English and the good grammarian[1]

El inglés y el buen gramático

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RESUMEN

The present article reviews some aspects of the content of a new reference grammar of English, *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language,* while reflecting on the process of writing grammars at the beginning of the 21st century, particularly regarding the relation between theory and description. It is not my goal to offer a comprehensive review of the contents of this grammar, but to examine critically the conceptual framework underlying the linguistic description. For this, I concentrate on the analysis of certain aspects of phrasal and clausal complements of verbs, with particular attention to non-finite (infinitival) subordinate clauses. Some pedagogical implications are also briefly discussed.

KEY WORDS

Grammar. Theory. Description. Data. Analysis. Constituent structure. Verb. Complement. Content clauses. Non-finite clauses. Subordinator. Pedagogy.

ABSTRACT

En este artículo-reseña se examinan algunos aspectos del contenido de una nueva gramática de referencia de la lengua inglesa, *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language,* a la vez que se reflexiona sobre el proceso de elaboración de las gramáticas en los inicios del siglo XXI y, en particular, sobre relación entre la teoría y la descripción. No es nuestro propósito ofrecer un análisis exhaustivo de los contenidos de esta gramática, sino examinar de forma crítica el marco conceptual que subyace a la descripción lingüística. Para ello nos centramos en el análisis de ciertos complementos sintagmáticos y, sobre todo, clausales de los verbos, con especial atención a las oraciones subordinadas de infinitivo. Se incluye una breve discusión sobre cuestiones pedagógicas relacionadas.

KEY WORDS

Gramática. Teoría. Descripción. Datos. Análisis. Estructura de constituyentes. Verbo. Complemento. Oraciones de contenido. Oraciones no finitas. Subordinante. Pedagogía.

¡Qué extraños son los gramáticos! Siempre las mismas piezas del rompecabezas, las mismas cartas de la baraja, las mismas fichas del juego. Siempre los mismos pronombres, los mismos adverbios, los sujetos, los complementos, los gerundios y los infinitivos. ¿Cómo podrán encontrar algún tipo de satisfacción en esa retahíla de etiquetas añejas, en esas sempiternas letanías que suenan a cartilla escolar olvidada, más que a reflexión intelectual viva, inquieta y creativa?

(Bosque 1997: 12)

1. Introduction

In *Good English and the Grammarian*, Greenbaum (1988) reflects on the notion of 'good' English and the role of the grammarian, as well as on grammars of English and the research that goes into writing them, with special reference to Quirk *et al.*'s (1985) *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language (CompGR*, henceforth), of which Greenbaum was a co-writer. My intention here is to review some aspects of the content of a new reference grammar of the English language, *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language (CambGR*, henceforth) written by R. Huddleston and G. K. Pullum and a number of collaborators[2], while reflecting on the process of writing grammars at the beginning of the 21st century. In particular, I am interested in the relation between theory and description and the choices 'good' grammarians must make when writing a large reference grammar of present-day standard English. Indeed, *CambGR* has been announced by its publishers as the grammar for the 21st century, and is presumably intended to challenged —the well - established position of *CompGR*. In what follows, I do not intend to undertake the vast enterprise of offering a comprehensive review of *CambGR* and the ways in which it differs from *CompGR*. My goal is to examine critically the conceptual framework for linguistic description in *CambGR*, rather than looking at particular analyses for a variety of constructions. For this, I am going to focus on verb complementation in *CambGR*, as presented mostly in chapter 4 (for phrasal complements) and chapters 11 and 14 (for clausal complements).

It is necessary to provide, first, a brief overview of the contents of the twenty main chapters, as well as some general comments on layout and design. The aim of *CambGR* is set out at the beginning of chapter 1 "Preliminaries": to provide a detailed, descriptive account of present-day, international Standard English, focusing on the principles governing the construction of words, phrases, clauses and sentences. General issues are discussed (synchronic vs. diachronic description, description vs. prescription, and so on), and basic concepts in syntax are introduced, like the notion of 'constituent structure', which is central to this grammar. Chapter 2 "Syntactic overview" is a brief survey of the fifteen chapters that deal with syntax,

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[2] Contributors are listed in alphabetical order: Laurie Bauer, Betty J. Birner, Ted Briscoe, Peter Collins, Anita Mittwoch, Geoffrey Nunnberg, Frank Palmer, John Payne, Peter Peterson, Lesley Sterling and Gregory Ward. One or both of the authors have worked closely with contributors in co-authoring the chapters concerned (cf. Greenbaum (1988) on how the *CompGR* was written).

emphasizing those aspects in which the authors' approach departs from traditional grammars. These chapters are: chapter 3 "The verb"; chapter 4 "The clause: complements"; chapter 5 "Nouns and noun phrases"; chapter 6 "Adjectives and adverbs"; chapter 7 "Prepositions and preposition phrases"; chapter 8 "The clause: adjuncts"; chapter 9 "Negation"; chapter 10 "Clause type and illocutionary force"; chapter 11 "Content clauses and reported speech"; chapter 12 "Relative constructions and unbounded dependencies"; chapter 13 "Comparative constructions"; chapter 14 "Non-finite and verbless clauses"; chapter 1 "Coordination and supplementation"; chapter 16 "Information packaging"; and chapter 17 "Deixis and anaphora". The following two chapters are devoted to morphological matters: chapter 18 "Inflectional morphology and related matters" and chapter 19 "Lexical word-formation". Issues to do with orthography are dealt with in the final chapter "Punctuation". This is followed by three sections: "Further reading", "Lexical index" and "Conceptual index".

As a large-scale reference grammar, it is not intended to be read from beginning to end. Thus, there are plenty of cross-references to previous or following chapters. More detailed technical explanations, which may be skipped by non-specialists without loss of content, according to the authors, are given against a blue-shaded background (20). I refer to these as the 'blue sections' in the pages that follow. Explanations are illustrated with plenty of examples (numbered separately for each section in the different chapters) and 40 diagrams for sentence structure are also provided (see the index to tree diagrams, xiii). The prospectus emphasizes the user-friendly design and typography of the grammar (though not all readers appear to agree on this point (see Mukherjee's (2002a) review).

An explanation is needed as to why I am focusing on the topic of verb complementation. The choice is partly a matter of personal taste. Inclinations or attraction towards certain linguistic phenomena often play a crucial role in determining our research agenda, and verbs and their complements have always been a matter of interest for this reviewer. There are, of course, weightier reasons for this choice. Verbs are central to syntactic analysis and, thus, it is to the description of verbs and their complementation patterns that *CambGR* devotes a lot of its effort. What is more, decisions about the analysis of verbs and verb phrases inform many other aspects of linguistic description (*e.g.* clause types, complex clauses and so on). Finally, from a pedagogical point of view, the analysis of verbs and their complements must be dealt with in detail in any descriptive course on English grammar, and those aspects on which I focus here, such as the distinction between phrasal and prepositional verbs and non-finite clausal complements should be absolutely central in grammar courses for both native and non-native students of English.

In what follows, I first deal with general issues concerning the relation between theory and description (section 2). I then look in detail at some aspects of the analysis of phrasal and clausal complements of verbs in *CambGR*, with special attention to the analysis of infinitival

complements in chapter 14 (section 3). Some pedagogical issues are briefly discussed (section 4). Section 5 presents the conclusion.

2. On descriptive grammars in general and CambGR in particular

Despite the increasing reluctance of the authorities to fund research on grammatical studies and the diminishing role given to the study of grammar in school and university curricula, these appear to be good times for grammars. The end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century have seen the emergence of a number of comprehensive descriptive grammars of English in the tradition set by Jespersen and Poutsma. To *CambGR* and *CompGR*, we must add Biber *et al.*'s *Longman Grammar of Spoken and English Language* (1999) (*LongGR*, henceforth), as well as a number of reference and university grammars of more limited scope (among others, Greenbaum & Quirk 1990 and Downing & Locke 2002). The same is true for grammars of other languages, as shown by the *Grande Grammatica Italiana di Consultazione* (1988-1995), the *Algemene Nederlandese Spraakkunst* (1997, 2nd ed), and the recent *Gramática Descriptiva de la Lengua Española* (1999). This is the consequence of more than half a century of unprecedented advances in our knowledge of the structure of languages, due mainly to the success of the Chomskyan paradigm after the 1950's. However, in the 60's and 70's unfounded optimism and unrealistic expectations about the usefulness of this approach for areas such as language teaching methodology, machine translations, and so on led to the current view of linguistics as an esoteric discipline, with little or no connection with the real world. This view has to be reconsidered in the light of works like those mentioned above, which have benefitted enormously from the work carried out in a variety of frameworks within the field of theoretical linguistics.

2.1. On the relation between description and theory

The goal of a theoretical or scientific grammar (where grammar should not be understood as a 'volume') is to construct a theory (a model) which allows us to interpret the data in order to see how that data fits in (or not) within the general conceptual framework of the theory, whatever its orientation: generativist, structuralist, functional, cognitivist or any other approach and their subdivisions. Theoretical linguists provide *partial* analyses of some areas of the grammar, as contributions towards a particular theory of language. In contrast, the focus of a descriptive grammar is not to validate or refute a particular theoretical construct, but to focus on the empirical data in order to provide a detailed account of the principles governing grammatical categories: their internal structure and the way they combine into larger units (words, phrases, clauses and sentences), focusing on their morphological, syntactic, semantic and discursive properties.

Though it has often been said that descriptive grammars must not be tied to a particular theory if they are to be comprehensive (see 2.2.3), one cannot deny the influence of particular theories of grammar in modern linguistic description. In fact, the Spanish, Italian and Dutch

grammars mentioned above, together with *CambGR*, were written to bridge the gap between theory and description by incorporating many of the insights of modern theoretical linguistics, thus making the work of these linguists accessible to a wider audience. As Greenbaum (1988: 41) points out, developments in linguistics have turned the spotlight on data previously neglected. It should be added that new analyses have led to the viewing of grammatical problems in a new light, to the discovery of grammatical properties that had gone unnoticed, and to the establishing of distinctions among grammatical categories and structures traditionally grouped together, as well as to the making of generalizations for constructions often considered to have distinct properties. New descriptive grammars have greatly benefitted from this research, and it is in this sense that the grammars just mentioned can be regarded as 'post-theoretical', to quote the directors of the *Gramática Descriptiva de la Lengua Española* in their introductory chapter.

2.2. *Description and theory in CambGR*

The need for theory is explicitly acknowledged by the authors of *CambGR* in Chapter 1: "The primary goal of this grammar is to describe the grammatical principles of present-day English rather than to defend or illustrate a theory of grammar. But the languages human beings use are too complex to be described except by means of a theory". (18). Description makes use of generalisations and "without a theory there are no generalisations" (18). In particular, general statements are needed about the way words combine to make sentences (as an alternative to listing *all* the possible sentences in a language —an impossible task), which means developing a theory about the ways sentences can be constructed in English. The theory presupposed in *CambGR* is one "that classifies the words of the dictionary and specifies ways in which they are combined to form sentences" (19). That is, one which distinguishes a lexicon and some sort of computational system or grammar. In this, and in the central role attributed to constituent structure (the idea that sentences have parts which may themselves have parts), *CambGR* is firmly grounded on phrase structure approaches within the generative grammar tradition.

2.2.1. The nature of syntactic analysis

A lot of space is devoted in *CambGR* to justifying the right analysis (as well as the right terminology!) within the descriptive framework adopted; much more than in other grammars of the like. Many traditional claims which have been challenged by current theoretical frameworks come under scrutiny here. As an example, the authors abandon the traditional distinction of subordinate clauses into 'noun clauses', 'adjective clauses' and 'adverb clauses' because it suggests a unfounded similarity between clauses and parts of speech (see p.19). And though the authors make it clear that it is not their purpose to argue in favour of a particular theory of linguistic description and, if possible, they try to present the facts in a way which is neutral between competing theoretical frameworks, a lot of effort goes in trying to persuade the

reader that the descriptive analysis is the correct one under the perspective adopted. This is not to say that traditional grammars like those of Jespersen and Poutsma and, to a large extent, *CompGR* lack a theoretical perspective in their linguistic descriptions. But while theory is mostly implicit in these works, it is mostly explicit in *CambGR*.

The result is a tightly woven system, with a high degree of integration between the parts, in which there is little room for indeterminacy. In contrast, indeterminacy and 'gradience' are features of the *CompGR*:

> We recognize that the grammar of a language is an indeterminate system and that grammatical categories are not discrete. Within a category (for example, the word-class of adjectives) there will be a central class that conforms to all the criteria for the category and peripheral subclasses that conform in varying degrees. Between related categories there may be no sharp boundary but a gradient, so that some subclasses of items are intermediate in the gradient between categories. (Greenbaum 1988: 50)

A particular type of indeterminacy which *CambGR* tries to avoid is where there is a gradient between two analyses such that "sentences may vary in the degree to which one analysis is more appropriate than the other" (*CompGR*: 90). This is the case for V(erb)s such as *look at* and *approve of* in *CompGR* (cf. 16.13*ff*), where the P may be considered (i) as the head of a PP which functions as an adverbial (S-V-A) or (ii) as part of a multi-word V with a NP object (S-V-O):

(1) i.   S-V-A: They don't   [$_V$ approve]   [$_{PP}$ **of** noisy parties]
    ii.   S-V-O: They don't   [$_{V\,P}$ approve **of**]   [$_{NP}$ noisy parties]

While there is plenty of syntactic evidence for the SVA analysis, since *of noisy parties* behaves as a unit (a constituent) for a number of syntactic processes (fronting, adverb insertion and so on, *cf.* 16.13), the SVO analysis is grounded on the existence of passive sentences such as *Noisy parties are not approved of* and matters of question-formation, in which *noisy parties* does not seem to behave as an adverbial but as an object[3]. Given the overwhelming evidence for the bracketing in (1i), this is the analysis favoured in *CambGR* for Vs like *approve of* (though, crucially, the PP is not regarded as an 'adverbial', but as a complement of the V (see note 3). It is in aspects like this that there is no room for indeterminacy. For this reviewer, this is a major

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[3] However, as the authors notice *CompGR* (16.14), the passive is also found with Vs which follow PP's with locative meaning (what they refer to as 'Adverbial') (*e.g This field must have been played on last week*). If these are clear examples of SVA sentences, why should the existence of prepositional passives like *Noisy parties are not approved of* lead to a (parallel) SVO analysis for prepositional Vs? The problem here is that in *CompGR* the notion of affectedness (a semantic notion) is associated with objecthood (a syntactic function), so that the subject of a passive is always an affected 'object' and hence the parallel SVO analysis for (1). A similar confusion is found for the notion 'adverbial', which is associated with locative, temporal and manner interpretations, among others, as well as denoting a syntactic function (cutting across what in the *CambGR* is referred to as complements vs. adjuncts).

point in favour of *CambGR*, since indeterminacy (or rather 'vagueness') of this type is more often than not a consequence of the inadequacy of the research tools employed for description[4].

2.2.2. The scope of linguistic description and the nature of the data

In its most common use, the term grammar refers to syntax and morphology. *CambGR*, like *CompGR*, focuses mainly on syntax, though it includes an excellent chapter on lexical word–formation (chapter 19), and another on inflectional morphology (chapter 18). As the authors point out, the syntax–morphology division follows the special status of the 'word' as central grammatical unit; while syntax deals with how words combine to form sentences, morphology deals with the form of words, with word formation as a process resembling the formation of larger syntactic units in some respects, but significantly different in other respects (ch 1, 4.3). However, meaning and meaning relations are often present in grammatical description, as a survey of the titles of chapters in *CompGR* suggests[5]. Despite the stronger focus of *CambGR* on syntactic analysis, the authors state that: "few would take it to be controversial that a human language such as English is in some sense a system for framing thoughts and making meaningful messages expressible, and this would make it a natural supposition that meaning and grammar would be to some extent intertwined." (33). A careful distinction is established between the domains of semantics (conventionally, the meaning of words and sentences independently of the context) and pragmatics (the way in which utterances are interpreted in context). A further division is established between truth-conditional and non truth-conditional semantics. Notions like propositions, entailments, illocutionary meaning, conventional and conversational implicature and pragmatic presupposition are all carefully defined in chapter 1. The result overall is a more sophisticated approach to the study of meaning and meaning relations than that offered in *CompGR*, where pragmatic aspects of meaning are explicitly dealt with in chapters 18 and 19, but semantic explanations often seem vague.

CambGR follows the current trend that linguistic description should be extended to cover those aspects of meaning and meaning relations which fall within semantics, pragmatics and discourse. For instance, chapter 10 deals with illocutionary force; chapter 16 deals with a number of non-canonical constructions which differ from their canonical counterparts not in truth conditions or illocutionary meaning but in the way information is presented in the sentence (preposing, postposing, inversion, cleft...); and chapter 17 is devoted to the study of

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4 But see Mukherjee (2002a: 4), who considers it to be "a general weakness of the Cambridge Grammar not to allow for such multiple analyses nor to sketch out descriptive gradients in the first place".

5 For instance: chapter 8: "The semantics and grammar of adverbials"; chapter 15 "Syntactic and semantic functions of subordinate clauses"; and chapter 4 "The semantics of the verb phrase". Semantic aspects are touched upon in almost all areas of description: 'Prepositional meanings' (9.14-59); 'Semantic subclassification of adjectives' (7.40-44); 'The articles in generic reference" (5.52-59), and so on.

deictic and anaphoric expressions. Careful distinctions are established throughout between syntactic form and categories of meaning and use. Few people would deny the relevance of these factors for the desciption of grammatical constructions. Another question is whether the inclusion of aspects to do with meaning and use should affect the overall organization of the grammar or not (see some of the contributions in Graustein & Leitner 1989). Among other characteristics, a pragmatically-founded grammar should be text-based and not sentence-based, or at least it should draw its data from authentic texts. In this sense, both *CompGR* and *CambGR* are firmly sentence-based, and, therefore, more conventional than some of the grammars mentioned above (see, especially, Biber *et al.* 1999 and, to a lesser extent Downing & Locke 2002).

A related question is what counts as valid data for linguistic description (and theory) —an issue that reflects deep divisions among linguists regarding language as an object of study and linguistics as a science (the nature of linguistic analysis and methodological aspects). In fact, two questions have to be addressed: (i) whether data should be 'authentic' (raw data) or whether it should be invented or edited and (ii) the relevance of frequency rates for linguistic description. Regarding (i), four sources are mentioned for data collection in *CambGR* (11), which are equivalent to those of *CompGR* (see Greenbaum 1988: 47): (1) the authors' own intuitions as native speakers; (2) other native speakers' intuitions; (3) computer corpora[6]; (4) data from dictionaries and other scholarly work. In both *CambGR* and *CompGR* raw data is clearly disfavoured; examples are either invented or modified versions of actual utterances, in order to direct readers' attention more quickly and more clearly to the point and to avoid "irrelevant distractions in the material" (see Greenbaum 1988: 46; *CambGR*: 12). Huddleston & Pullum (2002), in their response to Mukherjee's (2002a) review, consider it "counterproductive to quote a sentence with a subject NP containing a long and distracting relative clause when all we are concerned to illustrate is the order of adjuncts in the verb phrase" (3). Since there are no references to sources in either of the two grammars, what was seen by some readers as a major shortcoming of *CompGR*, also applies to *CambGR*: the reader is left in the dark regarding whether the data used to illustrate a grammatical point is authentic or invented, taken from a corpus or from other sources (see Mukherjee 2002a and references cited within)[7].

As for (ii), remarks concerning frequency in *CambGR* respond to an attempt to separate rare grammatical constructions from sporadic mistakes (see Pullum 2002: 3), but no statistical figures are given. *CambGR* uses data from corpora for lists of words which appear frequently in

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[6] The corpora used by the authors include: Brown Corpus of American English, the London/Oslo/Bergen (LOB) corpus of British English, the Australian Corpus of English (OCE) and the Wall Street Journal corpus. The British National Corpus was only released to scholars outside the UK after the book was in its final draft. See Mukherjee's (2002a) review and the response by the authors (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002) on whether the Wall Street Journal corpus (44 million words) should be considered a corpus or not.

[7] It is the lack of systematic and consistent use of data from naturally ocurring discourse that has led Mukherjee (2002a) in his review to regard *CambGR* as a "quaint anachronism" in comparison with *LongGR*, an entirely corpus-based description.

a particular grammatical construction, but frequency rates do not play a determining role in linguistic description. Whether a construction is ungrammatical or not is in principle independent from whether it is frequently used or not; and decisions about canonical vs. non-canonical constructions are taken on the basis of structural properties, not frequency of use (see Mukherjee 2002a on the different treatments of extraposition in the *LongGR* and *CambGR* and the Huddleston & Pullum's 2002 response to his criticism). This is not to deny the value of frequency percentages as indicators of matters of performance which should be part of a descriptive grammar, or to deny the usefulness of corpus linguistics for linguistic description. But some reflection is needed on what is to be gained by adding percentage rates to constructions or by providing just raw data. Huddleston & Pullum, like Quirk *et al.*, are writing a descriptive reference grammar of English; they are not to trying to do a statistical study of frequency of words or structures across genres, varieties of English or stages of the language, and, hence, their choices in these matters seem fully justified.

2.2.3. Theory: What theory?

Theoretical ecclecticism has often been pointed out as one of the characteristics of descriptive grammars. The idea is that descriptive grammars should be regarded as works of synthesis, drawing on recent research as well as the grammatical tradition. As Greenbaum (1988: 42) puts it regarding *CompGR*: "if a grammar is to be **comprehensive** it cannot be tied to one theory." For Greenbaum (1988), grammars that are tied to one theory will necessarily be 'partial' grammars (covering only those grammatical aspects of the language that have been investigated by the linguists within that framework), and may date quickly. The problem is that a grammar which tries to include as many analyses from different frameworks as possible may suceed in being theoretically ecclectic, and, possible, 'neutral', but may lack coherence. Decisions have to be made as to what adds to the descriptive value of the grammar, but an overall coherence and consistency has to be maintained in those aspects of the analysis where it is possible. The most satisfactory analysis should be adopted, as long as it fits in with the descriptive framework of the grammar.

A clue to the choices made by the authors of both grammars for descriptive analysis is found in the selected bibliography: the 'Bibliographical note' at the end of each chapter in *CompGR*, and the 'Further reading' section at the end of *CambGR*. *CompGR* simply provides lists of references for different topics dealt with in a particular chapter: no mention is made of the theoretical (or descriptive) approach adopted in any of those references, nothing is said about to what extent the description relies on any of those sources, and no evaluative (or any other type of) comments are made. The 'Further reading' section in *CambGR* is meant to include only those particular works that the authors have been significantly influenced by or from which they have drawn important analytical insights, as well as further research. The theoretical framework of the works cited is often mentioned (though often in relation to generative-transformational analyses vs. others). Evaluative comments are often made. Alternative

analyses are mentioned and it is often made explicit what works have been most influential for the analysis adopted and the reader is sometimes directed to works which offer additional support for the analysis adopted or, on the contrary, a competing analysis . In sum, while readers may be left in the dark about the sources for the data used, as I pointed out in the preceding section, they are not left in the dark as to the most relevant sources of the analysis adopted. The 'Further reading' section offers a careful choice of varied, highly significant works, and the comments made by the authors about the content and nature of these works are invaluable.

There is no doubt that the authors have relied on a variety of sources from different theoretical frameworks for their description (see, for instance, the section for 'Deixis and anaphora'), but they also admit that they have drawn many insights from the generativist work of the last fifty years [see Pullum (2002: 2)]. The reader, however, should not expect a transformational type of approach, along the lines of the work carried out by Chomsky and his associates. Generativist approaches trace their ancestry to the pioneer work of Chomsky in the 1950's and 1960's (Chomsky 1955, 1957, 1965). Since the mid 1970's, however, two parallel trends have developed, broadly speaking, within generative grammar. The first trend is associated with the work of Chomsky, and since the 1980's has been known as the Principles and Parameters (P & P) approach (embodied by Government & Binding Theory (GB) and, more recently, The Minimalist Program). The second trend consists of a number of theories, which include, among others, Generalized Phrase-Structure Grammar (GPSG) (Gazdar *et al.* 1985) and Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG) (Pollard and Sag 1994)[8]. It is this second trend that has most influenced *CambGR*.

The differences between the P & P approach and the phrase-structure approach adopted in *CambGR* are significant. Fundamentally, the former postulates a multi-leveled theory, transformational rules relating different levels of the grammar, while the latter generates surface structures directly. Moreover, phrase-structure approaches like GPSG provide a semantic translation for each syntactic rule and, thus, it is committed to a model-theoretic account of natural language semantics along the lines of Montague grammar[9]. Indeed, much of the early work in this framework in the late 70's and early 80's was devoted to showing that the adoption of a purely phrase structure model of syntactic analysis, together with a sufficiently developed semantic theory would permit the construction of descriptive adequately grammars

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[8] As well as Lexical-Functional Grammar (Bresnan 1982), Relational grammar (Perlmutter 1983) and Categorial Grammar (Steedman 1993).

[9] In the Introduction to their book, Gazdar *et al* (1985: 11) say "...our efforts to marry a linguistically interesting generative syntax with an explicitly defined semantics place our work in an arena that few have entered, since most current syntactic research is associated with no theory of semantics whatsoever." Horrocks (1987: 215-6) defines GPSG as "a combination of Montague's approach to the semantics of natural languages and a highly sophisticated version of X'-theory". Newmeyer (1998) considers the syntax-semantics relation to be one of the attractions of this theory. The link between theoretical linguistics and the work of psychologists and computer scientists on parsing and information-processing has also been pointed out as one of its assets.

which did not make use of transformational rules (see Horrocks 1987: chapter 3). Some of the differences between these two approaches will become evident in our discussion in the following section (especially, 3.2), in which I take GB as representative of the P & P approach.

3. Linguistic description at work: verbos and their complements in *CambGR*

In this section I examine critically the treatment of verb complementation in *CambGR*, focusing mainly on two constructions: V-P (Particle/Preposition) combinations (3.1) and, in more detail, non-finite clausal complements (3.2). The term **complement** is used in *CambGR* for those functions in clause structure which are "more closely related to the verb and more clearly differentiated by their syntactic properties" (215) as opposed to **adjuncts**, which tend to be differentiated by their "semantic properties" (215). Complements are 'dependents' of the V, while adjuncts may be 'dependents' (modifiers) or 'supplements' (more loosely attached to the V). In *CambGR*, complements are not equivalent to 'objects', since the term is used to include the subject and 'predicative' complements like those underlined in sentences like *Ed seemed quite competent; She considered Ed quite competent* (217). Whether subjects and predicatives should also be included under the term complement is not an issue I am going to discuss here, but my use of the term complement henceforth includes only what traditional grammars refer to as direct and indirect objects. It is to this restricted used that the notions used in chapter 4 to define complements (licensing, subcategorization, argumenthood, selection restrictions and so on) apply most clearly[10].

3.1 Phrasal complements: V-P combinations

Chapter 4 in *CambGR* deals with many interesting issues regarding verb complementation, some of which have hardly been represented in more traditional grammars, *e.g.* light Vs (sec. 7) *(have a look, take a rest...)*, or have received an inadequate treatment, *e.g.* Vs with multiple complementation patterns (sec. 8, which draws on recent research on verb alternations, especially Levin 1993). Special mention has to be made of the section devoted to V-P(reposition) combinations (sec. 6), which focuses on three issues:(i) **Prep(ositional) Vs**, where the P is selected by the V (as in *Kim referred to your book* and *He congratulated her on her promotion)*; (ii) **Particles positioning between V and object** (as in *She put in her application)*; and (iii) **V-P idioms** (as *I gave up the struggle)* (272). The term 'phrasal V', which can be used widely to include the examples in (i)-(iii), is rejected here because it implies that the elements underlined form constituents of the category V. In the narrow use of the term, phrasal Vs are V + intransitive P combinations, where one would include the examples in (ii) and (iii) (but not those in (i))[11]. In fact, most of the traditional 'phrasal Vs' are in *CambGR* considered to be an

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[10] The definitions for complement and adjunct in *CambGR* are rather vague. It is indeed very difficult to define these terms outside a theoretical framework. What in *CambGR* is called complement is similar to what is known as 'argument' in the generative tradition. In X'-theory, complements are standardly defined as sisters of the V within a V', while adjuncts occupy adjoined positions *(e.g.* sister to V').

instance of verbal idioms, along with other verbal idioms like *You are pulling my leg* and *This gave the lie to her critics*.

In general, the analysis presented in *CambGR* compares favourably with that of *CompGR*, especially regarding Prep Vs, for which the analysis in *CambGR* is firmly based on the syntactic evidence showing that the P (in *refer to*) forms a constituent with the following NP: [$_{pp}$ to your book] (against the two alternative analyses in *CompGR*, see (1) above). Where this sequence does not seem to behave as a PP (e.g. in *I came [across some old letters]*), the authors resort to the notion of 'fossilisation' (see 6.11). Six different types of Prep Vs are given, of which only two appear in *CompGR* (Type I: *She looked after her son*; Type II *He invested his money in property* (with three subtypes)). The other four include examples in which both complements of the V are prepositional: *He looked [to her] [for guidance]* (mentioned under 'Other multi-word verb constructions' in 16.17 in *CompGR*) and three types with predicative complements: *It counts [as too short]*, *They regard it [as successful]*, and *I think [of it] [as indispensable]*. For each of these types lists are given of Vs belonging to the different types and special cases are discussed. The emphasis in *CompGR* is, however, on the distinction between Type I Prep Vs and phrasal Vs and on the idiomatic status of the Prep Vs in Type II, but in general the discussion is shorter and more superficial.

The analysis of the structures in (ii) and (iii) in *CambGR* can be, however, confusing at times and is not radically different from the analysis given in *CompGR*, which deals with different types of phrasal Vs which vary in their idiomatic status: Vs in free combination being the least idiomatic, as opposed to other transitive phrasal Vs with idiomatic meanings *(She took in the box* vs. *She took in her parents)*. *CambGR* also distinguishes free combinations from V-P idioms, with varying degrees of fossilisation and lexicalisation, but in all cases the P is meant to be an independent constituent. Given the emphasis on constituent structure throughout the grammar, it is quite surprising that the more 'lexicalised' forms are not treated differently from those in free combination: i.e. with the V and the P forming a constituent independently from the NP, as some sort of compound or 'multi-word' V, using the terminology in *CompGR*[12]. Unless we do that it is not clear what is the function of the PP headed by the P in idioms: *pay back my father that loan* is said to contain PP-Od-Oi so that this is a ditransitive structure with an additional PP whose function in the structure is unclear.

3.2. *Clausal complements: content clauses and non-finite clauses*

Clausal complements (or complement clauses) are commonly clauses functioning as complements of Vs, As, Ns and Ps.[13] I focus here on clauses functioning as complements of Vs, like those in (2) ((2a): *that*-clause; (2b, c): interrogative clauses; (2d): *to*-clause, and (2e): *-ing*-clause):

(2) a.   She knew <u>that some people would not vote for her.</u>
     b.   They were wondering <u>whether some people would vote for her.</u>
     c.   They asked <u>who would vote for her.</u>
     d.   She persuaded them <u>to vote for her.</u>
     e.   They remembered <u>voting for her.</u>

The approach to clausal complements like those in (2) in *CambGR* departs significantly from the more traditional approach in *CompGR*, where they are analysed are instances of 'nominal clauses'. Nominal clauses (as opposed to adverbial, relative and comparative clauses) are defined as having functions "that approximate those of noun phrases: subject, object, complement, appositive and prepositional complement" (*CompGR*: 1047). Their internal classification is based on their form and their function in the structure: subject, object and so on (see 15.3-15.6). In chapter 16, different types of Vs are distinguished (copular, monotransitive, complex transitive and ditransitive); their (phrasal and clausal) complement types are discussed in some detail and lists are provided of Vs with the same complementation patterns.

I have already said that the functional classification of clauses along the lines of that in *CompGR* is rejected by the authors of *CambGR*.(see 8.2-8.3). In *CambGR*, subordinate clauses are defined according to their form: namely, (i) finite clauses (content clauses (chapter 11), relative clauses (chapter 12), and comparative clauses (chapter 14)) and (ii) non-finite clauses (chapter 14). Quirk et al.'s adverbial clauses are analysed in *CambGR* as adjuncts of the clause in chapter 8 "The clause: adjuncts" and subordinators in *CompGR* (*after, as, before, once...*and so on) are regarded in *CambGR* as Ps heading a PP with a clausal complement (a content clause). Issues to do with clausal complementation of Vs are dealt with in chapters 11 (finite clauses) and 14 (non-finite clauses). The syntactic properties of these structures are analysed in much more detailed in *CambGR* than in *CompGR* (especially non-finite complements), but readers

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of the traditional generative 'reanalysis' account of structures like this). Arguments in favour and against treating *tear up* as a single V are examined in detail. In *CambGR* the notion of fossilisation is seen as an alternative to reanalyis in terms of incorporation for prepositional Vs like *come across* (vs. *refer to*) (see p. 277). Since fossilisation is also used to account for V-preposition idioms, we assume that a similar analysis may be given to cases like those being considered here.

[13] See *CambGR* (fn 31:1017) for why the authors reject the term 'complement clauses' for examples like those in (2a, b, c), which are regarded as content clauses (see 3.2.1 here). Those in (2d, e) are called 'catenatives', as we shall see in sec. 3.2.2 below.

used to how information is presented in traditional grammars may find it slightly awkward that subordinate clauses are dealt with in so many different chapters and that aspects of clausal complementation of Vs, for instance, appear in two different chapters depending on whether the clause is finite or non-finite. In what follows, I briefly outline the properties of content clauses and then move on to examine the properties of non-finite clausal complements of Vs in much more detail.

3.2.1. Content clauses

Among finite clauses, content clauses are defined in *CambGR* as the default category: "they lack the special properties of relative and comparative clauses, and their structure is less different from that of main clauses" (950). The term 'content clauses', taken from Jespersen, also reflects this default status – the clause is selected simply for its semantic content, not for a special syntactic property. Content clauses are divided according to their illocutionary type (like main clauses): declarative (like (2a)), open/close interrogative (like (2c) and (2b), respectively) and exclamative, with declaratives as the default category[14]. A typical content clause is represented as in (3)[15]:

(3)

```
                          Clause
              ┌──────────────┴──────────────┐
          Marker:                         Head:
          Subordinator                    Clause
                                    ┌────────┴────────┐
                                 Subject           Predicate
                                  NP                  VP

          that              your secretary       might be leaving
```

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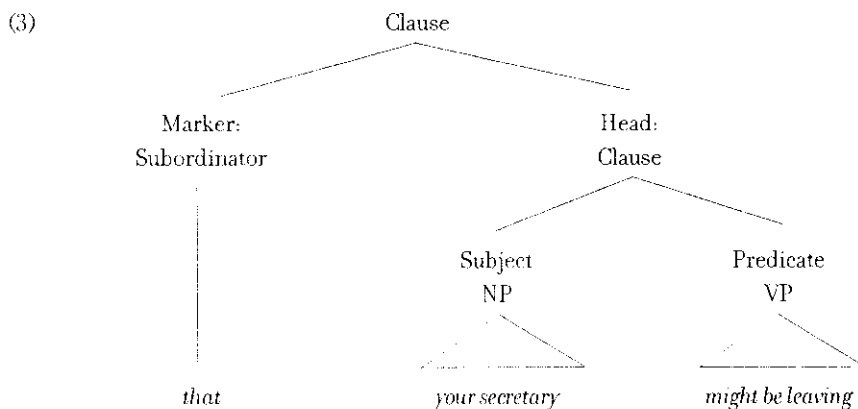
[14] In fact, under this definition of content clauses as clauses with no special syntactic features, the inclusion of exclamatives and open subordinate interrogatives like *I asked when they were planning to go* is rather striking. These are 'unbounded dependencies' and their special syntactic properties are not radically different from those of relatives which are dealt with separately. One could say that the reason why they are regarded as content clauses is because their structure is not very different from that of a main interrogative clause. However, the analysis of subordinate interrogatives (and main interrogatives alike) as unbounded dependencies is not emphasised, maybe in order to avoid stressing what these structures have in common with relative clauses, given their classification of complex structures.

[15] P-Markers in *CambGR* contain information about both function and categories (see ch. 1: 4.2.2.-3). The notion of 'head' is very different from the standard use of this term in X'-theory.

In *CambGR*, a distinction is established between S(ubordinator)-class 'subordinating conjunctions' like *that* (and also *whether, if* and *for*) and P(preposition)-class conjunctions *(while, until, although, before....)* (see 8.1 for details), following current linguistic approaches which have convincingly shown that 'subordinators' have distinct properties[16].

The descriptive analysis that follows offers extremely interesting and illuminating discussions of a variety of constructions involving content clauses, with an impressive wealth of examples. Some of the sections in chapter 11 show *CambGR* at its best: for instance, sec. 4.5 in which content clauses which are complements of nouns are analysed, (see the arguments against the analysis of these clauses as 'appositive' as in *CompGR* (1016-7)); the careful distinction between form and meaning throughout sec. 5, which deals with interrogative content clauses; the analysis of the factors favouring *whether* or *if* in sec. 5.2, and so on. There are isolated cases, however, in which the analysis is insightful and promising, but frustrating in that it is barely developed, leaving crucial questions unanswered, as for instance in the discussion of *so/such* + content clause (4.6), where it is argued that the *that*-clause that follows these elements is a complement in clause structure, not a complement of these elements.

A lot of the issues mentioned here are set off in smaller print in the 'blue sections'. For the linguist and the training linguist, the discussions there are often most interesting and stimulating, but even for other readers, this is a chapter in which the 'blue sections' are essential for a correct understanding of various theoretical choices made by the authors. The same applies to the 'blue sections' in chapter 14, which I review in more detail in the next section.

3.2.2. *Non-finite clauses*

Chapter 14, which deals with non-finite clauses, is an example of what I referred to as 'post-theoretical' descriptive analysis in sec. 2.1, the description being greatly influenced by generative, non-transformational, phrase structure approaches of the the GPSG type. A lot of the effort here is devoted to establishing distinctions between similar structures not distinguished by traditional grammars and, conversely, to offering a unitary analysis of constructions which have been traditionally dealt with separately. This is a chapter where careful reading of the 'blue sections' is essential for a better understanding of the approach adopted. In what follows, I focus on those aspects in which the description presented differs from the traditional one *(e.g.* the status of *to),* as well as GB-type generative analyses (the different types of 'catenative' complements).

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[16] The explanations given for why *that* is not the head of the (expanded) clause are, however, less convincing. Omissibility may work for *that,* but not for *whether.* As for the fact that Vs select the form of the clause following *that* (e.g. *insist* selects a subjunctive clause: *We insist [that the work be finished this week],* while *hope* does not **We hope [that the work be finished this week]),* one could certainly come up with mechanisms to capture this fact within the framework used by the authors.

It is mainly inflectional properties that distinguish non-finite clauses from finite clauses. Three main kinds (form-types) of non-finite clauses are identified as illustrated in (4) (1174):

(4) a.   Max wanted [to <u>change</u> his name]   *infinitival*

     b.   I remember [<u>locking</u> the door]   *gerund-participial*

   c.   His father got [<u>charged</u> with manslaughter]   *past-participial*

Another difference between finite and non-finite clauses is that in the former the subject is obligatory, while like those in (4) non-finite clauses are traditionally analysed as subjectless. In GB, however, the bracketed structure in (4a), for instance, is analysed as a clause (an S' or a CP) with an empty pronominal (PRO) in subject position, as required by the (Extended) Projection Principle, which ensures that predicate-argument structures are syntactically represented. In phrase structure approaches like GPSG, the bracketed structure in (4a) is analysed as a bare VP (the presence of a VP being enough to establish clausal status). These structures are therefore subjectless in this framework. The interpretation of the semantic relation between predicates and their arguments is carried out by mechanisms which do not require the subject position to be projected. This is the approach adopted in *CambGR*.

To-infinitival clauses may contain a subject introduced by the subordinator *for*, as in *He arranged [for her to be interviewed first]*. The element *for*, traditionally a preposition, is analysed in *CambGR* as a subordinator: the non-finite equivalent to *that*, though its prepositional source is reflected in a number of properties (see sec. 1.4.1). More controversial is the status of the element *to* as VP subordinator (with the VP as a Head), as in (5) (1187):

(5)
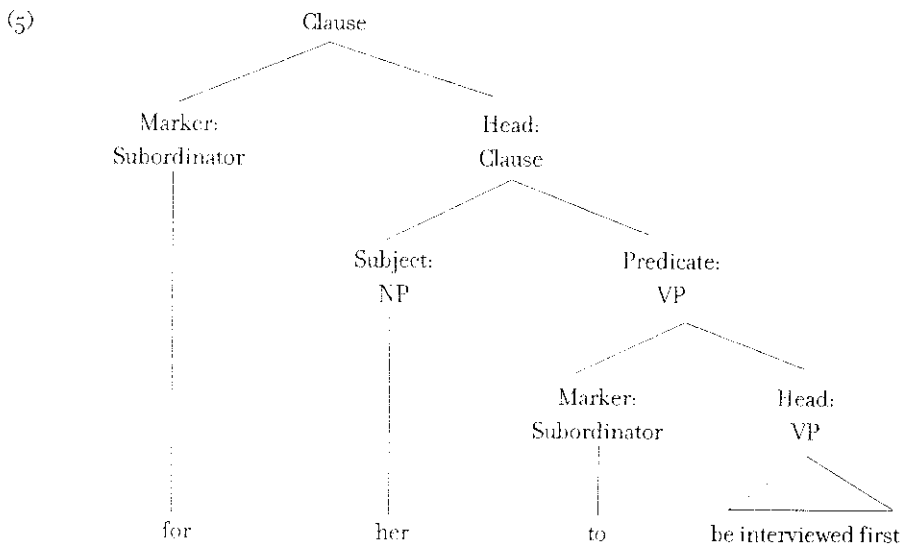
The analysis in (5) is preferred over an alternative analysis in which *to* is a(n) (auxiliary) verbal head which takes the VP as its complement (p. 1185). Both analyses capture the fact that *to* and the following V are neither morphologically nor syntactically bound (i.e.*to interview* as the infinitival form of the lexeme *interview*). In *CambGR*, (5) is chosen because the relation between *to* and the following VP is very similar to the relation between *that/whether* and the following clause, so that all three elements appear to be subordinators. However, its status as a 'special' subordinator is recognized: it can be 'stranded', like auxiliary Vs *(I don't have to__; I won't_)*, and it does not necessarily occupy initial position in the constituent it marks *(She taught her children always to tell the truth)*. But the strongest argument against an analysis of *to* as a verbal head is that, unlike all other verbal heads, *to* can be omitted in certain contexts and that it can only head a VP in subordinate clauses.

There is a third possibility, not considered in *CambGR*, which may account for all these properties. The element *to* is neither a subordinator, nor a verbal head, but an inflectional head (like modals and verbal affixes). This has been the standard GB analysis of this element as represented by the two possibilities in (6): the pre-*Barriers* analysis, with I as a constituent of S in (6a) and the *Barriers* analysis (Chomsky 1986), with functional categories like I projecting their own phrases (6b):

(6) a.

S
├ NP
├ I — to
└ VP — be interviewed

b.

IP
├ NP
└ I'
  ├ I — to
  └ VP — be interviewed
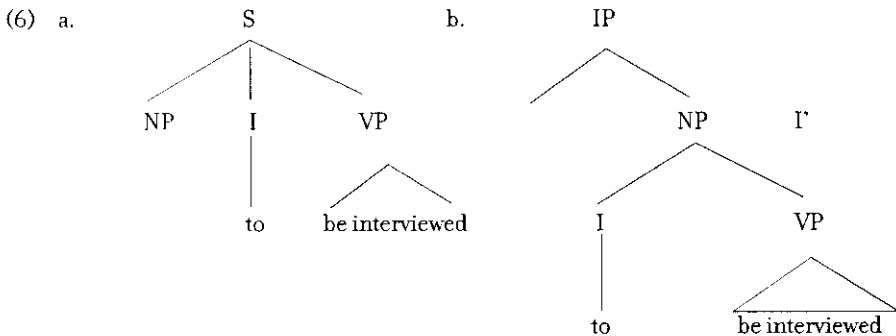
On theoretical grounds, under an analysis along the lines of (6), we would not need to posit a 'special' subordinator which introduces VPs. Notice also, that in (5) *to* + VP form a VP constituent at a higher level, unlike the two possibilities in (6). This has unfortunate empirical consequences since there are syntactic processes involving VPs which do not involve *to*, as shown in (7) for VP-ellipsis. The contrast between (7a) and (7b) is difficult to explain under an analysis like that in (5), in which *mow the lawn* and *to mow the lawn* are both VPs:

(7) a.   John has to mow the lawn, but I don't have *to__*
     b.   *John has to mow the lawn, but I don't have __

An analysis along the lines of (6), however, cannot be contemplated within the descriptive framework of *CambGR*, which does not recognize the existence of inflectional heads as independent constituents, like the theoretical framework on which it is most firmly based. Adherence to this framework provides a fairly consistent approach to the facts discussed in chapter 14, but it does raise the question as to how strong the ties should be between theory and description.

The influence of phrase structure approaches of the GPSG type is also evident in the detailed discussion of the different types of 'catenative' complements. Catenatives are a distinct type of complement realised exclusively by non-finite clauses (1177), like the complements of the Vs in (8). Catenative constructions can be simple or complex depending on the absence/presence of an intervening NP[17]:

(8)	i. *simple*	a.	Emma hopes [to go on holiday]
		b.	Daniel seems [to be worried]
	ii. *complex*	a.	Paul persuaded [**Anna** to phone her sister]
		b.	Anna believes [**Sue** to be ready for the job]

Four types of complex catenatives are distinguished (see ch.14: 1.2), of which the examples in (8ii), with the intervening NP in 'plain' accusative Case, are just one instance[18]. The construction is also found with gerund-participles (*I resented their being given such favourable treatment*) and past-participles (*I had my car stolen*).

In the standard theory transformational analyses of the 60's, constructions like those in (8) were said to contain 'equi' and 'raising' predicates. Equi predicates involve 'control' of the reference of the (implicit) subject of the infinitive clause by either the matrix subject (9a) or the matrix object (9b) (where indexes express the control relation and *e* stands for empty subject (= PRO)):

(9)	a.	Emma$_i$ tried [e$_i$ to go on holiday]	*subject-control*
	b.	Paul$_k$ persuaded **Anna**$_i$ [e$_i$ to phone her sister]	*object-control*

Constructions with raising predicates involve a transformational rule which places the deep structure subject of the non-finite V as either the subject or the object of the matrix clause, as in (10a) and (10b), respectively (where arrows express movement and *t* stands for the trace left by the moved element in its original position):

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[17] The term catenative is a reflection of the fact that the construction can be repeated recursively, thus yielding a concatenation of Vs as in *She intends to try to persuade him to help her redecorate her flat* (1177) (see, for instance, Palmer 1987: ch. 9).

[18] The other three types are: (i) with prepositional Vs (*I rely on them to look after themselves*); (ii) with the intervening NP introduced by *for* (*I arranged for them to go by bus*) and (iii) with the intervening NP in genitive case (as in the example with *resent* in the text).

(10) a.   **Daniel** seems [*t* to be worried]   *subject-to-subject raising*
          ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾

     b.   Anna believes **Sue** [*t* to be ready for the job]   *subject-to-object raising*
          ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾

The standard theory distinction between equi and raising Vs is central to the approach to catenative complements in *CambGR*, as analysed in non-transformational generative frameworks. Concerning equi Vs like those in (9), no subject position is projected, but the interpretation of these sentences requires an 'understood' subject with a 'controlled' interpretation: the "interpretation of the missing subject is controlled by an antecedent in the matrix clause" (1193). Control as employed in GB and GPSG are rather different notions. In GB, control theory is a module of the grammar that deals with the interpretation of empty anaphoric pronominal elements (PRO) in the subject position of non-finite clauses . In GPSG, control involves an agreement in features between the controller and the controllee, as required by the Control Agreement Principle (CAP); the semantic interpretation of the missing subject being carried out by other means. While it is clear that the notion of control employed in *CambGR* is not that of GB, since these complements are VPs without subjects. it is not clear what the authors of the *CambGR* actually mean by a 'controlled' interpretation.

'Raised' and 'raising' do not mean in the *CambGR* what they mean in GB, either. A non-transformational GPSG -like approach is favoured: *Daniel* and *Sue* are generated in the position which they occupy in (10). as corresponds to phrase structure theories with only one level of representation (see sec 2.2.3 here)[19]. Consequently, statements like "the missing subject [in sentences like those in (10b)] is retrievable from the raised complement in the matrix clause" (1193) remain rather mysterious until the syntactic analysis of simple and complex catenative constructions is carried out in the sections that follow. Regarding simple catenatives, a distinction is established between 'ordinary' and 'raised' subjects, which correspond to the subjects of equi and raising predicates, respectively: thus, while *Emma* is an argument of *try* (an agent) in (9a). *Daniel* is not an argument of *seem* in (10a), but rather it is an argument of the predicate *be worried* (the meaning being something like 'Seemingly, Daniel was worried'). A raised subject is therefore the syntactic subject of a V which is higher in the structure than the one the subject is semantically related to. A set of arguments, of the type typically found in the generative literature, are given to distinguish Vs like *hope* (like *try*) from Vs like *seem* in sec. 2.1 and the distinction is extended to gerund-participials (*We enjoyed sailing* vs. *We kept sailing*) in

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[19] This also reflects a fundamental difference between the two approaches. The standard theory analysis in (10) is partly motivated on semantic grounds: the NPs *Daniel* and *Sue* belong semantically to (are arguments of) the subordinate predicate, not to the main predicate. The Projection Principle requires that predicate-argument relations are represented at the level of Deep Structure. There is no analogue to the Projection Principle in GPSG. where semantic interpretation is carried out in a different way (see sec. 2.2.3 here).

sec. 2.2. The explanations are clear and to the point, with plenty of relevant examples, showing the grammar at its best.

A parallel analysis is presented for plain-complex catenatives in sec.3.1.1, where predicates with 'ordinary' objects are distinguished from those with 'raised' objects, a distinction equivalent to that between object-control and raising-to-object predicates (9b) vs. (10b). Like before, raised objects are to be interpreted as the semantic subject of the non-finite V. The arguments given in sec. 3.1.1.to distinguish between *intend* (with a raised object, like *believe*) and *persuade* (with an ordinary object) are among those that distinguish ECM (Exceptional Case-Marking) Vs from object-control Vs in GB and they point towards the subject-like properties of the NP following Vs like *intend* (or *believe*), as opposed to the object-like properties of the NP following *persuade*: relation with finite complement constructions, relation with passive infinitivals, selectional restrictions and dummy objects[20].

It is worth mentioning in relation to this that in GB, contrary to the earlier transformational analyses, there is not a raising-to-object rule for structures like (10b), equivalent to the raising-to-subject rule in (10a). Rather, examples like of the GOs (10b) are analysed with *Sue* as the subject of the infinitive clause. Under this analysis, the object-like properties of *Sue (e.g.* it can be the subject of the corresponding passive *Sue was believed to be ready for the job)* are accounted for by the fact that theV *believe* assigns accusative Case to *Sue*. The arguments given to distinguish *persuade* from *intend* (or *believe)* can be used both to claim that the element *Sue* in (10b) is a 'raised' object, in the standard transformational analysis and in the analysis adopted in *CambGR*, and that it is actually the subject of the infinitival complement of an ECM V, as in the GB analysis. There are arguments in favour of the GB analysis and arguments in favour of raising[21], but a point in favour of the GB approach is that it provides a unitary account of the argument properties of Vs like *intend* vs. *persuade* in sentences with finite and non-finite clausal complements. Notice that while (11ia) is ungrammatical, because *persuade* requires two complements, as in (11ib), *intend* patterns in exactly the opposite way:

(11)   i.   a.   *Pat persuaded [*that* Liz should interview both candidates]
            b.   Pat persuaded [Liz] [*that* she should interview both candidates].
        ii.   a.   Pat intended [*that* Liz should interview both candidates]
            b.   *Pat intended [Liz] [*that* she should interview both candidates].

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[20] A special case is that of Vs like *want* and *prefer*, which since Postal (1974) have resisted a coherent analysis. These Vs are analysed as a subclass of Vs appearing in both simple and complex constructions, with an ordinary subject in the simple construction and a raised object in the plain-complex construction. The fact that these Vs do not allow passivization of the raised object (unlike *believe* or *intend*) is left unaccounted for, as has been pointed out to me by Jon Ortiz de Urbina (personal communication).

[21] In fact, Postal's (1974) arguments in favour of raising never received an adequate explanation within the GB approach. Conversely, extraction facts were not accounted for under the raising approach. I thank Jon Ortiz de Urbina for this observation.

While there is nothing wrong with adopting the standard theory 'raising'-to-object analysis for Vs like *intend* and adapting it to a particular descriptive framework, for a grammar so concerned with constituent structure, it is surprising that facts like those in (11) are not taken into consideration.

The section on complex catenatives is completed with an analysis of the *for*-complex construction, the oblique-complex construction and gerund-participials (parallel to that of *persuade* and *intend*). The description is followed by a classification of catenative Vs in section 5, according to what catenative construction Vs appear in (simple, complex or both), with multiple subdivisions (depending on whether the Vs take *to*-infinitival complements, and/or gerund-particial and/or past participal complement, whether they have raised or ordinary subject/object, as well as the different types of complex catenatives). A useful index of Vs is included in sec. 5.5, with the class they belong to, offering overall a much more complete, accurate and systematic overview of Vs taking non-finite clausal complements than that of *CompGR* (chapter 16).

A surprising addition to the class of catenatives is auxiliary Vs *have* and *be* and modals in their core uses (as markers of mood, tense, aspect and voice). A sentence like *She may phone* is analysed with *phone* as a non-finite complement of *may* and a similar analysis is proposed for the elements underlined in *She isn't listening* and *I haven't found it*. This is an example of how adopting a particular descriptive standpoint (*i.e.* catenatives as special types of complements) leads to a unitary description of structures which are have not been traditionally dealt with together. Under the view that non-finite complement clauses do not differ essentially from other objects, structures like those in (9) and (10) and structures with auxiliaries (whose complement is clearly not an object) could not be dealt with together. Sec. 4.2. in chapter 14 is devoted to the justification of the analysis of auxiliaries as catenatives as opposed to 'the dependent analysis', where auxiliaries are treated as dependents of a following main V (as in *CompGR*: chapter 3). Due to space limitations, I cannot review here the arguments presented in favour of the authors' analysis, but I urge linguistically-oriented readers to study the relevant 'blue-sections' carefully, which are an excellent exercise in linguistic argumentation, because of the subtleties of the arguments and the authors' efforts to avoid indeterminacy.

Chapter 14 is representative of the main focus of *CambGR*: to analyse the formal properties of present-day English structures. Historical factors cannot be used to justify syntactic distinctions, like the distinction between gerunds and present-participles often found in descriptive grammars, which is based on their different historical sources (see 4.3). Syntactic facts, like the different types of catenative complements, receive syntactic explanations. The authors make it clear that it is not possible to assign meanings to the different form-types and that the selection of the catenative form is not semantically determined, though it is not altogether random, either, in the sense that Vs with similar meanings tend to select the same form-types. The association of to-infinitivals with temporal projection into the future is due to the historical origin of *to* as a preposition (goal), while the gerund-participial is commonly

associated with what is actual and current, which may be connected with the nominal source of most of these complements. But these are only "historically-motivated tendencies and associations, not constant elements of meaning" (1241). Having said that, semantic notions like factivity and discourse factors to do with information packaging play a crucial role in some sections in relation to particular form-types selected in specific contexts (see e.g. 7.: 'Subjects and extraposed subjects').

4. Some pedagogical implications

Writing a grammar does not differ essentially from designing a course. Decisions are made to suit the purposes of the descriptive framework one adopts, as well as the readers/students one has in mind: what data to consider and how to present it, the type of argumentation, use of linguistic evidence, and so on. For courses, these choices have a direct impact on the structure of lectures, task design and elaboration of tests and exams. In this sense, *CambGR* is an extremely useful reference for courses which focus on constituent structure and whose aim is to provide students with a conceptual framework for the grammatical description of English, as well as for courses centred on linguistic analysis and linguistic argumentation, in which students are expected to adopt an active role and are encouraged to collaborate in the 'construction' of a grammar, rather than being passive readers of grammars. In this sense, independently from whether one agrees with the analyses presented or not, one must be grateful to the authors of *CambGR*, for making the argumentation process explicit at all points.

Chapter 14, some aspects of the content of which have been reviewed in the preceding section, is a clear example of how *CambGR* has been conceived of from a methodological point of view. There are numerous references to the choice of data on which the analysis is based. Rare and unsystematic examples are dismissed as mistakes, like those in which non-raising Vs like *try* are treated as though they were voice-neutral in sentences like *The exam papers are trying to be marked by next week* ("We are trying to mark them") (see FN 15: 1197). There are attested examples whose acceptability ranges from marginal (*This constant telling tales has to stop*) to fully acceptable (*There was no telling what he might do next*) but which, according to the authors, resist elegant description, as the kind of 'hybrid' (nominal/verbal) construction that may arise when a historical change has not been completed (1186). Acceptability and grammaticality are carefully distinguished and low acceptability is not considered relevant for the rejection of a particular analysis. Thus, the passive sentence *The parcel began to be unwrapped by Jill* has low acceptability compared to the active *Jill began to unwrap the parcel*, but that this is not against the analysis of *begin* as a raising V because the two sentences describe the same situation: there is no difference in truth conditions, as opposed to what happens with non-raising Vs (*Liz hoped to convince them* vs. *They hoped to be convinced by Liz*) (1197).

This does not mean that the authors are happy to include 'unnatural' examples: different infinitive Vs are used when comparing *ask* and *seem* (*Kim asked to interview the PM* and *Kim seemed to intimidate the PM*) because *Kim seemed to interview the PM* sounds somewhat unnatural

(FN 28, 1215). Similarly, the V *hope* is used throughout chapter 14 as a model non-raising V vs. *seem*, which is the model raising V, but when discussing whether Vs like *hope*, which appear in the simple catenative construction, may also appear in the complex catenative, other Vs are used because though *hope* may take *for* as in *She was hoping for Kim to return safely*, a finite construction is much more likely than the complex infinitival *(She was hoping that Kim would return safely)* (FN 14: 1197).

There are, of course, examples which appear to be compatible with more than one analysis, following the authors' reasoning. When this is the case, the authors often present what appears to be the most obvious or immediate analysis, and then provide what they consider to be the most plausible analysis at closer inspection. Two instances of this have already been mentioned: the analysis of *begin* as possibly both a raising and a non-raising V, which is rejected in favour of its analysis as a raising V (1179-1198); and the two competing analyses of auxiliaries, where, initially, the case is argued for their analysis as dependents, an analysis which is later rejected in favour of their status as catenative Vs (sec. 4.2). While indeterminacy regarding the right analysis is undesirable in the framework they are adopting, it is interesting that the authors do not avoid discussing 'borderline' cases, like the 'borderline' members of the catenative construction, which may or may not lend themselves to the analysis put forward for catenative Vs in sec. 4.4.

Comments about the data appear mostly in footnotes and detailed, technical argumentation in favour or against an analysis is often found in the 'blue sections', which provide interesting pedagogical possibilities for the design of activities aimed at training students in linguistic argumentation. To the two examples mentioned here (the analysis of *begin* and auxiliary Vs) could add, for instance, the discussion about a possible analysis of 'hollow' infinitival clauses of the type *Max is impossible to live with* as raising predicates *(CambGR: 1247)* or issues to do with structurally ambiguous sentences involving hollow clauses *(CambGR:1249)*, to mention another of the issues dealt with in chapter 14.

5. Conclusion

CambGR is a descriptive grammar of English with clear and systematic underlying theoretical principles, which offers a variety of most valuable analyses for an impressive range of linguistic constructions, based on a wealth of empirical evidence and solid argumentation. Clarity of exposition is high, though readers with little or no linguistic knowledge may find some sections difficult. Only time will tell whether or not it will become the grammar for the 21st century their publishers hope for, but it does indeed succeed in showing the complexity of language and the formidable task linguists face in their attempt to systematize it, as reflected in the work of theoretical linguists over the last 50 years. It is therefore an invaluable pedagogical tool for those interested in encouraging "an exploratory attitude towards data", an expression used by Kilby (1984) in the quotation with which I finish this review and which stresses the value of descriptive work of the type carried out in the *CambGR*.

"...it is, I think, important to note that one consequence of using English or any other single language to exemplify a theory is that the language needs to be simplified somewhat in order for the essential concepts of the theory to be clearly illustrated. It follows that anyone looking at one of these works in a critical frame of mind will be able to find many points of detail which are substantially more complex than is allowed for in such works. More worrying perhaps, one possible result of training budding linguists through such works is that they may begin to believe that such 'laundered' data is in fact the real thing, and this unwittingly encourages the sort of cavalier attitude to data and variability which is characteristic of much contemporary linguistics. I feel that it is important to add some counterweight to such works, and to encourage an exploratory attitude towards linguistic data" (Kilby 1984: 2)

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