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English Language and Linguistics, 25.4: 825–849. © The Author(s), 2020. Published by Cambridge University Press
doi:10.1017/S1360674320000386

Compound pronouns in English[1]

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(Received 11 August 2019; revised 19 July 2020)

This article explores the syntax of compound pronouns (e.g. *someone*, *nothing*). Several theories of these formatives have been proposed previously (e.g. Kishimoto 2000; Blöhdorn 2009), but most of them fail to account for the fact that compound pronouns behave simultaneously like compounds and phrases. By presenting corpus data of some special coordination and modification patterns of compound pronouns, I argue that they should instead be analysed as compound phrases: constructions which are morphologically compounds, but syntactically phrases. Both features play important roles in determining how compound phrases are modified. Moreover, I propose a modification paradigm based on Larson & Marušič (2004), which classifies common postmodifiers at different levels. Finally, I examine the syntactic behaviour of less frequently used nominal compound pronouns such as *nobody*, which are supplementary to the phrasal ones.

Keywords: syntax, syntax–morphology interface, compound pronouns, modification

1 Introduction

1.1 The basics of compound pronouns

In this article I will discuss COMPOUND PRONOUNS[2] (henceforth CoPro), a term which refers to indefinite pronouns derived from combining the determinative morphemes *every-*, *some-*, *any-*, *no-* with nominal ones such as *-body*, *-one*, *-thing*, etc. The notion is proposed in Quirk *et al.* (1985: 376–7), who also provide a summary of their syntactic behaviour (points ii to iv are illustrated by examples (1)–(3)):

i. CoPros appear in singular form (i.e. there is no **someones* or **anythings*);
ii. A postmodifier *else* can be added, making the whole phrase semantically approximate to '*some/any/no/every* + other + person/thing' (1a, b);
iii. CoPros cannot be premodified by adjectives, but postmodification is allowed (2a, b);
iv. CoPros can be freely modified by normal restrictive NP postmodifiers such as PPs and relative clauses (3a, b).

[1] I would like to thank the reviewers of *ELL* for their critical comments. I am also very grateful to the Editor, Prof. Bernd Kortmann, and the journal for publishing this article. Finally, I am thankful for the supervision of Prof. Bas Aarts. All remaining errors are mine.

[2] This term is a descriptive concept rather than a theoretical notion. As I will show later, typical CoPros are NPs (see section 3) and a minority are nouns (see section 5).

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(1) (a) someone/something else
(b) some other person/thing
(2) (a) someone special
(b) #special someone[3]
(3) (a) nothing in common
(b) somebody who is dead

The most prominent feature of CoPros is the unavailability of most premodification (usually by adjectives), which distinguishes them from common nouns: while the expression *special things* is permitted, #*special something* is often considered colloquial and less common; rather, we would say *something special*, which is marked for common nouns (#*things special*). Anyone who wishes to account for the syntax of CoPros must explain these facts. This article explores the syntactic behaviour of CoPros as follows: section 1.2 provides a concise introduction to previous studies; sections 2 and 3 examine some distinctive patterns of coordination and modification, and put forward a theory on the structure of CoPros; section 4 proposes a comprehensive account of the postmodification of CoPros; and the final section before the Conclusion discusses a special use of CoPros, namely nominal CoPros.

1.2 Previous studies

Kishimoto (2000) proposes that CoPros are variations of common noun phrases: the noun bases are raised from the post-adjectival position and join to the determiner bases, as (4b) shows:

(4) (a) [DP no **-thing** [NP sensible **thing**]]
(b) [DP D -N [NP A N]]

Kishimoto argues that CoPros are hardly true lexical items as they can be modified by certain adverbs (e.g. *almost/nearly everyone*), which suggests that the determiner base (i.e. *every-*) and the nominal base (i.e. *-one*) are separated, and what those adverbs modify is the determiner part. The N-raising analysis is criticised by Larson & Marušič (2004), who raise a great deal of evidence against a perceived prerequisite of N-raising, namely that the postmodifiers of CoPros are prenominal attributive adjectives at a 'deeper' level. For example, postmodifiers of CoPros cannot freely recur as premodifiers do (**something sensible worthwhile*), and attributive-only adjectives are not eligible for postmodification (**nothing mere*).

Instead, Larson & Marušič (2004) propose two theories of CoPros, one of which assumes the presence of null nouns after CoPros (considered as single determiners). A

[3] In this article the asterisk (*) marks ungrammaticality, while the hashtag (#) means a construction is partly accepted as grammatical, and a construction with questionable grammaticality will be marked with the question mark (?). Constructions like *special someone* are marginally possible, but as I will argue in section 5, they are structurally different from typical CoPros.

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somewhat similar analysis is from Leu (2005: 149), where the major difference lies in the attitude towards the internal structure of CoPros. Take *something* as an example. With an empty noun (abbreviated as ec_N) occurring after the CoPro (Leu calls it 'IPR', short for INDEFINITE PRONOUNS), *something* is separated into two functional categories [$_F$ *some*] and [$_{IPR\text{-}R}$ *thing*], in which 'IPR-R' stands for INDEFINITE PRONOUN RESTRICTOR. Larson & Marušič and Leu's analyses are shown in (5a, b), respectively.

(5) (a) [$_{DP}$ D (*AP) [NP ∅] AP]
(b) [$_{DP}$ [F] [IPR-R] ec_N]

These null noun analyses are criticised in Payne *et al.* (2007: 584), who point out that Larson & Marušič's analysis 'requires a stipulation that pre-head AdjPs are not permitted when the head is null'. In addition, while Leu criticises Larson & Marušič for not including French and Swiss German data, Payne *et al.* and Blöhdorn (2009) argue that some characteristics, which make English CoPros distinctive, may not fit into Leu's unified construction.

Another way of accounting for English CoPros is to claim that they have an inherently different modification pattern from common NPs. For instance, the other theory Larson & Marušič (2004: 284) propose is that instead of displaying the basic order (6a), CoPros '[represent] a derived order in which the noun head has raised leftward' (6b). Similarly, Blöhdorn (2009: 132) asserts that '[a]n AP modifying another syntactic category can occur in two basic positions'. Premodification requires the presence of an NP (7a). Since IPR-Ds (INDEFINITE PRONOUN DETERMINERS, Blöhdorn's term for CoPros, presumably echoing Leu) are determiners, they do not fulfil the requirement for premodification. This sends them to the other path (7b), in which determiners are intrinsically postmodified.

(6) (a) [$_{DP}$ D AP NP]

(b) [$_{DP}$ -**N** AP [$_{NP}$ ___]

(7) (a) [$_{DP}$ D AP NP]
(b) [$_{DP}$ D AP]

Although an advantage of these analyses is that they are simple and clear, the immediate problem is to admit that CoPros have a completely different syntax, at least in terms of modification, from other NPs. (6a, b) seem to be an attempt to legitimise N-raising, but this process requires a special stipulation that this kind of N-raising is confined to CoPros, and does not apply to common NPs. (7a, b) require more explanation: should we regard IPR-Ds as a peripheral class of determiners? After all, no other determiner is usually postmodified – in fact, it is arguable whether determiners can be modified at all by adjectives. But if we do this, we could be accused of deliberately complicating the syntax by creating a new class without sufficient evidence.

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2 New observations

Although the basic properties of CoPros have been thoroughly discussed in previous studies, there are still some syntactic phenomena that have received less attention. Those special characteristics of CoPros revealed in coordination and modification will shed some new light on the analysis of its structure.

2.1 Coordination

CoPros may be coordinated by the coordinator *or* with the adjective *other*, as exemplified in attested sentences (8a, b):

(8) (a) Almost all our citizens are indicted for **something or other**. (bit.ly/2Wu9xky)
(b) Iris is off **somewhere or other** for the next few days. (bit.ly/2Wu9xky)

We may expect noun ellipsis in structures like *or other/another*. For instance, the non-elliptical form of *one way or another* is presumably *one way or another (way)*, with the nominal head *way* of the second immediate constituent deleted for concision. If the same rule is applied to *something or other*, the element being coordinated and then deleted should not be the whole compound, but part of it, i.e. *-thing*. The phenomenon of *-thing* being deleted in coordination is against the 'expected behaviour' of compounding[4] (Giegerich 2004). As Giegerich argues:

> Neither elements [of a compound] should be allowed to be deleted in coordination – compare phrasal *two red and four yellow roses*, and lexical **quick- and thoroughly.* (Giegerich 2004: 5)

Therefore, sentences (8a, b) suggest that CoPros are essentially phrasal instead of lexical as this deletion in coordination is allowed, though most instances except *no one*[5] are morphologically single words.

A further problem related to this coordination construction is the categorisation of *somewhere*. In *somewhere or other*, the deleted part *-where* in the second constituent takes *other* as its adjective modifier, which obviously violates the observation that adjectives cannot modify either adverbs or prepositions.[6] (8b) suggests the possibility that *-where* can in some circumstances be regarded as a nominal base (cf. *some/any/no place*) and *-where* words in these examples are structurally identical to typical CoPros.

[4] Although Giegerich's (2004) main topic is NN compounding, his observations are not confined to NN structures, but also apply to other kinds of compound.
[5] Algeo (2006) notices that in British English the form *no-one* is also used with considerable frequency, and occasionally there is *noone*. These two variant forms are indicative of the fact that *no one* is also morphologically a unit.
[6] Most grammars classify *where/somewhere* as adverbs, but for Huddleston & Pullum *et al.* (2002) they are prepositions.

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2.2 Modification

2.2.1 The function of the determiner and external modifiers

A distinctive feature of CoPros, as Quirk *et al.* observe, is that they freely take post-head adjectival modifiers. This feature separates them from ordinary pronouns, whose modification is restricted (Huddleston & Pullum *et al.* 2002: 429–30). It seems that CoPros, contrary to what their name suggests, behave more like nouns in their ability to take adjectives as modifiers. On the other hand, this feature also suggests that CoPros are atypical in the noun class: while most nouns allow premodifiers (e.g. *a tall building*, *long hair*), **tall anybody* is usually deemed ungrammatical. One reason for this postmodification-only characteristic, as many would argue, is that **tall anybody* violates the order of premodifiers in English. I list here two paradigms of the premodification sequence ('M' stands for 'modifier'):

(9) (a) Det > Precentral M > Central M > Postcentral M > Prehead M > Head (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1138)

(b) Pre-head external M > Det > Pre-head internal M > Pre-head complement > Head > Post-head internal dependents > Post-head external M (Huddleston & Pullum *et al.* 2002: 452)

According to paradigm (9a), *tall*, as an adjective of length, belongs to the class of 'central modifiers', whereas the determiner *any* always occurs in the outmost layer. It is the same for (9b), where the pre-head internal modifier *tall* appears after the determiner. The possibility of **tall anybody* is therefore blocked as *tall* cannot be positioned further from the head than the determiner. However, the premise of applying the order of modifiers here is to acknowledge that CoPros such as *anybody* are semantically and syntactically compositional. In other words, we assume that the compound *anybody* can be divided into two independent parts, with the determinative base *any-* being the determiner of the noun base *-body*, and both parts are essentially functional. This is in contrast to non-compositional compounds like *inmate* or *outcast*:

(10) (a) He met his former **inmate**.

(b) He was treated as **an outcast**.

(11) *He was treated as **an anyone**.

The words *inmate* and *outcast* are syntactically cohesive; they cannot be analysed as a preposition plus a noun/verb sequence, otherwise the modifier *former* in (10a) and determiner *an* in (10b) would inappropriately modify PPs. On the other hand, the fact that *an* is not allowed in (11) can only be accounted for by positing a determiner (**an* + *any* + *one*). In this sense, *anyone* is equivalent to [$_{NP}$ *his inmate*] and [$_{NP}$ *an outcast*] in that it is regarded as an NP consisting of D (determiner) + N (noun head).

More evidence on the independence of the determiner part comes from observations concerning 'external modifiers', as (12a, b) show.

(12) (a) [**Almost all**] (the) students (adapted from Kishimoto (2000: 561))

(b) [**Not every**] supervisor would agree. (Huddleston & Pullum *et al.* 2002: 424)

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In (12a, b) the pre-head adverbs (*almost* and *not*) modify the following determinatives, forming what Huddleston & Pullum *et al.* (2002: 431) call DETERMINATIVE PHRASES. Considering the fact that external adverb modifiers (e.g. *not*, *hardly*, *almost*, *nearly*) are also permissible for CoPros, analysis (13) is thus proposed by analogy:

(13) [**Not/Hardly any-**] -one would agree.

Again, analysis (13) strongly indicates that the determinative bases (*some/any/no/every-*) are syntactically active.

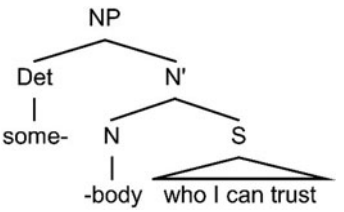
2.2.2 Restrictive relative clauses

Apart from ellipsis in coordination constructions, restrictive relative clauses following certain CoPros justify the independent status of the nominal bases as well. The following examples (14a, b) are taken from Huddleston (1984: 394), and (14c) is made up:

(14) (a) **Nobody** who knows her could believe her capable of such an act.
(b) **Every vehicle** which they had tested had some defect.
(c) **Everyone** I asked said she was not at home.

As Huddleston explains, (14a) clearly does not denote a meaning like 'nobody believes her capable of such an act', and in (14b) not every vehicle had been tested. Similarly, I did not ask everyone I was able to talk to, but (14c) merely means those who I asked all gave the same response that she was not at home. Huddleston (1984: 395) calls for a 'more abstract form' of analysis such that (14a) should be read as 'No person x such that x knows her could believe her capable of such an act'. However, considering the later proposal by Huddleston & Pullum (2005: 183) that 'the antecedent is always the head noun or nominal modified by the relative clause', I believe a simpler solution is that the antecedents of the relative clause in (14a, c) are the nominal bases *-body* and *-one*, just like (14b), where the proper element that the relative clause modifies is *vehicle* instead of *every vehicle*. This solution will lead (14c) to denote that 'I asked some people; every such person said she was not at home', which is exactly the intended meaning of (14c). This is what McCawley (1998: 437) has argued, with a structure displayed in (15). Although he does not particularly favour a lexical or phrasal analysis for CoPros, McCawley (1998: 383) agrees that in structures which involve modifying relative clauses 'syntactic boundaries . . . clash with word boundaries'.

(15)



A natural deduction of the analysis above is that the scope of modification is within the scope of determination, which is quite plausible if we compare *anyone special* to its

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alternative *any special person*. This leads to the conclusion that modifiers of CoPros modify the noun bases in lieu of the whole constructions.

3 The compound phrase hypothesis

3.1 CoPros and the syntax–lexicon divide

The unusual coordination phenomena in (8a, b) and modification of the determinative bases (13) and the noun bases (14a–c) raise important questions about the status of CoPros. A useful way of addressing this problem, I believe, is to discuss them in the context of the syntax–lexicon debate and to compare them to typical compounds and phrases.

Although there may never be a clear borderline between words and phrases, linguists have proposed many criteria that serve to classify problematic structures. Perhaps the most obvious reason to regard CoPros as compounds is their ORTHOGRAPHIC UNITY: CoPros are morphologically words. Although whether there is space or not between the components does not itself constitute an argument for compounding, it is true that those with the parts glued together (e.g. *watchmaker*) are less open to questions about their status than those with space in between (e.g. *olive oil*, *boy actor*). In other words, 'constructions consisting of sequences of letters which are not interrupted by a space will generally be interpreted as a single lexeme' (Sanchez-Stockhammer 2018: 26). Therefore, while *some people* is no doubt phrasal, words like *somebody* or *nothing* (the only exception is *no one*) are less distinguishable in terms of their structure from *inmate* or *outside*, in which two words from different classes form a new one. Related to orthographic unity is the concept STRUCTURAL INTEGRITY (Bauer *et al.* 2013; Bauer 2017). Bauer (2017: 7) argues that while 'the relationship between orthography and word-status is rather more fraught than is generally recognised', one criterion for structural integrity, namely the test of uninterruptability, could be much stronger. CoPros are uninterruptable just like common compounds (e.g. **baby-student-sitter*, but *red grammar books*), as **any-interesting-body* or **no-sensible-thing* is generally unacceptable. The only exception in English is a situation called 'expletive infixation', e.g. *every-bloody-body* (see McCarthy 1982: 576). This, however, has nothing to do with the syntax–lexicon divide, because expletives can also be inserted into non-compounds, e.g. *abso-bloody-lutely.*

Giegerich (2009: 184–6; 2015: 101–10) suggests several other tests (two syntactic, one phonological and one semantic) based on the Lexical Integrity Principle to distinguish words from phrases. A typical compound is fore-stressed (e.g. *'blackbird*, not *black'bird*), semantically opaque (*blackbird* compared with *black bird*), unable to be independently modified (**very blackbird*), or to undergo coordination using the pro-form *one* (**a blackbird and a white one*), while a typical phrase does the reverse. A close inspection of the application of those criteria to words like *somebody* yields interesting results that indicate that those words behave neither as typical 'words' nor as 'phrases'.

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Table 1. *The behaviour of* somebody *as compared to* blackbird *and* red books

Type	Word	Structural integrity	Fore-stress	Semantic opaqueness	Independent modification	Coordination reduction
Compound	*blackbird*	+	+	+	–	–
Phrase	*red books*	–	–	–	+	+
CoPro	*somebody*	+	+	±	+	+

First of all, all CoPros are fore-stressed, whereas their phrasal counterparts (e.g. *some people*, *any place*) tend to receive end-stress or equal stress. This strongly supports the lexical status of CoPros, as Giegerich (2009: 196) claims that 'fore-stress is confined to compounds'. Moreover, there is some phonemic change within the words (e.g. /ɒ/ in *body* becomes a schwa /ə/ in *somebody*), possibly suggesting a structural cohesion.

On the other hand, CoPros behave rather like phrases on the remaining criteria. They are semantically transparent to some extent[7] and their subparts can be independently modified (see section 2.2). The pro-*one* test seems tricky here, as its application requires countability (Giegerich 2009: 194) and presumably specificity. The noun bases are arguably non-countable (as we do not have **somebodies*[8]) and generic, which blocks them from occurring in structures like **somebody or other one*. However, CoPros can pass a related test called COORDINATION REDUCTION (Giegerich 2015: 101), whereby redundant nouns are elided in NP coordination. The difference between common NPs and CoPros is that while most NPs have their former noun reduced (*red and blue books*), CoPros remove their latter nominal element in coordination (*something or other*; see section 2.1).

The differences between *somebody* and the typical compound *blackbird* and the typical phrase *red books* are summarised in table 1.[9]

It is worth noting that there might be certain mismatches of the above criteria. For example, end-stressed *Common Tern* is semantically less transparent (Common Terns are not that common in Britain), and fore-stressed *man-servant* passes the pro-*one* test (*a woman servant and a man one*) (Giegerich 2015: 103). But while *Common Tern* and *man-servant* may be finally assigned to the class of either compounds or phrases

[7] According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), *body* can, though rarely, refer to 'a person'. *One*, as an indefinite pronoun, may apply to both non-human and human references (see Seaton 2005). See also McCawley (1998: 437). It seems that CoPros are semi-compositional (marked '±' in the 'semantic opaqueness' column of table 1), although I believe the lack of complete transparency is related to the fact that CoPros have been structurally integrated for a long time. Historically, the parts of CoPros were separate and the phrases were compositional in Old and Middle English. Because of space considerations I am not able to discuss the historical development of CoPros.

[8] *Somebodies/nobodies* do exist, but they semantically and syntactically differ from typical CoPros; see section 5.

[9] An anonymous reviewer suggests that in terms of productivity, CoPros are quite similar to compounds as they are generally unproductive. But since both Bauer (2017) and Giegerich (2015) do not include productivity as one of the criteria, it is not listed in table 1.

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in accordance with other criteria, the distance between CoPros and both compounds and phrases, as table 1 and the discussion of the following sections reveals, is too great for us to assign CoPros to either class. CoPros are both atypical compounds and atypical phrases. If, as Giegerich (2009: 197) concludes, lexicalisation is a 'gradient phenomenon', then they should be positioned somewhere between the two ends.

3.2 *CoPros as compound phrases*

Kishimoto (2000), as reviewed in section 1.2.1, has been advocating that CoPros are structurally phrases, yet his theory is opposed by Larson & Marušič (2004). A critical problem may be that he makes much reference to 'deep structure', ignoring the basic fact that CoPros are single orthographic units. N-raising is implausible if we acknowledge that the compounding of CoPros is essentially a morphological, rather than a syntactic, process. In other words, the shapes of CoPros are pre-established (i.e. listed in the lexicon), and any syntactic operation must be implemented on the basis of this pre-establishment. As we can observe from previous sections, the morphology of CoPros is so powerful that it to some extent separates them from typical phrases and endows them with marked postmodification patterns. Therefore, the analysis of CoPros should take into consideration both morphological and syntactic aspects. That is why I do not regard CoPros simply as phrases, but as COMPOUND PHRASES in which there is an obvious morphology/syntax interplay:

> THE COMPOUND PHRASE HYPOTHESIS:
> CoPros are typically compound phrases: they are morphologically compounds but syntactically phrases (more precisely, NPs). The syntax of CoPros is determined by their pre-established morphology.

4 Modification patterns of CoPros

4.1 *Postmodifiers*

In this section I will discuss the modification of CoPros in more detail. Larson & Marušič (2004) have shown that the postmodifiers of CoPros (if they are adjectives) are predicative instead of attributive,[10] with one of the arguments being that 'attributive-only' adjectives are not permissible (16)–(18):

(16) (a) *someone future
(b) a future scientist
(17) (a) something tall
(b) a tall building
(18) (a) anyone alone
(b) ?an alone woman

[10] The authors provide seven pieces of evidence from both syntactic and semantic perspectives, most of which are robust enough to argue against Kishimoto's belief that CoPros are phrases involving raising. See Larson & Marušič (2004: 271–8).

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This phenomenon has been accounted for by Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1294), who analyse CoPro postmodifiers as reduced relative clauses. However, Blöhdorn (2009), following Ferris (1993), criticises this proposal, arguing that although almost all adjectival postmodifiers (with the exception of some 'postpositive-only' adjectives such as *galore* in *cards galore*) may expand to relative clauses, a huge number of relative clauses which contain predicative adjectives cannot reduce to postmodifiers. He gives the following examples (Blöhdorn 2009: 109):

(19) (a) That **a writer who is gay** cannot be serious is a common professional illusion . . .
(b) *That **a writer gay** cannot be serious is a common professional illusion . . .

It seems that he fails to take CoPros into consideration, yet it is exactly the modification of CoPros that Quirk *et al.* intend to explain. In the case of CoPros it is easy to establish that the relation between adjectival postmodifiers and relative clauses with predicative adjectives is much closer, as both expansion and reduction are always possible. For example, we can make (19b) grammatical by replacing *a writer* with *someone*:

(20) (a) That **someone who is gay** cannot be serious is a common professional illusion . . .
(b) That **someone gay** cannot be serious is a common professional illusion . . .

Then the question becomes more complicated: why does the 'reduced relative clause' theory work perfectly well for CoPros, but not for other NPs?

We may begin the discussion by examining the adjectives that are able to freely expand and reduce in both CoPros and common nouns. Such adjectives usually belong to one of the following groups: (i) never-attributive adjectives, e.g. *alone*, *afloat*; (ii) some adjectives ending in *-able/-ible*, e.g. *visible*, *navigable*; (iii) a few special adjectives such as *present* or *following* (examples (21)–(23) are adapted from Quirk *et al.* 1985: 419).

(21) (a) the house **ablaze**
(b) the house **which is ablaze**
(22) (a) the rivers **navigable**
(b) the rivers which are navigable
(23) (a) the men **present**
(b) the men who are present

All adjectives in these three groups share a trait that when used as modifiers, they may occur in postposition. Therefore, I argue that the ability to be postpositive is intrinsic for some adjectives, and the 'reduced relative clause' theory presupposes this ability, not vice versa. In other words, the 'reduced relative clause' theory is not universal, but only applies to some adjectives that are inherently able to appear in postposition (i.e. those in the above three groups). *Gay* in examples (19a, b), as well as adjectives like *tall* or *old*, cannot be explained by this theory.

Examples (20a, b), by contrast, are special: on the surface, the relation between the two examples in (20) looks the same as those in (21)–(23), but the limitation of the 'reduced

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relative clause' theory disproves such a comparison. I propose that postpositive *gay* in (20b) is not a result of relative clause reduction as *gay* is not intrinsically able to occur postpositively; instead, it is *coerced* to postposition. This situation will be discussed in detail in the next section.

4.2 *Syntactic coercion*[11]

As CoPros are syntactically noun phrases, the attributive modifiers can be arranged in accordance with a paradigm proposed in Larson & Marušič (2004: 280), which is cited below with minor changes[12] as (24a), and exemplified in (24b).

(24) (a) $[_{DP}\ D\ \alpha_1\ [_{NP}\ \beta_1\ N]\ \alpha_2]$ (α = DP modifier; β = NP modifier[13])
(b) the delicious house wine available

In paradigm (24a), we can put *some-/any-/no-/every* in position D, and *-body/-one/-thing/-where* in position N. However, this causes a problem: if CoPros were true phrases like *this book*, we should be able to add DP modifiers in position α_1 just after the determiner *some-*, *any-*, *no-* or *every-* which modify the noun phrases [*-body*], [*-one*], [*-thing*] and [*-where*], and NP modifiers in position β_1 just before the nominal heads [*-body*], [*-one*], [*-thing*] and [*-where*], but this is not possible. In fact, positions α_1 and β_1 are never available because the pre-established morphology of D and N in CoPros being glued together prohibits the insertion of any extra element, except expletives (see section 3.1). The consequence is that potential candidates for positions α_1 or β_2 are relocated to nearby positions, either forwards (towards the end of the phrase) or backwards (towards the front of the phrase). In reality, however, only the forwards option is available because of the general constraints on the premodification sequence (i.e. no adjectival modifier can occur before the determiner). Therefore, an alternative modification pattern for CoPros is formed through an operation which I term SYNTACTIC COERCION. It can be formulated as follows:

(25) $[_{DP}\ D\ [_{NP}\ N\ \beta_2]\ \alpha_2]$[14]

As just discussed, syntactic coercion presupposes the status of compound phrase for CoPros: if morphology does not play a primary role and CoPros are nothing more than common NPs, as Kishimoto (2000) proposes, then attributive modifiers permissible for common NPs (e.g. *a future scientist*) should also fit CoPros. Clearly this is against what has been observed until now.

[11] I use 'syntactic coercion' instead of simply 'coercion' to avoid confusion with the well-developed semantic concept (see Lauwers & Willems 2011).

[12] Here I distinguish prenominal modifiers from postnominal ones by subscripting prenominal modifiers with the number '1' and postnominal modifiers with the number '2'.

[13] By 'NP modifier' Larson & Marušič mean that modifiers that occur in position β modify the head noun, whereas a 'DP modifier' refers to an attributive adjective, which occurs in position α and modifies the noun phrase which consists of the head noun only.

[14] There might be a question as to whether the position β_2 actually exists or not, because it is not recognised by Larson & Marušič in the original paradigm. This will be explored in section 4.3.2.

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What are the distinguishing features of syntactic coercion? First, it is triggered by strong stylistic, semantic or morphosyntactic factors which make the default syntactic structure impossible. For CoPros the motivation is their morphology, but in other situations semantic and stylistic reasons may be equally effective as well. For instance, Bolinger (1967: 9) proposes that a 'temporary adjective' (i.e. an adjective which 'names a quality that is too fleeting to characterize anything') is restricted to predicative or postpositive position, with the adjectives having the prefix *a-* (e.g. *afire*, *asleep*, *alive*) being typical examples. He also noticed that some of them 'are gradually edging their way into attributive position' (Bolinger 1967: 12), like *away* in *away games* and *aware* in *aware audience*. The author does not discuss the change much, but for me an important motivation lies in semantics: the attributive use of *away* or *aware* weakens the application of 'temporariness' and enhances its 'permanentness' and 'genericity' as a modifier. The contrast is shown in the following examples extracted from the *British National Corpus* (BNC; Davies 2004–):

(26) (a) . . . he's been to the last two or three world cup tournaments, and he goes to all the **matches away**, you know, European cup matches and everything that English teams are playing in, he's all over the world watching it . . . (BNC: HGH)
(b) Chiefly they are responsible for hiring coaches to **away matches** and for getting occasional petitions signed. (BNC: ECN)

In (26a) *matches away* indicates a few specific matches that are played outside England, i.e. 'European cup matches and everything that English teams are playing in'. But *away matches* in (26b) has no specific reference; it denotes 'any match that is played away', a characteristic that is more generic and intrinsic to the concept 'match'. Although *away* is syntactically never-attributive, the need for expressing 'permanentness' coerces it to the attributive position so that it could mean something slightly different.

Another attested example is cited in Aarts (2007: 107):

(27) Snow, who lives in Kentish Town, has **an alive presence**, an abiding awareness, a serious desire to seek the truth . . .

Here prenominal use of *alive* in (27) is more obviously driven by stylistic concerns, as Aarts (2007: 107) reasons that this manipulation serves to 'create a neat parallelism' by presenting three NPs with the same 'numeral + adjective + noun' structure. On the other hand, it may also have some semantic effect: instead of delivering a sense of 'temporariness', *alive* in (27) is closer to 'active' or 'lively', a characteristic which is considered intrinsic and persistent.

In terms of CoPros, the reason for coercion is purely morphosyntactic: there is no space for prenominal modification as all CoPros are single orthographic units. As a result, all modifiers must be placed in postposition. A semantic side-effect of the forward coercion is that, while using never-attributive adjectives (e.g. *away*, *alive*) in attributive position yields a more 'permanent' meaning, the placement of potential attributive adjectives in postposition will restrict them in 'temporariness'. This is perhaps why Larson & Marušič (2004: 275) observe that although *visible stars* and *stars visible* are

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semantically different ('permanent' and 'temporary'), *everything visible* has only the 'temporary' meaning.

Second, syntactic coercion is different from movement: it is a result rather than a process. We cannot say that when coercion occurs an element is 'moved' to the target position from elsewhere, simply because the imaginary original state is impossible. For example, *an alive presence* is not a consequence resulting from the movement of *a presence alive*, as the latter expression is not permitted for stylistic reasons. Similarly, there is no such structure as **some-old-thing*, and the adjective *old*, when modifying *something*, is directly placed in postposition. Therefore, I consider the modification pattern (25) independent from the general paradigm (24a) rather than a derivation of it.

4.3 Challenges for the theory of syntactic coercion

The modification pattern in (25) needs more clarification, especially with regard to the relation between DP modifiers and NP modifiers. There are specifically two potential challenges: first, we need to distinguish NP modifiers β_2, which are otherwise premodifiers β_1, from DP modifiers α_2, but Larson & Marušič, by comparing stage-level interpretations with individual-level interpretations,[15] and also restrictive interpretations with non-restrictive ones, reject the idea that NP modifiers are able to occur postpositively. In other words, according to them, position β_2 should not exist (note that β_2 is absent in the original pattern (24a)). Second, we would need to deal with the potential ability of recursive postmodification, if position β_2 indeed does not exist. I will discuss these issues in the following sections.

4.3.1 Common postpositive modifiers of CoPros

Larson (1998: 145) raises the following example in a discussion of the ambiguity between intersective and non-intersective readings of adjectives:

(28) Olga is a beautiful dancer.

While the intersective reading interprets the above sentence as 'Olga is beautiful and Olga is a dancer', the non-intersective reading interprets it as 'Olga dances beautifully'. Larson & Marušič (2004: 281) relate this ambiguity to the difference between DP and NP modification: the adjective *beautiful* functions as a DP modifier, i.e. α_1 in (24a): [$_{DP}$ *a beautiful* [$_{NP}$ *dancer*] in the intersective reading, and an NP modifier, i.e. β_1 in (24a): [$_{DP}$ *a* [$_{NP}$ *beautiful dancer*]) in the non-intersective reading. The analysis of intersective/non-intersective ambiguity can be extended to CoPros:

[15] A stage-level interpretation is a semantic interpretation where adjectives assign non-intrinsic, temporary features to the referents, and in an individual-level interpretation intrinsic and persisting features are assigned. For instance, in *Mice are small*, the predicative adjective *small* receives an individual-level interpretation as all mice are (always) small, but *visible* in *Mice are visible* must be interpreted on a stage-level because the sentence implies that 'at least some mice can be seen at a particular moment (presumably now)'. See Hallman (2004) for a detailed description.

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(29) (a) Olga is a beautiful dancer.
(b) Olga is **someone** beautiful
(30) (a) John is a corporate lawyer.
(b) *John is **someone** corporate.

There is an obvious restriction of interpretation in CoPros. Sentence (29b) is not ambiguous, allowing only the intersective reading. Sentences (30a, b) show that when the premodifier permits only a non-intersective reading (thereby forbidding '*John is corporate and John is a lawyer'), it cannot be coerced to the postposition of CoPros. Both examples suggest that the postmodifiers of CoPros receive an exclusively intersective reading, which means, if the theory of Larson & Marušič is valid, that CoPros can only take DP modifiers. This is in accordance with the non-existence of position β_2, and it therefore seems that all postmodifiers should be placed in position α_2 in (25).

4.3.2 Else

In the previous section, we saw that β_2 cannot be filled. However, we should not simply do away with it: there is at least one word, namely *else*, which seems to be a true postpositive NP modifier. Its syntactic distinctiveness is summarised below:

i. *Else* is not an adjective modifier, which means it is not restricted by Larson's distinction between intersective and non-intersective adjectives. Traditionally it is treated as an adverb, although Huddleston & Pullum *et al.* (2002: 615, fn. 1) argue that *else* is 'arguably a preposition when it postmodifies interrogative heads and compound determinatives'. The reasons for their re-categorisation are that (a) *else* only occurs after certain nominal structures (e.g. *wh*-pronouns such as *who*, CoPros and singular *all*, *much*, etc.; see Quirk *et al.* 1985: 454); and (b) internal postmodification is a typical function for PPs rather than AdvPs (e.g. *the issues under discussion* but not **the issues so remarkably*).
ii. *Else* is inherently a postmodifier which can only occur in postposition.
iii. *Else* immediately follows the nominal head, whether there is another postmodifier or not. That is why Huddleston & Pullum *et al.* take it as an INTERNAL MODIFIER – a modifier that occurs within the NP.
iv. While *else* can take *than* complements, this is impossible if there is another adjective in between. For example, *nothing else than this* is grammatical, yet **nothing else sensible than this* is not.
v. *Else* plays a role in word-formation with at least one noun base *-where*, as in *elsewhere*.

All these characteristics suggest that *else* has a very close syntactic relation with the nominal structures it modifies. It is unlikely to be either prenominal or expanded to a relative clause. In consequence, position β_2 should be retained in the CoPro modification

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pattern (25). Also, the analysis that *else* is an NP modifier positioned in β_2 reflects the phenomenon that *else* can and must precede the adjective (which is positioned in α_2):

(31) (a) nothing **else sensible**
(b) *nothing **sensible else**

The behaviour of *else*, to some extent, resembles that of the 'postpositive-only' adjectives (e.g. the President *elect*, the poet *laureate*), which might also be potential NP modifiers that are located in position β_2. Considering the fact that the 'postpositive-only' adjectives are semantically selective, i.e. they modify a very limited number of nouns (e.g. **the student elect*, **the chef laureate*), and are usually incompatible with CoPros, they will not be further explored here. Nevertheless, their status of being intersective-only adjectives (e.g. **He is the president and he is elect*) suggests that they are indeed NP modifiers, which may trigger a need to amend the original paradigm (24a).

4.3.3 More

Another interesting case is *more*, as *nothing else* and *nothing more* share more or less the same meaning. Despite the fact that *else* and *more* are often used interchangeably after CoPros, the two words are syntactically quite different. First, *more* does not always appear in postnominal positions. Together with words like *less* and *fewer*, it occurs after the head only when there is a determiner (Huddleston & Pullum *et al.* 2002: 445). Therefore we have *one day more* but not **days more*. Second, the complementation of *more* is quite restrictive in that it can hardly be followed by an adjective postmodifier: although *something more fashionable* is possible, it deviates from the meaning of *something else fashionable* and its internal structure is better analysed as *something* [*more fashionable*], in which *more* is an adverb modifier of *fashionable*, different from the one in *one day more*.

The restriction on the following modifier suggests *more* may be a DP modifier in position α_2 in (25), and the fact that it occurs both prenominally and postnominally in common NPs reminds us of adjectives like *visible*:

(32) (a) the **visible** stars
(b) the stars **visible**
(33) (a) one **more** day
(b) one day **more**

However, the resemblance of *visible* and *more* is only superficial: in (33a) the word *more* does not modify *day* but the determinative *one* (i.e. [*one more*] *day*), forming a determinative phrase. Also, in (33b), it seems that *more* is outside the scope of the determiner *one* (i.e. [*one day*] *more*, as **day more* is not a constituent), which is not allowed by Larson & Marušič's modification pattern. The fact that the postmodifying *more* is outside the scope of the determiner is further consolidated by the phrasal structure *once more*, in which there is no doubt that *more* modifies *once*, a special conglomerate of both the determiner and the noun head (see Payne *et al.* 2007). We

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can conclude, therefore, that in neither (33a) nor (33b) is the adjective *more* a modifier of the head noun *day*; moreover, the analysis of (33b) suggests that when used postpositively, *more* is neither an NP modifier situated in β_2 or a DP modifier situated in α_2. Rather, it should belong to a layer that is further out, i.e. one that is outside the position D. If we were to apply Larson & Marušič's paradigm to (33b), we need to create a new position, like γ, for the modifier *more*:

(34)

$[_{DP}$	D	α_1	$[_{NP}$ β_1	N	$\beta_2]$	$\alpha_2]$	$\gamma_2]$
	one			day			more
	no-			-thing			more
	some-			-thing	else	fashionable	
	some-			-thing		more fashionable	

4.4 Recursion

4.4.1 The restrictor

An important conclusion drawn from paradigm (25) is that CoPros cannot take more than one adjective modifier, which is consistent with Huddleston & Pullum *et al.* (2002: 423), who label CoPro modifier the RESTRICTOR:[16]

(35) (a) nothing **sensible**
(b) *nothing **sensible new**

Moreover, we are able to explain why *beautiful long hair* is possible and **something beautiful long* is not: it seems that recursive modifiers are only permitted in position α_1 but not α_2, and it is impossible for *beautiful* or *long* to be in position β_2 since they are DP modifiers in postposition. As a result, they cannot coexist but need to compete for one position. The competition may be cancelled by coordination, though, as *beautiful and long* is considered as a single modifier.

4.4.2 Recursive modifiers

Larson & Marušič (2004), contra Huddleston & Pullum *et al.*, are among the few researchers who advocate multiple modifiers under certain conditions. Three patterns of multiple postmodification (36a–c) are workable for them. The conditions of multiple postmodification, as argued by Larson & Marušič (2004: 283), are that adjectives can be followed by other 'heavy' adjectives (36a), or adjectives which occur both prenominally and postnominally precede ones occurring exclusively postnominally (36b), or both (36c).

(36) (a) everyone present capable of lifting a horse
(b) everyone tall present
(c) everyone tall present capable of lifting a horse

[16] The only exception is *else*, which, as discussed in section 4.3.2, is a preposition modifier occupying the special β_2 position.

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This notion could be problematic, however: in reality, attested examples are extremely difficult to find even in large corpora such as BNC. With the help of iWeb (Davies 2018–), an allegedly 14-billion-word corpus based on the Internet, hundreds of potential candidates are yielded. However, a disproportionate majority of them are not of the types suggested by Larson & Marušič:

(37) (a) Will you join your old team or do you think it's time for **something brand new**? (bit.ly/2uAGQ9u)
(b) If you want **something super simple**, Instagram is the way to go. (bit.ly/2Fzn5Ew)
(c) The reviews include . . . stuff that isn't hard to find if you're a powerhouse school, but may be difficult if you're trying to find information on **someone lesser known**. (bit.ly/2WAHLDb)
(d) Many of the other settings will be specific to your AWS environment, however there's **nothing special required for this function**. (bit.ly/2HYofMC)
(e) Even if you don't have **anything specific planned**, set aside some free time so that you can do something spontaneous. (bit.ly/2Ufn6XK)
(f) I'll need to look for **something similar available in the UK**. (bit.ly/2Ub65Ok)

Brand new in (37a), as well as *old fashioned*, should be analysed as lexicalised compounds instead of separate adjective phrases, and there are often hyphens in the alternative forms *brand-new* and *old-fashioned*. In (37b), *super* is used in spoken language as an adverb which modifies *simple*, making *super simple* a single AdjP. Similar instances are *lesser known* in (37c) and *real quick* in colloquial American English. Examples (37d, e) look qualified on their own, but as they occur in sentences featuring existential *there* and verbs like *have* or *make*, Huddleston & Pullum *et al.* (2002) would rather regard *required for this function* and *planned* as predicative complements. In fact, the majority of 'CoPros + Adj. + Adj./past participle' structures appear in sentences containing *there, have*, *make* and *keep*, ruling out the possibility for the second adjective to be a modifier. What is then left is (37f), a potentially good example. It looks like a combination of (36a, b), because the first adjective *similar*, as a modifier, is primarily prenominal, and there is a PP complement of *available* at the end. Those examples are scarce. Also, as noted by Larson & Marušič (2004: 283, fn. 15), such recursion is subject to some special conditions. The acceptability of combinations like (36b) varies among sentences, and sometimes it is difficult to determine whether the variations are due to syntactic or semantic constraints. Moreover, the first adjective often bears contrastive stress and there is a break between the two adjectives, which seems to suggest that they have distinctive functions. A possible analysis is that the second adjective might be an adjunct, as breaks are typical between NPs and adjuncts that provide supplementary information. Under this circumstance it is hard to distinguish *Everyone present capable of lifting a horse was offered a ticket* and *Everyone present, capable of lifting a horse, was offered a ticket* in spoken language. Another possibility is that the break can serve as a marker of coordination, in the way a comma does in prenominal modifiers (e.g. *a hard, boring task*). If this is true, then we will not see recursion, but a coordinated set of

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modifiers in (36a), which is not different from *everyone present and capable of lifting a horse*.[17]

If we acknowledge Larson & Marušič's stance on recursive modifiers, a possibility is that maybe α_1, the position that is being coerced, does not merge with α_2 but coexists with it. This explanation directly corresponds to the authors' observation that if two adjectives coexist postpositively, the first one must be able to occur both prenominally and postnominally (like *tall*) and the second one must occur exclusively in postposition (like *present*). *Tall* is a coerced adjective which would otherwise be located in α_1, while *present* is inherently a postpositive modifier located in position α_2: they can coexist because they are of different provenance.

Despite its effectiveness in explaining multiple modification, this analysis may face some new problems. We need to clarify why there is coexistence instead of merging. More importantly, Larson & Marušič's observation is challenged by data that seem problematic, like those I found in (38a, b):

(38) (a) I am interested in finding out if there is **anything new available** for migraine treatment. (bit.ly/2FAZQtT)
(b) Wait . . . She is better than **anything available new** today! (bit.ly/2CHYInn)

Although examples like (38a) are seen more often in formal conversations and articles where the use of language is more casual and examples like (38b) in online forums, I would not dismiss *anything available new* as ungrammatical because there are a few occurrences. As a result, it may be argued that Larson & Marušič's theory on recursive postmodifiers is simply flawed. Alternatively, we can regard such structures as being part of a grammatical change that is truly happening. In any case, it seems that postmodification patterns for CoPros are far more flexible than previously thought.

5 Compound pronouns as compounds[18]

Apart from the common usage discussed in previous sections, there are some residual CoPros used in a quite different manner. Typically, they are deprived of the phrasal properties, which earns them more flexibility than their phrasal counterparts.

5.1 Nobody

In previous sections I discussed *nobody* (henceforth $nobody_1$), which I classified as a compound phrase consisting of a determiner *no-* and a nominal head *-body*. There is another $nobody_2$, meaning 'unimportant person', that behaves quite differently in

[17] A British informant reports that although *everyone tall present* in (36b) is possible, *present* sounds like an add-on adjective providing supplementary information, and a more natural utterance is *everyone tall* (short pause) *present*.

[18] I am sincerely grateful to an anonymous reviewer who provided insightful comments on an earlier version of this article. Section 5 is inspired by his/her comments.

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syntax ((39)–(41); (40b) is extracted from the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA; Davies 2008–).

(39) (a) **Nobody$_1$** gives you better value for money. (BNC: CFR)
(b) The autobiography of **a nobody$_2$** must have some sales appeal. (BNC: B25)
(c) A certain percentage are **nobodies$_2$** who want to become somebodies on my back. (BNC: CH3)

(40) (a) Mr Stacey was **nobody$_1$ important**, she tried to convince herself. (BNC: CEY)
(b) For 15 years he was a **political nobody$_2$**, a nobody who repeatedly tried for elected office. (COCA: 2003_MAG_MotherJones)

(41) (a) **Nobody$_1$** who brings forward biological causes supposes that they replace social causes. (BNC: ECV)
(b) **A nobody$_2$** who brings forward biological causes supposes that they replace social causes.

While *nobody$_1$* is generally regarded as singular (39a), *nobody$_2$* can be both singular (39b) and plural (39c). *Nobody$_1$* is only available for postmodification (40a), but its counterpart is eligible for premodification (40b). Moreover, when functioning as the antecedent of a relative clause, *nobody$_1$* and *nobody$_2$* bring distinctive interpretations to the whole clause: (41a) means 'no person x such that x brings forward biological causes supposes that they replace social causes', while (41b) denotes the meaning that 'a person, who is not important, *both* brings forward biological causes *and* supposes that they replace social causes', which is almost the opposite meaning of (41a).

The syntactic features shown by *nobody$_2$* strongly suggest that *nobody$_2$* is of a lexical nature. First, while *nobody$_1$* does not need an external determinative (because *no-* is fully functional), *nobody$_2$* must either be preceded by a determinative (*a* in example (39a)) or bear the plural inflection. Second, the possibility of being premodified indicates that *no-* in *nobody$_2$* is not functional, otherwise *a political nobody* would violate the paradigms of premodification sequences (see section 2.2.1). Third, the distinctive meaning of (41b) shows that the antecedent of the relative clause is *nobody*, rather than *-body* in (41a), signifying that the components of *nobody$_2$* are inseparable. Therefore, both semantic and syntactic evidence lead to the conclusion that *nobody$_2$* is a noun (rather than an NP) and a polysemous lexeme of *nobody$_1$*.[19] It is not a compound phrase.

5.2 Compound pronouns as nouns

Some other CoPros, apart from *nobody$_2$*, may be lexical as well. Consider the following examples (42a–c):

[19] As an anonymous reviewer points out, *nobody$_2$* has a synonym *nonentity*, which is a potential object for discussion. It is indeed interesting to observe the similarities between the two words: both are non-compositional (they do not denote the absence of a person, but a person of no importance) and have plural forms (*nobodies$_2$* and *nonentities*). The parallels between *nobody$_2$* and *nonentity,* therefore, also suggest that *nobody$_2$* is syntactically and semantically different from *nobody$_1$*.

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Table 2. *CoPros used as nouns in the BNC*

Lemma	Nominal occurrences	Total frequency	Ratio (nominal/ total)
something	143	49,652	0.29%
somebody	12	6,961	0.17%
someone	12	17,559	0.07%
somewhere	7	6,581	0.12%
anything	4	27,172	0.04%
nothing	67	31,971	0.24%
nobody	72	5,776	1.25%
nowhere	6	2,234	0.44%
everything	13	17,554	0.07%
anybody, anyone, anywhere, no one, everyone, everybody, everywhere	0	N/A	N/A

(42) (a) There was **a definite something** about her which marked her out from the others. (BNC: AEB)
(b) To do that would be an achievement because at present the unchartable wilderness of trees seemed as unstable **a nowhere** as a cloudless sky or as fields under a carpet of snow . . . (BNC: BMX)
(c) 'Let me tell you,' she yelled, 'Boyd and I are **somebodies** in this town, and mostly because I was smart enough to set to and cultivate the right people.' (BNC: CDN)

The CoPros in example (42a–c) resemble *nobody*$_2$ syntactically due to their ability to take premodifiers (42a), external determinatives (42b) and plural inflections (42c), which qualify them as nouns. Nonetheless, compared with *nobody*$_2$, being lexical is a marginal use of CoPros. One reason is that the nominal CoPros cannot be completely discriminated from the phrasal ones semantically, except in some instances. *Somebody*, for example, means 'important person' in (39c), (42c), and *nothing* can sometimes denote a similar meaning to *nobody*$_2$ (e.g. You're *a nothing*!). But there are also many occasions where *somebody* and *nothing* are less distinguishable from their phrasal counterparts in semantics (43a, b).

(43) (a) There's **a somebody** called Finklehall who's quite interested in understanding the dynamics of abuse which I've quoted from here. (BNC: KGW)
(b) For example, Goethe wrote of electricity that it is **a nothing**, a zero, a mere point, which, however, dwells in all apparent existences . . . (BNC: FBE)

Moreover, these nominal CoPros are much more infrequent than *nobody*$_2$. Table 2 shows the ratio between the occurrences of nominal use and total frequencies.[20] While

[20] The data in table 2 were extracted not by simply using POS tags but rather by searching for distinctive collocations. Since CoPros discussed in this section are nominal, they can be preceded by determinatives (such as *a*/*an*) and/or

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more than 1 per cent of *nobody* are used as nouns, which helps to establish *nobody*$_2$ as a polysemous word to *nobody*$_1$, no other nominal CoPro occurs more frequently than 0.5 per cent. Therefore, despite the recognition of the nominal use, the two observations above suggest that nominal CoPros (apart from *nobody*$_2$) are marginal in English.

5.3 *Reanalysis*

Historically, nominal CoPros are a later development.[21] They exemplify the process of reanalysis, in which the two parts are fossilised or 'morphologised' (see Hopper & Traugott 2003: 140) and their functions disappear. Despite the retention of basic semantics (except *nobody*$_2$), reanalysed CoPros have become compounds similar to *inmate* in (10a), which freely takes premodifiers or determinatives and inflects for number. This may be driven by a series of pragmatic needs. For example, the use of nominal CoPro *nothing* in (43b) creates another example of neat parallelism (see section 3.3.1). Also, the disappearance of the fully functioning indefinite determinatives weakens the generic readings of CoPros, making them somewhat more specific (44a, b).

(44) (a) You, Jalal Shamlou, are **that very special someone**. And you have had the dream. (BNC: CEC)
(b) Almost all his climbs have **a certain something**: a thinly disguised air of intimidation often allied to a raw brutality. (BNC: ECH)

In (44a, b), *someone* and *something* receive a more specific reading, with their meanings closer to 'one/person' and 'thing'. This is further reinforced by the introduction of *that* in (44a), which adds definiteness to the whole NP.

The most prominent advantage for nominal CoPros, however, may be that they can bypass a number of restrictions on their phrasal counterparts:

(45) (a) . . . but it was no **mere something**, void of qualities, but rather a thing which could be grasped . . . (bit.ly/2ZOyzxA)
(b) White boys like you make babies and go away to school to nice places where you find some **neat little someone** to marry who's still got her cherry. (COCA: 1992_FIC_VirginiaQRev)

While the modifier of a phrasal CoPro is restricted in kind (predicative) and number (one, excluding *else*), nominal CoPros are not limited in this way. Hence in (45a) *something*, as a noun, can be modified by an attributive-only adjective (*mere*), and someone in (45b) freely takes multiple modifiers (cf. **someone neat little*).

Nevertheless, it should also be acknowledged that the distinction between phrasal CoPros and nominal CoPros is often not remarkable in the speaker's mind. In (46a) I observe the coexistence of both uses in a single sentence, and (46b) can be trickier: the

adjectives. This means that I could obtain the raw data by searching for collocations like 'D + CoPro' and 'A + CoPro', after which I then manually checked possible duplicates and incorrectly tagged examples.

[21] For example, the first instance of the nominal *somebody* recorded in the *OED* is in the eighteenth century, about 400 years later than the first recording of phrasal *somebody*.

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CoPro *something* simultaneously takes an external determinative (which is the property of nominal CoPros) and a adjectival postmodifier (which is a typical characteristic of phrasal CoPros), rendering the status of *something* indeterminable – although we may tentatively interpret this example as an inadvertent confusion of the two uses.

(46) (a) . . . but the reader attends in tragic wonder, for he understands that Marmeladov has indeed **nowhere** to go, **a nowhere** which is the finality of his loose end . . . (BNC: A18)

(b) Coleridge lamenting that . . . there was **a something corporeal**, a matter-of-fact-ness, a clinging to the palpable, or often to the petty, in his poetry, in consequence. (BNC: B0R)

5.4 *The bases* -where *and* -time

Finally, I want to address some issues related to compounds with *-where* and *-time*. I argued in section 2.1 that the base *-where* could on some occasions be considered nominal, making *somewhere/anywhere/nowhere* equivalent to *some place/any place/no place*. The situation, however, is far more complicated in (47a–e).

(47) (a) Instead they find **nowhere** to live, nothing to eat and poor health and education. (BNC: JNF)

(b) We've had I think forty-five enquiries and definitely one lady wants seventy from Sussex or **somewhere** . . . (BNC: J9P)

(c) If he was going **anywhere** I thought he would have come here for Premier League football. (BNC: CH3)

(d) He had seen the lie, but was **nowhere near** the truth. (BNC: FP7)

(e) Sadly, the game is **nowhere near** as polished as the films. (BNC: CEK)

Examples (47a–b) strongly suggest the nominal nature *-where* compounds, because the grammatical functions of object (47a) and prepositional complement (47b) are usually realised by NPs. In (47c), *anywhere* is better analysed as a locative intransitive preposition or an adverb, depending on different theoretical frameworks. An anonymous viewer argues that in *nowhere near/close to* the word *nowhere* is an adverb modifier of *near/close*, which is plausible in (47d) but not in (47e): *nowhere near* in the latter case is clearly not an AdjP, but an idiomatic negator equivalent to 'not'.

The chaos related to the analysis of *-where* compounds is partly due to the confusing nature of *where*. There have been arguments that *where* is intrinsically nominal preceded by empty prepositions (e.g. Caponigro & Pearl 2008; see also Larson 1985), and a result of this fuzzy status is that each of (47a–c) are fully acceptable. On the other hand, *some/any/no place* behave more like NPs as the base *place* is unquestionably nominal: in the BNC there are 79 attestations of *going nowhere* but only one of *going no place*.

Compounds with *-time* are rarely mentioned in grammars. Nonetheless, the distribution of those words is similar to that of *-where* compounds, as (48a–c) show:

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(48) (a) Hong Kong remains almost as uncompetitive as it has been at **anytime** since 1986, and is far less competitive than a year ago. (BNC: CRA)
(b) It started **sometime** in March, not long after Eric's arrival. (BNC: J1H)
(c) Leon was a stockbroker, a **sometime** Liberal M.P. for North Bucks, and a part-proprietor of the Daily News. (BNC: AMC)

While *anytime*, as prepositional complement in (48a), is most likely nominal, the status of *sometime* in (48b) would be debatable between an NP and an adverb. Again, it might be argued, following Larson (1985), that before *sometime* there is an empty preposition, but it is beyond the scope of this article. Finally, *sometime* in (48c) should be considered as polysemous for two reasons: first, it has a different meaning, namely 'former'; second, unlike the examples in (48a, b), it does not have the form of 'some time' (e.g. **a some time Liberal M.P.*).

6 Conclusion

This article analyses the syntactic behaviour of compound pronouns by examining their coordination and modification patterns. It concludes that CoPros have a dual identity of being morphological compounds, but syntactic phrases, contra both the traditional view of classifying CoPros as compounds and Kishimoto (2000), who takes them as purely phrases. The dual identity results in distinctive modification patterns, for which a paradigm, based on Larson & Marušič (2004), is devised.

An important implication of the proposal of compound phrases is that morphology constantly interacts with syntax and may function as the basis for syntactic operations. The relations between morphology and syntax have been debated for decades (Borer 2013) and this study shows that in the case of CoPros, the morphological shapes cannot be overlooked during the analyses of the syntax.

Furthermore, the modification patterns, especially the possible multiple modification of CoPros, deserve more attention. Although the paradigm I propose successfully accounts for common modifiers, there are still some exceptions, such as *anything available new*. Speakers of English may feel such constructions to be less acceptable, yet data extracted from corpora indicate that they should not be simply ignored.

Finally, I discuss the special nominal CoPros. Despite their marginal use, nominal CoPros enrich the CoPro family both in semantics (e.g. $nobody_2$ has a different denotation) and in syntax (e.g. the ability to take attributive-only modifiers), and it is perhaps this enrichment that continuously motivates grammatical changes.

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https://doi.org/10.1017/S1360674320000386 Published online by Cambridge University Press

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https://doi.org/10.1017/S1360674320000386 Published online by Cambridge University Press