

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

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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

	Examples	Structural type	Complement type
1	<i>there's no way to send a signal, no way at all. (WB)</i>	Full CTP-clause (impersonal)	To-infinitive
2	<i>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(WB)</i>	elliptical	That-clause
3	<i>There was no need for a water-filled moat. (WB)</i>	Full CTP-clause (impersonal)	For-PP (entity-NP)
4	<i>there is no doubt that what transpired in the Faroe Islands was the punishment. (WB)</i>	Full CTP-clause (impersonal)	That-clause
5	<i>It was a wonder to them that I get to do all this stuff (IC)</i>	Full CTP-clause (impersonal)	That-clause
6	<i>No need for a car. It is very close to the theatre. (WB)</i>	Elliptical CTP-clause	For-PP (entity-NP)

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



Anaphoric adverbials



2. Types of uses & availability of structural variants

2.2 Grammatical uses

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

2. Types of uses & availability of structural variants

2.2 Grammatical uses

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

2. Types of uses & availability of structural variants

2.2 Grammatical uses

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

2. Types of uses & availability of structural variants

2.2 Grammatical uses

	Examples: Disjunct adverbials?	Paraphrase
1	NO EXAMPLES for <i>no need</i>	
2	<i>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 no doubt this had its effect; 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.</i> (CLMETEV)	<i>[there is no doubt this had its effect]</i>
3	<i>No wonder model Sophie Dahl has health problems if she has dieted down from size 16 to size 8.</i> (WB)	<i>[It is no wonder Sophie ...]</i>
4	<i>My coffee is always heavily laced with cream and sugar. Mother takes hers black. "No chance I'll get the wrong cup."</i> (WB) [low frequency 7/248 cases in WB]	<i>[there is no chance I'll get the wrong cup]</i>

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

Type of grammatical meaning	<i>That</i> -clause	<i>Of</i> -gerundial	<i>Of</i> -PP	<i>To</i> -infinitive
Mirative appraisal	✓	✗	✗	✗
Epistemic modality	✓	✓	✓	✗
Dynamic modality	✓	✓	✓	✓
(Deontic as inference with dynamic)	✓	✓	✓	✓

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

(1) > evidentiality
> epistemic (performative) modality
> deontic (performative) modality
(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)
 - (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)

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3. Types of grammatical uses & types of formal complements

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Mirative appraisal	✓	✗	✗	✗
Epistemic modality	✓	✓	✓	✗
Dynamic modality	✓	✓	✓	✓
(Deontic as inference with dynamic)	✓	✓	✓	✓

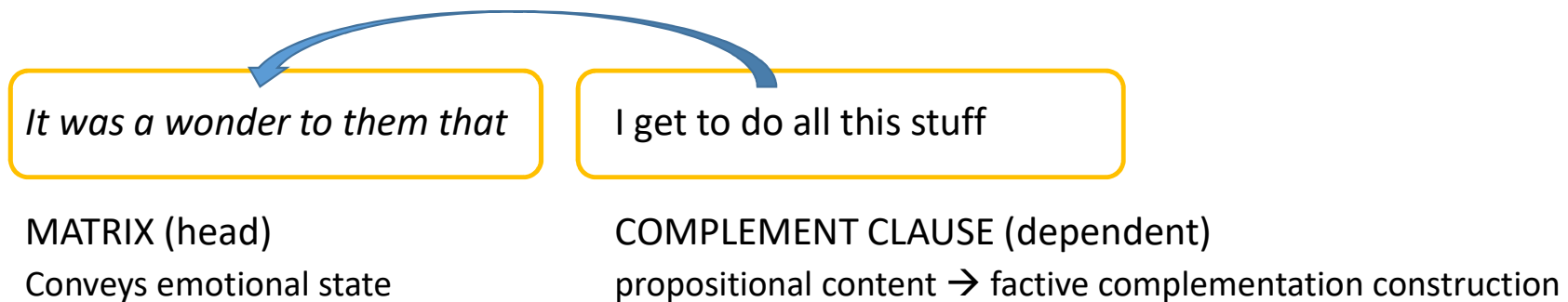
→ Qualifications that apply to tensed SoAs or propositions: *to*-infinitives are excluded (*to*-infinitives lack deictic tense marking and typically have no subject, cf. Bolinger (1967: 351-9))

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)



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

Scoping element overlays the domain with its meaning

MATRIX (scoping unit)
Conveys speaker attitude

COMPLEMENT CLAUSE (scopal domain)
SoA/propositional content → scoping relation (McGregor 1997)

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)

Subject VP

Direct object

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:

	Lexical use	Grammatical use
CTP-clauses		
Full CTP-clauses	✓	✓
Elliptical variants of CTP-clauses	✓	✓
Adverbials		
Disjunct adverbials	✗	✓/✗
Anaphoric adverbials	✗	✓/✗

5. Conclusions

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

Type of grammatical meaning	<i>That</i> -clause	<i>Of</i> -gerundial	<i>Of</i> -PP	<i>To</i> -infinitive
Mirative appraisal (propositional)	✓	✗	✗	✗
Epistemic modality (tensed SoA)	✓	✓	✓	✗
Dynamic modality (tenseless SoA)	✓	✓	✓	✓
(Deontic as as inference with dynamic)	✓	✓	✓	✓

→ 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



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