“Pleased to be through”: A Study of Participial Adjectives

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Tutkielman aiheena ovat englannin kielen partisiippimuotoiset adjektiivit. Tutkielman tarkoitus on selvittää, millaisissa rakenteissa partisiipit ja adjektiivit voivat esiintyä, ja millaisin syntaktisin ja semanttisin kriteerein partisiippimuotoiset sanat voidaan jaotella partisiippeihin ja adjektiiveihin. Esimerkkisanoina tutkimuksessa ovat *pleased* ja *offended*, joiden esiintymät The Telegraph 1993 -korpuksessa muodostavat tutkimusaineiston. The Telegraph 1993 -korpus koostuu Daily Telegraph- ja Sunday Telegraph -lehdissä vuonna 1993 julkaistusta tekstistä ja sisältää noin 31,8 miljoonan sanaa.

Tutkielman teoriaosassa kartoitetaan kielioppien ja kielitieteellisten aikakausjulkaisujen avulla erilaisia rakenteita joissa partisiippeja ja adjektiiveja voidaan käyttää, sekä tapoja joilla partisiippimuotoisten sanojen sanaluokka voidaan määrittää. Tärkeimpinä lähteinä on käytetty R. Quirkin, S. Greenbaumin, G. Leechin ja J. Svartvikin kielioppeja sekä F. Th. Visserin teosta *An Historical Syntax of the English Language*. Teoriaosassa pyritään muodostamaan lähteiden perusteella yhtenäinen ja johdonmukainen kokonaiskuva partisiippimuotoisten sanojen käyttötavoista sekä luomaan tämän kokonaiskuvan perusteella kriteerit kyseisten sanojen sanaluokan määrittämiseksi.

Tutkimusosassa esitellään lyhyesti sanojen *pleased* ja *offended* etymologia ja merkitys käyttäen lähteenä sanakirjoja. Myös The Telegraph 1993 -korpus esitellään lyhyesti. Sanojen esiintymät jaetaan teoriaosassa esitettyjen kriteerien perusteella sanaluokkiin ja edelleen 17:ään sanaluokkien alaryhmään sekä kaksiselitteisten esiintymien ryhmään. Näin saatujen tulosten mukaan *pleased* esiintyi aineistossa adjektiivina noin 86 prosentissa esiintymistä ja verbimuotona noin 12 prosentissa. Sanan *offended* vastaavat luvut ovat 30 ja 44 prosenttia. *Pleased* ja *offended* esiintyivät kaikissa tavallisimmissa adjektiivirakenteissa, mutta *offended* on tietyissä rakenteissa huomattavasti sanaa *pleased* harvinaisempi. Selvimmin sanojen ero näkyy rakenteessa, jossa predikatiivisella adjektiivilla on määritteenä **that**-lause tai **to**-infinitiivi: *pleased* esiintyi näissä rakenteissa 39 prosentissa kaikista esiintymistä, mutta *offended* ainoastaan 2,5 prosentissa.

Johtopäätöksenä tutkimusosan tuloksista todetaan, että sanan *pleased* voidaan sanoa olevan tyypillisempi adjektiivi kuin sana *offended*. Lisäksi pohditaan mahdollisia syitä siihen, että yli 26:a prosenttia sanan *offended* esiintymistä ei voitu luokitella yhteen ainoaan ryhmään, kun taas sanalla *pleased* vastaava luku oli 1,2 prosenttia. Mahdollisina jatkotutkimuksen aiheina mainitaan rakenne *well pleased* sekä teoria- ja tutkimusosassa sivuttu näkemys partisiippien muuttumisesta adjektiiveiksi asteittaisen prosessin kautta.

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1. Introduction

My purpose in this thesis is to study the so-called **-ed** adjectives – that is, adjectives that have the same form as past participles. Such adjectives usually have their origin in the corresponding participle, which has acquired adjectival uses. This is why it can sometimes be difficult to determine whether a participle-form word is functioning as an adjective or as a part of a verb phrase. This problem is an example of the difficulty of establishing the borders between word-classes. It can be argued that it is not necessary to classify every word in order to understand and study language. However, since word-classes exist and have proved useful in understanding language, I feel it is necessary to try to define them as well as possible. This requires establishing the borders between classes. The border between adjectives and verbs, more specifically their past participle forms, has been difficult to define. Most grammars briefly present the problem, and then state that adjectives and participles are often so close to each other in meaning and syntactic function that it is both impossible and unnecessary to place their occurrences into one of the two classes. However, my conviction is that the problem can be treated better than the existing grammars do, and that a distinction between the adjectival and participial uses can be made more often than they imply.

To be able to determine whether a word form is used adjectivally or participially, I will first discuss some of the general properties of adjectives and participles, as well as some criteria that can be used to differentiate between the two uses. My main sources in this part will be various grammars written by Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik. I will also present alternative views proposed by, among others, Visser in his *An Alternative Syntax of the English Grammar* (1966 and 1973). Based on the sources, I will establish criteria for determining adjectivity and participiality. My criteria will use traditional syntactic methods, such as word substitution, word insertion, and paraphrasing. In section 3, I will use the criteria to study two word-forms, *offended* and *pleased*, in order to determine, first of all, whether

they are used more often as adjectives or as different verb forms. I also mean to find out what types of adjective patterns they can be used in – whether they can be used both in a premodifying and a postmodifying attributive position; which preposition phrases they can, in turn, be postmodified with in the predicative position; whether they can be postmodified with **that**-clauses and **to**-infinitives in the predicative position; and whether they can occur in more complex adjective structures, such as in peripheral adjective phrases or as predicative object complements.

My initial view is that most **-ed** adjectives cannot occur in as many adjective patterns as more typical adjectives. Dictionaries and other sources imply that *offended* cannot be as widely used as an adjective as *pleased*, and that *pleased* can thus be regarded as more typical an adjective than *offended*. My data, The Telegraph 1993 CD-ROM corpus, does, however, have examples of *offended* being used in all the adjective patterns that *pleased* is used in – although not nearly as often.

In the Findings section, I will present the frequencies of both words in the various patterns in which they occur in The Telegraph 1993 corpus. The findings show very clearly that *pleased* occurs as an adjective far more often than as a verb form. It is most typically used as a predicative postmodified with a **to**-infinitive, or with a prepositional phrase headed by *with*. *Offended*, on the other hand, seems to occur in the data as an active voice verb form more often than as a passive voice verb form, and also slightly more often as an active voice verb form than as an adjective. The results for *offended* are, however, much less reliable than those for *pleased*, because over a quarter of its occurrences were ambiguous and could not be reliably classified as either adjectives or participles.

2. Theoretical considerations

Some grammarians use the term *past participle* or *second participle* of any word that has the same form as the past participle of a verb, regardless of its syntactic function in a sentence (for example Jespersen, 1931:93). Since one of my aims in this work is to make a distinction between the participial and adjectival functions possible for a single word form, it is necessary to make the distinction also in terminology. I will therefore use the term *past participle* only of words that are clearly participial in function as well as in form. For adjectives that have the form of a participle, most typically the suffix **-ed**, I will use the term *-**ed** adjectives*, also used in, for example, *Collins COBUILD English Grammar* (79-82; later cited as CCEG)[1].

This choice of terminology is somewhat arbitrary, especially as it is not always possible to place an occurrence of a word into one of the categories. Also, it seems plausible to assume that most **-ed** adjectives have their origin in the passive form of a corresponding transitive verb, which makes classification in certain cases even more difficult. The two words that are of special interest in this work, *pleased* and *offended*, both represent this type of **-ed** adjective. Another group of **-ed** adjectives have been derived from intransitive verbs: *faded curtains*, *a dated expression*. These adjectives have an active meaning (CCEG, 81), and therefore they differ from the first type in, among other things, that they cannot have an ambiguity with a passive sentence.

-ed adjectives can also be derived from nouns: *a bearded man*, *a gifted pupil*. Some **-ed** adjectives may not have a clear analogue in other parts of speech: *an unimpressed viewer*, *a ship destined for France* – however, many of these adjectives, too, seem to have their

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[1]CCEG actually uses the spelling *'-ed' adjectives* (my italics). CCEG has been used as a source in the following discussion on the different types of **-ed** adjectives.

origins in other word-classes. *Unimpressed*, for example, may have been formed by adding the **un-** prefix to the adjective *impressed*.

Participle-form words clearly form a group that is very heterogeneous in origin as well as in syntactic function. Therefore, I consider it necessary to briefly present in the following sections, 2.1 and 2.2, all the syntactic positions in which participle-form words can occur, before proceeding to present methods and principles that can be used to establish a division between participles and **-ed** adjectives. I will concentrate on the type represented by *pleased* and *offended*, the two words given special attention in this work. Most of the discussion certainly does apply to other types of **-ed** adjectives, and some of it even to words with the form of present participles, for example *fading* and *offending*. In the discussion, I will give special attention to the positions in which the participle-form word is particularly difficult to classify; that is, positions in participle and adjective patterns that appear to be identical in structure. I will also discuss and present examples on how *pleased* and *offended* can be used in these positions.

The areas of grammar that will be discussed in sections 2.1 and 2.2 have been collected in the following diagrams. They represent in a hierarchical form the different syntactic positions possible for adjectives (Figure 1) and for the past participles of verbs (Figure 2). The diagrams are constructed so that it should be possible to place any actual manifestation of a participle-form word into one of the lowest-level boxes at the end of each branch, the only exception being nouns: *the offended*. It should also be noted that peripheral adjective phrases can be postmodified in the same ways as predicative adjectives, but due to lack of space, I have not duplicated the boxes under the “predicative position” box.

The diagrams could be further elaborated by continuing the branches – for example, the box “other prepositions” in Figure 1 could branch further into different boxes for each preposition. However, I have not considered it necessary to add levels to the diagrams, since it

would not result in any new positions that would be syntactically different from the ones already in them. To use Figure 1 as an example again, as far as the subject of this study is concerned, prepositional phrases complementing predicative adjectives behave the same way regardless of the preposition they are introduced by. Therefore, there is no need to divide the box “other prepositions” into separate boxes. The only reason *by* has been given a box of its own is to emphasise that when *by* is used in this pattern, it can be confused with a passive clause with a *by*-agent.

Since the past tense of most verbs has the same form as the past participle, these two have been placed under a supercategory named ‘**-ed** form of a verb’ in Figure 2. This decision is justified since my aim is to study the word forms *pleased* and *offended*, and they also cover the past tense.

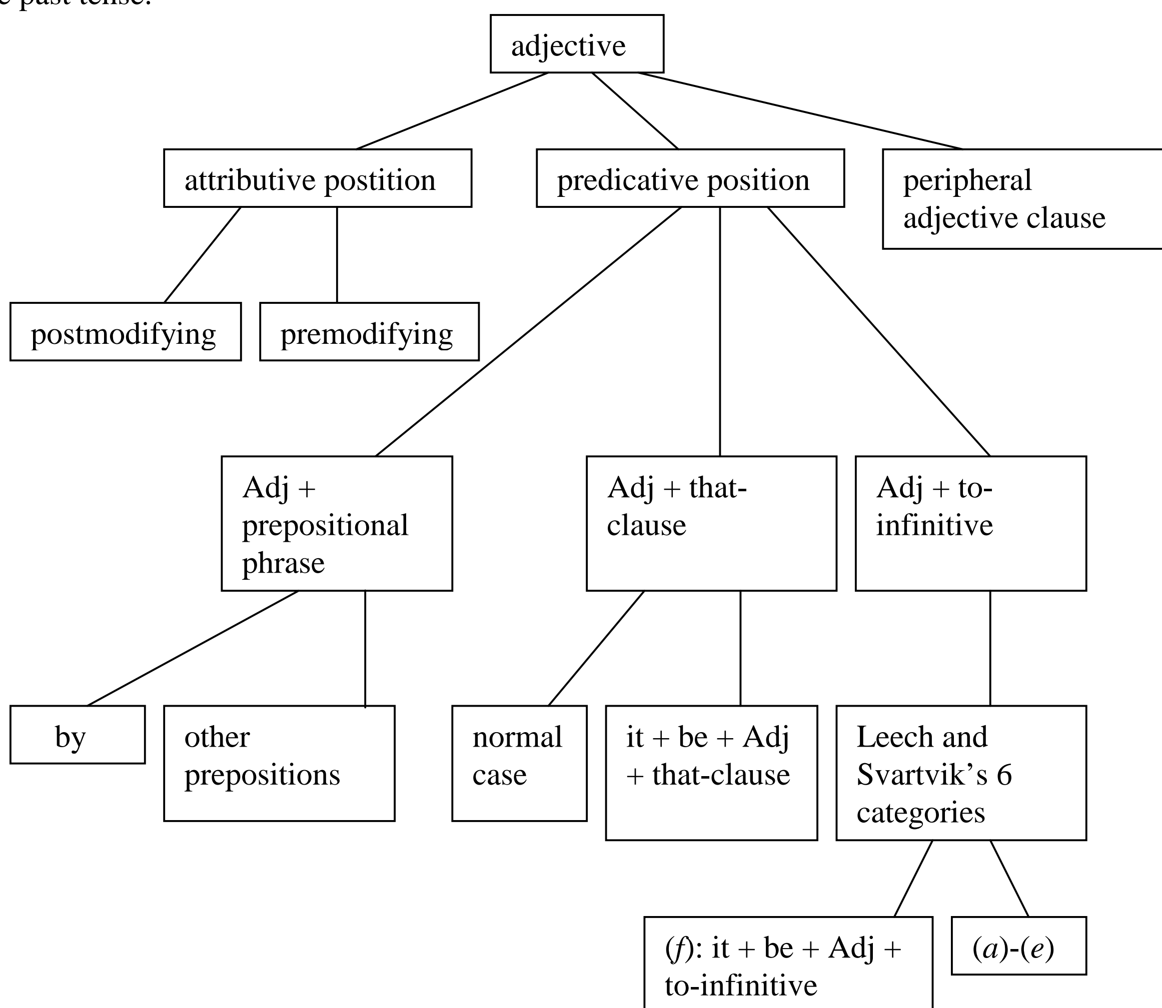

Figure 1. The syntactic positions possible for adjectives

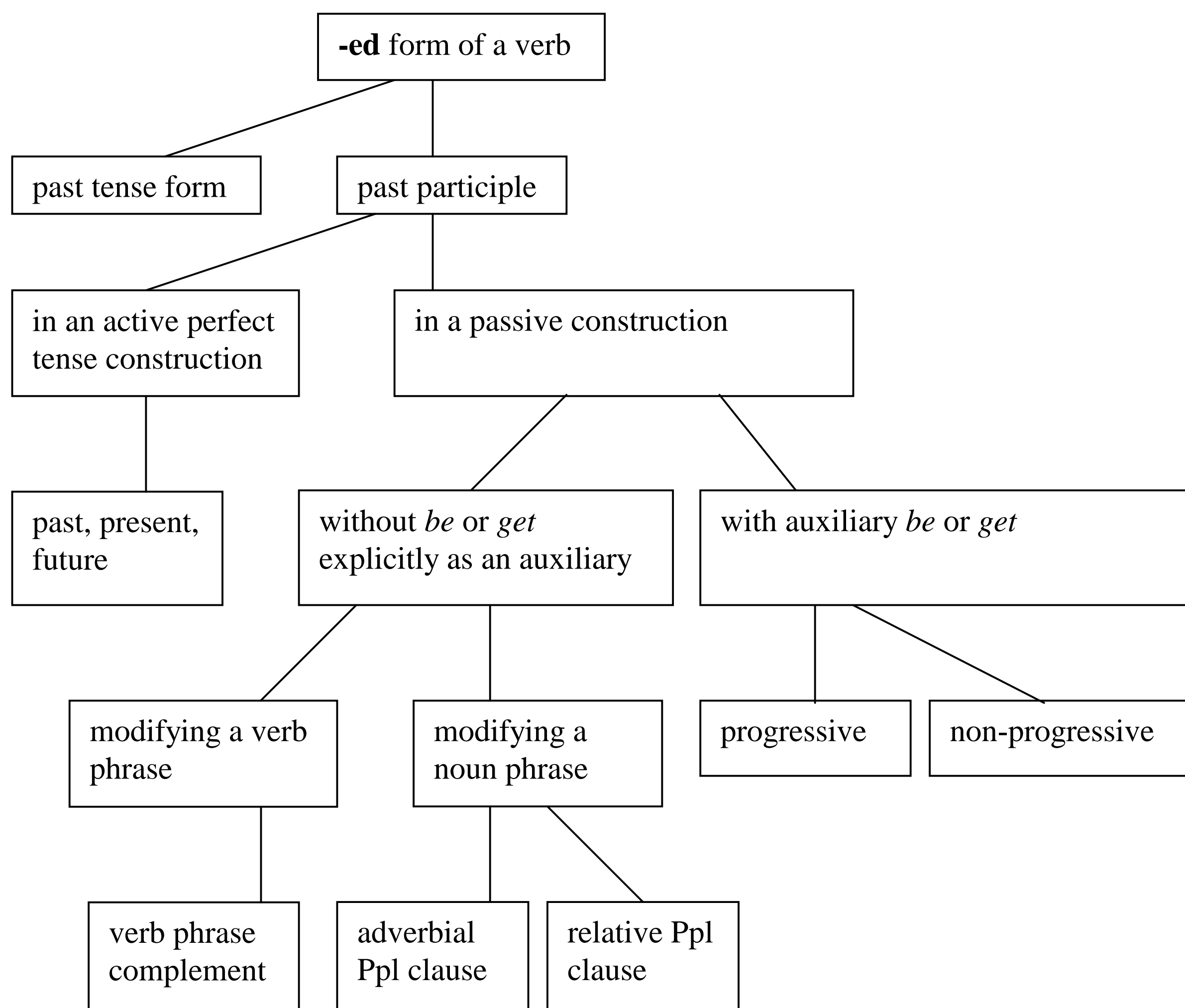

Figure 2. The syntactic positions possible for the past participle form of a verb

2.1 The past participle

The past participle of a regular verb is formed by adding the suffix **-ed** to the stem of the verb: *walk* - *walked*. For some irregular verbs, the past participle has a form of its own: *take* - *taken*. Usually, though, its form is identical to the past tense verb form:

(1) She closed the window.
(2) She had closed the window.

However, the syntactic functions of the past participle are quite different from that of the past tense form. The past participle is a non-finite form; in other words, it cannot be used alone as

the main verb of a sentence. Instead, it can be combined with *have* to form perfect tense verb forms, or with *be* to form structures in the passive voice. It can also be used without an auxiliary in past participle clauses.

2.1.1 The perfect tenses

Perfect tense constructions have the form **have** + **Ppl** (past participle). The English language has three perfect tenses – the past, the present, and the future perfect:

(2) She had closed the window.
(3) She has closed the window.
(4) She will have closed the window.

When used in these structures, there is nothing adjectival in the past participle, and there is no ambiguity in the syntactic function of the participle. It is clearly a part of the main verb of the sentence. Therefore, the perfect tenses are of a secondary interest in regard of the topic of this work.

2.1.2 The passive voice

Verb phrases with the passive voice have the form **be** + **Ppl**, or **get** + **Ppl**. The passive voice can be used in all tenses by using the appropriate form of the auxiliaries *be* and *get*. In comparison to the corresponding active construction, the passive voice requires that the syntactic positions of the subject and the object are exchanged, and even allows the original subject to be omitted:

(1) She closed the window.
(5) The window was closed (by her).

Because of the auxiliary *be*, the past participle in a passive clause resembles an adjective much more than it does in an active perfect tense clause, such as (2). In fact, if the agent *by her* is left out in (5), the sentence becomes ambiguous: it can describe an event or a state, and *closed* can be interpreted, respectively, as a participle or an adjective in a predicative position. In Quirk and Greenbaum's terms, the 'event' interpretation has a dynamic verb phrase, *was closed*, whereas the 'state' interpretation has a stative verb phrase, *was*. Quirk and Greenbaum also suggest that adjectives as a part of speech are typically stative and verbs are typically dynamic, and that stative verbs, such as *be*, "should be seen as exceptions within the class of verbs." (Quirk & Greenbaum 1975:14-15, 20-21).

The progressive tense seems to avoid the ambiguity of (5) by allowing only the dynamic, participial interpretation:

(6) The window was being closed.

(6) clearly describes an event, using the passive voice. However, there are constructions where *be* is in the progressive form, but it is the main verb of an active sentence describing a state:

(7) I'm just being silly.
(8) He was being very pleased with himself.

Here, *be* is used dynamically, suggesting a deliberately assumed state. Quirk and Greenbaum explain this type of exceptional use of *be* by claiming that also the adjective complementing the verb is dynamic in these constructions: "… some adjectives can resemble verbs in referring on occasion to transitory conditions of behaviour or activity such as *naughty* or *insolent*" (ibid:21). However, I would rather argue that the transitoriness of the qualities expressed in (6) and (7) is a product of the pattern **being + Adj** itself. In any case, it is not

impossible to interpret (6) this way, too, but this interpretation would require the window to be considered an animate subject, capable of independent "behaviour or activity."

According to Visser (1973), the construction of the type (6) entered the language during the 18th century, partly because "it enabled the speaker to avoid the ambiguous *is built* cluster by employing the longer phrase whenever he wanted to express the idea of action in progress, and not that of resulting state." (Visser, 1973:2426 – by *is built* Visser refers to his example of this structure, *The house is being built.*). He also mentions the existence of constructions of the type (7) (*being silly)* as a "subsidiary cause" for the introduction of the new structure. The *being silly* structure is actually older than the *being built* one; it was used in English from the 15th century onwards (Visser, 1973:1954).

2.1.2.1 The *get* passive

Although the **get** + **Ppl** passive has traditionally been regarded as a colloquialism, most modern grammarians (e.g. Huddleston, 1988:114) agree that *get* is a valid passive auxiliary. This is obviously true of dynamic passives only. It should be noted that the *get* passive is actually very rare: in the conversation part of the LSWE corpus[2], only 0.1% of all verb forms are *get* passives, and in the other parts, the proportion is even smaller (*Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*, later cited as LGSWE, p. 476). Visser estimates that the **get** + **Ppl** passive structure entered written English in the 17th century. He claims that if the past participle in this structure is one of an intransitive verb, it "has the value of an adjective." (Visser, 1973:2031). Visser also states that the **get** + **Ppl of** $\mathbf{V_{itr}}$ construction is rare, giving

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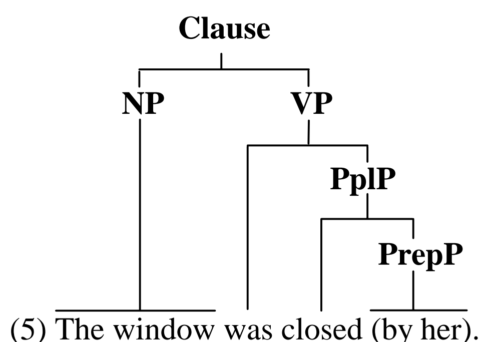
[2] Longman Spoken and Written English Corpus, which was used as data for *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (LGSWE).

only a few examples from literature: ". . . by three I had got sat down to my dinner . . ." (Sterne, 1768:27).

2.1.3 Past participle clauses

If sentences are analysed as combinations of phrases, then participles always constitute the head word of a participle phrase. Participle phrases sometimes consist of the participle alone, but more typically, the participle is followed by a prepositional phrase. In (5), for example, the past participle phrase (**PplP**) contains a participle and a prepositional phrase (**PrepP**):



(5) The window was closed (by her).

The participle phrase, in turn, can be a part of a verb phrase: in the perfect tense, it complements *have*, and in the passive, *be* or *get*, as in (5), where the verb phrase (**VP**) consists of **was** + **PplP**. Past participle phrases can also occur as more independent clauses, without *have*, *be*, or *get*:

> (9) **Stunned** by the swiftness of the assault, the enemy were overwhelmed. (CCEG, 461; my emphasis)

In (9), the past participle phrase *Stunned by the swiftness of the assault* does not complement any auxiliary verb, but rather the noun phrase *the enemy*. In this work, clauses like this are called past participle clauses. They are non-finite subordinate clauses that can complement a noun phrase or a verb phrase. In these functions, their meaning is very close to the passive:

"The past participle is also used as a non-finite verb group, with a passive meaning" (CCEG:461) ". . . but covertly so inasmuch as they do not contain the passive catenative **be**" (Huddleston, 1988:168). Also, they can usually be treated as shortened forms of passive subordinate clauses. For these reasons, they will be classified as a special case of the passive voice in this work.

There are three types of past participle clauses: adverbial and relative participle clauses modify noun phrases, and verb phrase complements modify verb phrases.

2.1.3.1 Participle clauses modifying noun phrases

(9) and (10) are examples of an adverbial participle clause, and (11) has a relative participle clause:

> (9) **Stunned** by the swiftness of the assault, the enemy were overwhelmed. (CCEG, 461; my emphasis)
> (10) Accused of dishonesty by the media, the Minister decided to resign. (Leech, 1989:328)
> (11) The police are looking for a man known as 'The Grey Wolf.' (ibid.)

Adverbial past participle clauses can be expanded to proper passives by adding a **Conj** (conjunction) + **NP** + **be** sequence, in which the **NP** refers to the subject of the main clause:

> (9)(b) Since they were **stunned** by the swiftness of the assault, the enemy were overwhelmed.
> (10)(b) After he had been accused of dishonesty by the media, the Minister decided to resign. (Leech, 1989:328)

In (10)(b), Leech prefers to use *after* as the conjunction, but *since, because,* or *as* would do just as well. Relative past participial clauses can be expanded to passives by adding $\mathbf{Pron_{rel}}$ (relative pronoun) + **be**:

> (11)(b) The police are looking for a man who is known as 'The Grey Wolf.'

Adverbial past participle clauses can occur in a variety of positions in the sentence. In (10), for instance, the past participle clause could also be placed at the end of the sentence, or even after its head word, *the minister*[3]. This is because they are non-restrictive, in other words, they provide additional information that is not necessary for understanding the main clause – in Huddleston's words, they are "peripheral dependents" (169). Their peripherality is evident in that they are separated from the main clause with commas. It should be noted here that some grammars, such as LGSWE, make a difference between the peripheral, "supplementive," clause, and a more closely integrated adverbial participle clause, called "**-ed** clause" by LGSWE (200). LGSWE has a point in that there definitely are adverbial participle clauses that are not separated from the main clause by a comma:

> (12) Taken in the order shown they provide propulsive jets increasing mass flow and increasing jet velocity. (LGSWE:200)

However, as the only criterion that LGSWE gives for differentiating these two is the degree of integration, I will not go into such detail as to divide these two into separate classes in this work. Instead, I will treat them as occurrences of the same structure, differing only in their level of integration to the main clause.

Relative past participle clauses are more closely connected to the main clause: they are not separated from the main clause by a comma, they have to be placed directly after their head word, and they add essential information to the main clause.

Adverbial past participle clauses resemble peripheral adjective phrases, also called e.g. "detached predicatives" (LGSWE:520-521), in a similar position:

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[3] LGSWE specifies the information given by a participle clause in the initial, medial, and final position "background," "parenthetical," and "supplementary" information, respectively. (LGSWE:201)

(13) Hungry and desperate for sleep, the enemy were overwhelmed.
(14) Involved in money laundry, the minister had to resign.

(13) clearly has an adjective phrase, but in (14), it is less obvious that *involved* is an adjective – I will return to this example in 2.3.2, where I will present evidence of the adjectivity of *involved*. Similarly, it can be difficult to separate a relative past participle clause from an adjective phrase in an attributive postmodifier position:

(15) The police are looking for someone dangerous.
(16) The police are looking for someone experienced in investigating financial crime.

Again, it is much less obvious that *experienced* in (16) is an adjective than *dangerous* in (15). The discussion of methods for establishing adjectivity or participiality in 2.3 will cover these cases as well.

2.1.3.2 Participle clauses modifying verb phrases

The third type of a participle clause is the verb phrase complement:

(17) He ordered the courtroom cleared. (Visser, 1973:2376)
(18) She *wanted* him *gone* (ibid.)

According to Huddleston (164), these are actually passives, even though they complement verbs like *order* and *want*. He does not state whether he regards *order* and *want* in these constructions as auxiliaries – probably not, as my view at least is that the participle clause in this position is actually a shortened *be*-passive:

(17)(b) He ordered the courtroom cleared. ~He ordered the courtroom to be cleared.

However, this applies to transitive past participles only. If a sentence with an intransitive participle is expanded in a similar way, the result cannot be considered a passive:

(18)(b) She wanted him gone. ~She wanted him to be gone.

It might seem that since *be gone* cannot be passive, *gone* in the latter sentence in (18)(b) has to be an adjective. However, I would argue that *be gone* is here an idiomatic expression, a relic from a previous phase in the English language when *be* was used as a perfect tense auxiliary. Nowadays, a more correct expansion might actually be

(18)(c) She wanted him gone. ~She wanted him to have gone.

– in other words, an active perfect tense sentence. However, this expansion is not always possible, either:

(19) I *had* several men *died*, in my ship, of calentures. (Visser, 1973:2377; quoted as "1726 Swift, Gulliver's Travels IV, Ch. I") ~*I had several men to have died, in my ship, of calentures.

Intransitive verbs occurring in this pattern obviously deserve a more detailed investigation than is possible here. In any case, the number of intransitive verbs that can occur in this position is nowadays probably very small, and the problem is of minimal relevance to the subject of this work. I will therefore classify all occurrences of this pattern as verb phrase complements under passive voice constructions, regardless of whether the verb in them is intransitive or transitive.

There is a possibility of ambiguity between participles in this pattern and adjectives occurring in a similar position as object predicatives:

(20) He considered it more dangerous than any horse he had ever ridden. (LGSWE:101)

However, the methods for determining adjectival or participial status that will be discussed in 2.3 will work for this structure, too.

2.2 Adjectives

In their form, adjectives are a very heterogeneous part of speech: consider *old, sympathetic, serious, amusing,* and *pleased*. These words are connected by the fact that they can be used to modify a noun phrase as an attribute – *an old / sympathetic / serious / amusing / pleased man* – or as a complement: *The man was old / sympathetic / serious / amusing / pleased*. The complementary position will be called *predicative position* in this work. All of these adjectives are also gradable, or qualitative, as some grammars call them (CCEG:65); in other words, they can be premodified with an adverb of degree, such as *very, quite, rather*, and so on. Both *pleased* and *offended* are qualitative: *I was very pleased / offended*. Adjectives that are not qualitative are classifying, and cannot be modified by most adverbs of degree: **a very painted house*.

Gradability is connected to comparison. For comparing the amount of a quality represented by an adjective, comparative and superlative forms of the adjective can be used: *old* - *older* - *oldest*. For some adjectives, including **-ed** adjectives, comparison is done with an adverb of degree: *more pleased / most pleased; more offended / most offended.*

Different uses of adjectives can be divided into groups by the position of the adjective in a sentence – adjectives can be used attributively or predicatively. Attributive adjectives can occur as pre- or postmodifiers of a noun phrase: *an offended / pleased man; everyone present.* Most **-ed** adjectives are unlikely to be used as postmodifiers, as constructions of this form are likely to be considered relative participle clauses: compare *those pleased / offended by the performance* and (11). This is due to the fact that to appear as postmodifiers, these adjectives seem to require that they are themselves modified, for example, with a preposition

phrase. This modification, in turn, tends to change their meaning to a participial direction. However, there are **-ed** adjectives that always occur as postmodifiers and do not need any modification, e.g. *involved*. As I pointed out in 2.1.3, past participle clauses are close to adjectival constructions in many ways, and are particularly difficult to classify. I will address these difficulties, including those concerning *involved*, in more detail in 2.3.

Most adjectives can also occur in a predicative position, where they can act as a subject complement (examples (21) and (22)) or object complement (examples (23) to (25)):

(21) The coffee was black.
(22) He seemed pleased / offended.
(23) I like my coffee black. (Leech, 1989:17)
(24) I like to keep him pleased.
(25) I don't want to keep him offended.

Not all adjectives can be used predicatively, whereas others can only be used predicatively: *The patient looks well. / *a well patient*.

As Leech and Svartvik (1975:193) point out, both the subject and the object can be clauses:

(26) Whether the minister will resign is still uncertain. (ibid.)
(27) They considered what he did foolish. (ibid.)

Pleased and *offended* can occur predicatively with a clause subject, but it is difficult to think of a similar example with a clause object:

(28) Whoever is in charge must be pleased.
(29) Whoever wrote the article must be offended by all this.
(30) ?I like to keep whoever is in charge pleased.
(31) ?I don't want to see whoever is in charge offended.

However, there are some **-ed** adjectives that can act as a complement of a clause object:

(32) They considered what he did justified.

When used predicatively, adjectives, in turn, can be modified in different ways. Again, not all of these ways are possible for all adjectives. The following discussion (sections 2.2.1-2.2.3) of adjective patterns will use the same classification as Leech (1989:18-19) and Leech and Svartvik (1975:191-192).

2.2.1 Adjective + prepositional phrase

The simplest adjective pattern is formed when the adjective is followed by a prepositional phrase:

(33) I'm very pleased with your work.
(34) I was offended by his behaviour.

The choice of preposition depends on the adjective: *afraid of, hopeless at, sorry about, distant from, similar to* (Leech 1989:18). When the verb *be* and the preposition *by* are used, there is a possibility of ambiguity, since the structure of the sentence is similar to that of a passive clause with an agentive *by*-phrase. (34), for example, can be interpreted as describing an event (*His behaviour offended me.*), with *offended* as a part of the dynamic verb phrase of a passive construction, or a state (*I felt offended by his behaviour.*), with *offended* as an adjective, and *was* as a stative verb phrase. A more detailed discussion of differentiating between the two uses will be given in 2.3.

2.2.2 Adjective + *that*-clause

An adjective can be followed by a subordinate clause beginning with *that*:

(35) I'm pleased that you could come.

Not all **-ed** adjectives can be modified with a *that*-clause. Only one of my sources suggests that the following is acceptable:

(36) ?I was offended that he behaved like that.

This structure appears in *The Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), in one of the example sentences of the meaning 7b of the verb *offend*:

(37) **1700** DRYDEN *Fables* Pref., I find some people are offended that I have turned these tales into modern English, because they think them unworthy of my pains.

Since OED treats *offended* in the above example as a verb form, it could be argued that it is not a case of **adjective** + **that-clause**. However, according to my criteria, *offended* in (37) is indeed an adjective: it can be premodified with *very*, and *are* can be replaced with *felt* without changing the meaning of the sentence. In any case, the corpus data also has occurrences of *offended* in this position.

A variation of this structure is **it** + **be** + **Adj** + **that-clause**. This variation can usually be paraphrased by making the subordinate clause the subject, which results in a structure of the form (39), discussed in 2.2 and exemplified by (26):

(38) It was surprising that the minister resigned.
(39) That the minister resigned was surprising.

It seems that no **-ed** adjectives can occur in this position. Expressions of this kind with a participle-form word are rather difficult to classify, but they seem to be passive constructions rather than adjectives in a predicative relation to *it*:

(40) It was agreed that the plan would be carried through.

2.2.3 Adjective + *to*-infinitive

The third main type of adjective complement is a **to**-infinitive of a verb:

(41) I'm pleased to see you.

Leech and Svartvik (1975:191-192) point out that this structure can be used to express several semantically different types of utterances. Based on mainly semantic criteria, they divide the different uses into six categories. This division may be incomplete in that there may be adjectives that appear in this pattern but do not fit any of the six categories, or may fit in more than one category. It should also be noted that this division is probably only one of several possible ways of classifying adjectives in this pattern. However, I will present and use this classification system, because I think it shows very clearly that sentences that have the same syntactic pattern can still have very different internal dependencies: for example, what the adjective modifies in each type of sentence varies a great deal.

The following sentences are Leech and Svartvik's examples of their six categories, named *a-f*:

(42) (category *a*) He was splendid to wait.
(*b*) He is hard to convince.
(*c*) He was furious to hear about it.
(*d*) He is willing to give us his support.
(*e*) We're all anxious to meet your family.
(*f*) It's important to have warm clothing. (ibid.)

In (42)(*a*), *He* is the agent of the action (waiting). Moreover, the adjective *splendid* modifies the action as well as its agent. In (42)(*b*) likewise, the adjective *hard* can be said to modify both the action of convincing and the subject of the sentence, but the subject *He* is now the object of the action. *Furious* in (42)(*c*), in contrast, does not modify the action of hearing, but

only its agent, *He*. *Pleased* and *offended* belong to this category, although nothing in my sources suggests that *offended* could be used in this structure:

(43) He was pleased to hear about it.
(44) ?He was offended to hear about it.

However, the Telegraph 1993 corpus does contain one example of *offended* in this pattern.

Leech and Svartvik's basis for category *d* is that the sentence can be paraphrased by using an adverb:

(45) He'll willingly give us his support. (ibid.)

This criterion is not purely semantic, because it involves paraphrasing the sentence. However, since similar paraphrasing would be impossible for the other types of adjectives specifically because of their meaning and not for syntactic reasons, also this criterion is at least partly semantic.

Leech and Svartvik explain that sentences in category *e* "do not fit into the other four categories," and that they are "related to *d* in their meaning, but cannot be paraphrased by the use of an adverb" (1975:192). Indeed, *We'll anxiously meet your family* does not have the same meaning as (42)(*e*). However, in its semantic structure, type *e* is indeed very close to type *d*, to the extent that it is difficult to point out the difference between them that causes the impossibility of adverbial paraphrasing in type *e*. One of the differences between types *e* and *c*, in turn, is that in *e*, the quality denoted by the adjective is experienced before the action in the *to*-phrase takes place, whereas in *c*, the two occur in the reverse order.

Leech and Svartvik's category *f* resembles the **it + be + Adj + that-clause** structure discussed in 2.2.2 in that it has an "introductory it" (Leech and Svartvik, 1975:191) as the subject – this criterion differs from those for the other five groups in that it is not at all

semantic. Like the **it** + **be** + **Adj** + **that-clause** structure discussed in 2.2.2, this pattern also seems to impose a passive meaning on most participle-form words occurring in the position of the adjective. For example, *forbidden* is an adjective in expressions like *a forbidden area*, since it premodifies a noun phrase, but when placed to the position of the adjective in the **it** + **be** + **Adj** + **to-infinitive** pattern, it seems to change the sentence into a passive:

(46) It is forbidden to smoke here.

(46) is actually rather difficult to categorise, but I would argue that it is passive on the basis that *is* cannot be replaced with *seems* (this criterion will be presented in 2.3.1.3)

2.2.4 Adjectives as predicative object complements

All the examples in the discussion above (in sections 2.2.1-2.2.3) have adjectives as predicative subject complements. The adjective patterns presented in the discussion are generally valid for adjectives as predicative object complements as well. However, object complements require a separate discussion due to their different structure, which causes their ambiguity with passive constructions to be of slightly different type from that of subject complements.

In 2.2, I gave three examples where an adjective is in the predicative position, and modifies the object of the sentence:

(23) I like my coffee black. (Leech, 1989:17)
(24) I like to keep him pleased.
(25) I don’t want to keep him offended.

In (24) and (25), the **-ed** word is obviously an adjective, since it can be modified by words like *very* and *too*, and can have a comparative form:

(47) I like to keep him very pleased.
(48) I like to keep him more pleased than that.
(49) I don’t want to see him any more offended than that.

The same does not apply to all participle-form words. Consider the following:

(50) He ordered the courtroom cleared. (Visser, 1973:2376)
(51) They considered his actions justified.

If *cleared* in (50) is an adjective, it is non-gradable, and cannot be modified with *very*, *more*, or *quite*, which makes it impossible to use the modification test. Also the verb replacement test[4] is unusable for (50). However, (50) is not as difficult to classify as it might seem, since it is my view that it is an abbreviated form of

(52) He ordered the courtroom to be cleared.

which is clearly a passive, since its meaning is dynamic. Visser agrees that this form is an expansion of the first one, and adds that *being* can also be used in some cases to produce an expanded form (1973:2377-2378). In general, I would argue that **-ed** words in sentences like (50) and (51) have the same syntactic role as they have in the expanded form, such as (52). Hence, *justified* in

(53) They considered his actions to be justified.

behaves just like it does in (51): it can be modified with *quite*, and it can have a comparative form:

(51)(b) They considered his actions more justified than hers.

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[4] These two tests are discussed in 2.3.1.3.

(51)(c) They considered his actions to be more justified than hers.

Justified is, thus, an adjective in these contexts.

Not all cases with a participle-form predicative object complement can be expanded by adding *to be* or *being*. (24) and (25) are examples of this restriction:

(54) *I like to keep him to be pleased.
(55) *I don't want to keep him to be offended.

This restriction appears to be caused by the main verbs of the sentences (i.e. *keep* and *want*), but it may be that these adjectives cannot occur with a verb that would be free of the restriction, in which case the restriction would actually be connected to the meaning of the participles themselves. The following might be acceptable, however:

(56) ?He considered himself offended. ~?He considered himself to be offended.

(56) sounds strange because *offended* there denotes a deliberately assumed state, which is not quite in accordance with the actual meaning of the word. If the unusual usage of *offended* is ignored, there is nothing wrong with the original sentence, or with the expansion with *to be*, which appears to confirm that expandability depends on the choice of the main verb, which in turn depends on the meaning of the adjective. In any case, the issue should be investigated more thoroughly than the scope of this work allows. For the purposes of the present work, it will be enough to note that *pleased* and *offended* are both adjectives in sentences like (24) and (25), and that generally, the tests presented in 2.3 for determining adjectivity and participiality will be just as useful with object complements as with participle-form words in other positions.

2.3 Criteria for differentiating adjectival and participial use

As became obvious in 2.1 and 2.2, it is often difficult to determine whether a participle-form word is actually used as a participle or as an adjective. In this section, I will discuss some ways to deal with structures that may be problematic to analyse.

2.3.1 Passive and predicative structures

The ambiguity between a passive clause and a predicative construction was mentioned in 2.1.2. Quirk et al. (1980: 231-234; 1991:167-171) discuss the different levels of adjectivity and passivity using several criteria. Since their presentations are too long and detailed to be fully presented here, I will only give a summary of their criteria for passive and adjectival status, and refer to other grammars when necessary.

2.3.1.1 Active analogue

The fact that a passive sentence always has an active analogue produces a definite criterion for adjectivity: if a sentence does not have an active analogue, it cannot be passive. The criterion does not work in the opposite direction, since it is possible for predicative structures to have an analogue in which the **-ed** adjective has been transformed into the main verb, just as if the original sentence was a passive:

(57) We were all worried about the complication. ~The complication worried us all. (Quirk et al., 1991:169)
(58) She was pleased with the result. ~The result pleased her.

Some grammars claim that the existence of an agentive *by*-phrase with a personal agent is a definite sign of passivity (Quirk et al., 1980:244; Leech & Svartvik, 1975:195). I disagree with this, since it is fairly easy to create examples of the contrary:

(59) They were unimpressed by the candidate.

(59) is obviously not a passive, because *unimpressed* is not a verb form. Quirk et al. have also changed their minds about this criterion, and state quite explicitly in A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language, "[e]vidently the ability to take an agent *by*-phrase cannot be regarded as diagnostic of the passive construction." (Quirk et al., 1991:169).

Similarly, the existence of a prepositional phrase beginning with a preposition other than *by* does not exclude the passive interpretation (Quirk et al., 1991:169). The prepositional phrase can have, for instance, an instrumental meaning:

(60) The door was broken with a crowbar.

Although (60) and sentences like (57) and (58) appear to have the same structure, it is easy to see the difference between them, i.e. the instrumentality of the *with*-phrase, by paraphrasing (60) the same way as (58). Making the noun phrase in the *with*-phrase the subject changes the meaning of the sentence:

(60)(b) A crowbar broke the door.

Likewise, if *the result* in (58) was to be interpreted instrumentally, the sentence should be paraphrased

(58)(b) ?Someone/something pleased her with the result.

It should be noted that a sentence of the form (60), with a prepositional phrase modifying the participle-form word, can be passive even if the prepositional phrase is neither agentive nor instrumental in nature (Quirk et al., 1991:169):

(61) I was treated with respect. ~They treated me with respect.

2.3.1.2 Dynamic and stative meaning

Syntactic criteria are not always sufficient for determining adjectival or passive status, as is obvious from, for instance, (5):

> (5) The window was closed (by her).

If the agentive *(by her)* is left out, syntactic criteria cannot make a difference between adjectivity and passivity. The choice can still usually be made on semantic grounds: in normal language use, a sufficient amount of the context of the sentence is known to make it possible to determine whether the participle-form word has a dynamic or stative meaning. A passive sentence usually has a dynamic meaning, expressing an action rather than a state, whereas an **-ed** adjective always expresses a state: ". . . all participial adjectives have a static meaning . . ." (Quirk et al., 1991:168). Sentences with a dynamic meaning can, thus, safely be classified as passives. Although the existence of a personal *by*-agentive is not a definite criterion for passivity, as I demonstrated in 2.3.1.1, it can sometimes have the effect of making the sentence explicitly dynamic, as in (5). In this sense, a personal *by*-agentive can indirectly imply passivity.

For stative sentences, however, nothing certain can be said without further tests, since also stative passives exist:

> (62) One entire wall was covered by a gigantic chart of the English Channel (CCEG:406).

It is obvious that (62) refers to a state, not to an action. It is worth noting that the stative status is dependent on the agent: an animate agent, such as *the personnel*, would result in a dynamic

interpretation. In spite of its stative meaning, *was covered* is passive on the basis that *was* cannot be replaced with *seemed*[5]. It also has a clear active analogue, (64), and an agent phrase: the *by*-phrase in (62) is agentive, not instrumental, since an instrumental interpretation would mean the same as

(63) *Someone had covered one entire wall by a gigantic chart of the English Channel.

(63) is grammatically incorrect, because the preposition to be used with the verb *to cover* is *with*, not *by*. Thus, the correct active analogue for (62) is

(64) A gigantic chart of the English Channel covered one entire wall.

in which the noun phrase of the agentive *by*-phrase has become the subject of the sentence.

The existence of an instrumental phrase does not prevent a sentence from being passive, as example (60) above demonstrated. Indeed, if the preposition *by* in (62) is changed to *with*, the resulting sentence is still passive, although its nature changes slightly:

(65) One entire wall was covered with a gigantic chart of the English Channel.

(65) is no more obviously stative: it can refer either to an action or to a state. In both cases, the *with*-phrase is instrumental. The dynamic interpretation is obviously passive, and so is the stative one, since the criterion used on (62) still applies: *was* cannot be replaced with *seemed*. This criterion also shows the difference between (65) and (58): even though the two sentences may appear to be identical in structure, the criterion proves that (65) is passive and (58) is not. This difference is essentially due to the word in the participial/predicative position: what is

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[5] This criterion is discussed in detail in 2.3.1.3.

allowed for *pleased* in this context, is impossible for *covered*. *To cover* and *to please* seem to belong to two different classes of verbs: members of the class that *to cover* belongs to can form stative passives, while members of the other group cannot.

Thus, the dynamic/stative test can give determinative results even when a sentence proves to be stative: if the word in the participial/predicative position has the form of a participle that cannot form stative passives, it is actually an adjective. Both *to please* and *to offend* belong to this class of verbs. Consider the following example:

> (66) The promoters of PC have to persuade women that they ought to be offended. (Sunday Telegraph, 24 January 1993)

Here, the dynamic interpretation is impossible, as it would mean the same as

> (67) The promoters of PC have to persuade women that someone ought to offend them.

which is obviously not the meaning of the original sentence. (66) is thus stative, but it is not a stative passive, since *offended* in (66) is an adjective; its adjectivity is implied by the fact that *be* in (66) can be replaced with *feel*.

The general connection between a dynamic meaning and the passive voice, and between a stative meaning and the interpretation that is called adjectival in this work, is widely agreed on in literature[6] (Hasegawa, 1968:236; Poutsma, 1926:98; Visser, 1973:2087-2088). However, there is less consensus about how the participle or the **-ed** adjective itself should be classified. Some grammarians do not make a clear division into two word-classes,

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[6] The dynamic interpretation can also be called 'kinetic'or 'mutative,' and the stative one 'statal,' 'static,' or 'resultative.' (Visser, 1973:2087)

apparently on the grounds that there will always be ambiguous cases that cannot be classified (Visser, 1973:2087-2088). Many grammarians seem to be especially reluctant to use the term 'adjective' even for words that, according to my criteria, are clearly adjectival. Instead, they prefer to use terms like 'statal passive' (Visser, 1973:2087; Hasegawa, 1968: 236) for all participle-form words, and classify their occurrences as more or less 'adjectival.' Poutsma, on the other hand, seems to hold the view that the participle is originally adjectival in character: when describing sentences with an **-ed** adjective in a predicative position, he claims that *to be* has the "grammatical function . . . of a copula, while the participle has retained its original character of an adjective" (1926: 98). It is unlikely that Poutsma means that **-ed** adjectives would have existed in language before participles, and gradually adopted participial uses. Rather, Poutsma probably means that at the early stages of the English language, the participle typically had a stative meaning:

> Originally the statal pattern was the normal one, for the simple reason that in Primitive Germanic *wesan/beon* in combination with the past participle of any verb, either transitive and [sic] intransitive, was a notional verb with the sense 'to exist,' 'to be (t)here' while the past participle functioned as a predicative adjunct with adjectival import." (Visser, 1973:2088)

Here, Visser states the connection between a stative meaning and the predicative/adjectival nature of the participle-form word. However, he avoids calling a word in such a position an adjective. This terminological carefulness is apparent throughout his discussion: elsewhere, he prefers the term 'statal passive' for this construction. He does admit, though, that there are some participle-form words that are genuine adjectives:

> Not included in this discussion are combinations of *is* (*was*) with the past participle of a transitive verb in which the past participle, having lost its verbal meaning, has become a pure adjective and *is* (*was*) a mere copula. The idiom is more common in Modern than in Old and Middle English, since the development of a past participle into an adjective was naturally a slow process. (1973: 2090)

In other words, Visser's view is that the origin of the words in question is in the class of verbs. This suggestion does not necessarily contradict Poutsma's view as I have interpreted it above: I claimed that Poutsma simply means that participles originally had a stative meaning, which by no means excludes the possibility that such participles could serve as the origin of adjectives with an identical form.

The end of Visser's last quote implies that participles become **-ed** adjectives as a result of a process in which they gradually adopt more and more characteristics and functions of adjectives. This view is supported by the fact that some **-ed** adjectives can be used in a wider range of adjective patterns than others – if the adjectivalisation theory holds, adjectives at different stages of the adjectivalisation process would behave like this. In most cases, of course, this difference is due to semantic factors: the patterns in which an adjective can be used depend on its meaning. However, the Findings part of this work shows that even adjectives that are semantically as similar as *pleased* and *offended* – both denote mental states of human subjects and belong to Leech and Svartvik's category *c* discussed in 2.2.3 – can have great differences in their numbers of occurrences in the different adjective patterns. In any case, a theory like this would need much more data to support it, and deserves an investigation of its own.

As I stated above, I disagree with Visser's term 'statal passives' – in my view, the constructions he refers to with this term are usually cases of the **be** + **Pred** (predicative) construction. This also Hasegawa's opinion:

> …only the 'kinetic' variety constitutes the genuine passive constructions we have been discussing. The 'statal passives' are quite different in their internal representations from the true passives, and actually are not passives at all: here we tentatively assume that they are a variety of *be* + *Pred* construction. (Hasegawa, 1968:236)

Hasegawa, however, does not recognise the existence of truly stative passives – for example, he classifies the following sentence as one his ‘statal passives,’ i.e. **be** + **Pred** constructions:

(68) The garden was covered with leaves. (Hasegawa, 1968:236)

This sentence is identical to (65), which, as I have already claimed, is in the passive voice.

2.3.1.3 Verb substitution and other criteria

A definite criterion for passivity is that the auxiliary *be* cannot be replaced with copular verbs such as *feel*, *seem*, *become*, and *remain*, whereas for predicative constructions, these are quite acceptable (Quirk et al., 1980:233, 243; 1991:168, 170). Unfortunately, Quirk et al. do not list any other copular verbs that could be used in the test, or specify how this group is defined. LGSWE calls *feel*, *seem*, and *remain* “current copular verbs” – other such verbs listed by LGSWE are *appear, keep, stay, look, sound, smell, taste* (LGSWE:436). It is likely that no adjective can co-occur with all of these copulas, but that this list is rather a collection of verbs that can get an adjective phrase complement and can thus be used in this adjectivity test. LGSWE also lists “resulting copular verbs:” *become, get, go, grow, prove, turn, turn out, end up, wind up* (LGSWE:436). Resulting copular verbs can also be used in the verb replacement test, although their dynamic meaning may cause confusing situations – after all, dynamic meaning is one of the clearest proofs of passivity, as I have noted in 2.3.1.2. I will discuss this ambiguity in more detail in 2.3.1.4. Generally speaking, *get* is the only verb in the list above that can be used as a true passive voice auxiliary, and that can consequently form truly ambiguous sentences.

Quantitative adjectives can also be modified with an adverb of degree. These include *very, rather, quite,* and *more* (Quirk et al., 1991:167-168):

(58)(c) She was very / rather pleased with the result.
(58)(d) She was more pleased with the result than I thought.

If a participle-form word is modified with an adverb of degree, it is definitely an adjective (Quirk et al., 1980:244; LGSWE:68; Leech & Svartvik, 1975:195; Warren, 1989:350). This criterion is obviously unusable with candidates for quantitative adjectives. The sources treat the question of adjectivity from the point of view of a word form free of any context, but it would be useful if this feature could be used for testing adjectivity in actual sentences, i.e. if the mere possibility of inserting *very*, for instance, before a suspected adjective would prove its adjectivity. Quirk et al. suggest that such a test really is valid: ". . . if the corresponding verb allows (say) *very much* while the participle form disallows *very*, we have a good indication that the form in question is a participle rather than an adjective" (Quirk et al., 1980:246). This is indeed the case: inserting an adverb of degree before a participle in an unambiguously passive verb phrase will result in an unacceptable sentence:

(69) In this new free-market world, where schools are attacked for their selective recruitment policies, public sensibilities must not be offended. (Sunday Telegraph, 15 August 1993) ~* In this new free-market world, where schools are attacked for their selective recruitment policies, public sensibilities must not be very offended.

Modification with *very* is impossible in (69), because there is no possibility of interpreting *offended* adjectivally. In sentences where this kind of ambiguity is possible, the insertion of *very* has a different effect – it excludes the dynamic, passive interpretation, leaving the adjectival interpretation as the only possibility:

(70) It feels French tourists arriving there could be offended by the railway station's name. (Daily Telegraph, 30 July 1993)
(70)(b) It feels French tourists arriving there could be very offended by the railway station's name.

(70) has two possible interpretations, adjectival (*French tourists arriving there could feel offended by the railway station's name*) and passive (*the railway station's name could offend French tourists arriving there*). Inserting *very* into (70) makes the first interpretation the only acceptable one, since a passive interpretation would be **the railway station's name could very offend French tourists arriving there*.

Examples (69) and (70) demonstrate how inserting an adverb of degree, such as *very*, as a premodifier of a participle-form word can be used as a test for adjectivity. If the insertion produces an incorrect sentence, the premodified word in the original sentence is a participle. If the insertion produces a correct sentence but narrows the range of possible interpretations, the premodified word in the original sentence is ambiguous, i.e. has two different interpretations, a passive one and an adjectival one. If the insertion produces a correct sentence and does not have any effect on the range of possible interpretations, the premodified word is an adjective.

Quirk et al. also mention adjectives' ability to be co-ordinated with other adjectives as a criterion for adjectivity, but this ability is not a definitive criterion. For example, (62), which I claimed to be passive in 2.3.1.2, can be modified like this without changing its passivity:

(71) One wall was very high and covered by a gigantic chart of the English Channel.

However, this seems to be possible for stative passives only.

2.3.1.4 Other observations on the ambiguity of passive and predicative structures

Visser's view on passivity differs so much from other grammarians' that it deserves a separate discussion. His suggestion for the definition of voice is ”That manner of formulating a syntactical unit from which it can be deduced whether or not the subject of the sentence performs itself the action denoted by the full verb in the predicate.” (1973:2086). In other words, if the grammatical subject ”performs itself the action denoted by the full verb in the

predicate," the sentence is in the active voice; otherwise, it is in the passive voice. This definition sounds simple and clear enough, but unfortunately, it does not bring any additional clarity to the problem of ambiguous structures. The ambiguity now lies in the interpretation of "the full verb:" if the full verb in (5)(b) is *was closed*, the sentence is passive, and if the full verb is *was*, the sentence is active and *closed* is an adjective in a predicative position:

(5)(b) The window was closed.

Visser does not appear to be satisfied with the widely held view that a passive verb phrase always has the form **be** + **Ppl** or **get** + **Ppl** – his definition of voice does not specify any particular auxiliaries, or even patterns. Indeed, he claims that all constructions of the type **verb** + **Ppl** can have a more or less passive meaning. He divides these constructions into three groups according to the first verb: (a) 'full' or quasi-'full' verb; (b) 'adverbial' verb; and (c) auxiliary (1973:2027).

Visser's group (a) includes verbs like *feel, go, hang, lie, sit,* and *stand*. According to Visser, the past participle in group (a) "performs the function of a predicative adjunct: it refers to the state or condition of the person denoted by the subject," and therefore "strongly resembles an adjective when passivity is not clearly in evidence." In other words, he states that in most cases the **-ed** word is much closer to an adjective than to a participle. Unfortunately, he does not give any examples where passivity would clearly be "in evidence," – such an example would be very interesting, since it is my view that the **-ed** word modifying a verb of this group is always an adjective. This view is supported by Quirk et al., since one of their criteria for adjectivity, discussed in 2.3.1.3, is that the main verb can be substituted with *feel*, one of Visser's group (a) verbs. (Visser, 1973:2027-2028).

Visser's group (b) consists of "adverbial" verbs that he further divides into copulas of aspect (*continue, keep, remain, rest, become*) and copulas of modality (*look, seem, sound*)[7]. He claims that these copulas can be used to form "'passives' with a connotation of permanency," "incipiency," or "modality," but again, this view presumes that the passive voice can be formed with auxiliaries other than *be* or *get*. (Visser, 1973:2029-2034). However, *get* in the passive auxiliary position is often interchangeable with *become*:

(72) He got interested in mathematics. ~He became interested in mathematics.

(72) is a passive on the basis that its meaning is dynamic, and *got* cannot be replaced with *seemed* without changing the nature of the sentence from dynamic to stative. The substitution of *became* does not cause as clear a change of the dynamic nature, but I would argue that the semantic connection between the auxiliary and the participle is not as close as in the original sentence, and that *become* consequently puts more emphasis on the result of the action. Nevertheless, I agree that **become** + **Ppl** has a strong passive quality.

It is possible that Visser is not claiming that the first verb in group (a) and (b) constructions is an auxiliary at all (he uses the term "quasi-auxiliary", 1973:2086), but that the past participle can be a shortened form of a full passive construction. However, with this reasoning, it could be argued that any **-ed** adjective in a predicative position is actually a past participle acting as the main verb in a passive verb phrase.

Visser's third group, (c), includes *be* and *have* in addition to several auxiliaries that are not used with past participles in Modern English. **Have** + **Ppl** obviously constitutes the perfect tense, and **be** + **Ppl of** $\mathbf{V_{tr}}$ the passive voice. Visser's views on these constructions do

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[7] It is worth noticing that the difference between this division and that used in LGSWE (discussed in 2.3.1.3) is

not include anything relevant for my topic in addition to what I have said above. **Be + Ppl of $\mathbf{V_{itr}}$** ("The king is arrived") is not used nowadays to express the passive voice; any sentences of this structure are cases of **be + -ed Adj**. (1973:2042-2044).

2.3.2 Past participle clauses and adjective phrases

In 2.1.3.1, I claimed that *involved in money laundry* in

(14) Involved in money laundry, the minister had to resign.

is an adjective phrase rather than a past participle phrase complementing *the minister*. *Involved* can be proven an adjective with the tests presented in 2.3.1 – for instance, it can be modified with an adverb of degree:

(14)(b) More involved in money laundry than anyone suspected, the minister had to resign.

Likewise, *experienced* in

(16) The police are looking for someone experienced in investigating financial crime.

can be modified with *more*, and possibly with *very* or *rather*, which implies adjectivity.

Some native speakers would probably argue that (14)(b) is grammatically incorrect, and that instead of *More involved* it should read *More deeply involved*. The latter implies a less adjectival nature for *involved*, but at least CCELD (*Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary*, 1987) claims that *involved* is an adjective even when it is modified with *deeply* (CCELD, second meaning of *involved*). Further proof of adjectivity is provided by the fact

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not merely a question of different terms: also the contents of the groups differ.

that it is very difficult to think of an agentive *by*-phrase complementing the supposed participle.

Involved is a good example of how confusing past participle clauses and corresponding adjectival constructions can be. It belongs to a small group of adjectives that can only occur as a postmodifier[8]. Leech adds that "[t]his position is used mainly where the adjective is followed by another structure" (Leech, 1989:17), by which he means, for example, the prepositional phrase *in money laundry*. This criterion, however, suggests that *known* in (11) is also an adjective, since it is followed by the prepositional phrase *as 'The Grey Wolf.'* Things get further complicated when dictionaries are consulted: LDEL (*Longman Dictionary of the English Language*, 1991) recognises *involved* as an adjective only as a synonym of *intricate* or *complex*. The meanings LDEL lists for the verb *involve*, on the other hand, include the following: "*vt* **1a** to engage as a participant <*workmen ~d in building a house*>," in other words, LDEL regards *involved* used in postposition as a participle. CCELD, however, disagrees, and classifies *involved* as an adjective in sentences as

> (73) We never managed to get anything done, simply because of the large number of people involved (CCELD).

As far as *involved* is concerned, I agree with CCELD: it is an adjective in (14) and (73) for the reasons I have explained above. The criteria for adjectivity and passivity I presented in 2.3.1 thus apply to apparently ambiguous structures of this type as well.

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[8]Quirk and Greenbaum's (1975:116) short list of such adjectives include *elect, proper, ablaze, absent, present*, and *concerned* in addition to *involved*.

2.3.3 Summary of the criteria

Before the Analysis section, I will present a short summary of the criteria I will use for classifying examples in the data. My primary criteria will be syntactic, and semantic criteria will be used only when the syntactic ones fail to classify an occurrence.

According to my sources, the clearest criteria for adjectivity are the existence of a copula other than *be* or *get*, and the existence of an adverb of degree, such as *very*, *too*, or *more,* as a premodifier of the suspected adjective. Sentences that contain one or both of these features cannot be interpreted as passives.

If a sentence does not have an active analogue, it cannot be passive; however, this criterion can be rather vague, since there is not always a single, correct way of converting a sentence into the active voice. Besides, many sentences with an **-ed** adjective can be paraphrased in exactly the same way as a similar passive sentence, which makes this criterion rarely usable.

The existence of a premodifier, such as *well*, that can only premodify a verb form is obviously a definite criterion. However, it is not always an unproblematic one, as my discussion on *well pleased* in 3.4.5 shows: it can be very difficult to determine whether an adverb really only modifies verbs, or whether it can occur with adjectives as well. For this criterion to be fully reliable, each adverb occurring in this position should itself be properly investigated using corpus data.

The two tests I presented in 2.3.1.3 – the verb replacement test and the adverb insertion test – can also give determinative results: if a sentence fails them both, it is passive. A sentence passing either one or both of them is proven to have a possibility of an adjectival interpretation, and is thus either adjectival or ambiguous. Semantic criteria are then needed to make the difference.

A sentence with a dynamic meaning is always passive. In the case of *pleased* and *offended*, a stative meaning always implies adjectivity, as I have claimed in 2.3.1.2. My criteria for dynamic meaning are that the sentence in question refers to a single or a repeated event. Also, the existence of a personal *by*-agent can result in the dynamic interpretation being the only possibility (see 2.3.1.2). There can, however, be cases that are truly ambiguous, i.e. have two meanings, one dynamic and the other one stative. In cases like these, the choice has to be made on the basis on the context of the sentence, and even that may not fully remove the ambiguity.

In addition to investigating the possible uses of *pleased* and *offended*, the purpose of the Analysis section is to test the usability of these criteria in classifying examples of real language. By testing the criteria, the process of classification and analysis will also test the theoretical basis that the criteria rely on.

3. Analysis of the data

In this section, I will use the criteria presented at the end of section 2 to classify the occurrences of *pleased* and *offended* in The Telegraph 1993 corpus. Even though my main interest is on the adjectival and passive uses of the two word-forms, I will also include in my data occurrences of all the other types possible for them, e.g. perfect tense, past tense, and noun. Before the actual analysis part, I will consult dictionaries for the meanings and different uses of *please/pleased* and *offend/offended*. I will also briefly present The Telegraph 1993 corpus, and present the classification system I will use in the analysis.

3.1 Definitions of *pleased* and *offended*

Both *pleased* and *offended* have their origins in Latin, where their meanings are very similar to the ones they have in Modern English. According to OED, the Latin verb *offendere* means ‘to strike against, stumble, commit a fault, displease, vex, hurt, injure, etc.’ and *placere* ‘to be pleasing or agreeable.’

3.1.1 Definitions of *offend* and *offended*

LDEL lists the following meanings for *offend* used intransitively: ‘to break a moral or divine law; sin . . . to cause difficulty or discomfort, . . . anger, or vexation,’ and remarks that *offend* is often used with the preposition *against*. There is one more meaning, which is close to LDEL’s first definition: ‘to commit a crime or crimes’ (*Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of Current English* (OALDCE), 2000). The transitive meanings are very similar: ‘to cause pain or displeasure to; hurt . . . to cause to feel indignation or disgust’ (LDEL).

The third edition of OALDCE (1974) claims that *offend* can be used with no preposition, or with the prepositions *against*, *by*, *at*, or even *with*: “She was ~ed by/with her husband.” However, the latest, sixth edition (2000) only mentions *against*. This may be

connected to the fact that the previous editions of OALDCE did not have any mention of *offended* as an adjective, but the sixth edition has, as a subentry under the verb *offend*. At least the above quote, when using the preposition *with*, is clearly adjectival according to my criteria: *was* can be replaced with *seemed* or *felt*, and *offended* can be premodified with *very*. It could be the case, then, that the editors of OALDCE now consider *offended* an adjective when it is used in a predicative position with the prepositions *with* or *at*. It is worth noting that *offended* does not occur with *with* in the data, but does occur with *against*, *at*, and *by*.

LDEL, RHUD (*Random House Unabridged Dictionary*, first and second edition), NWDEL (*The New Webster Dictionary of the English Language*), EWED (*Encarta World English Dictionary*), and NPED (*The New Penguin English Dictionary*, 2000) do not have any mention of *offended* as an adjective. RHUD, however, lists *offendedly* and *offendedness* among the derivatives of the verb *offend*. The formation of these words requires the existence of the corresponding adjective, *offended*. CCELD lists it as a qualitative adjective, but mentions only predicative use. OED mentions *offended* as a "participial adjective" at the end of the entry for the verb *offend* – OED has solved the problem of participle-form words overlapping both the adjective and verb classes by granting them a class of their own: participial adjectives. OED gives examples of the adjectival use of *offended* starting from mid-15th century.

3.1.2 Definitions of *please* and *pleased*

For intransitive *please*, LDEL gives the following meanings: '**1** to afford or give pleasure or satisfaction . . . **2** to like, wish, choose . . . **3** to be willing – usu imper; used (1) to express a polite request <*coffee, ~*> <*~ come in*> . . .' In CCELD, the last meaning is classified as an adverb or "convention," a standard expression, and in OALDCE (2000), as an exclamation.

The transitive meanings of *pleased* given by LDEL are '**1** give pleasure or satisfaction to; gratify . . . **2** *formal* to be the will or pleasure of.'

NWDEL and RHUD do not mention the adjectival use of *pleased*, but RHUD lists *pleasedly* and *pleasedness* as derivatives of the verb *please*. OALDCE (2000), OED, CCELD, EWED, NPED, and PAED (*The Penguin All English Dictionary*, 1969) all have an entry of *pleased* as an adjective meaning '**1.** feeling happy about sth . . . **2.** happy or willing to do sth' (OALDCE), 'Affected by feelings of satisfaction or pleasure; contented, gratified, in good humour' (OED), or with similar definitions. The earliest example of adjectival *pleased* in OED is from 1382. CCELD also mentions *delighted*, *contented*, *happy*, and *satisfied* as synonyms of *pleased*, and gives examples of *pleased* modified with a *that*-clause, a *to*-infinitive, or a prepositional clause with *with*, *at*, or *about* as the preposition. *Pleased* occurs in the data with all of these prepositions, as well as with *for*, *on*, and *by*. According to CCELD and NPED, both attributive and predicative positions are possible for *pleased*.

LDCE (*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, 1981) gives an interesting usage note for *pleased*: "Some *AmE* speakers think that *very pleased* is bad English and would rather say *very much pleased*. British speakers do not mind about this." Also, OALDCE[9] gives the following example sentence: "I'm very (much) ~d with what he has done." This distinction is important because it is one of the distinctions between adjectives and verbs: verbs cannot be modified with *very*, and vice versa, adjectives cannot be modified with *very much*: **He was very much old*. Thus, this structure is of special interest in this study. *Very much pleased* does not occur in the Telegraph 1993 corpus, and *much pleased* occurs only as an active past tense

[9]This example sentence appears in the second (1963) and third (1974) edition of OALDCE, but not in the fourth (1989), fifth (1995), or sixth (2000) edition.

verb form. However, the corpus does have one occurrence of *much offended*:

> (74) WHEN CAPTAIN Marryat was visiting the Niagara Falls in 1837, the young lady he was accompanying slipped and grazed her shin. 'Did you hurt your leg much?' he asked, when he noticed that she was limping. At this inquiry, Marryat records, 'she turned from me, evidently much shocked, or **much offended**'. When he asked what the reason was for her displeasure, she eventually explained that in America the word 'leg' was never used in the presence of ladies: only the word 'limb' was permissible. (Sunday Telegraph, 24 January 1993; my emphasis)

This example is obviously archaic English, but I have classified it according to the same criteria as other examples. It is thus an adverbial participle clause, i.e. a passive form, since *much* cannot modify an adjective.

3.2 The Telegraph 1993

The Telegraph 1993 (henceforth DT93) corpus consists of all the text published in The Daily Telegraph and The Sunday Telegraph during the year 1993. It has approximately 31 807 000 words in 76 396 articles. The text is stored on a CD-ROM disc, and can be retrieved with a program supplied on the CD.

The Telegraph corpus seems to be designed to be used as a reference work, and not for linguistic study – for example, in order to reduce the size of the index, 23 very common pronouns, articles, prepositions, and auxiliaries have been left out of it altogether. This does not, however, affect this study.

I chose the Telegraph 1993 corpus because it was the only corpus available to me that was large enough. The approximately one-million-word Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen (LOB) corpus, for example, is too small for this study, as *pleased* occurs in it 41 times, and *offended* only twice. The Telegraph 1993 cannot be considered to represent the English language in general, but in my opinion, its language is fairly close to contemporary everyday English, and

as such, sufficient for the needs of this study. A corpus such as the LSWE (Longman Spoken and Written English) corpus used as a basis for LGSWE would obviously be a more accurate representation of the English language, since it consists of transcribed conversation, fiction, and academic prose in addition to news text. In some parts of the following discussion, I will compare my findings of some syntactic patterns to the corresponding frequencies in the LSWE corpus.

3.3 Classification of findings

Examples retrieved from the corpus will be classified, according to the pattern and meaning of *pleased* or *offended*, into verbs (V), adjectives (A), nouns (N), and unclassifiable or ambiguous structures (U). These classes are divided into subclasses according to the following list. In classifying the examples, I will primarily use the syntactic criteria presented in 2.3, and only resort to semantic criteria when syntactic ones cannot establish a difference between a participial and an adjectival use. The system of classification is meant to include all the possible patterns the two word-forms can occur in, and it is essentially a summary of the discussion of section 2: all the different patterns presented in 2 can be found here, as well as the N (nouns) and U (ambiguous) class:

VA1a active past perfect clauses: (2) *She had closed the window*.

VA1b active present perfect clauses: (3) *She has closed the window*.

VA1c active future perfect clauses: (4) *She will have closed the window*.

VA2 active past tense clauses: *The results pleased me*. This use is neither adjectival nor participial, but I will not omit examples in the past tense from my data, as my purpose is to study the distribution of all the different uses of the word forms.

VP1 passive clauses: (5) *The window was closed (by her).*

VP2a adverbial past participle clauses: (10) *Accused of dishonesty by the media, the Minister decided to resign* (Leech, 1989:328).

VP2b relative past participle clauses: (11) *The police are looking for a man known as 'The Grey Wolf'* (ibid.).

VP2c verb phrase complement: (18) *She wanted him gone*.

A1a attributive, premodifying: *a pleased man*

A1b attributive, postmodifying: *someone pleased with himself*

A2a predicative, adjective + no modifiers: *He seemed pleased.*

A2b predicative, adjective + prepositional phrase: *He seemed pleased with you.*

A2c predicative, adjective + **that**-clause: *He seemed pleased that we came*.

A2d predicative, adjective + **to-**infinitive: *He seemed pleased to hear it*. Of Leech and Svartvik's six subtypes for this structure discussed in 2.2.3, *pleased* and *offended* belong to type *c*.

A3a peripheral adjective phrase: *Pleased with the results so far, he decided to continue*.

A3b predicative object complement: (24) *I like to keep him pleased.*

N noun: ". . . it was also a hard task convincing the offended that the scene was a fantasy . . ." (Daily Telegraph, 28 August 1993).

U unclassified or ambiguous structures: (34) *I was offended by his behaviour*.

All of the different prepositional variants of structures VP1, VP2a, VP2b, A2b, A3a, A3b, and U will be grouped under the same class, but the frequencies of each preposition will be reported.

3.4 Findings

Pleased occurs 1205 times in 1138 articles, and *offended* 170 times in 157 articles in the corpus. However, in the index of the corpus CD, hyphenated words are not regarded as

compounds. Therefore the frequency of *offended* also includes nine occurrences of the word *re-offended*, examples of which have been ignored in this study, since the two are regarded as different words. The total number of examples of *offended* is thus 161. To make comparison easy, I also decided to select only the first 161 occurrences of *pleased* as data. The sentences with *pleased* were published between January 2nd and February 15th 1993. If the principles of statistics had been followed strictly, the 161 examples of *pleased* should have been selected randomly among all the occurrences published in 1993, instead of simply choosing the first 161 cases. However, there is no reason to believe that the frequency or uses of *pleased* would significantly depend on the time of the year.

Table 1 shows the distribution of the examples into the different categories:

Table 1. Distribution of the occurrences. The percentages are calculated from the total number of all occurrences (161).

	pleased		*offended*	
	Occurrences	Percentage	Occurrences	Percentage
VA1a Active past perfect	0	0.0 %	3	1.9 %
VA1b Active present perfect	3	1.9 %	25	15.5 %
VA1c Active future perfect	0	0.0 %	0	0.0 %
VA2 Active past tense	7	4.3 %	27	16.8 %
VP1 Passive clauses	9	5.6 %	13	8.1 %
VP2a Adverbial past participle clauses	0	0.0 %	1	0.6 %
VP2b Relative past participle clauses	0	0.0 %	1	0.6 %
VP2c Verb phrase complement	1	0.6 %	0	0.0 %
Verbs, total	20	12.4 %	70	43.5 %
A1a Attributive, premodifying	1	0.6 %	4	2.5 %
A1b Attributive, postmodifying	0	0.0 %	3	1.9 %
A2a Predicative, no postmodifiers	26	16.1 %	22	13.7 %
A2b Predicative + preposition phrase	46	28.6 %	14	8.7 %
A2c Predicative + **that-**clause	21	13.0 %	3	1.9 %

A2d Predicative + **to**-infinitive	42	26.1 %	1	0.6 %
A3a Peripheral adjective phrases	3	1.9 %	0	0.0 %
A3b Predicative object complement	0	0.0 %	0	0.0 %
Adjectives, total	139	86.3 %	47	30.4 %
N Nouns	0	0.0 %	1	0.6 %
U Unclassified	2	1.2 %	43	26.7 %
Total	161	100.0 %	161	100.0 %

The table shows some clear differences in the distributions of the two words. *Offended* is used as a verb form, especially in the active voice, much more often than *pleased*. This would be true even if all the unclassified cases of *offended* were considered adjectives. This difference suggests that *pleased* is generally more adjectival in nature than *offended*, which is also supported by the facts that *offended* is used only marginally with a **that**-clause or a **to**-infinitive, and that the total frequency of adjectival *pleased* is considerably higher than that of adjectival *offended*. There is some contrary evidence as well: *offended* is used attributively much more often than *pleased*.

The total frequency of *pleased* is 1205 occurrences / 31.8 million words ≈ 38 occurrences per one million words, which is fairly close to its frequency in the LOB corpus, 41 per one million words. If my sample of all the occurrences of *pleased* represents the whole reliably, *pleased* should occur adjectivally in approximately 86.3% of the 1205 cases, resulting in a frequency of 33 per million. This is in accordance with LGSWE, which lists *pleased* among **-ed** adjectives that occur “at least” ten times in one million words – unfortunately, LGSWE does not give a more accurate estimate of the frequency of adjectival *pleased* (LGSWE, 530).

The frequency of *offended,* 161 / 31.8 ≈ 5 per million words, is clearly bigger than in LOB, 2 per million. This could be explained with the small size of the LOB corpus, which makes especially the small frequencies rather unreliable.

In the following sections, I will present examples from each category and discuss any problems involved in recognising the sentences belonging to the category.

3.4.1 Nouns

The data included only one case of a participle-form noun:

> (75) . . . while practically everyone failed to notice that the film was based on a classic novel by Rikos Kazantzakis, it was also a hard task convincing the offended that the scene was a fantasy, dreamt by Christ as he dies on the Cross. (Daily Telegraph, 28 August 1993)

There is nothing ambiguous about this example. However, it can be argued that it represents one of the characteristics of adjectives: nouns of this type can be made from adjectives, but not from verb forms. In the light of the CT93 corpus, it can thus be said that *offended* has gained this adjectival quality.

3.4.2 Active voice verb phrases

The following table presents the numbers of active voice sentences for both *pleased* and *offended*, including the numbers of transitive and intransitive cases:

Table 2. Distribution of the active voice cases. The percentages are calculated from the total number of all occurrences (161).

	pleased				*offended*			
	Tr	Itr	Total	%	Tr	Itr	Total	%
Active past perfect	0	0	0	0.0%	1	2	3	1.9%
Active present perfect	3	0	3	1.9%	19	6	25	15.5%

Active future perfect	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0	0	0.0%
Active past tense	3	4	7	4.3%	19	8	27	16.8%
Active cases, total	**6**	**4**	**10**	**6.2%**	**39**	**16**	**55**	**34.2%**

Offended was used in DT93 much more often actively than *pleased*: over a third of the occurrences of *offended* were found in active voice sentences. The typical active voice usage of *offended* in DT93 was a sentence of the following type, in which *offended* was transitive, and its object referred to a person or to a group of people:

> (76) 'They are ashamed of some of the things they have said which have offended many older people in the constituency,' he said. (Daily Telegraph, 29 July 1993)

In several cases only the context showed that the noun phrase in the object position actually referred to a person or persons. Examples of such noun phrases include *sensitive souls*, *the cricket establishment*, *the liberal establishment*, and *Middle America*. When the object was not personal, it usually referred either to a common or personal moral code, or to sense organs such as eyes or nostrils:

> (77) In New York he offended political correctness with a playlet about Christopher Columbus that was full of indecently gleeful beating up of Indians. (Daily Telegraph, 19 May 1993)
> (78) Four spectators, 50 yards way and moving like tortoises, offended his eye. (Daily Telegraph, 19 July 1993)

11 out of the 15 intransitive cases of *offended* had the meaning ‘to commit a crime or crimes’ (OALDCE, 2000), although in two cases, it was sports rules that were offended rather than the law. The remaining four cases meant ‘to cause displeasure, anger or vexation’ (LDEL).

All the different meanings *offended* was used in were listed in the dictionaries consulted. However, the view held at least by LDEL that *offend* is “often” used with *against* in

the sense ‘to break a moral or divine law; sin’ seems a slight exaggeration in the light of this data, as **offend** + **against** occurs in only one of the 11 intransitive sentences with this particular meaning.

Pleased was used in the active voice in senses listed in dictionaries: cases of transitive *pleased* had the meaning ‘give pleasure or satisfaction to; gratify,’ and intransitive cases had the meaning ‘to like, wish, choose’ (LDEL):

> (79) A young hothead displayed the sort of spirit which would doubtless have pleased President Saddam Hussein, whose portraits grace virtually every corner and large building of the capital. (Daily Telegraph, 15 January 1993)
> (80) For his part, Nureyev behaved with filial insouciance, ringing the Goslings late at night from foreign countries, coming and going as he pleased. (Daily Telegraph, 19 January 1993)

3.4.3 Attributive adjectives

The numbers of attributive examples of both words are listed in the following table, extracted from Table 1:

Table 3. Distribution of the attributive cases. The percentages are calculated from the total number of all occurrences (161).

	pleased		*offended*	
A1a Attributive, premodifying	1	0.6 %	4	2.5 %
A1b Attributive, postmodifying	0	0.0 %	3	1.9 %
Attributive, total	**1**	**0.6%**	**7**	**4.3%**

The numbers are surprisingly small considering how often the words were used as predicative adjectives. This is especially true for *pleased*: it occurred attributively only once, but predicatively 135 times, which is over 80% of all the 61 occurrences. For *offended*, the difference is not as strong, but still clear, since it was used predicatively in approximately 25%

of all the sentences. In other words, the adjective *pleased* is used predicatively in the data in 97.1% of all of its adjectival occurrences, and *offended* in 85.1%. LGSWE does not list either word among examples of adjectives used predicatively over 80% of the time in the LSWE corpus, but the lists that it gives are not complete (LGSWE, 508). The overwhelming proportion of predicative cases in DT93 might suggest that even though the words are clearly used adjectivally, they are still strongly associated with the passive voice. However, if this was true, other **-ed** adjectives could also be expected to have a similar distribution between attributive and predicative usage, but LGSWE states quite explicitly that "[i]n general, attributive uses outnumber predicative uses for both *ing*- and *ed*-participles." (LGSWE, 531). Besides, such a distribution is quite possible for other adjectives as well, since LGSWE's lists of selected adjectives occurring predicatively over 80% of the time include only one **-ed** adjective, *tired* (LGSWE, 508). In any case, it is safe to state that *pleased* and *offended* are not typical adjectives in this respect, since adjectives are usually used attributively much more often than predicatively. For example, for all the adjectives in the news section of the LSWE corpus, attributive use was approximately five times more common than predicative (LGSWE, 508).

All three cases of postmodifying *offended* were themselves postmodified with a *by*-phrase with an agentive meaning. Only one of all the attributive cases had a premodifier, *most*:

> (81) So it was that four of the heftiest and most offended by his dandyism shouldered their way through Wilde's door while many others waited on the stairs to watch events unfold.

This was the only problematic sentence in this group, since the subject in it is actually *four of the heftiest and most offended by his dandyism*, in which *most offended* might be understood to be a noun with an adjectival origin. However, my interpretation of the nature of the phrase *most offended by his dandyism* in this sentence is that it is an abbreviated form of *the ones*

most offended by his dandyism. Therefore, *offended* is an attributive adjective postmodifying *the ones*.

3.4.4 Predicative adjectives and peripheral adjective phrases

This and the following categories – predicative, passive, and ambiguous – differ from the previous ones in the respect that predicative **-ed** adjectives and past participles in passive constructions occur in seemingly identical patterns. Analysing sentences containing such patterns can be much more difficult than analysing sentences in the previous groups. In deciding which sentences should be placed under this category (predicative adjectives), I have used the criteria I introduced in section 2.3.1.3, mainly the verb replacement test (replacing *be* with *feel/seem/appear*), and the premodification test (inserting *very* before the suspected adjective.) In addition to obviously adjectival cases, i.e. sentences that use a copula other than *be* or *get* or sentences in which the adjective is premodified with *very* or some other adverb that cannot modify a verb form, this category only includes sentences which (a) pass either the replacement test or the premodification test or both, and (b) have no possibility of a dynamic interpretation. Sentences that fulfil (a) but can have a dynamic interpretation as well are placed in the Unclassified/ambiguous category. Sentences that do not fulfil (a) are passive sentences; if they fulfil (b), they are stative passives, otherwise they are dynamic passives. As I have stated in 2.3.1.2, *pleased* and *offended* cannot form stative passives, since *be* in a stative sentence can always be replaced with *seem* or *feel*, which obviously means that the sentence passes the replacement test and thus belongs either to the ambiguous category or to the predicative category.

3.4.4.1 Copular verbs and premodifiers used with predicative *pleased* and *offended*

All the different copulas that were used with the predicative adjectives are listed in the following table along with their frequencies with *pleased* and *offended*. Note that the percentage column shows the proportion of each copula in all the predicatives, and not in all the 161 cases as in the previous tables:

Table 4. The copulas used with predicative *pleased* and *offended*. The percentages are calculated from the total number of predicative occurrences.

Copula	*pleased*		*offended*	
be	122	90.4%	34	85 %
get	0	0.0%	0	0 %
feel	3	2.2%	3	8 %
seem	3	2.2%	1	3 %
look	6	4.4%	0	0 %
appear	1	0.7%	0	0 %
grow	0	0.0%	1	3 %
sound	0	0.0%	1	3 %
Total	**135**	**100.0%**	**40**	**100 %**

The most common copula was *be*. This was of course to be expected; for example, in the LSWE corpus, *be* occurs as a copula "over 20 times more often than any other copular verb" (LGSWE, 437). With *pleased* in DT93, this is exactly the proportion between *be* and the next most common copular verb, *look*. *Offended*, however, only occurs ten times more often with *be* than with *feel*, the next common copula. According to LGSWE (439), the most common verbs taking an adjective complement in addition to *be* in the news register are *become*, *get*, *look*, *feel, seem, go,* and *remain*. This differs from the distribution of copulas in Table 5, which should not be considered surprising, because LGSWE's list is based on an average of the copulas occurring with all the adjectives in the corpus. LGSWE itself points out that "each

verb takes a different set [of adjectives], reflecting the different kinds of linking relations that they represent." (LGSWE, 438). Consequently, *become*, *go*, and *remain* did not occur with either word. *Get* did not occur with predicative *pleased* or *offended*, but in the whole data it occurred twice, with *offended*. Both cases are in the Unclassified group, and will be discussed later. *Pleased* was used with a copula other than *be* or *get* 13 times (9.6% of all copulas) and *offended* six times (15.0% of all copulas), the most common ones of these combinations being *look pleased* and *feel offended*:

(82) No one looked more pleased with the news than the Scottish Secretary, Ian Lang, who sat next to Mr Rifkind with a Burns Night after-dinner grin. (Daily Telegraph, 4 February 1993)
(83) It was a letter from the Provost in his own hand, couched in such a nice way that one didn't feel offended at all. (Sunday Telegraph, 1 August 1993)

The participle-form words in examples (82) and (83) are clearly adjectives on the basis of their copular verbs. Another clear sign of adjectivity is a premodifier that can modify an adjective, but not a verb form. *Very, more/most, less, as, too, pretty*, and *how* are examples of such premodifiers occurring in the data. *Very* was by far the most frequent of them, premodifying *pleased* 18 times and *offended* three times. Premodifiers that occurred with predicative *pleased* and *offended* but that can also premodify verb forms include *really, particularly, obviously*, and *deeply*. Participle-form words premodified with one of these adverbs can often be proven adjectives on some other basis, but sometimes they remain ambiguous:

(84) The woman who answers sounds deeply offended at being disturbed so early in the morning. (Daily Telegraph, 8 May 1993)
(85) His Lordship, Professor of Economics at the LSE, tells me that he was 'deeply offended' by Mr Lilley's speech. (Sunday Telegraph, 24 October 1993)

In (84), the copula *sounds* clearly shows that *offended* is an adjective. (85), however, could either mean that "His Lordship felt deeply offended," or that "Mr Lilley's speech deeply offended His Lordship," in which case the sentence would be passive since it refers to a single, distinct event. In all, *pleased* in a predicative position had a premodifier in 53 sentences, which is approximately 39% of all predicative cases of *pleased*. For *offended*, the corresponding numbers were 16 sentences and 40% of all predicative cases.

3.4.4.2 Predicative patterns of *pleased* and *offended*

The distribution of the predicative occurrences of the two words is presented in Table 5, an extract of Table 1 with the exception that the percentage column shows the proportion of each type in all predicative cases:

Table 5. Summary of predicative adjective occurrences. The percentages are calculated from the total number of predicative occurrences.

	pleased		*offended*	
A2a Predicative, no postmodifiers	26	19,3 %	22	55 %
A2b Predicative + preposition phrase	46	34,1 %	14	35 %
A2c Predicative + **that**-clause	21	15,6 %	3	8 %
A2d Predicative + **to**-infinitive	42	31,1 %	1	3 %
A3b Predicative object complement	0	0,0 %	0	0 %
Predicative, total	**135**	**100,0 %**	**40**	**100 %**

As expected, *pleased* and *offended* did not occur in the data in the structures **it** + **be** + **Adj** + **that-clause** or **it** + **be** + **Adj** + **to-infinitive**. Table 4 shows that *pleased* is much more frequent in the predicative position than *offended*. The only pattern in which the frequencies of the two words are close to each other is A2a, predicative position with no modifiers. In pattern A2b, *pleased* is three times as frequent as *offended*, and in A2c and A2d *offended* is

very rare compared to *pleased*. The large difference between predicative and attributive cases of both words was already discussed in detail in 3.4.3.

Half of the 26 occurrences of *pleased* in group A2a had a premodifier, and in 10 of these 13 sentences, the copula was *be*. The premodifier invariably proved *pleased* in these 10 cases an adjective, even when the premodifier itself may have been acceptable as a verb modifier as well – a passive interpretation was simply impossible in these cases:

> (86) Mr Bonington, one of Britain's best-known mountaineers, was visibly pleased as the jury first announced its decision to free Mr Weir. (Daily Telegraph, 12 January 1993)

In (86), a passive interpretation would mean "someone/something visibly pleased Mr Bonington as the jury first announced . . . ," which is not the meaning of (86). If (86) instead had an agentive *by*-phrase, for instance ". . . was visibly pleased by the jury's announcement to . . . ," the sentence could be understood passively as well, and would consequently be classified as ambiguous. The eight occurrences of *offended* in A2a that had a premodifier behaved in a very similar way.

Seven occurrences of *pleased* and ten occurrences of *offended* in A2a had neither a premodifier nor a copula that would have proven them adjectives. These cases belong to A2a on the basis of the criteria I explained at the beginning of this section (3.4.4): they pass the replacement test or the premodification test or both, but cannot be interpreted dynamically:

> (87) Unfortunately, one over-excited cricketer (it may have been Tennyson himself) promptly shot the goat. The maharajah was not pleased. (Daily Telegraph, 8 February 1993)
> (66) The promoters of PC have to persuade women that they ought to be offended. (Sunday Telegraph, 24 January 1993)

Table 6 represents a summary of the prepositions that occurred as the head of a preposition phrase postmodifying a predicative:

Table 6. Preposition phrases postmodifying predicative *pleased* and *offended*. The percentages are calculated from the total number of **pred** + **PrepP** occurrences.

Preposition	*pleased*		*offended*	
by	3	7 %	12	86 %
at	1	2 %	2	14 %
for	2	4 %	0	0 %
about	2	4 %	0	0 %
with	38	83 %	0	0 %
Total	**46**	**100 %**	**14**	**100 %**

As I have already mentioned in 3.1, most of my sources agreed that *with*, *about*, and *at* can postmodify *pleased*, but none of them mentioned the possibility of *by* or *for* being usable in this position. Here are two examples of the sentences in DT93 that used the two prepositions:

> (88) George Fisher, chairman and chief executive officer of Motorola, said he was 'very pleased' by the enthusiastic participation of investors. (Daily Telegraph, 1 February 1993)
> (89) 'I'm really pleased for David,' says Celtic manager Liam Brady, a one-time colleague at Upton Park . . . (Daily Telegraph, 30 January 1993)

The usage of *pleased for* in (89) resembles the pattern *happy for someone*, meaning 'pleased on behalf of someone.' The other occurrence of *pleased for* in DT93 had a very similar meaning, but it had a **that**-clause postmodifying *pleased* in addition to a **for**-phrase:

> (90) WHEN we read on the flap of a new novel that its author attended university, has written journalism and, let us say, 'lives in Berkshire with his wife and two children', we can be pleased for him that he is not, for example, a retard living in sin with a goat. (But doesn't that 'his wife' always sound dubious?) (Daily Telegraph, 9 January 1993)

I have classified (90) as **pleased** + **for-phrase**, even though it might have been possible to classify it also under **pleased** + **that-clause**. In fact, the **for**-phrase could be omitted without significantly changing the sense of the sentence, which is not the case with the **that**-clause.

However, since I wanted to place each occurrence to only one category, and the **for**-phrase is closer to *pleased* in the sentence, I have classified (90) as **pleased + for-phrase**.

Pleased by is a more problematic pattern to classify, since it resembles a passive clause with an agent, and in fact the two sentences in the Unclassified category had this structure. In (88), however, *pleased* is obviously an adjective because of the premodifier *very*. Although (88) is not a passive, the *by*-phrase can nevertheless be said to express the agent of the clause, in accordance with what I have said about *by*-agentives in 2.3.1.1. The other two occurrences of predicative *pleased by* were premodified by *as* and *less than*.

The situations where *pleased* is postmodified with *by* and *for* are fairly clear. The other three prepositions – *at*, *about*, and *with* – seem interchangeable in most cases, although this amount of data is actually too small to determine what guides a native speaker's choice between them. However, it seems that *with* is the only one that can be used when referring to a person or a group of people – especially in the pattern *pleased with oneself*:

> (91) RADOVAN Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb leader, has reason to be pleased with himself. (Sunday Telegraph, 24 January 1993)
> (92) The club is pleased with its new recruit. (Daily Telegraph, 29 January 1993)

It should be noted that *pleased about someone* is quite acceptable a pattern, although it did not occur in DT93. However, its meaning is different from *pleased with someone* in that the source of the pleasure is not strictly speaking the person that *someone* refers to, but rather something that he/she did, or that happened to him/her.

Contrary to what could be expected according to some dictionaries, *offended* did not occur with *with*, but only with *by* and *at*. The *offended at* pattern is rather clearly adjectival, since it strongly resembles *furious at* or *angry at*:

> (84) The woman who answers sounds deeply offended at being disturbed so early in the morning. (Daily Telegraph, 8 May 1993)

The sentences that had the structure **offended** + **by** were sometimes difficult to classify for the same reasons as those with **pleased** + **by**: the agentive nature of the *by*-phrase strongly suggests passivity:

> (93) The Vegetarian Society would profile the movement as made up of young people who are offended by modern farming and slaughtering methods, the thirtysomethings who are concerned about their own health, and those past middle age who combine health worries with an affection for greenstuffs. (Sunday Telegraph, 28 February 1993)

Offended in (93) is an adjective since *are* in the sentence can be replaced with *feel*. The possibility of another, dynamic, interpretation that would imply ambiguity can be excluded by replacing *are* with *get*: " . . . young people who get offended by modern farming and slaughtering methods . . ." is clearly not the meaning of (93), because (93) does not refer to a single, distinct event. The 12 occurrences of predicative **offended** + **by** had either a semantic basis for classification similar to that of (93), or other features that excluded passive interpretation, such as *feel* as the copula, or *very* as a premodifier. 30 other cases of **offended** + **by** had no such features, and were consequently placed in the Unclassified category, as they could be interpreted both adjectivally and passively.

The clearest differences between the frequencies of predicative *pleased* and *offended* occurred in categories A2c and A2d – **predicative** + **that-clause** and **predicative** + **to-infinitive**, respectively. *Pleased* is very common in both patterns, albeit it is twice as common with a **to**-infinitive that with a **that**-clause.The following are typical examples of each pattern:

> (94) 'We are pleased that the market reaction was so positive,' said vice-chairman Martin Taylor. (Daily Telegraph, 16 January 1993)
> (95) Ferguson added: 'We were far too sluggish in the first half and it wasn't a great performance but we're pleased to be through.' (Sunday Telegraph, 24 January 1993)

That was omitted in three of the 21 occurrences of *pleased* in A2c. Two of the sentences in A2d had the pattern *pleased to meet you*, which could be considered idiomatic – OED defines

it as “a formula used in reply to an introduction.” I have treated it as an abbreviated form of *I am pleased to meet you*, which obviously belongs to A2d. Another special function of **pleased** + **to-infinitive** could be named ‘announcing.’ In it, the speaker precedes his/her statement with *I am pleased to say / to inform sb / to announce*:

> (96) Mr Gummer, Agriculture Minister, said: 'I am pleased to say that the forecasts of income show a recovery in real terms from the downward trend in recent years.'

Pleased + **to-infinitive** occurred in this function four times.

As I have already mentioned in 2.2.2 and 2.2.3, the possibility of using *offended* in pattern A2d was unknown to all of my sources, and that of using *pleased* in A2c was known to only OED. The following are examples of *offended* in these two patterns:

> (97) But two months on, the three-year-old stallion is still in Turkmenistan, where it is said to be becoming 'flabby' and where the President is said to be 'offended' that the horse has not been moved. (Daily Telegraph, 2 June 1993)
> (98) Graham Thorpe himself may have been a little offended, on his way to becoming the first England player for 20 years to score a hundred on his Test debut at Trent Bridge, to hear the rather bizarre chant of: 'Boring, boring Arsenal.' Thorpe is, of course, a Chelsea fan. (Daily Telegraph, 10 July 1993)

Both (97) and (98) have the same structure as a passive voice sentence, but *offended* is an adjective in both on the basis that in (97), it can be premodified with *very*, and in both (97) and (98), *be* can be replaced with *feel*. Also, it is very difficult to think of an exact active counterpart for either one, which makes a dynamic interpretation impossible, and excludes the possibility of the sentences being ambiguous, i.e. having two slightly different meanings, one adjectival and the other one passive. The existence of these examples suggests that *offended* is allowed in as wide a range of adjective patterns as *pleased*, although it seems to be very rare in patterns A2c and A2d. It would be tempting to think that *offended* has only recently acquired these uses, and that they will become more frequent in the future. However, OED’s example

of the pattern **offended** + **that-clause** was written in the year 1700, which suggests that the structure has been in use for quite a while – it has simply remained very rare for some unknown reason. On the other hand, the notion of the adjectivalisation of participles as a continuous process, discussed in 2.3.1.2, is supported by the footnote in 3.1.2, which pointed out that the possibility of premodifying *pleased* with *very much* has been left out of recent editions of OALDCE, which in turn implies that *pleased* is becoming more and more adjectival. This suggestion is supported by DT93, since the expression *very much pleased* does not occur in it.

3.4.4.3 Peripheral adjective phrases

Pleased occurred in three peripheral adjective phrases. One of them had the pattern **pleased** + **to-infinitive**, and two had the pattern **pleased** + **that-clause**:

> (99) I have always found the Kenyans to be a delightful people; soft-spoken and genuinely pleased to see you. (Daily Telegraph, 30 January 1993)
> (100) 'I will reserve judgment on that so-called injury crisis until I see the names on their team sheet,' he said, pleased that his own selection alternatives widened with the appearance of striker Wayne Biggins as a substitute at Derby. (Daily Telegraph, 12 February 1993)

These cases are not included in the tables presented in this section, section 3.4.4. *Offended* did not occur in any sentences in which it could be unambiguously classified as a peripheral adjective phrase.

3.4.5 Passive voice verb phrases

The nine passive cases of *pleased* all have *pleased* premodified with the adverb *well* or its superlative form, *best*:

> (101) Leicester were not best pleased with Leeds. (Sunday Telegraph, 3 January 1993)

I considered this pattern passive on the basis that there are only a few adjectives that can be modified with *well*, and it is very unlikely that *pleased* would be one of them. CCELD gives examples of two such adjectives, *aware* and *worth* – these are both used as postmodifiers only and thus represent a group that does not include *pleased*. On the other hand, there are many adjectives that have the form **well + -ed word**, *well* being a part of a compound adjective, but these adjectives are always spelled with a hyphen, either as the only correct spelling, or as one of two alternative spellings: *well-known, well-behaved*. I would argue intuitively that the hyphenated form is used in the attributive position, whereas in the predicative position, either form is possible. However, this pattern obviously requires a more thorough investigation than is possible here. Also dictionaries seem to disagree on some cases: CCELD classifies *well done* as an adjective, but does not mention anything about a hyphenated form, whereas LDEL spells *well-done* only with a hyphen. It could thus indeed be that when *well done* occurs attributively, it is hyphenated – unfortunately, CCELD does not give any examples of attributive use, and LDEL gives no examples at all.

Further basis for the passivity of this construction is provided by the fact that it seems very unlikely that *well pleased* or *best pleased* could occur in an attributive position, at least without a hyphen, although it is quite acceptable for *pleased* alone – at least my data did not include any such cases. On these grounds, I would argue that *well/best* is an adverbial premodifier rather than a part of a compound adjective, and consequently, I have treated the pattern represented by (101) as a passive.

The structure *well/best pleased* does, however, have features due to which it deserves a more thorough investigation than can be done here. Most importantly, adjectives of the form **well + participle** should be studied more closely to determine whether *well pleased*, as it is used in sentences like (101), belongs to their group. Also, *well/best pleased* resembles adjectival *pleased* in that it can occur with most of the postmodifiers that *pleased* alone as a

predicative adjective can – at least in my data, it occurs once with a *that*-clause, four times with a *with*-phrase, and once with an *on*-phrase, the only one in the data. Furthermore, in my data, *best pleased* is always used in a negative sentence, as in (101), and *well pleased* in an affirmative sentence:

> (102) McGinley was well pleased with the way he played, two birdies in his first three holes giving him a flying start and then finishing with another, which he needed since Westner had just had a four at the 18th. (Sunday Telegraph, 31 January 1993)

This suggests that *well pleased* and *best pleased* actually have different, opposite meanings, and that they both therefore form single semantic units, implying adjectivity. My data is, however, to small to test this hypothesis, *best pleased* occurring in it six times, and *well pleased* only three times.

The passive sentences with *offended* form a more heterogeneous group. Eight of the 13 sentences had an agentive *by*-phrase as a postmodifier, and one an *at*-phrase. One used the present progressive tense, which is very clearly a passive form:

> (103) Often the latter crowd laugh precisely because they know others are being offended. (Daily Telegraph, 9 January 1993)

Seven cases had an inanimate subject. These cases are proven passives by the replacement test – since an inanimate subject is incapable of feeling or seeming offended, the sentence fails the test:

> (69)(b) In this new free-market world, where schools are attacked for their selective recruitment policies, public sensibilities must not be offended. (Sunday Telegraph, 15 August 1993) ~ *In this new free-market world, where schools are attacked for their selective recruitment policies, public sensibilities must not feel offended.

Sometimes, when semantic criteria had to be used, a good deal of context was necessary to determine passivity:

> (104) GALLUP showed gardeners a list of pests and problems that many people face in gardening and asked: 'Which of them, if any, do you personally face?' As the chart shows, slugs and snails are, by a wide margin, regarded as Gardeners' Enemy Number One.
> For no obvious reason, women are much more likely to be offended by these slimy pests than men. (Daily Telegraph, 12 April 1993)

In (104), the preceding context shows that the last sentence means *women are much more likely to come across these slimy pests than men*, not *women are much more likely to find these slimy pests repulsive*. Its meaning is thus dynamic, which in turn implies passivity.

In the remaining three cases, *offended* was premodified by an adverb that cannot premodify adjectives, i.e. *easily* and *greatly*. None of the passive sentences had *get* as the copula, which confirms LGSWE's claim of the *get* passive being "extremely rare" (476). Neither *pleased* nor *offended* is among the verbs that occur passively more than 20 times per million in the LSWE corpus. This is hardly surprising in light of the present study, since their passive frequencies in DT93 are well below that value even if all the unclassified cases were considered passives – they probably should be, if my results were to be compared to LGSWE's, since the principle used in LGSWE is to exclude from the class of passives "only forms that are clearly adjectival in function" (476).

Pleased did not occur in past participle clauses, but did occur once as a verb phrase complement:

> (105) But praise came from a number of customers who declared themselves well pleased. (Daily Telegraph, 4 January 1993)

Well has the same effect in (105) as in finite passive clauses discussed above. *Pleased* is thus not a predicative object complement in (105), but a participle functioning as a verb phrase complement.

Offended occurred once in an adverbial participle clause – example (74), which I have discussed in 3.1.2 – and once in a relative participle clause:

(106) But Mr Romeo feared those originally offended would now think they were being portrayed as dogs, and told her again to remove her work. (Daily Telegraph, 18 October 1993)

The premodifier *originally* makes it very difficult to treat *offended* in (106) as an attributive adjective in a postmodifying position, since such an interpretation would mean ?*those originally indignant/furious/angry*, which is a very questionable construction. *Those who were originally offended* is a much more plausible paraphrasing, and (106) is consequently a relative participle clause.

3.4.6 Unclassified and ambiguous cases

Two occurrences of *pleased* and 43 occurrences of *offended* remained unclassified, as they could be interpreted both as adjectives and participles. The number of ambiguous cases was surprisingly large, especially for *offended*. Particularly the existence of a postmodifying *by*-phrase caused difficulties in determining adjectivity or passivity: both ambiguous cases of *pleased*, and 31 of the 43 unclassified cases of *offended* had a *by*-phrase as a postmodifier:

(107) SIR - As an American living in London I was offended by Mr Waugh's item 'A Bad American ' (Way of the World, Jan. 9). (Daily Telegraph, 12 January 1993)
(108) Modernisers within the Labour Party, who include Mr Tony Blair, Shadow Home Secretary, and Mr Gordon Brown, Shadow Chancellor, are likely to have been pleased by his comments, especially a promise to 'embrace change as our ally'. (Daily Telegraph, 8 February 1993)

(107) has several of the features of the passive voice: it has an obvious active analogue, it has a *by*-phrase expressing the agent, and it refers to an event or an action. On the other hand, it can also be argued that *offended* refers to a state – in this interpretation, *offended* is an

adjective, since it can be modified with *very*, *rather*, or *quite*, and the verb *was*, which is now the main verb, can be replaced with *felt*. The two interpretations also have a slight difference in meaning: if *offended* is an adjective (*I felt offended by Mr Waugh's item*), it can be argued that the speaker does not feel offended anymore, whereas the dynamic interpretation (*Mr Waugh's item offended me*) suggests that the speaker still feels offended. (108) is an example of *pleased* in a sentence that is ambiguous in a very similar way. Most of the ambiguous sentences resembled these two examples. Not all ambiguous sentences had an agentive *by*-phrase:

> (109) Mr Clinton indicated after hearing of the general's outburst that he expected the military to take 'appropriate' action, saying it was not because he was personally offended but because an officer should not publicly denigrate his Commander-in-Chief. (Daily Telegraph, 19 June 1993)

Again, *was* can be replaced with *felt*, indicating adjectival status for *offended*. However, there is another, dynamic interpretation – *because the general offended him personally* – which implies passivity in (109). The dynamic meaning can be revealed by replacing *was* with *got*. On the other hand, even the existence of *get* as the copula does not automatically imply passivity:

> (110) Occasionally she senses that new clients are unsure about her ability to do the job. 'You learn to expect that, and not to get offended by it,' she says. (Daily Telegraph, 16 October 1993)

Not to get offended by it can obviously be understood as dynamic, but it could also mean *not to feel offended by it*, or *not to get furious about it* – the **get + adjective** pattern is quite acceptable especially in spoken English.

The most difficult pattern in the Unclassified and ambiguous group is exemplified by (111):

> (111) Still mulling over his 'pair of breaches', which could lead to a fine of pounds 250 for a third offence, then pounds 500 and ultimately a two-stroke penalty, Ballesteros, only mildly offended by the punishment, claimed it was the first time he had been warned for slow play. (Daily Telegraph, 29 January 1993)

Here, the non-finite clause *only mildly offended by the punishment* could be either an adverbial participle clause (*whom the punishment offended only mildly*) or a peripheral adjective phrase (*only mildly angry about the punishment*). This structure is particularly difficult to study, since the verb replacement test is not available. It does still have clear features of both the participial and the adjectival structure: the existence of an active analogue and a clear reference to an event on one hand, and the possibility of replacing *only mildly* with *very* on the other hand. Consequently, I was not able to place (111) and another sentence with an identical structure into either one of the candidate categories, but had to leave them in the Unclassified and ambiguous group.

4. Conclusion

In Introduction, I estimated that the ambiguity of participle-form words can be treated better than existing grammars do, and that their occurrences can actually be placed into a single word-class more often than the grammars imply. In section 2, I have attempted to support this initial estimate by discussing and evaluating different grammarians' views of the matter, and by trying to create a coherent representation of the different functions and patterns participle-form words can occur in. Based on this representation, I have presented a set of criteria for classifying occurrences of participle-form words. In section 3, I have used these criteria to study the occurrences of two word-forms, *pleased* and *offended*, in a corpus. I have also presented the frequencies of the patterns the two words occurred in, and discussed the problems I encountered in the classification process.

The high number of occurrences of *offended* in the Unclassified and ambiguous category was unexpected, and may seem to indicate that my criteria were not comprehensive enough. These cases are indeed all unclassifiable with syntactic criteria, but semantic criteria show that the cases of *offended* in the U category are actually mostly ambiguous, meaning that they have two meanings, one dynamic and the other one stative. Such sentences can be studied and classified with my criteria, but they cannot be placed into any single category other than U. Of the 43 cases of *offended* in the U category, only the two sentences of the form represented by (111) – using a structure typical of both adverbial participle clauses and peripheral adjective phrases – can be said to be truly unclassifiable with my criteria, mainly because their structure does not allow the use of the verb replacement test.

It is more suspicious that *pleased* does not have similar results: it had only two unclassified or ambiguous examples. It may be that *pleased* is really used in ways that are almost always either dynamic or stative. It certainly is much more rarely postmodified with a *by*-phrase, which, as I have claimed in 2.3.1.2, often implies the possibility of a dynamic

interpretation. However, I still find it strange that *pleased* should be so much easier to classify than *offended*, and suspect that my semantic criteria have not been as reliable as I anticipated, or that I have not been able to apply them consistently to examples of both words. This is a common shortcoming in semantic criteria: they are more or less subjective in nature.

Regardless of the shortcomings of the criteria, I would consider it safe to claim that in the light of the research data, *pleased* is a more typical an adjective than *offended,* since it occurs much more often as an adjective than *offended*. It can also be claimed to occur in a wider range of adjective patterns than *offended*, since *offended* is used only marginally with a **that**-clause or a **to**-infinitive postmodifier.

Well pleased is an example of structure that deserves a more thorough investigation. To reliably classify this structure, it is necessary to determine the nature of *well* in it: is it a premodifier, and if it is, can it premodify an adjective; or is *well pleased* a compound, and if so, does it ever occur in the hyphenated form, *well-pleased*? I have treated *well pleased* and *best pleased* as cases of **adv** + **Ppl**, but I find it suspicious that *well pleased* seems to be more or less interchangeable with *very pleased* in my data. This seems to suggest that the two structures are identical in meaning, which makes the fact that I have placed them in different word-classes problematic: replacing *well* with *very* would not change the meaning, but would change *pleased* from an adjective to a participle. The case of *well pleased* is not unique: classifying participle-form words is difficult precisely because often an adjective and a participle can occupy the same position in a sentence. This is the case not just with predicative structures and passives, but also with participle clauses and more complex adjective patterns (classes A3a and A3b).

The suggestion at the end of 3.4.4.2 that *offended* might be acquiring new uses is well worth further investigation, since it could imply that participles gradually gain more adjectival features in the course of time. I have presented Visser's views on a process of this kind in

2.3.1.2, where I quoted his claim that **-ed** adjectives are "more common in Modern than in Old and Middle English" (1973: 2090). If such a process exists, *pleased* and *offended* could represent two different stages of adjectivalisation. Words like *dead* and *afraid*, which, according to RHUD, are originally past participles but are nowadays pure adjectives, could represent the final stage of this process.

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