Adjective Coordination in English

0. While the value of substitutions for syntactical research has been long recognized, emphasized by many authors and examined in some detail by Professor R. Quirk, coordination has not received the same amount of attention. In particular, it has not been recognized as a tool of syntactic analysis, even though every grammar book mentions it as a syntactic feature of the English language.

It seems, however, that coordination, if not in fact more powerful as a criterion of structure, is at least safer and easier to apply than substitution. For whereas the structural meaning of the form under substitution cannot easily be controlled, coordination offers a more reliable test of “sameness”. With coordination, one avoids the pitfalls of “improper substitutions” and is reasonably sure of keeping the structural meaning invariant. This is achieved in one of two ways: (a) if the syntactic interpretation of a given structure is in doubt, one can expand it to see what other items — whose part-of-speech status is not in doubt — coordinate with the form in question; (b) an isolated item whose syntactic properties are ambiguous usually becomes unambiguous if made to coordinate with another item of undisputed status. In this way, the problem of informant reaction is considerably simplified: rather vague and evasive responses on substitution tests tend to become much more confident and firm on coordination tests.

0.1. N. Chomsky, speaking more broadly, was aware of the analytical significance of conjunction when he said that “…the possibility of conjunction offers one of the best criteria for the initial determination of phrase structure”. Discussing coordination itself, he formulated a very precise principle to govern it: “If

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2 Syntactic Structures, ’s-Gravenhage, 1957, p. 36.
S₁ and S₂ are grammatical sentences, and S₁ differs from S₂ only in that X appears in S₁, where Y appears in S₂ (i.e., S₁ = \ldots X \ldots and S₂ = \ldots Y \ldots), and X and Y are constituents of the same type in S₁ and S₂ respectively, then S₃ is a sentence, where S₃ is the result of replacing X by X + and + Y in S₁ (i.e., S₃ = \ldots X + + and + Y \ldots). This statement of Chomsky’s agrees basically with what has been said, before and since, by many other grammarians of all convictions: Evans (A Dictionary of Contemporary American Usage, s. v. conjunctions) says: “A coordinating conjunction stands between two elements and indicates that they are grammatically equivalent.” Similarly, Perrin notes that coordination is the “relationship between two or more elements of the same grammatical rank”. Curme also speaks of coordinating conjunctions connecting “only parts of like rank”. House & Harman (in their Descriptive English Grammar) are actually prescriptive on this point: “It is important to observe here and elsewhere that and joins only what is coordinate; i.e. like elements, such as two nouns, two verbs, two auxiliaries, two participles, etc. It must never be made to join unlike elements”. R. Quirk contrasts the hierarchical and the co-ordinate structure, “which brings together items of equal rank in the sense that they operate as though they were a single element from the viewpoint of hierarchical structure”. Barbara Strang hints at the analytical value of coordinating conjunctions when she says: “Co-ordinators are link-words between equivalent structures — members of the same form-class, or phrases, or clauses, or even sentences. The point could be put even more positively — they function as signs that the structures they link are functioning as equals”. Finally, Paul Roberts makes the same point expressed in transformational-generative terms: “The general rule is that the conjuncts of a compound construction must have like structures — i.e., be generated similarly in their respective base sentences”.  

0.2. As for the markers of coordination, coordinating conjunctions themselves, most authors would agree with Barbara Strang that they form a closed class, but they vary in their opinions as to the membership of the class. Ralph Long gives only four basic coordinators: and, but, or, and nor, and a few pre coordinators that often accompany them (both, not, either, and neither). Paul Roberts’ set is even more limited: “The
only English conjunctions that join parts of sentences in a simple way are *and*, *or*, and *but*.\(^{11}\) Apparently, not all coordinators are equally neat as signals of levelling: Lila R. Gleitman has concluded that "The use of *but* as a coordinating conjunction is in many ways more restricted than the use of *and* and *or*".\(^{12}\) The restriction is probably semantic.

0.3. There is another feature in the language which resembles coordination very closely and is in fact often coupled with it. This is the series — a group of three or more elements listed one after the other, usually with a conjunction between the last two. The same rule that applies to coordinated pairs applies also to the series: the elements joined in this way must be of equal rank, or derive from like structures in the underlying sentences.

0.4. Coordinating conjunctions can operate at different levels of structure: they can connect sentences, clauses, phrases and words.

1. This paper proposes to investigate coordination at the level of single constituents (words), which belong to the class of adjectives. The hard core of this class is easily recognizable and well defined, but there is also an indeterminate territory where it merges with nouns, verbal participles, or adverbs. The boundary lines are not easy to draw, though there is a set of criteria that can be helpful in doing so.\(^{13}\) One of the most powerful criteria in this set is the criterion of coordination.

1.1. The material on which the analysis is to be based comes from an extensive, though undefined, written corpus. Since no statistical claims are made, the corpus may be regarded as unlimited and conclusions drawn from it as generally applicable.

The problem of grammaticality or well-formedness has been acutely present throughout this research, as it is present in all syntactical research. The difficulty is even more sharply felt by a non-native speaker of English, with only a limited number of native informants at hand. Since the problem is still awaiting its solution, despite what has already been said about it by Chomsky, Hill, Maclay and Sleator, it seems advisable to rely on recorded material for confirmation or refutation of any statement. This is what has actually been done here. When this was impossible, informal informant responses

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\(^{11}\) O. c., note 9, p. 285.


\(^{13}\) See my *Odnos adjektivalnosti i verbalnosti u predikativnom položaju u suvremenom engleskom jeziku*, unpublished Doctoral Dissertation presented to the University of Zagreb, 1963.
were sought to establish whether a given construction was intuitively acceptable or not.

1.2. Coordination of adjectives with the following classes of words has been recorded: adjectives, -ing forms, -ed forms, prepositional phrases, nouns, adverbs, verbs, pronouns, and numerals.

2. Adjectives coordinated with adjectives

2.1. This seems to be the easiest and most natural case of adjective coordination. Examples abound and present no fundamental problem of syntactic interpretation:

He looked sulky, frigid, dyspeptic (Isherwood, 22).\(^{14}\)

The interplay of powerful, squalid, great and good men fighting to get their way was a spectacle... (P. O'Donovan, "The Emperor who eats hot dogs", The Observer, June 20, 1965, 4).

...but Eisenhower's whole experience had been military or foreign (A. M. Schlesinger, Jnr, "The White House Meddlers", The Sunday Times, May 24, 1964, 30).

2.2. The expansion of the structure by additional adjectives is always possible in such cases, subject only to their collocational compatibility. Their special ordering is not necessary in the predicative position, while in the attributive position there are certain limitations which A.A. Hill has tried to list,\(^{15}\) but much still remains unsolved. The one limitation in the predicative position is that adjectives expanded by prepositional modifiers rarely take the first place in coordination; more frequently they appear as the last item in a coordinate structure, as in the following examples:

Though the landscape is still German and familiar in outer appearance... (Isherwood, 73).

My informants find the inverted coordination "odd", if not ungrammatical; I mark it therefore with a question mark, as against the asterisk for ungrammatical structures, thus: ?The landscape is still familiar in outer appearance and German... .

It was still thick dark, and dead with the deadness of the small hours (Isherwood, 232).

?It was still dead with the deadness of the small hours and thick dark. — This sentence becomes acceptable if the pause before "and" is sufficiently long. This would seem to be an indication that the reasons for non-acceptance are rhythmical. Anyhow, the sentence as it stands is far more grammatical than if it read: *It was still dead with the deadness of the small hours and unfortunately.

\(^{14}\) All examples by Isherwood come from his novel Down There on a Visit, London, 1962.

\(^{15}\) Introduction to Linguistic Structures, New York, 1958, p. 175 ff.
When the prepositional group clearly does not modify one of the adjectives alone, restrictions on coordination are lifted:

His nose was long and red, with a suggestion of moisture at the end of it (Isherwood, 22) — (His nose was red and long, with a suggestion of moisture at the end of it).

The following example contains a prepositionally modified adjective in the middle, but here the intonational break between each adjective (with the heavy "so") makes it stand almost on its own:

I've seldom seen anyone look so placid, so wide-open to visitors, so sleepy-slow (Isherwood, 208).

Finally, when the prepositional group modifies both adjectives (or all of them), the ordering of coordinated adjectives does not affect the grammaticality:

The certainty of a long separation had made us gentle and considerate with each other (Isherwood, 315) — (...had made us considerate and gentle with each other).

...it must often seem to them safer and more practical to beat Ambrose up (Isherwood, 112) — (...seem to them more practical and safer to beat Ambrose up).

2.3. The adjectival status of those forms which are not "full adjectives" (i.e., do not satisfy the entire set of criteria of adjectivity) is considerably enhanced when they enter into coordination with another adjective. Irrespective of their other deficiencies, afraid, aware, and alive are well-behaved adjectives in coordinations like the following:


...that part of the language we speak to each other which is properly alive and durable (P. Dickinson, "Voyages over classic seas", The Sunday Times, Jan. 19, 1964, 38).

...making us all more intelligent and mentally aware than we are by nature... (H. Hobson, "Third Force Aims", The Sunday Times, Jan. 26, 1964, 33).

The pulling force of coordination is such that an adjective like sole, which does not normally operate in the predicative position, may on occasion appear in an otherwise unfamiliar environment:

Literary works are always unique, canonical, sole, and they seem... (J. Hollander, "Versions, Interpretations, Performances", On Translation, ed. R. A. Brower, Cambridge, Mass., 1959, p. 223).

In the following example, looked and well make each other ambiguous:

He looked very well.
But as soon as the sentence is expanded by coordinating well with adjectives, the ambiguity disappears:

He looked very well, very big and broad and hearty, and his voice had deepened (Isherwood, 340).

2.4. There are lexical items that behave like nouns in most of their occurrences but that have also gone a long way towards becoming adjectives. Their adjectival status is made unmistakable when they are coordinated with fully-fledged adjectives. In the first example, salt has even acquired another adjectival feature, namely, the intensifier very:

The water is very salt and buoyant, and I can... (Isherwood, 105).

Beneath the shaggy hair, eye-make-up and jeans, they are responsible and fun, independent and alert (F. Webster, “Today's Daughters”, The Sunday Times, Feb. 16, 1964, 41).

After the state funeral... he was buried in a quiet and country ceremony (P. O'Donovan, “Quiet burial after solemn ritual of a State Funeral”, The Observer, Jan. 31, 1965, 1) — (For positional reasons, the inverted coordination is impossible here: “...*in a country and quiet ceremony”).

3. Adjectives coordinated with -ing forms

This section and the next (dealing with the coordination of adjectives and -ed forms) are the ones in which the power of coordination is most practically useful. This is the thorny field of verbal and adjectival distinctions which become blurred in the participle. But it has been found that adjectival and verbal uses of -ing and -ed forms can, in many cases, be readily distinguished by means of coordination. More positively, when one of those forms is coordinated with an adjective in a recorded example, there is usually little doubt as to the structural interpretation intended by the author. Uncoordinated -ing or -ed forms ambiguously realized can be subjected to coordination with adjectives and then submitted to native informants whose reaction will show whether the adjectival interpretation of the forms in question is warranted in the given context. Lastly, the test can be used with unrealized participial forms as dictionary entries for easier labelling.

3.1. Although everything noted above is true and is in full accord with the principles of coordination as expressed by most linguists, there are recorded instances of coordination that pose a serious problem of grammaticality, as they seemingly contradict the main rule which says that only units of equal rank (i.e., those generated similarly) should be coordinated. Some authors make no mention of the usage, others (like House & Harman, loc. cit.) prescribe against it, and still others (like Perrin, o. c., p. 394) label it colloquial; at least one author defends it as having “behind it a long literary history in permit-
ting the free use of correlatives when the construction is clear and unambiguous".\textsuperscript{16}

In the following examples the criterion of adjective coordination clashes with an equally powerful criterion which makes for the verbal interpretation of the \textit{-ing} form followed by a direct object:

It was a rare occasion, for seldom did I want to be with him, rather I was evasive and living my own life away from home (H. Williamson, "The Last Summer", \textit{The Sunday Times Colour Magazine}, Aug. 2, 1964, 11).

Dachine was good company when she wasn't being intense, and talking her vocational jargon... (Isherwood, 305-6).

It seems extraordinarily significant now; even promising some supernatural kind of support (Isherwood, 255).

It is not without significance, perhaps, that in two out of the three examples given here there is a break between the elements of coordination (marked in writing by a comma and a semicolon). In the second example, \textit{talking} is probably coordinated with \textit{being}, not \textit{intense}:

\begin{tabular}{l|l}
  thus: \ldots when she wasn't & being intense \\
  & and \\
  & talking her vocational jargon \\
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{l|l}
  (not: \ldots when she wasn't being & intense \\
  & and \\
  & talking her vocational jargon).
\end{tabular}

In the third example, the semicolon marks a strong break (and consequently a long pause) which gives the second part of the supposed coordination the character of an afterthought, a phrase not really part of the structure of the sentence.

It is noteworthy also that coordination in these examples cannot be inverted: \ldots *rather I was living my own life away from home and evasive; \ldots *seemed promising some supernatural kind of support and extraordinarily significant. (The second example can be inverted, though, if the verbal interpretation of coordination is accepted: \ldots when she wasn't talking her vocational jargon and being intense).

3.2. Apart from those \textit{-ing} forms which are accompanied by direct objects, one also finds, coordinated with adjectives, those \textit{-ing} forms that stand in what is a potential (or real)

sentence-final position and that satisfy no other criteria of
adjectivity except this one criterion:

Peking anxiety over a possible northwards extension of the
war from South Vietnam... is real and growing (R. Hughes,
"Chinese build up 100,000 army to aid N Vietnam", The Sunday
Times, May 24, 1964, 1).

It seems to me, however, that the second of these (i.e., getikout)
is now the normal form, and that the other two are rare, and
probably dying out... (C. Barber, Linguistic Change in Present-

Students or other disaffected ones who, with strict secrecy, try
to organize a demonstration find the riot police ready and waiting
in overwhelming numbers when they reach the meeting place (Roy

These participles are verbal in almost every other respect (in
terms of the criteria listed in my Odnos adjektivalnosti i verbal-
nosti u predikativnom položaju u suvremenom engleskom jeziku)
and this usage seems rather baffling. Inversion of the order of
coordination produces at least questionable, if not downright
ungrammatical, results. Informant reactions to them tend to
be either negative or uncertain. One may suggest perhaps that
the participles used in this way are those which are embarking
upon the road of adjectivity and which may, in due course,
reach the stage of full adjectives, as in the following examples:

There are others that are so complex and demanding that...
(Sir Hugh Casson, "Technique for Living", The Sunday Times

I'm willing and anxious to do an honest job and to live a decent
life (G. Schwartz, "O the heavy change", The Sunday Times, Jan.
19, 1964, 12).

Val May's direction is especially subtle and telling in its control
of... (A. Brien, "Comedy of Cataclysm", The Sunday Telegraph,
June 20, 1965, 12).

3.3. Interesting syntactic repercussions can be observed
when the coordination with an adjective affects the expected
collocation of the participle with the noun following it:

Each is intermittently harsh and loving to the other (C. Sigal,
"Is This the Person to Murder Me?" The Sunday Times Colour

He is intolerant, occasionally angry and demanding of agree-
ment (P. O'Donovan, "The Emperor who eats hot dogs", The
Observer, June 20, 1965, 4).

Prepositions to and of in the above examples serve to ensure
that the noun does not become the direct object, which would
turn the -ing forms into verbs coordinated with adjectives.

3.4. No problems of coordination are encountered with
those -ing forms which have no underlying infinitive and which
operate throughout as adjectives: good-looking (* to good-look), awe-inspiring (* to awe-inspire), easygoing (* to easygo), hard-working (* to hardwork), heartbreaking (* to heartbreak), etc.

4. Adjectives coordinated with -ed forms

The problems of adjective coordination with -ed forms are largely parallel to those described in the section on -ing forms above. The distinction here is between -ed forms used as adjectives and those used as participles to form the passive voice. A third category should be mentioned too, though it is often not treated separately: this is the state, a verbo-adjectival category, which some authors group together with the passive and others with the adjective.

4.1. Adjectives ending in the adjectival suffix -ed, which just happens to be identical in form with the participial ending -ed, coordinate readily with other adjectives. Despite certain difficulties of morphological distinction (it is almost impossible, for instance, to say with certainty whether short-lived is derived from short life or from live short; sunburned from burned by the sun or from having sunburns) it is possible to isolate most adjectives derived from nouns by means of the suffix -ed: gifted, feathered, old-fashioned, blue-eyed, good-natured, thick-skinned, one-sided, bearded, absent-minded, middle-aged, etc.

4.2. Those past participles which have moved from the verbal into the adjectival field present no problem of coordination with adjectives. They include a group of participles derived from the verbs possessing the substring “it V one”, with one as a human object:

As it is, I'm angry and disappointed (Isherwood, 215).

I'd be delighted to see him and eager to laugh at the stories he would tell (Isherwood, 339).

He was charming, eagerly interested, subtly flattering, tactful...

(Isherwood, 335).

4.3. Participles of other verbs, apart from those with the substring “it V one”, also acquire adjectival properties when coordinated with adjectives:

Yet as Britain becomes ever more built-up, industrialised, mechanised, sybaritic and sceptical, so there is... (R. West, “In the tracks of B-P”, The Sunday Times Colour Magazine, Feb, 16, 1964, 7).

He is quite free and unprotected and alone (Isherwood, 75).

The committee, like the League, was divided and dubious over U Thant's request... (J. Ardagh, “Flag of Mercy, The Observer, Aug. 11, 1963, 6).

The fact that coordination in these examples and those in section 4.2. is unrestricted is shown by the completely free ordering of the elements of coordination. Of course, coordi-
nation becomes impossible when the participles are involved in the verbal phenomenon of the passive voice:

*The apple was juicy and divided equally by John.

4.4. The state can be distinguished from the passive most easily by the shift in the tense accompanying the passive-active transformation: while the tense remains the same in the case of the passive, it is changed in the case of the state. The famous "his bills are paid" example is a transform of "he has paid his bills", not "he pays his bills". The state — though possibly a step in the direction of the adjective — is still sufficiently verbal to reject adjective coordination. The lack of this and other adjectival features is the reason why one cannot agree with Jespersen (MEG, IV, 8.2/4/), who lumps together "The horse is tied to the gate" (*The horse is hungry and tied to the gate) and "I am tired" (I am hungry and tired).

However, when coordination with adjectives does become possible in such cases, the -ing forms in question have strong claims to the adjectival status:

I think you can say that the old grouse-moor image of Conservatism is dead and buried (M. Frayn, "Under new management", The Observer, Aug. 1, 1965, 9).

His face is thin and heavily lined with sunken cheeks, and he seems... (W. Millinship, "The colonel who admires Castro", The Observer, June 20, 1965, 1).

...this word was thus many times invented before it became official and printed (C. Barber, Linguistic Change in Present-Day English, Edinburgh & London, 1964, p. 80).

4.5. Adjectives do not, as a rule, coordinate with -ed forms used verbally as part of the passive voice. R. Long (o.c., p. 107) gives the example "She is beautiful and admired by everyone" and adds that the sentence can hardly be called standard. My informants agreed but felt that the sentence was more acceptable when pronounced with a break before "and", as if an after-thought was coming; thus, "She was beautiful — and admired by everyone". This was also true of other sentences containing instances of false parallelism. But the following photograph caption demonstrates that such coordination is possible, though not very frequent:

A Saud raiding party in the days when the desert was lawless and torn by tribal feuds (The Sunday Times, Jan. 19, 1964, 30).

5. Adjectives coordinated with prepositional phrases

Prepositional phrases, when they are themselves descriptive, coordinate readily with adjectives:

...although such clamps are perfectly respectable, ... perfectly legal, and perfectly in accord with the long-held radical view that... (A. Day, "What happens next", The Observer, Aug. 1, 1965, 6).
Nor is it surprising that they are arrogant and strutting and without the slightest sign of shame... (S. Bedford, "The Auschwitz Trial", The Observer, Jan. 26, 1964, 12).

...Johnson seems slightly out of date, and more than slightly provincial ("They've never had it so hard", The Observer, Jan. 26, 1964, 13).

Our hostility was oddly intimate and like a game. (Isherwood, 232).

Coordination of adjectives with adverbial prepositional phrases produces ungrammatical results: "*They were young and in the park. (The adjectival prepositional phrase does not coordinate with the adverbial one either, except jocularly: *They were in love and in the park.) However, the following instance of such coordination indicates that a complete grammatical theory will have to provide for such contingencies as well:

...when I was still in London but nearly ready to sail for the States (Isherwood, 253) — (My informants again felt that the example was grammatical only if read with an intonational break before but).

6. Adjectives coordinated with nouns

Apart from coordination with those nouns that have already become, or are becoming, adjectival (see 2.4. above), adjectives cannot coordinate with ordinary nouns. P. Roberts (o. c., p. 281) gives the example *"John is serious and a student" as an ungrammatical sentence that breaks the rule. Yet, examples are by no means rare, though it is significant that the one heard on the B.B.C. (This English, May 16, 1965) had a marked pause before the noun; like this: She is wealthy, eccentric — and a writer.

No break is marked in writing in the following examples, but when read out loud — especially if unrehearsed — the intonational contour gets affected:

His plan is ingenious and a serious starter, but... (A. Sykes, "Corporation tax not the answer", The Observer, June 20, 1965, 7).

...and native tribes, semi-nomadic in their ways and tillers of the soil, rejoiced in the Sasanid defeats (S. Nettleton Fisher, The Middle East, New York, 1959, p. 50).

7. Adjectives coordinated with adverbs

Adverbs do not normally coordinate with adjectives. The following two examples are rather exceptional, and the adverbs involved belong to a special class:

...as I tried to dig down to what, Augustus assured me, was there and valuable underneath (Isherwood, 256).

This week the bust in bronze of William Cobbett... is up and ready for the unveiling ceremony... (J. Summers, "Cobbett rides again", The Sunday Telegraph, Sept. 26, 1965, 4).
In the first example the separation between “there” and “valuable” is strong in speech; in the second, “up and ready” form a set phrase, like “up and coming”. In neither could the order of coordination be inverted.

8. Adjectives coordinated with verbs

Examples of adjective coordination with -ing forms followed by an object and with -ed forms operating as part of the passive voice (in sections 3.1. and 4.5. respectively) are instances of verbs coordinated with adjectives. Verbs in other forms do not coordinate with adjectives.

9. Adjectives coordinated with pronouns

No coordination is possible with personal pronouns: An occasional example with a possessive pronoun can be found, but again the sentence does not run smoothly. Instead of coordination, this may rather be regarded as opposition or contrast:

She is beautiful — and mine.

Attributive coordination with possessives yields ungrammatical structures: *a good-looking and his close friend; *her and true friendship.

10. Adjectives coordinated with numerals

Heavy restrictions apply to coordination of adjectives with cardinal numbers: an example like “She is young and twenty” is only possible as a set expression. “He is fifty and still full of vitality” again has a broken intonational contour. In the attributive position, coordination is not possible.

Ordinal numbers coordinate more easily but not without restriction:

A second and new generation was coming to full manhood (A. Nettleton Fisher, The Middle East, New York, 1958, 53).

Predicatively, this coordination would be ungrammatical: *The generation coming to full manhood was second and new.

This concludes the review of the grammatical forms capable of coordination with adjectives. Several points could be drawn from the foregoing analysis: (1) Adjectives coordinate most readily with other adjectives. This is when fewest restrictions operate in the choice of the field of coordination (attributive or predicative) or in the ordering of the coordinated elements. To this extent, the general rule that only structures of the same rank (or those generated similarly in their base sentences) can be coordinated holds good. (2) To the extent to which (1) is true, coordination is a very powerful criterion of structure and a most useful tool of syntactic analysis. Its usefulness is particularly
noteworthy in testing ambiguous -ing and -ed forms to discriminate between their adjectival and verbal properties. (3) Just because examples of adjective coordination with other parts of speech (notably verbs) can be found, the problem of grammaticality becomes quite a serious one. It is doubtful whether all such instances could be relegated to footnotes as exceptions: it seems, rather, that the grammar will be simplified if the main rule of coordination is refined a little to accommodate such "troublesome" constructions. The refinement could probably be made along intonational, positional and ordering lines. For adverbs, pronouns and numerals, lists could be made with a detailed description of restrictions. (4) Degrees of grammaticality will have to be recognized.