It feels to me) as if they were green? With SOUND and LOOK the general sense is well established, as in [13] or It sounds likely; but there is still a sensory meaning, as in [14] and [15], which inhibits the pure impersonal with that. With SEEM and APPEAR we are at the end of the continuum, both having general senses only. Hence the construction of [9], alongside the impersonal with as if (It seems as if they were green). Hence, perhaps, the infinitive construction of [10]; with SOUND and the others this too is awkward (They looked to have arrived, or It tastes to me to be sweet). But it does not follow that the semantically general They seem drunk differs in syntax from the specifically sensory They sound drunk or They smell drunk. We can even force an active interpretation of the subject: Thus They tried to appear drunk, or I deliberately seemed irritated.

3.2 As [11], with SEEM, lies on a gradience between personal and impersonal, so there are others which raise problems in distinguishing intensive from adverbal and circumstantial constructions. For there is no criterion which is both sufficient and necessary.

The obvious step is to test for simpler transforms. Thus for [14], Harry got drunk, we can compare the simple ascriptive Harry was drunk: this is a TRANSFORM in that, firstly, it is acceptable and, secondly, the predicator drunk has not altered its sense. But [12] has no intransitive transform Harry got as this use of GET is not acceptable. Nor has [4], It turned green, an intransitive transform It turned, since this involves a different sense of TURN. If there is an ascriptive transform but no simple intransitive, the third element must be a complement; so [4] and [12] must be complex intransitive. If there is neither transform it MAY be complement, but the collocation of verb and adjective might reasonably be classed as idiomatic. Thus The roses have run wild has no transform The roses have run, nor does it strictly match The roses are wild. But WILD is at least an adjective, and must stand in some relationship to the verb; therefore RUN WILD is rightly classed as a result-intensive (GCE).
If there is a simple intransitive but no ascriptive transform, the construction must be adverbal. Thus, trivially, *He ran quickly* has no ascriptive transform *He was quickly*; less trivially, *He travelled light* does not match *He was light*. But what if we find both? *They stood still* has an ascriptive transform *They were still*, so *still* may be a complement or circumstantial, like *silent* in *They stood silent*. But there is also the simpler intransitive *They stood*, so *still* might be an adverb, like *silently* in *They stood silently*. Since there is no distinct form *stilly*, the latter is hard to rule out. For *It shone white* we can compare the formally adjectival *It shone bright*; again there are both transforms (*It shone, It was white*). But *It shone bright* is close in meaning to the formally adverbial *It shone brightly*; could *white* be an adverb, in default of, or as the commoner alternative to, *whitely*? Blending may also be found in idioms. For example, it is fruitless to ask if *doggo* is an adjective or an adverb in *He is lying doggo*. For the circumstantial case both transforms are necessary: thus [7], *He arrived sober*, has the transforms *He arrived* and *He was sober*. We would also expect that the verb and adjective should be free of collocational restrictions: so *He arrived sober, He left sober, He left satisfied, He arrived satisfied*, and so on. But it is very hard to say when such a requirement is met. One does not say, for example, *They stood noisy or They stood peaceful*; on that evidence *They stood silent* might be classed as complex intransitive. But neither is one likely to say *They arrived noisy, or They arrived kind*. Is that too a matter of collocational restrictions, so that [7] is also intensive? Or is it merely that *NOISY and KIND are ill suited to this construction*? At this point it is tempting to distinguish degrees of circumstantiality. The extreme case would be represented by such sentences as [16]:

[16] They stood there, exhausted

(likewise *They have arrived, quite sober*), where the adjective and verb are marked as separate. Beside [16] the construction in [7] is less clearly circumstantial; in *They stood silent or They stood fidgeting* it is perhaps even less so. But this last might still be seen as less intensive than, for example, *They stood amazed*. Likewise *They fell exhausted* is less clearly intensive than *They fell sick*, since it involves no special sense of *FALL*. The problem also arises for the complex transitive. In *They found him guilty* there is a special sense of *FIND, as of MAKE* in *They made it green*. In *They met him sober there is no special sense of MEET; by that test sober is more circumstantial*. But one is unlikely to say, for example, *They met him meditative*.

Finally, there is an obvious gradience between the complex intransitive and the simple ascriptive. With *TURN or GROW there are narrow selectional restrictions, as we have seen. With *SEEM OR STAY* they are far fewer; nevertheless one cannot say, for example, *He seemed chairman* (compare *He stayed chairman* or *He was chairman*), or *It seems obvious that ...* (compare *It seems obvious that ...* or *It remains obvious that ...*). With *REMAIN it is hard to find any; but at least the intransitive exists (*He remained*) and their senses can be related. With *BECOME* that evidence too is lacking. *He became drunk* can be distinguished from the ascriptive *He was drunk* only by arguing from its resultative meaning.

This merging has led grammarians to treat the constructions together. But we can do this only by assimilating *BE* to the model of verb complementation (as in GCE), not by assimilating *TURN* and so on to the model of a copula. Like the complex transitive, the complex intransitive is a poor candidate for what must then be a kernel structure.