Grammatical uses of 'no' + noun and the hierarchy of qualifications of SoAs

An Van linden,1,2 Lieselotte Brems1,2 & Kristin Davidse2

1University of Liège & 2KU Leuven

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1. Introduction

• Semiotic nouns *way, need, wonder, doubt* and *chance* in larger verbo-nominal patterns + relative or complement clause: locus of synchronic variation and diachronic change (Van linden, Davidse & Brems 2011; Saad et al. 2012; Davidse et al. 2014; Davidse et al. 2015; Gentens et al. 2016; Van linden & Brems 2017; Van linden & Brems 2018; Brems & Van linden 2018)

• **Lexical uses:**

1) *I was just thinking that there's no way to send a signal, no way at all. We can't even yell.* (WB)
2) *I'm romantic. Big boobs have a chance. Flat chests, no chance.* (WB) [have no chance]
3) *Dunbar's [castle] rose in lofty towers on a series of pointed rock-stacks which thrust out of the sea (...). There was no need for a water-filled moat* (WB)
4) *Whatever happens to be the worst crime is open to debate, but there is no doubt that what transpired in the Faroe Islands was the punishment.* (WB) (Davidse et al. 2015: 26, ex. (5))
5) *It was a wonder to them that I get to do all this stuff.* (https://our-story-begins.com/2015/08/)
1. Introduction

• Semiotic nouns *way, need, wonder, doubt* and *chance* in larger verbo-nominal patterns +
  relative or complement clause: locus of synchronic variation and diachronic change
  (Van linden, Davidse & Brems 2011; Saad et al. 2012; Davidse et al. 2014;
  Davidse et al. 2015; Gentens et al. 2016; Van linden & Brems 2017;
  Van linden & Brems 2018; Brems & Van linden 2018)

• **Grammatical uses: modal-attitudinal**
  6) *She had no way of knowing when Nick would return home.* (WB) (dynamic modality: absence of
     participant-inherent ability)
  7) *She had been weeping, he could see that, but there was no chance that she would cry now
     because the apartment was filled with Agency staff* (WB) (epistemic negative necessity)
  8) *There is no need to book a holiday before entry to this competition.* (WB) (dynamic modality:
     absence of situational necessity)
  9) *There’s no doubt, Peter Mandelson is a disaster.* (WB) (Davidse et al. 2015: 25, ex. (1))
     (epistemic: certainty)
 10) *It’s no wonder Norwegians hunt whale. There’s nothing else left to catch.* (WB) (mirativity)
1. Introduction

Aims/questions of today’s talk:

• (availability of) structural variants for both “lexical” vs. “grammatical” uses?
  • CTP-clauses
    • Full CTP-clauses
    • Elliptical variants of CTP-clauses
  • Adverbials
    • Disjunct adverbials
    • Anaphoric adverbials

• Types of grammatical meanings? Correlation with formal type of complement?
• Syntagmatic analysis of “lexical” vs. “grammatical” uses
• Method: corpus-based, drawing on previous studies, but no quantitative analyses

➔ Programmatic paper
Outline

1. Introduction
2. Types of uses & availability of structural variants
3. Types of grammatical uses & types of formal complements
4. Towards a syntagmatic analysis
5. Conclusion
2. Types of uses & availability of structural variants

2.1 Lexical uses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Structural type</th>
<th>Complement type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1  <em>there's no way to send a signal, no way at all.</em> (WB)</td>
<td>Full CTP-clause (impersonal)</td>
<td><em>To</em>-infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2  <em>In one study, men were asked to imagine that they had the possibility of forcing sex on someone else against her will when there was no chance that they would get caught, no chance that anyone would find out, no risk of disease.</em> (WB)</td>
<td>elliptical</td>
<td><em>That</em>-clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3  <em>There was no need for a water-filled moat.</em> (WB)</td>
<td>Full CTP-clause (impersonal)</td>
<td><em>For</em>-PP (entity-NP)</td>
</tr>
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<td>4  <em>there is no doubt that what transpired in the Faroe Islands was the punishment.</em> (WB)</td>
<td>Full CTP-clause (impersonal)</td>
<td><em>That</em>-clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5  <em>It was a wonder to them that I get to do all this stuff.</em> (IC)</td>
<td>Full CTP-clause (impersonal)</td>
<td><em>That</em>-clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6  <em>No need for a car. It is very close to the theatre.</em> (WB)</td>
<td>Elliptical CTP-clause</td>
<td><em>For</em>-PP (entity-NP)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Types of uses & availability of structural variants

2.1 Lexical uses

• Availability of structural variants?

CTP-clauses

Full CTP-clauses ✓

Elliptical variants of CTP-clauses ✓

Adverbials

Disjunct adverbials X

Anaphoric adverbials X
2. Types of uses & availability of structural variants

2.2 Grammatical uses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples: FULL CTP-clause</th>
<th>Complement type</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 She had no way of knowing when Nick would return home. (WB)</td>
<td>of-gerundial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 but there was no chance that she would cry now because the apartment was filled with Agency staff (WB)</td>
<td>That-clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 There is no need to book a holiday before entry to this competition. (WB)</td>
<td>to-infinitive</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 There’s no doubt, Peter Mandelson is a disaster. (WB)</td>
<td>That-clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 It’s no wonder Norwegians hunt whale. There’s nothing else left to catch. (WB)</td>
<td>That-clause</td>
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2. Types of uses & availability of structural variants

2.2 Grammatical uses

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<th>Examples: Elliptical CTP-clause</th>
<th>Complement type</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 that's bound to work, no need to test that, such a simple change. (WB)</td>
<td>to-infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 No doubt that these countries have better health services than we do (chiefly because they put more money into theirs) - and no doubt different systems can learn from each other. (WB)</td>
<td>That-clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Philip distrusted people, and did not like to delegate. No wonder that he dealt with up to 400 documents a day. (WB)</td>
<td>That-clause</td>
</tr>
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</table>
2. Types of uses & availability of structural variants

2.2 Grammatical uses

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Examples: Anaphoric adverbial?</th>
<th>Paraphrase</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1</strong> “I should bloody kill you, Quinn.” “You could, but I hope you won’t. <em>No need, Zack.</em>” (WB)</td>
<td>[no need to kill me] → no adverbial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2</strong> “You are sorry that I saw you, <em>no doubt,</em>” I answered, coldly. (CLMETEV)</td>
<td>[no doubt you are sorry that I saw you]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3</strong> “They didn't touch the wine or flowers.” “Yeah, but with a wine cellar like theirs, <em>no wonder!</em> Great place.” (WB)</td>
<td>[no wonder they did not touch the wine or flowers]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4</strong> “How much are you paying?” “How about half a million dollars?” “<em>No chance.</em> He's gotta live on it for the rest of his life, and his family's.” “Okay, three million.” (WB)</td>
<td>[no chance I will accept this proposal of half a million dollars]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Types of uses & availability of structural variants

### 2.2 Grammatical uses

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples: Disjunct adverbials?</th>
<th>Paraphrase</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1</strong> NO EXAMPLES for <em>no need</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2</strong> He puts it down to the greater trouble he had taken to make all his men use wild celery and other herbs in New Zealand, and <em>no doubt this had its effect</em>; but one cannot but suspect that the constant care on his part to keep the ship clean and sweet below had much to do with it. (CLMETEV)</td>
<td>[there is no doubt this had its effect]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3</strong> <em>No wonder</em> model Sophie Dahl has health problems if she has dieted down from size 16 to size 8. (WB)</td>
<td>[It is no wonder Sophie ...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4</strong> <em>My coffee is always heavily laced with cream and sugar. Mother takes hers black. .... “No chance I'll get the wrong cup.”</em> (WB) [low frequency 7/248 cases in WB]</td>
<td>[there is no chance I’ll get the wrong cup]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Types of uses & availability of structural variants

2.2 Grammatical uses

• Availability of structural variants?

CTP-clauses

Full CTP-clauses

✓

Elliptical variants of CTP-clauses

✓

Adverbials

Disjunct adverbials

✓/X

Anaphoric adverbials

✓/X
3. Types of grammatical uses & types of formal complements

• **Mirativity**: assess the proposition (presupposed true) as ‘not surprising’ (cf. DeLancey 2001)

(1) *It’s no wonder* Norwegians hunt whale. *There’s nothing else left to catch.* (WB)

• **Epistemic modality**: speaker’s (or someone else’s) assessment of a tensed SoA in terms of likelihood (Palmer 1979: ch. 3, 2001: 24–35; Van der Auwera and Plungian 1998: 81; Nuyts 2006: 6)

(2) *but there was no chance* that she would cry now because the apartment was filled with Agency staff (WB) [certain that she would not cry]

(3) *They* may dream of a theocratic US, but there is *no chance* of this coming about. (WB)
3. Types of grammatical uses & types of formal complements

- **Dynamic modality**: generally defined in terms of (Palmer 1979: 3–4, Nuyts 2005, 2006): abilities/possibilities, or needs/necessities; inherent in participants of actions, or in situations (SoA-internal); no attitudinal assessment (i.e., no speaker attitude)

(1) *She had no way of knowing when Nick would return home.* (WB) (dynamic modality: absence of participant-inherent ability)

(2) *The sting that followed upon the striking of his fingers against his leg ceased so quickly that he was startled. He had had no chance to take a bite of biscuit.* (WB)

- **Dynamic with deontic inference**: Permission/obligation & desirability of (potential) SoA (Nuyts et al. 2010; Van linden 2012)

(3) *It would have given access to the institutions' expertise who would have been able to advise President Gorbachov on his programme to convert the Soviet Union from a centrally planned economy to a market orientated one. But there would have been no chance of loans from the institutions -- they are restricted to full members.* (WB)
3. Types of grammatical uses & types of formal complements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of grammatical meaning</th>
<th>That-clause</th>
<th>Of-gerundial</th>
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<tr>
<td>Mirative appraisal</td>
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<td>✗</td>
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3. Types of grammatical uses & types of formal complements

Relation to hierarchy of qualifications of States of Affairs (Nuyts 2009):

- cognitive-functional approach
- qualifications are hierarchically ordered in terms of their relative semantic scope (basic dimension of human perception and conceptualization)
- performative vs. descriptive use of attitudinal categories

Hierarchy reflects layers in functional analysis of the clause
# Hierarchy of qualifications of SoAs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>&gt; evidentiality</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>(2)</td>
<td>&gt; time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>&gt; quantificational aspect (frequency and dynamic modality)</td>
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<td>&gt; (parts of the) State of Affairs</td>
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**Figure 1: Hierarchy of qualifications of SoAs (Nuyts 2005: 20)**

- (1) attitudinal categories: involve *hic et nunc* commitment of the speaker (perf vs. descr)
- (2) situating categories: situate the SoA
- (3) SoA-related categories: are part of the predicated SoA

→ basic principles of human perception and conceptualization

**One commitment per clause:** only one performative attitudinal expression per clause
(limits of our attention)
Hierarchy of qualifications of SoAs

Mirativity: qualification of PROPOSITION rather than SoA

(1) > evidentiality
  > epistemic (performative) modality attitudinal: tensed SoA (thesis)
  > deontic (performative) modality attitudinal: tenseless SoA

(2) > time
  > space (not included in Nuyts 2009: 156)
  > quantificational aspect (frequency and dynamic modality)

(3) > phasal aspect/qualificational aspect (inchoative-progressive-completive)
  > (parts of the) State of Affairs

Figure 1: Hierarchy of qualifications of SoAs (Nuyts 2005: 20)

(1) **attitudinal** categories: involve *hic et nunc* commitment of the speaker (perf vs. descr)
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→ Qualifications that apply to tensed SoAs or propositions: *to*-infinitives are excluded (*to*-infinitives lack deictic tense marking and typically have no subject, cf. Bolinger (1967: 351-9))
4. Towards a syntagmatic analysis

4.1 Lexical uses

Complementation relationship: dependency (Langacker 1987)

(1) My kids got to see that my out-of-home life was far more complex and intense than they thought. *It was a wonder to them* that I get to do all this stuff. (https://our-story-begins.com/2015/08/) (Davidse & Van Linden forthcoming)

*It was a wonder to them that*  
MATRIX (head)  
Conveys emotional state

I get to do all this stuff  
COMPLEMENT CLAUSE (dependent)  
propositional content → factive complementation construction
4. Towards a syntagmatic analysis

4.1 Lexical uses

Complementation relationship: dependency (Langacker 1987)

(2) such preparations are used in certain cases of anaemia and even by some people who believe (though it isn’t proven) that it will prevent their hair from greying. *There is no doubt* that fluoride is necessary for the healthy formation and growth of bones and teeth [...] (WB) (Davidse & Van Linden forthc)

- **There is no doubt that**
  - MATRIX (head)
  - Conveys cognitive state

- that fluoride is necessary...
  - COMPLEMENT CLAUSE (dependent)
  - propositional content → construction of reported thought
4. Towards a syntagmatic analysis

4.2 Grammatical uses

Scoping relationship: tensed SoAs OR propositions

(3) *It’s no wonder* Norwegians hunt whale. There’s nothing else left to catch. (WB)
(Davidse & Van Linden forthc)

**It’s no wonder**  
Norwegians hunt whale

**MATRIX** (scoping unit)  
**COMPLEMENT CLAUSE** (scopal domain)
Conveys speaker attitude  
SoA/propositional content → scoping relation (McGregor 1997)

Scoping element overlays the domain with its meaning
4. Towards a syntagmatic analysis

4.2 Grammatical uses

VNPs analysed as secondary modal auxiliaries: Tenseless SoAs OR SoA-internal units → modification

(4) *He had had no chance to take a bite of biscuit. (WB)*

He       had had no chance               to take a bite of biscuit.       Head? Finite element (Halliday 1994)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>VP</th>
<th>Direct object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>had had no chance</td>
<td>to take a bite of biscuit.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

primary aux (had) ^ secondary aux (have no chance) ^ lexical predicator (to take)

Dynamic modality: non-attitudinal, situating meaning
5. Conclusions

• Semiotic nouns *way, need, wonder, doubt* and *chance* in larger verbo-nominal patterns + relative or complement clause: show lexical and grammatical use

• Grammatical uses: especially with negative determiner ‘no’ → different types of qualificational meanings (polar, modal and/or mirative meanings)

• Availability of structural variants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Lexical use</th>
<th>Grammatical use</th>
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<tr>
<td>CTP-clauses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>✓</td>
</tr>
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<td>Elliptical variants of CTP-clauses</td>
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<tr>
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<td>✗</td>
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<td>✗</td>
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5. Conclusions

Correlation between type of grammatical meaning, semantic type of complement & formal type of complement:

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<td>✔</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✗</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epistemic modality (tensed SoA)</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✗</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynamic modality (tenseless SoA)</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
</tr>
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→ Qualifications that apply to tensed SoAs or propositions: *to*-infinitives are excluded (*to*-infinitives lack deictic tense marking and typically have no subject, cf. Bolinger (1967: 351-9))
5. Conclusions

• Distinct syntagmatic analyses:

• Lexical uses: complementation relation (dependency); CTP-clause & complement clause are main units

• Grammatical uses:
  • Semantic type of complement: tensed SoA OR proposition: scoping relationship between complement clause & CTP-clause + complement clause
  • Semantic type of complement: tenseless SoA or SoA-internal meaning: modification

Hierarchy of semantic complement type:
SoA-internal > tenseless SoA > tensed SoA > proposition

MODIFICATION  SCOPING
References


• Brems, Lieselotte & An Van linden. 2018. No way and no chance as emphatic negative response items. BAAHE (Belgian Association of Anglicists in Higher Education) conference on intensity, University of Mons.


References


References


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• Van Linden, An & Lieselotte Brems. 2018. It was *chance’s* chance to become polyfunctional in the modal domain. Twentieth International Conference on English Historical Linguistics (ICEHL20), University of Edinburgh, 27-31 August 2018.