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Gerund versus Infinitive as Complement of Transitive Verbs in English

The Problems of "Tense" and "Control"

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When used as complements of matrix verbs as in (1) below, the gerund (*closing* in 1a) and the infinitive (*to close* in 1b) come into relation with the conjugated verb that precedes them on two levels.

- (1) a. Ahead was pure blackness; I tried closing my eyes; it made not the slightest difference. (British National Corpus 1995, G02 565)
- b. He tried to close them, but the eyelids were frozen in place, unable to move. (British National Corpus 1995, GIM 422)

The first level is that of the temporal relation between the events expressed by the complement and the matrix. In (1), the gerund differs from the infinitive in that its event is understood to be simultaneous with that evoked by *try*, while the infinitive denotes an event that is future and nonrealized. The question of the gerund or infinitive's temporal relation to the main verb is sometimes discussed under the notion of "tense" (see Stowell 1982). The second level concerns the identification of the realizer of the event expressed by the complement. In both (1a) and (1b), one observes what is called "subject control," with the agent of the trying being understood to be the same as that of the closing (this agent being understood to be the prospective realizer of the closing in the sentence with the *to*-infinitive). In some cases, however, the gerund occurs in contexts where the realizer of the matrix verb's event is not the same as that of the complement's. Thus, in (2), it is the letter writer who is the agent of "suggested" but a school board or local government (or perhaps even society in general) that is the agent of "saving money":

- (2) The letter writer who suggested saving money by taking kids out of school at 14 should have signed his letter "SIMPLETON" instead of "SIMPLIFICATE." (Brown University Corpus 1964, B19 0130)

This article is an attempt to provide a semantically based explanation for the behavior of the *to*-infinitive and the gerund as direct complements of matrix verbs as far as the notional categories of "tense" and "control" are concerned.

The Problem of "Tense"

Establishing the Temporal Distinction between the Gerund and the Infinitive

It has been a constant temptation in English grammatical analysis to define the distinction between the gerund and the infinitive as complements of transitive verbs in terms of temporal parameters. The gerund is thus held by Wierzbicka (1988, 69), for example, to evoke "sameness of time" with respect to its matrix verb. While this works very well for sentences such as *I enjoyed playing tennis with Mary*, Wierzbicka herself is aware of the existence of problem cases: she hastens to nuance her explanation by claiming that the *-ing* implies simultaneity only when time is "relevant," contending that it is not relevant with "atemporal semantic types such as facts (*I regret quarrelling with Mary last year*) and possibilities (*Hal considered becoming a karate instructor*). Time, however, would seem to be highly relevant with a verb like *postpone* in *He postponed calling a meeting for a whole month*; nevertheless, the *-ing* does not denote simultaneity here.

Langacker (1991, 445), using a cognitive grammar approach, falls into the same temptation, with prototype theory affording a theoretical justification for the existence of exceptions to the general rule. Starting from the statement that "temporal coincidence is the hallmark of *-ing*," he first weakens this to the claim that "the most one might hope to say for the entire class of such constructions is that there is always some form of temporal overlap between the main and subordinate clause profiles." Then, after evoking Wierzbicka's (1988) attempts to explain away the "many apparent exceptions to the characterization of *-ing* in terms of temporal overlap," he concludes that "one may still consider it unsettled whether all the uses of the complementizer *-ing* involve temporal overlap." This is no challenge to the theory, however, as "the issue is merely a matter of whether that value is universal to the category or only prototypical."

Langacker's (1991) suggestion that the value of simultaneity is only prototypical points to the origin of the problem with both his and Wierzbicka's (1988) analysis: they are based on an extension of the temporal value of the *-ing* in the progressive construction to the *-ing*'s gerundive use as verbal complement. That such an extension is unjustified—or at least perilous—can be seen by comparing the compatibility of the gerundive and progressive uses of the *-ing* with the word *after*:

(3) After reading the short story carefully several times, she wrote a six-page essay on it.

(4) *After she was reading the short story carefully several times, she wrote a six-page essay on it.

The incompatibility of the progressive construction with *after* should be expected if the *-ing* denotes simultaneity or temporal overlap; the compatibility observed between the *-ing* in its gerundive construal and the notion of posteriority, on the other hand, should be completely excluded if the *-ing* had the same temporal meaning here as in the progressive. This shows the unsoundness, in this case at least, of taking one use of a grammatical form as prototypical and deriving all the other uses from it by means of extension from the prototype.

The same sort of criticism can be addressed to those who associate the *-ing* with factivity, as do Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1971, 347). Their claim that the gerund is found only after "factive predicates" (i.e., those that presuppose the truth of the complement) covers more uses than the "simultaneity" approach, as it would also take in cases such as (5) below:

(5) He remembered giving her the keys.

However, this approach is still unable to account for uses of the gerund with verbs like *consider* (*He considered giving her the keys*). This verb is also a problem for Givón's claim (1990, 534) that the *-ing* "tends to be used primarily in complements of implicative verbs." Indeed, one can draw up a considerable list of nonimplicative verbs besides *consider* that all take the gerund: *imagine, avoid, escape, contemplate, omit, propose, recommend, and suggest*, to name just a few.

The complete picture of English usage for this construction is that when used as complement of a transitive verb, the gerund is capable of evoking an event that is temporally before (6), after (7), or contemporaneous (8) with respect to that of the main verb:

(6) I remember working with him on it.

(7) I am considering working with him on it.

(8) I am enjoying working with him on it.

Consequently, what must be explained is (1) how the same form can be used in all of these different uses and (2) where the temporal implications observed in the three sentences above come from. When the full range of usage is taken into consideration as above, the impossibility of taking the temporal value of one use as prototypical and explaining the others as extensions from it becomes fully apparent.

What may very well have contributed to the seeking of a constant temporal value for the *-ing* as a complement of transitive verbs is the fact that the infinitive, with which the *-ing* is often contrasted in these structures, does seem to manifest a temporal value in this function. Many authors have described the infinitive as expressing something "hypothetical" (Bolinger 1968, 124), as denoting "yet unrealized activities" (Dixon 1984, 590) or "potentiality" (Quirk et al. 1985, 1191). The Kiparskys assert that *to*-infinitive complements are found only after nonactive predicates (Kiparsky and Kiparsky 1971, 347-48), and Wierzbicka (1988) analyzes infinitival constructions as containing the notion of "wanting" in the matrix, which makes the infinitive's event an object of desire. One author has even gone so far as to propose that *to*-infinitives incorporate a future-tense operator: "the tense of a *to*-infinitive is that of a possible future" (Stowell 1982, 562). Thus, Stowell explains that his "future-tense operator" specifies that "the time frame of the infinitival clause is *unrealized* with respect to the tense of the matrix in which it appears," so that in (9) below, "Jenny has not yet brought the wine at the point at which she remembers to do so," while in (10), "Jim does not succeed in locking the door when he tries to do so":

(9) Jenny remembered to bring the wine.

(10) Jim tried to lock the door.

One is left puzzled nonetheless as to how a future tense can imply the actualization of the event that it characterizes, as the *to*-infinitive does in (9).

To cover cases such as (9), the notion of "futurity" must be generalized to that of "subsequence," but this still reflects the existence of a semantic constant of a temporal nature in complement constructions containing an infinitive. As argued by Duffley (1992, 114), the temporal subsequence implied by the *to* plus infinitive construction manifests itself in two different forms: as "subsequent potentiality," with verbs like *want*, *try*, and *hope*, which evoke the infinitive's event as unrealized, or as "subsequent actualization," with verbs such as *remember*, *manage* (*He managed to open the window*), or *get* (*She got to talk to him for a half an hour*), where the infinitive's event is understood to have been realized as a result of the realization of the event expressed by the main verb. Analyzing the *to*-infinitive as implying subsequence avoids the undesirable suggestion implied by Wierzbicka's (1988) approach that the infinitive event is an object of wanting on the part of the subject in a sentence such as *He deserves to be hanged* (the being hanged is simply depicted as prospective with respect to the deserving in this use). It also avoids the methodological problem of postulating a future-tense operator in the infinitive for a language such as English, which lacks a future-tense form in its verbal system.¹ Most important, however, this analysis covers the full range of the *to*-infinitive's uses as verbal

complement, whereas other approaches define the infinitive only in terms of its "subsequent potentiality" expressive effect. What is pertinent for our discussion, however, is that the *to*-infinitive does have a constant temporal relation to the matrix verb, although the nature of this relation has not always been properly characterized.

Unlike the *to*-infinitive, the *-ing* form, as seen from (6) through (8) above, is completely flexible with respect to its temporal relation to the event expressed by the main verb. What must be explained consequently is not a temporal opposition between "futurity" with the infinitive versus "simultaneity" with the gerund; rather, the problem is to explain why the *to*-infinitive involves temporality (the impression of subsequence), whereas the *-ing* does not.

Explaining the Temporal Distinction between the Gerund and the Infinitive

The Meaning of the Gerund

The answer to the problem of the gerund depends on two factors: the way in which the *-ing* evokes its event and the syntactic relation of the gerund to the main verb. Regarding the first factor, the *-ing* form has at least two different realizations in discourse, one corresponding to its use in the progressive construction,² as in (11) below, and the other to its use as a gerund, as in (12):

(11) She was reading the short story.

(12) Reading the short story took her two hours.

In its "progressive" use, the *-ing* evokes the interiority of its event as containing the realizer of the event ("she" in (11) above) at some particular moment within its duration, thus producing the impression of an event divided into an accomplished and a yet to be accomplished portion by the moment at which its realizer is situated. In contrast, in gerundive uses, which concern us more directly here, the realizer of the *-ing*'s event is not situated at any particular moment within the latter; this produces the effect of evoking the whole of the event's interiority as a sum of positions occupied or occupiable by the realizer.³ The fact that the gerundive *-ing* evokes the event as a whole accounts for the compatibility of the gerundive use with the word *after*, as compared to the impossibility of conceiving the *-ing* in the progressive construction with respect to this notion (one cannot be after an event that is not yet fully accomplished), as attested by (3) and (4) above.

Thus, in a gerundive use of the *-ing* such as (13), the whole of the reading is in question and not just some part of it:

(13) I remember reading that short story.

And if one says (14), what is being envisaged is also the complete event and not a partial realization thereof:

(14) I am considering reading that short story.

One can see, therefore, that while there is a common potential underlying the progressive construction and gerundive uses of the *-ing*, this potential is actualized in two quite different ways as far as the notion of incompleteness is concerned.

The Function of the Gerund

The second factor required to explain the effect produced by the *-ing* in the constructions under study is its syntactic function. It will be held here that the gerund is simply the direct object of the matrix verb in these uses. The function of the direct object must be distinguished from the nature of the element fulfilling this role in the sentence, as the latter can be played by several types of grammatical elements, among these a noun (15), a pronoun (16), a subordinate clause (17), or a prepositional phrase (18):

(15) Paul bought land.

(16) Paul bought it.

(17) Paul noticed that I was tired.

(18) Paul bought across the street.⁴

The grammatical function of an element being the relation in which this element stands with respect to other linguistic elements in the utterance, and the role of language being that of providing the speaker with an expressible conceptualization of experience, function must be defined first and foremost in semantic terms. The direct-object function can be characterized semantically as being filled by an element that designates that which is "[verbed]" in the event expressed by the verb of which it is the direct object. This allows one to distinguish between direct and indirect objects since the latter do not denote that which is "[verbed]" but rather that to which the entity evoked by the direct object is destined. Because the direct object evokes the entity represented as being on the undergoing side of the event, it corresponds logically to the subject of a passive construction with the same verb:

(19) Across the street was bought by Paul.

This is also related to the possibility of "pseudo-clefting":

(20) Across the street is what Paul bought.

Another criterion for identifying a direct object is the possibility of substitution by a pronoun in the objective case:

(21) a. I like Joe.

b. I like him.

Since English pronouns do not discriminate formally between dative and accusative, however, this criterion must be correlated with the semantic one: this allows identification of the pronoun *him* as a direct object in *I saw him* but as an indirect object in *I told him*. Moreover, the "passive transformation" criterion cannot be applied mechanically either, as there are certain lexemes that do not make much sense in the passive construction because of their lexical content, notably a group of stative relational verbs that includes words such as *have*, *possess*, *lack*, *fit*, *suit*, and *resemble* (see Quirk et al. 1985, 1177). The formal criteria must always be corroborated by the semantic role of serving to identify that which is "[verbed]" in the event expressed by the matrix. This, therefore, will be taken as the fundamental criterion for identifying a direct object, although the other tests mentioned above are useful as means of confirming the semantic relation that this function involves.

According to the criteria identified above, the *-ing* is unmistakably the direct object of the main verb in all of the uses where it is generally assumed to have this function. To take a typical example, in (22), *playing tennis on the new courts* clearly designates that which was "enjoyed":

(22) Everyone enjoyed playing tennis on the new courts.

This is confirmed by the possibility of passivization and of pseudo-clefting, as seen in (23) and (24):

(23) Playing tennis on the new courts was enjoyed by everyone.

(24) What everyone enjoyed was playing tennis on the new courts.

Anaphoric reference to *playing tennis* is also possible by using the pronoun *it*:

(25) Yes, everyone enjoyed it.

All criteria concur, therefore, to support the analysis of the *-ing* as a true direct object after verbs such as *enjoy*, *finish*, *try*, *like*, and *so on*.

The Semantic Effect of the Gerund as Complement

The semantic effects produced by the *-ing* as verbal complement can be fully accounted for by means of the two principles elaborated above: the *-ing* evokes the in-

teriority of its event holistically as that which is "[verb]ed" in the event expressed by the matrix. The relation of a direct object to a transitive verb is basically nontemporal since the role of the object is merely to identify one of the participants in the transitive verb's event. This can be seen from the following sentences, which show that a noun direct object does not stand in any particular temporal relation to the transitive verb's event:

- (26) I am considering a move to the United States.
- (27) I am enjoying this conversation.
- (28) I still remember that demonstration.

The same indifference to temporality, as we have already seen, is also characteristic of the *-ing*, which can express something that is future, simultaneous, or prior with respect to the event expressed by the matrix verb:

- (29) I am considering working with him on it.
- (30) I am enjoying working with him on it.
- (31) I remember working with him on it.

All the *-ing* does in these sentences is to identify that which is "considered," "enjoyed," or "remembered." Any temporal relation between the events expressed by the *-ing* and the main verb is simply a logical implication based on the latter's lexical meaning: an event that is remembered necessarily had to take place before the remembering; an event is enjoyed during its realization; considering something's realization implies that one has not done it yet. That temporal relations come into the picture at all with a function that is basically nontemporal is due to the verbal nature of the *-ing*, to the fact that it evokes an event (i.e., something that takes place in time just like the event expressed by the matrix verb); if the lexical meaning of the matrix implies some relation in time to its object, then a temporal implication is produced with the *-ing*. This does not occur with all verbs, however, and the *-ing* is not implied to stand in any sort of temporal relation to the main verb in a great number of uses. The list below gives a limited selection of some of these verbal notions:

- (32) Anyone who survives planning a wedding with a sense of humour intact and new spouse in tow could take a respectable crack at negotiating peace in the middle East. (Adams 1993, 273)
- (33) This includes checking the numbering and lettering of paragraphs for consistency throughout the document. (British National Corpus 1995, CBT 1441)
- (34) I shall now explain how I see the relation among the various properties I have introduced and will try to justify calling the intermediate properties semantic. (Hudson 1975, 3)

(35) Most people will deny being hooked until someone or something forces recognition. (Sunburst Catalogue of Educational Videos 1991, 54)

(36) The herbivores have special habits and equipment that preclude fighting over the same foods. (Augros and Stanciu 1988, 98)

(37) This generation came from a culture which really didn't prize having kids anyway. (*Time*, 16 July 1990, 46)

(38) Only in the mid-1980s, though, did researchers begin to apply Winfree's systematic approach to humans, starting with an elderly woman who did needle-point in the evening in front of banks of bright light. She reported feeling great, as if she were driving in a car with the top down. (Gleick 1987, 152)

(39) He described solving the housing problem as providing convenient housing for every citizen. (Sichting 1985, 127)

As direct object of the matrix verb, the *-ing* merely denotes that which is "[verb]ed," and it is the lexical content of the matrix that implies whether the *-ing*'s event is prior, contemporaneous, or subsequent to the event denoted by the governing verb or in no form of temporal relation at all to the latter.

The Function of the *to*-Infinitive Phrase

The function of the *to*-infinitive with respect to a matrix verb is much less easy to establish than that of the *-ing*. Rosenbaum (1967a, 1967b) distinguishes between *to*-infinitives that are cases of "object noun phrase complementation" (i.e., direct objects) and those that represent "intransitive verb phrase complementation." The former correspond to "instances where sentences are embedded in noun phrases" (Rosenbaum 1967a, 1) and so have "properties generally associated with noun phrase complementation," namely, passivization and pseudo-clefting, as in (40a) through (40c):

- (40) a. Everyone preferred to remain silent.
- b. To remain silent was preferred by everyone.
- c. What everyone preferred was to remain silent.

The latter correspond to "instances where sentences are embedded in verb phrases" and do not show these two properties:

- (41) a. John tended to play with his little brother often.
- b. *To play with his little brother often was tended by John.
- c. *What John tended was to play with his little brother often. (Rosenbaum 1967a, 15)

The reason for analyzing these infinitive phrases as verb phrase complements is theory internal: "If we postulate that the complement sentence is a verb phrase complement . . . then the erasure principle operates correctly" (Rosenbaum 1967a, 20). This terminology tells us nothing, therefore, about the actual function of the *to*-infinitive phrase in the surface structure of the sentence. However, it is significant that Rosenbaum is aware that in these uses, the verb is intransitive:

- (42) a. *I tended the ball.
b. *I tended something.

This means that the infinitive phrase cannot be a direct object here.

Rosenbaum (1967a, 121-23) classifies the *to*-infinitive with the verbs *begin*, *cease*, *continue*, *fail*, *manage*, *refuse*, and *start* as instances of intransitive verb phrase complementation and with the verbs *like*, *desire*, *intend*, and *want* as object noun phrase complementation.⁵ However, the category of noun phrase complements, where the *to*-infinitive is analyzed as the direct object of the matrix, poses a number of problems. Mair (1990, 105) points out, for instance, that "although it is convenient to regard the infinitival complements of the attempt-class of verbs [i.e., monotransitives] as objects, matrix verbs cannot be passivized in the normal way":

- (43) a. She attempted/wanted/decided to ask a question.
b. *To ask a question was attempted/wanted/decided by her.

The same sentiment is expressed by Matthews (1981, 181-82), who finds the passive of doubtful acceptability in the following:

- (44) a. Everybody wants to keep warm.
b. ? To keep warm is wanted by everybody.

Visser (1969, 1312) is also aware of the problem and proposes the ambivalent position that such infinitives "may be interpreted as operating as objects to the finite verbs, in spite of the fact that passive transforms are non-existent." The observations of these authors are confirmed by the absence of any attested examples of the passive construction with these verbs in either the Brown University Corpus or the British National Corpus.

On the semantic side of the question, Jespersen (1940, 192, 199) voices qualms about attributing the function of the direct object to the infinitive following verbs of intention (which for Rosenbaum are cases of noun phrase complementation) and surmises that the use of the infinitive here "may be simply derived from the use of *to* to indicate direction," which leads him to suggest a parallel with the infinitive of purpose. Indeed, analyzing the *to*-infinitive as a direct object in (45) would lead to

an artificial separation between this sentence and one such as (46), as far as the meaning-relation between the infinitive and the matrix verb is concerned:

- (45) Martin wanted to leave home.
(46) Martin longed to leave home.

Just as there is nothing conceived as being "longed" in the second sentence, one can argue that *to leave home* is not conceived as "wanted" in the first, even though the verb *want* is capable of being used with a direct object in other contexts. In both cases, the infinitive could be analyzed as expressing the final goal toward which the longing or wanting is oriented.

The position taken here on this question will be that while the *to*-infinitive phrase does have the capacity of being a direct object, in most of the cases under consideration in this study, it acts rather as an adverbial specifier of the goal or result. This analysis is based on the fact that when the *to*-infinitive phrase has the clearly nominal functions of subject or direct object, it can be evoked anaphorically both by means of the preposition *to* and of the pronouns *that/it*:

- (47) a. Not to participate would be foolish.
b. Not to would be foolish.
b. That/it would be foolish.
(48) a. I consider not to participate a bad idea.⁶
b. I consider not to a bad idea.
c. I consider that a bad idea.

However, with most of the verbs that Rosenbaum treats as noun phrase objects, pronominal anaphor by means of *that/it* is impossible and only *to* will do:

- (49) a. I tried not to show it.
b. I tried not to.
c. *I tried that/it.
(50) a. I wanted to attend the meeting.
b. I wanted to.
c. *I wanted that/it.⁷

Significantly enough, with Rosenbaum's showcase example *prefer*, pronominal anaphor does seem more acceptable:

- (51) a. John prefers not to drink alcohol.
b. John prefers not to.
c. ? John prefers that.

Thus, the only somewhat defensible case of the *to*-infinitive having direct-object function outside of structures like that in (48a) above is with the verb *prefer*, and even here this is debatable as there are no attested examples of the passive construction with *prefer* and the infinitive in either the Brown University Corpus or the British National Corpus.⁸

The semantic resemblance of the *to*-infinitive phrase in its adverbial goal-specifier role to a direct object does have a parallel elsewhere in the language, moreover, and this helps to cast further light on its relation to the matrix verb in the constructions under study here. Jespersen (1927, 252-72) points out that according to the message intended by the speaker, a prepositional phrase can sometimes be used to complete the meaning of a transitive verb rather than a direct object, in which case the verb is used intransitively. Jespersen gives a long list of pairs such as *to know something/to know about something*, *to guess the answer/to guess at the answer*, *to beg money/to beg for money*. What is significant for the present discussion is that in some cases, the nuance between the direct-object construction and that with a prepositional phrase is extremely slight. One such case is (52):

- (52) a. He craved pardon.
b. He craved for pardon.

With a forward-looking lexical notion such as "crave," it amounts pragmatically to almost the same thing whether one evokes *pardon* as that which is craved or whether one conceives it as a goal to be achieved toward whose attainment the craving is oriented. The semantic parallel between infinitive constructions (*He craved to be pardoned*) and prepositional phrase structures like that in (52b) is one of the reasons why it is argued here that the most plausible analysis of *to*-infinitive complements of the type discussed in this article is that they are prepositional phrases acting as adverbial goal or result specifiers.

This analysis receives further support from the fact that *to*-infinitive phrases can also be used to modify nouns (53) or adjectives (54):

- (53) His desire to be recognized was insatiable.
(54) He was ready to fight.

This function is perfectly characteristic of prepositional phrases, as can be seen in (55) and (56):

- (55) His desire for recognition was insatiable.
(56) He was ready for a fight.

Analyzing the *to* plus infinitive construction as a prepositional phrase allows one, in addition, to account for the fact that the infinitive is found after many verbs that can-

not take a nominal direct object but that can be construed with a prepositional phrase, such as *long* and *hope*. Thus, *to* plus infinitive in (46) above performs a similar function to *for* plus noun in (57) below:

- (57) Martin longed for adventure.

But if *to* plus infinitive is a prepositional phrase, this implies that it contains a preposition, something that some analysts would not accept, since they see *to* merely as an infinitive marker with no meaning of its own.⁹ As in the views expressed by Curme (1931, 256) and Rudanko (1989, 35), *to* is not treated as semantically empty in the analysis proposed here: it is seen as having the same basic meaning in its use with the infinitive as it does in its uses with nominal objects.¹⁰ It is *to* this meaning that we now turn, in an attempt to discern its contribution to the overall semantic effect of matrix verb + *to*-infinitive structures.

The Meaning of *to* in the *to*-Infinitive Phrase

The *to*-infinitive, it has just been argued, is a prepositional phrase acting as an adverbial goal or result specifier with respect to the main verb. This implies that the *to*-infinitive phrase is not in relation en bloc to the main verb as evoking that which is "[verb]ed," but rather that the preposition *to* defines the relation of the infinitive to the matrix, just as the preposition *at* defines the relation between the noun *purse* and the verb *grabbed* in (58) below:

- (58) He grabbed at her purse.

Since the basic meaning of the preposition *to* is that of movement leading to a terminus, in its use with the infinitive, this preposition evokes the event expressed by the latter as the end point of a movement.¹¹ The meaning of *to* is indifferent to whether the movement that it represents is seen as merely possible, as in (59) below, or as actually realized, as in (60).

- (59) I wanted to talk to Mary about it.
(60) I managed to talk to Mary about it.

All that *to* does is to evoke the movement necessary to get from the matrix verb's event to that denoted by the infinitive.

The Semantic Effect of the *to*-Infinitive as Complement

This having been said, the reader can probably already divine the explanation for the feeling of a constant temporal relation of subsequence between the infinitive

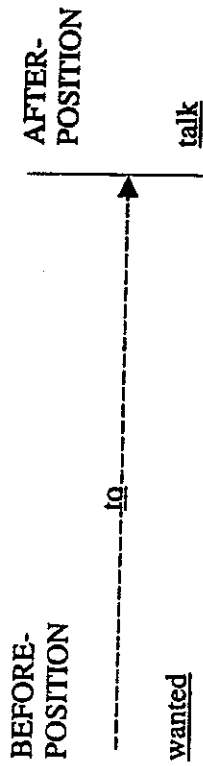


Figure 1: Infinitive Event Evoked and Nonrealized.

and the matrix, which has led some analysts to go so far as to posit a future-tense operator in the infinitive. Since the infinitive's event, which *to* presents as the term of a movement, is a temporal entity, this entails that the notion of movement denoted by *to* is construed here in terms of time. Consequently, the event expressed by the matrix verb is understood to constitute a before-position in time with respect to that of the infinitive, which is therefore conceived as an after-position with respect to the matrix verb's event. Thus, (59) above could be diagrammed in the following way (with the dotted line being used to indicate that the movement from the "before" to the "after" is understood as nonrealized in this use) (see Figure 1). And (60) could be represented as below (with a solid line indicating actual realization of the movement leading to the realization of the infinitive's event) (see Figure 2).

Most analysts have focused only on the first type of use, which explains why they define the infinitive as expressing something hypothetical, potential, non-tailed, or future. However, a complete view must also take into account uses such as (60), which show that the *to*-infinitive cannot be analyzed as containing a future-tense operator since in these cases, the sentence implies realization of the infinitive's event. Analyzing *to* plus infinitive as a prepositional phrase containing the preposition *to* accounts for all of its uses and can explain quite elegantly the impression of a constant temporal relation of subsequence felt between the events denoted by the matrix and the infinitive, an impression that is not present with the *-ing* since the latter stands in a nontemporal nominal relation to the main verb, evoking merely that which is "[verb]ed" in the latter's event. Herein lies the full explanation of the very different temporal implications produced by the gerund and the infinitive in complement usage. These semantic implications have nothing to do at all with the category of tense and, as I have shown, can be accounted for in a perfectly satisfactory way by a careful analysis of the meaning and function of the linguistic units involved in these constructions.

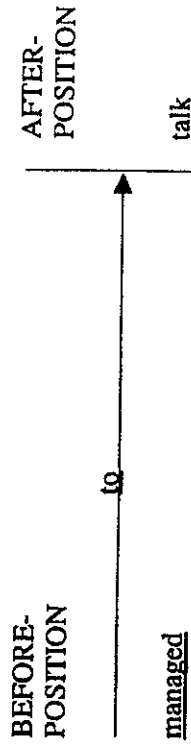


Figure 2: Infinitive Event Evoked as Actually Realized.

The Problem of Control

As recalled by Chierchia and McConnell-Ginet (1990, 247), even though infinitives and gerunds "lack an overt subject . . . they are undoubtedly understood as if they had one." Thus, in (61a, 61b) below, everyone understands that it is John's playing tennis that the speaker is talking about:

- (61) a. John tried playing tennis.
b. John tried to play tennis.

The problem of the interpretation of the missing subject (i.e., which noun phrase in the matrix sentence governs the infinitive or gerund) is known as the problem of "control."¹² The discussion here will be restricted to cases where the gerund and the infinitive follow the matrix verb directly as in (61), as constructions with an intervening object such as *John got Bill to play tennis* require determining both the function of the object and of the infinitive, a more complex task that will be left for future research.

Various approaches have been taken on this issue. Controller assignment has been explained in purely configurational terms by a minimal distance principle (Rosenbaum 1967; Chomsky 1980, 1981), as well as by means of thematic roles (Jackendoff 1972, 1974; Chierchia 1989), argument ordering (Bach 1979, 1980), distinct thematic-role and grammatical-function principles (Bresnan 1982), the abstract notion of "responsibility" (Farkas 1988), and the interaction between thematic-role constraints and binding theory (Sag and Pollard 1991). In all of the discussions around this topic, however, no one seems to have noticed a very simple fact that cries out for an explanation: when the *to*-infinitive is used as a complement of another verb, it always has the same "subject" as the matrix, whereas when the

-ing is used as the direct object of the verb, it does not. The latter fact can be illustrated by the contrast between (61a) above and (62):

(62) John recommended playing tennis.

In the sentence just cited, it is obviously not John who is understood as the proposed agent of the event "playing tennis."

The basic principle for the explanation of the variation between controlled and noncontrolled interpretations with the -ing form is to be found in Thompson (1973), who insightfully observes that it is the semantics of the predicate under which a subjectless gerundive is embedded that determines which reading is understood. Thompson proposes that "the subject of an activity gerund is interpreted as coreferential with a noun in the matrix sentence if it is embedded under a 'private predicate' (p. 382). "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" (Thompson 1973, 381). This category is said to include the following matrix verbs: *dread*, *consider*, *can't bear*, *prefer*, and *avoid*.

Although Thompson's (1973) basic principle that control is determined by the semantic content of the matrix verb is sound, the notion of "privateness" as a characterization of the element responsible for this interpretation with all verbs is inadequate. Thus, Thompson's own example of *avoid* does not correspond to this semantic category very well, as can be seen in (63):

(63) He barely avoided smashing into the telephone pole.

The event described by the matrix verb in this sentence belongs quite clearly to the sphere of publicly observable occurrences.

A good number of other nonprivate verbs also produce obligatorily subject-controlled readings with the -ing:

- (64) She postponed calling the meeting as long as she could.
- (65) We have delayed informing the president for too long.
- (66) You just missed seeing the prime minister ride by on a motorcycle.
- (67) We have tried lowering the price but they still don't sell.
- (68) Then he started typing away like mad on the computer.
- (69) He continued typing for six hours.
- (70) He finished typing at midnight.
- (71) He stopping typing for ten minutes to eat a bagel.

The type of semantic content that can produce the coreferential, "subject control" effect is therefore much broader than Thompson (1973) had realized.

In actual fact, the subject-controlled reading is the product of the logical interaction of the same three factors at work in the production of temporal implications—namely, the semantic content of each matrix verb, the grammatical meaning of the -ing, and the function of the -ing with respect to the matrix. In its gerundive use, as argued above, the -ing evokes the interiority of an event holistically without situating the realizer of this event at any particular moment within its duration. In addition, the event's actualizer is represented in the form of what has been called elsewhere a "generalized person," neither defined ordinarily as first, second, or third nor specified lexically as to its identity (see Duffley 1992, 121-22). This makes the -ing different from an ordinary noun in that, unlike a noun, it evokes a representation both of time (here the time contained within the event, which, following Hirtle [1975], will be designated as "event time") and of generalized person (the realizer of the event). Indeed, it is the presence of generalized person in this verb form that obligatorily poses the problem of control with gerunds, whereas this is not necessarily the case with nouns, even when the latter occur as complements of private verbs, as in (72), where the question of the agent responsible for the hairdo does not come into the picture in any way:

(72) I like the new hairdo.

The point of these observations is that the gerund has a certain number of clearly verbal semantic traits and so cannot be treated merely as a noun.

However, the function of the gerund in the constructions under consideration here is nominal. Whether or not the realizer of the gerund's event is understood to be the same as the realizer of the matrix verb's event is a consequence of the event expressed by the gerund being conceived as that which is "[verb]ed." Thus, if involvement in an event is enjoyed or dreaded by someone, the implication is that unless specified otherwise, it is the involvement in the event of the same person who does the enjoying or dreading that is in question. The speaker is free nevertheless to specify otherwise, as can be seen from (73) and (74):

- (73) Evelyn enjoys John singing that solo much more than Julio singing it.
- (74) Evelyn dreads Julio singing that solo.

Thus, while one cannot classify the verbs that produce obligatory control readings in one specific semantic category, the control effect can be explained by the logic of the interaction between the lexeme of the matrix, the grammatical representation of the event provided by the -ing, and the latter's function with respect to the matrix. Unless the realizer of the gerund is specified distinctly, it will be understood to be the same as the realizer of the matrix verb's event when the gerund's event is conceived as that which is postponed, delayed, tried, started, continued, finished,

stopped, avoided, or missed. An event represented as postponed or delayed by someone will normally be construed as something that the person was going to do himself or herself. One can only test whether some action will have the desired effect by performing it oneself (as a sentence such as *She tried hitting the ESCAPE key* illustrates). An agent that starts, continues, finishes, or stops performing some event will be understood to be the agent of the event started, continued, stopped, or finished. To avoid an event, as in (63) above, is to avoid carrying it out in spite of oneself.¹³

As for the verbs that give rise to a noncontrolled interpretation, this also can be explained by the factors evoked above. Such readings occur with the following verbs:

- (75) The psychiatrist recommended getting away for a week.
- (76) She suggested going to the beach.
- (77) He proposed seeing a psychiatrist.
- (78) I meant talking to her, not shouting at her.

In (75) through (77), an event that is recommended, suggested, or proposed is logically understood as something that is to be carried out by someone other than the recommender or proposer. In this respect, Schachter (1976, 216) points to the contrast between (79) and (80):

- (79) a. I enjoyed the beach.
- b. I enjoyed going to the beach.
- (80) a. I recommended the beach.
- b. I recommended going to the beach.

If the beach is represented as recommended by the speaker, then this obviously implies that it is for someone else than the speaker.¹⁴ As for the verb *mean* in (78), in this sentence, the *-ing* evokes that which was meant as an intended message, since an event represented as an intended message can only be taken as a course of action proposed to someone other than the emitter of the message, a noncontrolled interpretation arises here as well.

Regarding the cases where the construction matrix verb + *-ing*, taken out of context, allows both controlled and noncontrolled readings, this is also attributable to the semantic content of the matrix. Thus in (81), one cannot know without a context whether it is he or she who is being considered as the person supposed to move out:

- (81) If he mentioned moving out of her parents' house, she dissolved into tears.
(British National Corpus 1995, CR6 1160)

This is due simply to the fact that an event that is conceived as "mentioned" can be understood either in reference to the person who mentioned it (as something he or she might possibly do) or to some other person (as a suggested course of action for that person).

Some verbs even allow what Rudanko (1996, 35) has termed "NP_i plus" control, with the controller of the complement verb's event being understood to be a group composed of the referent of the matrix verb's subject along with one or more other persons. Thus, *I propose meeting the dean and discussing the issue* could be uttered in a context where the speaker is proposing that he or she and all the others present when this sentence is uttered meet with the dean. This interpretation also is allowed by the meaning of *propose* and the fact that the *-ing* has the function of direct object after this verb: it is perfectly conceivable for one to propose a course of action for the approval of others when one is going to be part of the group involved in the carrying out of the proposed action oneself. Indeed, (81) above could also be interpreted as involving "NP_i plus" control if the context was that of a boyfriend living with his girlfriend in her parents' house, proposing that the two of them should move into an apartment.

In some utterances, contextual factors can even override the interpretation normally suggested by the matrix verb. This is the case in (82) below, from a *Time* magazine article describing the struggle of a woman member of Jerusalem's city council to resolve the problem of breast-feeding her newborn son during working hours:

- (82) As a breast-feeding mother, she does not want her newborn son to go hungry. But when she proposed nursing one-month-old Yoel during deliberations, religious council members exploded. "She must be suffering from postnatal depression," said the ultra-Orthodox deputy mayor, Rabbi Nissim Ze'ev. (*Time*, 4 March 1996, 10)

An event that is proposed (i.e., put before the consideration of some other person or persons) is usually meant as something for the person or persons to whom it is proposed to consider doing, as in the non-subject-controlled interpretation that one spontaneously obtains from (77) above, or for the group to which the speaker belongs to envisage, as in Rudanko's (1996) "NP_i plus" control reading. However, in (82), an event that the proposer intends to perform herself alone (nursing one-month-old Yoel during deliberations) is proposed for the assent of the city council since the agent who wishes to perform this event requires the approval of her colleagues before she can carry it out in the council chamber.

In summary, then, one observes an indifference with respect to control with the gerund, whose realizer can be either coreferential or noncoreferential with that of

the matrix. This contrasts once again with the *to* plus infinitive phrase, which, when used as complement of another verb, always implies coreferentiality. One is reminded here of the difference in temporal impressions found between these two constructions in complement usage, where the *-ing* is indifferent to time and denotes merely that which is "[verbed]," while the meaning of *to* implies a constant temporal relation of "before" to "after" between the events expressed by the main verb and the infinitive. Could the meaning of *to* also be responsible for the constant subject control interpretation found with the infinitive, as compared to the variability of the *-ing*? This is indeed what will be argued in the final part of this article.

As with the *-ing*, however, not only the meaning of *to* but also its function must be taken into account to provide a full explanation for the semantic effects created. This will allow us notably to account for the noncontrol interpretation of the *to*-infinitive in what looks like a counterexample (pointed out by Schachter 1976, 232) to the overwhelming tendency of the infinitival construction to imply subject control when used immediately after a matrix verb. Schachter's sentence is of the type exemplified by (83) below, which should be compared to (84):

(83) John said to be careful.

(84) John tried to be careful.

In (83), the prospective realizer of the infinitive exceptionally is not understood as coreferential with the subject of *say*.

Closer inspection of this case reveals, however, that the *to*-infinitive phrase shows evidence of being construed as a direct object here rather than having the function of adverbial goal specifier. Unlike the infinitival phrase in (84), the phrase in (83) can be referred to anaphorically by a pronoun (85), as well as being amenable to pseudo-clefting (86):

(85) John said that!

(86) What John said was to be careful.

It is proposed here, therefore, that there is a difference in function between the *to*-infinitive phrases in (83) and (84) above, which is parallel to that between the two different functions of the prepositional phrase *across the street* in (87) and (88) below:

(87) John walked across the street.

(88) John bought across the street.

In (88), *across the street* is conceived as identifying the entity construed as "that which was bought by John." This means that the prepositional phrase is related en bloc

to the notion of buying as the patient of the verbal event (i.e., *across the street* performs the function of direct object). In (87), on the other hand, the preposition *across* presents "the street" as the substratum of the traversing implied by the event "walk." This corresponds to an adverbial function of specification of the verbal event's spatial orientation, although what is important for our purposes is the role of the preposition in this structure.

When the *to*-infinitive phrase has an adverbial function of goal or result specification, *to*, like *across* in (87) above, plays the role of denoting the relation that pertains between the infinitive and the main verb. More precisely, *to* represents the infinitive's event as the term of a movement implied by the main verb's event. In (84) above, this means that *try* implies a movement toward a goal, and *to* evokes the infinitive *be careful* as the term to which this movement will lead (if it is successfully carried to its term, which *try* does not tell us).

Given these semantic relations, it comes as no surprise that the prospective actualizer of "being careful" should be understood to be the same as that of the trying. The notion of movement signified by *to* is an explication of an idea of movement already implied in the event denoted by the matrix verb *try*: in (84) above, "trying" implies an attempt to move toward the achievement of the infinitive's event "being careful." The idea of movement evoked by *to* implies, however, that there is a mobile entity involved in this movement: this entity, represented as involved in the movement implied by the matrix verb's event, is identified by the subject of the matrix verb, that is, John in (84). Consequently, the subject of the matrix verb is understood to also be the mobile entity in the movement expressed by *to* leading up to the position in time at which the infinitive's event will be actualized. This implies that it is the arrival of the mobile entity at this position in time that will cause the infinitive's event to become actual (i.e., that the subject of the matrix verb is the prospective actualizer of the event denoted by the infinitive).

On the other hand, when the *to*-infinitive phrase is in direct-object function, as in (83), *to* is not used to express the relation between the infinitive and the matrix verb. Consequently, the movement evoked by *to* in this type of use is not construed as being already implied in the matrix verb's event but is conceived rather as a movement in the abstract, defined only by the fact that the infinitive's event is represented as the term to which this movement leads. In (83) above, this has the effect of representing the infinitive's event merely as something yet to be actualized—in this case, something that John wishes the persons to which his admonition is addressed to do. Since in this use, the movement denoted by *to* is not identified as a movement implied by the matrix verb itself, the mobile entity involved in *to*'s movement is not necessarily understood to be the same as the mobile entity engaged in the movement implied by the matrix (i.e., it is not identified with the subject of the main verb).

Other verbs that behave the same way as *say* are also verbs of communication:

- (89) She motioned to be quiet.
 (90) She signaled to open the gates and let them in.
- Here the means of conveying the message are nonverbal, but the same explanation holds for the non-subject-controlled interpretation: if the content of the message conveyed to the addressee is a to-be-realized event, it will obviously be understood that the addressee is being invited to perform this event.
- All this is not to say that a controlled interpretation is excluded when the *to*-infinitive has direct-object function. The *to*-infinitive would appear to be in the function of direct object after the verb *offer* in (91) below, and yet this sentence would be interpreted as meaning "that he would stay":

- (91) He offered to stay.

As with *-ing* direct objects, the control reading depends on the lexical content of the main verb. Here the notion of offering the performance of a yet to be realized event produces the impression that the person offering is willing to perform the event if the person to whom the offer is made so desires. If Rosenbaum's (1967a, 1967b) tests are indicative that the *to*-phrase is a direct object in uses such as (92), then this sentence is another case of a subject-controlled interpretation with the function of object:

- (92) John preferred to drink beer.

This fact, however, is also easily explainable by the semantic content of the verb *prefer*: an event (evoked by *to* as prospective or subsequent with respect to the existence of a preference for it), which is preferred by someone, is normally something that they choose to perform themselves. This shows that in direct-object function, for the reasons expounded above, the *to*-infinitive phrase is neutral with respect to control just like the *-ing* is, with the interpretation depending on the lexical content of the matrix. In the function of adverbial goal or result specifier, however, the meaning of *to* logically implies coreferentiality of the realizers of the events denoted by the infinitive and the matrix verb since the preposition explicates the notion of movement implicit in the matrix verb, which leads to the coidentification of the mobile entity involved in the movement toward the infinitive event denoted by *to* and the subject of the matrix verb.

Conclusion

Reference was made in the first paragraph of this article to a temptation to define the distinction between the *-ing* and the *to*-infinitive phrase as verbal complements in terms of a temporal opposition between "simultaneity" and "futuraity." We have seen that the origin of this temptation lies in the fact that one of the terms of the purported opposition—the *to* plus infinitive phrase—does have a constant temporal value (relative to the matrix verb's event, of course, and not in the absolute). We have observed, moreover, that the *to*-infinitive phrase also produces a practically constant effect of subject control, as compared to the free variability of the *-ing* between subject and nonsubject control.

One of the keys to understanding both the temporal and control interpretations of the *to*-infinitive phrase has proven to be the meaning of the preposition *to* introducing the infinitive. Unfortunately, the semantic contribution of this linguistic item has been overlooked in most work on the infinitive in English. Perhaps based on the comment made in Chomsky (1957, 100) that, when used with the infinitive, *to* is a morpheme that "can hardly be said to have a meaning in any independent sense," Andersson (1985, 57) proposes a distinction between the preposition *to*, which has a meaning, and the infinitive marker *to*, "which only has the syntactic function to introduce an infinitive (*sic*)," the latter being described, in even more explicit terms, as a "a pure infinitive marker without meaning" (Andersson 1985, 267). This position is also maintained by Lehrer (1987, 256), who states that "*to* has no meaning of its own," and by Buysens (1987, 341), who refers to the "well-known fact that when the infinitive is used as the subject, the predicate or the direct object of the sentence, it is normally preceded by a meaningless *to*." The present study shows, however, that by postulating exactly the same meaning for the *to* introducing the infinitive as for the *to* introducing a noun, one can explain such important semantic characteristics observed in the literature on the infinitive as temporal and control interpretations. This proves that, far from being a mere dummy item or a meaningless infinitival marker, *to* makes a significant semantic contribution to the sentences in which it occurs, and it is consequently necessary to comprehend the nature of this semantic contribution to understand why these sentences mean what they do.¹⁵

As for the *-ing*, this study has shown the unsoundness, in this particular case at least, of the prototype approach of taking one use of this form as central and attempting to explain all the others in terms of it. In the case under consideration here, analysts have taken the expressive effect produced by the *-ing* in the progressive construction and extended this value to its gerundive uses as verbal complement.

This has the effect of obscuring a full understanding of the semantics of these uses by promoting certain cases to the status of prototypical (those where the *-ing* evokes something simultaneous to the matrix verb's event), leaving the cases where this expressive effect is not present as peripheral or exceptional. The more general view proposed here based on observation of the full range of uses of the verbal *-ing* has been demonstrated to be capable of explaining why the *-ing*'s event can be felt to be past, present, or future with respect to that of the matrix verb—see (6) through (8) above—or in no particular temporal relation to it at all, as in (32) through (39). A deeper understanding has therefore been achieved both in the question of the *-ing*'s complementational semantics and in those of the *to*-infinitive phrase.

Notes

1. "There are just two tenses in English, past and present: unlike such languages as French and Latin, English has no future tense" (Huddleston 1988, 80). As Haegeman (1983, 166) points out, "The futurity interpretation itself is the product of contextual specifications, time-adverbials in particular. If a future-time specification is entirely absent, *will* only conveys its basic non-specified reading." See also Huddleston (1995) for a detailed presentation of the arguments against analyzing *will* + infinitive as an exponent of future tense in English.
2. The *-ing* form also has other adjectival uses, such as that of object complement in constructions such as *I found her reading a short story*.
3. For a more complete discussion of these two actualizations of the *-ing* form in discourse, see Duffley (1995).
4. Although some speakers find constructions with prepositional phrases as subjects or objects awkward, they do occur in natural-language data, particularly in the spoken language. Jaworska (1986, 359) gives (a) and (b) below, which are parallel to (18):
 - (a) He had spent from eleven to one at his church.
 - (b) They considered after the holidays to be too late for a family gathering.
5. Quirk et al. (1985, 1061, 1187), along with a number of other English grammars—Schibsbye (1970, 28), Scheurweghs (1959, 205), and Poutsma (1929, 766)—seem simply to assume that the *to*-infinitive is always a direct object when it is closely associated with the verb, whether or not the latter belongs to Rosenbaum's *like*-class or to his *begin*-class.
6. Here is an attested example of this construction from E. M. Forster's *Passage to India*: "I consider not to be frightened the height of folly," cried the Nawab Bahadur quite rudely" (Forster [1924] 1946, 93).
7. The occurrence of an anaphoric demonstrative in a sentence such as (a) below is not a counterexample to the observation illustrated in (50c):

(a) John wants to become a doctor, but his mother doesn't want that. Here, *that* corresponds to "John becoming a doctor" and consequently does not recall the infinitive event alone. Compare (a) with (b), where anaphoric *to* does recall the sole content of the infinitive:

(b) John wants to become a doctor, but his mother doesn't want *to*.

8. The passive construction has been attested, however, with the *-ing* form, a fact that confirms the hypothesis proposed here that only the *-ing* is a true direct object: "In the small nursery class, contact was frequent and speaking face-to-face was preferred, so they held a special coffee morning for parents and families" (British National Corpus 1995, HC7 35).

9. See Chomsky (1957, 100), Andersson (1985, 57), and Lehrer (1987, 256), among others.

10. See Duffley (1992) for more details.

11. See Duffley (1992, 16-17).

12. The term was coined by Postal (1970).

13. The frequent occurrence of passive constructions (*He narrowly avoided being hit by a truck*) is no exception to the subject control pattern with this verb, as the subject of *avoid* is understood to be the subject of the passive construction, even though the latter represents the "subject" of *be* as passive with respect to the event denoted by the past participle.

14. Chomsky (1981, 78) seems unaware either of Schachter (1976) or Thompson (1973) in his discussion of the reasons for the controller not being *I* in *They thought I had suggested feeding each other*: he attributes it to *I* being an improper antecedent for *each other*, so that PRO must "look outside" its own clause for an antecedent that it was unable to find inside. The real reason is much simpler: "feeding each other" being represented as "suggested" implies that it is proposed to someone else than the suggester as a possible course of action, whence the noncontrolled interpretation.

15. The semantic contribution of *to* is also an essential factor for explaining the exclusive use of the *to*-infinitive with the verb *start* in contexts such as *She started to say something but decided not to*. Here, *start*'s meaning of "breaking out of a state of rest or inactivity" is construed as a movement toward the beginning of the infinitive's event; hence, the message conveyed is that the saying itself was not initiated but merely the preparatory movement preceding it. The *-ing* would have the function of direct object here and consequently denote that which was initiated by breaking out of a state of rest. This would obviously imply that the *-ing*'s event itself was started, which explains why the *-ing* cannot occur in this type of context. For an extensive discussion, the reader is referred to Duffley (1999).

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Exploring the Dialect of the Franco-Americans of Manchester, New Hampshire

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Diversity in a spoken language can be produced by numerous factors, such as the languages one is exposed to, the geographic area one is raised in, and family traditions. This research focuses on the first of these factors, examining the French language's influence on Franco-American English in Manchester, a city in southern New Hampshire.

The questions we explore include the following: Does the Franco-American community of Manchester have its own French-influenced dialect of English? What sociolinguistic factors influence this dialect? Do speakers with stronger cultural ties to the Franco-American community produce a more French-sounding English? Can immersion in Franco-American culture have an influence on speakers who are monolingual (in English)? Our data support the hypothesis that speakers who are culturally more Franco-American oriented will have a greater incidence of French-source variants in their English language. Correlations between linguistic attitude, social background, and choice of a particular pronunciation variant of a sound have been demonstrated repeatedly (cf. Labov 1972; Nagy, Moisset, and Sankoff 1995), but the Manchester Franco-American community has not previously been examined in this light. The effect of ethnicity (but rarely the degree of ethnic activity involvement) has been examined in other communities. See, for example, Labov's (1972) analysis of linguistic variation in New York City, the geographically relevant analysis of ethnic variation in Boston by Laferrière (1979), and

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