Grammatical uses of 'no' + noun and the hierarchy of qualifications of SoAs

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This paper focuses on a set of English clausal expressions containing the negative indefinite determiner *no* + noun, as in (1a)-(2a), and their adverbial counterparts, e.g. *no wonder* (1b), or elliptical variants of clausal expressions, e.g. *no need* (2b). Both structural types can be used to qualify States-of-Affairs (SoAs), in which case they show grammatical use rather than lexical use (cf. Boye & Harder 2012). In (1), both the clausal (1a) and the adverbial (1b) *no wonder* structures attitudinally qualify their propositions miratively (DeLancey 2001: 369) as wholly unsurprising, whilst in (2) the clausal and elliptical expressions with *no need* express a modal qualification of a state-of-affairs, viz. absence of necessity (Van linden et al. 2011). The other strings that will be studied are *no chance* (Van linden & Brems 2017, 2018), *no way* (Davidse et al. 2014) and *no doubt* (Davidse et al. 2015).

(1)(a) *It's no wonder* Norwegians hunt whale. There's nothing else left to catch. (WB)
   (b) The relatives were very annoyed, *no wonder*, and it caused friction in the family (WB)
(2)(a) Decker: Well, look. Why don't we reschedule for, say, Tuesday?
      Bill: Oh, *there is no need* to reschedule. We can just carry on while […]. (CASO)
   (b) Woman: She's got a bit of a crisis on her hands right now. You want to keep holding?
      Jake: Uh -- tell you what -- *no need*. I'm sure she's going to be on her way home
               soon, so just tell her that Jake called, ok? (Corpus of American Soap Operas)

We will investigate which types of meaning the patterns express (lexical or grammatical? (see Boye & Harder (2012) for criteria); and if grammatical: which type?), and how these relate to (i) the formal type of complement clause in the case of the clausal structures, and (ii) the availability of adverbial or elliptical uses (the latter being variants of clausal structures). The hypotheses associated with these questions assume a functional analysis of the clause (e.g. Hengeveld 1989), and relate to Nuyts's (2005) functional hierarchy of state-of-affairs (SoA) qualifications.

    First we hypothesize that the distribution of *to*-infinitival complements, which lack deictic tense marking and typically have no subject expressed with them (cf. Bolinger 1967: 351-9) is restricted to qualificational meanings that apply to potential SoAs, such as dynamic and deontic modality (cf. Verstraete 2007: 42-46; Van linden 2012: ch. 2); the *to*-clause in (2a), for instance, refers to an unnecessary SoA (dynamic modality). By contrast, *that*-clauses are not semantically restricted and can thus be used with strings whose qualificational meaning applies to propositions, such as epistemic and mirative meaning; examples like (3) suggest that the same goes for *of*-gerundial complements, with (3) conveying epistemic meaning.

(3) [They] may dream of a theocratic US, but *there is no chance* of this coming about. (WB)

    Second, we put forward that the level of clause structure the qualificational meaning of the *no* + noun string applies to also determines the availability of adverbial or elliptical uses. When the qualificational meaning applies to propositions, the non-clausal counterparts function as adverbials, typically disjunct adverbials (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 615), featuring also positional flexibility (cf. (1b)) (Gentens et al. 2016). By contrast, when it applies to SoAs, the non-clausal counterparts are merely elliptical matrices (so in fact *covertly* clausal structures), which cannot shift position (cf. (2b)) (*No need to keep holding*; **to keep holding, no need*). In such cases, the meaning of the (elliptical) matrix is assumed to be secondary to the SoA denoted in the

complement clause (rather than to the discourse, as in (1b)), much like modal auxiliaries are (grammatically) secondary to their main verb.

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