THE INFINITIVE AND THE -ING AS COMPLEMENTS OF VERBS AND ADJECTIVES OF FEAR

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foreword</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Résumé</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapter One: The Problem</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.0 Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Distinguishing Between the <em>-ing</em> and <em>to</em>-infinitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1.1 Traditional Approaches</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1.2 General vs. Specific Reference</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1.3 Hypothetical vs. Reification</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1.4 Generative Grammar Approach</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1.5 The Temporal Approach</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 The Problem of Control</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.1 The Syntactic Approach</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.2 The Semantic Approach</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Summary of Approaches</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapter Two: Theoretical Considerations</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.0 Introduction</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 The Verb System in English</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Parameters for Our Study</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.1 Meaning of the <em>-ing</em></td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.2 Function of the <em>-ing</em></td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.2.1 Criteria for Recognizing the Direct Object</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.2.2 Criteria Used in this Study</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.3 Semantic Effect of the <em>-ing</em> as Complement</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.4 Meaning of the <em>to</em>-infinitive</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.5 Function of the <em>to</em>-infinitive</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.6 Semantic Effect of the <em>to</em>-infinitive as Complement</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2.7 The of + -ing Complement 58
2.2.8 Semantic Effect of the of + -ing as Complement 60

Chapter Three: Corpus Analysis

3.0 Introduction 63

3.1 Verbs of Fear 63

3.1.1 Dread 64

3.1.1.1 Definition and Complementation 64
3.1.1.2 Temporal and Control Effects 68
3.1.1.3 Function of the Complement 68

3.1.2 Fear 70

3.1.2.1 Definition and Complementation 70
3.1.2.2 Temporal and Control Effects 71
3.1.2.3 Function of the Complement 72

3.1.3 Scruple 74

3.1.3.1 Definition and Complementation 74
3.1.3.2 Temporal and Control Effects 75
3.1.3.3 Function of the Complement 76

3.1.4 Apprehend 77

3.1.4.1 Definition and Complementation 77
3.1.4.2 Temporal and Control Effects 78
3.1.4.3 Function of the Complement 79

3.1.5 Shudder 79

3.1.5.1 Definition and Complementation 79
3.1.5.2 Temporal and Control Effects 81
3.1.5.3 Function of the Complement 82

3.1.6 Blanch, Cower, Cringe, Flinch, Pale, Quaver, Quiver, Quake, Shiver, Tremble, Tremor 83

3.2 Adjectives of Fear 84

3.2.1 Afraid 85

3.2.1.1 Definition and Complementation 85
3.2.1.2 Temporal and Control Effects 88
3.2.1.3 Function of the Complement 90
3.2.2 Frightened/Scared 91
  3.2.2.1 Definition and Complementation 91
  3.2.2.2 Temporal and Control Effects 93
  3.2.2.3 Function of the Complement 94
3.2.3 Fearful/Apprehensive 95
  3.2.3.1 Definition and Complementation 95
  3.2.3.2 Temporal and Control Effects 96
  3.2.3.3 Function of the Complement 97
3.2.4 Terrified/Horrified/Aghast/Startled 98
  3.2.4.1 Definition and Complementation 98
  3.2.4.2 Temporal and Control Effects 100
  3.2.4.3 Function of the Complement 101
3.2.5 Chicken 102
  3.2.5.1 Definition and Complementation 102
  3.2.5.2 Temporal and Control Effects 103
  3.2.5.3 Function of the Complement 103
3.2.6 Note on Too 104

Chapter Four: Explanation and Conclusion
4.0 Introduction 105
4.1 To-infinitive vs. -ing: a Semantic Account 105
4.2 Explanation of Temporal Effects 108
4.3 Explanation of Control Effects 111
4.4 Other Issues 112
4.5 Prospects for Future Research 114
4.6 Concluding Remarks 115

Bibliography 116
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RÉSUMÉ

La nature de la distinction entre l'infinitif avec to et la forme en -ing en anglais a été le sujet de beaucoup de discussions parmi les grammairiens au fil des années. Cependant, de toutes les approches proposées, aucune n'est capable de bien expliquer cette distinction pour les verbes et les adjectifs qui expriment la peur. Des catégories telles que 'général vs spécifique,' hypothétique vs réalisé,' ou 'factif vs non-factif' ne s'appliquent pas à cette classe sémantique. De même, tenter d'expliquer la différence sur une base temporelle ne porte pas fruit, car nous avons l'impression que l'événement que désigne les deux compléments est toujours subséquent par rapport à celui du verbe de la principale. Cette étude se veut une explication sur le choix du complément avec les verbes et les adjectifs qui expriment la peur en appliquant la théorie de la psychomécanique du langage. Cette étude propose également une explication pour les rapports de contrôle et de temporalité qui existent entre les verbes (ou les adjectifs) de la principale et le complément, soit l'infinitif ou la forme en -ing. Cette explication sera fondée sur trois paramètres: 1) le contenu sémantique du complément, 2) la fonction du complément par rapport au verbe de la principale et 3) le signifié lexical du verbe principal.
ABSTRACT

The nature of the distinction between the -ing and to-infinitive complement has been the subject of much discussion and debate amongst grammarians over the years. Of the approaches taken, however, none can successfully explain this distinction with respect to verbs and adjectives of fear. Categories such as 'general versus specific,' 'potential versus actual,' and 'factive versus non-factive' do not apply to this semantic class. Likewise, any attempt to define the difference on temporal grounds is to no avail, as the event denoted by both complements is felt to be subsequent to that of the main verb in time. This study will attempt to provide an explanation for the choice of complement with respect to verbs and adjectives of fear through the application of a meaning-based linguistic theory known as the Psychomechanics of Language. Under this theoretical framework, this study will also propose an explanation for the temporal and control effects which exist between the matrix verbs (or adjectives) and their to-infinitive or -ing complements. This explanation will be based on three explanatory parameters: (1) the meaning of the complement, (2) the function of the complement with respect to the matrix verb, and (3) the lexical meaning of the matrix verb itself.
Chapter One

The Problem

Science begins with the analytical discovery of a universe which has secrets it does not disclose at first contact and which do not yield to simple direct observation. (Guillaume 1984:46)

1.0 Introduction

The nature of the distinction between the to-infinitive and -ing complement has been a longstanding subject of discussion and debate in linguistics. In spite of the numerous studies and articles on the subject, no one has been able to provide a sufficiently general explanation with regard to the semantic class under study here: verbs and adjectives of fear. What permits verbs such as dread and fear to be construed with both the to-infinitive and -ing complement while semantically similar words such as cringe and shudder can only be construed with the former? In similar fashion, how can adjectives such as afraid, scared, frightened, terrified, fearful and horrified take both the to-infinitive and of + -ing complement while ones such as startled or aghast can only accept the former of the two? These are two questions that this study will attempt to address.

This study also aims to provide a semantically-based account of the behaviour of the to-infinitive and the -ing as complements of verbs and adjectives of fear with respect to notions of temporality and control. The two following examples illustrate these notions:

(1) And so by incessant exercise, her right foot grew larger and broader, while the other remained the same size, and at length she feared to go out in the
streets at all, for fear of tripping and falling flat. (British National Corpus\textsuperscript{1} H0R 2296)

(2) They'd spent twelve happy weeks in the Malvern Hills, being cared for by local schools. And they were dreading going back to Russia. (BNC K1V 1827)

The first notion, temporality, concerns the temporal relation felt to exist between the event expressed by the complement and that of the matrix verb. In (1), the event denoted by the to-infinitive is understood as being subsequent, or unrealized, with respect to that of the matrix. This relation of subsequence is also felt to exist in (2) with the -ing complement, where the event \textit{going back} is interpreted as being prospective with respect to the dreading expressed in the matrix. The second notion, control, concerns the interpretation of the "missing" subject, or realizer, of the complement's event. Both (1) and (2) exhibit what is commonly known as 'subject control,' with the realizer of the complement corresponding to the subject of the matrix verb. Thus, in (1) the subject of \textit{going out} is felt to correspond to \textit{she} while in (2) the subject of \textit{going back} is understood as being \textit{they}.

To achieve the goals of this study, we will draw upon tenets of a linguistic theory known as the Psychomechanics of Language. It is hoped that the findings here will complement those found in other recent studies dealing with to-infinitive and gerund complementation, including Tremblay (1992), Abboud (1997), Joubert (1997) and Labbé (2002). Before pursuing any further discussion, it would be useful to examine what other authors have proposed with regards to complementation in order to discern clearly what their contributions have brought to our present understanding of the aforementioned issues. Consideration of these other studies will show that while many of them contain valuable insights which have served as a springboard for the work undertaken in this study, there are still some important issues which need to be addressed.

\textsuperscript{1} Henceforth abbreviated as BNC.
1.1 Distinguishing Between the -ing and to-infinitive

1.1.1 Traditional Approaches

Some grammarians have simply given up on any attempt to tie the infinitive and the gerund to an underlying principle capable of explaining all of their uses. These grammarians claim that the choice of one complement over the other depends upon "personal feeling" (House and Harman 1950:338) or "personal preference" (Vorlat 1965:134). Vorlat (1965:134) also goes on to state the following:

In the large majority of cases a writer's choice is not determined by semantic considerations. Prescribing rules about a use of infinitive or gerund which would be based on the meaning of the verb is impossible.

Any suggestion that the choice of one complement over the other is done in such a subjective, or arbitrary, manner is not supported by actual usage of the verbs and adjectives under study here. As the following examples show, it is clear that only one complement is possible:

(3) I'm afraid of slipping (*to slip) in the dark and cracking my head on the edge of the bunker. (BNC AC7 429)

(4) An employer might respond to this by offering his workers higher wages to foster effort so that they will fear losing (*to lose) their jobs because the alternative jobs are less well paid. (BNC HWH 950)

One can conclude then, from these examples of actual usage, that the choice of complement is made on the basis of some underlying premise other than personal feeling.

Other grammarians have looked at the distributional tendencies of the two complement types and identified the difference as being one based on register. Poutsma (1929:861-862) remarks, in terms of the verb dread, that "the gerund construction is, presumably, less common than the infinitive construction." As for the verb fear, he comments that "the two constructions seem to be used indifferently, the infinitive construction being, presumably, the usual one in colloquial language." Zandvoort
(1957:27), also alluding to the verbs fear and dread, echoes Poutsma's claims that complement choice reflects register, noting that the infinitive is used more frequently than the gerund, "especially in spoken and informal written English." Given the subjective nature of such claims, which are based on a very limited number of examples, it is not surprising to find other authors claiming the exact opposite. Curme (1931:491-492), for instance, states that "in colloquial use the gerund is more likely to stand in the first position than is the infinitive." In light of this contradiction, it would appear that although these authors offer much in the way of useful examples and general distributional tendencies, register cannot be the underlying distinction between the two forms under study here.

Other authors have claimed that there are phonological reasons behind the choice of one complement over another. The Cobuild Grammar (1999:188) notes that "when you have a choice between a present participle and a 'to'-infinitive, you do not use the present participle if the first verb is in a continuous tense." Close (1992:120) states that with the so-called aspectual verbs, "most users of English would choose the infinitive or the -ing by accident, or for the sake of euphony, rhythm or variety." Such claims, however, are not supported by observed usage of the verb dread:

(5) He had been dreading having to look for a place for lunch. (BNC A6N 1608)

Given such examples, which are not hard to find with other verbs not under study here, it becomes obvious that phonology is not at the heart of the distinction between the two forms.

1.1.2 General vs Specific Reference

Many grammarians have analyzed the distinction between the to-infinitive and -ing form in terms of the overall impression evoked on the level of the sentence. These authors adopt the view that the opposition between the two forms is based on the notions 'general' and 'particular,' with the to-infinitive being used where the event is of a particular nature and the -ing being suitable to more general statements. Such
observations can be found among a significant number of authors: Wood (1956:13), Scheurweghs (1959:205), Stannard (1947:196), Schibsbye (1970: 63), Dirven (1991:2), Roggero (2001:302), and Hamawand (2002). Zandvoort (1957:28) gives the two following examples to illustrate these notions:

(6) She hated shopping.

(7) I hate to disappoint you.

As he explains, (6) would be "more appropriate to a general statement" whereas (7) would be used in reference to a "special occasion." While this distinction holds true for the examples he provides, it fails to account for the following examples with the verbs *fear* and *dread*, where (8) seems to refer to a specific occasion while (9) could arguably be considered a general statement:

(8) He dreads telling Martha he is going away, but he promised Babur. (BNC:HGU 1190)

(9) Their aim is not so much to alleviate the horrors of war as to make war so horrific that potential aggressors will fear to resort to it at all. (BNC:CHC 495)

Given the existence of examples that do not fit into the categories of 'general' and 'specific', it is not surprising to find authors proposing the exact opposite. Freed (1979:152), in her study of what she terms 'aspectual verbs', proposes that the *to*-infinitive "carries with it a generic reading" while the *-ing* "refers to the unspecified duration of a single event." While such a claim might be able to account for usage in (6) and (7) above, it is unable to account for the many cases where the *-ing* has a general reference while that of the *to*-infinitive is more particular in scope, as in the following:

2 Freed defines aspectual verbs as "verbs which operate on other verbs, sentences, or nouns and which have a consistent semantic effect of a temporal nature on these forms" (29). The verbs analyzed in her study include *start, begin, continue, keep, resume, repeat, stop, quit, cease, finish, end and complete.*
(10) Families dread sentencing loved ones to death, doctors hate being forced to play God and lawyers fear the minefield of legislation that would be needed. (BNC: CH1 5258)

(11) No lasting good could come of it and I fear to see you hurt. (BNC: CCD 899)

Given the examples here, it would appear as though Curme (1931:491) was quite justified in claiming that "actual usage knows nothing of this distinction." Pre-established categories such as 'general' and 'specific,' when confronted with the full range of actual usage with verbs and adjectives of fear, simply shed no light on what conditions the speaker's favouring of one form over the other.

1.1.3 Hypothetical vs Reification

Bolinger (1968) defines the distinction between the *to*-infinitive and the *-ing* complement as being one of 'hypothesis' versus 'reification.' The event denoted by the infinitive is understood to evoke a potentiality while that of the *-ing* denotes something "actually done" (123). He gives the following example with the adjective *afraid* to illustrate his point:

(12) The two cats were on the stump in the pool, chasing each other's tail, *afraid to fall* in the water but at the same time...

The apparent awkwardness of this phrase, as Bolinger notes, comes from its being produced by a non-native speaker. He explains: "as the fear is of a danger actually present, it should have been *afraid of falling*. Had the sentence ended *but realizing that that was the only escape* it would have referred to a potential action and the infinitive would have been normal." This explanation, however, is problematic for the following example with the adjective *afraid* where there is no notion of a "present danger" and there is in fact an impression that the event denoted by the *-ing* is a potentiality:
He was afraid of being sent back to Ethiopia, where close family members had been imprisoned and tortured. (BNC)

In fact, when one looks at usage on the whole, one finds that the infinitive can evoke either a potentiality or something which is, in Bolinger's terms, "actually done":

He managed to break the window.

She remembered to turn off the light.

Interestingly enough, implied realization of the infinitive's event has also been found to occur in many of the adjectives under study here, such as terrified:

Looking down from a small window in the lodge house, the factor Robert Menzies was terrified to see the throngs of people, like herds of cattle milling at a tryst. (BNC A0N 478)

It is clear then, in light of these examples, that there is more to explaining the behaviour of the to-infinitive than simply the notion of potentiality.

Bolinger's work has been very influential in the field of complementation. In A Comprehensive Grammar of English (1985) by Quirk et al., a work considered by many to be the "authority" on the English language, Quirk classifies the verbs fear and dread as 'emotive verbs' and goes on to echo Bolinger's claims that the to-infinitive is used in "hypothetical and nonfactual contexts" while the -ing refers to something that "definitely happens or has happened" (1191). Once again, as seen above with Bolinger's approach, such categories simply do not apply to the full range of observable usage. Even extending the notion of potentiality to include an element of "causation" (1227) whereby the complement is viewed as the cause of the fear, as Quirk does in the case of afraid + to-infinitive, is still insufficient. As (13) above illustrates, the use of the gerund also entails a causal relationship between the event it denotes and the matrix.

As has been demonstrated, categories such as 'hypothetical' and 'actual' clearly cannot be used to account for the behaviour of the semantic class of verbs and adjectives under study here. Quirk's comments that in some contexts "there is little appreciable
difference between the two constructions" (1191, my italics) echo those of a great number of other grammarians who claim that there is little or no difference in meaning between the two forms. This raises important questions that go right to the heart of language itself; in particular, why would a language have two different means of expressing the same meaning? The problem of Quirk's and Bolinger's analyses, and those that distinguish on the basis of the categories 'general' and 'particular', comes as a result of placing primary emphasis on the impressions evoked on the level of the sentence, rather than on a careful consideration of the individual items of which the sentences are composed. How these impressions could in fact be derived from the meanings of these items is a question which is not explored.

1.1.4. Generative Grammar Approach

Bolinger has also influenced many grammarians of the transformational school. His notions of potentiality and reification form the basis of what Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1971) term 'factivity.' These authors claim that the -ing complement is found only after 'factive predicates,' which have in their deep structure the notion 'factive,' meaning that the truth of the complement is presupposed by the speaker. For example,

(17) Everyone ignored (the fact of) Joan's being completely drunk.

(18) I regret (the fact of) having agreed to the proposal.

In the case of these so-called factive predicates, the paraphrase "the fact of" undergoes deletion through the derivational process. As for the to-infinitive, the Kiparskys' claim that it is found only after 'non-factive predicates' which do not presuppose any truth in the complement. For example,

(19) I believe Mary to have been the one who did it.

(20) He fancies himself to be an expert in pottery.
The Kiparskys discuss several apparent problems in their hypotheses. First of all, they note that with certain "non-factive" verbs such as *charge*, the to-infinitive is excluded. The only explanation they offer is that there is "considerable variation from one speaker to another" as to which construction can be used. Second of all, they note the existence of a number of verbs which take both complements such as *anticipate, remember*, and *deduce*. To account for these exceptions, they claim that certain verbs contain no specification as to their factive nature in deep structure (362). How such verbs are exempt from this specification, however, is not explained. Third, to account for certain cases where the infinitive can evoke an impression that is factive, they postulate an additional semantic distinction termed "emotivity" (363). This term applies to the class of verbs in which "the speaker expresses a subjective, emotional, or evaluative reaction" (363) and can be illustrated through the following examples:

(21) It bothers me for John to have hallucinations.

(22) I regret for you to be in this fix.

The infinitive with these apparently "factive" predicates can therefore be accounted for by the so-called emotivity rule which serves to block factivity from applying at the deep structure level. However, why or how such a rule does so is not explained.

Stockwell et al. (1973) and Menzel (1975) adopt the same position as the Kiparskys, however with some slight modifications in the case of the gerund. In light of many cases where the paraphrase "the fact of" does not seem compatible with this form, Stockwell et al. claim that "the deep structure of gerundives appears to require deep-structure head-nouns other than just *fact* that are deletable in the course of derivation" (564). They illustrate the awkwardness of such a paraphrase with the following example:

(23) It's been nice knowing you.

(24) (?) The fact of knowing you has been nice.
As a result of the apparent incompatibility between the gerund and the head noun 'fact', they propose the existence of other head nouns such as act, action, activity, state, event, manner, extent and degree of. Such a postulate would, therefore, account for the above example, giving it the more intuitively correct form of "The state of knowing you has been nice" in deep structure.

As is the case with the Kiparskys, Stockwell et al. also point out the existence of some verbs which elude factive and non-factive labels. For example:

(25) I began to cry.

In this case, the sentence implies the truth of the complement, namely "I cried" which, according to the hypothesis, should not occur as an infinitive.

Since publication of the Kiparskys' article, which has influenced many other analyses on complementation, some have seriously questioned the relevance of factivity and deep structure head nouns. Poldauf (1972:83) claims that it is possible to determine whether a given verb is factive or not, but that "it is hardly possible to show any direct relation between it and the type of complementation used." Wierzbicka (1988:67) deems head nouns "no more than convenient fictions" and goes on to criticize the Kiparskys for their inability to deal with exceptions to their theory without postulating additional stipulations. Indeed, an initial observation of the verb fear illustrates the inapplicability of the factivity notion:

(26) I fear to walk in the rain.

(27) I fear walking in the rain.

In both of these cases, the event denoted by the complement is felt to be non-factive. Thus, while we agree with the notion that there are semantic motivations behind the choice of complement, clearly notions of factivity and non-factivity are not applicable to the verbs and adjectives under study here.
The Kiparskian notion of factivity has also given rise to the related notion of 'implicativity.' Rudanko (1989) and Givon (1990) analyze complementation in terms of its 'implicative' (cf. factive) and 'non-implicative' (cf. non-factive) nature. Givon states that "the -ing tends to be used primarily in complements of implicative verbs" (534). However, once again, such an explanation is problematic for verbs and adjectives of fear which take both types of complement while appearing on the whole to be inherently non-implicative. Rudanko classifies the verbs fear and dread under his 'negative volition' category, claiming that these verbs are used predominantly with gerundive complements. However, he also points out the fact that further research is needed to substantiate his claims. His comments that "both infinitive and -ing complements are overwhelmingly non-implicative" also raise questions as to the soundness of his analysis, especially considering the existence of many so-called 'implicative' verbs that can also take an -ing complement such as finish, stop and start.

1.1.5. The Temporal Approach

Another tendency among grammarians has been to define the distinction between the -ing and the to-infinitive complement on temporal grounds. Kruisinga (1931; 258-260) was perhaps the first to bring out this type of distinction, noting that the -ing is more "durative" or "used to express the repetition of an action." The to-infinitive, however, is "invariably used when purpose must be expressed" or "to introduce a fresh action."

Dixon (1984) makes a more elaborate temporal distinction between the two forms. In terms of the to-infinitive, he claims that there exist two types. First, there is what he terms the TO1 complement, which both refers "to some as yet unrealized activity" and indicates the "desirability, necessity or inevitability of its taking place" (589). For example:

(28) I wish John to go.

(29) I recommend John to go.
In both of these cases, the event of 'going' is seen as being unrealized in time with respect to the matrix as well as indicating an object of desire or necessity on behalf of the subject. Dixon's second proposed type of to-infinitive, TO₂, expresses in his terms "a judgement concerning the subject of the to-clause" (590). For example:

(30) I know Mary to have hit John.

As for the -ing, Dixon defines it as referring to "all or part of some on-going activity" which "invests the event with duration and structure" (588). He gives the following example:

(31) I observed Mary's striking John.

In this example, Dixon notes how the observer "actually witnessed the event" (589); that is, the subject viewed the event in its entirety.

Dixon's explanation appears to apply well to the cases he cites in his study. His claim that the to-infinitive refers to something that has yet to be realized in time would appear to hold true for a verb such as fear, which would presumably fall into his TO₁ category:

(32) There was something he feared to say yet needed to confide. (BNC CJF 1251)

Dixon's explanatory principle runs into problems, however, in accounting for the above examples with the verbs manage and remember, where the complement event is felt to be fully realized at the moment of speaking. Moreover, the impression of non-realization is also felt to be present with the -ing construction, as in the following:

(33) They'd spent twelve happy weeks in the Malvern Hills, being cared for by local schools. And they were dreading going back to Russia. (BNC: K1V 1827)
Here the event *going back* represents something prospective with regards to the dreading expressed in the matrix.

Other aspects of Dixon's analysis cast even further doubts on the validity of his claims. First of all, he provides no underlying basis for his separation of the *to*-infinitive into two types other than the fact that they evoke the different impressions discussed above. How the same form can evoke notions that are "semantically quite different" (590) is an issue that is not explored. Second, his peculiar claim that the *TO₁* complement is only possible when the subject of the main verb "wants" the event to take place is inapplicable to verbs and adjectives of fear. For instance, in the following example with *dread* it is doubtful whether the subject actually wants the "thinking" to take place:

(34) I dread to think of what might happen.

To account for such examples, Dixon might postulate that there is a notion of 'not wanting,' in which case he would not be wrong. However, that a wanting/not wanting notion is useful as an explanatory principle is certainly questionable in light of examples with the *to*-infinitive where either notion is absent:

(35) He deserves to be hanged.

One final criticism of Dixon could be raised in regards to his claim that when one verb allows more than one complement construction "there is usually a degree of substitutability between them." This raises the question once again of how or why a language would have more than one way to express the same meaning. If there is some "overlap" as he states, then how is this possible?

Wierzbicka (1988), building upon Dixon's and Bolinger's work, makes a more fine-grained semantic and temporal distinction in terms of the *to*-infinitive and the *-ing*. In terms of the *to*-infinitive, she proposes three types: TO and wanting, TO and opinion and TO and emotion. The following three examples illustrate these different types:
(36) He wanted to go.

(37) I believe Mary to be dishonest.

(38) I am pleased to meet you.

In (36), the category into which verbs of fear would presumably fall, she claims that the compatibility of the to-complement with the verb want is due to this verb's underlying semantic meaning which contains a notion of 'wanting' (29). For examples such as He was afraid to do it, where there is a notion of 'not wanting' (i.e. the subject does not want the event denoted by the infinitive to take place), she specifies that "it is not so much a person's wanting or not wanting to do something, as the presence or absence of a thought about wanting." This stipulation allows her to account for the following pair of examples with afraid:

(39) She was afraid to wake her mistress up.

(40) She was afraid of waking her mistress up.

In (39), Wierzbicka explains that it is the "tentative notion" of wanting that the maid forms in her head that gives rise to the fear; that is, the notion of wanting is present. On the other hand, in (40), she claims that "the idea of deliberately waking her mistress up never enters the maid's head" (33); that is, there is an absence of any notion of wanting.

Unlike Dixon, who offers no underlying theoretic principle for his division of the to-infinitive into two types, Wierzbicka does attempt to provide a more general explanation for hers. First, she claims that "the TO complement is associated with a personal, subjective, first person mode" (164). That is, all three can be formulated in such semantic metalanguage terms as 'I want', 'I think' or 'I know.' Second, she claims that the to-infinitive has "a clear future orientation" (165), at least in the majority of the cases she analyzes. In many cases involving volition, such as She wants to go, she claims this future component is clear. For other examples, however, such as I know Mary to be
a Mormon, this future component is less clear. In these cases, she postulates a "disclaimer", going on to claim that "if spelled out precisely, probably contains a reference to the future" (166).

In terms of the -ing, Wierzbicka comments that her solution to the "apparent mystery" is "a case of the obvious being consistently overlooked" (60). Her proposal is based on observations of its participial use where the -ing evokes an event which is viewed as being simultaneous with the main verb:

(41) She sat talking.

Based on such observations, she claims that the -ing in its gerundive form implies 'sameness of time.' She specifies however, in light of several cases that do not conform to this claim, that this notion is only present with verbs that denote "temporal semantic types such as actions, processes and states" (69). For those cases where the main verb and complement do not evoke such an impression, she stipulates that verbs expressing "facts and possibilities" are free of the sameness of time restraint.

Wierzbicka's analysis of the to-infinitive, while it does probe the problem deeper than any of her predecessors, can be called into question on two main fronts. First of all, in terms of the infinitive construction, one might question the relevance of the principles 'wanting' and 'not wanting' in light of the verb deserve, as already outlined in the above analysis of Dixon's work. Second of all, one might question Wierzbicka's notion of 'future orientation' given the fact that the to-infinitive can evoke an event which has been actualized, as already demonstrated with the verb manage.

Serious questions also surface in terms of Wierzbicka's analysis of the -ing. With regards to the notion of 'sameness of time' and the -ing, it is questionable as to how such a notion could possibly apply to the verb dread. Wierzbicka cites one example with this verb which she presents as a potential exceptional case to the simultaneity notion:

(42) I dread being (*to be) summoned by the boss.
She points out that the event expressed by the -ing here would seem to refer to the future. She claims, however, that a case such as this one implies simultaneity, since "dreading involves an act of imagination; and the terrifying event happening in our imagination is of course simultaneous with the thought itself" (69). In claiming, however, that the thought may be simultaneous with the dreading, she fails to account for the indisputable fact that the actual event itself is still felt to occupy a position that is subsequent to it in time. Furthermore, while her comments may seem to make intuitive sense (i.e. one could, perhaps, imagine a thought and a feeling of dread as coinciding in the mind), it is not hard to apply the same notion to the following example with the infinitive, where one could easily argue that the subject has a thought about not wanting to swim which coincides with his feeling of dread:

(43) I dread to swim here alone.

The problem with Wierzbicka's analysis would appear to stem from her tendency to abstract away from consideration of the relationships between the linguistic signs involved in the two constructions and a tendency to overgeneralize her pre-established notions of 'wanting' and 'sameness of time.' While her observations are certainly informative and bring to light interesting expressive effects, they fail, as with her predecessors, to provide a sufficiently general account of the distinction between the two complement forms.

The notion of simultaneity has been pursued among other linguists of the cognitivist school. Langacker (1991:445), with his prototype approach, states that "temporal coincidence is the hallmark of the -ing." He admits later, however, that given the existence of such counter-examples as mentioned above, the matter is still "unsettled." Hamawand (2003:78-79), building upon work by Wierzbicka and Langacker, proposes that the -ing's prototypical value is "precisely the same value that an -ing in a progressive construction has," a value which she terms "temporary ongoingness." In addition to the simultaneity notion proposed by her predecessors, Hamawand proposes a second extension from the prototype that they fail to recognize: 'anteriority.' Such is the case in an example such as He remembered opening the door
where the -ing's event "is true or has taken place" (80). That the notion of 'anteriority', however, can be derived from the notion of 'ongoingness' is certainly questionable in light of the contradictory nature of the notions they evoke. How either of these notions applies to Hamawand's own example with the verb consider is also unclear:

(44) She considers accepting the offer.

Assuming first of all that speakers of English would indeed utter such a sentence, the complement here is felt to evoke an event that is prospective, or unrealized, with respect to the matrix. Here accepting is a possible future course of action being considered by the subject. Such an example is therefore suggestive of a third extension from the prototype: 'posteriority.' Hamawand does not appear to be aware of this third temporal impression.

Verspoor (1996), also of the cognitivist school, attempts to provide an underlying explanation for principles motivating complement distribution, paying particular attention to the gerundive use of the -ing. She defines this form as denoting a "bounded event perceived or conceived from such a close range that the boundaries of the event are not within the subject's perceptual scope" (436). She argues that simultaneity is present in the large majority of cases, even in the following examples which Wierzbicka had originally deemed exempt from her 'sameness of time' restraint:

(45) I regret quarrelling with Mary last year.

(46) Hal considered becoming a karate instructor.

How simultaneity applies to these examples under Verspoor's approach is unclear. In (45), one observes that the "quarrelling" is obviously complete and already accomplished at the point in time corresponding to regret. On the contrary, in (46) the "becoming" is prospective, or unrealized, with respect to considered. In arguing for simultaneity,

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3 Most English speakers would most likely agree that "She is considering accepting the offer" sounds more natural.
Verspoor calls on Wierzbicka's explanation for the verb *dread* to settle the matter (cf. *I dread being summoned by the boss*): in each case, it is not the actual event that is simultaneous with the main verb, but rather "the thought or image of the event" (439). As illustrated above, this notion of simultaneity between a mental picture of the complement event and that of the main verb could be easily applied to an adjective such as *afraid*:

(47) She was afraid to break the glass.

(48) She was afraid of breaking the glass.

In (47), as in (48), one might also argue that the fear on the part of the subject is driven by the simultaneous "thought" of breaking the glass. Even if one somehow accepts the notion of simultaneity proposed, it remains to be explained why and how the actual event itself is felt to exist subsequent to the point in time corresponding to the main verb.

Verspoor also claims that a broader generalization can be extracted from her definition of the *-ing* as a "subjectively construed atemporal, imperfective process which excludes the endpoints" (449). She proposes that the *-ing* prototypically symbolizes that there is a "direct causal relationship between the event denoted by the complement structure and [the subject]" (436). Temporal impressions arise due to the fact that "direct causation involves temporal contiguity" (451). In order to show how the *-ing* and the to-infinitive differ, she gives the following examples with the verb *regret*:

(49) I regret leaving you.

(50) I regret to tell you that...

She claims that the difference between the two constructions is to be found in the "construal relation" of the causal relationship. The *-ing* construction "denotes a personal, emotional reaction to an event" while the to-infinitive "expresses a projected attitude towards a future event, not a reaction to it" (447).
While Verspoor can be commended for probing the reasons behind the temporal impression of simultaneity more deeply, an impression that is undeniably present with many verbs, her analysis is lacking in several areas. First of all, the notion of a 'projected attitude towards a future event' falls apart when applied to many of the verbs under study here. In the following examples, the event denoted by the main verb is clearly a reaction to that denoted by the infinitive:

(51) Horned shapes, scaled figures, shapes with the features of insects and spiders, birds with the faces of young women; it made Tallis shiver to witness this silent gathering of the supernatural forces of so many ages. (BNC HTM 1738)

(52) The scenes that followed were so piteous that even now, two days after, I tremble to recall them; and the screams of the women and frightened children are with me day and night. (BNC HP0 2438)

One is also left puzzled as to how the notion of a projected attitude comes into play with the examples of manage, remember and deserve discussed earlier. Second, in terms of the verb advise, Verspoor herself recognizes that her explanation is problematic. With this verb the -ing would appear to symbolize a possible future event, as with the infinitive:

(53) We advise leaving early.

(54) We advise you to leave early.

In order to account for this exception to her hypothesis, she postulates that it is a case of category transferral, whereby the -ing is used in order to sound more "neutral and polite." The infinitive would be used to symbolize an event that the subject wants to impose on its audience and would therefore sound "authoritative and direct." Why or how such a notion only applies in certain cases is not clear however. Third, as with Hamawand above, Verspoor also fails to account for the full range of temporal impressions that the -ing can evoke. How the notion of simultaneity could be applied to the verb remember is unclear:
(55) I remember hearing you say your first words.

Observation of usage, as has been demonstrated, reveals that the -ing can evoke an event that is prior, contemporaneous, or subsequent to that denoted by the matrix. In many cases, it would seem that there is no temporal relation at all:

(56) Most people will deny being hooked until someone or something forces recognition. (in Duffley 2000:229)

Verspoor, along with other grammarians of the cognitivist school, have thus far been unable to come to grips with the full range of temporal impressions evoked by the -ing.

1.2 The Problem of Control

The solution to the control problem, as defined at the outset of this study as being how to interpret the "unexpressed" subject of the -ing or to-infinitive complement, has been studied from two main points of view. On one hand, generativists, working within the postulates of government and binding theory, analyse control in terms of the pronominal element PRO, placing primary emphasis on syntax with no regard to the role of semantics. On the other hand, there are those who, in reaction to such heavy focus on syntactic considerations and the shortcomings that it involves, look more closely at the semantics of the forms involved. Each approach will be analyzed in detail here in order to discern any observations which could be of use to the present study.

1.2.1 The Syntactic Approach

The syntactic approach to the control problem claims that control of infinitival and gerundival clauses is determined by a pronoun with "null phonological shape" (Postal 1970), formerly referred to as DOOM, but now commonly referred to as the element PRO. For example in:
(57) John promised [PRO] to leave.

the subject of the sentence, John, is the only possible referent for PRO. Because PRO depends on an antecedent NP, it is viewed as being 'bound' with respect to its governing category. In other examples, PRO is unrestricted in terms of its range of possible referents. For example in:

(58) I think it was fine [PRO] to join the group.

PRO could refer to a number of possible persons (i.e. 'I,' 'you,' 'him,' 'them,' etc.) and is therefore considered 'free' with respect to its governing category. The fact that PRO can exhibit both anaphoric and pronominal properties has posed a major challenge to government and binding theory which states that anaphors must be bound in their governing category while pronominals must be free in this regard (see Chomsky 1981:188). In an attempt to settle the issue, Chomsky (1981) claims that PRO "has no governing category and is therefore ungoverned" (191). Since PRO is ungoverned, it is not subject to the stipulations imposed upon pronominals and anaphors, being free to behave as both.

Bresnan (1982) takes issue with Chomsky's 'configurational' theory of control, claiming that "while it is easy to stipulate sets of possible government relations in terms of c-structure configurations, this does not solve the fundamental problem of government, which is to explain the observed structural relations between governing morphemes and the constituents they govern" (375). Her theory of control, which "can make direct reference to grammatical functions" (375), proposes two types: functional and anaphoric. Functional control occurs when "referential dependence is accompanied by the complete identity of all functional features of the controller and the controlled element" (376). These functional features, which can be either SUBJ, OBJ, or OBJ2, are arranged according to the following hierarchy:

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4 Bresnan's theory assumes two types of structure: f-structure (functional structure) and c-structure (constituency relations). Bresnan defines the difference as follows: "f-structures represent grammatical relations in a universal format, while constituency relations vary radically across languages and even across constructions within a single language" (Bresnan 1982:344).
OBJ2 > OBJ1 > SUBJ

In the following example, it is the presence of a second object 'fish' which leads it to be the understood controller of the adjective 'raw':

(59) Tom will serve you the fish raw. (377)

Anaphoric control, which covers control relations especially with regards to infinitive and -ing complements, arises due to the presence of the unexpressed pronoun PRO. Unlike Chomsky who claims that PRO exhibits anaphoric qualities, Bresnan claims that PRO cannot be an anaphor in the sense of government and binding theory given the fact that it has the ability to "refer independently to specific extrasentential referents" and therefore have "definite reference" (381). She cites the following example, where the understood PRO subject of 'pinching' is 'Tom':

(60) Tom felt sheepish. Pinching those elephants was foolish. He shouldn't have done it.

Bresnan's analysis leads her to argue in favour of viewing PRO as "a pronominal element" (382), adding that "it must be distinguished from the expressed definite pronouns, however, because it has special restrictions on its anaphoric relations" (383). These restrictions follow from what she terms the 'Obviation Principle.'

The generative approach to control, as stated at the outset, analyses control in purely syntactic terms, placing very little emphasis on the semantics of the constituents involved. One might call into question the validity of postulating a form such as PRO, a form which has, in fact, no actual physical form in language. It is mainly for this reason that control will not be treated in terms of PRO or government and binding theory here. The main concern, rather, will be to analyze control in linguistic-semantic terms, as a relation between the semantics of the main verb, the complement and the complement's function.
1.2.2 The Semantic Approach

The tendency of many linguists to analyze control in purely syntactic terms, and the apparent limitations of such an approach, has led other authors to explore control by taking into account the semantics of the items involved. Thompson (1973), one of the few studies to deal with control as it pertains to the -ing, proposes that control be explained by analyzing the semantics of the main verb under which the gerund is embedded. The main verb can fall into one of two categories: private or public. 'Privateness' is defined as involving "an individual and his private thoughts, feelings, and personal welfare; no one but the individual himself need know that the proposition expressed by one of these verbs is true" (381). Verbs falling under this category include fear, dread, enjoy, remember and imagine to name a few. In these cases, the missing subject of the gerund is interpreted as being coreferential with that of the main verb. Thus, in the following example with the verb dread, it is Evelyn who dreads the singing:

(61) Evelyn dreads singing a solo. (380)

The second notion, publicness, denotes activities that are "generally shared" or "involve objectively perceivable results" (381). This category includes so-called 'communication' predicates such as discuss, talk about, and propose, along with so-called 'causative' predicates such as bother and surprise. In these cases, subject-controlled readings are, according to Thompson, "much more difficult to get" (380). Thus, in the following example, Kathy is not necessarily the one who will be "going" to the beach:

(62) Kathy suggested going to the beach.

While Thompson's postulate that control be explained in terms of the semantics of the main verb is promising, the notion of privateness does not appear to be sufficiently general as an explanatory principle. In fact, in a good number of cases, many so-called non-private predicates also exhibit obligatory subject control readings with the -ing complement (examples taken from Duffley 2000):
(63) She postponed calling the meeting.

(64) He finished typing at midnight.

(65) He stopped typing for ten minutes to eat a bagel.

(66) We have delayed informing the president for too long.

Thus, while we agree that the answer is to be found by looking closely at the semantics of the main verb, it would appear that solving the problem of control goes beyond analyzing it in terms of such notions as "privateness" and "publicness."

Farkas (1988) analyzes the problem of obligatory control in terms of the abstract notion of "responsibility" (33). She analyzes a specific semantic class of verbs that she calls "responsibility inducing." This class is said to include the verbs convince, ask, persuade, force, help, encourage, order, tell, advise and promise. For these verbs, controller assignment is determined according to the Principle of Controller Choice (PCC) such that the controller of the infinitival complement is the argument linked to what she calls the "initiator." This initiator, which she denotes by i(V'm), is a property of the main verb's lexical meaning, or "satisfaction conditions," and is viewed as the entity perceived as being responsible for bringing about the complement's event. Thus, with the verb convince, the object, being the initiator inherent in this verb, is the controller:

(67) Mary convinced John to leave.

On the other hand, with the verb promise, the initiator is the entity in subject position, who therefore is understood to be the controller:

(68) John promised Jim to write a letter.

Farkas points out that in some cases, control readings are ambiguous:
(69) The guard asked the prisoner to leave the room.

Here the unmarked interpretation, i.e. the one in which the prisoner is viewed as being the controller of the event 'to leave', is derived through application of the PCC. To account for the marked choice, in which the guard is selected as the controller, Farkas proposes a principle of Marked Complement Choice (MCC). In such cases, the entity which would normally be the designated controller is seen as being in what she calls the A-relation with another entity. This relation "is the relation which exists between two individuals x and y where x determines the actions of y" (37). Here then, since the prisoner determines the actions of the guard, the guard is chosen to be the controller.

While Farkas can be commended for looking closely at the semantics of the main verb and complement, i.e. meaning, there are some problems with her analysis which deserve attention. First of all, her study is very limited in scope, focusing primarily on 'responsibility-inducing' and then briefly on 'evaluation' verbs such as hope and want. Whether either of these notions could be applied to verbs and adjectives of fear is an issue which is not explored. Second, her hypothesis fails to explain controller assignment in an example such as the following with the verb ask:

(70) John asked to be allowed to leave.

In this case, John is the only possible controller. To determine John as the controller, one must apply the MCC principle, a principle which, according to Farkas, applies only to cases where there is both a marked and an unmarked choice. Clearly in this case, there is only one possible choice. Third, Farkas does not deal with the gerund at all in her article. It is difficult to imagine how her theory could handle the following examples with the verb propose:

(71) He proposed to talk to him about it.

(72) He proposed talking to him about it.
In (71), the understood subject of the event 'to talk' is clearly 'He'. The control reading in (72), however, is ambiguous. Without context one cannot know whether the event 'talking' is a course of action the subject plans to carry out himself or whether it is a mere suggested course of action for some other person. Indeed, if one wishes to postulate an "initiator" inherent to the verb's lexical meaning, it is unclear how this property would be determined in cases where the controller seems to shift with the same verb.

Many authors, also in search of a more semantic explanation to the problem of control, have taken what could be called a 'thematic roles approach.' Jackendoff (1972), as pointed out by Sag and Pollard (1991), was among the first to take such an approach, after noting the uniformity of controller choice in such examples as the following:

(73) Joe got furious at Henry.

(74) Frank got Joe furious at Henry.

(75) John promised to leave.

(76) John promised Bill to leave.

In (73) and (74), it is the theme, Joe, who is understood as corresponding to the unexpressed subject of *furious*. Jackendoff concluded, as a result, that verbs such as *get* are 'theme-controlled.' In (75) and (76), it is the agent, John, who is understood as the unexpressed subject of the leaving. Jackendoff therefore claimed that verbs such as *promise* are 'agent-controlled.'

Chierchia (1989), in light of the shortcomings of such notions as 'theme' and 'agent' control proposed by Jackendoff, develops the notion of thematic roles further in proposing that controller assignment is done according to a thematic role "hierarchy."

The four roles of which this hierarchy is composed are defined as follows:

a. $Ag(\beta) = x_i$, for that unique $x_i = \beta$ whose action causes $\beta$ (or, if you prefer, the event classified by $\beta$) to occur. If there is no such $x_i$, $Ag(\beta)$ is undefined.
b. Th(β) = x_i, for that unique x_i = β such that whenever β occurs, x_i moves, changes possession or is acted upon by Ag(β). If there is no such x_i, Th(β) is undefined.

c. Go(β) = x_i, for that unique x_i = β such that whenever β occurs, Th(β) moves towards x_i. If there is no such x_i, Go(β) is undefined.

d. So(β) = x_i, for that unique x_i = β such that whenever β occurs Th(β) moves from x_i. If there is no such x_i, So(β) is undefined.

These four roles are then arranged according to the following hierarchy:

Theme > Goal > Agent > Source

The procedure for determining controller assignment is that "if the basic relation of r has a theme-argument, then Th will be the value of θ. Otherwise, it will be the next higher thematic role, and so on" (144). Thus, in the following example, the presence of a theme leads to its being understood as the controller:

(77) John forces Mary to win.

In the following example, the absence of a theme or goal argument results in the agent being interpreted as controller:

(78) John tries to win.

While Chierchia's explanation claims to be able to account for controller assignment with both gerunds and infinitives, it runs into problems with the following example with the verb mention which has two potential control interpretations (example from Duffley 2000):

(79) If he mentioned moving out of her parents' house, she dissolved into tears.
In this case, either 'he,' 'she,' or 'they' could be interpreted as being the understood subject of the event "moving." According to Chierchia's hierarchy, however, with the absence of a theme or goal argument, controller assignment would have to fall solely on the agent, or 'he.'

It would appear then that Chierchia's hierarchy is insufficient as an explanatory principle for the control problem. While he does make the pertinent observation that "the theme argument generally controls, if present" and that "if no theme is available, then the agent or goal argument takes over" (143), he fails to provide an adequate explanation of why this occurs. His claim that control depends "on the way in which we classify actions and situations, which is just what 0-roles purport to do" has some validity, given the cases in which his theory can be seen to work. It would appear, however, in light of the problematic example illustrated above, that classifying events involves more than the thematic role hierarchy.

Jackendoff and Culicover (2003) set out to provide a semantic account of the control problem once again calling upon the idea of thematic roles. Unlike many authors who distinguish solely between obligatory and non-obligatory control, they propose a more fine-grained, three-way distinction: free, nearly free and unique control. Free control, which typically appears with complements in subject position, occurs where the range of possible controllers is viewed as being unrestricted. For example:

(80) Amy told Tom that dancing with Dan might be fun.

Here the range of possible controllers of "dancing" includes Amy, Tom, Amy and Tom or a "generic" entity. Nearly-free control, which typically occurs with what the authors term "complements of verbs of communication and thought" (523), offers slightly limited possibilities in terms of controller assignment. For example:

(81) Brandeis is in a lot of trouble. John talked to Sarah about firing the football coach.
In this case, Brandeis cannot be interpreted as being the controller of "firing." The third type, unique control, is the most restricted of the three types and can be illustrated by the following:

(82) Fred promised Louise to run the race.

(83) Fred persuaded Louise to run the race.

In each of these cases, there are two possible targets of control in the matrix clause; however, only one is selected as being the controller. In (82), control resides with Fred, while in (83) it resides with Louise.

Unique control becomes the primary object of Jackendoff and Culicover's study. They go on to state the following claim:

Infinitival and gerundive complements that are selected by their head to be of the semantic type Action have unique control. The unique controller is the character to which the head assigns the role of Actor for that action – whatever its syntactic position. (524)

Controller assignment, according to the authors, is determined according to a control equation. Each predicate is said to contain, as a part of its meaning, an equation which serves to bind the complement to one of its other arguments. Any verb containing the meaning intend, for instance, is said to have the following control equation:

\[ X^e \text{ INTEND} [\alpha \text{ ACT}] \]

This equation states that for this class of verbs, the intender will be assigned the role of controller. Thus, the verb decide, because the intender falls in subject position, exhibits subject-control. The verb persuade, because the intender falls in object position, exhibits object-control.

To account for the cases "in which the designated character does not end up as controller" (541), Jackendoff and Culicover postulate an additional principle which they
term 'coercion.' Coercions, which are defined as "pieces of semantic structure that are not expressed syntactically" (553), can be illustrated through the following example:

\[(84)\] The ham sandwich over in the corner wants another coffee.

\[(85)\] The person contextually associated with a ham sandwich wants another cup of coffee.

The authors postulate that the sentence in (84) has undergone coercion, where certain pieces of semantic structure which make the sentence grammatically well-formed (as in (85)) have been eliminated in the course of converting syntax into semantics. They postulate, for control purposes, two specific types of coercion: 'bring about' and 'allow.'

Thus, in the following example, sentence (87), through 'bring about' coercion, is seen as a paraphrase for (86):

\[(86)\] Hilary intends for Ben to come along to the party.

\[(87)\] Hilary intends to bring it about that Ben comes along to the party.

As a result of this type of coercion, control conditions are preserved by allowing Hilary to bind to the 'bringing' and Ben to bind to the 'coming.' Likewise, in the following example, the "enable" type of coercion leads to control conditions being preserved:

\[(88)\] John asked to go.

\[(89)\] John asked someone to allow him to go.

Jackendoff and Culicover are by their own account unable, however, to account for examples such as (90) below, which could potentially undergo coercion and therefore yield a second control reading:
John asked Susan to leave the room.

John asked Susan to allow him to leave the room.

In light of this example, the authors state that "we do not understand the mechanics of coercion well enough yet to predict these exact results" (547) but do point to the existence of a beneficiary role which may account for such control shifts. They admit that they are not prepared, however, to take the discussion any further at this point.

The authors discuss other unexplained phenomena in their study. First of all, they point out that not only actional complements have unique control. Other verbs such as remind which take so-called 'situational complements' also exhibit unique control interpretations:

Judy reminds Henry of being much younger.

Second, the authors state that in accordance with their hypothesis, actional complements with indirect questions should exhibit unique control. Their theory correctly accounts for the choice of 'Fred' for controller of 'to win' in the following:

Sally told Fred how to win the race.

They point out that they are, however, unable to account for the following indirect question example:

Fred asked Sally how to defend oneself.

Here the understood controller of 'to defend' is neither 'Fred' nor 'Sally,' but rather the generic 'oneself.'

Another aspect of control which the authors are unable to account for concerns the shift in controller choice seen to occur where a controlled verbal complement alternates with a nominal one as in the following:
In (95), the character 'Bill' is understood as being the controller of 'to shoot' while in (96) the identity of the controller presumably falls upon another character, Bill being the target of this latter's actions. Just how such controller assignment is done is something which they note must be part of a complete account of the control problem.

It would appear then, that given the existence of many unexplained phenomena, Jackendoff's theories are far from being able to fully explain the problem of control. In terms of the specific problem being dealt with in this study, that of control with gerund and infinitive complements, the authors offer little in terms of a solution. In fact, despite their claims that their theories apply to both the infinitive and the gerund, their study focuses exclusively on the former, offering very few examples of how the notion of control equations applies to the latter. Indeed, the verb *propose*, where control has been seen to shift depending on the choice of complement, would seem to be problematic for their approach. This shift in control was seen to occur the following examples cited earlier:

(97) He proposed to talk to him about it.

(98) He proposed talking to him about it.

How one would go about determining a control equation in which one character is assigned as controller is unclear in such a case. The notion of coercion, which the authors invoke to explain the numerous "exceptions" to their claims, is another point which deserves criticism. What is the scientific basis for postulating "omitted semantic material" if one cannot observe such material? It would seem more logical, from a scientific standpoint at least, to look first at what is observable, i.e. the words present, before going on to postulate the existence of "hidden" forms. Of course, the authors do
note that there are some problems with coercion and point out how they are, at this point, unable to explain its precise nature. For this reason, and because of the questions outlined earlier, Jackendoff and Culicover's theories will not be pursued here.

1.3 Summary of Approaches

Indeed, as this survey of the literature on complementation has shown, there are many issues which have yet to be settled in terms of the distinction between the to-infinitive and the -ing. Analyzing this distinction in terms of a priori categories such as 'general versus specific,' 'potential versus actual,' and 'factive versus non-factive' is problematic for the verbs and adjectives under study here, as these notions have proven to be irrelevant to this semantic class. Even the most recent comprehensive grammar of English, Huddleston and Pullum 2002, offers no general principle governing the distinction between the to-infinitive and the -ing after the verb fear, but merely treats it as an "individual case" (1243). The infinitive construction's meaning is aptly described as involving "an element of volition/intentionality" which the -ing construction lacks, but how these impressions could in fact be derived from the meanings of the items of which these constructions are composed is an issue which is not even raised.

Shortcomings have also been found in studies dealing with the notion of temporality. While many authors describe the infinitive as expressing an event which is viewed as 'hypothetical,' 'yet unrealized' or 'future,' they fail to consider the expressive effect of verbs such as manage and remember, where the complement event is felt to be fully realized in time. In light of these cases, Duffley (2000: 224) generalizes the effect of the infinitive to one of 'temporal subsequence', pointing out that such a term properly characterizes the semantic constant it manifests when put into relation with a main verb. What needs to be explained, therefore, is why the infinitive gives rise to constant subsequence temporality readings. As for the -ing, many authors, especially of the cognitivist school, tend to focus solely on the temporal impression of simultaneity. Close analysis of the full range of usage reveals, however, that the -ing can evoke an event which is temporally prior, contemporaneous, subsequent or indifferent with respect to the
main verb. What needs to be explained therefore is how such variation in temporal readings is possible.

As for the notion of control, our survey of the literature on the subject has demonstrated that the various approaches have yet to provide a sufficiently general framework from which to work with in solving the control problem. Duffley (2000:235) points out that in all the discussions on the topic, what no author has seemed to notice is the fact that with infinitive constructions one observes constant subject control while with the -ing control interpretations are seen to vary. In order to solve this problem, rather than build upon the theoretical frameworks proposed thus far, we will attempt to provide a solution building from the ground up.
Chapter Two

Theoretical Considerations

_The act of language does not begin just at the moment when words are uttered to express thought. It starts with an earlier, underlying operation, when thought, seeking expression, resorts to tongue, a permanent resource of the mind._

(Guillaume 1984:79)

2.0 Introduction

This study will attempt to explain what conditions the choice of complement and the observed temporal and control effects with verbs and adjectives of fear through the application of a meaning-based linguistic theory known as the Psychomechanics of Language. The previous chapter has demonstrated that previous studies, while offering some pertinent comments and observations, have failed to provide a sufficiently general principle that could be applied to this semantic class. What is needed is a complete study of verbs and adjectives of fear, one that will explain all usages and observed expressive effects. Taking a psychomechanical approach to the problem will show the utmost importance of taking into account the meanings of each of the components involved in the various constructions in order to resolve these issues. It is hoped that our undertaking will serve to shed light on one small area of English usage and perhaps even be of some practical benefit to English as a Second Language teachers seeking to get a handle on the difference for teaching purposes.

Psychomechanical theory regards the word as the most fundamental aspect of any linguistic analysis. Gustave Guillaume devoted his entire career to working out a comprehensive theory of the word, seeing it as a prior and necessary condition for the existence of its counterpart, the sentence. As he states:
It follows from this that, with a good method, in a sound linguistics, any study of the constructional mechanism of the sentence will be subordinated to a prior consideration of the structure of the word (Guillaume 1971: 30).

This view of linguistic analysis is quite unlike that of the generative tradition, where syntax and morphology are considered autonomous entities. Viewing the word as a building block of the sentence entails a view of language where syntax, in fact, is conditioned by morphology. Any approach to linguistic analysis that views these two notions as separate notions is therefore inherently flawed and hence limited in its ability to provide a complete and accurate account of linguistic phenomena.

Recognizing the importance of the word in any linguistic analysis, the question that must be answered becomes the following: what is a word? The most obvious, and often overlooked, aspect of the word is the fact that it is a "physico-mental unit"; that is, it consists of a mental side, the meaning, and a physical side, the sign. In terms of meaning, Guillaume was the first to propose that meaning exists in two states: potential and actual. Potential meaning resides in one's permanent system of tongue and consequently exists even when one is not engaged in an act of speech. The potential meaning of a given form is in one's unconscious, simply allowing for the possibility of representing something in one's momentary experience. Actual meaning is the sense produced by a form when the speaker uses the latter to actually refer to a particular experience. Here, the meaning potential of the initial state has been zoomed in on one particular object of representation (Duffley 1995:3). With these two notions in mind, language is viewed then as a two-fold operation. The first operation involves representation; that is, one calls upon the potential resources instituted in tongue to think of words that best correspond to what one wishes to talk about, the intended message. The second operation involves expression. Here the speaker actually produces the physical signs that have been represented, resulting in actualizations of the potential. This then is the underlying raison d'être of language: to provide the speaker with a means of "commuting what has been thought into something said" (Guillaume 1984:xvii); that is, to provide one with the means of conceptualizing something in one's experience to make it sayable by means of words. As Guillaume would often say: "no expression without representation."
Word meanings existing as potentials in tongue, generated according to the momentary needs of the speaker through a conceptualizing operation, have two components. First, they have a lexical component. This lexical component, which is what differentiates one word from another, is the result of a process which Guillaume refers to as ideogenesis. Here the speaker calls forth from the "idea-universe" the particular notion or lexeme required to represent something in his or her intended message (Hirtle, ms. B: 29). Second, words have a grammatical component. This grammatical component, which corresponds in English to the parts of speech (i.e. substantive, adjective, adverb, etc.), comes into being once the lexeme has been given grammatical form through the process of morphogenesis. Viewing the word as the result of these processes, Guillaume went as far as to claim that in tongue, "there are no words" (Guillaume 1984: 133). What he meant by this statement was that, in tongue, there simply exists the means to construct words, and nothing else.

2.1 The Verb System in English

Having laid the basis of the theoretical framework, and before going on to discuss the parameters that will be used to explain the observed expressive effects of the constructions under study, it would be pertinent to discuss how the complement forms fit into the more broader system of the verb in English. As Guillaume often said, language is a system of systems. Specifically, language is composed of various linguistic subsystems such as the noun and verb, which are called upon by the speaker to form the words and sentences needed during an act of speech. While the noun involves as part of its grammatical meaning a mental operation leading to a representation of space, the verb entails a mental representation leading to "an image of time" (Hirtle 1975:13). This image of time in the verb is represented in two ways: event time and universe time. Event time is concerned with providing an image of the limited stretch of time contained within an event. Universe time, on the other hand, is the "uncontainable container" (Hirtle 1975:15); that is, just as one might view the spatial universe as being a container for all physical things, universe time can be seen as the endless horizon containing all events regardless of whether they are past, present or future.
The mental operation engendering a representation of time is known, in Guillaumian terms, as *chronogenesis*. This operation, as with any mental operation that involves time, can be intercepted at either its beginning, middle or end, providing a cross-section of what has been produced up until that point. Each of these points, known as a *chronothesis*, corresponds to one of the three moods in English. The system of mood in English can be illustrated as follows:

![Figure 2-1: The System of Mood in English](image)

The indicative mood, obtained by intercepting the operation of chronogenesis at its final instant, offers the most complete view of universe time. Here the endless extent of universe time is divided, through the localizing of the present, into two time-spheres: past and non-past. The past represents time preceding and leading up to the present while the non-past represents all the rest of time stretching away into the future (Hirtle 1975:15-16). An event in this mood also assumes a subject which, along with the representation of time evoked, has the effect of situating the event in reality.

An interception at some mid-point of chronogenesis corresponds to the subjunctive mood. As with the indicative mood, events in the subjunctive incorporate the
category of person. Here universe time has two representations, which correspond to the two subjunctive forms in English: past and present. In the past subjunctive, universe time is viewed in the same way as the quasi-nominal mood; that is, as an unbounded stretch descending from the future to the past. This descending movement of universe time counters the movement whereby anything is actualized, rendering the chances of the event's realization negative. In the present subjunctive, universe time is seen as moving ahead, ascending in a direction which positivizes the chances of something being actualized (Hirtle 1975: 16). In neither case, it should be noted, is there a representation of the present moment. Universe time as an unbroken stretch, either ascending or descending, simply offers a place in time for an event's realization.

The quasi-nominal mood, obtained through an interception at the beginning of chronogenesis, offers a minimally constructed image of universe time. Here there is no representation of the present, nor is there any differentiation between ascending and descending movements. Here universe time is simply represented as an unbroken stretch descending from the future into the past. This way of representing universe time is indeed a reflection of our everyday, normal experience of how time passes; that is, "it brings things to us from the future and bears everything away into the past" (Hirtle, ms. A: 77). In this mood, unlike the indicative and subjunctive, the category of person has not even been introduced; that is, the event is not envisaged as having a subject.

The quasi-nominal mood contains the two verb forms under study here, in addition to the past participle, a third form not under study here. These three forms allow for all possible ways of viewing an event under the "minimal conditions" this mood provides (Hirtle 1975: 20). With no representation of a grammatical subject or of the present moment, representations which would serve to ground the verb in reality as seen in the indicative, these three forms are therefore in their most virtual states. The focus is on the event in and of itself. This view of the non-finite forms helps bring clearer into focus how the gerund and the infinitive can be so versatile, being able to assume both nominal and verbal functions. As they leave both time and person unspecified, they can be used simply to evoke the event in and of itself and nothing more. This is not to say that there is no representation of person in these verb forms. While there may be no grammatical subject, person is indeed represented in these forms, as "a necessary
condition for even thinking a happening is to have someone or something occasioning it" (Hirtle, ms. A: 172). That there is a notion of person in the two forms can be illustrated through the following examples:

(99) To see her is to love her.

(100) Fighting him was great.

(101) The fight was great.

In the first two examples there is the impression of reference to some sort of agent, or realizer of the event expressed by the non-finite form. In (99), the realizer could be any one of a number of possible entities (i.e. me, you, anyone). In (100), the realizer would be left up to the context of the utterance, although in all likelihood it would be taken to be the speaker. In (101), such an impression of reference to an agent is absent, as the substantive merely evokes a spatial entity, the fight, and could therefore be said by someone who attended the event. This way of regarding person as a "generalized person," neither defined ordinally as first, second, or third nor specified lexically as to its identity (see Duffley 1992: 121-122), will be important in resolving the issues under study here.

2.2 Parameters for Our Study

Three parameters are necessary in order to explain what conditions the choice of complement as well as the temporal and control effects with verbs and adjectives of fear: the complement's function, its meaning and the lexical meaning of the main verb or adjective. It will be held here that it is the interaction of these elements which conspires to produce the effects observed in discourse.
2.2.1 Meaning of the -ing

As discussed earlier, the -ing belongs to the quasi-nominal mood of the verb in English. This form has at least two realizations in discourse: its use in the progressive construction as in (102) and its use as a gerund as in (103):

(102) She was climbing the mountain.

(103) Climbing the mountain took us six hours.

In its progressive use, the be + -ing construction evokes a view of the event which corresponds to the aspectual category of imperfectivity; that is, the event is viewed as being incomplete, as being depicted at some point between its beginning and end. In its gerund use, the -ing evokes a view of the event corresponding to the aspectual category of perfectivity. Here the event is not viewed as being partly accomplished, but rather as a complete whole. The two notions can be brought out more clearly through an analysis of use with the preposition after:

(104) *After we were finishing our lunch, we got back to work.

(105) After finishing our lunch, we got back to work.

In (104), the incompatibility of the -ing with the preposition after is to be expected since it is impossible to imagine being after something that is still in progress. In (105), however, the -ing and the preposition are compatible since the former evokes its event as a complete whole.

The -ing has other uses, such as its attributive function (e.g. The woman carrying the blue shopping bag is my mother). However, these two will suffice to illustrate the fact that its meaning is much more general than either of the notions of imperfectivity or perfectivity. What then is the meaning of this form? In order to answer this question, those of the cognitivist school have applied the prototype approach, taking the
progressive use as the prototype from which the gerund is derived. Such an approach, however, would seem questionable, certainly given the contradictory message which this form is capable of conveying. The position taken here on the matter will be that proposed in Duffley (1995:9). Keeping in mind the notion of meaning as a potential in tongue that can be actualized in various ways according to the needs of the speaker, he proposes that the potential meaning of the -ing provides merely for a representation of the interiority of the event it denotes. For the progressive form, which is merely one actualization of this potential, he proposes that the lexeme is formed through ideogenesis, categorized in terms of its representation of time (i.e. the interiority of the event) and made incident to a spatial support that falls somewhere between the beginning and the end of the event. This has the effect of dividing the event into an accomplished and unaccomplished portion, thereby giving rise to the impression of imperfectivity characteristic of this construction.

\[
\text{Lexeme} \quad \downarrow \\
\text{Event time} \quad \downarrow \\
\text{Spatial support}
\]

\text{Figure 2-2: Participial use of the -ing}

The process leading up to the forming of the -ing's gerundive use is slightly different. As in the progressive construction, the lexeme is formed and then categorized in terms of its representation of time. However, this time the relation of the event to its support is left virtual; that is, the support is not identified as occupying any particular point within the event. The gerund therefore evokes the event as a homogeneous whole.
made up of all the positions between the beginning and the end of the event. This is illustrated in the following diagram:

![Diagram](image)

Figure 2-3: Gerundive use of the \(-\text{ing}\)

The view taken here accounts for the seemingly contradictory impressions of perfectivity and imperfectivity produced by the two uses of the \(-\text{ing}\) referred to in (104) and (105). In the complement constructions under study here, it will be held that the \(-\text{ing}\) is actualized in its gerundive use; that is, it evokes a holistic view of the event's interiority.

2.2.2 Function of the \(-\text{ing}\)

The second factor necessary to explain temporal and control effects in our study here is the \(-\text{ing}\)'s syntactic function. In most of the constructions under study here, it will be seen that the \(-\text{ing}\) in its gerundive use is simply the direct object of the main verb. Grammarians have long discussed the direct object function in English. While there seems to be some agreement on its existence, there is some disagreement as to what criteria should be used to distinguish it from other complement types such as the indirect object. Indeed, if it is to be claimed that the \(-\text{ing}\) is a direct object in the constructions under study here, a definition of this function and how to identify it will be necessary.
2.2.2.1 Criteria for Recognizing the Direct Object

Huddleston and Pullum (2002:245) define the direct object as "a grammatically distinct element of a clause structure which in canonical agent-patient clauses expresses the patient role" and later on state that the direct object argument "is more directly affected or involved in the process" than, say, the indirect object. A similar explanation is found in Quirk et al. (1985:741) who state that the most typical role of the direct object is that of the "affected participant;" that is, "a participant (animate or inanimate) which does not cause the happening denoted by the verb, but is directly involved in some other way." Defining the direct object simply in terms of the thematic role it fulfills in the utterance has limited applicability. For instance, in

(106) I remembered his name.

claiming that his name is the patient in this case does not seem appropriate. The above definitions are especially problematic as they are not exclusively applicable to direct objects involving affected participants, applying to those involving instrumental participants as well:

(107) He cut it with a knife.

The definition of a direct object would therefore appear to be more general than what Quirk and Huddleston propose.

Linguists have also proposed numerous criteria for identifying the direct object. Huddleston and Pullum (2002:246) claim that "the object of an active clause prototypically corresponds to the subject of a related passive." They illustrate this phenomena, commonly known as passivization, with the following example:

(108) Pat overlooked the error.

(109) The error was overlooked by Pat.
Passivization as a test for recognizing the direct object, as the authors themselves point out, has certain limitations. For example in:

(110) His uncle had two yachts.
*Two yachts were had by his uncle.

they claim there is no evidence to suggest that *two yachts has a different function than that of the error above. Quirk et al. (1985:735) give a list of other stative relational verbs which take direct objects but cannot be made passive: possess, lack, suit, become, fit, and equal. Passivization has further limitations, as pointed out by Scheurweghs (1959:17). In the following examples of passive constructions, the subject corresponds not to the direct object, but rather to the indirect object:

(111) Every unit was allotted four officers.

(112) The best students are awarded special scholarships.

Therefore, while passivization does work in a large number of cases, it clearly cannot be considered the sole criterion for identifying direct objects.

Matthews (1981:124-127) proposes a variety of criteria for distinguishing between direct objects and adverbials. His first criteria is that the direct object refers to an actant or participant in the event as in the following:

(113) David slew Goliath.

The second criterion is that the direct object is subject to collocational restrictions imposed by the matrix verb. This is illustrated by the following example:

(114) They gave protection to the refugees.
*They gave defense to the refugees.
The third criterion is that the direct object cannot be dropped. For example:

(115) Bill got the prize.
*Bill got.

It can also be latent:

(116) I didn't finish (the job).
(117) I didn't know (the solution).

Finally, the direct object is excluded by certain verbs. For example:

(118) The men vanished.
*The men vanished their clothes.

Matthews admits that there are problems with his criteria: "A direct object is not obligatory in every sentence; nor does it always refer to a performer; nor is every direct object subject to specific collocational restrictions; nor does every transitive verb allow it to be latent" (127). Moreover, his criteria only serve to differentiate direct objects from adverbials. It is true that the gerund, standing in direct object function, cannot be dropped when in relation to a verb such as fear:

(119) I fear walking in the streets at night.
*I fear.

However, such an observation can also be made for the infinitive:

(120) I fear to go out at night.
*I fear.
Unless one is willing to adopt the position that the to-infinitive functions as a direct object, a position that is untenable as will be seen later, the dropping criterion does not apply to the verbs under study here. Matthew's criteria are therefore insufficient for the purposes of this study.

### 2.2.2.2 Criteria Used in This Study

The definition of the direct object function would appear to be much more general than any of the definitions proposed thus far. How could one go about defining this function? Given the conceptualizing role of language, which gives the speaker the tools necessary to express his or her intended message, it would seem necessary to define function first and foremost in semantic terms. It will be held here that the direct object simply provides the speaker with the means of representing that which is "[verb]ed" in the main verb's event. Such a criterion properly distinguishes between direct and indirect objects, as the latter do not denote that which is "[verb]ed" but rather that to which the entity evoked by the direct object is destined (Duffley 2000: 226). Because the direct object represents an entity that is, as many grammarians have pointed out, on the undergoing side of the event of the main verb, it can be made the subject in the passive form:

(121) Martinez hit the ball.
     The ball was hit by Martinez.

Pseudo-clefting is also possible:

(122) The ball is what Martinez hit.

Substitution by a pronoun is also possible:

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5 See Higgins (1979) for a lengthy discussion on the topic.
(123) John fears dogs.
    John fears them.

However, it should be pointed out here that such a test is not failproof, as evidenced by
the following examples:

(124) I asked them.

(125) I told him.

In these cases, the pronoun functions as an indirect object. This is a prime example of the
importance of always corroborating the proposed tests with the semantic criterion of
designating that which is "[verb]ed" in the matrix verb's event. This definition would
lead to the correct conclusion in (124) and (125) above and will therefore be used as the
fundamental criterion for identifying a direct object in this study. The three other tests of
passivization, pseudo-clefting and pronoun substitution are, however, useful for further
confirmation of its function.

According to the criteria outlined above, the -ing can clearly function as direct
object with respect to another verb. For example in:

(126) He enjoyed playing chess with you.

"playing" is clearly that which was "enjoyed." That "playing" functions as direct object
in this example is confirmed by the possibility of passivization and pseudo-clefting:

(127) Playing chess with you was enjoyed by him.

(128) Playing chess with you is what he enjoyed.

Pronoun substitution is also possible:
(129) He enjoyed it/that.

On the basis of this evidence, one can conclude that the -ing can function as a direct object.

2.2.3 Semantic Effect of the -ing as Complement

It will be argued that the semantic effects of temporality and control are due in part to the two principles outlined above: the meaning of the -ing, which evokes the interiority of its event, and its function as direct object. With regards to temporality, Duffley (2000:228) points out that the relation of the direct object to the main verb is essentially nontemporal in nature, serving merely to identify one of the participants in the main verb's event. This is demonstrated in the following sentences with noun direct objects, which do not stand in any temporal relation whatsoever to the main verb's event:

(130) I remember my first birthday.

(131) I am enjoying the movie.

(132) I am considering another job offer.

The same indifference to temporality impressions is also characteristic of the -ing. It can evoke an event that is prior, contemporaneous, or subsequent to the main verb:

(133) I remember working with him on the project.

(134) I am enjoying working with him on the project.

(135) I am considering working with him on the project.
Such variation in temporality is possible because of the nontemporal nature of the direct object function, which merely represents that which is "[verb]ed." That temporal impressions come into play with the -ing at all is a logical implication based on the third parameter proposed in this study: the lexical meaning of the main verb. Logically, an event that is remembered will necessarily have taken place prior to the remembering. An event that is enjoyed is typically done so during its realization. An event that is being considered implies that it has yet to take place. In many cases, however, the -ing stands in no temporal relation to the matrix verb whatsoever (examples taken from Duffley 2000):

(136) Anyone who survives planning a wedding with a sense of humour intact and a new spouse in tow could take a respectable crack at negotiating peace in the middle east.

(137) He described solving the house problem as providing convenient housing for every citizen.

In cases such as these, where the lexical meaning of the main verb is not felt to imply any relation in time to its object, there is naturally no resulting temporal impression.

The same parameters also explain the variation in control readings with the -ing complement. In many cases, one observes subject control:

(138) John tried buying her flowers.

Taking into account the meaning of the -ing, one can pinpoint the source of the problem of control. It is the presence of a "generalized person," inherent in the -ing's meaning, which raises the question of the identity of this entity. The co-indexing of the subject with the gerund complement is, as with temporality above, a consequence of the lexical meaning of the main verb. Thus, something that is tried, i.e. tested, will be understood to have been something that the person doing the testing carried out. With regards to cases of non-subject control, the same factors come into play. Thus, in the following example, non-coreferentiality between the matrix and complement is due to the former's lexical meaning:
(139) She recommended serving prawns at the dinner party.

Logically, something that is recommended will be understood as being something for someone other than the recommender to carry out.

2.2.4 Meaning of the to-Infinitive

In order to discern the full meaning of the to-infinitive, it is necessary to analyze it in terms of the meanings of its two components: the preposition to and the bare infinitive. Contrary to those grammarians who claim that to is a mere "infinitive marker" which "can hardly be said to have a meaning in any independent sense" (Chomsky 1957:100), it will be held here that to indeed has a meaning in its use with the infinitive. Initial evidence of this meaning is found by contrasting the following two sentences:

(140) I had nine people call.

(141) I had nine people to call.

The meaning postulated for to in this study is that proposed by Duffley (1992:18) and is related closely to its use with nominal objects as seen in the following:

(142) John went to the pool.

Given the similarity between the two uses, Duffley (1992:16) proposes that the potential meaning of to with the infinitive is more abstract than that of the spatial use, representing movement on a temporal plane. More precisely, with the infinitive the preposition to provides the means of representing the movement necessary to get from the matrix verb's event, which represents a before position, to that denoted by the infinitive, which represents an after position. The before and after positions correspond to the position of the infinitive's spatial support in time.
As shown earlier, the bare infinitive belongs to the quasi-nominal mood in English. As a potential in tongue, it can be called upon to evoke a perfective view of the realization of an event. In the case of an action-like event, the image is one in which the event is seen to unfold in time from its beginning to its end. For state-like events, the image is of one instant of the event's existence (Duffley 1992:18). A comparison to the -ing in its participial use serves to bring out its meaning more clearly:

(143) I saw the chicken cross the road.

(144) I saw the chicken crossing the road.

In (143), the chicken is assumed to have made it to the other side of the road. In (144) however, with the partial view of the event afforded by the -ing the chicken may not have been so fortunate.

There are two possible actualizations of the to-infinitive in discourse. The first is what Duffley (1992) terms "subsequent potentiality," as seen in the following:

(145) He struggled to get free.

Here to evokes the movement towards the infinitive's event as a possibility, leaving one with the impression of "future orientation" which other grammarians such as Wierzbicka and Dixon have been apt to point out. The to-infinitive can however also evoke the movement it represents as realized:

(146) He managed to get free.

Here the infinitive's event is seen as a "subsequent realization"; that is, as having actually been realized in time. Thus, in both cases, whether the movement is viewed as being carried to its term or merely possible, the infinitive's event is felt to be subsequent to that of the main verb. The hypothesis put forward for the meaning of to accounts for this impression quite nicely: if the preposition to has the effect of evoking the movement
required to get from a before position to an after position in time, then quite naturally one will be left with an impression of subsequence.

It is important to point out that to is not an inherent part of the infinitive. Rather, it is called upon to represent the movement necessary to get from the main verb’s event to that of the infinitive. More precisely, taking into account the notion of generalized person, it represents the infinitive’s spatial support as being somehow before the time corresponding to the infinitive’s actualization phase. In cases where to is not used, there is an absence of this before-after relationship; that is, the infinitive’s spatial support is not conceived as actualizing anything prior to the infinitive’s event. The two examples mentioned at the outset of this section will serve to illustrate this point:

(140) I had nine people call.

(141) I had nine people to call.

In (140), the preposition to is not called for as the "calling" and the "having," used here in its "experience" sense, are felt to coincide in time. The spatial support of the infinitive is viewed as being in the same position in time as the actual support denoted by I. This impression of coincident actualization is also observed with verbs such as help, make, let, feel and see. In (141), however, to is called for to evoke the spatial support as being in a position in time beyond that of the actual support. The subject is represented as having been involved in the "having," but not in the "calling," this latter being presented as something prospective.

2.2.5 Function of the to-Infinitive

The function of the to-infinitive with respect to the matrix verb is more difficult to establish than that of the -ing. Zandvoort (1969:10-14) observes that the to-infinitive can express both purpose, as in (147), and result, as in (148):

(147) He got up to ask a question.
(148) He rose to be head of a college.

He also claims that it can function as a direct object:

(149) She liked to learn, but hated to teach.

Rosenbaum (1967) makes a slightly different distinction between to-infinitive complements. He distinguishes between two types: (i) object noun phrase complementation (i.e. direct objects), and (ii) intransitive verb phrase complementation. The difference between the two, he claims, stems from differences in their underlying structures. The first type, which occurs with verbs such as desire, fear, hate, intend, like and want are cases where the complement is embedded in a noun phrase. Rosenbaum gives the following example with prefer:

(150) Bill prefers to stay here.

(151) What Bill prefers is to stay here.

(152) To stay here is preferred by Bill.

(153) What is preferred by Bill is to stay here.

He explains that these four sentences are grammatical "by assuming that the phrase 'to stay here' is a noun phrase complement" (93). It is because of the nominal properties of the to-infinitive that it can be passivized and pseudo-clefted. The second type of infinitive, which occurs with verbs such as begin, cease, commence, continue, manage and refuse, involves cases where the complement is embedded in a verb phrase. Rosenbaum gives the following example with condescend:

(154) Bill condescended to stay here.
(155) *What Bill condescended was to stay here.

(156) *To stay here was condescended by Bill.

(157) *What was condescended by Bill was to stay here.

Here passivization and Pseudo-clefting do not yield grammatical results due to the complement's verbal nature.

Attributing the function of direct object to the to-infinitive poses a number of problems. Palmer (1988:211) points out that there are cases where verbs which do not normally take a direct object can be construed with a to-infinitive:

(158) I hope to see you.
    *I hope a fine day.

(159) He decided to go.
    *He decided the plan.

Using our criteria for recognizing a direct object yields questionable results as well. First of all, the to-infinitive does not always lend itself very easily to passivization:

(160) She hoped to ask a question.
    *To ask a question was hoped by her.

Nor can it be replaced by a pronoun, the preposition to being the only suitable pronominal anaphor:

(161) *She hoped it/that.
    She hoped to.
Pseudo-clefting is doubtful:

(162) (?) What she hoped was to ask a question.

Finally, it does not correspond to that which is "[verb]ed":

(163) *To ask a question is that which is hoped.

It will be proposed that although the to-infinitive does have the capacity to function as direct object in some cases, in the majority of its uses it functions as what Duffley (2000: 231) terms an adverbial specifier of goal or result. Analyzing the to-infinitive in such a way provides one with a more unified view of its function, allowing one to account for its use with verbs which normally do not take direct objects. For example in:

(164) She longed to see him again.

(165) She hoped to see him again.

to see him again is not conceived as that which is longed or hoped. Rather, it simply denotes the goal towards which these two sentiments are oriented. Similarly, in verbs which can normally take a direct object, such as want (cf. She wanted to see him again), the complement event specifies the goal of the subject's wanting.

There is further evidence that the to-infinitive behaves as a prepositional phrase. First of all, it can be used without an object in anaphoric reference, characteristic of other prepositional phrases:

(166) The man jumped through the hoop and the dog jumped through as well.

(167) I was ready to jump but he didn't want to.
It can also be used to modify nouns or adjectives much like other prepositional phrases:

(168) His desire for recognition was insatiable.

(169) His desire to be recognized was insatiable.

(170) He was ready for a fight.

(171) He was ready to fight.

Because the *to*-infinitive, syntactically speaking, exhibits behaviour closer to that of prepositional phrases, it will not be treated as direct object. It will be treated more appropriately as a prepositional phrase acting as an adverbial goal or result specifier with respect to the main verb.

### 2.2.6 Semantic Effect of the *to*-Infinitive as Complement

As has been demonstrated with the *-ing*, taking into account the meaning and the function of the *to*-infinitive permits one to adequately explain the semantic effects of temporality and control. With respect to temporality, since *to* represents a movement in time towards a terminus, this terminus being represented by the bare infinitive, naturally one will be left with an impression of subsequence. Such an impression of a constant temporal impression does not exist with the *-ing* as the event it designates functions as the direct object, a function that implies no specific temporal relation to the main verb.

With regards to control, one observes constant subject-control interpretations with the *to*-infinitive, which is not always the case with the *-ing*. Taking into account the parameters used above allows one to explain this fact. For example in:

(172) John tried to be careful.
the preposition *to* serves to explicitate the notion of movement implicit in the main verb *try*. This movement evoked by the preposition entails that there is a mobile entity involved in this movement. In the example here, the mobile entity is identified by the subject, John. Naturally then, since the infinitive event *be careful* is the goal of the trying, its understood subject will be coreferential with that of the main verb.

### 2.2.7 The *of* + *-ing* Complement

The meaning and function of the *of* + *-ing* complement, the third complement type under analysis here, is more readily discernable than that of the gerund or the *to*-infinitive. Its meaning must, as was seen with the infinitive construction, be analyzed in terms of its two components: the preposition *of* and the *-ing* form. With regards to the latter, it will be held here that it corresponds to the gerundive use of the *-ing*. Its meaning then is exactly the same as already described: it provides for a holistic representation of the interiority of any event without situating its spatial support at any particular instant. With regards to the former, Langacker (1992:484) remarks how many of the generative tradition have long regarded *of* as "a semantically empty element, suited only to be kicked around by syntactic rules." For instance, in gerund constructions, Ney (1982:149) regards *of* as being "triggered by the occurrence of the gerundive," implying quite clearly, along with Hudson (1984:147) that it is "an empty word." As was argued in the case of the preposition *to* in infinitive constructions, it will be held here that *of* does have meaning when used with the *-ing*. In fact, its meaning is identical to its use with nominal objects:

(173) James is afraid of snakes.

Here, according to Webster's dictionary, *of* in a case such as this is used to indicate "the cause, motive, or reason by which a person or thing is actuated or impelled." A similar observation is found in the Oxford dictionary which states that it is used "after an adjective or substantive indicating that which causes or gives rise to the quality, feeling, or action." Indeed, this meaning is felt to hold in uses with the gerund:
(174) She was scared of going out after dark.

Here the preposition simply serves to define the relation between the event expressed by the gerund and the adjective. More specifically, it is used to define the -ing's event, in this case going out, as the source giving rise to the subject's feeling of fear. It should be pointed out that of's meaning as outlined here is merely one actualization of its potential meaning in tongue. Other actualizations can be seen in the following:

(175) I live in the state of California.

(176) Shirley built a nice house of cards.

In these cases, of's meaning does not appear to indicate source, specifying rather the "identity" of the "state" in (175) and the "material" used in the building of the house in (176). Although it would make for an interesting research prospect, no attempt will be made here to postulate a potential meaning capable of producing the many actual meanings of this preposition. Its meaning as an identifier of source will be sufficient for the purposes of this study.

As for the function of the of + -ing complement, it will be held here that it functions simply as a prepositional phrase. Such a claim finds support in the fact that it can modify nouns, a characteristic typical of prepositional phrases:

(177) His fear of dying drove him crazy.

The preposition of functions, in fact, in much the same way as the to with the infinitive; it defines a relationship between the event evoked by the -ing and the adjective. However, while the infinitive construction functions as goal specifier, in the adjectival constructions under study here the of-phrase functions as what might be aptly termed a source specifier.

7 An attempt at defining a more general meaning for of can be found in Langacker (1992).
2.2.8 Semantic Effect of the of + -ing as Complement

The three parameters used to account for temporality and control readings with the gerund and the to-infinitive can be called upon once again to explain those of the of + -ing construction. With regards to temporality, the relation of an of complement to an adjective is essentially nontemporal, serving merely to identify the source of the subject's fear with the adjectives under study here. The following examples with noun direct objects illustrate this indifference to temporal relations:

(178) I am capable of better marks.

(179) I am tired of this noise.

(180) I am sick of your bad jokes.

This same indifference to temporality is also characteristic of the -ing, which can evoke an event that is either subsequent, contemporaneous, or prior to the feeling expressed through the main verb and adjective:

(181) I am capable of finding a better job.

(182) I am tired of standing here.

(183) I am sick of arriving late all the time.

The observed temporal impressions with of+ -ing constructions can be explained through a careful analysis of the lexical meaning evoked by the item they are put into relation with, in this case the adjective. An event of which one is capable is usually one that has not been performed. One typically grows tired of an event while one is actually in the process of doing it. Being sick of an event entails that one has already experienced it on
a number of occasions prior to the feeling of sickness. In some cases, however, the -ing is not felt to stand in any temporal relation whatsoever:

(184) I am fond of having people at the house.

Whether or not there is a temporal impression with a function that is essentially nontemporal is due to the fact that the -ing is in itself an event, which is situated in time. If the adjective evokes a position in time that is prior, contemporaneous or subsequent to this event, then a temporal impression will result. If, however, as in the case of fond there is no implied temporal relation between it and the complement, no temporal impression will be present.

With regards to control, the same parameters can also explain control readings found with the of+ -ing complement. In most cases, one observes subject control:

(185) I am a bit wary of investing in the stock market.

(186) I am tired of investing in the stock market.

(187) I am fond of investing in the stock market.

In all of these cases, the understood subject of investing is that of the matrix clause. Here the speaker has represented the -ing's event as the cause of the feeling expressed by the adjective. Logically, when one is wary of an event it is because that person views him- or herself as a potential participant in it. When one is tired of an event it is because that person has been involved in its realization. Being fond of an event entails that the subject has some experience of it.

Subject control is not always the case with the of+ -ing complement. In cases where another entity has been specified as being involved in the -ing's event, non-subject control is the result:

(188) I am sick of John beating me at chess.
Non-subject control is also possible in an example such as the following:

(189) Giving is characteristic of being a Christian.

In (188), the understood subject of beating is John. This is due to the fact that what the speaker says he is sick of is the event 'John beating me at chess'. In (189), the understood subject of being is not "giving" but rather Christians in general. Here the of + -ing functions as a source-specifier in a more abstract way: it represents the state of being a Christian as the possessor of certain characteristic qualities, and the whole sentence designates giving as one of these characteristic qualities. Such a semantic configuration will obviously not imply subject control. While this study will be limited to examples such as those in (185)-(187), we make mention of these two examples here simply to illustrate just how important complement function is in accounting for control.
Chapter Three

Corpus Analysis

A theory — any theory — must necessarily confront the facts. And this confrontation with fact is the critical moment for a theory.
(Guillaume 1984: 22)

3.0 Introduction

The previous chapter focussed on laying out the theoretical foundations upon which this thesis is based. Two parameters which are essential to resolving the issues at hand were defined: the meaning and function of each of the three complement types. Having done this, the task of this chapter will be to explore in detail attested examples of usage in order to bring out the various expressive effects that need to be explained, paying particular attention to the third parameter deemed necessary for accounting for these effects: the lexical meaning of the main verb or adjective with which the complement is put into relation. The analysis will be based on approximately 2,150 examples, most of which have been taken from the British National Corpus. Some verbs for which little or no examples were found have been supplemented with material from the Internet.

3.1 Verbs of Fear

A complete list of the verbs under study here along with some statistical figures regarding their frequency in the British National Corpus has been provided in Table 3.1.

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8 The verbs for which no data was found in the BNC include apprehend, cower, flinch, pale, quaver, quiver, quake, and tremor. They do not, therefore, figure in the Table.
3.1.1 Dread

3.1.1.1 Definition and Complementation

The verb *dread* occurs with both the *to*-infinitive and *-ing* complement in the corpus. The data suggests a tendency towards construal with the latter, with 71 cases as opposed to 38 with the infinitive. With the infinitive, the verb *dread* evokes a meaning which could be characterized as "a degree of negative volition, negative desideration against the realization of [the complement event]" (Rudanko 1989:45). Webster's comments on the verb *dread* in relation to *fear* echo Rudanko's remarks:

'Dread' is similar to 'fear' but usually adds the idea of fear-inspired reluctance to face or meet a particular dreaded person or situation; *though she was without definite fear, an obscure dread was beating against the wall of her consciousness.*

What these definitions bring to light is the 'unwillingness factor' involved in such constructions, where the subject is viewed as being unwilling, due to feelings of dread, to actualize or see actualized the infinitive's event. Such is seen to be the case in the following seven examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>to-infinitive</th>
<th>-ing</th>
<th>total examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dread</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shudder</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tremble</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scruple</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shiver</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blanch</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cringe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1. List of Verbs Under Study and their Frequency in the BNC
Mrs. Coleridge has observed the workings of my face, while I have been writing; and is entreating to know what is the matter; I dread to show her your Letter; I dread it. (BNC B0R 608)

I swim here with Byron because I dread to swim alone, and tolerate all his impudent remarks. (BNC HGS 1477)

I dreaded to discover just what symptom of drug dependency I was witnessing, and wondered if I should shout for the big Jackson Chatterton to come and rescue me, but then Rickie turned his terrified gaze on to me. (BNC CCW 1956)

I dread to have grape juice over there, they must think when they go to shop. (BNC KCK 1129)

But this particular face she dreaded to meet again. (BNC HA2 254)

They dreaded, and yet were painfully anxious, to get back and see whether the last caulking had given way. (BNC H0R 82)

Though momentarily disoriented and deafened by the blast, Grant still felt the floor shake under him and heard the ominous rumble which told him what he dreaded to know. (BNC HJD 1263)

With regards to the -ing complement, the corpus data shows that the verb *dread* can be construed with quite a wide variety of verbs. In some cases, the meaning evoked could be best characterized as "to anticipate with fear of evil, pain or trouble" (Webster's):

This ability to be aware and think ahead is another aspect of parenting that can be discussed and planned with parents. They may have anticipated to the extent that they dread doing certain activities like going shopping with the children but have not developed their thinking to see how to avoid the problems. (BNC CGT 628)

On the last working day in November, Stevenson's ran out of money. The firm still had tens of thousands lodged in provincial banks, but every penny was needed to pay out wages between then and the next large foreseeable piece of income. If they dipped into that, they were knowingly making themselves insolvent. They had dreaded reaching this moment. Yet now it had come. (BNC HP0 357)
I was able to throw myself into my work, which helped to take my mind off the fact that she was gone. I used to dread going home at night; the silence and solitude were almost too much to bear. (BNC ECK 2624)

They'd spent twelve happy weeks in the Malvern Hills, being cared for by local schools. And they were dreading going back to Russia. (BNC K1V 1827)

I was leading up to it slowly. You know how Dad is about these things. I was dreading telling him. (BNC JXY 2614)

In some cases, the meaning is not best characterized as containing an 'anticipatory' element, as observed in (197)-(201). Here the meaning evoked by *dread* is best described as "to fear greatly; be in mortal fear of" (Webster's):

But she needed to do something with her life. What she didn't want to admit was that she needed a man in it. But she liked being taken care of, without being smothered. She enjoyed the freedom, but she dreaded being lonely. (BNC ATE 2360)

Frankie could imagine only one thing worse than being counted amongst the baldies. He had always dreaded being singled out as the only boy in the school with nits, a solitary outcast with a shaved head. (BNC ACW 1150)

The cottage lay back quite a long way from the path, but Virginia slowed down and stepped past it with quick, light steps. Her heart was in her mouth, and she dreaded hearing a shrill witch's voice cry out to her to stop. (BNC B0B 1831)

The clock makes sharp distinct ticking noises from where it's attached to the wall; water drips in the kitchen sink. This is my haven and at this exact moment I dread being here. Silent time stretches out as I breathe. Amy breathes. We breathe in silence together. (Internet)

Magneto's head drops into his hands, and he draws his knees upwards to rest his arms there, forehead against them, breathing a bit uneven. He keeps his presently good ear turned towards Charles and Rogue, really just dreading being here at the moment, not sure what to say, or when. There's a million things he'd like to say, things he wished she understood, mulled over in his head a million times on the trip over. (Internet)

The difference in meaning evoked between the two complement types is perhaps best brought out by the following two examples:
(207) I dread to meet him.

(208) I dread meeting him.

In (207), the speaker expresses an unwillingness to actualize the meeting expressed by the infinitive due to feelings of dread. In (208), the speaker simply expresses an event as an object (i.e. meeting him) with respect to which his feeling is one of dread.

Many cases of *dread + to + infinitive* in the corpus deserve special consideration in analyzing the meaning evoked. Such is the case when the verb *dread* is construed with either *think* or *imagine*, a construction which makes up 31 of the 38 corpus examples in the BNC. Here *dread's* meaning is not as readily discernable as those cited in (197)-(206) due to the two different manners in which one could interpret the syntactic relation between the main verb and complement. The following three examples are representative of these cases:

(209) I dread to think of how we would have managed without all their help. (BNC H07 411)

(210) I dread to think of the thousands of women who stretch their limbs to unhealthy lengths in a vain bid to attain taut buttocks and breasts. (BNC CEK 2422)

(211) If that's how they treat a witness, I dread to imagine how they treat a suspect. (BNC CH1 8541)

On one hand, the infinitive could be argued to function in the same manner as that observed in the cases discussed thus far. Here then the meaning evoked by *dread* could be characterized as denoting an unwillingness in the subject to proceed with the thinking, or imagining, expressed by the infinitive. However, the *to-infinitive* here could also be interpreted as functioning as what Jespersen (1965) has termed the 'infinitive of reaction,' in which case the infinitive would be viewed as expressing the conditioning factor giving rise to the subject's dread. If such is the case, then the meaning evoked by an example such as (211) could be paraphrased along lines such as 'When I imagine how they treat a suspect, I dread'. This second type of function which the infinitive can have with the
main verb will be the main topic of discussion in the section on *shudder* and its synonyms. Suffice it to say here that in some cases it is difficult to discern the precise nature of the meaning evoked due to differences in the infinitive's function.

### 3.1.1.2 Temporal and Control Effects

One observes a temporal relation of subsequence between the matrix and its complement with all examples of *dread* + to + infinitive constructions and most *-ing* constructions in the corpus. For example in:

\[(212)\quad I\text{ dread to think where he has gone.}\]
\[\text{ (213) }\quad I\text{ was dreading telling him.}\]

the events *think* and *telling* exist at a point in time subsequent to the feeling of dread expressed in the matrix. In examples (205) and (206) however, one observes a temporal impression of simultaneity, where the complement event *being* is felt to co-exist with the matrix in time.

With regards to control, subject control is constant throughout the corpus. In (212) and (213), for example, the understood subject of each complement event corresponds to that of the main verb, which is *I* in both cases.

### 3.1.1.3 Function of the Complement

It is argued here that the *-ing* functions as direct object with the verb *dread*. In all cases in the corpus, the complement event corresponds to 'that which is dreaded.' This function is confirmed by the test of passivization:

\[(214)\quad \text{The girls evidently dreaded looking like women.}\]
\[\text{ (215) }\quad \text{Looking like women was evidently dreaded by the girls.}\]
Pseudo-clefting is also possible:

(216) What the girls evidently dreaded was looking like women.

Pronoun substitution also yields grammatical results:

(217) The girls evidently dreaded it/that.

As for *dread* with the *to*-infinitive, it is held here that the complement does not function as a direct object. First of all, it is not felt to correspond to 'that which is dreaded' in any of the examples in the corpus. Second, it does not yield to the passivization test:

(218) I dreaded to discover something.

(219) *To discover something was dreaded by me.

Third, pseudo-clefting is questionable:

(220) ?What I dreaded was to discover something.

Finally, pronoun substitution is not possible, with *to* being the preferred preposition for anaphoric reference:

(221) *I dreaded it/that.

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9 One example in the corpus may at first glance appear to call for treating the infinitive as a direct object. Such is the case in the following example where the speaker uses the pronoun *it* in anaphoric reference:

(i) I dread to show her your letter. I dread it.

Closer analysis, however, reveals that what the speaker is referring to with the pronoun *it* is not the infinitive event alone, but rather the idea 'my showing your letter to her'. Had the speaker intended to refer to the infinitive event alone, one could expect to have found the preposition *to*:

(ii) I dread to show her your letter. I dread to.

This nuance is not great, but there is a shift in point of view comparable to that in (iii):

(iii) I crave for pardon. I crave it.
We therefore conclude on the basis of the examples in the corpus that the to-infinitive does not behave as a true direct object with the verb *dread*. Here the infinitive evokes a perfective view of the realization of its event while the preposition *to* is called upon to represent the actual support, which corresponds to the grammatical subject, as being at a point in time before its actualization phase\(^\text{10}\).

### 3.1.2 Fear

#### 3.1.2.1 Definition and Complementation

The verb *fear* occurs with both complement forms in the corpus. Unlike *dread*, however, where one observes a tendency towards construal with the *-ing*, the verb *fear* shows a slight tendency towards construal with the *to*-infinitive. With this construction, the meaning evoked by the verb *fear* has been characterized by Webster's dictionary as "to hesitate to do something for fear of doing wrong or causing unhappiness." In similar fashion, Cobuild's comments that "if you fear to do something, you are afraid to do it or you do not wish to do it." These definitions bring out the fact that it is feelings of fear which inspire an unwillingness in the subject to actualize the infinitive's event. This meaning can be seen in the following examples:

(223) There was something he feared to say yet needed to confide. (BNC CJF 1251)

\(^{10}\) As discussed in Chapter 2 of this study, Duffley (2000) uses the term 'adverbial specifier of goal or result' to describe the function of the *to*-infinitive. Such a term does not seem appropriate for our purposes, however, due to the nature of the verbs and adjectives being discussed. While the infinitive may be thought to evoke a goal or result for verbs such as *want* and *manage*, the same cannot be said for a verb such as *dread*, which denotes a disposition inclining the subject not towards the infinitive, but in fact away from it (an impression which is incompatible with the typical notion of a goal). To avoid any ambiguity of terminology, we have opted in favour of using more descriptive terms in characterizing the *to*-infinitive's function.
(224) Why is it that we fear to allow God to take control of our lives? (BNC ARG 642)

(225) He puts his head in a lot of places other people would fear to put their boot. (BNC J1J 659)

With regards to usage with the -ing, the meaning of fear could perhaps be best described here as "to be afraid of" or "consider, expect, or anticipate with feelings of alarm, foreboding, or solicitude" (Webster's). Such is the meaning felt to occur in the following examples:

(226) The old person may fear being cut off, and the family may feel they are abdicating responsibility, experiencing some guilt. (BNC CGD 1810)

(227) When asked why they were giving such big pay increases in a difficult period, they said it was because they feared losing their skilled men. (BNC EDT 267)

(228) He is only in Britain on a work permit, and fears being deported back to Nigeria. (BNC CBF 10654)

(229) I love NYC. I can't leave it. My life is now here. I am angry that I fear being here when stuff like this happens. (Internet)

The difference in meaning between the two complements can be characterized in terms similar to those used in the case of dread above. In example (223) the subject is viewed as being unwilling with regards to the realization of the infinitive's event due to feelings of fear. In example (226) the speaker simply represents the -ing's event as an object of the subject's fear; i.e. the subject's attitude towards this event is one of fear.

3.1.2.2 Temporal and Control Effects

One observes a temporal relation of subsequence between the main verb fear and its complement for all cases with the to-infinitive and the majority of cases with the -ing forms. This relation can be seen in the following two examples:
(230) You pressed me to condemn myself, yet you fear to confirm something which we both know. (BNC CDA 2039)

(231) They fear damaging the child within their secure family relationship. (BNC CRW 754)

In (230) the event confirm represents a future, yet-to-be-accomplished event. In (231) damaging also denotes something that is an unrealized potential event. A temporal impression of simultaneity is also possible with the -ing, as seen in (229) above. In this case the event being is felt to coincide with the matrix in time, a temporal relation which is not observed with the infinitive.

With regards to control, one also observes constant subject control with both the to-infinitive and the -ing complement. In (230) above, the understood subject of confirm is you. In (231), the understood subject of damaging corresponds to that of the matrix, i.e. they. There are no deviations from these readings in the corpus data.\footnote{Two examples in the corpus exhibited non-subject control:}

(i) They know that the foreigners have no love for a country that pays them and despises them, and they fear looting and riots.

(ii) They took it to the Gallows Hill, Cumnock, intending to hang it from the gibbet but the Earl of Dumfries intervened and stopped them as he feared rioting by the people of the district.

A proper treatment of the first case, which involves a nominal rather than verbal gerund, would involve defining the meaning of the nominal gerund with special regard to the notion of person, an undertaking which falls outside the scope of the present study. In the second case it is unclear as to whether the gerund's status is that of verbal or nominal. The presence of a by-agent phrase would seem to favour treating it as a verbal form. However, the fact that a by-agent phrase can also be construed with nouns (cf. the invasion of Rome by the Visigoths) provides evidence suggesting it is nominal. Since the gerund's status is unclear here, the example has not been included in the present study.

3.1.2.3 Function of the Complement

With the verb fear, as in the case of dread, it is argued that the -ing fulfills the function of direct object. In all examples in the corpus, the -ing corresponds to 'that which is feared.' The direct object function is confirmed by the tests of passivization, pseudo-clefting and pronoun substitution:

(232) They feared damaging the child within their secure family relationship.
(233) Damaging the child within their secure family relationship was feared by them.

(234) What they feared was damaging the child within their secure family relationship.

(235) They feared it/that.

Contrary to the -ing construction, the to-infinitive after fear does not function as direct object. First of all, it does not correspond to 'that which is feared.' Nor does it pass the tests of passivization, pseudo-clefting or pronoun substitution:

(236) She feared to go out in the streets.

(237) *To go out in the streets was feared by her.

(238) ?What she feared was to go out in the streets.

(239) *She feared it/that.

With regards to pronoun substitution, the preposition to is the only suitable manner of expressing anaphoric reference:

(240) She feared to.

On the basis of these results, we conclude that the infinitive with fear, as with dread above, evokes a perfective view of the realization of its event. The preposition to is called upon to represent the actual support as being at a point in time before its actualization phase.
3.1.3 Scruple

3.1.3.1 Definition and Complementation

The verb *scruple*, a less frequent verb in modern day English in comparison to *fear* and *dread* as the figures in Table 3.1 suggest, occurs only with the *to*-infinitive in the British National Corpus. Here its meaning could be best described as "to hesitate or be reluctant especially on conscientious grounds" (Oxford). This meaning is observed in the following examples:

(241) Freeholders who were disappointed in their expectation of aid from the political interest which they had supported were ripe for an attack by another interest, and some of the freeholders in this situation did not scruple to state their position quite bluntly. (BNC CRR 653)

(242) On this side of the house the traffic from the main road could not be heard. She knew that neither Jasper nor Bert would be up early, but made herself get up in time to join Jim for tea and cornflakes. She thought she was rather like a mother, making sure a child had eaten before going off to school, did not scruple to say, "Are you sure you've had enough?" (BNC EV1 1973)

(243) It can, in short, do everything that is not naturally impossible; and therefore some have not scrupled to call its power, by a figure rather too bold, the omnipotence of Parliament. (BNC EAJ 1226)

While no attested examples of *scruple* with the -*ing* were found in the British National Corpus, some were discovered on the Internet and in the works of other authors. In these cases, the meaning evoked by *scruple* undergoes a shift to one that could be best characterised as "to question" or "have doubts about" (Webster's):

(244) Such would have it to say to their own Souls, if possible, that they were merciful when they could have destroyed, rather than when it was in their Power to have spared a Man, they destroyed. This is due to the common Calamity of Human Life, due in some measure to our very Enemies. They who scruple doing the least Injury, are cautious of exacting the utmost Justice. (Internet)
Of the integrity of his own character, as a Christian, he was so scrupulously tenacious, that, when he might have been sometimes set at liberty by making trifling acknowledgements, he would make none, lest it should imply a conviction, that he had been confined for that which was wrong; and, at one time in particular, King Charles the Second was so touched with the hardship of his case, that he offered to discharge him from prison by a pardon. But George Fox declined it on the idea, that, as pardon implied guilt, his innocence would be called in question by his acceptance of it. The king, however, replied, that "he need not scruple being released by a pardon, for many a man who was as innocent as a child, had had a pardon granted him." But still he chose to decline it. And he lay in gaol, till, upon a trial of the errors in his indictment, he was discharged in an honourable way. (Internet)

I could add to this, that from his Company and his usual Discourse, he does not scruple being thought an abandoned Man. (Internet)

No simple Justice of the Peace seems to have scrupled issuing a warrant upon them. (in Rudanko 1989)

We might point out that (244)-(246) do seem somewhat archaic, while (247) might have been influenced by a desire to avoid two consecutive to-infinitives. Nonetheless, as with fear and dread, the difference in meaning between scruple + to + infinitive and scruple + -ing can be characterized as follows: the former evokes an unwillingness to proceed with actualization due to scruples whereas the latter simply evokes an event which is an object of scruple, i.e. towards which the subject's attitude is that of scruple.

3.1.3.2 Temporal and Control Effects

With regards to temporal effects, one observes a temporal relation of subsequence between the main verb scruple and the to-infinitive complement. For example in,

They might be forced to discard him and a stray company working at large would not scruple to cut his throat, though Owen would. (BNC HGG 2123)
the event cut is felt to exist at a point in time subsequent to the scruple expressed in the matrix. Subsequence effects are also observed with the -ing complement. In (244) and (245) above, the events doing and being are both felt to be prospective, or unrealized, with respect to the scruple expressed in the main verb. While subsequence appears to be the prominent impression with the -ing, simultaneity is also possible, as seen in (246). In this example the being is felt to coincide with the main verb scruple in time.

With regards to control, one observes subject control with both complement types. For example, in (248) above, the understood realizer of cut is felt to correspond to that of the matrix, i.e. a stray company working at large. In (245), the understood subject of being is also felt to correspond to the main verb's subject, which is he.

3.1.3.3 Function of the Complement

It is held here that the -ing functions as direct object with the verb scruple. First of all, it corresponds to 'that which is scrupled' in all the cases gathered for the corpus. The tests of passivization, pseudo-clefting and pronoun substitution confirm its direct object function:

(249) He does not scruple being thought an abandoned Man.

(250) Being thought an abandoned man is not scrupled by him.

(251) What he does not scruple is being thought an abandoned Man.

(252) He does not scruple it/that.

As for the to-infinitive, it is argued here that it does not fulfill the role of direct object. First of all, in no case does it correspond to 'that which is scrupled.' Second, passivization and pseudo-clefting yield questionable results:
Some of the freeholders in this situation did not scruple to state their position quite bluntly.

*To state their position quite bluntly was not scrupled by some of the freeholders in this situation.

*What was not scrupled by some of the freeholders in this situation was to state their position quite bluntly.

Pronoun substitution is also doubtful, with the preposition to once again being the suitable anaphoric form:

*Some of the freeholders in this situation did not scruple it/that.

Some of the freeholders in this situation did not scruple to.

On the basis of the evidence presented, we conclude that the to-infinitive does not fulfil the function of direct object with scruple. The infinitive, as with dread and fear, provides for a perfective view of the realization of the event it denotes while the preposition to evokes the actual support as being at a point in time before the infinitive's actualization phase.

3.1.4. Apprehend

3.1.4.1 Definition and Complementation

The verb apprehend in its fear sense, as with scruple, would appear to be a less frequent means for expressing fear in modern day English as the data suggests. No examples of apprehend with either complement form were found in the British National Corpus and an exhaustive search of the Internet produced only a handful of examples with the -ing. In the few examples gathered, its meaning could be characterized as "to anticipate with fear or dread; to be fearful concerning" (Oxford). Such is the case in the following examples:
Everything he was doing now seemed stained by violence. When he was in his office, his mind was far away, keeping dreaming and feeling shameful about it. His working days were lasting, he was apprehending going back to her. He knew what would happen again. His nights were also torturing him, he knew that she couldn’t sleep afraid and watchful.

The details of this pastime are now spoken of in the second verse beginning with rudantam. Seeing the whipping stick in His mother's hand, and apprehending being struck with it, He behaved as if terrified so that she would see His distress and think "He is afraid of being punished".

This morning Mr. Appee laid aside his mask. He began by telling me all Mr. Oglethorpe had ever said to him, particularly his inmost thoughts of my brother and me; that he ridiculed our pretended fasting in the ship; that he took all my abstemiousness for mere hypocrisy, and put on for fear of my brother; for he saw how very uneasy I was under the restraint; that he much blamed my carelessness, my closeness, my frightening the people, and stirring them up to mutiny, etc., etc.; that he found I apprehended being turned out of my office, and therefore pretended to be weary of it.

3.1.4.2. Temporal and Control Effects

One observes, with all cases involving *apprehend* in our small corpus of examples, a temporal relation of subsequence between the main verb and complement event. In (258) above, *going back* is subsequent with respect to the subject's feeling of apprehension. Likewise, in (259) and (260) *being struck* and *being turned out* are also felt to be subsequent to the realization of the main verb in time.

With regards to the control relation felt to exist between the main verb and complement, in all cases one observes subject control. In (258)-(260) above, the implied realizers of the events *going back*, *being struck* and *being turned out* all correspond to that of the matrix; i.e., *he, He* and *I*. 
3.1.4.3. Function of the Complement

It is argued that the -ing complement functions as direct object with the verb *apprehend*. First of all, it corresponds to 'that which is apprehended' in all cases in our small corpus. It also passes the tests of passivization, pseudo-cLEFTing and pronoun substitution:

(261) While writing the appeal I had apprehended being sent to the Interrogation Centre and avoided mention of the illegal recording of the S of E.

(262) Being sent to the Interrogation Centre had been apprehended by me.

(263) What I had apprehended was being sent to the Interrogation Centre.

(264) I apprehended it/that.

3.1.5. Shudder

3.1.5.1. Definition and Complementation

The verb *shudder* occurs only with the to-infinitive in the corpus. In the majority of examples, it is construed with what has been termed both the 'infinitive of reaction' (Jespersen 1965:259) and the 'infinitive of time or cause' (Rudanko 1989:16). Such is the case in the following examples:

(265) She shuddered to see his discoloured teeth. (BNC FRC 1816)

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12 It might be pointed out here that Jespersen's term 'infinitive of reaction' is somewhat confusing, as it is not the infinitive itself which denotes a reaction but rather the main verb with which it is construed. Such a term has the effect of suggesting that the infinitive has differences in meaning when in reality what differs is the to-infinitive's syntactic relation with the main verb. Rudanko's term 'adverbial of time or cause' is a much more accurate characterization; however it fails to distinguish the infinitive from the of + -ing complement, which also specifies cause in the cases under study here. For the purposes of this study we have chosen to adopt the term 'adverbial of time or condition' in order to properly distinguish it from this latter complement form.
(266) She shuddered to find a great crimson monster following closely after. (Internet)

Here the infinitive does not stand in direct relation to the main verb but rather functions as an adverbial of time or condition with respect to the main clause as a whole.

The to-infinitive with shudder has also been observed to fulfill the same function observed with the verbs dread, fear and scruple. Such usage would, however, appear to be restricted in light of the fact that few clear-cut examples were found in the British National Corpus. The following is a sampling of the examples found on the Internet:

(267) Not two hours before, with my énergies sapped, I had tossed in my sleep for a long winter's nap. It seemed like forever I lay in that bed, As Visions Unspeakable danced in my head, When up from the cellar I heard such a clatter, I shuddered to ask myself what was the matter. (Internet)

(268) And I shudder to move lest I step on a tack. (Internet)

(269) It almost sounds like good vs. evil, but I shudder to go down that road, fraught with smirks and contradictions as it is. (Internet)

In some cases, two interpretations of the syntactic relation involved seem possible:

(270) I shudder to think what kind of life I should have had with him. (BNC HGE 3520)

(271) He shuddered to imagine what might happen if he ever consulted one about a real problem. (Internet)

On one hand, the meaning of shudder in an example such as (270) or (271) could be characterized in terms provided in Cobuild's:
If you say that you shudder to think what would happen in a particular situation, you mean that you expect it to be so awful or disastrous that you do not really want to think about it.

Here the verb *shudder* would therefore pattern in similar fashion to the verbs *fear* and *dread*, being comparable to the meaning evoked in a sentence such as "I dread/fear to think." On the other hand, the meaning evoked by *shudder* in the two examples could be that of "to have a convulsive tremor of the body caused by fear, abhorrence, or cold; hence, to tremble with horror or dread" (Oxford). Here the meaning could be paraphrased in terms such as "When I think about what kind of life I should have had with him, I shudder."

### 3.1.5.2. Temporal and Control Effects

One observes two types of temporal effects between the verb *shudder* and its *to*-infinitive complement. On one hand, with the infinitive construction fulfilling the function of adverbial of time or condition, the temporal relation felt to hold between the main verb and the complement is either priorness, as in (272), or contemporaneity, as in (273):

(272) I put forward my arm, and shuddered to find that I had fallen at the very brink of a circular pit. (Internet)

(273) He shuddered to think of the gold coin escaping from his life. (BNC HA3 196)

In (272), the event *find* is felt to occupy a position in time that is prior to that of the matrix. In (273), the event *think* is felt to occur contemporaneously with the matrix.

On the other hand, in cases where the infinitive does not function as an adverbial of time or condition, one observes a temporal relation of subsequence between the complement event and the main verb. Such is clearly the case in (268) above, for example, where the event *move* is felt to be prospective with respect to the shuddering expressed in the main verb.
With regards to control, one observes subject control with both types of to-infinitive complement. In (272) and (273) above, the implied realizer of the events find and think corresponds to that of the main verb, i.e. I and he respectively. In (268), the overt realizer of the event move is also that of the matrix, i.e. I.

3.1.5.3. Function of the Complement

The infinitive with shudder, as already pointed out, has two functions. On one hand, it functions as an adverbial specifier of time or condition with respect to the main clause as a whole. Such is the case in an example such as He shuddered to hear the news, where the infinitive specifies the implicit condition underlying the subject's shuddering. Confirmation of its function can be found the ability to paraphrase such a sentence in the terms, "When he heard the news, he shuddered" or "Hearing the news made him shudder."

On the other hand, the to-infinitive can function in the same manner observed with a verb such as dread, in which case it entertains a much closer syntactic relation to the main verb. The proposition to evokes, therefore, the actual support as being at a position in time which précèdes actualization of the infinitive's event. Confirmation that it does not function as direct object can be found primarily in the fact that in no cases does it correspond to 'that which is shuddered.' Passivization and pseudo-clefting also yield ungrammatical results:

(274) I shudder to move lest I step on a tack.

(275) *To move is shuddered by me lest I step on a tack.

(276) *What I shudder is to move lest I step on a tack.

Pronoun substitution shows that the only suitable anaphoric form is to, not it or that:

(277) *I shudder it/that.
3.1.6. Blanch, Cower, Cringe, Flinch, Pale, Quaver, Quiver, Quake, Shiver, Tremble, Tremor

The remarks made above in terms of the verb *shudder* can also be made for the 11 verbs mentioned here. These verbs can all be construed with an infinitive functioning as an adverbial of time or condition, in which case the infinitive denotes the conditioning factor for the consequent reaction expressed in the matrix. A small sampling is provided here:

(279) Some people cringe to think that they’ll be wearing clothes worn by someone else, but if you really think about it, clothes at the local mall have been tried on by twenty people and never washed! (Internet)

(280) His ears tingled and his heart trembled to hear the report. (BNC GT2 12)

(281) The result is that every ledge, from those that would take a small tent to those that a modern rock climber would blanche to see, is packed with birds. (BNC A6T 637)

(282) Some of my early writing is rather wordy and rough – I flinch to read it. However, the stories themselves are sound and that’s what counts. (Internet)

(283) And she, everything forgotten in her new hour of coming to life, radiated vigour and joy, so that he quivered to touch her. (Internet)

While construal with the adverbial of time/condition infinitive represents the overwhelming majority of examples gathered, some verbs have been found to occur with an infinitive which functions in the same manner as that observed with *dread, fear, scruple* and *shudder*; that is, the preposition *to* is called upon to evoke the infinitive's
event as being in an after-position with regard to the place in time of the actual support. Such is the case for *tremble* and *shiver*:

(284) You know my presentiments of evil; never did I feel them so strong as at present. I tremble to go to bed—the taper that burns by me is dim and methinks my bed looks like a grave! (Internet)

(285) His heart burned with pain and with grief. He trembled to go to her. And at last he went, hesitating, burdened with a great offering. (Internet)

(286) Samuel Johnson, legend has it, once likened fishing to a stick on a string, with a worm at one end and a fool at the other. I shiver to think how the British author would have described ice fishing. The mere idea might have completely confounded his literary sensibilities. (Internet)

The meaning evoked by the verb in question, as with *shudder*, is seen to differ according to the two syntactic relationships it entertains with the infinitive, evoking either a disposition which leads to the subject's unwillingness to actualize the infinitive's event (cf. 284-286) or a reaction caused by its realization (cf. 279-283).

With regards to temporal and control effects, one observes the same relations as those observed in the case of *shudder*. Temporal impressions vary according to the syntactic relation between the main verb and the complement; that is, one observes priorness and/or contemporaneity in examples (279)-(283) and subsequence in (284)-(286). As for control relations, they do not vary, yielding subject control in all cases.

### 3.2 Adjectives of Fear

A complete list of the adjectives of fear under study along with some frequency statistics from the British National Corpus is given in Table 3.2.
Table 3.2. List of Adjectives Under Study and their Frequency in the BNC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>to-infinitive</th>
<th>of + -ing</th>
<th>total examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afraid</td>
<td>684</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frightened</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scared</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrified</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horrified</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Startled</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fearful</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprehensive</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aghast</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicken</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.1 Afraid

3.2.1.1. Definition and Complementation

Of the adjectives listed in Table 3.2, afraid appears to be the most common in modern day usage. As shown in the table, its construal with the to-infinitive is more frequent, with 684 cases as compared to 255 with the of + -ing. Webster's defines afraid in the following terms, comparing it to its close synonyms frightened and scared:

AFRAID, FRIGHTENED, and SCARED are often interchangeable in meaning in common use. AFRAID, however, is the most general of the three and usu. implies a deep-seated though not necessarily outwardly apparent reaction of fear manifest in a strong sense of personal insecurity or danger or in a strong and usu. uncontrollable desire to avoid or evade the cause of the reaction.

With the to-infinitive, the adjective afraid evokes the notion "unwilling or reluctant for fear of the consequences" (Canadian Oxford). In other words, the state of fear is construed as an unwillingness on behalf of the subject to take steps towards the actualization of the infinitive's event. Such is observed to be the case in the following:
The reason is that as a result of bullying some Asian children were afraid to eat Indian food at school. (BNC A6V 2153)

It's very hard to get a record deal because the companies are afraid to sign anyone. (BNC C9N 675)

People like Ybreska were too afraid to have a commitment, even to openly express doubts. (BNC CDA 1199)

It is a street where the shopkeepers are too afraid to open their doors. (BNC CEN 3688)

With regards to the -ing, the meaning evoked by the adjective afraid could be characterized simply as "in fear of the consequence to oneself of" (Oxford). Such is seen to be the case in the following examples:

He was afraid of being sent back to Ethiopia, where close family members had been imprisoned and tortured. (BNC A03 934)

His lack of possessiveness made him fearless. He was not afraid of losing anything, because he had nothing to lose. (BNC ARG 1095)

Sally had agonised over what to wear. She was so afraid of letting Paula down but eventually she had settled on a neat shirt-waister blouse and pencil skirt. (BNC BMW 2394)

It is interesting to note the observations made by numerous authors with regards to the difference underlying the afraid + to-infinitive and afraid + of + -ing constructions. Swan (1992:28), for instance, states that "when we are talking about things which happen to us unexpectedly, without our wanting or choosing them, only the -ing form is possible." In a similar manner, Thomson and Martinet (1980:237) claim that the to-infinitive is used with "deliberate actions" while the of + -ing is reserved for "involuntary" ones. Dixon (1984:591) echoes these comments, stating that the infinitive is used "where the speaker has fears about voluntarily undertaking a course of action" while the -ing describes a "non-volitional activity." It should be pointed out that while
the distinction between 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' holds in a number of examples and provides a handy "rule" for English as a second language teachers (an audience for whom these authors' works are intended), such a characterization would appear to be inadequate in light of the full range of examples found in this study. While the event denoted by the to-infinitive is understood to be an event which the subject could undertake voluntarily in the majority of cases (cf. ex. 287-290), in some cases this notion is less discernable:

(294) There's a scorpion that needs to get across a river. The frog can carry him but is afraid to be stung. So the scorpion promises that he won't sting the frog, because if he did they would both drown and what would be the point in that? That makes sense, so the frog agrees, the scorpion gets on his back, and the frog starts swimming across the river. Halfway across the scorpion stings him. As they're both going down the frog gasps out, 'what did you do that for, now we're both going to die!' And the scorpion replies, 'I cannot help it, it's my character.' (Internet)

(295) It has been a long time since I've been in relationship. I want one, but I'm afraid to be hurt again. How do I begin? (Internet)

(296) I spent a childhood afraid to fall ill, because being ill meant my mother had to stay off work. (Internet)

(297) Dustin Hoffman has this advice for a young actor: 'Don't be afraid to be fired'. (Internet)

In these cases, the infinitive does not denote an event which is strictly voluntary per se. These are cases of what could be termed 'indirect voluntariness'\(^\text{13}\), where the subject, in choosing a course of action where there is a foreseeable consequence of its undertaking, sees himself as voluntarily choosing the foreseeable consequence. In (294), the frog is

\(^{13}\) The term 'indirect voluntariness' is a term used in Moral Philosophy and Ethics. "A human act comes from the will directly or indirectly. When the act itself is the choice of the will, it comes directly from the will and is said to be willed in se or in itself. When the act comes indirectly from the will, inasmuch as the will chooses rather what causes or occasions the act than the act itself, it is said to be willed in its cause or in causa. Thus a man who wills to become intoxicated, wills it directly or in se; a man who does not wish to become intoxicated, but who seeks entertainment where, as experience tells him, he is almost sure to become intoxicated, wills the intoxication indirectly or in causa. This distinction of direct and indirect willing (or direct and indirect voluntariness) raises a notable issue, and we have here two of the most important principles (that is, fundamental guiding truths) in all ethics" (Internet Source). For a more in depth discussion of voluntariness, see Gewirth (1978).
afraid to carry the scorpion because he knows that in doing so he is submitting himself to the foreseeable consequence of being sting. In (295), the subject is afraid to start up a new relationship because in doing so she feels there is a consequence of being hurt again. In (296) the person did not want to do anything which might have caused them to fall ill (one might also get the impression of refusing to abandon oneself to any first symptoms of a possible illness). In (297) Hoffman advises the young actor not to be afraid to go ahead and do daring things in their acting even though in doing so this might lead to being fired from some jobs. Thus while the infinitive events are not events to be voluntarily performed by the subject, they are events to which the subject voluntarily submits as a consequence of voluntarily performed actions.

As for the of + -ing, the claim that the event it denotes is involuntary does not hold for all observed cases. The following sentences all involve voluntary actions:

(298) It is quite understandable to be afraid of the anger of others who make life unpleasant for us, but few of us have the courage and conviction to face the process of anger. We can still be afraid of expressing our anger, unable to vent our rage. (BNC B21 215)

(299) This may well be true. If it is not, the bid should be blocked. If it is true, then Kingfisher should not be afraid of arguing its case in front of the Monopolies Commission. (BNC AAJ 241)

(300) Then the leader needs to make time for members of the group to say what they are aiming at in their walk with God and to find time for mutual ministry and prayer. A strong leader is one who is not afraid of listening as people open up. (BNC C8L 2008)

This curious observation that the afraid + of + -ing construction can evoke both an event that is voluntary and involuntary will be accounted for in Chapter Four. Suffice it to say at this point that these impressions make for an interesting fact-to-be-explained.

3.2.1.2. Temporal and Control Effects

With the to-infinitive construction, one observes constant subsequent temporality readings. For example, in
He was afraid to look out on the hills. (BNC CBC 2933)

I've never been afraid to do it before and I won't hesitate to do it again. (BNC CBG 12274)

Diana has not been afraid to hug her sons in public. (BNC CBF 8518)

the subject's fear is felt to exist prior to the complement event in time. One also observes constant subject control readings. In these examples the understood subject of look out, do, and hug corresponds to that of the matrix, i.e. He, I, and Diana respectively.

With the of + -ing complement, one observes, on the whole, a subsequence relation. In the following examples, the -ing denotes an unrealized future potentiality with respect to the subject's fear:

A teacher, again in a Southall primary school, told of an amusing incident when an Indian girl of ten was reduced to tears when she had to go out in the sun in the summer term. She was afraid of becoming black. (BNC A6V 1954)

What ulterior motive lay behind his desire to ride? Perhaps he did want to be in the team? If only he could be! If she could be too then they might stand a chance against those racy Greycoat boys! At least Nails was not afraid of suffering a bit; he had come by his name because he was so hard. (BNC AT4 2082)

There are a significant number who think their vote goes into a national pool and do not appreciate how voting by constituencies works. And people do not understand how physically to vote. This puts them off as they are afraid of making fools of themselves. (BNC BM4 386)

In some cases a simultaneity impression is possible:

82% believe our society is increasingly violent. 49% of you are more afraid of driving alone in the dark than you used to be. (BNC CB8 149)
He looked at me for the first time when I said this. I think you ought to be at home yourself, he answered. Do you live near here? In that house over there, I said, and I'm not at all afraid of being out at night. (BNC FR6 726)

She was annoyed to feel a tiny prickle of unease as she glanced round the big farmhouse kitchen. What on earth was happening to her now? Surely she couldn't suddenly be afraid of being alone? (BNC JY5 1325)

One also observes constant subject control throughout the corpus. In (304)-(306), for example, the understood subject of the -ing's event corresponds to she, Nails, and they respectively.

### 3.2.1.3. Function of the Complement

It will be held here that the to-infinitive has the same function in its use with afraid as it does with the verbs discussed thus far; that is, the infinitive provides for a perfective view of its event's actualization while the preposition to is necessary to evoke the actual support as occupying a before position with respect to it. Further confirmation that the to-infinitive functions as a prepositional phrase can be found in the possibility of using the preposition without an object in anaphoric reference:

He wanted her to go with him but she was afraid to.

It might also be pointed out that due to its function as an adjective, afraid naturally cannot be construed with a direct object. This fact of usage provides further evidence in favour of treating the to-infinitive in the manner we propose for the verbs already discussed rather than treating it as a direct object.

As for the of + -ing complement, it will be held here that it functions as a prepositional phrase denoting the source of the subject's fear. It behaves in the same manner as that observed in its construal with nominal objects:

John is afraid of heights.
(312) John is afraid of breaking his leg.

In (311) and (312), the substantive *heights* and the potential event *breaking his leg* each represent the source of John's fear, thereby calling for the use of the preposition *of*.

3.2.2. Frightened/Scared

3.2.2.1. Definition and Complementation

The adjectives *frightened* and *scared* each occur with both complement types in the corpus. The figures in Table 3.2 indicate a tendency towards construal with the infinitive for both adjectives. In terms of lexical meaning, Webster's defines *frightened* in the following manner:

Frightened implies a fear that usu. gives rise to an inner disorder and temporary loss of self-command bordering on and often involving paralysis of muscle and will.

With the *to*-infinitive, the subject's state of "being affected with fright" (Webster's) is construed as giving rise to an unwillingness to participate in the actualization of the infinitive's event, evoking the notion of reluctance due to fear observed with the adjective *afraid* above. Such is the case in the following:

(313) We saw several things we were too frightened to attempt. (BNC CG1 1125)

(314) She was too frightened to get out of bed and go to find Victorine. (BNC GUK 670)

(315) Some residents we spoke to were frightened to talk publicly for fear of reprisals. (BNC K1V 2579)

(316) Mr. Kinnock says the Prime Minister is too frightened to debate the issue. (BNC KSR 559)
As for the of + -ing, the meaning evoked with the adjective frightened is "in fear of the consequences to oneself of", the meaning also seen to be evoked with afraid:

(317) So many people are frightened of being sad that they take medication to stop such feelings. (BNC ADE 135)

(318) This then becomes further complicated because you get frightened of displaying the symptoms of nervousness and being embarrassed by them so you add another layer of fear and resultant nervousness to the situation. (BNC BNA 594)

(319) It was something he had always longed to explore. His mother had told him that even grown-ups were frightened of going into the Forest of Sin. (BNC CH9 12)

One might note here that as in the case of the adjective afraid, the -ing's event is not restricted to voluntary actions.

As mentioned earlier, scared occurs with both complement types. Webster's defines scared in the following terms:

**SCARED** is the same as **FRIGHTENED** in intensity but suggests a more all-inclusive usu. childlike reaction as that of running away, trembling, or acting in ways that for adults would be foolish and irrational.

As seen with afraid and frightened, one observes that the subject's "state of fear, fright or panic" (Webster's) is what inspires reluctance or unwillingness to actualize the infinitive's event:

(320) She didn't say anything to me and I was too scared to speak in case she started on me. (BNC CDM 928)

(321) But possessions stick like leeches: you're scared to let go. (BNC H8M 386)

(322) She was assaulted a year ago, but was too scared to report the incident. (BNC K1W 1202)
As for the of + -ing, the meaning observed can once again, as with afraid and frightened, be characterized simply as "in fear of the consequence to oneself of":

(323) I would throw my boyfriend out, but I'd be scared of living alone. Why won't he give me more support? (BNC A70 1147)

(324) I wanted to drop everything and run, but I was so scared of appearing to be a coward, even to myself, that I dared not. (BNC AT3 577)

(325) Léonie was preoccupied by dread. Perhaps if she admitted she was scared of going out of the room? (BNC GUK 206)

As example (325) shows, the adjective scared can also be construed with an -ing event which is understood to be a voluntary undertaking on behalf of the subject.

3.2.2.2. Temporal and Control Effects

One observes constant subsequent temporality readings and subject control for the to-infinitive. In all the cases cited thus far, the infinitive denotes an event which is unrealized at the moment in time corresponding to the matrix. The understood subject of the complement event in each case also corresponds to that of the main adjective clause. Temporal subsequence is also observed to be the case in the majority of examples with the -ing. Some cases, as with afraid, do give rise to a temporal impression of simultaneity however:

(326) You know how I've mentioned a thousand times that I'm scared of living here and that's because of "the something" that lives in my house; or probably in the whole street. Things are just too negative around here. And the city we live in is not safe anymore. I think it would be great for them to move and make a change, even if it's just for some time. (Internet)

(327) Hi, I used to be very frightened of living here in fact I was thinking of moving. But I love the house so much I decided to stay. When ever something happens the best coping mechanism I use is I don't dwell on it. I write it in my log and then don't think about it too much. (Internet)
"Would you like some coffee or tea?". "Um, no, thanks," Buffy said nervously. For some reason, she was frightened of being here. (Internet)

In each of these cases, the events living and being are felt to exist contemporaneously with the subject's feelings of fear. Although there is a deviation in temporal readings with the -ing, subject control readings, as with the infinitive construction, do remain constant.

**3.2.2.3. Function of the Complement**

The to-infinitive, as argued here, has the same function in its use with frightened and scared as it does with the verbs and adjectives discussed thus far. For example, in:

(329) They were too frightened to do it.

(330) She was scared to do it.

here the infinitive provides for a perfective view of the event do while the preposition to is required to evoke the actual support as being in a position in time prior to it. The event do represents, therefore, a possible event which the subject is frightened or scared to actualize.

As for the of + -ing complement, it functions as a prepositional phrase denoting the source of the subject's fright. It behaves, as seen with afraid, in the same manner as in its construal with nominal objects:

(331) John is frightened of snakes.

(332) John is frightened of joining the club.

In both (331) and (332), the substantive snakes and the event joining each represent the source of John's fear, thereby calling for use of the preposition of.
3.2.3. Fearful/Apprehensive

3.2.3.1. Definition and Complementation

The adjectives fearful and apprehensive can be construed with both complement types. For fearful, the existence of a mere three examples with the to-infinitive in the British National Corpus suggests a tendency towards construal with the of + -ing. As for apprehensive, the existence of so few examples for either complement makes drawing any conclusions with regards to frequency of usage difficult. The BNC contains no attested examples of construal with the to-infinitive; however searching the Internet has revealed that construal with this complement is possible.

As far as lexical meaning is concerned, Webster's describes fearful in the following manner:

FEARFUL, though often the same as anxious, usu. suggests a somewhat stronger and more generalized apprehensiveness stemming often rather from a natural timidity than particular objective causes and implying reactions of fear but fear usu. strongly mingled with shyness, uncertainty, and a more general tendency to foreboding and worry.

As for apprehensive, it is defined as "anticipative of something unfavorable; fearful of what may be coming; in dread of possible evil or harm" (Webster's). With the to-infinitive, the adjectives fearful and apprehensive denote feelings which inspire in the subject an unwillingness to actualize the infinitive's event:

(333) From what Davide could follow, he agreed with his father, rather than his friend; but when he tried to voice an opinion he sounded to his own ears savourless and dull, eager to agree with authority, fearful to break out across the frontiers of duty and obedience and honour. (BNC GUX 33)

(334) If he were not a mere creature of my mind I imagine he would by now have fallen into a dangerous sleep of despair and exhaustion, frozen in a little car outside a small cottage he is too fearful to enter. (BNC ADA 699)
"If you have ever been too threatened by failure to go for something you want...too apprehensive to share your feelings...too intimidated to stand up for yourself when someone puts you down...too nervous of getting hurt to risk trusting another..." then this book has something for you. A really inspirational read. (Internet)

I contacted my birth mother (Eugenie), but by that time she was married and had another son and she was too apprehensive to meet me. (Internet)

As for the of + -ing complement, one observes that the subject merely has fears stemming from the possible consequences of the -ing event's coming-to-be:

Relatives are often fearful of complaining lest there is a backlash in the kind of treatment or care the family member receives. (BNC CGD 1918)

Women seem fearful of becoming too friendly with a single mother; fearful that if they spend too much time with her, they might just get a taste for something that is denied them. (BNC)

"Oh, I can manage," she replied positively, although she was apprehensive of being alone in the house. (BNC CEY 1833)

And I think there's one important strategy which many teachers are apprehensive of using. (BNC KRG 62)

One notices once again that the -ing's event can denote both voluntary and involuntary actions.

3.2.3.2. Temporal and Control Effects

One observes constant subsequent temporality readings and subject control for the infinitive in all examples in the corpus. As seen in all cases cited thus far, the disposition of fear in the subject precedes the infinitive's event, which is understood to be a future possibility. The understood subject of the complement event is also co-referential with that of the main adjective clause in all cases cited here.
Such is also the case with the majority of examples collected for the -ing. While subject control is constant, a temporal impression of simultaneity is possible with a small number of cases, as illustrated by the following examples:

(341) Many of us still actually here do not want to be here; or are fearful of being here, especially in some villages or rural locations. (Internet)

(342) Householders return home apprehensive of having been burgled. (BNC K5C 360)\(^\text{14}\)

(343) "Oh, I can manage," she replied positively, although she was apprehensive of being alone in the house. (BNC CEY 1833)

In each case, the infinitive's event is felt to evoke a state of affairs which coincides with the matrix in time.

3.2.2.3. Function of the Complement

It is held here that the to-infinitive has the same function in its use with fearful and apprehensive as it does with the verbs and adjectives discussed thus far. For example, in:

(344) He was too fearful to enter.

(345) She was apprehensive to meet me.

here the infinitive provides for a perfective view of the events enter and meet while the preposition to is required to evoke the actual support as being in a prior position in time. The events represent, therefore, possible actualizations which the subject's feeling of fear or apprehension make him reticent to move towards.

\(^{14}\) The impression of simultaneity is perhaps more subtle in this example than in the other examples mentioned here. Here the householders' feelings of apprehension coincide with their being in the situation arising from the actual act of being burgled.
As for the *of* + *-ing* complement, it functions as a prepositional phrase denoting the source of the subject's fear. For example, in

(346) John is fearful of entering.

(347) John is apprehensive of using it.

the events *entering* and *using* represent the source of John's fear.

### 3.2.4 Terrified/Horrified/Aghast/Startled

#### 3.2.4.1 Definition and Complementation

Of the four adjectives under discussion here, only *terrified* occurs with both complement types in the British National Corpus. As the data shows, there are no examples of *of* + *-ing* complementation for *horrified*, *aghast* or *startled*; however a search of the Internet produced some examples of such construal with *horrified*.

As far as lexical meaning is concerned for the four adjectives, Webster's defines the adjective *terrified* and *aghast* in the following manner:

**TERRIFIED and AGHAST** suggest total paralysis of action and will. **TERRIFIED** implies the total reign of terror over the person resulting in stupefaction or in a total incapacity to act or think in any rational way. **AGHAST**, a somewhat older use in this sense, puts strong emphasis on an immobility resulting from a terror or more usu. a horror or horrified disbelief esp. over the fate of someone or something other than oneself.

**Horrified** and **startled** are defined as follows:

**HORRIFIED:** filled with or marked or attended by a sensation, appearance, or attitude of horror: expressing or reflecting horror.

**STARTLED:** excited or roused by sudden alarm, surprise, fear or shock; frightened or affected suddenly and usu. not seriously.
With the *to*-infinitive, each of these four adjectives can be construed with Jespersen's "infinitive of reaction":

(348) The factor Robert Menzies was terrified to see the throngs of people, like herds of cattle milling at a tryst. (BNC A0N 478)

(349) But when he went to pick it up he was horrified to discover it was one of Isaac's geese. (BNC BN6 1674)

(350) A headteacher friend was aghast to discover that his infant child had spent a fortnight rehearsing to be a road! (BNC AND 814)

(351) A month earlier the government was startled to learn that the Soviet defence minister, Marshal Dmitri Yazov, had turned up to inspect his troops in the east without telling the Germans. (BNC ABJ 1500)

In each of these cases and those in the corpus, the disposition of terror, horror or surprise are all understood to represent consequent reactions to the realization of the event denoted by the infinitive. Each adjective here can also be construed with the *to*-infinitive functioning as we have seen with adjectives such as *afraid* and *scared*:

(352) We revealed yesterday that another of Courtney's victims is still too terrified to tell police that he attacked her. (BNC CBF 10941)

(353) I could see my friends' faces as they watched me offer my blood, they looked aghast, but were too horrified to move. (Internet)

(354) She stared open-mouthed at me, too aghast to say anything. Then she erupted with hurt and fury, and she hit me across the side of the head. (Internet)

(355) She simply stayed where she was and Jenna found herself being almost propelled outside, too startled to object. (BNC HGD 2240)
Here the meaning evoked is along similar lines as that seen with the adjectives discussed thus far; that is, the feeling of terror, horror or surprise is what inspires reluctance on behalf of the subject to actualize the infinitive's event.

As mentioned, of the four adjectives under discussion here, only *terrified* and *horrified* have been observed to occur with the *of* + *-ing* complement. As seen with the other adjectives and verbs discussed thus far, the subject is construed as having feelings of terror and horror which are felt to result from the possible coming-to-be of the *-ing*'s event:

(356) He tells me he feels the same, and we have talked of marriage. But I am terrified of taking him home to meet the family and particularly my sister. (BNC ARJ 577)

(357) She pulled the door open, suddenly terrified of finding a solemn-faced policeman standing there. (BNC H97 1960)

(358) I don't think that's true at all. A good example of that is the blues on 'Presence.' I was horrified of doing that solo. (Internet)

(359) Don't get me wrong, the Canon eos-300 is ok, but the kit glass, I was horrified of breaking the thing putting on a new lens. (Internet)

Once again, it can be noted here that the *of* + *-ing* complement can denote both voluntary and involuntary actions.

### 3.2.4.2 Temporal and Control Effects

With regards to temporality, the temporal relations observed with "reaction" verbs such as *shudder* and *cringe* also hold with regards to *terrified*, *horrified*, *aghast* and *startled*. One observes a priorness relation when the *to*-infinitive fulfills the function of adverbial of time or condition, as in (349), where the complement event is felt to precede the matrix in time. With the *to*-infinitive in this function one can also have an impression of contemporaneity, whereby the complement event is felt to exist at a point in time corresponding to that of the matrix. Such is the case in (348) above. When the infinitive
does not fulfill the function of adverbial of time or condition, one observes constant subsequent temporality readings. Such is the case in (352)-(355).

As for the of+ -ing complement, one also observes constant subsequent relations. In examples (353)-(356), the events taking, finding, doing and breaking are all future potentialities.

With respect to control readings, one observes constant subject control for both complement types throughout the corpus. As can be seen in all the examples cited thus far, the understood subject of the complement corresponds to the grammatical subject of the main adjective clause.

### 3.2.4.3. Function of the Complement

The infinitive with terrified, horrified, aghast and startled, as already pointed out, can have two functions. On one hand it can function as an adverbial specifier of time or condition with respect to the main clause as a whole. In an example such as *He was terrified/horrified/aghast/startled to see them*, the infinitive event specifies the condition which inspires the subject's terror, horror or surprise. For horrified, aghast and startled the data suggests that this type of construal is more frequent in modern day usage. On the other hand, the infinitive can function in the manner already argued for the other verbs and adjectives discussed thus far, in which case it entertains a much closer syntactic relation to the main verb. In an example such as *He was too terrified/horrified/aghast/startled to look*, the infinitive event represents a possible actualization which feelings of terror, horror, or surprise make the subject unwilling or unable to move towards.

As for the of+ -ing complement, it functions as a prepositional phrase denoting the source of the subject's state. For example, in

(360) John is terrified of getting cut from the team.

(361) John is horrified of breaking down in public.
the events *getting* and *breaking down* represent the source of John's terror or horror respectively.

### 3.2.5 Chicken

#### 3.2.5.1 Definition and Complementation

The final adjective under study here, *chicken*, can be construed with both complement types. Although the British National Corpus contains no attested examples with either complement, a number of examples were found through searching the Internet. In terms of lexical meaning, Webster's characterizes the meaning of *chicken* as "cowardly; chickenhearted; lacking in necessary sternness." With the to-infinitive, the subject's chickenheartedness is what inspires reluctance or unwillingness to actualize the infinitive's event:

(362) There's a guy who comes in where I work and flirts with me, but he seems like one of those guys who flirts with almost anybody. I am too chicken to ask him out! (Internet)

(363) In 1989 two million face noses were sold at $1.50 each and a new button badge costing $2 was included with a picture of a chicken saying 'I'm too chicken to wear a red nose'. This price included a fine of 50 cents for not wearing a red nose! (Internet)

(364) This is typical of where I work too. People are too chicken to have a pop at you verbally, face to face and do it hiding behind emails and I work 3 feet away from some of these people! (Internet)

As for the *of* + *-ing* complement, the subject is viewed as having cowardly feelings with respect to the possibility of the *-ing* event's coming-to-be:

(365) I was kind of that way too – I was too chicken of getting bitten by them. But then they started warming up to me after a while. (Internet)
When a phone rings, about 100 volts, well, I think its 90 volts go through the line. I won't go into the details of what exactly that buzzer did to their line, but if you're interested, just go buy one and hook it up to your phoneline. Well, anyways, I never took it off their line because I was too chicken of getting caught ... and, well, 90 or so volts surged down the line and fried that poor old buzzer. (Internet)

But I've been shut in since February and continue to be so since I'm chicken of going out on my own so far!!!! (Internet)

With the adjective *chicken*, one observes that the -ing event can denote both voluntary and involuntary events.

### 3.2.5.2. Temporal and Control Effects

One observes constant subsequent temporality readings for both complement types in all examples with the adjective *chicken* in the corpus. In (362)-(364), the events *ask*, *wear* and *have* all represent future potential happenings. Likewise, in (365)-(367) the events *getting bitten*, *getting caught* and *going out* are also unrealized, future possibilities.

One also observes constant subject control. In all cases in the corpus, the understood subject of the complement event corresponds to that of the main adjective clause. In the examples cited here, the understood subjects of *getting bitten*, *getting caught*, and *going out* all correspond to *I*, i.e. the subject of the main clause.

### 3.2.5.3. Function of the Complement

It is held here that the *to*-infinitive functions as an adverbial specifier of goal in its use with *chicken*. For example, in:

(368) They were too chicken to jump.

here the event *jump* represents a possibility which the subject's feelings of chickenheartedness makes them unwilling to actualize. The infinitive then provides for a
perfective view of the event it denotes, while the preposition *to* is once again called upon to evoke the actual support as occupying a before position in time.

As for the *of* *+* *-ing* complement, it functions as a prepositional phrase denoting the source of the subject's fear. For example, in

(369) I am a bit chicken of going solo.

the event *going* represents the source of the subject's chickenhearted feelings.

### 3.2.6 Note on Too

Before moving on to the next chapter, a brief word is in order with regards to the adjective *too*. As the reader may have noticed, this modifier, which is defined by Oxford as "to a greater extent than is desirable, permissible, or possible for a specified or understood purpose," has been present in many of the examples cited with the infinitive construction while it has rarely appeared with the *of* *+* *-ing*. An analysis of the four most frequent adjectives in the British National Corpus reveals a strong tendency in favour of *too*’s construal with the *to*-infinitive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><em>to</em>-infinitive</th>
<th><em>of</em> <em>+</em> <em>-ing</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>too</em> <em>+</em> afraid</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>too</em> <em>+</em> frightened</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>too</em> <em>+</em> scared</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>too</em> <em>+</em> terrified</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3. Frequency Statistics on *too* in the BNC with *afraid*, *frightened*, *scared* and *terrified*

The other verbs for which data was obtained on the Internet also show that *too* is frequently construed with the infinitive and very rare with the *of* *+* *-ing*. A solution to this curious fact of usage will be proposed in the chapter which follows.


Chapter Four

Explanation and Conclusion

We can explain to the extent that we have understood. We can understand to the extent that we have observed. (Guillaume 1984: 69)

4.0 Introduction

The previous chapter focused on exploring in detail the meanings of verbs and adjectives of fear, their possibilities for complementation and observed temporal and control effects. Having done this, we are now in a position to address the two goals set out at the beginning of this study. These goals were to determine, on one hand, what conditioning factors underlie the speaker's choice of complement for verbs and adjectives of fear and, second of all, to account for temporal and control effects. The primary task of this chapter then will be to attempt to provide an explanation with respect to these goals using the three parameters laid out thus far: (1) the meaning of the complement, (2) its function, and (3) the lexical meaning of the main verb or adjective. We will also address other, secondary issues which have been raised over the course of this study and offer some prospects for future research before finally drawing the discussion to a close.

4.1 To-infinitive vs -ing: a Semantic Account

Of all the verbs under study here, only fear, dread and scruple have been seen to occur with both the to-infinitive and the -ing complement. The verb apprehend has been found to occur with this latter complement form only. Construal with the -ing can be explained by the fact that one can conceive of a fear, dread, scruple or apprehension as simply having a particular object. The -ing's event, which fulfills the function of direct object in such cases, represents consequently "that which is feared, dreaded, scrupled or
Construal with the *to*-infinitive, on the other hand, can be explained by the fact that these verbs can also be conceived as evoking a feeling negatively predisposing the grammatical subject towards actualization of a potential event. The bare infinitive provides for a perfective view of this event's actualization phase while the preposition *to* is called upon to evoke the movement required to go from disposition to actualization. As for the verb *apprehend*, an explanation for its apparent incompatibility with the *to*-infinitive can be offered by looking at its lexical meaning of 'anticipate with fear or dread.' An anticipatory state of fear can, as we have seen, be conceived as having an object to which the feeling is directed and is therefore quite compatible with an -*ing* direct object. Anticipation does not, however, lend itself very easily to being interpreted as a disposition which could prevent the subject from moving towards actualization – the apprehended event is generally seen as beyond the subject's control. The absence of the *to*-infinitive is therefore to be expected. We do not, however, wish to completely rule out the possibility of *apprehend + to*-infinitive constructions in light of the fact that the adjective *apprehensive*, which evokes a similar meaning, occurs with this complement form. The absence of any examples could be due to *apprehend*’s rarity of usage in its 'fear' sense in modern English. Only through continued observation of actual usage can the matter be settled.

With regards to the various reaction verbs in this study, none occur with the -*ing*. This is not surprising in light of the meanings that these verbs evoke (shuddering, trembling, cringing, etc.). Each denotes a specific physical reaction undergone by the grammatical subject as a result of some occurrence. Since it is the subject who undergoes the action, these verbs are construed intransitively and an -*ing* direct object is not called for. As for the *to*-infinitive, it has been observed that its syntactic relationship to the main verb can be of two types. On one hand, it can be construed as an adverbial specifier of time or condition which functions as a circumstantial with respect to the main clause as a whole. That such a construal occurs is not surprising in light of the meanings which verbs such as *shudder* and *tremble* evoke: they are readily conceivable as reactions set off by a cause or preceding condition. In addition to being construed with an adverbial of time or condition, the verbs *shudder, shiver, tremble* and *quiver* have also been observed to occur with an infinitive which specifies a potential event the subject is prevented from
actualizing. Here shuddering, shivering, trembling and quivering are conceived not as reactions, but rather as symptoms of emotional dispositions preventing actualization of the bare infinitive's event. The preposition to is called for to evoke the support as occupying a before-position in time with respect to this event's actualization phase.

The explanation applied to verbs of fear in terms of their construal with the to-infinitive can also be used to explain this complement's occurrence with adjectives of fear. As has been demonstrated, each adjective under study here can be conceived as a feeling negatively predisposing the grammatical subject towards actualization of the infinitive's event. Once again, the preposition to is called upon to represent the relationship between the subject and the bare infinitive's event in time; that is, the former is viewed as occupying a position which precedes the latter. The adjectives terrified, horrified, aghast and startled also occur with an infinitive which functions as an adverbial of time or condition. Here, due to the more 'reactive' nature of their lexical meaning these adjectives can also denote reactions arising from actualization of the infinitive's event, rather than feelings preventing the subject from moving towards its actualization.

With regards to the of + -ing complement, it has been found to occur with all adjectives with the exception of aghast and startled. Construal with this complement can be explained by the fact that one can conceive of a feeling of fear, fright, terror, cowardliness, etc. as having a specific source or origin. The -ing provides for a holistic view of the event's interiority, while the preposition of is called upon to represent the event as the source of the subject's fear, fright, terror or cowardliness. Thus, just as one can conceive of a substantive as denoting a source of fear in a sentence such as I am afraid of large dogs, so too can one conceive of an event in the same manner. The incompatibility of aghast and startled with of + -ing remains somewhat of a problem. Both are evocative of momentary reactions (cf. *I am aghast/startled of dogs), which might explain why they only occur with the infinitive as an adverbial of time or condition in so-called "infinitive of reaction" constructions. However, further reflection is needed in order to confirm this hypothesis.
4.2. Explanation of Temporal Effects

With regards to temporality, the analysis has shown that the infinitive manifests constant subsequent temporality readings when it fulfills the function of specifier of a potentially realizable event. Taking into account the relation between the bare infinitive and the preposition to allows one to account for the stability of this relation: since the former represents the endpoint of a movement and the latter denotes the movement in time required to get to this endpoint from the main verb, one will naturally be left with an impression of temporal subsequence. Temporal subsequence is not the case however when the infinitive fulfills the function of adverbial of time or condition. Taking into account once again the function of the to-infinitive allows one to account for this fact: since the infinitive represents the condition for the existence of the reaction expressed in the main verb or adjective, an impression of subsequence will not be possible, as a cause naturally must precede its effect, or at least exist at the moment at which the effect is produced. Two temporal impressions are therefore possible, as pointed out in reference to the following two examples cited earlier:

(370) She shuddered to find a great crimson monster following closely after.

(371) She shuddered to see his discoloured teeth.

In (370), the action-like nature of the complement event find gives rise to a feeling of priorness, where the finding is felt to precede the shuddering in time. In (371), the durative nature of the stative event see gives rise to an impression of contemporaneity, where the seeing is felt to co-exist with the shuddering in time.

As for temporality with the -ing, on the whole one observes a relation of subsequence between the main verb and complement event with the verbs examined in this study. Such is the case in the following:

(372) I am dreading going back to work.
I fear losing my job.

That temporal relations come into play at all is a result of the interaction between the meaning of the -ing, its function, and the meaning evoked by the main verb. In (372) the holistic view of the event going back to work is represented as 'that which is dreaded.' Since dreading in this case means 'to look forward to with fear' and one normally looks forward to a future unrealized event, this sequence will yield an impression of subsequence. In (373), the holistic view of the event losing my job is represented as 'that which is feared.' Since fear in this case means 'consider, expect, or anticipate with feelings of alarm, foreboding, or solicitude' and one normally considers, expects or anticipates potential future events, the resulting impression will be one of subsequence. The same explanation can be made for the verbs scruple and apprehend. As scruple evokes the idea of 'have doubts about' or 'question' and one usually has doubts or questions about an event before it is actualized, subsequence will be the resulting expressive effect. Apprehend evokes the meaning 'to anticipate with fear or dread' or 'to be fearful concerning' and since one anticipates an event before its actualization, subsequence will be the natural temporal impression with this verb.

While subsequent temporality readings appear to be the most common, in some cases an impression of simultaneity, whereby the complement event is felt to coincide with the main verb in time, is possible. Such has been seen to be the case with dread, fear, and scruple:

(374) The clock makes sharp distinct ticking noises from where it's attached to the wall; water drips in the kitchen sink. This is my haven and at this exact moment I dread being here. Silent time stretches out as I breathe. Amy breathes. We breathe in silence together.

(375) I love NYC. I can't leave it. My life is now here. I am angry that I fear being here when stuff like this happens.

(376) I could add to this, that from his Company and his usual Discourse, he does not scruple being thought an abandoned Man.
One notices in each of these cases that the event denoted by the -ing is durative in nature and felt to be ongoing at the moment of speaking. The presence of words such as at this exact moment and here in the majority of examples certainly serves to bring out these impressions. Here the impressions of simultaneity can once again be explained using the parameters stated above. In each case the holistic view of the -ing's event simply represents 'that which is dreaded, feared, or scrupled.' Since the feeling of fear expressed by the main verb is conceived by the speaker as arising at a point in time corresponding to the feared event's duration, one is left with a temporal impression of simultaneity. Interestingly enough, no examples of contemporaneity have been observed with the verb apprehend. This is not surprising given its meaning of 'anticipate with fear or dread.' Indeed, it is difficult to conceive of anticipation as arising at a point in time other than before the apprehended event's duration.

As for temporality with the of+ -ing complement, on the whole one also observes a subsequent temporality relation:

(377) She was afraid/scared/frightened/fearful/apprehensive/terrified/horrified/chicken of doing it.

That temporal relations come into play at all can once again be accounted for by looking at the interaction between the various elements, in this case the meaning of the -ing, the of+ -ing phrase's function, and the meaning of the main adjective in question. In (377), the holistic view of the event 'doing' is represented, through its relation to the preposition of, as a source specifier; that is, it serves to specify the source of the subject's feeling of fear. As one normally is afraid/scared/frightened/etc. of an event before one is actually involved in it, one will naturally be left with a temporal impression of subsequence. While this seems to be the most common temporal effect, simultaneity has also been observed in the case of afraid, scared, frightened, fearful and apprehensive:

(378) 82% believe our society is increasingly violent. 49% of you are more afraid of driving alone in the dark than you used to be.
(379) He looked at me for the first time when I said this. I think you ought to be at home yourself, he answered. Do you live near here? In that house over there, I said, and I'm not at all afraid of being out at night.

(380) You know how I've mentioned a thousand times that I'm scared of living here and that's because of "the something" that lives in my house; or probably in the whole street. Things are just too negative around here. And the city we live in is not safe anymore. I think it would be great for them to move and make a change, even if it's just for some time.

(381) Hi, I used to be very frightened of living here. In fact, I was thinking of moving. But I love the house so much I decided to stay. Whenever something happens the best coping mechanism I use is I don't dwell on it. I write it in my log and then don't think about it too much.

(382) Many of us still actually here do not want to be here, or are fearful of being here, especially in some villages or rural locations.

(383) Householders return home apprehensive of having been burgled.

What is common to all examples here is the fact that the complement event denotes a state. In examples (379)-(383), 'being' and 'living' are quite clearly states while the habitual action 'driving' in (378) is state-like. The impressions of simultaneity can be explained by calling upon the same parameters used above. In all cases, the holistic view of the -ing's event simply represents the source of the subject's fear, this source being a state which the subject is in at the time of this fear. Since the feeling of fear expressed by the main adjective is conceived by the speaker as arising during the event's existence, a temporal impression of simultaneity is the result.

4.3 Explanation of Control Effects

With regards to control, subject control has been observed to be the case in all the examples in the corpus with the to-infinitive. In cases where the infinitive denotes a potential event which the subject is prevented from actualizing due to fear, the preposition to serves to evoke the notion of movement implicit in the main verb's event. Since this movement entails the presence of a mobile entity (i.e. the subject), naturally one will be left with a constant impression of subject control. In cases where the to-
The infinitive denotes the condition underlying the event denoted by the main verb, subject control is also to be expected. Since it is the subject who is involved in the condition, then quite naturally this entails that this same subject will be involved in the reaction.

Subject control has also been observed in the case of the -ing. This can be explained by the fact that an event which is dreaded, feared, scrupled or apprehended will normally be understood to be one in which the subject views himself as the actualizer. The same can be said in the case of adjectives. An event which represents the source of the subject's fear will also be understood to be one which he or she is faced with the prospect of carrying out.

4.4 Other Issues

One secondary issue raised in the Chapter Three was the notion of 'voluntariness' and 'involuntariness' with adjectives of fear and their complements. One observes, in the case of the infinitive, a constant effect of voluntariness in which case the complement event is understood to be one which the subject is in a position to voluntarily actualize.

This expressive effect can be explained as follows: since the fear in this case represents what prevents the subject from moving towards actualization of the event denoted by the infinitive, naturally one will be left with an impression that the event is voluntary in nature. As for the -ing, one observes that it can denote both an event the subject may undertake voluntarily or one that could happen without the subject's consent or control.

This can be explained by the fact that the of + -ing complement merely denotes the source of the subject's fear. Such a construction is therefore vaguer and open to being construed with an action one may either perform voluntarily or experience involuntarily. These reasons are what underlie the awkwardness of Bolinger's example cited earlier:

(384) The two cats were on the stump in the pool, chasing each other's tail, afraid to fall in the water but at the same time...

15 In cases of 'indirect voluntariness', as has been shown, the subject is in a position to voluntarily undertake action which will necessarily lead to actualization of the infinitive's event.
In (381), since the fear is not construed as what prevents the subject from moving towards actualization of the event fall, the to-infinitive is odd. Here falling merely represents the source of the subject's fear, hence the appropriacy of the of + -ing.

Another secondary issue raised in Chapter Three was the affinity between the word too and the to-infinitive. Since too evokes the notion of 'to a greater extent than is desirable, permissible, or possible for a specified or understood purpose' and the infinitive expresses a potential event, i.e. a purpose, towards which the subject is prevented from moving due to fear, the frequency of the modifier too with the infinitive is entirely predictable. With the of + -ing complement, on the other hand, which does not express an implicit purpose but merely the source of the subject's fear, terror, fright, etc., such a modifier is not as readily compatible. Curiously enough, in the majority of examples where too occurs with the of + -ing, there is indeed an implicit or explicit purpose involved in the context:

(385) The detached, amused part of Phoebe sometimes thought that her main feeling at these parties was a wish that she, and everyone else too, would dare to improve the quality of the wine, but they were all too self-consciously afraid of being mistaken for Yuppies. (BNC A6J 413)

(386) Things may change after April 2\textsuperscript{nd}, when retail prices are to rise by 60%, though most workers are too afraid of plunging the country into chaos to give the miners whole-hearted support by staging their own strikes. (BNC ABK 1513)

(387) Who are or have been alcoholic may, very understandably, be too scared of 'hitting the bottle' themselves to allow even a temporary license (BNC CKS 1244)

(388) McVeigh acted outside of legal channels before necessary. He also targeted those only of marginal guilt and killed a great many innocent. That makes him willing to act, but too chicken of getting caught to target real guilt. Did he want to get caught, I doubt anyone ever does. That's just nutty psychology. (Internet)

In (385) and (386) the implied purpose is "to dare to improve the quality of the wine" and "to give the miners whole-hearted support" respectively. In (387) the understood purpose is "to allow even a temporary license" while in (388) it is "to target real guilt".
4.5 Prospects for Future Research

This study has opened up a number of avenues which could benefit from further exploration and research. One such prospect is related to the notion of potential meaning in language. We have worked with one use of the preposition *of* in this study, which has been sufficient for comparing the *-ing* to the *to*-infinitive complements. To show how the various actualized meanings of this preposition mentioned in Chapter Two can be derived from one potential meaning with both lexical and grammatical content would aid enormously in understanding how it is that this preposition can be construed with certain adjectives and not with others. Such knowledge would also help to address the question of whether there are indeed "meaningless" items in language. The same study could also be undertaken for words such as *fear* and *dread* and the other verbs and adjectives under study here, which have been seen to evoke a variety of related yet slightly different meanings. If Guillaume's theory is indeed well-founded, each should be found to have a potential meaning with both lexical and grammatical meaning capable of explaining their apparent polysemy.

Perhaps the most interesting research prospect to come out of this study is with regards to the concept commonly referred to as 'modality' in English. Our search for examples of usage on the Internet turned up a number of uses for the verbs *fear* and *dread* in which they appear to behave as modals:

(389)  You might think the time for talk of 'early stages' and 'next two years' was probably two or three years ago – but never mind. Given what they've been up to for the last couple of years, I dread think what they've got planned if they're going to up the pace a little.

(390)  'Peacekeeping' is all about 'hearts and minds'. If 'semper fi' tactics had been applied to Northern Ireland, I dread think what the outcome would have been.

(391)  Yeah, I agree. The XBOX version WAS pointless. I mean, there really isn't much of a system out there any more that CAN'T run OFP. I just wonder what the hardware support would be like. Will it natively support SLi, Dual FX, and ATI's dual card setup? What will the time setting be that we'll be playing in (future, present, past)? I hope we DO see
something at E3. This wait sucks. I mean, look at HL2 though, that was one heck of a wait! So I guess Late spring 06 is reasonable – though I fear say it – might some time in the first half of 07 be even MORE reasonable?

In (389-390) one observes that *dread* evokes a meaning similar to 'don't dare' while in (391) *fear* evokes a meaning similar to 'dare say with fear.' Duffley (1992), in his analysis of the verb *dare*, characterizes its modal use in terms of its 'non-assertive quality', showing how its peculiar morpho-syntactic behaviour, i.e. the fact that it can be used as a modal, blend, or full verb, is conditioned by its meaning. Determining whether a similar approach could be used to explain modal use with *fear* and *dread* would most certainly make for an interesting study. Such an endeavour could potentially shed further light on our understanding of modality in English through the observation and analysis of what would appear to be the birth of a new modal auxiliary.

### 4.6 Concluding Remarks

Guillaume's word-based approach to language, which has led us to focus our efforts first and foremost on the semantics of the elements which make up the constructions under study here, has proven useful in terms of offering a clearer, more complete view of complementation with the *to*-infinitive, *-ing* direct object and *of* + *-ing* complements. Through careful consideration of the individual items which make up these constructions, we have been able to successfully account for the various expressive effects alluded to throughout this study and provide the underlying principles governing usage. The fruitfulness of the approach taken here gives us reason to believe that it could be applied to other English verbs and adjectives. Of course, only through further confrontation with other concrete data can this framework's explanatory ability be completely confirmed. Further confrontation of facts to theory will only serve to broaden our view on complementation and enrich our understanding of natural language.
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