NORTON LIBRARY TITLES OF RELATED INTEREST

Language, Its Nature, Development and Origin — OTTO JESPERSEN
The Philosophy of Grammar — OTTO JESPERSEN
The Iliad of Homer — Shortened and in a new translation by I. A. RICHARDS

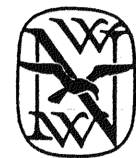
Titles from "The Language Library"
Edited by ERIC PARTRIDGE

Early English — JOHN W. CLARK
A History of the English Language — G. L. BROOK
Modern Linguistics — SIMEON POTTER
The Words of English — J. A. SHEARD

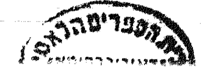
בלשנות

THE PHILOSOPHY OF GRAMMAR

BY
OTTO JESPERSEN



The Norton Library
W · W · NORTON & COMPANY · INC ·
NEW YORK



CHAPTER VII

THE THREE RANKS

Subordination. Substantives. Adjectives. Pronouns. Verbs. Adverbs. Word Groups. Clauses. Final Remarks.

Subordination.

THE question of the class into which a word should be put—whether that of substantives or adjectives, or some other—is one that concerns the word in itself. Some answer to that question will therefore be found in dictionaries.[1] We have now to consider combinations of words, and here we shall find that though a substantive always remains a substantive and an adjective an adjective, there is a certain scheme of subordination in connected speech which is analogous to the distribution of words into 'parts of speech,' without being entirely dependent on it.

In any composite denomination of a thing or person (such as those to which I referred on p. 64), we always find that there is one word of supreme importance to which the others are joined as subordinates. This chief word is defined (qualified, modified) by another word, which in its turn may be defined (qualified, modified) by a third word, etc. We are thus led to establish different "ranks" of words according to their mutual relations as defined or defining. In the combination *extremely hot weather* the last word *weather*, which is evidently the chief idea, may be called primary; *hot*, which defines *weather*, secondary, and *extremely*, which defines *hot*, tertiary. Though a tertiary word may be further defined by a (quaternary) word, and this again by a (quinary) word, and so forth, it is needless to distinguish more than three ranks, as there are no formal or other traits that distinguish words of these lower orders from tertiary words. Thus, in the phrase *a certainly not very cleverly worded remark*, no one of the words *certainly*, *not*, and *very*, though defining the following word, is in any way grammatically different from what it would be as a tertiary word, as it is in *certainly a clever remark, not a clever remark, a very clever remark*.

[1] Note, however, that any word, or group of words, or part of a word, may be turned into a substantive when treated as a *quotation word* (MEG II, 8. 2.), e.g. your *late* was misheard as *light* | his speech abounded in *I think so*'s | there should be two *l*'s in his name.

If now we compare the combination *a furiously barking dog* (*a dog barking furiously*), in which *dog* is primary, *barking* secondary, and *furiously* tertiary, with *the dog barks furiously*, it is evident that the same subordination obtains in the latter as in the former combination. Yet there is a fundamental difference between them, which calls for separate terms for the two kinds of combination: we shall call the former kind *junction*, and the latter *nexus*. The difference has already been mentioned on p. 87, and there will be occasion for a fuller discussion of it in Ch. VIII, where we shall see that there are other types of nexus besides the one seen in *the dog barks*. It should be noted that *the dog* is a primary not only when it is the subject, as in *the dog barks*, but also when it is the object of a verb, as in *I see the dog*, or of a preposition, as in *he runs after the dog*.

As regards terminology, the words *primary*, *secondary*, and *tertiary* are applicable to nexus as well as to junction, but it will be useful to have the special names *adjunct* for a secondary word in a junction, and *adnex* for a secondary word in a nexus. For tertiary we may use the term *subjunct*, and quaternary words, in the rare cases in which a special name is needed, may be termed *sub-subjuncts*.[1]

Just as we may have two (or more) coordinate primaries, e.g. in *the dog and the cat ran away*, we may, of course, have two or more coordinate adjuncts to the same primary: thus, in *a nice young lady* the words *a*, *nice*, and *young* equally define *lady*; compare also *much* (*II*) *good* (*II*) *white* (*II*) *wine* (*I*) with *very* (*III*) *good* (*II*) *wine* (*I*). Coordinate adjuncts are often joined by means of connectives, as in *a rainy and stormy afternoon* | *a brilliant, though lengthy novel*. Where there is no connective the last adjunct often stands in a specially close connexion with the primary as forming one idea, one compound primary (*young-lady*), especially in some fixed combinations (*in high good humour, by great good fortune*, MEG II, 15. 15; *extreme old age*, ib. 12. 47). Sometimes the first of two adjuncts tends to be subordinate to the second and thus nearly becomes a subjunct, as in *burning hot soup, a shocking bad nurse*. In this way *very*, which was an adjective (as it still is in *the very day*) in Chaucer's *a verray parfit gentil knight*, has become first an intermediate between an adjunct and a subjunct, and then a subjunct which must be classed among adverbs; other examples MEG II, 15. 2. A somewhat related instance is *nice* (*and*) in *nice and warm* (15. 29), to which there is a curious parallel in It. *bell'e*: Giacosa, Foglie 136 il concerto. . . . On ci ho bell'e rinunziato |

[1] I now prefer the word *primary* to the term *principal* used in MEG Vol. II. One might invent the terms *superjunct* and *supernex* for a primary in a junction and in a nexus respectively, and *subnex* for a tertiary in a nexus but these cumbersome terms are really superfluous.

ib. 117 Tu l'hai bell'e trovato. Other instances of adjuncts where subjuncts might be expected, are Fr. *elle est toute surprise* | *les fenêtres grandes ouvertes.*

Coordinated subjuncts are seen, e.g. in *a logically and grammatically unjustifiable construction* | *a seldom or never seen form.*

In the examples hitherto chosen we have had substantives as primaries, adjectives as adjuncts, and adverbs as subjuncts; and there is certainly some degree of correspondence between the three parts of speech and the three ranks here established. We might even define substantives as words standing habitually as primaries, adjectives as words standing habitually as adjuncts, and adverbs as words standing habitually as subjuncts. But the correspondence is far from complete, as will be evident from the following survey: the two things, word-classes and ranks, really move in two different spheres.

Substantives.

Substantives as Primaries. No further examples are needed.

Substantives as Adjuncts. The old-established way of using a substantive as an adjunct is by putting it in the genitive case, e.g. *Shelley's* poems | the *butcher's* shop | *St. Paul's* Cathedral. But it should be noted that a genitive case may also be a primary (through what is often called ellipsis), as in "I prefer Keats's poems to *Shelley's* | I bought it at the *butcher's* | *St. Paul's* is a fine building." In English what was the first element of a compound is now often to be considered an independent word, standing as an adjunct, thus in *stone* wall | a *silk* dress and a *cotton* one; on the way in which these words tend to be treated as adjectives, see p. 94, above. Other examples of substantives as adjuncts are *women* writers | a *queen* bee | *boy* messengers, and (why not?) *Captain* Smith | *Doctor* Johnson—cf. the non-inflexion in G. *Kaiser* Wilhelms Erinnerungen (though with much fluctuation with compound titles).

In some cases when we want to join two substantival ideas it is found impossible or impracticable to make one of them into an adjunct of the other by simple juxtaposition; here languages often have recourse to the 'definitive genitive' or a corresponding prepositional combination, as in Lat. *urbs Romæ* (cf. the juxtaposition in Dan. *byen Rom*, and on the other hand combinations like *Captain Smith*), Fr. *la cité de Rome*, E. *the city of Rome*, etc., and further the interesting expressions E. *a devil of a fellow* | *that scoundrel of a servant* | *his ghost of a voice* | G. *ein alter schelm von lohnbedienter* (with the exceptional use of the nominative after *von*) | Dan. *den skurk av en tjener* | *et vidunder av et barn* | *det fæ*

af Nielsen | Fr. *ce fripon de valet* | *un amour d'enfant* | *celui qui avait un si drôle de nom* | It. *quel ciarlatano d'un dottore* | *quel pover uomo di tuo padre*, etc. This is connected with the Scandinavian use of a possessive pronoun *dit fæ* 'you fool' and to the Spanish *pobrecitos de nosotros!* | *Desdichada de mi!* Cf. on this and similar phenomena Grimm, *Personenwechsel*, Schuchardt Br. 197, Tegnér G. 115 ff., Sandfeld in Dania VII.

Substantives as Subjuncts (subnexes). The use is rare, except in word groups, where it is extremely frequent (see p. 102). Examples: emotions, *part* religious . . . but *part*-human (Stevenson) | the sea went *mountains* high. In "Come *home* | I bought it *cheap*" *home* and *cheap* were originally substantives, but are now generally called adverbs; cf. also go *South.*

Adjectives.

Adjectives as Primaries: you had better bow to the *impossible* (sg.) | ye have the *poor* (pl.) always with you (MEG II, Ch. XI)—but in *savages, regulars, Christians, the moderns*, etc., we have real substantives, as shown by the plural ending; so also in "the child is *a dear*," as shown by the article (MEG Ch. IX). G. *beamter* is generally reckoned a substantive, but is rather an adjective primary, as seen from the flexion: *der beamte, ein beamter.*

Adjectives as Adjuncts: no examples are here necessary.

Adjectives as Subjuncts. In "a *fast* moving engine | a *long* delayed punishment | a *clean* shaven face" and similar instances it is historically more correct to call the italicized words adverbs (in which the old adverbial ending *-e* has become mute in the same way as other weak *-e*'s) rather than adjective subjuncts. On *new*-laid eggs, *cheerful* tempered men, etc., see MEG II, 15. 3, on *burning* hot, see p. 97, above.

Pronouns.

Pronouns as Primaries: *I* am well | *this* is *mine* | *who* said that? | *what* happened? | *nobody* knows, etc. (But in *a mere nobody* we have a real substantive, cf. the pl. *nobodies.*)

Pronouns as Adjuncts: *this* hat | *my* hat | *what* hat? | *no* hat, etc.

In some cases there is no formal distinction between pronouns in these two employments, but in others there is, cf. *mine* : *my* | *none* : *no*; thus also in G. *mein* hut : *der meine.* Note also "Hier ist *éin* umstand (*éin* ding) richtig genannt, aber nur *éiner* (*éines*)."

In Fr. we have formal differences in several cases: *mon chapeau*: *le mien* | *ce* chapeau : *celui*-ci | *quel* chapeau : *lequel?* | *chaque*: *chacun* | *quelque* : *quelqu'un*.

Pronouns as Subjuncts. Besides "pronominal adverbs," which need no exemplification, we have such instances as "I am *that* sleepy (vg.) | *the* more, *the* merrier | *none* too able | I won't stay *any* longer | *nothing* loth | *somewhat* paler than usual." [1]

Verbs.

Finite forms of verbs can only stand as secondary words (adnexes), never either as primaries or as tertiaries. But participles, like adjectives, can stand as primaries (the *living* are more valuable than the *dead*) and as adjuncts (the *living* dog). Infinitives, according to circumstances, may belong to each of the three ranks; in some positions they require in English *to* (cf. G. *zu*, Dan. *at*). I ought strictly to have entered such combinations as *to go*, etc., under the heading "rank of word groups."

Infinitives as Primaries: *to see* is *to believe* (cf. *seeing* is *believing*) | she wants *to rest* (cf. she wants *some rest*, with the corresponding substantive). Fr. *espérer*, c'est *jouir* | il est défendu *de fumer* ici | sans *courir* | au lieu de *courir*. G. *denken* ist schwer | er verspricht *zu kommen* | ohne *zu laufen* | anstatt *zu laufen*, etc.

Infinitives as Adjuncts: in times *to come* | there isn't a girl *to touch* her | the correct thing *to do* | in a way not *to be forgotten* | the never *to be forgotten* look (MEG II, 14. 4 and 15. 8). Fr. la chose *à faire* | du tabac *à fumer*. (In G. a special passive participle has developed from the corresponding use of the infinitive: das *zu lesende* buch.) Spanish: todas las academias existentes y *por existir* (Galdós). This use of the infinitive in some way makes up for the want of a complete set of participles (future, passive, etc.).

Infinitives as Subjuncts: *to see* him, one would think | I shudder *to think* of it | he came here *to see* you.

Adverbs.

Adverbs as Primaries. This use is rare; as an instance may be mentioned "he did not stay for *long* | he's only just back from

[1] There are some combinations of pronominal and numeral adverbs with adjuncts that are not easily "parsed," e.g. *this once* | we should have gone to Venice, or *somewhere not half so nice* (Masefield) | Are we going *anywhere particular?* They are psychologically explained from the fact that *once* = 'one time,' *somewhere* and *anywhere* = (to) some, any place; the adjunct thus belongs to the implied substantive.

abroad." With pronominal adverbs it is more frequent: from *here* | till *now*. Another instance is "he left *there* at two o'clock": *there* is taken as the object of *left*. *Here* and *there* may also be real substantives in philosophical parlance: "Motion requires *a here and a there* | in the Space-field lie innumerable other *theres*" (NED, see MEG II, 8. 12).

Adverbs as Adjuncts. This, too, is somewhat rare: the *off* side | in *after* years | the few *nearby* trees (US) | all the *well* passengers (US) | a *so-so* matron (Byron). In most instances the adjunct use of an adverb is unnecessary, as there is a corresponding adjective available. (Pronominal adverbs: the *then* government | the *hither* shore) MEG II, 14. 9.

Adverbs as Subjuncts. No examples needed, as this is the ordinary employment of this word-class.

When a substantive is formed from an adjective or verb, a defining word is, as it were, lifted up to a higher plane, becoming secondary instead of tertiary, and wherever possible, this is shown by the use of an adjective instead of an adverb form.

absolutely novel	absolute novelty
utterly dark	utter darkness
perfectly strange	perfect stranger
describes accurately	accurate description
I firmly believe	my firm belief, a firm believer
judges severely	severe judges
reads carefully	careful reader
II + III	I + II

It is worth noting that adjectives indicating size (*great, small*) are used as shifted equivalents of adverbs of degree (*much, little*): *a great admirer of Tennyson*, Fr. *un grand admirateur de Tennyson*. On these shifted subjunct-adjuncts, cf. MEG II, 12. 2, and on nexus-words, p. 137, below. Curme (GG 136) mentions G. *die geistig armen, etwas längst bekanntes*, where *geistig* and *längst* remain uninflected like adverbs "though modifying a substantive": the explanation is that *armen* and *bekanntes* are not substantives, but merely adjective primaries, as indicated by their flexion. Some English words may be used in two ways: "these are *full equivalents (for)*" or "*fully equivalent (to)*," "*the direct opposites (of)*" or "*directly opposite (to)*"; Macaulay writes: "The government of the Tudors was *the direct opposite to* the government of Augustus" (E 2. 99), where *to* seems to fit better with the adjective *opposite* than with the substantive, while *direct* presupposes the latter. In Dan. people hesitate between *den indbildt syge* and *den indbildte syge* as a translation of *le malade imaginaire*.

Word Groups.

Word groups consisting of two or more words, the mutual relation of which may be of the most different character, in many instances occupy the same rank as a single word. In some cases it is indeed difficult to decide whether we have one word or two words, cf. p. 93 f. *To-day* was originally two words, now there is a growing tendency to spell it without the hyphen *today*, and as a matter of fact the possibility of saying *from today* shows that *to* is no longer felt to have its original signification. *Tomorrow*, too, is now one word, and it is even possible to say "I look forward *to tomorrow*." For our purpose in this chapter it is, however, of no consequence at all whether we reckon these and other doubtful cases as one word or two words, for we see that a word group (just as much as a single word) may be either a primary or an adjunct or a subjunct.

Word groups of various kinds as Primaries: *Sunday afternoon* was fine | I spent *Sunday afternoon* at home | we met *the kind old Archbishop of York* | it had taken him *ever since* to get used to the idea | You have *till ten to-night* | *From infancy to manhood* is rather a tedious period (Cowper). Cf. Fr. *jusqu'au roi* l'a cru; nous avons assez pour *jusqu'à samedi*; Sp. *hasta los malvados* creen en él (Galdós).

Word groups as Adjuncts: a *Sunday afternoon* concert | the Archbishop *of York* | the party *in power* | *the kind old Archbishop of York's* daughter | a *Saturday to Monday* excursion | the time *between two and four* | his *after dinner* pipe.

Word groups as Subjuncts (tertiaries): he slept *all Sunday afternoon* | he smokes *after dinner* | he went *to all the principal cities of Europe* | he lives *next door to Captain Strong* | the canal ran *north and south* | he used to laugh *a good deal* | *five feet* high | he wants things *his own way* | things shall go *man-of-war fashion* | he ran upstairs *three steps at a time*. Cf. the "absolute construction" in the chapter on Nexus (IX).

As will have been seen already by these examples, the group, whether primary, secondary, or tertiary, may itself contain elements standing to one another in the relation of subordination indicated by the three ranks. The rank of the group is one thing, the rank within the group another. In this way more or less complicated relations may come into existence, which, however, are always easy to analyze from the point of view developed in this chapter. Some illustrations will make this clear "We met the kind old Archbishop of York": the last six words together form one group primary, the object of *met*; but the group itself consists of a primary *Archbishop* and four adjuncts, *the*, *kind*, *old*, *of York*, or, we should rather say that *Archbishop of York*, consisting of the primary *Archbishop* and the adjunct *of York*, is a group primary qualified by the three adjuncts *the*, *kind*, and *old*. But the adjunct *of York* in its turn consists of the particle (preposition) *of* and its object, the primary *York*. Now, the whole of this group may be turned into a group adjunct by being put in the genitive: We met *the kind old Archbishop of York's* daughter.

He lives on this side the river: here the whole group consisting of the last five words is tertiary to *lives*; *on this side*, which consists of the particle (preposition) *on* with its object *this* (adjunct) *side* (primary), forms itself a group preposition, which here takes as an object the group *the* (adjunct) *river* (primary). But in the sentence *the buildings on this side the river are ancient*, the same five-word group is an adjunct to *buildings*. In this way we may arrive at a natural and consistent analysis even of the most complicated combinations found in actual language.[1]

Clauses.

A special case of great importance is presented by those groups that are generally called clauses. We may define a clause as a member of a sentence which has in itself the form of a sentence (as a rule it contains a finite verb). A clause then, according to circumstances, may be either primary, secondary, or tertiary.

I. Clauses as Primaries (clause primaries).

That he will come is certain (cp. His coming is c.).
Who steals my purse steals trash (cp. He steals trash).
What you say is quite true (cp. Your assertion is . . .).
I believe *whatever he says* (cp. . . . all his words).
I do not know *where I was born* (cp. . . . my own birthplace).
I expect (*that*) *he will arrive at six* (cp. . . . his arrival).
We talked of *what he would do* (cp. . . . of his plans).
Our ignorance of *who the murderer was* (cp. . . . of the name of the murderer).

In the first three sentences the clause is the subject, in the rest it is the object, either of the verb or of the preposition *of*. But there is a kind of pseudo-grammatical analysis against which I must specially warn the reader: it says that in sentences like the

[1] A friend once told me the following story about a seven years old boy. He asked his father if babies could speak when they were born. 'No!' said his father. 'Well,' said the boy, 'it's very funny then that, in the story of Job, the Bible says Job cursed the day that he was born.' The boy had mistaken a group primary (object) for a group tertiary.

second the subject of *steals trash* is a *he* which is said to be implied in *who*, and to which the relative clause stands in the same relation as it does to *the man* in *the man who steals*—one of the numerous uncalled-for fictions which have vitiated and complicated grammar without contributing to a real understanding of the facts of language.[1]

II. Clauses as Adjuncts (clause adjuncts).

I like a boy *who speaks the truth* (cp. . . . a truthful boy).
This is the land *where I was born* (cp. my native land).

[1] Sweet (NEG § 112 and 220) says that in *what you say is true* there is condensation, the word *what* doing duty for two words at once, it is the object of *say* in the relative clause and at the same time the subject of the verb *is* in the principal clause; in *what I say I mean* it is the object in both clauses, and in *what is done cannot be undone* it is the subject in both clauses. He says that the clause introduced by a condensed relative precedes, instead of following, the principal clause, and that if we alter the construction of such sentences, the missing antecedent is often restored: *it is quite true what you say*; *if I say a thing, I mean it*. But the last sentence is not at all the grammatical equivalent of *what I say I mean*, and there is neither antecedent nor relative in it; in *it is quite true what you say* we cannot call *it* the antecedent of *what*, as it is not possible to say *it what you say*; for its true character see p. 25, above. *What* can have no antecedent. The position before, instead of after, the principal clause is by no means characteristic of clauses with "condensed" pronouns: in some of Sweet's sentences we have the normal order with the subject first, and in *what I say I mean* we have the emphatic front-position of the object, as shown by the perfectly natural sentence *I mean what I say*, in which *what* is the relative pronoun, though Sweet does not recognize it as the "condensed relative." (In the following paragraphs he creates unnecessary difficulties by failing to see the difference between a relative and a dependent interrogative clause.)
The chief objection to Sweet's view, however, is that it is unnatural to say that *what* does duty for two words at once. *What* is not in itself the subject of *is true*, for if we ask "What is true?" the answer can never be *what* but only *what you say*, and similarly in the other sentences. *What* is the object of *say*, and nothing else, in exactly the same way as *which* is in *the words which you say are true*; but in the latter sentence also in my view the subject of *are* is *the words which you say*, and not merely *the words*. It is only in this way that grammatical analysis is made conformable to ordinary common sense. Onions (AS § 64) speaks of omission of the antecedent in Pope's "To help *who want*, to forward *who excel*," i.e. *those who*; he does not see that this does not help him in *I heard what you said*, for nothing can be inserted before *what*; Onions does not treat *what* as a relative, and it would be difficult to make it fit into his system. Neither he nor Sweet in this connexion mentions the "indefinite relatives" *whoever, whatever*, though they evidently differ from the "condensed relatives" only by the addition of *ever*. Sentences like "Whoever steals my purse steals trash" or "Whatever you say is true" or "I mean whatever I say" should be analyzed in every respect like the corresponding sentences with *who* or *what*. When Dickens writes "Peggotty always volunteered this information to whomsoever would receive it" (DC 456), *whom* is wrong, for *whosoever* is the subject of *would receive*, though the whole clause is the object of *to*; but *whomsoever* would be correct if the clause had run (*to*) *whomsoever it concerned*. Cp. also "he was angry with *whoever crossed his path*," and Kingsley's "Be good, sweet maid, and let *who can* be clever." Ruskin writes, "I had been writing of what I knew nothing about": here *what* is governed by the preposition *about*, while *of* governs the whole clause consisting of the words *what I knew nothing about*.

It is worth remarking that often when we have seemingly two relative clauses belonging to the same antecedent (i.e. primary) the second really qualifies the antecedent as already qualified by the first, thus is adjunct to a group primary consisting of a primary and the first relative clause as adjunct. I print this group primary in italics in the following examples: they murdered *all they met* whom they thought gentlemen | there is *no one who knows him* that does not like him | it is not *the hen who cackles the most* that lays the largest eggs.

III. Clauses as Subjuncts or tertiaries (clause subjuncts).

Whoever said this, it is true (cp. anyhow).
It is a custom *where I was born* (cp. there).
When he comes, I must go (cp. then).
If he comes I must go (cp. In that case).
As this is so, there is no harm done (cp. accordingly).
Lend me your knife, *that I may cut this string* (cp. to cut it with).

Note here especially the first example, in which the clause introduced by *whoever* is neither subject nor object as the clauses considered above were, but stands in a looser relation to *it is true*.

The definition of the term "clause" necessitates some remarks on the usual terminology, according to which the clauses here mentioned would be termed 'dependent' or 'subordinate' clauses as opposed to 'the principal clause' (or 'principal proposition'); corresponding terms are used in other languages, e.g. G. 'nebensatz, hauptsatz.' But it is not at all necessary to have a special term for what is usually called a principal clause. It should first be remarked that the principal idea is not always expressed in the 'principal clause,' for instance not in "*This was* because he was ill." The idea which is expressed in the 'principal clause' in "*It is true* that he is very learned," may be rendered by a simple adverb in "*Certainly* he is very learned"—does that change his being learned from a subordinate to a principal idea? Compare also the two expressions "I tell you that he is mad" and "He is mad, as I tell you." Further, if the 'principal clause' is defined as what remains after the subordinate clauses have been peeled off, we often obtain curious results. It must be admitted that in some cases the subordinate clauses may be left out without any material detriment to the meaning, which is to some extent complete in itself, as in "*I shall go to London* (if I can)" or "(When he got back) *he dined with his brother*." But even here it does not seem necessary to have a special term for what remains after the whole combination has been stripped of those elements, any more than if the same result had followed from the omission of

some synonymous expressions of another form, e.g. "*I shall go to London* (in that case)" or "(After his return) *he dined with his brother.*" If we take away the clause *where I was born* from the three sentences quoted above, what remains is (1) I do not know, (2) This is the land, (3) It is a custom; but there is just as little reason for treating these as a separate grammatical category as if they had originated by the omission of the underlined parts of the sentences (1) I do not know *my birth-place*, (2) This is my *native* land, (3) It is a custom *at home*. Worse still, what is left after deduction of the dependent clauses very often gives no meaning at all, as in "(Who steals my purse) *steals trash*" and even more absurdly in "(What surprises me) *is* (that he should get angry)." Can it really be said here that the little word *is* contains the principal idea? The grammatical unit is the whole sentence including all that the speaker or writer has brought together to express his thought; this should be taken as a whole, and then it will be seen to be of little importance whether the subject or some other part of it is in the form of a sentence and can thus be termed a clause or whether it is a single word or a word group of some other form.

Final Remarks.

The grammatical terminology here advocated, by which the distinction of the three ranks is treated as different from the distinction between substantives, adjectives, and adverbs, is in many ways preferable to the often confused and self-contradictory terminology found in many grammatical works. Corresponding to my three ranks we often find the words substantival, adjectival, and adverbial, or a word is said to be "used adverbially," etc. (Thus NED, for instance, in speaking of *a sight* too clever.) Others will frankly call *what* or *several* in one connexion substantives, in another adjectives, though giving both under the heading pronouns (Wendt.) Falk and Torp call Norw. *sig* the substantival reflexive pronoun, and *sin* the adjectival reflexive pronoun, but the latter is substantival in "hver tog sin, så tog jeg min." Many scholars speak of the 'adnominal genitive' (= adjunct) as opposed to the 'adverbial genitive,' but the latter expression is by some, though not by all, restricted to the use with verbs. In "The King's English" the term 'adverbials' is used for subjunct groups and clauses, but I do not think I have seen "adjectivals" or "substantivals" used for the corresponding adjuncts and primaries. For my own 'adjective primary' the following terms are in use: substantival adjective, substantivized adjective, absolute adjective, adjective used absolutely (but "absolute" is also used in totally different applications, e.g. in absolute ablative), quasi-substantive (e.g. NED *the great*), a free adjective (Sweet NEG § 178 on G. *die gute*), an adjective partially converted into a noun (ib. § 179 about E. *the good*), a substantive-equivalent, a noun-equivalent. Onions (AS § 9) uses the last expression; he applies the term 'adjective-equivalent' among other things to "a noun in apposition," e.g. 'Simon Lee, the old *huntsman*' and 'a noun or verb-noun forming part of a compound noun,' e.g. "*cannon* balls." In *a lunatic asylum* he says that *lunatic* is a noun (this is correct, as shown by the pl. *lunatics*), but this noun is called 'an adjective-equivalent'; consequently he must say that in *sick room* the word *sick* is an adjective which is a noun-equivalent (§ 9. 3), but this noun-equivalent at the same time must be an adjective-equivalent according to his § 10 6! This is an

example of the "simplified" uniform terminology used in Sonnenschein's series. Cf. MEG II, 12. 41. *London* in *the London papers* is called an adjective-equivalent, and *the poor*, when standing by itself, a noun-equivalent; thus in *the London poor* the substantive must be an adjective-equivalent, and the adjective a noun-equivalent. Some say that in *the top one* the substantive is first adjectivized and then again substantivized, and both these conversions are effected by the word *one*. Cf. MEG II, 10. 86: *top* in my system always remains a substantive, but is here adjunct to the primary *one*. My terminology is also much simpler than that found, for instance, in Poutsma's Gr., where we find such expressions as 'an attributive adnominal adjunct consisting of a (pro)noun preceded by a preposition' for my 'prepositional (group) adjunct' (Poutsma using the word *adjunct* in a wider sense than mine).

We are now in a position rightly to appreciate what Sweet said in 1876 (CP 24): "It is a curious fact, hitherto overlooked by grammarians and logicians, that the definition of the noun applies strictly only to the nominative case. The oblique cases are really attribute-words, and inflexion is practically nothing but a device for turning a noun into an adjective or adverb. This is perfectly clear as regards the genitive. . . . It is also clear that *noctem* in *flet noctem* is a pure adverb of time." Sweet did not, however, in his own Anglo-Saxon Grammar place the genitive of nouns under adjectives, and he was right in not doing so, for what he says is only half true: the oblique cases are devices for turning the substantive, which in the nominative is a primary, into a secondary word (adjunct) or tertiary word, but it remains a substantive all the same. There is a certain correspondence between the tripartition substantive, adjective, adverb, and the three ranks, and in course of time we often see adjunct forms of substantives pass into real adjectives, and subjunct forms into adverbs (prepositions, etc.), but the correspondence is only partial, not complete. *The 'part of speech' classification and the 'rank' classification represent different angles from which the same word or form may be viewed, first as it is in itself, and then as it is in combination with other words.*

CHAPTER VIII

JUNCTION AND NEXUS

Adjuncts. Nexus.

Adjuncts.

It will be our task now to inquire into the function of adjuncts: for what purpose or purposes are adjuncts added to primary words?

Various classes of adjuncts may here be distinguished.

The most important of these undoubtedly is the one composed of what may be called *restrictive or qualifying adjuncts*: their function is to restrict the primary, to limit the number of objects to which it may be applied; in other words, to specialize or define it. Thus *red* in *a red rose* restricts the applicability of the word *rose* to one particular sub-class of the whole class of roses, it specializes and defines the rose of which I am speaking by excluding white and yellow roses; and so in most other instances: *Napoleon the third* | *a new book* | *Icelandic peasants* | *a poor widow*, etc.

Now it may be remembered that these identical examples were given above as illustrations of the thesis that substantives are more special than adjectives, and it may be asked: is not there a contradiction between what was said there and what has just been asserted here? But on closer inspection it will be seen that it is really most natural that a less special term is used in order further to specialize what is already to some extent special: the method of attaining a high degree of specialization is analogous to that of reaching the roof of a building by means of ladders: if one ladder will not do, you first take the tallest ladder you have and tie the second tallest to the top of it, and if that is not enough, you tie on the next in length, etc. In the same way, if *widow* is not special enough, you add *poor*, which is less special than *widow*, and yet, if it is added, enables you to reach farther in specialization; if that does not suffice, you add the subjunct *very*, which in itself is much more general than *poor*. *Widow* is special, *poor widow* more special, and *very poor widow* still more special, but *very* is less special than *poor*, and that again than *widow*.

Though proper names are highly specialized, yet it is possible to specialize them still more by adjuncts *Young Burns* means

either a different person from *old Burns*, or if there is only one person of that name in the mind of the actual speaker (and hearer) it mentions him with some emphasis laid on the fact that he is still young (in which case it falls outside the restrictive adjuncts, see below, p. 111).

Among restrictive adjuncts, some of a pronominal character should be noticed. *This* and *that*, in *this rose, that rose* differ from most other adjuncts in not being in any way descriptive: what they do, whether accompanied by some pointing gesture or not, is to *specify*. The same is true of the so-called definite article *the*, which would be better called the defining or determining article; this is the least special of adjuncts and yet specializes more than most other words and just as much as *this* or *that* (of which latter it is phonetically a weakened form). In *the rose, rose* is restricted to that one definite rose which is at this very moment in my thought and must be in yours, too, because we have just mentioned it, or because everything in the situation points towards that particular rose. Cf. "Shut *the door*, please." While *king* in itself may be applied to hundreds of individuals, *the king* is as definite as a proper name: if we are in the middle of a story or a conversation about some particular king, then it is he that is meant, otherwise it means 'our king,' the present king of the country in which we are living. But the situation may change, and then the value of the definition contained in the article changes automatically. "The King is dead. Long live the King!" (Le roi est mort. Vive le roi!) In the first sentence mention is made of one king, the king whom the audience thinks to be still king here; in the second sentence the same two words necessarily refer to another man, the legal successor of the former. It is exactly the same with cases like "*the Doctor* said that *the patient* was likely to die soon," and again with those cases in which Sweet (NEG § 2031) finds the "unique article": *the Devil* [why does he say that *a devil* has a different sense ?], the *sun, the moon, the earth*, etc. (similarly Deutschbein SNS 245). There is, really, no reason for singling out a class of "persons or things which are unique in themselves."

This, however, is not the only function of the definite article. In cases like the *English* King | the King *of England* | the *eldest* boy | the boy *who stole the apples*, etc., the adjuncts here printed in italics are in themselves quite sufficient to individualize, and the article may be said so far to be logically superfluous though required by usage, not only in English but in other languages. We may perhaps call this the article of supplementary determination. The relation between *the King* and *the English King* is parallel to that between *he, they*, standing alone as sufficient to

denote the person or persons pointed out by the situation (*he can afford it* | *they can afford it*) and the same pronouns as determined by an adjunct relative clause (*he that is rich can afford it* | *they that are rich can afford it*). Cf. also the two uses of *the same*, first by itself, meaning 'the identical person or thing that has just been mentioned,' and second supplemented with a relative clause: *the same boy as* (or, *that*) *stole the apples*. But, as remarked in NED, the definite article with *same* often denotes an indeterminate object, as in "all the planets travel round the sun in the same direction," in which sense French may employ the indefinite article (deux mots qui signifient *une même* chose) and English often says *one and the same*, where *one* may be said to neutralize the definite article; so in other languages, Lat. *unus et idem*, Gr. (*ho*) *heis kai ho autos*, G. *ein und derselbe*, Dan. *een og samme*. (N.B. without the definite article.[1])

An adjunct consisting of a genitive or a possessive pronoun always restricts, though not always to the same extent as the definite article. *My father* and *John's head* are as definite and individualized as possible, because a man can only have one father and one head; but what about *my brother* and *John's hat*? I may have several brothers, and John may possess more than one hat, and yet in most connexions these expressions will be understood as perfectly definite: *My brother arrived yesterday* | *Did you see my brother this morning?* | *John's hat blew off his head*—the situation and context will show in each case which of my brothers is meant, and in the last sentence the allusion, of course, is to the particular hat which John was wearing on the occasion mentioned. But when these expressions are used in the predicative the same degree of definiteness is not found: when a man is introduced with the words "This is my brother" or when I say "That is not John's hat," these words may mean indefinitely 'one of my

[1] This is not the place for a detailed account of the often perplexing uses of the definite article, which vary idiomatically from language to language and even from century to century within one and the same language. Sometimes the use is determined by pure accidents, as when in E. *at bottom* represents an earlier *at the* (*atte*) *bottom*, in which the article has disappeared through a well-known phonetic process. There are some interesting, though far from convincing, theories on the rise and diffusion of the article in many languages in G. Schütte, *Jysk og østdansk artikelbrug* (Videnskabernes selskab, Copenhagen, 1922). It would be interesting to examine the various ways in which languages which have no definite article express determination. In Finnish, for instance, the difference between the nominative and the partitive often corresponds to the difference between the definite article and the indefinite (or no article): *linnut* (nom.) *ovat* (pl.) *puussa* 'the birds are in the tree,' *lintuja* (part.) *on* (sg., always used with a subject in the part.) *puussa* 'there are birds in the tree,' *ammuin linnut* 'I shot the birds,' *ammuin lintuja* 'I shot some birds' (Eliot FG 131. 126). The partitive, however, resembles the Fr. "partitive article" more than the use of the Finnish nominative does our definite article.

brothers' and 'one of John's hats.' In German a preposed genitive renders definite (*Schiller's gedichte*) but a postposed genitive does not, whence the possibility of saying *einige gedichte Schiller's* and the necessity of adding the definite article (*die gedichte Schiller's*) if the same degree of definiteness is wanted as in the preposed genitive. Where a prepositional group is used instead of the genitive, the article is similarly required: *die gedichte von Schiller*, so in other languages: *the poems of Schiller, les poèmes de Schiller, i poemi dello Schiller*.

In some languages it is possible to use a possessive pronoun in the incompletely restricted sense. MHG had *ein sîn bruoder*, where now *ein bruder von ihm* is said. In Italian, possessives are not definite, hence the possibility of saying *un mio amico* | *alcuni suoi amici* | *con due o tre amici suoi* | *si comunicarono certe loro idee di gastronomia* (Serao, Cap. Sans. 304). Consequently the article is needed to make the expression definite: *il mio amico*. But there is an interesting exception to this rule: with names indicating close relationship no article is used: *mio fratello, suo zio*. If I am not mistaken this must have originated with *mio padre, mia madre*, where definiteness is a natural consequence of one's having only one father and one mother, and have been analogically extended to the other terms of kinship. It is perfectly natural that the article should be required with a plural: *i miei fratelli*, and on the other hand that it should not be used with a predicative: *questo libro è mio*. In French the possessives are definite, as shown through their combination with a comparative as in *mon meilleur ami* 'my best friend,' where the pronoun has the same effect as the article in *le meilleur ami*.[1] But a different form is used in (the obsolete) *un mien ami* = It. *un mio amico*, now usually *un de mes amis* (*un ami à moi*). In English indefiniteness of a possessive is expressed by means of combinations with *of*: *a friend of mine* | *some friends of hers*, cf. also *any friend of Brown's*, a combination which is also used to avoid the collocation of a possessive (or genitive) and some other determining pronoun: *that noble heart of hers* | *this great America of yours*, etc. As a partitive explanation[2] is excluded here, we may call this construction "pseudo-partitive."

Next we come to *non-restrictive adjuncts* as in *my dear little Ann!* As the adjuncts here are used not to tell which among several Anns I am speaking of (or to), but simply to characterize

[1] Cf., however, the partitive article in "J'ai eu *de ses* nouvelles."
[2] The only explanation recognized by Sonnenschein (§ 184), who says: In sentences like 'He is a friend of John's' there is a noun understood: 'of John's' means 'of John's friends,' so that the sentence is equivalent to 'He is one of John's friends.' Here 'of' means 'out of the number of.' But is "a friend of John's friends" = one of John's friends?

her, they may be termed ornamental ("epitheta ornantia") or from another point of view parenthetical adjuncts. Their use is generally of an emotional or even sentimental, though not always complimentary, character, while restrictive adjuncts are purely intellectual. They are very often added to proper names: *Rare Ben Jonson* | *Beautiful Evelyn Hope is dead* (Browning) | *poor, hearty, honest, little Miss La Creevy* (Dickens) | *dear, dirty Dublin* | *le bon Dieu*. In *this extremely sagacious little man, this* alone defines, the other adjuncts merely describe parenthetically, but in *he is an extremely sagacious man* the adjunct is restrictive.

It may sometimes be doubtful whether an adjunct is of one or the other kind. *His first important poem* generally means 'the first among his important poems' (after he had written others of no importance), but it may also mean the first he ever wrote and add the information that it was important (this may be made clear in the spoken sentence by the tone, and in the written by a comma). *The industrious Japanese will conquer in the long run*: does this mean that the J. as a nation will conquer, because they are industrious, or that the industrious among the Japanese nation will conquer?

I take a good illustration of the difference between the two kinds of adjuncts from Bernhard Schmitz's French Grammar: *Arabia Felix* is one part of Arabia, but the well-known epigram about (the whole of) Austria, which extends her frontiers by marriages, while other countries can only extend theirs by war, says: "Tu, *felix Austria*, nube." The same difference between a preposed non-restrictive and a postposed restrictive adjunct is seen in the well-known rules of French Grammar, according to which *ses pauvres parents* comprises all his relatives in sympathetic compassion, while *ses parents pauvres* means those of his relatives that are poor—a distinction which is not, however, carried through consistently with all adjectives.

The distinction between the two kinds of adjuncts is important with regard to relative clauses. In English, while the pronouns *who* and *which* may be found in both, only restrictive clauses can be introduced by *that* or without any pronoun: *the soldiers that were brave ran forward* | *the soldiers, who were brave, ran forward* | *everybody I saw there worked very hard*. The difference between the first two sentences can be made still more evident by the insertion of *all*: *all the soldiers that* were brave . . . | *the soldiers, who were all of them brave*. . . . It will be noticed that there is also a marked difference in tone, a non-restrictive clause beginning on a deeper tone than a restrictive one; besides, a pause is permissible before a non-restrictive, but hardly before a restrictive clause; cf. the use of a comma in writing. In Danish the difference is

shown by the article of the antecedent: (*alle*) *de soldater som var modige løb frem* | *soldaterne, som* (*alle*) *var modige, løb frem*. But this criterion is not always available; if the antecedent has another adjunct the only difference is in the stress of the preposed article: *'de franske soldater som* . . . | *de 'franske soldater, som*. . . . A so-called **continuative** relative clause is, of course, non-restrictive: *he gave the letter to the clerk, who then copied it*, Dan. *han gav brevet til kontoristen, som så skrev det av* (but: . . . *to the clerk who was to copy it* . . . *til den kontorist som skulde skrive det av*).

The following examples will serve further to illustrate the two kinds of relative clause adjuncts: there were few passengers that escaped without serious injuries | there were few passengers, who escaped without serious injuries | they divide women into two classes: those they want to kiss, and those they want to kick, who are those they don't want to kiss.

The distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive adjuncts (which are both in a certain sense qualifiers) does not affect quantifying adjuncts, such as *many, much, some, few, little, more, less, no, one* and the other numerals. Whenever these are found with adjectives as adjuncts to the same primary they are always placed first: *many small boys* | *much good wine* | *two young girls*. There is a curious relation between such quantifiers and combinations of substantives denoting number or quantity followed by an *of*-group (or in languages with a more complicated form-system, a partitive genitive or a partitive case): *hundred* was originally a substantive and in the plural is treated as such: *hundreds of soldiers*, but in the singular, in spite of the preposed *one* or *a*, it is treated like the other numerals: *a hundred soldiers*; thus also *three hundred soldiers*; cp. *dozens of bottles, a dozen bottles*. Where E. has *a couple of days, a pair of lovers*, G. has *ein paar tage*, Dan. *et par dage*, even *die paar tage, de par dage* exactly as *die zwei tage, de to dage*. To E. *much wine, many bottles, no friends*, corresponds Fr. *beaucoup de vin, beaucoup de bouteilles, pas d'amis*; to E. *a pound of meat, a bottle of wine* corresponds G. *ein pfund fleisch, eine flasche wein*, Dan. *et pund kød, en flaske vin*, etc.

Wherever an indefinite article is developed, it seems always to be an unemphatic form of the numeral *one*: *uno, un, ein, en, an* (*a*), Chinese *i*, a weak form of *yit* (Russ. *odin* is often used like an indefinite article). In English *a* has in some cases the value of the numeral, as in *four at a time, birds of a feather*, and in some cases the full and the weakened forms are synonymous, as in *one Mr. Brown* = *a Mr. Brown*, where we may also say *a certain Mr. Brown*. This use of the word *certain* reminds us that in most cases where we use the "indefinite" article we have really something very definite in our mind, and "indefinite" in the grammatical sense practically

means nothing but "what shall not (not yet) be named," as in the beginning of a story: "In a certain town there once lived a tailor who had a young daughter"—when we go on we use the definite form about the same man and say: "The tailor was known in that town under the name of, etc." (On the "generic" use of the indefinite article see p. 152 and Ch. XV.)

As the indefinite article is a weakened numeral, it is not used with "uncountables" (mass-words, Ch. XIV). And as *one*—and consequently *a(n)*—has no plural, there is no plural indefinite article, unless you count the curious Sp. *unos* as one. But in a different way French has developed what may be called an indefinite article to be used with mass-words and plurals in its "partitive article," as in *du vin, de l'or, des amis*. This, of course, originated in a prepositional group, but is now hardly felt as such and at any rate can be used after another preposition: *avec du vin | j'en ai parlé à des amis*. It is now just as good an adjunct as any numeral or as the synonym *quelque(s)* or E. *some*.

Nexus.

We now proceed to what was above (p. 97) termed nexus. The example there given was *the dog barks furiously* as contrasted with the junction *a furiously barking dog*. The tertiary element *furiously* is the same in both combinations, and may therefore here be left out of account. The relation between *the dog barks* and *a barking dog* is evidently the same as that between *the rose is red* and *a red rose*. In *the dog barks* and *the rose is red* we have complete meanings, complete sentences, in which it is usual to speak of *the dog* and *the rose* as the subject, and of *barks* and *is red* as the predicate, while the combination is spoken of as predication. But what is the difference between these and the other combinations?

Paul thinks that an adjunct is a weakened predicate (ein degradiertes prädikat, P 140 ff.), and in the same way Sheffield says that an adjunct "involves a latent copula" (GTh 56). If this means that *a red rose* is equivalent to (or had its origin in) *a rose which is red*, and that therefore *red* is always a kind of predicative, it should not be overlooked that the relative pronoun is here smuggled into the combination, but the function of the relative is precisely that of making the whole thing into an adjunct (an attribute, an epithet). *Barking* is not a degraded *barks*, though *a barking dog* is *a dog which barks*. Peano is much more right when he says that the relative pronoun and the copula are like a positive and a negative addition of the same quantity which thus annul one another (*which* = — *is* or — *which* = + *is*), thus *which is* = 0.

While Paul thinks that junction (attributivverhältnis) has developed from a predicate relation, and therefore ultimately from a sentence, Sweet does not say anything about the relative priority of the two combinations, when he says that "assumption" (his name for what is here called junction) is implied or latent predication, and on the other hand, that predication is a kind of strengthened or developed assumption (NEG § 44). But this way of looking at the question really leads nowhere.

Wundt and Sütterlin distinguish the two kinds as open and closed combinations (offene und geschlossene wortverbindungen). It would probably be better to say that one is unfinished and makes one expect a continuation (*a red rose,—well, what about that rose?*) and the other is rounded off so as to form a connected whole (*the rose is red*). The former is a lifeless, stiff combination, the latter has life in it. This is generally ascribed to the presence of a finite verb (the rose *is* red; the dog *barks*), and there is certainly much truth in the name given to a verb by Chinese grammarians, "the living word" as opposed to a noun which is lifeless. Still, it is not the words themselves so much as their combinations that impart life or are deprived of life and, as we shall see presently, we have combinations without any finite verb which are in every respect to be ranged with combinations like *the rose is red*, or *the dog barks*. These form complete sentences, i.e. complete communications, and this, of course, is very important, even from the grammarian's point of view. But exactly the same relation between a primary and a secondary word that is found in such complete sentences is also found in a great many other combinations which are not so rounded off and complete in themselves as to form real sentences. We need not look beyond ordinary subordinate clauses to see this, e.g. in (I see) *that the rose is red*, or (she is alarmed) *when the dog barks*. Further, the relation between the last two words in *he painted the door red* is evidently parallel to that in *the door is red* and different from that in *the red door*, and the two ideas "the Doctor" and "arrive" are connected in essentially the same way in the four combinations (1) the Doctor arrived, (2) I saw that the Doctor arrived, (3) I saw the Doctor arrive, (4) I saw the Doctor's arrival. What is common to these, and to some more combinations to be considered in the next chapter, is what I term a nexus, and I shall now try to determine what constitutes the difference between a nexus and a junction, asking the reader to bear in mind that on the one hand the presence of a finite verb is not required in a nexus, and that on the other hand a nexus may, but does not always, form a complete sentence.

In a junction a secondary element (an adjunct) is joined to a primary word as a label or distinguishing mark: a house is