

# The "Subject + Adverbial Adjunct" Construction in English

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## Abstract

*Blending of the absolute construction (subject + nonfinite/verbless predicate) and the "restrictor + adverbial adjunct" construction (e.g., He was repeatedly attacked by terrorists, first in New York, then in Chicago.) yields a new construction of the form "subject + adverbial adjunct" (e.g., The two men were executed in Baghdad, John before the war, (and) Bill during the war.) via intermediate subconstructions that are ambiguous between the source and the target constructions. The semantic notion of "part-whole" relation plays a crucial role in the syntax and semantics of the relevant constructions and in the process of blending.*

## Keywords:

*blending, part-whole relation, "subject + adverbial adjunct" construction, "restrictor + adverbial adjunct" construction, absolute construction, gapping*

## 1. Introduction

This paper draws attention to the existence of a hitherto little-studied construction in English, describes some of its syntactic and semantic properties, and briefly speculates on the possible factors that may have facilitated the introduction of such a construction. The construction in question, which we will call the "Subject plus Adverbial Adjunct" Construction (SAAC) for reasons that will shortly become clear, is partly similar to a number of well-studied constructions, such as the gapping constructions and the absolute constructions, and is also partly similar to a certain less-studied construction that will be touched upon in section 2.4, but it is not identical with any of these. The SAAC inherits some of the properties of the related constructions, and combines them in a new way, yielding a construction that can perform a function that the other constructions are not quite suited for. In the course of the discussion of the SAAC, I will show that the notion of part-whole plays an important role in the syntax and semantics of English in a way that has not been previously pointed out.

## 2. Syntactic and Semantic Properties of the SAAC

### 2.1. Forms and Meanings of the SAAC

Consider the following sentence:

- (1) Before the liberation, five hundred Kuwaitis were dead, of whom two hundred fifty were executed, *many after prolonged torture*.<sup>1</sup> (FG p.141)

Note that the italicized part of this sentence is equivalent to (2):

- (2) ... *many (of them) were executed after prolonged torture*.

In (2), the nominal phrase *many (of them)* is the subject of the clause, and the PP *after prolonged torture* is an adverbial adjunct modifying the predicate *were executed*. Since the italicized part of (1) is equivalent to (2), we can safely assume that the respective occurrences of these phrases in (1) have the same corresponding functions as in (2), i.e., *many* is the subject and *after prolonged torture* is an adverbial adjunct in (1) as well as in (2). This means that in (1), we have a (surface) construction that consists solely of a subject NP and an adverbial adjunct, with no predicate. Let us refer to such a construction as the "Subject plus Adverbial Adjunct" Construction (SAAC).

In (1), the adverbial adjunct is a PP and it denotes time. But the SAAC is not limited to such cases; the construction has a much wider range of possibilities. The adverbial adjunct can be a simple adverb as in (3d), an adverbial clause as in (3a), or a *to*-infinitive as in (3f). It can denote various adverbial meanings: time and cause in (3a), manner in (3b), place in (3c), direction in (3d), duration in (3e), purpose in (3f), and agent in (3g):

- (3) a. It was strange that both Barnett brothers should die accidentally—*Stan, Harry's father, when a wheel fell on him in the GWR locomotive erecting shop; and Uncle Len in collision with the laden bicycle of a butcher's delivery boy, whose brakes had failed on Prospect Hill*. (IB p. 64)
- b. How could supposedly civilized parents abuse and violate their own child—*the father with degraded lust, the mother so spineless that she took no action whatever to aid her daughter?* (DT p. 399)

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<sup>1</sup> Throughout this paper the relevant parts of the examples are italicized. The sources of attested examples are given at the end of the paper.

- c. Thus, having graduated at ages twenty-five and twenty-six respectively, Fathers Malcolm Ainslie and Russell Sheldon were appointed associate parish priests—*Malcolm at St Augustus Church in Pottstown, Pennsylvania, Russell at St Peter's Catholic Church in Reading.* (DT p. 278)
- d. A hand slips a package no larger than a matchbox into the side pocket of the other. Both continue on their way, *one in, the other out.* (IC p. 247)
- e. 'What's the oldest evidence stored?'  
 'I honestly don't know. But plenty has been around for twenty years, *some of it for more.*' (DT p. 486)
- f. The two boys were a credit to them, both at university, *one to be a doctor the other a physicist.* (FP p.325)
- g. The messages had been delivered, *one by the firm, the other by Hector himself.*  
 (SL p. 180)

## 2.2. Comparison with the Gapping Constructions

We may notice that the surface strings of the SAAC resemble those found in a certain type of the gapping constructions. Consider the following examples:

- (4) a. The two boys drove the car, *John with great care and Bill with reckless abandon.*  
 b. The two girls read the book, *Mary willingly and Susan reluctantly.*
- (5) a. John drove the car with great care, and *Bill with reckless abandon.*  
 b. Mary read the book willingly, and *Susan reluctantly.*

As in the examples of the SAAC (4), the gapped clauses in (5) consist of a subject NP and an adverbial adjunct. The SAAC and the gapping constructions have a further similarity in that both the SAAC and a gapped clause are allowed only after a full clause, as shown in (6) and (7), respectively:

- (6) a. \**John with great care and Bill with reckless abandon*, the two boys drove the car.  
 b. \**Mary willingly and Susan reluctantly*, the two girls read the book.
- (7) a. \**Bill with reckless abandon, and John drove the car with great care.*  
 b. \**Susan reluctantly, and Mary read the book willingly.*

On the other hand, there are several properties which distinguish the SAAC from the gapping constructions. First, the SAAC stands in a semantic relation of subordination to the rest of the sentence, whereas a gapped clause stands in a semantic relation of coordination to the preceding clause, which can be explicitly indicated by the presence of the coordinating

conjunction *and*. The sentences in (8) show that the SAAC does not allow the insertion of *and* after the full clause:<sup>2</sup>

- (8) a. The two boys drove the car, (\*and) *John with great care and Bill with reckless abandon*.  
 b. The two girls read the book, (\*and) *Mary willingly and Susan reluctantly*.

Second, in the case of the SAAC, the referent referred to by the subject NP of a full clause and that referred to by the subject NP of the SAAC are in a set-subset relation: in (1), for example, the full clause subject *two hundred fifty* and the SAAC subject *many* are in a set-subset relation. In the gapping constructions, by contrast, the subjects of the full and gapped clauses typically have disjoint reference:<sup>3</sup> in (5a), for example, the subjects of the two clauses *John* and *Bill* are disjoint in reference. We may say that this difference is due to a more basic difference with respect to the relation between the situations expressed in the full and reduced clauses. That is to say, unlike the gapping constructions, where the situations described in the full and gapped clauses represent two (or more) different situations, the situation described in the SAAC is in a way included in that described in the full clause. This means that the full clause and the SAAC hold a whole-part relation and that this is reflected in the set-subset relation between the two subjects in question. Note that the notion of whole-part relation we employ here is not the ontological notion of whole-part relation but is the one that essentially corresponds to what Moltmann (1997: 19-35) calls the "situated part structure". The whole-part structure of an entity need not be an invariant structure that is assumed to be inherent in the entity, but it may be a structure that is accidentally assigned to the entity in a given context of communication.

Third, the sentences involving the SAAC do not require internal structural parallelism between the full clause and the following SAAC, whereas the gapping constructions require it between the full clause and the gapped clause. Thus in (4a), the two instances of the SAAC, *John (drove the car) with great care* and *Bill (drove the car) with reckless abandon*, are not structurally parallel to the full clause *The two boys drove the car* in that they contain the kind of element that is not contained in the full clause, i.e. an adverbial adjunct. We may say, following Chung, Ladusaw and McCloskey's (1995) terminology, that the SAAC allows "sprouting". In (5a), by contrast, the full clause *John drove the car with great care* and the

<sup>2</sup> The insertion of *and* does not seem to induce unacceptability in cases like the following where it may be interpreted in the so-called "and that" sense with the portion following it taken as an added afterthought (cf. Quirk et al. (1985:13.94) and Pullum and Huddleston (2002:Ch.15, 4.5)):

(i) Before the liberation, five hundred Kuwaitis were dead, of whom two hundred fifty were executed, and *many after prolonged torture*.

<sup>3</sup> In a certain subtype of the gapping constructions, the subjects of the two (or more) clauses may have a set-subset relation, as indicated by the following sentence:

(i) They ordered something, John fish and Bill roast beef.

gapped clause *Bill (drove the car) with reckless abandon* are structurally parallel. The gapping constructions do not allow sprouting:

(9) \*John drove the car, and Bill with reckless abandon.

### 2.3. Comparison with the Nonfinite and Verbless Absolutes

In this section, we will compare the SAAC with what has traditionally been known as the absolute participial construction as exemplified in (10), and the related reduced construction illustrated in (11). Following Quirk et al. (1985:1120), we will refer to the constructions represented by sentences like those in (10) and (11) as the nonfinite absolutes and verbless absolutes, respectively.<sup>4</sup>

- (10) a. The two still knelt, *tears running down their cheeks*. (Jespersen (1940, 1954:50))  
 b. they separated, *he driving back to the Temple, and she to her own house*. (ibid.:47)  
 c. the man fell back to let me pass, *his eyes still fixed on me*. (ibid.:52)
- (11) a. 73 people have been drowned in the area, *many of them children*.  
 (Quirk et al. (1985:996))  
 b. She looked at him expectantly, *her eyes full of excitement and curiosity*. (ibid.)  
 c. Mavis sat in the front seat, *her hands in her lap*. (ibid.)

Comparison with these sentences shows that the SAAC shares the following properties with the nonfinite and verbless absolutes. First, it stands in a semantic relation of subordination to the rest of the sentence without any explicit indication of the exact nature of the subordinating relation. In speech, it forms a separate intonational group from the main clause, and in writing, it is set off from the main clause by a comma or a dash. Second, the SAAC and the absolutes both have a subject NP as their first element. Third, neither the SAAC nor the absolutes require the kind of internal structural parallelism between the full clause and the reduced clause that is required of the gapping constructions.

On the other hand, there are some crucial differences which distinguish the SAAC from the nonfinite and verbless absolutes. First, in the latter constructions, the phrase following the subject NP functions as a predicate, whereas in the SAAC, it functions as an adjunct. Thus, the verbless absolutes usually allow the insertion of *being* between the subject NP and the

<sup>4</sup> Quirk et al. (1985:1120) defines the nonfinite and verbless absolute clauses as follows:

Nonfinite and verbless adverbial clauses that have an overt subject but are not introduced by subordinator and are not the complement of a preposition are **ABSOLUTE** clauses, so termed because they are not explicitly bound to the matrix clause syntactically. Absolute clauses may be *-ing*, *-ed*, or verbless clauses, but not infinitive clauses....

following phrase, as shown in (12), while the SAAC never allows it, as can be seen in (13):

(12) 73 people have been drowned in the area, *many of them being children*.

(Quirk et al. (1985:996))

(13) Before the liberation, five hundred Kuwaitis were dead, of whom two hundred fifty were executed, *many (\*being) after prolonged torture*.

Second, the absolutes may in some cases appear in the initial, medial or final position of a main clause as shown in (14)-(16), whereas the SAAC always follows the main clause and never precedes it as we have seen in (6):

(14) a. The sea was calm, *a gentle wind blowing from the east*.

b. *A gentle wind blowing from the east*, the sea was calm.

(15) a. He stormed out of the room, *his face pale with anger*.

b. *His face pale with anger*, he stormed out of the room.

(Pullum and Huddleston (2002:1268))

(16) The contestants, *some of them primary school children*, were kept waiting for two hours.

(ibid.)

Third, though the absolutes very often hold a part-whole relation to the main clause, they are not restricted to such cases, while the SAAC and the full clause always hold a part-whole relation. In (17a), for example, the situation described in each of the absolutes *one carrying a chain* and *the other a cement block* is part of the situation described in the main clause *The pair who . . . followed*. In particular, the person referred to by the subject of each absolute constitutes a subset of the set of persons referred to by the subject of the main clause. The same holds with the other examples of (17):

(17) a. The pair who had arrived in the van followed, *one carrying a chain, the other a cement block*. (DT p. 442)

b. Considering the work it does, the Laboratory is an odd-looking collection of buildings on Vasco Road, *some of them modern, but many dating back to the days when it was an old military base*. (FG p.404)

c. The four original gems emerged as two matching pairs of pear-shaped fifty-eight-facet stones, *one pair weighing in at ten carats each, the other pair at twenty carats each*.

(FP p.19)

d. The jurors slowly scattered about the jury room, *some stretching or yawning, others continuing formal introductions—most making small talk about the weather*. (RJ p. 64)

- e. She sat across from her lawyers, *both ready with pen and legal pad, one a seasoned veteran of street law, the other clueless.* (SL p. 210)

In the following examples, by contrast, the situation described in the absolute is not part of the situation described in the main clause:

- (18) a. By now, we were on a path that led through the grassed and shrub-strewn hummocks of some long-ago landslip, *the sea below us to our right, sucking at the shingle of a hidden shore.* (PB p. 246)  
b. A Britisher by birth and an American by adoption, he was a Homicide veteran, *his retirement at age sixty not far away.* (DT p. 78)  
c. Jeff Kerr was a different story. His trail to law school at KU had been easy to follow, *most of the work having been done by Fitch's initial operatives.* (RJ p. 399)  
d. They withdrew from the edge of the desk in unison, *their timing perfect as if they'd either rehearsed for hours or done this a hundred times.* (RJ p. 252)

#### 2.4. Restrictor + Adverbial Adjunct Construction

In this section we will consider a little-studied construction which seems to be closely related to the SAAC in that it also holds a part-whole relation to the main clause. Consider the following example:

- (19) Dysart spent **six Oxford vacations** working at Barnchase, *initially as cleaner-cum-pump attendant, later in a variety of administrative roles.* (IB p. 65)

In (19), the italicized part following the main clause consists of two portions *initially as cleaner-cum-pump attendant* and *later in a variety of administrative roles*, each of which comprises an adverb plus an adverbial adjunct. The adverbs *initially* and *later* restrict the association of the following adverbial adjunct to a subset of the situations explicitly referred to by the bold-faced expression **six Oxford vacations** in the main clause. We will tentatively call this construction the "Restrictor plus Adverbial Adjunct" Construction (RAAC). Further examples of the RAAC are presented below:

- (20) a. Ainslie had visited the prison **several times** before, *usually to interview crime suspects, and once to arrest an inmate on new charges*, but never had he reached the interior so quickly. (DT p. 65)

- b. He had read it **twice**, *through the night in his spartan apartment off Kutuzovsky Prospekt and again this morning in his office*, where he had arrived at 7:00 A.M. and taken the phone off the hook. (TN p. 5)
- c. Sharon laid out all six of the locations of the dead-letter boxes. During his two years Moncada had changed **two of them**; *in one case because a location was bulldozed for redevelopment, in another because a derelict shop was refurbished and reoccupied*. (FG p.215)
- d. That evening, Karim was teasing Edith **again**, gently and without malice, *this time about her job*. (FG p.455)
- e. He'd had indirect contact with jurors **before**, *several times in different forms, but never this close*. (RJ p. 197)

In the examples of (19) and (20), the main clause collectively describes or implies a number of situations which are then divided into a number of subsets by the restricting adverbial which are in turn associated with the supplementary information expressed by the following adverbial adjunct.

There are at least two other subtypes to this construction. In the examples of (21), the main clause describes one situation which is divided into a number of phases by the restrictor which are then associated with the adverbial adjunct:

- (21) a. **For two hours** Cynthia and Patrick Jensen talked—*sometimes heatedly, occasionally calmly, at moments persuasively, but never lightly*. (DT p. 428)
- b. 'You see, I'm in a bit of a dilemma. You've been on this case **for eight weeks**, *some of the time out on the street with the Watchers, most of it in the basement at Cork, and now South Africa*. (FP p.237)
- c. **Morning** drifted into **afternoon** as we surrendered to each other, *at first with clumsy eagerness, then in subtle variations on a theme that always had the same savoured ending*. (CL p. 20)

In all the examples of (19)-(21), the restrictor has some semantically corresponding expression, represented in bold face, in the main clause.

In the third subtype of the RAAC, there is no such corresponding expression in the main clause (i.e., sprouting of a kind is involved), but the function the restricting adverbial performs is the same as in the examples of (19)-(21): the restrictor divides the situations described in the main clause into a number of subsets and restricts the association of the adverbial adjunct to a certain subset of the situations:



- (22) a. He had shared the details with me, *often to the point of being boring*. (SL p. 353)
- b. Those who fell for the deliberately folksy image he liked to cultivate did Odell an injustice, *often to their later regret*. (TN p. 104)
- c. Like most Homicide detectives he dressed well—*that day in a navy blue suit with a striped silk tie*. (DT p. 97)
- d. Steltzer was well known in Miami's legal community, *in part for brilliance in court, but also for his eccentric appearance and manner*. (DT p. 56)
- e. He shivered, *partly from the chill of morning, more from the realization that the papers behind him proved that at last the old nightmare was coming out of the shadows*; the balance was breaking down. (DA p.138)

With or without a semantically corresponding expression in the preceding clause, the RAAC seems to be closely related to the SAAC. It shares the following properties with the SAAC: (i) the RAAC and the main clause hold a part-whole relation, (ii) the second element in the RAAC is an adverbial adjunct which can be realized by the same set of syntactic categories as in the case of the SAAC: PP's (e.g., (19)), adverbs (e.g., (21a)), subordinate clauses (e.g., (20c)) and VP's beginning with a *to*-infinitive (e.g., (20a)),<sup>5</sup> (iii) the RAAC stands in a subordinate relation to the main clause and thus excludes the insertion of *and* (e.g., Dysart spent six Oxford vacations working at Barnchase, (\*and) *initially as cleaner-cum-pump attendant, later in a variety of administrative roles*.), (iv) the main clause and the RAAC are not subject to the internal structural parallelism condition: the adjunct in the RAAC adds the kind of information that is not found in the main clause, and (v) as for the position of the RAAC in a sentence, in most of the examples it follows the main clause, and especially in cases with a semantically corresponding expression in the main clause, it causes degradation when it is preposed (e.g., \*This time about her job, Karim was teasing Edith again.).

## 2.5. Summary

We have seen in the preceding discussion that the SAAC has its own cluster of properties

<sup>5</sup> The adverbial adjunct in the RAAC can be said to be realized by a VP beginning with an *-ing* or an *-ed* participle, if we consider the italicized parts of the following sentences as examples of the RAAC:

(i) He had twice been in Britain on familiarization trips, *each time living under deep cover, each time going nowhere near the Soviet Embassy, and neither time undertaking any mission at all*. (FP p.226)

(ii) Rowse let the story come out slowly, as he had been briefed, *sometimes recalling things exactly, sometimes having to search his memory*. (TD p. 314)

(iii) It [The sun] beat down on the clustered roofs of the walled Tuscan city and the medieval tiles, some pink but *mostly long baked to umber or ashen grey*, shimmered in the heat. (TV p.195)

The SAAC of the form NP + *-ing/-ed* ... is nothing other than a case of the nonfinite absolute.

which is different from that of any other related constructions. I will now summarize its properties by way of a table where the relevant properties of the SAAC are arranged in such a way that will bring out the mutual relatedness between the constructions under discussion. The six properties of the SAAC we have seen above are (a) that the construction stands in a semantic relation of subordination to the full clause, (b) that the full and reduced clauses do not require internal structural parallelism, (c) that the reduced and full clauses hold a part-whole relation, (d) that the construction appears after the full clause, (e) that the second phrase of the construction functions as an adjunct, and (f) that the first phrase of the construction functions as a subject. In the table (23), if a construction possesses a particular property, this is indicated by a '+' in the relevant cell. If it does not possess the property, '-' is entered. The combination '+/-' indicates that the construction shows the property in some cases but not in others:

(23)

|                         | Gapped Cl | Absolutes | RAAC | SAAC |
|-------------------------|-----------|-----------|------|------|
| (a) Subordination       | —         | +         | +    | +    |
| (b) No Str Parallelism  | —         | +         | +    | +    |
| (c) Part-Whole Relation | —         | +/-       | +    | +    |
| (d) After Main Clause   | +         | +/-       | +    | +    |
| (e) 2nd Ph: Adjunct     | +/-       | —         | +    | +    |
| (f) 1st Ph: Subject     | +/-       | +         | —    | +    |

### 3. An Analysis of the SAAC

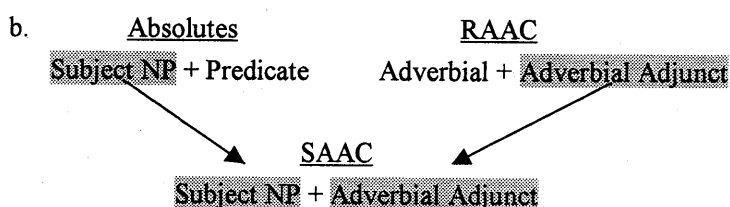
#### 3.1. *The SAAC as a Blend of the Absolutes and the RAAC*

In this section we will consider how to treat what we have tentatively called the SAAC in the grammar of English. There are at least three possibilities. The first possibility is to treat the examples of the SAAC as representing a subtype of some other well-recognized construction; however, we have seen that we cannot take this option because the SAAC has a cluster of observed properties which is different from that of any other related construction. The second possibility is to regard the SAAC as a construction distinct from every other related construction; however, this option leaves the partial similarities between the related constructions unaccounted for and it amounts to treating the partial similarities as mere coincidence. The third possibility, which I propose that we take, is to consider the SAAC as a blend of a number of related constructions, inheriting some of the properties from each source

construction.

Turning to the question of which particular constructions the SAAC is a blend of, we should first exclude the gapping constructions from the set of candidates: the gapping constructions are different from the SAAC with respect to the crucial syntactic and semantic properties (a)-(c). The RAAC and (major subconstructions of) the absolutes, on the other hand, share these crucial properties with the SAAC, and may well be the sources of the latter. Let us propose then the hypothesis (24a), schematically representable as in (24b), and see what further justifications it may have:

- (24) a. The SAAC is the result of blending of the absolutes and the RAAC, inheriting, among others, the property (f) (1st Ph: Subject) from the former and the property (e) (2nd Ph: Adjunct) from the latter.



In the process of establishing the SAAC on the basis of the absolutes and the RAAC, the existence of a number of intermediate subconstructions plays an important role. On the one hand, between the absolutes and the SAAC, there are intermediate subconstructions consisting of a subject NP followed by a locative PP or a *with*-phrase or a VP introduced by a *to*-infinitive where the latter phrases may be ambiguously interpreted either as functioning as a predicate or as an adverbial adjunct. On the other hand, between the RAAC and the SAAC, there is an intermediate subconstruction consisting of a quantifier followed by an adverbial adjunct where the quantifier can be ambiguously interpreted either as an adverbial or a subject. These points will be elaborated on in what follows.

### 3.2. Intermediate Subconstructions

#### 3.2.1. Subject NP + Locative PP

Consider the examples in (25)-(27), where the italicized parts are all of the form "subject NP + locative PP". The italicized parts in (25) are considered to be examples of the verbless absolute because they allow the insertion of *being* after the subject NP (e.g., (25a) ... *the one always (being) in the shadow of the other*). On the other hand, the one in (26) can be ambiguously interpreted either as an example of the verbless absolute (because it allows the

insertion of *being* as in ... *one (being) at each elbow*) or as an example of the SAAC (because it can be interpreted as meaning "one closed up from behind at each elbow"). Ambiguous examples like (26) will serve as a bridge between the verbless absolute and the SAAC. In (27), the italicized parts are better analyzed as examples of the SAAC because the understood material is not the copula but "was appointed associate parish priest" in (27a) (=3c), "had happened" in (27b), "was registered" in (27c), and "traveled" in (27d).

- (25) a. They had climbed the greasy pole of power in a Middle East dictatorship together, *the one always in the shadow of the other*. (FG p.330)
- b. For one thing there were three men in the lobby, *one on the door, one behind the reception desk and one by the lift doors*; all were of a size and muscularity not normally associated with the underwriting of insurance policies. (FP pp.41-42)
- c. Stock analysts offered myriad opinions, *each in sharp contrast to the preceding one*. (RJ p. 479)
- (26) The two soldiers closed up from behind, *one at each elbow*. (TD p. 297)
- (27) a. Thus, having graduated at ages twenty-five and twenty-six respectively, Fathers Malcolm Ainslie and Russell Sheldon were appointed associate parish priests—*Malcolm at St Augustus Church in Pottstown, Pennsylvania, Russell at St Peter's Catholic Church in Reading*. (DT p. 278)
- b. He was going there anyway, to make a full report to Kevin Brown and Nigel Cramer; he thought Scotland Yard had as much right as the FBI to know what had happened through October and November, *half of it in Britain and half in Europe*. (TN p. 414)
- c. She conveyed her impatience to Patrick during a weekend in Nassau, Bahamas, where again they were registered at separate hotels, *Cynthia at the luxurious Paradise Island Ocean Club*. (DT p. 435)
- d. 'Two days ago, in the presence of his attorney,' Ainslie replied, 'Mr Jensen told me that he and Cynthia Ernst spent three days together in the Caymans, during which they planned the Ernst murders; also that they traveled there separately—*Miss Ernst on American Airlines from Miami*, using the name Hilda Shaw.' (DT p. 532)

### 3.2.2. Subject NP + *With*-Phrase

Expressions of the form "*with* + NP ( + XP)", like locative PP's, can be used either as adverbial adjuncts (as in *Mary came with her father*) or as predicates (as in *Mary was with her father*), and the latter use of *with*-phrases is permitted not only in simple clauses but also in the absolute constructions. We can see this in the following examples:

- (28) a. They all knew that if the police officers exercised their right to stop and frisk, they would find drugs, perhaps weapons, in which case the dealers, *both with lengthy records*, could face long prison terms. (DT p. 27)
- b. Within that unseen land are the 100,000 parishes that comprise the hundred bishoprics of the Russian Orthodox Church, *each with its large or small onion domed parish church*. (IC p. 535-536)
- c. Rohr's long-term strategy was simple, and brilliant. There were a hundred million smokers out there, *not all with lung cancer* but certainly a sufficient number to keep him busy until retirement. (RJ p. 20)
- d. Radios were on, *some with music, some with news talk*. (SL p. 209)
- e. As soon as he turned, the four Eagles came into his radar range. Two had scattered, racing down after the fleeing single-seaters, *all of them with afterburner engaged*, all beyond the sound barrier. (FG p.512)
- f. In the pretrial order, Cable had listed twenty-two possible witnesses, *virtually all with the word Doctor somewhere in their names, and all with solid credentials*. (RJ p. 351)
- g. He stepped down and stood before a colorful chart with each of the eight brands, *each with its tar and nicotine levels labeled beside it*. (RJ p. 325)

Since a *with*-phrase can generally function not only as a predicate but also as an adverbial adjunct, there arise cases where a *with*-phrase in the absolute constructions can be ambiguously interpreted. The *with*-phrase in (29), for example, can be interpreted either as functioning as a predicate with the meaning "each had a perfect passport and cover story" or as functioning as an adverbial adjunct with the meaning "each slipped into Vienna with a perfect passport and cover story." Once a *with*-phrase in cases like this is interpreted as an adverbial adjunct, this will lead to cases like (4a), repeated here as (30), where the *with*-phrase functions unambiguously as an adjunct.

- (29) The advance group for Operation Joshua slipped into Vienna over three days, arriving from different European points of departure, *each with a perfect passport and cover story*. (FG, pp. 241-242)
- (30) The two boys drove the car, *John with great care and Bill with reckless abandon*.

### 3.2.3. Subject NP + *To*-Infinitive

We will first consider how the absolute construction consisting of a subject NP plus a *to*-infinitive has been analyzed by traditional grammarians. Jespersen (1940, 1954:19.5) cites examples like those in (31) in the section on "Subject + Infinitive forming a Tertiary":

- (31) a. he offered Robert twenty-three shillings a week, and Clem thirteen, *both of them to pay a fixed sum weekly towards their food.*  
 b. he proposed to Bland that they should start one or two picture theatres in the provinces, *Bland to find the money . . . and Wicks to provide the technical knowledge.*

He writes, "An infinitive with its subject may form a nexus-tertiary. . . . The formula is 3(SP(I)), the infinitive having the same meaning as in *I am to go* . . . and in a way standing for *being to*—, which is avoided. . . ." He analyzes the sequences of this form as examples of the nonfinite absolute and says nothing about the possibility of the *to*-infinitive having a purpose meaning.

Zandvoort (1957, 1975<sup>3</sup>:37), after citing an example of the nonfinite absolute (32a), gives (32b), saying, "If the summer was still to come, an absolute infinitive with *to* would take the place of the present participle."

- (32) a. We spent most of the summer in a cottage we had rented together with some friends of ours, *they occupying the front room and the attic, and we having the rest at our disposal.*  
 b. We were going to spend most of the summer in a cottage we had rented together with some friends of ours, *they to occupy the front room and the attic, and we to have the rest at our disposal.*

By referring to the section on the use of a *to*-infinitive as an adjunct expressing purpose as well as to the section on the predicative use of a *to*-infinitive with the present or past tense of *be*, he seems to be suggesting that the *to*-infinitive conveys a purpose meaning.

Most of the examples of this form that I collected can be interpreted ambiguously between a *be-to* reading (in which case the VP introduced by a *to*-infinitive functions as a predicate) and a purpose reading (in which case the VP functions as an adverbial adjunct). In (33a), for example, the italicized part may be interpreted either as "he was to buy a loaf of his favorite pain de campagne" or "he went inside to buy a loaf of his favorite pain de campagne."

- (33) a. It was only a ten-minute drive from the offices to his apartment in the center building of the three-building Cheridreu complex off rue François Folie, but they stopped halfway there at a baker's shop. Both went inside, *he to buy a loaf of his favorite pain de campagne.* (FG p.1)  
 b. He and Sam spent the afternoon shopping, he for a rental van and a variety of tools, *she to complete a list he had given her.* (TN p. 346)  
 c. The two boys were a credit to them, both at university, *one to be a doctor the other a physicist.* (=3f) (FP p.325)

In this connection, the following examples pose an interesting problem. The *to*-infinitive after the subject in each of the examples may be analyzed as functioning as an adverbial adjunct because a purpose meaning is perceived in them. In that case the understood material in the italicized parts would have no antecedent in the preceding clause since the verb in the main clause *part* is one of those verbs which require in their intransitive use a plural NP as their subject or else a *from*-phrase complement, which is not observed in the italicized parts (cf. \**Paxman parted to cross the Thames toward Century House.*).

- (34) a. They *parted* at the corner, *Paxman to cross the Thames toward Century House, Martin to cross Trafalgar Square and head up St. Martin's Lane toward Gower Street.*

(FG p.185)

- b. The two men *parted* that evening at the airport, *Shannon to return to London and Semmler to fly to Madrid and thence to Rome and Genoa, his next port of call.*

(DW p.289)

- c. They *parted* five minutes later, *the Russian to return, in uniform, to his desk at Potsdam, the Englishman to slip back through the Wall to the Stadium in West Berlin.*

(TD p. 28)

- d. Together they walked along the High Street towards the Market Place where they *parted*, *Stephen for Whalbys', Stringer to return to Cartwright-Cageby's where he was a foreman fitter.*

(British National Corpus: FU2)

### 3.2.4. Quantifier + Adverbial Adjunct

In the following examples of the RAAC, what is functioning as a restrictor is an adverbial quantifier *all*:

- (35) a. 'In 1633,' Ainslie explained, 'Galileo was condemned for heresy and held under house arrest for the last eight years of his life—*all because he showed that the earth revolves around the sun.*' (DT p. 44)

- b. He went on to describe the brilliant feat of diplomacy by which the Politburo had instructed Dmitri Rykov to meet the Americans in Dublin and gain from them grain shipments of unprecedented size, along with imports of technology and computers, *all at minimal cost.* (DA p.472)

Quantifiers like *all*, *both*, and *each* have both adverbial and nominal uses, and there arise cases where a sequence consisting of a quantifier followed by an adverbial adjunct can be ambiguously interpreted. For instance, the quantifier *all* in (36) can be interpreted either as an adverbial quantifier meaning "in every case" or as a nominal quantifier meaning "all of them":

(36) Before the liberation, five hundred Kuwaitis were dead, of whom two hundred fifty were executed, *all after prolonged torture*.

Whether the quantifier in question is interpreted as an adverbial or a subject, the relation holding between the RAAC and the main clause remains the same: in either case a part-whole relation holds. In general, just as a restricting adverbial divides a situation or a number of situations described in a main clause into a number of subsets, a subject may also function as a restrictor. That is, a subject may divide a situation or a number of situations described in a main clause into a number of subsets with respect to the participants (referred to by the subject) involved in the situation(s). Once a quantifier with both uses is interpreted as functioning as a subject, then this will lead to cases where a quantifier with only a nominal use like *many* or *some* appears as a subject, as in (1) and (3e). (Notice that quantifiers like *many* and *some* inherently imply a part-whole relation.) And this will in turn lead to cases where a non-quantificational full NP subject serves as a restrictor, resulting in the general form of the SAAC "subject NP + adverbial adjunct". In the examples (3a-c), (4), (27c,d), and (34), the subject NP's of the SAAC (e.g., *Stan*, *Harry's father* and *Uncle Len* in (3a), and *the father* in (3b)) are non-quantificational, and thus make no reference to a part-whole relation in their lexical meanings.

In the literature on grammaticalization, it has often been pointed out that the process of grammaticalization proceeds via an intermediate stage where one and the same expression can be syntactically and semantically analyzed in two ways, one analysis reflecting the original structure and interpretation, and the other the novel structure and interpretation (e.g., Heine, Claudi and Hünemeyer (1991)). The facts we have seen above show that such an intermediate stage of ambiguous expressions plays an important role not only in the grammaticalization of particular grammatical formatives but also in facilitating the introduction of a new (sub)construction on the basis of a number of extant ones. In other words, the hypothesis (24) is supported not only by the fact that it accounts for the particular clustering of properties in the SAAC, but also by the fact that intermediate subconstructions exist that link the source constructions to the target construction through an independently well-attested type of process.

#### 4. Concluding Remarks

In this paper I have pointed out the existence of the SAAC, clarifying its syntactic and semantic properties. We have found that the construction has a cluster of properties part of which are shared by the nonfinite and verbless absolutes and the RAAC. I have suggested that the SAAC has been established based on the latter constructions via a number of intermediate subconstructions of ambiguous expressions all of which hold a part-whole relation to the



main clause.

Although a detailed discussion of the theoretical implications of the existence of this construction is beyond the scope of this paper, we might briefly mention two obvious implications. First, while there indeed exist grammatical constructions whose properties are not wholly attributable to general rules and principles, the possible clusterings of properties are not totally arbitrary, but are related to, and constrained by, the properties of the more basic constructions of the language. Second, the SAAC does not satisfy Chomsky's (1995:228) condition of inclusiveness, which says, "A 'perfect language' should meet the condition of inclusiveness: any structure formed by the computation (in particular,  $\pi$  and  $\lambda$ ) is constituted of elements already present in the lexical items selected for N; no new objects are added in the course of computation apart from rearrangements of lexical properties." The part-whole relation expressed in the sentences containing the SAAC (especially the SAAC with a non-quantificational NP subject) will have to be added in the course of computation (or else a language-particular and construction-particular rule of LF-interpretation will have to be admitted).

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