The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language

www.cambridge.org

The Cambridge Grammar *of the* English Language

Rodney Huddleston
Geoffrey K. Pullum

in collaboration with

Laurie Bauer
Betty Birner
Ted Briscoe
Peter Collins
David Denison
David Lee
Anita Mittwoch
Geoffrey Nunberg
Frank Palmer
John Payne
Peter Peterson
Lesley Stirling
Gregory Ward

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

v

Contents

Contributors

RODNEY HUDDLESTON held lectureships at the University of Edinburgh, University College London, and the University of Reading before moving to the Department of English at the University of Queensland, where he won an 'Excellence in Teaching' award; he is a Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities, and in 1990 was awarded a Personal Chair. He has written numerous articles and books on English grammar, including *The Sentence in Written English* (1971), *An Introduction to English Transformational Syntax* (1976), *Introduction to the Grammar of English* (1984) and *English Grammar: An Outline* (1988). He was the founding editor of the *Australian Journal of Linguistics* (1980–85).

GEOFFREY K. PULLUM taught at University College London for seven years before moving to the University of California, Santa Cruz, where he served as Dean of Graduate Studies and Research and is currently Professor of Linguistics. He was a Fellow at the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences in 1990–91. His many publications cover not only English grammar and the theory of syntax but also a large number of other topics in linguistics. His scholarly books include *Rule Interaction and the Organization of a Grammar* (1979), *Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar* (1985, with Gerald Gazdar, Ewan Klein, and Ivan A. Sag), and *Phonetic Symbol Guide* (1986, 2nd edn 1996, with William A. Ladusaw). He has also published a collection of satirical essays on linguistics, *The Great Eskimo Vocabulary Hoax* (1991), and given many popular lectures and radio talks on language.

LAURIE BAUER holds a Personal Chair in Linguistics in the School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. He has published widely on English word-formation and New Zealand English, and is a member of the editorial boards of the *Yearbook of Morphology* and *English World-Wide.* His major publications include *English Word-formation* (1983), *Introducing Linguistic Morphology* (1988), *Watching English Change* (1994), and *Morphological Productivity* (2001), and he is the joint editor, with Peter Trudgill, of *Language Myths* (1998).

Contributors vii

BETTY J. BIRNER is an Assistant Professor in the Department of English at
Northern Illinois University. She is the author of *The Discourse Function
of Inversion in English* (1996), as well as co-author, with Gregory Ward,
of *Information Status and Noncanonical Word Order in English* (1998).
She held a postdoctoral fellowship at the University of Pennsylvania's
Institute for Research in Cognitive Science from 1993 to 1995, and has
served as an expert witness in the area of text interpretation.

TED BRISCOE is a member of staff at the Computer Laboratory, University
of Cambridge. His broad research interests are computational and
theoretical linguistics, and automated speech and language processing.
He teaches an advanced course on Natural Language Processing and is
heavily involved in the teaching of the Laboratory's contribution to the
M.Phil. in Computer Speech, Text, and Internet Technology, run jointly
with the Engineering Department. From 1990 until 1996 he was an
EPSRC Advanced Research Fellow undertaking research at Macquarie
University in Sydney, University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, and
Xerox European Research Centre in Grenoble, as well as at the
Computer Laboratory. He has published around fifty research articles.

PETER COLLINS is Associate Professor of Linguistics and Head of the
Linguistics Department at the University of New South Wales. He has
also taught linguistics at Sydney University and Macquarie University,
and is currently the Editor of the *Australian Journal of Linguistics.*
Recently published books include *Australian English: The Language of a
New Society* (1989, with David Blair), *Cleft and Pseudo-cleft Constructions
in English* (1991), *English Grammar* (1998), *The Clause in English* (1999,
edited with David Lee), *English Grammar: An Introduction* (2000, with
Carmella Hollo), and *English in Australia* (2001, with David Blair).

ANITA MITTWOCH is Associate Professor Emeritus in the Department of
English, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Her main work has been
in the area of aspect, adjuncts, and events in grammar, and she is the
author of numerous articles in books and journals, including *Linguistics
and Philosophy*, *Journal of Linguistics*, *Natural Language Semantics*, and
Linguistic Inquiry. She was President of the Israel Association for
Theoretical Linguistics in 1991–95 and 1997–99.

GEOFFREY NUNBERG is a Principal Scientist at the Xerox Palo Alto
Research Center and a Consulting Professor of Linguistics at Stanford
University. Before going to PARC in 1986, he taught at UCLA, Stanford,
and the University of Rome. He has written on a range of topics,
including semantics and pragmatics, information access, written
language structure, multilingualism and language policy, and the
cultural implications of digital technologies. He is usage editor and chair
of the usage panel of the *American Heritage Dictionary* and has also
written on language and other topics for general magazines. His many
publications include *The Linguistics of Punctuation* (1990).

Contributors

JOHN PAYNE currently holds the post of Senior Lecturer in the Department of Linguistics at the University of Manchester. He has been Head of the Department, and also Head of the School of English and Linguistics. He has held appointments as visiting scholar or lecturer at, among others, the University of California at Los Angeles, the Australian National University (Canberra), and LaTrobe University (Melbourne), and he has been an exchange visitor with the Freie Universität Berlin and the USSR Academy of Sciences. He has published widely on typology and syntactic theory, and was a member of the EUROTYP group on noun phrase structure.

FRANK PALMER was Professor of Linguistic Science at the University of Reading from 1965 until his retirement in 1987, and is a Fellow of the British Academy. He is the author of journal articles on linguistic theory, English, and Ethopian languages, and of many books, including *Grammar* (1971, 2nd edn 1984), *The English Verb* (1974, 2nd edn 1987), *Mood and Modality* (1986, 2nd edn 2001), and *Grammatical Roles and Relations* (1994). His professional engagements have involved extensive travel in North and South America, Asia, North Africa, and Europe, and in 1981 he was Distinguished Visiting Professor at the Foreign Languages Institute, Beijing.

PETER PETERSON is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Linguistics at the University of Newcastle, Australia. He is Reviews Editor and Associate Editor of the *Australian Journal of Linguistics*. His principal areas of current research are English syntax, particularly coordination and apposition-like structures, Lexical-Functional Grammar, and the acquisition of English as a Second Language. He is a contributing author in a forthcoming textbook for TESL, and has helped to establish the Newcastle ESL Corpus, a large database of unscripted conversations with French and Polish learners of English.

LESLEY STIRLING is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Linguistics and Applied Linguistics at the University of Melbourne. Prior to taking up her appointment there she spent seven years at the Centre for Cognitive Science and the Department of Linguistics at the University of Edinburgh, and has also held a visiting appointment at the Institute of Cognitive Science, University of Colorado at Boulder. Her research has been mainly in the areas of anaphora, discourse analysis, speech processing, and Australian English. Her publications include *Switch-reference and Discourse Representation* (1993), *Anaphora* (2001, special issue of the *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, edited with Peter K. Austin), and papers in the *Belgian Journal of Linguistics*, *Language and Cognitive Processes*, and *Speech Communication*. In 1996 she was awarded the Crawford Medal for her research by the Australian Academy of the Humanities.

Contributors ix

GREGORY WARD is Professor and Chair of the Department of Linguistics at Northwestern University (Illinois). He has also taught at the Université Charles de Gaulle – Lille 3 (1996) and at the 1993 and 1997 LSA Linguistic Institutes. His main research area is discourse, with specific interests in pragmatic theory, information structure, and reference/anaphora. His 1998 book with Betty Birner – *Information Status and Noncanonical Word Order in English* – explores the discourse functions of a broad range of non-canonical syntactic constructions in English and other languages. With Laurence R. Horn, he is currently co-editor of the *Handbook of Pragmatics* (2002) and, also with Horn, co-author of the pragmatics entry in the *MIT Encyclopedia of the Cognitive Sciences* (1999). From 1986 to 1998, Ward was a consultant at AT&T Bell Laboratories (Murray Hill, NJ), working on speech synthesis and intonational meaning. In 2003, he will be a Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Studies in Palo Alto.

Notational conventions

Abbreviations of grammatical terms and special symbols

Where appropriate, page references are given to the initial explanation. For the symbols used in phonological representations, see p. 13.

A	adjunct
Adj	adjective
AdjP	adjective phrase
Adv	adverb
AdvP	adverb phrase
AmE	American English
AusE	Australian English
BrE	British English
C, Comp	complement
Coord	coordinate
d	dependent
D	determinative
declar	declarative
Det	determiner
DP	determinative phrase
exclam	exclamative
FCF	final combining form (p. 1661)
GEN	genitive
h	head
IC	immediate constituent
ICF	initial combining form (p. 1661)
impve	imperative
interrog	interrogative
LOC	locative
Mkr	marker
Mod	modifier
N	noun
N/A	not applicable
N/D	non-distinctive
Nec	necessity (p. 176)
Nom	nominal
NP	noun phrase
NPI	negatively-oriented polarity-sensitive item (p. 822)
NZE	New Zealand English

o	oblique
O	object
O^d	direct object
O^i	indirect object
$O_{ditrans}$	object of ditransitive (pp. 296–7)
O_{mono}	object of monotransitive (pp. 296–7)
O_{trans}	object of transitive (pp. 296–7)
P	predicator
PC, PredComp	predicative complement
pl	plural
Poss	possibility (p. 176)
PP	preposition phrase
Prep	preposition
PPI	positively-oriented polarity-sensitive item (p. 822)
Q–A	question–answer (p. 897)
REL	relative
S	subject
S_{intr}	subject of intransitive (pp. 296–7)
S_{trans}	subject of transitive (pp. 296–7)
sg	singular
Subj-det	subject-determiner
T_d	deictic time (p. 125)
T_m	matrix time (p. 160)
T_o	time of orientation (p. 125)
T_r	time referred to (p. 125)
T_{sit}	time of situation (p. 125)
univ	universal
V	verb
VGp	verb group (p. 1213)
VP	verb phrase
&	conjunction (logical) (p. 1294)
$\vee$	inclusive disjunction (p. 1294)
$\underline{\vee}$	exclusive disjunction (p. 1294)
<	is anterior to (p. 125)
>	(i) is greater/stronger than;
	(ii) is posterior to (p. 125);
	(iii) precedes (labile ordering constraint) (p. 452)
$\geqslant$	precedes (rigid ordering constraint) (p. 452)
~	(i) grammatical correspondence;
	(ii) the meaning of the morphological base (p. 1631)
$X \rightarrow Y; Y \leftarrow X$	X is morphological source of Y (p. 1633)

Presentation of examples

Italics are used for all expressions cited in orthography.

Bold italics are used to emphasise that we are citing a lexeme in abstraction from any of its inflectional forms, as in 'the verb **go**' (p. 27).

"Double quotation marks" enclose meanings, or propositions.

Underlining (single or double) and square brackets serve to highlight part of an example.

SMALL CAPITALS are used, where appropriate, to indicate focal stress: *I DID tell you.*

Arrows mark intonation, with ↗ representing a rising pitch, ↘ a falling pitch, as in *Is it a boy* ↗ *or a girl* ↘*?*

The symbol '—', as in '*what Kim bought —*', represents a gap (p. 49).

The symbol '·' marks a morphological division within a word or a component part of a word, as in '*work·er·s*' or 'the suffix *·s*'.

Subscript indices, such as 'i' or 'j', mark pairs of items related as antecedent and anaphor (p. 49); thus in '*Jill$_i$ said she$_i$ would help*', the pronoun *she* is to be interpreted as anaphoric to the antecedent *Jill*.

The following symbols indicate the status of examples (in the interpretation under consideration):

*	ungrammatical	**This books is mine.*
#	semantically or pragmatically anomalous	*#We frightened the cheese.*
%	grammatical in some dialect(s) only	*%He hadn't many friends.*
?	of questionable grammaticality	*?Sue he gave the key.*
!	non-standard	*!I can't hardly hear.*

The slash symbol '/' separates alternatives: *The picture seemed excellent/distorted* represents an abbreviation of the two examples *The picture seemed excellent* and *The picture seemed distorted*. Similarly, *I asked you not to leave / *to don't leave until tomorrow* is an abbreviation of *I asked you not to leave until tomorrow* and **I asked you to don't leave until tomorrow*. The slash is flanked by spaces unless both alternatives consist of a single word.

Parentheses enclose optional elements: *The error was overlooked* (*by Pat*) is an abbreviation of *The error was overlooked by Pat* and *The error was overlooked*.

The letters 'A' and 'B' represent different speakers in an interchange, as in A: *Where's the key?*   B: *It's in the top drawer.*

Specialist passages

Certain passages are set off from the main text by being printed in smaller type against a shaded background, as illustrated here. They are designed mainly for the specialist grammarian rather than the more general reader, being mostly concerned with linguistic argumentation in favour of the analysis presented in the main text. Such passages can be omitted without loss of continuity.

Tree diagrams

Tree diagrams for the expressions listed in [1–40] below are given on the pages indicated. The conventions used in the diagrams are explained in the commentaries on [1] (the major concepts), [3] (for the 'gap' notation), and [8] (for the abbreviatory triangle).

[1] *a bird hit the car*   20, 23, 26
[2] *some children*; *children*   26
[3] *Liz bought a watch*; *what Liz bought*   48
[4] *what Max said Liz bought*   49
[5] *he is ill*; *is he ill?*   50
[6] *the old man*; *those Ministry of Defence officials*   329
[7] *both those copies*; *the car alone*   331
[8] *even all the preposterous salary from Lloyds that Bill gets*   332
[9] *a number of protesters*   351
[10] *few of her friends*; *someone I know*; *the second*   412
[11] *Kim's father*; *Kim's*   468
[12] *Mary's careful analysis of the issues*; *Mary carefully analysed the issues*   473
[13] *occasionally very offensive*; *quite unbelievably offensive*   548
[14] *in front of the car*   620
[15] *spoonful by spoonful*   632
[16] *incredible though it seems*   633
[17] *what size shoes*; *how big a hole*   911
[18] *that your secretary might be leaving*   954
[19] *which my neighbour gave me*   1038
[20] *no candidate who scored 40% or more was ever failed*   1061
[21] *they interviewed Jill, who had lent money to the victim*   1062
[22] *what she wrote*   1073
[23] *the others I know are genuine*   1085
[24] *what you insisted that we need*   1089
[25] *as Liz*   1113
[26] *to lend him the money*   1185
[27] *for you to lend him the money*   1187
[28] *his/him constantly questioning my motives*   1190
[29] *he was writing a letter*   1218
[30] *Kim and Pat*   1277
[31] *the guests and indeed his family too*   1278
[32] *Kim and either Pat or Alex*   1278
[33] *egg and bacon or stew*; *cakes and tea or coffee*; *pork, beef, or lamb*   1279
[34] *long poems and essays*   1285

xiv

Tree diagrams

Preface

This book aims to bridge the large gap that exists between traditional grammar and the partial descriptions of English grammar proposed by those working in the field of linguistics. We do not assume any familiarity with theoretical linguistics on the part of the reader and aim for as comprehensive a coverage as space allows, but we have made significant changes to the traditional analysis to take account of the progress that has been made by linguists in our understanding of English grammar.

The task of producing a new grammar of English that incorporates as many as possible of the insights achieved in modern linguistics is too great for two people, and we are fortunate to have been able to enlist the help of a team of distinguished linguists. A grammar, however, requires a very high degree of integration between the parts, so that it would not have been possible simply to put together a collection of papers by different scholars writing within their area of specialisation. Instead, one or both of us have worked closely with the other contributors in co-authoring the chapters concerned: we are grateful to them for their willingness to engage in this somewhat unusual kind of collaboration. They are not of course to be held responsible for any shortcomings in the description relating to topics whose primary coverage is in other chapters than those that bear their names.

The lengthy business of producing this grammar has occupied one of us (RDH) for over a decade, most of it full-time, and the other (GKP) part-time for over six years. Naturally, many intellectual and personal debts have piled up during the lengthy process of research, consultation, collaboration, writing, revising, and editing. We cannot hope to convey the full extent of these debts, but we will attempt to sketch the outlines of those that are the most central.

The project has benefited from the support and advice provided by a group of eminent linguists who served as a Board of Consultants: Barry Blake, Bernard Comrie, Greville Corbett, Edward Finegan, John Lyons, Peter Matthews, Keith Mitchell, Frank Palmer, John Payne, Neil Smith, Roland Sussex, and the late James D. McCawley.

During the first six years of the project, workshops were held regularly in Brisbane and Sydney to develop ideas for the framework and content of the grammar: we are grateful for the contributions to these workshops provided by Ray Cattell, Peter Collins, Peter Fries, David Lee, Pam Peters, and Peter Peterson. Pam Peters and staff at Macquarie University helped us with gathering data by providing online access to the Brown, ACE, and LOB corpora.

A number of scholars were good enough to let us have comments on one or more whole draft chapters: Barry Blake (a stalwart, who studied eight chapters with care), Bas Aarts, Francis Bond, Jill Bowie, Bernard Comrie, Greville Corbett, Annabel Cormack, David Denison, Edward Finegan, David Lee, James D. McCawley, Peter Matthews,

xvi   **Preface**

Keith Mitchell, Frank Palmer, Mário Perini, Peter Peterson, Aimo Seppänen, Neil Smith, and Mariangela Spinillo. Others commented on specific topics: Vic Dudman (tense, modality, conditionals), Peter Fries (verb inflection and auxiliaries); Janet Holmes and Anne Pauwels (gender); Henk Kylstra (numerals); John Lyons (clause type); Gregory Ward and Arnold Zwicky (unbounded dependencies). Edmund Weiner of Oxford University Press made available to us lexicographical data on *themself.* Aimo Seppänen provided us with comments, draft material, and corpus examples on a wide range of topics, including extraposition, relative clauses and verb complementation. John Payne also contributed ideas on a considerable number of issues that lie outside the two chapters bearing his name. Frank Palmer and Roland Sussex gave invaluable advice on matters of presentation.

Some scholars who did not end up being full collaborators in the drafting of any particular chapter nonetheless provided crucial draft material for particular sections or for notes at various points in the book: Ray Cattell (on light verbs), David Denison (on issues in the history of English), and David Lee (on the meanings of prepositions). Jill Bowie and Tom Mylne worked for the project in a research support role, and did enormously useful work; we thank them warmly. Tom also played a major part in compiling the index, while James Huddleston provided valuable additional help with this massive task.

Our more general intellectual debts will, we hope, be obvious, though not as obvious as they would have been if we had been writing a linguistics monograph with literature citations rather than a descriptive grammar with none. It should be kept in mind that we have maintained strictly a policy of not interrupting our exposition at all with references to the grammatical literature or source citations for examples, even in the footnotes. Those who wish to see a brief summary listing of some of the literature that influenced us most and a few works that we would recommend for additional information should turn to our 'Further Reading' section at the end of the book.

Special mention should be made here, however, of the work of Randolph Quirk and his colleagues, whose Survey of English Usage and the series of grammars resulting from it culminated in the publication of *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* in 1985. Although the present work often pursues a very different theoretical approach and analysis from that of Quirk *et al.*, their grammar proved an indispensable source of data and ideas. We might never have attempted this grammar if Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik had not pointed the way.

The University of Queensland provided a special projects grant to launch our work in 1989, while the Australian Research Council provided the major financial support in the form of two Large Grants covering the period 1990–1996 and a Senior Research Fellowship funding RDH's full-time involvement from 1994 to 1998. GKP's work involved five visits to the project's Australian headquarters totalling over a year, together with two sabbatical quarters in California. These were made financially possible by the Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation (New York), various grants programmes at the University of Queensland, Cambridge University Press, and the Division of Humanities and Department of Linguistics at the University of California, Santa Cruz.

We are also grateful to staff at Cambridge University Press, notably to Judith Ayling in the early part of the project and then to Kate Brett, who has provided invaluable support over the last few years. Thanks are due too to Leigh Mueller for her very thorough work as copy-editor.

Last of all, though only to ensure the pragmatic prominence associated with final constituents, we note that each of us is in the position of having married just a couple of years before starting work on this enormous task, and with some surprise we note that both our marriages have survived it. This is mainly because of great forbearance, resilience, unselfishness, supportiveness, and love supplied by our spouses.

Barbara Scholz faced five consecutive years of summertime choices between dislocation and desertion as her partner (GKP) decamped to Australia to work full-time on the grammar through the Australian winter. But through the years, whether she stayed behind or moved to Australia, she was unfailingly supportive and even enthusiastic about the project. Her generosity and fortitude is deeply appreciated.

Vivienne Huddleston provided an immense amount of warm hospitality to members of the project – in early years at the annual Brisbane workshops, and later to overseas contributors staying in her home for lengthy periods of collaboration with RDH. And she accepted with extraordinary patience and good humour prolonged and ever-increasing neglect during a writing process that went on three or four years longer than it was ever supposed to. And in the final stages of the work she provided more direct help with the proof-reading and indexing.

Both Vivienne and Barbara took a positive interest in the grammar itself, and we often derived benefit from examples they spotted or observations they made. We owe them more than could be expressed by the words of an acknowledgement note.

RDH · GKP