Third, in many languages certain heads require their Noun Phrase dependents to occur in a particular grammatical case (see Section 6.3 for more details). Case is a property of NPs which indicates their grammatical function in a phrase or a clause: in languages that have case, NPs are marked in different ways depending on what function they fulfil. Specifically, the NP dependents of verbs and prepositions are often required to occur in a special form (see Section 2.3.2 for discussion of English pronouns): the verb or preposition is said to govern the case of its dependent. For instance, a transitive verb has two arguments, therefore two dependent NPs: the subject and the object. These two NPs fulfil a different function from each other, and in many languages, the subject and the object also differ in form from each other: they are marked with different cases. So in the Japanese example in (4), the subject and object are marked in distinct ways, showing their different functions: the case markers are affixes on the nouns in Japanese. The NP which is the subject of the verb is in the nominative case, and the object NP is in the accusative case. Nominative can generally be considered ‘the case that subjects have’ and accusative, ‘the case that objects have’.

\[(4)\quad \text{Kodomo-ga} \quad \text{hon-o} \quad \text{yon-da.} \quad \text{(Japanese)}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{child-NOM} & \text{book-ACC} & \text{read-PAST} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘The child read the book.’

In this section we have seen various kinds of dependency: a relationship contracted between elements in a phrase or a sentence. These dependencies are (a) the selection of a specific type of argument by a head; (b) agreement; the copying of features from a head to its dependents; and (c) government by a head.

4.1.3 Summary: The properties of heads

To summarize, the main points made about heads so far in this section are:

- The head bears the central semantic information in the phrase.
- The word class of the head determines the word class of the entire phrase.
- Heads are normally obligatory, while other material in a phrase may be optional.
- Heads select dependent phrases of a particular word class; these phrases are sometimes obligatory, and are known as complements.
- Heads often require their dependents to agree with some or all of the grammatical features of the head, such as gender or number.
- Heads may require their dependent NPs to occur in a particular grammatical case. This is one form of a relationship traditionally known as government: a head is said to govern the case of its dependent.

4.1.4 More about dependents: Adjuncts and complements

The dependents are all the remaining words in a phrase other than the head. Traditionally, dependents are classified into two main types: adjuncts and complements.
Adjuncts are always optional, whereas complements are frequently obligatory. The difference between them is that a complement is a phrase which is selected by the head, and therefore has an especially close relationship with the head; adjuncts, on the other hand, provide optional, extra information, and don’t have a particularly close relationship with the head. Let’s first consider some adjuncts. In (5), the heads are again bracketed, and the phrases which are the adjuncts are now in bold:

(5)  a. **very bright** [v sunflowers]  
    b. [v overflowed] **quite quickly**  
    c. [v talks] **loudly**  
    d. [v sings] **in the bath**  

As adjuncts, these phrases in (5) are optional. The adjuncts provide additional information about such things as appearance, location or the manner in which something was done. Adjective Phrases such as **very bright** and Adverb Phrases such as **quite quickly** or **loudly** are typical adjuncts. Preposition Phrases (such as **in the bath**) are often adjuncts too. Evidence that the PP **in the bath** in (5d) is an adjunct comes from the fact that it can be replaced by any number of different PPs, using virtually any head preposition: **before breakfast, at the bus-stop, on the way to work, in the waiting room** and so on. The verb **sing**, then, can have as an optional modifier any PP that makes sense: it doesn’t place any syntactic or semantic restrictions on what that PP looks like. Such a PP is a typical adjunct: its form is not constrained by the head verb. Note that **overflow, sing** and **talk** in (5) are all intransitive verbs – the presence of an adjunct doesn’t affect the transitivity of a verb.

Example (6) shows some heads and their complements, again in bold:

(6)  a. [v admires] **famous linguists**  
    b. [v wondered] **whether to leave**  
    c. [v resorted] **to the instruction manual**  
    d. [a fond] of **chips**  
    e. [i inside] **the house**

Recall that a verb or a preposition which is **transitive** requires an object NP as its complement. **Admire** in (6a) is transitive: the direct object NP is the complement of a transitive verb. Some verbs are always transitive, such as **release** in *The soldiers released the hostages* such verbs must have an NP as their complement. Other verbs may be either transitive or intransitive: **so sing** for instance, can also be transitive, as in *Kim sings folk songs*. The preposition **inside** in (6e) is transitive: it has a complement NP. Like verbs, some prepositions are always transitive (beside, into) whilst others are sometimes transitive and sometimes not.

The head verbs in (6b) and (6c) aren’t transitive, because they don’t have objects, but they do nonetheless have complements: the clause selected by **wonder** is its complement, as is the PP selected by **resort**. Compare the PP that is an adjunct in (5d) with the complement PP **to the instruction manual** in (6c). The preposition in the adjunct PP could be almost any preposition (**in, on, over, above, beside**, etc.), but
in the complement PP we can only use to: you have to resort to something, and can’t *resort about something or *resort at something, for instance. In fact, the verb resort selects a complement PP which must be headed by the preposition to. Similarly, the adjective fond selects as its complement a PP headed by of. When a verb specifically selects the exact head preposition within a dependent PP in this way, it indicates that the dependent PP is the complement to that verb.

Complements have a much more important relationship with the head that they modify than adjuncts do. In English, and frequently in other languages, a complement typically occurs closer to the head than any adjuncts. Illustrating with dependents to a head verb, we get We met the new students yesterday but not *We met yesterday the new students, where the new students is the complement (the verb’s direct object) and yesterday is the adjunct. We can often use this preferred ordering of dependent phrases as a test for their status as complement or adjunct.

This section ends with two exercises which examine further the distinctions between complements and adjuncts.

An intransitive verb such as disappear doesn’t have any complement. We don’t get sentences like *The magician disappeared the white rabbit, since the verb can’t have an object NP. So why is (7) perfectly grammatical, even though disappear is followed by a Noun Phrase?

(7) The magician disappeared the following day.

The fact that disappear is intransitive doesn’t mean that no other phrase can follow it; we clearly accept, for example, The magician disappeared in a puff of smoke. The PP in a puff of smoke is an ADJUNCT. So the answer to the exercise is that the following day is also an adjunct. Despite being an NP, it isn’t the object of the verb; in fact, it’s not a complement at all. A good test for direct object status is the PASSIVE construction (see Section 7.1); a transitive verb such as admire in All our friends admired Mel can be passivized to give Mel was admired by all our friends. For this construction to work, the verb must have an object. We don’t get *The following day was disappeared by the magician precisely because disappear is not transitive and the following day isn’t its object.

**Linguistic convention:** The asterisk outside the parentheses *( . . . )* means that the example is ungrammatical without the parenthetical phrase, but grammatical if we include it.

This exercise requires you to figure out why the adverbs can be omitted in (8) but not in (9). By convention, we indicate that a word or phrase is optional by putting it in parentheses.
I wrote the report (carefully).
Kim practises (carefully).
They walked (carefully) on the ice.

You should treat sensitive people *(carefully).
You have to tread *(carefully).
You need to handle Ming vases *(carefully).

The answer is that in (8), the adverbs are adjuncts, whereas in (9) we have two verbs that take adverbs as complements. *Treat* in (9) has two complements: the direct object NP *sensitive people* and the adverb; *handle* has the same two classes of complement, object NP plus adverb. And *tread* has just the adverb as its complement. Note that a very small set of verbs take adverbs as complements.

These exercises show that knowing the word class of a phrase does not tell us whether it’s a complement or an adjunct: although NPs are often complements, an NP can be an adjunct within the VP, as in (7); and although AdvPs are typically adjuncts, they can, in fact, be complements to verbs, as (9) shows.

4.1.5 More about verb classes: Verbs and their complements

Verbs are the heads which select the most varied types of complement, and linguists classify verbs mainly according to what complements they select. This section is a reminder of the major sub-classes of verbs, and it also introduces some new sub-classes. The complements are contained within the verb phrase which the verb heads. In this section, I show the whole VP in square brackets, and the complements to each verb in bold.

- **Intransitive** verbs such as *gurgle, elapse, capitulate* and *expire* take no complement at all. They may, however, have an adjunct within the VP, as in *Lee [capitulated within three minutes] / gracefully*.
- **Transitive** verbs take an NP complement (the direct object): examples are *assassinate, rewrite, imitate, release* and *cultivate*.
- Often, a verb can be ambitransitive; either transitive or intransitive: *Lee [left Kim]* or *Lee [left]*.
- A number of verbs have the particular kind of transitive/intransitive alternation shown in *The sun [melted the ice]* versus *The ice [melted]*. Note that the ice is the object of the transitive verb but the subject of the intransitive verb. Other verbs of this class are *burn, sink* and *grow*, as in *The forest fire burned the trees / The trees burned; The torpedo sank the ship / The ship sank*.
- **Ditransitive** verbs have two complements, either an NP and a PP, or two NPs. The complements are separated by # in (10):

(10)  Kim [VP gave the chips # to Lee] / [VP gave Lee # the chips].
Give is one of a number of verbs in English that have both a direct object NP (*the chips*) and what is sometimes termed an indirect object (*to Lee*): in English, the indirect object really has no special properties, but is just a PP usually headed by *to* or *for*. As (10) shows, though, there’s also an alternative construction with two NP complements. Other verbs that behave like give are *send, show, write* and *buy*. Often, such verbs have an alternative classification as transitive verbs, so we get both *I wrote a letter # to Kim* and *I wrote a letter*.

- Some verbs also take an NP and a PP complement, but don’t have an alternation with an NP – NP complement of the kind shown in (10):

  (11) \[ \begin{array}{l}
  \text{Kim} \mid_{\text{VP}} \text{put the potatoes # into the pan].} \\
  \text{Kim} \mid_{\text{VP}} \text{exchanged her car # for a new bike].} \\
  \text{*Kim put the pan the potatoes.} \\
  \text{*Kim exchanged a new bike her car.} \\
  \end{array} \]

  - **Prepositional** verbs take a PP complement, shown in bold in (12):

    (12) \[ \begin{array}{l}
  \text{This cake} \mid_{\text{VP}} \text{consists of fruit and nuts].} \\
  \text{I} \mid_{\text{VP}} \text{applied for a new job].} \\
  \end{array} \]

  As noted earlier, the PP complement is headed by a specific preposition, the choice of which is determined by the verb: with a dependent PP, this is the main test for complement status. So you can only *apply for* a job, and not *over* or *against* a job. Some more prepositional verbs are seen in *resort to NP, rely on NP, glance at NP, look after NP and long for NP*. Adjunct PPs, however, generally aren’t headed by any specific preposition, and crucially, they are optional.

- Some verbs select both a direct object NP and a clausal complement, as in (13). The clausal complement to *persuade* can be either finite, *that they should leave early* or infinitival, *to leave early*.

  (13) \[ \text{Kim} \mid_{\text{VP}} \text{persuaded his friends # that they should leave early to leave early].} \]

  Verbs like *convince, allow, encourage, force* and *permit* are also in this category, although some of these only select infinitival complement clauses.

- Often, a verb can appear in more than one sub-class. For example, *remember* may take no complement at all: it can be intransitive, as in *I can’t remember*. But it can also be a transitive verb, as in (14a), or it can take one of three different kinds of clausal complement, either finite, as in (14b), or non-finite, as in (14c) and (14d). As usual, all the complements (in bold) are contained within the VP headed by *remember*.

  (14) \[ \begin{array}{l}
  \text{a. Chris couldn’t} \mid_{\text{VP}} \text{remember that long shopping list].} \\
  \text{b. Chris} \mid_{\text{VP}} \text{remembered that they’d left it on the shelf].} \\
  \text{c. Chris} \mid_{\text{VP}} \text{usually remembers to pick up the list].} \\
  \text{d. Chris} \mid_{\text{VP}} \text{remembered leaving it on the shelf].} \\
  \end{array} \]
The finite complement clause in (14b) has an overt subject they while the two different types of non-finite complement clause in (14c) and (d) have only an 'understood' subject, referring to Chris. Because there is no overt subject in these cases, some linguists regard such complements as less than clause-sized phrases, rather than a full clause. Here, I will assume they are clauses.

The non-finite complement in (14c) is an INFINITIVAL clause, containing the infinitive form of the verb pick up. In (14d), English has the non-finite -ing form of the verb in leaving it on the shelf. This is a clause type which Huddleston and Pullum (2002: Chapter 14) refer to as a GERUND-PARTCIPIAL clause; they argue that, contrary to what is normally proposed in traditional grammar, English has no distinction between a 'gerund' category and a 'present participle' category.

This section does not give a comprehensive list of verb classes, but it illustrates some of the most common sub-classes of verb found not just in English, but cross-linguistically.

4.1.6 Other heads and their complements

Heads other than verbs can also select different complement types. Prepositions, adjectives, adverbs, nouns and complementizers are discussed in this section. Again, their complements are shown in bold type.

- Prepositions have notable variety in their COMPLEMENT STRUCTURE, although less than verbs. We have already seen that some prepositions are always transitive, while others may be intransitive too. There are also prepositions that are only intransitive, such as nearby, as in She lives just nearby; we don't get *She lives nearby the bank. We can tell that nearby is truly a preposition by the fact that it co-occurs with the modifiers just and right (see Section 2.6): She lives right just nearby. A number of prepositions take clausal complements, as before does in Kim left before the bus arrived, where the bus arrived is an entire clause. And prepositions sometimes take PP complements, as from does in He emerged from under the blankets.

- Adjectives occasionally take an obligatory complement, but this is rare. For instance, fond and devoid both take an obligatory PP complement headed by the preposition of, as in fond of fruit and devoid of meaning; hence the ungrammaticality of *This speech is totally devoid. A much larger number of adjectives take an optional PP complement, again headed by a specific preposition; some examples are bad/good at spelling, sorry for your friend and free from any doubts. Some adjectives (such as sorry, happy, angry, glad, delighted) take an optional CLAUSAL complement, as in Kim felt that their friends weren't around. And adverbs sometimes have an optional complement too: unfortunately for me, independently from her parents.

We've seen so far, then, that verbs and prepositions often have an obligatory complement, and adjectives very occasionally do.

- The last major word class is that of nouns. Some complements to N are shown in bold in (15):
(15)  a.  J. S. Bogg is [\textsubscript{NP} a manufacturer of \textit{tyres}].
    b.  [\textsubscript{NP} Lee's belief in extraterrestrials] is misguided.
    c.  [\textsubscript{NP} Her assertion that Martians would land soon] astounded me.
    d.  They repeated [\textsubscript{NP} their demand for the library to stay open later].
    e.  [\textsubscript{NP} Our decision to leave] came as no surprise.

Nouns often take optional complements, but not obligatory complements. One exception is the noun \textit{denizen}; you have to be a denizen of somewhere, such as \textit{denizens of the local bar}. Complements to N may be PPs, as in (15a), of \textit{tyres}, or of \textit{the local bar}, and (15b), \textit{in extraterrestrials}. The specific preposition within these PP complements is selected by the head noun, and this shows that these truly are complements. Some nouns take optional clausal complements, as in (15c) and (15d). (15c) has a finite complement clause – \textit{that Martians would land soon}; and (15d) and (15e) both have infinitival complement clauses – \textit{for the library to stay open later and to leave}.

- The final word class in this section is that of \textit{complementizer}, a small, closed word class. A complementizer (abbreviated as C) is a word such as \textit{that, for, whether} which introduces a clause, as we saw in Chapter 3. The clause it introduces is the complement to the head C, and the whole phrase (complementizer plus clause) can be termed CP, a Complementizer Phrase:

(16)  a.  Mel said [\textsubscript{CP} that she was leaving].
    b.  [\textsubscript{CP} For Kim to go too] would be surprising.
    c.  I don't know [\textsubscript{CP} whether you should go / whether to go].

As the examples in (16) show, some complementizers – such as \textit{that}, (16a) – select a finite clause as their complement. Others – such as the prepositional complementizer \textit{for} in (16b) – select a non-finite clause. And some can take either a finite or a non-finite complement clause, such as \textit{whether} in (16c).

4.1.7 Summary: The main properties of complements vs. adjuncts

Here I give a brief summary of a vast topic, in order to help you to keep straight the major distinctions between the two kinds of dependent phrases.

(i) Optional vs. obligatory phrases?

- Adjuncts are always optional phrases. They have a fairly loose relationship with the head that they modify.

- Complements are often obligatory phrases, particularly the complements to verbs and prepositions. They have a close relationship with the head that they modify, and are selected by that head. Complements to adjectives are generally not obligatory, however (\textit{I'm cross with Lee, I'm tired of working}). Complements to nouns are essentially optional (our hopes for reconciliation, the decision to leave early).
(ii) Limited vs. unlimited number of dependent phrases?

- A given head may be modified by a potentially unlimited number of adjuncts.

- A given head selects a strictly limited number of complements. Most heads have just one complement (e.g. a transitive verb or transitive preposition each select one object), though two or three complements are also fairly common: \(\text{She put [the book] [on the shelf]}\).

(iii) Properties of PP dependents

- PPs that are adjuncts are typified by having a wide range of head prepositions (\text{Lee danced in the ballroom / on the carpet / under the chandelier / for an hour etc.}).

- PPs that are complements are typified by having a specific head preposition in each of their usages (\text{We glanced at the clock, She sticks to her diet, They came across a small hut}).

(iv) Word class of complements and adjuncts

- We can't tell whether a phrase is a complement or an adjunct from its word class. For instance, an NP is most often a complement (to a head verb or preposition), but NPs can also be adjuncts (\text{He left last week}). An adverb is most typically an adjunct (\text{Kim sings loudly}) but can be an obligatory complement, as in \text{Kim treats Lee badly}.

4.1.8 Is the noun phrase really a determiner phrase?

In Section 2.3.4, I introduced the closed class of words called \text{determiners} (words like \text{the, a, some, this, these}) which, I proposed, pair up with nouns to form a noun phrase. In this chapter, we have followed the traditional view that the noun is the head of the NP; under this view, the determiner is one of its dependents. Some linguists consider the determiner to be a particular type of dependent known as a \text{specifier}; we could consider this a kind of adjunct that has a fixed position within the phrase (in English, preceding the head noun). On this view, the other closed class words that pair up with adjectives, adverbs and prepositions respectively (see Chapter 2) are also specifiers: this covers words like \text{very} in the AP \text{very happy} and the AdvP \text{very happily}, and words like \text{right} and \text{just} in the PPs \text{right inside} and \text{just underneath}.

However, a different view holds that in fact, the determiner is the head of the 'noun phrase', so that this phrase should really be considered a determiner phrase \text{(DP)}. Under this view, the phrase has a head \text{D}, with an NP as its complement, as shown in (17): the head is \text{this} and its complement NP is in bold in (17a). The 'tree' in (17b) shows the same information as a diagram.

\text{(17)}

\text{a. } [\text{PP this } [\text{NP box of dates}]]

\text{b.}

\text{DP}

\text{D} \rightarrow \rightarrow \text{NP}