

COMPLEX-TRANSITIVE VERBS WITH ADJECTIVAL OBJECT COMPLEMENT: SAMPLE ANALYSIS

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1. Preliminaries

To an outside observer the number of valency patterns of the verb in language, specifically in English, may seem inadequately small. Quirk et al. (1985, *CGEL* henceforth) give only seven clause types based on verb valency. However, on closer inspection each type appears to display a rich tapestry of variations. To appreciate this richness, it is instructive to have a look at a representative sample of a particular valency type. For these purposes a classical, linguistically well-described dictionary such as *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (*OALD* henceforth) in electronic form with a full text search proves to be an excellent fountainhead. The verb classification filter [Vn-adj] offers 199 finds in this dictionary or, to use a more technical language, 199 instances with the trivalent structure SVOC in which the object complement is realized by an adjective. The SVOC structure was chosen because it seems that object complement is semantically determined more than other types of valency inasmuch as it participates in two predication relationships – one with the verb, the other, copular (implied or secondary), with its controlling object. In agreement with Allerton, who claims that "In general we may say that while all valency functions have at least some semantic basis, some are more semantically coherent than others",¹ we believe that object complement is a case in point. We hold that verbs with this type of valency, in terms of meaning, form a group *sui generis* sharing distinct semantic features that allow the object to be attributed a property suggested by the complement.

Using the *OALD* sample, the aim of this study is to specify these features, or put more generally, to examine the syntactico-semantic characteristics of the sample verbs against the background of the existing semantic classifications of this valency type (especially the one in *CGEL*). By the same token, the study wants to check the reliability and completeness of the lexicographic labelling and, last but not least, to test whether the knowledge of these characteristics may allow predictions as to which other verbs belong to this valency type.

Before discussing the sample, a brief overview of the relevant properties of the valency structure under study will be presented, specifying the general structural pattern, semantic relations and some of the salient subtypes.

¹ Allerton (1982: 56).

2. General characteristics

Allerton regards verbs of this type as trivalent ("trivalent verbs take a subject and two other elaborators"²), or as involving the "pattern of subject plus verb plus object plus predicative".³ On whether the structure is divalent or trivalent, Allerton says: "While there is no doubt that there are links between the object and predicative, such as coreferentiality, there are also links between verb and object... Equally, there are links between verb and predicative, as we have seen, so that certain verbs only collocate with certain adjectives..." and concludes "With verb, object and predicative each linked to the others and the subject also involved, it is best to regard such verbs as trivalent."⁴

CGEL (p. 1195) calls such verbs complex-transitive since "a distinguishing characteristic of complex-transitive complementation is that the two elements following the verb ... are notionally equated with the subject and predication respectively of a nominal clause". However, the two elements do not form a syntactically single constituent as is shown by their divisibility in passivization, a feature viewed by *CGEL* as the defining property of this type of complementation. Matthews, following *CGEL*'s treatment of this complementation as "a fusion of the transitive and the copulative constructions ... into a single pattern of complementation" speaks of a fused construction and describes it "as any in which a single element is a complement of both a controlling and a dependent predicator".⁵ Similarly Dušková, comparing the notion of complement in the Czech and the British linguistic tradition, concludes that "In the case of object complement, besides its copular relationship to the object there is also the relationship of these elements to the verb whose complementation they both constitute. Object complement is related not only to its object, but also to the verb".⁶

The formal defining feature of complements (both subject and object) is that, unlike objects, they may be not only noun phrases and nominal clauses but also adjective phrases (or even prepositional phrases). Syntactically, unlike objects again, complements cannot be the subject of the passive. Semantically, the typical function of object complement (Co) is to identify or characterize the referent of the object to which it is related, providing a definition of the object. In other words, the characteristic role of the object complement is to act as an attribute.

However, this syntactic and semantic delimitation of the object complement is not sufficient as the mutual relationships between the elements of this 'fused' construction are far from simple. In fact, Allerton (1982) and Dušková

² Allerton (1982: 101)

³ Allerton (1982: 106).

⁴ Allerton (1982: 109).

⁵ Matthews (1981: 185).

⁶ Dušková (1999: 100).

(1999) agree respectively that this valency structure “is a rather complex affair”⁷ and that “Object complement is not a homogeneous category”.⁸ This complexity and nonhomogeneity follows from several aspects of the complement: its realization, obligatoriness and semantics. The fact that verbs with the SVOC valency fall into different subclasses depending on whether the object complement is an NP, AdjP, PP or a nominal clause is significant not only syntactically, but also semantically. Describing the semantic structure of the adjectival Co verbs Allerton says “The meaning of these verbs are all ‘make be/become/remain’ and not ‘make seem/appear/look’, etc.”⁹ in contrast with the semantic structure with NP object complements which have the meaning ‘give the status/rank/name of’. He points out, however, that “A few trivalent predicative verbs regularly accept either a noun phrase or an adjective phrase, including *call*, *find* and *make*, ...”¹⁰

The aspect of obligatoriness of Co is remarked on by Dušková: “Má-li předmět doplněk, vzniká samostatný větný typ, a to bez ohledu na to, zda jde o doplněk, který je obligatorní složkou syntakticko-sémantické struktury slovesa, nebo zda jde jen o člen fakultativní. [The object having a complement results in a separate sentence type, regardless of whether the complement is an obligatory constituent of the syntactico-semantic structure of the verb or whether it is an optional element]”.¹¹ She also distinguishes three types of linkage between adjectival Co and the verb structure: “It [Co] is an obligatory clause element where the construction with the object alone either does not exist or involves a change in the meaning of the verb... In other instances it is an optional element, whether merely on the syntactic level, ... or also semantically... In [the latter case] the semantic structure of the verb and that of the object complement are independent of each other.”¹² In cases where the verb and the adjective are independent of each other the adjective rather than Co is regarded as another clause element, e.g. object adjunct.¹³ The independence is not only semantic – the adjective phrase receives a separate intonation group and an adverbial may be inserted in front of the adjective.

The most problematic is the second group mentioned, i.e. cases where the meaning/clause remains complete even if the adjective phrase is omitted. The question is whether this element is a Co (predicative complement) or an optional adverbial. Among the reasons why regard these cases (e.g. *he painted the table green*; *he banged the door shut*) as involving Co is the criterion of semantic structure and the collocability of verb and adjective which manifests

⁷ Allerton (1982: 109).

⁸ Dušková (199: 100).

⁹ Allerton (1982: 106).

¹⁰ Allerton (1982: 107).

¹¹ Dušková (1994: 365).

¹² Dušková (1999: 100).

¹³ Cf. Allerton (1982: 108).

a close relationship between them. To quote Matthews: "For a relation in general a natural criterion is that of lexical co-variance. ... There is a co-variance between the predicator and the remaining elements, in which different categories of verb (...) allow different collocational relationships".¹⁴ Dušková views such cases as transitional, "... there is a fluent transition between copular and full verbs, as shown, e. g., by instances where the adjective has intensifying or resultative meaning (*she blushed scarlet, the door banged shut*)".¹⁵ *CGEL* (p. 1197) treats verbs with omissible Co as a peripheral subgroup of verbs with obligatory Co. Their peripheral status is due to one or both of the following features: "(a) They occur only in restricted sequences such as *rub ... dry*; (b) They can occur in the [B1] monotransitive construction without appreciable change of meaning; *ie*, the object complement is optional, and resembles an optional adverbial."

The diversity of object complements is likewise reflected in differing semantic classifications. We have noted that Allerton (1982) describes the meaning of verbs with adjectival Co as "make be/become/remain". Semantically Co is defined as a characteristic of object, its attribute, and the relationship between object and Co as a copular relationship corresponding to SVC. Drawing on the affinity with subject complement, Dušková maintains that "Doplněk předmětu vyjádřený adjektivem označuje buď průvodní rys děje (doplněk kvalifikující) nebo jeho výsledek (doplněk rezultativní) podle toho, zda lze jeho vztah k předmětu převést na *be* nebo *become* (...). [Object complement expressed by an adjective denotes either a concomitant feature of the activity (qualifying complement) or its result (resultant complement) depending on whether its relationship to the object may be shown by *be* or *become*]."¹⁶

CGEL (p. 1196), on the other hand, applies a similar distinction not to object complements themselves but to verbs exhibiting this kind of valency: "The SVOC pattern (...) in which the object complement is an adjective phrase is found with verbs which, like copular verbs, may be divided into CURRENT and RESULTING types." The two characteristics overlap with another distinction, the former type of verbs are mostly stative, the latter always dynamic. Using the current-resulting distinction as a starting point, *CGEL* (pp. 1196-7) divides SVOC verbs into six types belonging either to the current (1-4) or the resulting group (5-6): (1) current verbs of general meaning (*hold, keep, leave: He left all the letters unopened*); (2) factual speech act verbs (*call, confess, profess, etc.: The doctors pronounced her condition hopeless*); (3) volitional verbs (*like, prefer, want, wish: I want my coffee stronger than this*); (4) verbs of intellectual state (*believe, consider, find, hold, imagine, etc.: We've always found the assistants friendly*); (5) general resulting verbs (*drive,*

¹⁴ Matthews (1981: 4, 7).

¹⁵ Dušková (1999: 101).

¹⁶ Dušková (1994: 366).

get, make, prove, etc.: *The long walk made us all hungry*); (6) resulting verbs with the performative force of declarations (*certify, declare, proclaim: They have declared the house unfit for habitation*).

Verbs with omissible Co are close to the resulting type (5), though they have specific meanings and adjective distribution: "The meaning of these ... verbs therefore suggests not just causing any kind of (change of state) but causing a particular kind of (change of) state, which is different for each verb as indicated by the range of possible adjectives in each case."¹⁷ Although these verbs are numerous, the range of their Co adjectives is quite restricted. *CGEL* (p. 1198) notes that "Among resulting attributes, the adjectives *open, loose, free* and *clean* are particularly common." and that the resultative pattern in verbs with optional Co is quite productive and is encountered in rare or newly-converted verbs (*sellotape or scotchtape st flat, deepfreeze st solid*).

By contrast, object complement following a reflexive object is invariably obligatory (*think oneself smart*), the more so when the object is optional (*Hold (yourself) still while...; I was tied up, but managed to work (myself) free*). In primarily intransitive verbs the SVOC structure with a reflexive object expresses the result and intensity of the action, *run oneself breathless; shout oneself hoarse*, etc.¹⁸

Finally, there is at least one more specific type of Co worth mentioning. Both Dušková (1994: 511) and *CGEL* (p. 1200) refer to (NP and AdjP) object complement introduced by *as*. The preposition *as* suitably expresses a copular relation, the Co the respective role or status of the direct object. Semantically the prepositional complement of *as* functions as an attribute (*CGEL* (p. 1200) calls it a prepositional object complement, Allerton terms it 'as-predicative') and is analogous to an object of transitive prepositional verbs (i.e. prepositional object). As a matter of fact, in some verbs the preposition is optional and the two types of complements alternate (*consider (as), appoint (as)*, etc.).

3. Sample analysis

As mentioned above, the sample was obtained by means of a full text search offered by the electronic version of the *OALD*. The Verb classification filter option produced 199 instances of verb uses described by the label [Vn-adj], i.e. verbs complemented by a noun-adjective sequence, or syntactically speaking, by object and object complement. In addition to actual sample analysis, the probe will test to what extent the morphologically based verb classification is in correspondence with the presumed SVOC structure and check the general consistency of the labelling in the dictionary.

¹⁷ Allerton (1982: 106).

¹⁸ Cf. Dušková (1994: 510).

Out of the 199 lexical units (the actual number of lexemes is smaller as in some verbs the same valency is associated with different meanings), 4 had to be removed as they did not correspond to the formal pattern under examination. The error margin is thus a mere 2 per cent. In 3 cases the verb was complemented by an adverb, not by an NP or an AdjP, the mistake being due to the homomorphy of the adjective and adverb (e.g. *I am reading/receiving you loud and clear; she cut me dead in the street the other day*). In one case the actual valency structure was SVC, not SVOC (*Her words rang hollow*). These cases exemplify a characteristic difficulty with electronic search in the syntactic analysis of English abounding in morphological amorphousness. No other changes were made in the sample. As regards the formal realization of verb complementation, both AdjP and PP object complements (i.e. 'as + adjective' sequences) were admitted, as well as verbs with reflexive objects.

The main task of the sample analysis was to explore the semantic range of the SVOC types appearing in the sample. After preliminary tentative analysis of the sample verbs a composite semantic classification was arrived at incorporating the *CGEL* classification and Dušková's observations on the semantics of the complement. The six types in the *CGEL* classification were redefined and expanded by two more types. The **resultant semantic typology** uses two criteria for the classification of the sample verbs, the semantic character of the complement and the semantic category of the controlling lexical verb. (A possible third criterion might be the lexical meaning of the adjectival complement as some types associate with certain adjectives, e.g. causatives with *shut*, *open*, *smooth*, etc.). In keeping with Dušková, **object complements** are divided into A. current complement, i.e. one expressing a current attribute (of the object) which is unaffected by the action denoted by the controlling verb; B. resulting complement, i.e. an attribute which results from the action denoted by the controlling verb. Of the **eight types of verb** with the SVOC valency, the first six combine with a current object complement, the last two with a resulting object complement: A. (i) verbs of the copular type; (ii) volitional verbs; (iii) cognitive verbs; (iv) verbs of presentation; (v) representative performatives; (vi) AC-complement verbs; B. (vii) causatives; (viii) causative performatives.

(i) **Verbs of the copular type.** The type corresponds to 'current verbs of general meaning' in *CGEL* (cf. p. 1196) and supports Dušková's observation¹⁹ on the transition between copular and full verbs. As the name suggests the lexical meaning of these verbs is weakened, conveying mainly the continuation of a current state. In addition, some of these verbs denote modality (*prove*, *seem*). As with copular verbs the lexical focus is on the complement and the sentence can be accordingly paraphrased without the controlling verb, using

¹⁹ Dušková (1999: 101).

the complement instead: *He left/kept all the letters unopened* (= He didn't open any of the letters), *She shows/proves herself unable to deal with money* (= She can't deal with money). Verbs like *leave*, and even more *keep*, however, can be interpreted as both copular and causative: the attribute *unopened* may or may not be seen as resulting from the subject's action (in *this will keep him happy* the meaning is definitely causative). A good example of the same structure combining with polysemy is the verb *hold*. While in *Hold yourself still for a moment* (= Calm down, Don't move) the copular nature is shown by the possibility to omit the object (cf. also *Keep still*), in *The parents will be held responsible for their child's behaviour* the verb *hold* has the meaning of *believe*, *consider* and is accordingly placed with 'cognitive verbs'. The sample includes 8 verbs of this kind (4.4 per cent), which makes it a relatively minor type. Although the range of this type's adjectives is heterogeneous, there is no doubt that the character of the complement contributes to the difference between one type and another (cf. *wear st long/smooth*, copular and causative reading respectively). The adjectives which appeared here (including those accompanying *leave* and *keep* of dubious standing) are *fearless*, *intact*, *long*, *loose*, *missing*, *open*, *still*, *unable*, *warm*.

(ii) **Volitional verbs.** This tiny group is identical with the CGEL type which gives *like*, *prefer*, *want* and *wish* as examples. Interestingly enough, the OALD sample includes only *like*, *prefer* and *wish*, but not *want* (*I want my coffee stronger than this*). Nor does it contain any other members of this particular semantic field, i.e. synonyms like *love*, *fancy*, or *dislike*, *hate*. It seems that this group is even more marginal than the previous one. The three volitional verbs in the sample account for a mere 1.7 per cent. With more examples it might well appear that the possessive (unlike the NP *black coffee*) before substantival direct object is a characteristic feature of this type. The difference between *I like/prefer my coffee black* and *I prefer black coffee* seems to be that of perspective or focus, the former stresses the quality of coffee which has to be met, in the latter *black coffee* is preferred as a single entity. The list of adjectives is correspondingly short: *alive*, *black*, and *strong*.

(iii) **Cognitive verbs.** The term cognitive was used for these verbs instead of 'verbs of intellectual state' (type (iv) in CGEL, p. 1196) to stress that they involve not only verbs of knowing (the OALD sample includes most of the CGEL examples, though it omits *rate* and *reckon*, and strangely also *believe* and *view*, cf. *The action could be viewed as criminal*) but also verbs of perception (*perceive*, *see*) not mentioned by CGEL: *This is now perceived as unlikely*; *I hate to see you unhappy*. Intellectual cognitive verbs may be further divided into general cognitives (such as *consider*, *regard as*: *We consider this very important*) and specific cognitives in which the intellectual process combines with subjective assessment (*This will be decried as equally suspect*; *They derided his efforts as childish*). In several cases the verbs in the OALD examples may possibly have an alternative interpretation: *assess*, *brand*, *grade*

(representative performatives), and *stigmatize* (either cognitive verb or verb of presentation meaning 'to describe or consider st as': *ideas stigmatized as unnatural*). The group includes several verbs that also figure under different types – *adjudge, condemn, declare, find, judge, presume* in (viii); *describe* in (iv) – esp. the affinity between cognitive and performative uses of the verbs makes the decision difficult. The sample contains 38 verbs identified as cognitive, i.e. 21 per cent, which makes the second largest group in the sample. The 33 corresponding adjectives are generally evaluative, expressing opinions, attitudes (as to qualities, importance, etc.): *advisable, baffled, boring, confidential, crucial, dead, essential, finest, childish, ignorant, important, incompetent, indicating, innocent, likely, lucky, malignant, mean, original, overcautious, poor, responsible, ridiculous, rich, selfish, sensitive, suspect, third, thoughtful, uncaring, unhappy, unlikely, wrong*. Symptomatic is the recurrent incidence of *advisable* (3x), *ridiculous* (2x), and *likely/unlikely*.

(iv) Verbs of presentation. This type is best explained by way of opposition to the previous group: it is one thing to construe and perceive things, but quite another to present or (mis)represent them. It is perhaps worth noticing that most of the verbs of presentation identified in the sample (e.g. *describe, characterize, portray, advertise*) have *as*+AdjP complements, though there are exceptions (*to term an offer unacceptable*). Represented by 16 verbs (8.8 per cent), the type is the third most common in the sample. They were complemented by 17 adjectives which, although consistent with qualities expected to be referred to in presentation, displayed no remarkable patterns: *capricious, decadent, dressed, fat, gripping, irresistible, naked, natural, negligible, painful, passionate, powerless, private, responsible, unacceptable, unfit, wrong*.

(v) Representative performatives. It is one of the two groups in the classification containing speech-act verbs. Unlike causative performatives (declaratives) which change things through their utterance, representatives merely describe or state the act being performed (assertion, belief, conclusion, etc.) without the object and its qualities being altered thereby. Clearly, the borderline between representative performatives and causative performatives as well as cognitives and verbs of presentation will be rather fuzzy. It will often depend on the speaker's intention rather than the form used, and accordingly the actual verbs will appear in several groups at once. The sample included 7 cases which seemed best described in this way (e.g. *diagnose, guarantee, profess*), i.e. 3.9 per cent, though the actual number of verbs classifiable as performatives in the sample is higher. The respective adjectival complements are marked by a relatively serious content, if anything, a characteristic that can be related to the performative function of their controlling verbs: *absent, dead, free of, HIV-positive, missing, satisfied, unfit*.

(vi) AC-complement verbs. This small and rather heterogeneous group involves transitive verbs with affected objects whose unifying feature is that

the complement is analogous to a special type of process adjunct, i.e. adjunct of attendant circumstances (AC). In sentences like *He was burnt/buried alive* the complement expresses an important circumstance remarkable about the process: he was burnt while/although still alive. There are 6 cases in the sample (3.3 per cent) that fit this description. Complements providing information on the attendant circumstance were realized by the following 6 adjectives: *alive* (2x), *asleep*, *chilled*, *new*, *unopened*, *unopposed*. Object complements of these verbs could well be regarded as object adjuncts.²⁰ But as collocability was used as one of the criteria for Co, we decided to regard these cases as complements, especially in the case of *burn/bury* with *alive*. In cases of *buy the car new*, the structure is similar to that of (ii) volitional verbs and can be seen as serving the same purpose, i.e. focus articulation. This feature manifests itself by the presence of the definite article and by the use of pronominals, which do not include the adjectival modification (*They bought a new car/ They bought it new*).

(vii) Causatives. While the previous types involve object complement expressing a current state, causatives (a group described as resulting verbs in *CGEL*, p. 1196) are accompanied by complements, both obligatory and optional, indicating a quality which resulted directly from the action described by the verb. This most numerous group, accounting for more than a half of all verbs in the *OALD* sample – 93 verbs, i.e. 51.4 per cent – may be divided into several distinct subgroups.

General causatives (e.g. *make sb happy*, *get st ready*, *turn milk sour*, *render st harmless*, *send sb mad/crazy*, *throw st open*), which do not specify the manner in which the effect is achieved, are characterized by the obligatoriness of the complement. Specific causatives (*bake*, *beat*, *knock*, *paint*, *plane*, *sand*, *slam*, *thump*, *wedge*, etc., though surprisingly not mentioning *bang*), which describe the action graphically and can stand without the complement, are recognizable by a typical range of adjectives which are highly repetitive (*open*, *flat*, *clean*, *smooth*). This subgroup in particular seems to be quite open-ended and the respective lexical fields worth exploring. Another specific group involves verbs taking reflexive object (typically a person) in which the adjectival complement expresses degree, extent of the action rather than a quality (*The baby screamed itself hoarse*). Also this subgroup seems to be productive and other examples could be easily added (*knock/smoke/laugh oneself silly*, *dance/snigger oneself stupid*, *cheer/chant/blow oneself hoarse*). In correspondence to the number of verbs, the group of respective adjectives is the largest of all and displays characteristic repetitiveness. Accordingly, there is a huge disproportion between the absolute number of adjectives (111) and the actual number of adjectives as types (41) which included *ajar*, *alight*, *awake*, *bare*, *big*, *blind*, *blue*, *brown*, *clean*, *clear*, *crazy*, *dead*, *dry*, *dumb*, *flat*,

²⁰ Cf. Allerton (1982).

full, green, happy, hard, harmless, hoarse, insane, loose, mad, naked, obsolete, open, ready, senseless, short, shut, sick, smooth, sour, stupid, taut, tight, unconscious, upright, white, worried. In 14 cases the adjective occurred at least twice (not counting colour adjectives, *blue, brown, white, green,* and synonyms like *clean-clear, open-ajar, tight-taut*): *open* (23x), *flat* (9x), *clean* (8x), *smooth* (8x), *full* (6x), *shut* (6x), *dry* (5x), *free* (4x), *hoarse* (3x), *short* (3x), *crazy, dead, loose, tight* (2x).

The majority of verbs in this group are monosyllabic. In some cases it is possible to view this feature as contributing to the process of semantic coalescence (as a further stage of collocability, mentioned above on several occasions) of verb and object complement. This process is revealed by changes in word order in cases where the Co precedes its object and the change is not motivated by the end-weight principle (*she flung open the door; he prised open the shell; he slit open the packet*). These instances could be compared to phrasal verbs, which also manifest the semantic unity of the particle and the verb by changes in word order.²¹

(viii) Causative performatives. Causative performatives or declarations are verbs that effect change via the speech act they describe and perform. Thus the difference with type (v), representative performatives, is not in the actual verbs used but in whether the act changes the official status of the object or not. While in *The experts declared themselves baffled* the declaration has no force and expresses merely the subject's intellectual state, the declaration in *The food was declared unfit for human consumption* changes the status of the food radically and although it is the same food as before the speech act, most consumers would hesitate to eat it henceforth. Adjectives in this group, like adjectives in the other performative group, are mostly solemn in nature in keeping with the weight of the respective speech act. Repeating adjectives characteristically include *guilty* (3x), *fit/unfit* (3x). The total number of different adjectives is 9: *best, fit, guilty, illegal, innocent, insane, offside, out of order, unfit*.

4. Conclusions

The analysis showed that the most frequent types in the sample are causatives followed by cognitives (and, to lesser degree, the related verbs of presentation and performatives). Though it is difficult to say to what extent the results reflect the actual situation in language and to what extent they are a comment on the dictionary itself and its consistency in describing language facts, the prevalence of causatives (seconded by cognitives) among verbs displaying the SVOC valency structure seems indisputable. Here the link

²¹ Cf. Dušková (forthcoming).

between the semantics of the verbs and the syntactic structures they enter is patently obvious: typically the action of the verb affects the object to produce a new quality described by the object complement, or the mental activity described by the verb focuses on a certain quality of the object and specifies it via object complement.

As regards the dictionary sample itself, the labelling appears to be highly consistent (with very few errors), the valency structure of the verbs is well documented by illustrations (of which only a small percentage provided a type different from the grammatical label). However, the list of SVOC verbs (with adjectival Co) in the dictionary is far from complete. It shows gaps compared with *CGEL*, and systematic check of verbs belonging to the types described (the same lexical fields, not only synonyms) as the verbs labelled SVOC would no doubt expand the category considerably.

From a methodological point of view, the analysis of the sample has finally shown that in order to describe the semantic structure of SVOC verbs adequately, it is useful to take into account not only the semantics of the controlling verb, or only the relationship between object and its complement, but both features at the same time, acknowledging thus the compactness of this valency structure.

APPENDIX 1:

Classification of verbs with adjectival Co in the *OALD* sample

	type of verb	sample verbs	number	%
1	verbs of the copular type	<i>have, hold, preserve, prove, show, wear, keep, leave</i>	8	4.4%
2	volitional verbs	<i>like, prefer, wish</i>	3	1.7%
3	cognitive verbs	<i>account, acknowledge, adjudge, assess, brand, call, class, classify, condemn, confess, consider, construe, count, declare, decry, deem, deride, describe, dismiss, grade, feel, find, hold, identify, imagine, judge, mark, mistake, perceive, place, praise, presume, regard, see, stigmatize, strike, suppose, think</i>	38	21%
4	verbs of presentation	<i>advertise, bill, call, depict, describe, characterize, label, mark, misrepresent, portray, prove, report, represent, reveal, show, term</i>	16	8.8%
5	representative performatives	<i>diagnose, guarantee, mark, profess, pronounce, reject, report</i>	7	3.9%
6	AC-complement verbs	<i>burn, bury, buy, find, return, serve</i>	6	3.3%
7	causatives	<i>bake, beat, bleed, brush, cleave, clip, colour, crack, cram, crop, cut, drain, drink, drive, dye, file, fill, flick, fling, force, get, hammer, have, hitch, jam, jolt, kill, knock, lay, lever, lick, machine, make, paint, pat, pick, plane, plug, press, prise, prop, pry, pull, pump, push, rake, rasp, render, rip, roil, rub, sand, scrape, scream, screw, scrub, send, set, shake, shoot, shout, slam, slide, slit, smash, snap, split, squash, stain, stamp, stretch, strike, strip, stuff, suck, swab, sweep, swing, talk, tear, throw, thump, tug, turn, wash, wear, wedge, wipe, work, worry, wrench, wriggle, zip</i>	93	51.4%
8	causative performatives	<i>adjudge, certify, condemn, declare, find, give, judge, presume, rule, vote</i>	10	5.5%
			181 ²²	100 %

²² The final number 181 was arrived at after the following two were taken into account: 1) a verb was originally listed as having two or more meanings but it displayed only one valency and semantic structure. Therefore, in our classification, it appears as one item, cutting down the original number of items (which was 195); or, 2) a verb has two senses classifiable as two different types according to our classification.

APPENDIX 2:

OALD List of Verbs with Adjectival Object Complement

(All examples are from *OALD*; where not given in the dictionary they were supplied from the *Times* '95 Corpus)

account² In English law a man is accounted innocent until he is proved guilty.
acknowledge 5 beaches acknowledged as the finest on this coast.

adjudge The finance committee was adjudged incompetent. She was adjudged guilty.

advertise 1 The book was advertised as 'gripping'.

assess 1 I'd assess your chances as extremely low.

bake 2 The sun baked the ground hard.

beat¹ They beat the prisoner unconscious.

beat¹ 7 to beat metal flat.

bill 2 It is billed as irresistible to anyone who ...

bleed 4 Poor people are being bled dry by the country's harsh taxes.

brand 2 Auditors have been branded as not only boring, but dangerous, too.

brush² 1 brush one's teeth clean.

burn 4 Joan of Arc was burnt (alive) at the stake.

bury 2b The miners were buried alive when the tunnel collapsed.

buy 1 Did you buy your car new or second-hand?

call¹ 8a How dare you call me fat!

call¹ 8b I call his behaviour mean and selfish.

certify 1 The doctor certified him (as) fit for work.

certify 2 He was certified (insane) and sent to a mental hospital.

characterize 2 The novelist characterizes his heroine as capricious and passionate.

class the tumour had been classed as malignant

classify 1b to classify data as confidential

cleave¹ cleave a man's head open with a sword

clip² 1 The dog's fur was clipped short for the show.

colour² 1 Lucy drew a nice picture but she coloured the sky green.

condemn 1 She is often condemned as uncaring.

condemn 4 The meat was condemned as unfit for human consumption.

confess 1b He confessed himself (to be) totally ignorant of their plans.

consider 2 We consider this (to be) very important.

construe Portsmouth were operating a five-man defence, which ... could be construed as over-cautious.

count¹ 5 I count myself lucky to have a job.

crack¹ 2 crack an egg open

cram 1b The car was crammed full.

crop 1a with hair cropped (short)

crop 1c Sheep had cropped the grass (short).

cut¹ 1 The old lady had fallen and cut her head open.

cut¹ 2d He's had his hair cut (short).

declare 1a The food was declared unfit for human consumption.

declare 1b The experts declared themselves baffled.

decry This will be decried as equally suspect

deem These measures are deemed advisable in the circumstances.

depict b the future king is depicted as naked

deride They derided his efforts (as childish).

describe 1 She describes the experience as the most painful of her life.

describe 2 He is described by his colleagues as thoughtful and sensitive. Green described himself as delighted by the reforms

diagnose 2 He was diagnosed (as) HIV-positive in June last year.

dismiss 2b Allegations of corruption were dismissed as ridiculous.

drain² 3 drain one's glass (dry)

drink² 3 They drank themselves stupid.
drive¹ 6b drive sb crazy/to insanity/out of their mind
dye¹ 1 dye a white dress blue
feel¹ 9 I felt it advisable to do nothing.
file file one's fingernails (smooth)
fill¹ 1a fill a bucket full of water
find¹ 1 We came home and found her asleep on the sofa.
find¹ 3 He finds his new job rather boring.
find¹ 6 The jury found him guilty (of manslaughter).
flick² 1 He flicked the knife open.
fling² 2 He flung the door open.
force² 3 force (open) a door/lock/window/safe
get¹ 10 She soon got the children ready for school.
give¹ 1 He was given offside by the referee.
grade² 1 The walk I was on was graded "strenuous" We are one of six management schools... to be graded as excellent for the quality of their teaching
guarantee² 1 This food is guaranteed free of artificial colouring.
hammer² 1 He hammered the sheet of copper (flat).
have² 1b have a tooth loose/missing
have³ 8b The news had me worried for a while.
hitch² 2b She hitched herself upright.
hold¹ 3 Hold (yourself) still for a moment while I take your photograph.
hold¹ 10b The parents will be held responsible for their child's behaviour.
identify¹ 1 a factor identified as crucial to success
imagine¹ 1 Imagine yourself (to be) rich and famous.
jam² 3 The terminal was jammed full of people and their luggage.
jam² 4 The door was jammed open.
jolt¹ 1 As the parachute jolted open, Flying Officer Johnny Smythe watched the flak burst around him
judge² 1 The committee judged it advisable to postpone the meeting.
judge² 2c He was judged guilty as charged.
keep¹ 2 These gloves will keep your hands warm.

kill¹ 4 kill a proposal/an idea (stone dead)
knock² 3 The blow knocked me flat/senseless.
label² 2 The envelope was labelled 'strictly private and confidential'.
lay¹ 1a The storm laid the crops flat.
leave¹ 3b Leave the door open, please.
lever¹ 1 lever a crate open
lick¹ 1a He licked the spoon clean.
like¹ 1b I like my coffee strong.
machine¹ 1 The edge of the disc had been machined flat/smooth.
make¹ 6 The news made her happy.
make¹ 8 You've made my nose too big (e.g. in a drawing).
mark² 1a The teacher marked her absent.
mark² 5 Why have you marked this sentence wrong?
mark² 6 (characterize) the man marked by him as the most responsible for the rift
misrepresent¹ 1 it is frustrating to see the countryside misrepresented as "natural"
mistake² 1 She mistook his smile as indicating (indicative of) agreement.
paint² 1 paint the ceiling white
pat¹ 2 He patted his face dry (with a towel).
perceive¹ 2 This is now perceived as unlikely.
pick¹ 3b The dogs picked the bones clean.
place² 8 The horse was placed third.
plane¹ 1 plane the wood smooth
plug¹ 3 He'd been plugged full of holes.
portray¹ 2 her lifestyle is portrayed as decadent
praise¹ 1 Critics praised the work as highly original.
prefer¹ 1 I prefer my coffee black.
preserve¹ 1a This vase has been preserved intact.
press² 1b She pressed the door/lid firmly shut.
press² 5a press the soil flat with the back of a spade
presume¹ 1 In English law, an accused person is presumed (to be) innocent until proved guilty.
presume¹ 1 Twelve passengers are missing, presumed dead.
prise¹ 1 The box had been prised open.

profess 2 He professed himself satisfied with the progress made.

pronounce 2 She was pronounced dead on arrival at the hospital.

prop a He used a box to prop the door open/ajar.

prove 1 They said I wouldn't succeed, but I proved them wrong.

prove 2 Hillary Bailey has proved herself fearless of such threats

pry 2 pry the can open

pull¹ 1 Pull the door shut/to.

pull¹ 5 John pulled (himself) free and ran off.

pump 1a The lake had been pumped dry.

pump 3 He was pumped full of drugs.

push¹ 1 The dog pushed the door open.

rake 1b rake the soil (smooth) (e.g. before planting seeds)

rasp 2 rasp the surface (smooth)

regard¹ 2 regard st as essential

reject 2 The army doctors rejected several recruits as unfit.

render 1 render sth harmless/ useless/ obsolete/ invalid

report¹ 1 The doctor reported the patient fit and well.

report¹ 2a Another sighting reported him hidden in Austria

report¹ 4b his mother reported him missing when he failed to return from school

represent¹ 8 The risks were represented as negligible.

return¹ 2 I returned the letter unopened.

return¹ 8 He was returned unopposed as MP for Bath.

reveal 2 Industrial tribunals have been revealed as powerless and inadequate.

rip b rip open a letter

roll² 6 roll the ground flat

rub¹ 2 rub the surface smooth

rule 3 The chairman ruled the speaker out of order. His second boat was ruled illegal.

sand 1 The floor has been sanded smooth.

scrape¹ 1a scrape the path clear of snow

scream 1a The baby was screaming itself hoarse.

screw 2a screw the nut tight

scrub¹ 1a The walls were now scrubbed clean of graffiti.

see¹ 1 I hate to see you unhappy.

send 4a send sb mad/crazy/insane/berserk

serve 3a The wine should be served chilled.

set¹ 4 The crowd watched as he set the bonfire alight.

shake¹ 1a He gently shook the children awake.

shoot¹ 2 Three people were shot dead during the robbery.

shout 2 She shouted herself hoarse cheering on the team.

show² 5a She showed herself unable to deal with money.

show² 10 The photo shows her dressed in a black evening dress.

slam 1 She slammed the window (shut).

slide¹ 1 The automatic doors slid open.

slit slit an envelope open with a knife.

smash 1 The lock was rusty, so we had to smash the door open.

snap¹ 2 She snapped her bag shut. The crocodile snapped its jaws shut.

split 3 He fell and split his head open on the pavement.

squash¹ 1a He sat on his hat and squashed it (flat).

stain 1a The juice from the walnuts stained their fingers brown.

stain 2 He stained the wood dark brown.

stamp¹ 1 stamp the soil flat

stigmatize ideas stigmatized as unnatural

stretch 2 The mooring rope was stretched tight/taut.

strike² 5 The plan strikes me as ridiculous.

strike² 6 be struck blind/dumb.

strip¹ 1a The bandits stripped him (naked) and beat him.

strip¹ 1b Thieves stripped the house bare.

stuff² 1a The case was stuffed full of old clothes.

suck 1a suck an orange dry

suppose 1 Everyone supposes him (to be) poor, but he is really quite wealthy.

swab 1 swab the wound (clean) with cotton wool

sweep¹ 1b Has this room been swept clean?

swing¹ 4 The door (was) swung open/shut.

talk¹ 6 talk oneself hoarse.

tear¹ 1a tear a parcel open
tear¹ 2b She tore herself loose from his grasp.
term term an offer unacceptable
think¹ 2 Do you think it likely?
throw¹ 2 I threw open the windows to let the smoke out.
thump 1 thump the cushion flat
tug a He tugged the door open.
turn¹ a5 The police questioned him for three days before turning him loose again.
turn¹ 10a The heat turned the milk sour.
vote 4 The judges voted my cake the best.
wash² 1a The beach had been washed clean by the tide.
wear¹ 1 She wears her hair long
wear¹ 3 The stones had been worn smooth by the constant flow of water.
wedge 1 wedge a door open
wipe 1a wipe the table (clean)
wish 1a He's dead and it's no use wishing him alive again.
work² 13 I was tied up, but managed to work (myself) free.
worry 2 She worried herself sick about her missing son.
wrench 1 wrench the door open. He managed to wrench himself free.
wriggle b The thieves left her tied up but she wriggled (her arms/herself) free.
zip 1 She zipped the tent flap shut.

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