

Dušková, Libuše; Klégr, Tomáš

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LIBUŠE DUŠKOVÁ AND ALEŠ KLÉGR

## COORDINATION AS A FACTOR IN ARTICLE USAGE

### 0.

In the section on the use of articles with common nouns, *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (Quirk et al. 1985, *CGEL* henceforth; pp. 265-288) presents a passage on the zero article with definite meaning (5.41-5.51, pp. 276-281), illustrated by different classes and uses of countable singulars. Among these, a mention is made of coordinated nouns, such as *husband and wife*, which are subsumed under the heading of parallel structures like *arm in arm, face to face, from father to son*, etc.

Other writers (Chesterman 1991.45-47, Yotsukura 1970.68, Dušková 1997) confine the use of the term zero article to plural nouns and uncountable singulars, whereas the absence of an overt determiner with countable singulars is treated as determination of a different kind, and hence denoted by a different term ('null' by Chesterman, 'no article' by Yotsukura). In Dušková (1997), following *CGEL*'s treatment of parallel structures (p. 280), a third type of a lacking overt determiner is distinguished, viz. instances in which the noun loses its independent nominal status, and consequently its substantival categories. This is often the case of nouns with adverbial function, notably those with the semantic role of means, like *go by bicycle, communicate by letter*. Recognition of a different nature of the absent overt determiner with countable singulars is largely based on the type of reference expressed by the respective noun phrase: whereas plural nouns and uncountable singulars with zero article express either nongeneric indefinite or generic reference, the reference of countable singulars with 'null' article is nongeneric definite. Actually, in many instances 'null' alternates with the definite article (cf. *(the) Archduke Ferdinand, Lake Michigan / the river Thames*). In the third type (nouns with adverbial function) the question of definiteness does not arise insofar as the noun categories are largely lost (compare e.g. the English prepositional phrases *on foot, on horseback* with the corresponding adverbs *pěšky, koňmo* in Czech).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For a more detailed treatment of this point, cf. Dušková 1997.

In the present paper, attention is paid to countable singulars in coordination, which are also sometimes found without an overt determiner, cf. exx (1) and (2).

(1) Father and son were inseparable.

(2) Such a contrast between brother and sister is surprising

(*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, 1992, 'contrast')

The question to be considered is whether coordinated countable singulars can be identified with the types distinguished for single countable singulars without an overt determiner, or whether they display features specific to, and resulting from, the coordinate structure.

### 1.

As noted above, in *CGEL* (p. 280) coordinated countable singulars are treated together with prepositional phrases as parallel structures. They are illustrated by one example, *husband and wife*, among all the other examples of parallel structures constituted by prepositional phrases. Nevertheless, the type with coordination is described as the only productive parallel structure "particularly where the coordination is emphasized by a correlative such as *both ... and* or *neither ... nor* (p. 280)". Correlative pairs, which involve an endorsing item besides the coordinator, are exemplified by two sentences (here numbered (3) and (4)). In both examples the absent overt determiner is shown to alternate with the definite article.

(3) The birth took place this morning, and both (*the*) *mother* and (*the*) *child* are doing well.

(4) They pitched camp between a small winding river and a ridge covered with brush wood; but neither (*the*) *river* nor (*the*) *brushwood* afforded the protection they needed in the event of attack.

It is to be noted that in ex (4) only the first of the coordinated nouns, *river*, represents an instance relevant to the subject of this paper, since the second conjoin, *brushwood*, is uncountable. Nevertheless, the effect of coordination is evident with respect to the first, countable conjoin.

The designation parallel structures as applied to coordinate and prepositional phrases containing two NP's is presumably due to the lexical realization of these structures: "Sometimes the same noun is repeated after a preposition ...; at other times, one noun is balanced against another noun of contrasting meaning" (p. 280). The first type is illustrated by examples like *arm in arm*, *hand in hand*, *mile upon mile*, *face to face*, *eye to eye*, *back to back*, *day by day*, etc., the second by *from father to son*, *husband and wife*, *from right to left*, *from west to east*, *from beginning to end*. In some of these structures the overtly absent determiner alternates with the definite article, cf. *from the right to the left*, *from the west to the east*, *from the beginning to the end*. Compare also exx (3) and (4). It is pointed out that phrases with the noun repeated typically have an ad-

verbial function (cf. *They stood toe to toe, They talked man to man*), and as it is normally impossible to vary the number, determination or modification of the repeated nouns (cf. *\*They stood toes to toes, \*They talked old man to young man*) it is argued that “the nouns have no article because they have largely lost their independent nominal status” (p. 280). As a result, parallel structures of this kind are classed as (virtual) idioms exemplifying ‘frozen’ article usage.

The passage on parallel structures is relevant to the present discussion not only because of its content, but also because the absence of an overt determiner is referred to in three different ways: omission (“there is a tendency to omit the article ...”), no article (“it can be argued that the nouns have no article”) and zero article (“the parallel structure with zero article is productive ...”), without making it explicit whether the differences in the wording convey different meanings or not (p. 280). However, since the passage is subsumed under the heading “The zero article with definite meaning” (p. 276), there is reason to suppose that the adduced three instances of different wording are synonymous.

In the differentiated conception of zero, ‘null’ and *no*, described in 0., zero is the zero form of the determiner overtly represented by the indefinite article. The two determiners express the same kinds of reference (nongeneric indefinite and generic) and occur in complementary distribution (plural nouns and uncountable singulars taking the zero article, whereas countable singulars the indefinite article). In nongeneric use, the zero article sometimes alternates with unstressed *some* (cf. *I’ve been writing (some) letters this morning. CGEL 275*). *No article* is applied to nouns in adverbial function which have largely lost their substantival categories, while *omission* lacks terminological status.

From the treatment of parallel structures presented in *CGEL* three factors appear to be relevant to their characteristics: the syntactic function of the structure, the type of definiteness (determination) expressed by the constituent nouns, and the semantics of the nouns.

As regards the syntactic function of parallel structures and its effect on the nature and form of determination, there is an obvious connection between prepositional phrases containing countable singulars with no article and the function of an adverbial. This connection is noticeable not only in prepositional phrases with the noun repeated, but also in prepositional phrases containing one countable singular noun, such as (*communicate*) *by letter*, (*go*) *by boat*, etc. In the case of parallel structures constituted by coordinated countable singulars the effect of the syntactic function does not appear to be so clearcut. It is this point, together with the type of reference, that is examined in the next two sections. The semantic aspect, whose importance is suggested by the formulation in *CGEL* “one noun is balanced against another noun of contrasting meaning” (p. 280), is left to Section 4.

## 2.

The syntactic function of coordinated countable singulars has been analysed in a corpus of some 160-180 instances, the actual number depending on whether repeated structures, structures with three conjoins, with an overt determiner in

the first conjoin, and appositive coordinate structures are counted, or whether only different structures strictly of the types discussed in 2. are included. The examples are mostly drawn from electronic sources (the complete electronic text of the Times newspaper, 1995) and complemented by a few examples from fiction and dictionaries. The entire set of examples is attached in the Appendix.

The corpus comprises four types of coordinate parallel structures: (a) NP *and* NP (64 instances), (b) NP *and* NP *alike* (44 instances), (c) *both* NP *and* NP (43 instances), and (d) *neither* NP *nor* NP (21 instances).<sup>2</sup> Owing to the nature of the sources, quantitative data on the points under study were noted only within each subtype, as an aid to ascertaining the prevailing tendencies.

2.1 Syntactic analysis of parallel structures constituted by coordinated countable singulars with no overt determiner has shown them to occur in all syntactic functions of the noun with the exception of object complement. The absence of this clause element is probably due to the limited size of the corpus, within which it is to be regarded as accidental.

2.1.1 Within the type NP *and* NP (64 instances) the most frequent syntactic function is postmodification, accounting for about a half of all examples in this group

- (5) a. Even in normal circumstances, the relationship *between coach and pupil* is an intense one, modelled on the potent template *of master and apprentice*.
- b. Children who ... have no coordination *between hand and eye* can be given more profitable activity ...
- c. There is something almost unearthly in the sight of enormous spaces *of hill and plain*.

The prepositions introducing the postmodifying coordinate structures are illustrated in the examples, *between* occurring much more frequently than *of* (the latter was found only in four instances). The same coordinated structure occurred twice in two instances (*parent and child*, *solicitor and client*). In five instances, one of the coordinated nouns was constant while the other varied: *father and son / child / daughter*; *tutor / coach and pupil*; *liberator / killer / offender / aggressor and victim*; *doctor and patient / the employing health body*; *solicitor / barrister / counsellor / architect and client*.

There were two instances of three coordinated nouns, one of which met the requirements for inclusion, all three nouns being countable singulars, cf. (6).

- (6) A Cardiff litigator complained that chambers would ask what a 'telecon' was (a conference *between solicitor and barrister and client* held over the telephone).

<sup>2</sup> Instances with the alternative structure *either* NP *or* NP were too rare to allow analysis and so merit inclusion. The examples encountered were, e.g., He rarely had direct contact with *either product or customer*. In 1998, either *mother or son* will contest the presidential elections.

The other example contained a noun in the plural, so that from the aspect of the point under study it was regarded as a coordinate structure of two countable singulars, cf. (7).

(7) Co-ordination of *hand, feet and eye* to produce an elegantly balanced turn is the elusive goal.

Some of the nouns constituting coordinate structures are also found in prepositional phrases, compare *the relationship between teacher and pupil* with *the relationship of teacher to pupil*, with a resulting semantic change consisting in the unidirectional nature of the relation denoted by the preposition.

2.1.2 The syntactic function ranking second in regard to the frequency of occurrence is the subject. It accounts for nearly a quarter of the examples of this group. As compared with postmodification, it thus appears to be half as frequent. The nouns constituting the coordinate structures are prevalently names of persons (including institutions), two subjects being realized by inanimate nouns.

(8) a. *Father and son* began to expand and another practice joined them, ...  
 b. *Parent and teacher* may be in conflict about the best procedures to use with a pupil.

(9) the great barrier of dim-green peaks ... parted, and now *valley and road* were cupped between pine-clothed slopes.

As in the case of postmodification, two of the coordinate structures were found more than once: *father and son*, *father and daughter*. *Father* also appeared as the constant member, with *son / daughter* as the variant second; similarly *doctor and nurse / country*; *teacher and student / parent and teacher*.

In three instances there was another kind of variation, viz. in the number of the coordinated nouns, one being in the plural, cf. (10).

(10) a. *Father and sons* die in car crash.  
 b. As mother cooked their hearty Christmas repast, *father and sons* would haul the tree home  
 c. *Fingers and thumb* cast an exclamatory shadow on the blank paper beyond the line containing the portrait.

Whereas (10) a. is to be considered within the special grammar of newspaper headlines, and hence is left out of account, (10) b. and c., though containing a plural noun, are of interest to the present discussion insofar as the plural nouns express nongeneric definite reference, which is normally expressed by the definite article. Consequently, even the plural nouns lack an overt determiner.

A question that presents itself in this connection is why the plural noun in ex (7) in 2.1, unlike the plural nouns in (10) b. and c., should be excluded from consideration. The answer is to be sought in the fact that there the overtly absent

determiner is not null but zero since the reference of the nouns is generic (see section 3).

2.1.3 All other syntactic functions found in the NP *and* NP type account for the remaining quarter of examples of this group, with the object ranking highest, the subject complement lowest, and the adverbial and apposition in between.

All object NP *and* NPs except one displayed personal nouns, as in (11).

- (11) a. Morton's T. Shirts in Kelvinbridge often supply *cast and crew* in the film and television industry  
 b. holding initial interviews by phone speeds up the process dramatically and benefits *candidate and client*.

The only example of an object realized by inanimate nouns presents three countable singulars in coordination, cf. (12).

- (12) And the strident colours envenoming *door, bed and window* accentuate anxiety.

This structure was registered in two other instances, involving *mother, father and baby*, and *mother, father and sister*. As in the case of the subject and post-modification, there is one recurrent structure, *father and son*, and two structures with one constant and one variable member: *father and career / sister / son; lawyer / firm / candidate and client*.

As regards the adverbial function, in accordance with the registered semantic roles (prevalently place, cf. (13) and means / instrument, cf. (14)) the constituent nouns are inanimate or denote body parts:

- (13) a. The storm went moaning over *forest and meadow*.  
 b. Other tests include asking the subject to catch a ruler *between forefinger and thumb*.  
 c. An Englishman may scoff at the fiscal integrity of the Italians ... but they, in turn, could respond effectively by taking their noses *between index finger and thumb*.  
 (14) I am snapped out of this reverie by a hand making an 'O' shape *with finger and thumb*.

As shown by (13) b., c. and (14), the same structure *finger and thumb* occurs repeatedly with variation in the explicitness of the first member: *finger / forefinger / index finger*.

There were two instances in which the coordinate structure could also (or even more plausibly) be interpreted as postmodification, cf. (15) a. and b.

- (15) a. Wearing a white satin gown *with veil and train*, Ms Kerrigan posed with Mr Solomon for photographers

b. ... a series of judicious pinches *with forefinger and thumb* will give them [trousers] a crease guaranteed to win an appreciative nod from Savile Road.

What supports the adverbial interpretation (with the semantic role of attendant circumstances) of (15) a. is the fact that a veil is not a part of a gown; hence the structure is comparable to *wearing a satin gown with a matching hat*. However, the order of the nouns in the coordinate structure suggests that the veil is regarded as a part of the dress, just as the train, which assigns the structure the function of postmodification. In (15) b. the adverbial or postmodifying function of the coordinate structure is a moot point.

There was one clear example of attendant circumstances, cf. 16):

(16) outspoken, society spinster travels to Middle East *with doctor and lover* and stays there

However, two points should be noted here. First the sentence shows a feature of condensed (abbreviated) style in the subject and the adverbial noun phrase, consisting in the absence of the determiner, and more importantly, the coordinate structure itself does not represent the usual type of coordination between two noncoreferential nouns, but coordinative apposition (cf. *CGEL* 10.39, pp. 760-761; for other examples of this kind, see e.g. ex (30) and Nos 123, 124 and 125 in the Appendix). Although there is no overt indicator of this function (as in the case of coordinative apposition in the subject, indicated by the singular concord of the verb), the pragmatic aspects strongly support the appositive interpretation (it is much more likely that the expressions 'doctor' and 'lover' refer to one person, not to two).

Apposition mostly occurred as modification of the subject, cf. (17).

(17) a. Here Michael Howell and Peter Ford, *doctor and writer* respectively, diligently seek to reconstruct the truth

b. among the first into the winner's enclosure will be the four owners, Chas, Jeff and Simon Gay (*grandfather, father and son*), and Alf Chadwick.

Coordinate structures in the function of apposition appear as modifiers of coordinated NPs, and, moreover, in (17) b. as a component of multiple apposition. The function of subject complement, though the least frequent, is of interest insofar as it contributes to the wide range of syntactic functions of the point under study.

(18) He looks all *elbow and bone* when he runs.

**2.2** The distribution of syntactic functions within coordinate structures involving correlative pairs appears to depend on the endorsing item.



**2.2.1** In contrast to the pattern NP *and* NP, in which the prevalent syntactic function was found to be postmodification, in NP *and* NP *alike* (attested by 44 instances) it is the object. Within their group, the two syntactic functions show comparable representation, both accounting for about a half of the respective coordinate structures. The prevalence of the object function in the pattern NP *and* NP *alike* is presumably due to the information structure (functional sentence perspective, FSP for short) of the distributional subfield of this structure, which is focused on the last item *alike*. Since the object occurs in the postverbal section of the sentence and in the absence of other candidates for the function of the rheme (the focus) completes the communication if context independent (cf. Firbas 1992.42-45),<sup>3</sup> the endorsing item *alike*, the rheme of its distributional subfield, coincides with the rhematic function of the object within the higher distributional field of the clause as a whole, and thus contributes to the achievement of focus in the final position. Compare (19).

- (19) a. They should thumb their noses at *Government and public alike*.  
 b. The crowd's baiting of Barnes puzzled *player and coach alike*.  
 c. His 15-piece big band is the living embodiment of vibrancy, unrivalled in its ability to thrill *mind and body alike*.

Where the coordinate structure does not appear finally, it constitutes a component of the rhematic section, even though not the rheme proper (as in (20) a.), or the rheme within its own distributional field (cf. (20) b.).

- (20) a. ... underestimating the power of nationalism to motivate America's enemies; misjudging '*friend and foe*' *alike* through a profound ignorance of the country and its culture;  
 b. He has the gift, valuable to *film maker and novelist alike*, for giving emotion concrete form.

**2.2.2** The second most frequent syntactic function in the pattern NP *and* NP *alike* is postmodification. It accounts for about a quarter of the remaining examples, i.e. it is about half as frequent as the object. With respect to FSP, the post-modifying NP *and* NP *alike* behaves in the same way as the object, i.e. if it does not occur in the rheme of the higher clausal distributional (sub)field, as in (21) a., it constitutes the rheme of a lower distributional subfield, cf. (21) b.

- (21) a. To be judged a success as Ambassador to the European Union, he will have to become the champion of *federalist and sceptic alike*  
 b. costs are running wild and tempers of *man and beast alike* are fraying fast.

**2.2.3** The remaining examples of this group (about a quarter) are found in the syntactic functions of adverbial, cf. (22), subject, cf. (23) and apposition, cf.

<sup>3</sup> For the concepts of FSP, rheme, distributional subfield, see Firbas 1992.

(24). The most frequent of these syntactic functions, the adverbial, appears exclusively in the semantic role of the *by*-agent, which is hardly fortuitous. Also significantly, the representation of the subject (three occurrences) is low, a lower representation being shown only by apposition. Both the semantic role of the adverbial NP *and* NP *alike* structures, and the relatively rare occurrence of the structure in the subject function suggest FSP as a factor: the *by*-agent, usually occupying the clause-final position, is as a rule rhematic, whereas the subject, owing to its prevailing initial position, is largely thematic. Nevertheless, within the subject's distributional subfield, the coordinate structure still constitutes the rheme.

(22) a. television has been a great leveller, watched *by duke and dustman alike*.

b. But their world is now threatened and has been so for many years by *man, tourist and settler alike*.

(23) The halcyon days of May 1829, when *orchestra and audience alike* had been captivated by the charm and brilliance of the 20-year-old Mendelssohn seemed heartachingly remote

(24) And yet there are surely many among us, *old and young alike*, whose vision still extends to the goal of ...

2.3 The coordinate structure *both* NP *and* NP, represented by 43 examples, displays yet another distribution of syntactic functions. None of them exceeds the frequency of the others to such an extent as postmodification in the case of NP *and* NP, and the object within the group NP *and* NP *alike*.

2.3.1 The syntactic function ranking first, the subject, accounts for a third of the examples constituting this group, cf. (25):

(25) But *both manager and player* were at odds over the transfer.

2.3.2 Another third of instances of this group appeared in the functions of postmodification and object, with approximately equal representation, cf. (26) and (27).

(26) a. I forget the name of *both manager and player* involved in this story

b. Tax relief is allowed on contributions *from both employer and employee*.

c. For the floors *in both kitchen and bathroom* she chose rustic terracotta tiles.

d. His psychology *with both horse and rider* is incredible

(27) Harris's Hecuba effortlessly commands *both chorus and stage*

In contrast to postmodification in the NP *and* NP structure, where the largely prevailing preposition was *between*, the *both* NP *and* NP structure displays dif-

ferent prepositions (see (26)), out of which *of* tends to be the most frequent. As regards *between*, its use with *both ... and* is hardly conceivable, the resulting structure being ungrammatical, cf. *\*the relation between both father and son*. This is obviously due to semantic incompatibility of the two expressions, *between* being disjunctive, whereas *both ... and* conveys intensified inclusiveness.

**2.3.3** The last third of the registered *both NP and NP* structures is represented by three syntactic functions, the adverbial, cf. (28), apposition, cf. (29), and the subject complement, cf. (30), with almost equal distribution.

(28) a. The Willow Song drew an exquisite performance *from both soprano and conductor*.

b. the public remains in command *as both client and consumer*

(29) he fell in love with Anna Karenina (*both novel and heroine*) at a tender age

(30) For most of the inmates, the instructors become *both father and mentor* for many years after they leave behind the punishing schedule of ...

Most of the structures classed as adverbial are of the type illustrated by (28) b., which is subsumed under the semantic role of manner in *CGEL* (9.48, p. 699 'in the capacity of'). In instances like (29) a. the prepositional phrase may also be regarded as postmodification.

All instances of subject complement in this group represent coordination of the type illustrated by ex (16), i.e. both conjoins are coreferential with a singular noun in the subject.

**2.4** The last structure under study, *neither NP nor NP*, represented by 21 examples, displays the same syntactic functions as the three coordinate structures treated so far, but again in a specific distribution. More than a half of the examples have the function of subject, cf. (31), less than a quarter that of the object, cf. (32), the other syntactic functions, apposition, subject complement and adverbial being represented by one or two instances. See, respectively, (33), (34) and (35).

(31) a. *neither baby nor mother* was getting oxygen

b. *Neither pilot nor politician* need see the mangled bodies.

Most examples of the subject function show singular concord of the verb, as in (31) a., while some of the examples lack a distinctive form of number in the verb.

(32) Sark has *neither town nor village*.

(33) European football ... has become a hybrid; *neither league nor cup*.

(34) The title could mislead, for the Romantic Generation is *neither textbook nor glib survey*.

(35) *With neither passport nor visa* she was consigned to custody at the airport's police station until ...

Owing to the small number of examples representing this group, the pronounced tendency of the *neither NP nor NP* structure to favour the subject function at the cost of all other syntactic functions is to be regarded as inconclusive.

Reiteration of both identical coordinate structures and those with one recurrent and one variable member, which was described for illustration in the pattern *NP and NP*, was found in structures with correlative pairs as well. For reasons of space it is included only in the Appendix.

2.5 As shown by the foregoing discussion, there is no significant connection between the syntactic function of a coordinate structure and the use of the articles with the constituent nouns. On the other hand, there appears to be some connection between the prevailing syntactic function and the coordinating device. *Both NP and NP*, and perhaps also *neither NP nor NP* tend to favour the subject function, whereas *NP and NP alike* the object function. Some of the reasons for these tendencies might be sought in the FSP structure, as suggested in 2.2.1 and 2.2.3, but conclusive results would require not only a larger corpus, but more importantly, excerpts from continuous texts.

However, the distribution of the syntactic functions of coordinate structures without overt determiners should be regarded with caution. The frequency of occurrence of a particular syntactic function largely depends on the representation of the function as such, regardless of the presence or absence of a coordinate structure in the realization form. Since the occurrence of a syntactic function depends on the sentence structure, different clause elements lack equal likelihood of being realized. Thus an English sentence nearly always contains a subject, but the presence of an object (objects) or subject complement or to some extent of adverbials is determined by the class of the verb, while the presence of optional elements is a matter of the content being expressed.

Another finding that speaks against, rather than for, the significance of the syntactic function is the fact that not only different but also identical coordinate structures are found in different syntactic functions. In the case of the former, it may be argued that the occurrence of coordinate structures in different syntactic functions is connected with different semantics of the constituent nouns, which of course also plays a role. However, in the case of an identical coordinate structure, this argument does not hold. The recurrent coordinate structure *father and son* realized the subject (5 instances), object (2) and postmodification (1), *husband and wife* subject (1) and postmodification (1), *father and daughter* subject (2), postmodification (1) and apposition (1), *doctor and patient* object (1) and postmodification (1). Nevertheless, the effect of semantics is evident in the tendency of personal nouns to favour the subject (cf. *father and son*). *Plaintiff and defendant* was found only in the function of subject (2 instances), but this is presumably accidental since *parent and child*, and *solicitor and client* appeared only in postmodification (twice each). On the other hand, body parts (*fore*)*finger/index finger and thumb* tend towards the adverbial function (4 occurrences, all adverbial); but cf. ex (10) c. In general, personal nouns appear to occur without notable semantic restrictions in the syntactic functions of subject, object and postmodification.

In contrast to the lack of connection between article usage and syntactic functions,<sup>4</sup> what appears to play a role in the overt form of the determiner is the coordination structure itself, see 3.3.

### 3.

Approaching the question of article usage in coordinate structures from the viewpoint of the type of reference implied by the structure as a whole, it is assumed that both constituent noun phrases (where more conjoins are present, all) express the same type of reference. This is not necessarily the case with all coordinated structures, cf. *She carried her handbag and a suitcase*. The assumption made assigns coordinated countable singulars without an overt determiner to the coordination type where an explicit determiner preceding the first conjoin applies to each: *a knife and fork* (= *a knife and a fork*), *his wife and child* (= *his wife and his child*) (CGEL 960).

3.1 Examination of the reference type of the coordinate structures under study has disproved a tacit assumption (made on the basis of a few examples drawn from fiction before the corpus was collected) that the reference will be as a rule nongeneric definite as in the case of alternative use of null and definite article in noun phrases constituted by one noun. However, the results of the examination show instances of nongeneric definite reference to account for only about a half of the examples, while the other half of coordinate structures express generic reference. In some instances, the reference type could not be unequivocally determined because the meaning of the sentence could be interpreted both generically and nongenerically. The two types of reference appear to be closely connected with the sorts of texts from which the examples were drawn. Whereas instances with nongeneric definite reference were prevalently obtained from narrative or reporting texts<sup>5</sup> dealing with particular persons and situations, those with generic reference are mainly drawn from professional texts (the language of legal documents and linguistics). Compare (36) a. and b.

<sup>4</sup> A certain effect of the syntactic function on the use of the article is observed in the case of single (noncoordinated) noun phrases realizing postmodification and some types of apposition. As regards postmodification, absence of an overt determiner with a countable singular is found especially where the head nouns are *kind*, *sort*, *type*, cf. *That kind/sort of question is very difficult* (LDCE, *kind*). *What sort of (a) man is he?* (LDCE, *sort*). *What type of plant is that?* (LDCE, *type*). An explanation that presents itself is that nouns used as modifiers resemble adjectives, which may be reflected in the loss of the determiner. As regards apposition, the types realized by a countable singular without an overt determiner are all subsumable under null insofar as the absent determiner alternates with the definite article and has nongeneric definite reference. This usage is found mainly where one of the appositives is a proper name, cf. *Private Walker, Secretary of State Smith, Cardinal Spellman, Mary Cordwell, 25-year-old singer on television shows; Robinson, (the) leader of the Democratic group* (cf. CGEL 1313-1314). Apart from this type, compare instances like *Chapter 2, on page 5*, etc.

<sup>5</sup> The stylistic aspect of coordinate structures also manifests itself in their relatively high frequency of occurrence in the languages of newspapers, one of the main sources of the examples used in the present study (*Times* 1995), a language variety described at length by Josef Hladký (1979).

- (36) a. Without regard for his father's protests, *mother and infant* left Stratford together to begin an 18-month stage tour.  
 b. The relationship *between architect and client* can be a tricky one, especially when...

Although of comparable frequency of occurrence in the set of examples as a whole, the two reference types greatly differ in distribution within the four subsets. The only subset with approximately equal distribution is the NP *and* NP structure, whereas in the NP *and* NP *alike*, *both* NP *and* NP, and *neither* NP *nor* NP structures, the proportion of nongeneric to generic reference is about 3:1, 1:3, and 1:7, respectively. The great predominance of generic reference in the NP *and* NP *alike* structure is partly due to the inclusion of converted adjectives, such as *rich and poor*, *strong and weak*, *old and young*, etc., which account for about a third of instances of generic reference in this subset, but even without them, generic reference prevails to the extent of 3:2. Whether the differences in the distribution of generic and nongeneric reference are motivated by the different sorts of texts from which the examples were drawn, or by the type of coordinative device, especially correlative pairs, and to what extent they may be fortuitous remains a topic for further studies.

As regards the conditions establishing nongeneric definite reference, the most frequent case was anaphoric definiteness (e.g. (1) (4)), associative anaphora (as in (37)), or situational uniqueness, as in (38).

(37) Narrow-fit sleeves ended somewhere between *elbow and wrist*, often with a flick-up cuff.

(38) Both *president and First Lady*, of course, 'acted dumb' when they appeared

Except three instances, there were no examples of cataphoric definiteness, as a result of the absence of modification in the coordinated nouns. In two of the examples with modification, the modified conjoin displayed the definite article (see Nos 160 and 161 in the Appendix). Ex (38), with no determiner in either conjoin, is likely to display an indefinite rather than a definite determiner when an explicit device is used.

(38) But as he hovered for months in a coma, *both symbol and victim of the ultimately dysfunctional family*, the lost boy provided an unexpected turning point in the story.

cf. *both a symbol and victim* rather than *the symbol and victim*.

Examples with generic reference call for comment with respect to the distinctions made between zero, null and no article in Sections 0 and 1. There, zero and null were distinguished on the basis of complementary nature of the respective types of reference, generic and nongeneric indefinite in the case of zero, and nongeneric definite in the case of null. The question of no article does not arise

since coordinate structures display the definite article as an alternative (ex (38) is a rare exception). Generic reference of many of the coordinate structures does not fit this pattern, and, in fact, gives rise to doubts about its adequacy. It may be argued, however, that the adequacy of the pattern remains unimpaired with respect to noun phrases constituted by one noun and that coordinate structures constitute a separate type, related to other instances with null merely by the form of the potential overt determiner. As regards its functions, however, they are those of the definite article as such, without limitation to nongeneric reference.

3.2 Returning to exx (3) and (4), which display optional use of the definite article in the coordinate structures, we may well ask whether the use of the article or another determiner is always possible, and if not, what are the reasons.

In the set of examples under study, actual alternation between the overt absence and presence of a determiner was noted in the case of some of the coordinate structures with more than one occurrence, cf. (39) and (40).

(39) a. His Lordship said that *the plaintiff and defendant* entered into a partnership on September 29, 1989 ...

b. Both *plaintiff and defendant* will now have a chance to make an offer to settle through a payment into court.

(40) she rubs *her finger and thumb* together

Both determiners are nongeneric definite (in (40) *her finger* refers to the index finger) and can be omitted, cf. (39) b. and exx (13) b. c., (14) and (15) c.

Besides alternation with the definite article, the nongeneric definite reference of instances of this kind is shown by a comparison with examples of coordinated noun phrases with the nongeneric indefinite article, in which omission of the determiner changes the reference from indefinite to definite, Compare (41):

(41) a. ... in the neighbourhood where she lived with *an uncle and aunt*.  
x ... *with uncle and aunt*

b. Despite being in a wheelchair after breaking *a leg and an elbow* \*...  
*after breaking leg and elbow*

While in (41) a. omission of the article presents *uncle and aunt* as either unique in this kinship category or as having been mentioned before, (41) b. is hardly conceivable since it suggests that the person concerned had only one elbow and one leg.

In cases of generic reference the use of the definite article sometimes involves difficulties, cf. (42).

(42) a. Firstly, the interaction *between parent and child* is most directly expressed in terms of the person selections in grammar. / ?*between the parent and child*

b. Mr Blair's team make much of their leader's readiness to be hard on *friend and foe alike*. / \**on the friend and foe alike*

In (42) a. the definite article suggests that it is known whether *parent* refers to the mother or father, or that there is only one parent. Ex (42) b. is a fixed phrase with invariable form. In general, however, instances with generic reference allow the use of the definite article in the same way as instances with nongeneric reference, cf. (43) (of the foregoing examples see e.g. (5) a., (11) b., (20) b., (36) b., etc.; for other examples of generic reference see the Appendix).

(43) Essential education is a constant, and, at best, joyful challenge for *tutor and pupil alike* / *for the tutor and pupil alike*.

3.3 As a last question concerning article usage with coordinate structures, we may ask what part is played by coordination. An answer may be found in those instances which can be reduced to a single noun phrase, i.e. where coordination can be replaced by a single element. This is more often impossible than not, in particular in all instances of postmodification introduced by the preposition *between*. But even some subjects have to be coordinated or in the plural owing to the semantics of the predicate, cf. ex (1).

However, there are a number of instances which allow the reduction to a single noun phrase, illustrated in (44).

- (44) a. The fourth member of the party observed *father and son* with a distinct twinkle of amusement in his deep-sunken eyes. ... observed \**father* / observed \**son*  
 b. ... if I overheard *lawyer and client* discussing the proportions of the sums they both were looking out for if I overheard \**lawyer* / \**client*

These examples show that coordination plays a major role in the possibility of erasing the overt determiner. Of the coordinated nouns occurring in the examples, only *father* is found without the article outside coordination. However, this happens largely within the context of a family when the speaker is referring to his/her father. Since in (44) a. this is not the case, the appropriate possessive is called for. Within the family context, *father* (as well as other unique members of a family) has more or less acquired the character of a proper name, and hence the null article.

A similar shift allowing deletion of the article in a single noun is also noticeable in professional contexts in the case of technical terms of high frequency of occurrence. Among the examples under study, it can be illustrated by instances drawn from both legal documents and linguistics, cf. (45).

- (45) a. ... a mediation unit where a senior barrister will advise *complainant and victim*. advise *complainant* / advise ?*victim*.  
 b. Now when *speaker and addressee* switch participant roles...  
 Now when (*the*) *speaker* switches his/her participant role with (*the*) *addressee/hearer*...



In ex (45) b. the version without coordination had to be adapted to demonstrate the point. Both a. and b. moreover show that the borderline between terms that can be treated in this way and those that cannot is difficult to draw, the illustrated usage being only a tendency. In any case, this feature involves only technical terms in professional contexts, and hence does not detract from the relevance of coordination to article usage in general.

#### 4.

Throughout the foregoing discussion, the coordinated structures under study have been referred to and treated as a special type of coordination. Obviously, not all coordinated structures display the absence of overt determiners, cf. *He hung the picture and the map on the wall / He hung \*picture and map on the wall*. The specificity of these structures in terms of article usage is apparently due to the nature of the semantic relations between the constituent nouns, which has been generally described as displaying 'contrasting meaning' (CGEL 280), an 'antithesis' (Christoffersen 1939.193), etc. We shall see that 'contrasting meaning' is, in fact, far too vague a description of the various types of bondage between the nouns in these structures and in the following a more detailed account will be offered.

4.1 Before their description is attempted it should be said that coordinate structures of the type *mother and child* are but one type of word combinations often called binomials. Binomials are defined, for example, as 'the sequence of two words pertaining to the same form-class, placed on an identical level of syntactic hierarchy, and ordinarily connected by some kind of lexical link' (Malkiel 1959) or as 'relatively fixed conjoint phrases having two members; eg: *big and ugly, cup and saucer*' (CGEL 971). They are not confined to English and may be found in other languages as well (cf. Klégr 1991). Malkiel shows that such sequences range from free combinations (semantically additive) to fixed, irreversible and idiomatic units (*odds and ends*). Binomial constituents are connected by grammatical means (conjunction and preposition), formal means (rhyme, alliteration, morpheme or word repetition) and semantic links. Among them Malkiel mentions synonymy (*null and void*), complementation (*food and drink*), antonymy (*great and small*), hyponymy (*months and years*), occasionally succession (*rise and fall*) and metaphoric representation (*tooth and nail*). Finally he gives six factors determining the order of binomial constituents: chronological priority (*divide and conquer*), sociocultural priorities (*mother and child*), greater 'strength' of one of the antonym (*light and dark*), stress distribution (*fame and fortune*), analogy with an existing model (*hot and cold: hot-and-bothered*), and transmission through loan translations (*Adam and Eve*). Clearly, the coordinate structures under study are a binomial subgroup which has been purposely restricted to singular count common nouns in (typically) non-idiomatic expressions, joined not only by *and* but also correlative pairs *both-and*, *neither-nor*, and *and-alike* (not usually associated with binomials), because of displaying the peculiar absence of overt determiners. It is certainly this gram-

matical feature that sets the subgroup apart from the rest of binomials while its semantic features seem to be at least to some extent the same as found in other binomials. In the following we shall examine not only the semantic properties but also why they should have (unlike syntactic function) the apparent grammatical effects on structures with singular count nouns.

**4.2** The semantics of these expressions may be examined from two related aspects: (i) the semantic classes of nouns that tend to participate in them and their combinations; (ii) the nature of semantic relations, or sense relations, that obtain between the nouns.

**4.2.1** The semantic analysis of noun classes and their combinations occurring in the structures is based on some 160-180 coordinate expressions (of the four basic types mentioned above), involving singular count nouns without overt determiners (the only exceptional cases being several three-member expressions; also, a few cases with personal adjectival heads). Its findings are summed up in the overview below with the classes arranged both in (approximate) descending order of frequency and thematically. By far the most common class involves designations of persons and person-person combinations (more than a half), and human constituents figure down to class six (bodies, groups). However, the other classes, though less frequent, appear to be quite clear-cut and delimited (body parts, places), as if this type of coordination favoured specific types of noun.

### Noun classes in coordinate expressions and their combinations:

#### 1. person-person

##### (a) blood or in-law relation

- dominant-subordinate (*parent and child, mother and baby/child/infant/sister, father and child/son/daughter, grandfather, father and son*)
- coordinate, complementary (*bride and groom, husband and wife, Prince and Princess, president and First Lady, brother and sister*)

##### (b) profession/role/position related:

- dominant-subordinate (*architect/counsellor/lawyer/solicitor and client, coach/teacher/tutor and pupil/student, doctor and patient/nurse, employer and employee, manager and player, master and apprentice*)
- coordinate, complementary terms (*candidate and client, supplier and customer, actor and dramaturge, composer and conductor, doctor and lawyer, lawyer and layman, speaker and addressee, film-maker and novelist, governor and minister, tenor nor soprano, soprano and conductor, producer and star*)

##### (c) situation related

- contrasting terms (*friend and foe, hero and anti-hero, aggressor/offender/liberator/killer/dominatrix—victim, fan and philistine, federalist and (Euro)sceptic, novice and expert, gourmet and amateur, resident and tourist/visitor, parent and teacher*)
- coordinate, complementary (*friend and training partner, father and mentor, pilot nor politician, plaintiff and doctor, man, tourist and settler*)

#### 2. person-institution/body (*bank/firm and client, judge and jury, manager and club, organist and ensemble, peasant and nobility*)

3. person-object/entity (*car and driver, novel and heroine, symbol and victim, author nor subject*)
4. person-animal (*horse and rider, man and beast*)
5. group-group (*government and public, orchestra and audience/choir, team and management, police and public, lay and clergy; old and young, rich and poor, strong and weak, black and white, just and unjust*)
6. group-place (*chorus and stage, stadium and squad*)
7. body parts (*elbow and wrist, finger/forefinger/index finger and thumb, gum and tooth, hand and eye, heart and brain, mind and body*)
8. body part-thing (*ball and mouth*)
9. thing-thing (*book nor film, novel and play, textbook nor glib survey, passport nor visa, door, bed and window, veil and train*)
10. place-place (*superstore nor local deli, hill and plain, kitchen and bathroom, valley and road, town nor village, river nor brushwood*)
11. place-thing (*wharf and ship, vessel and land*)
12. abstract/intangible entities (*statute nor authority, number nor name, present and past, league nor cup [reference to Association Football!]*)

**4.2.2** As regards the semantic relations, or sense relations, that bind the constituents together, the fundamental and prototypical relationship appears to be that of (binary) oppositeness (cf. Lyons 1977, Cruse 1986 & 2000), especially converseness (perspectival opposition: if X is Y's A, then Y must be X's B). This type of relation is predominant with kinship/in-law terms (*mother and child, husband and wife, brother and sister*), but is found in the other person-person combinations, i.e. profession/role-related type (*doctor and patient, teacher and student, plaintiff and defendant*) and the situation-related type (*killer and victim, speaker and addressee, assessor and candidate*). Another type of oppositeness found was antonymy (*duke and dustman, peasant and nobility, novice and expert*)—in the narrower sense of 'contrariety', which allows negation of both terms without contradiction (*you can be neither novice nor expert*). To these examples we may add all expressions with personal adjectival heads (*old and young, rich and poor*), which strictly speaking do not belong in the sample, not involving singular count nouns, but in which the effect of coordination and semantics likewise seem to result in the absence of an overt determiner, although the customary definite article has the grammatical function of a nominalization marker. Finally, the sample includes expressions related by complementarity, implying the validity of one or the other term (*friend and foe, hero and anti-hero, resident and visitor/tourist, man and beast, body and mind, heart and brain, hill and plain, town nor village*). On the other hand, due to the syndetic nature of the expressions no case of directional opposition was found, as it usually requires the use of prepositions (*from-to*, etc.) or tends to occur with verbal and adverbial constituents.

While not all expressions under review involve opposites in the strict sense of the word, a number of cases display what might be called contextual or quasi-contrastiveness. Their constituents may, but need not be, closely related pragmatically; at any rate their coordination without an overt determiner, as it were,

imposes contrastive meaning on them, cf. *manager and player* (where *manager* does not necessarily imply *player*, certainly much less so than, say, *coach*), *team and management*, *producer and star*, *chorus and stage*, *stadium and squad*, *police/government and public*, *orchestra and audience/choir*, *fan and philistine*, *gourmet and amateur*, *federalist and sceptic* (referring to the EU). Many of these terms may be classified as co-hyponyms (*client and consumer*, *Prince and Princess*, *film-maker and novelist*, *actor and dramaturge*, *tenor nor soprano*, *recruiter and employer*, *cast and crew*, *novel and play*, *book nor film*, *passport nor visa*, *number nor name*; cases like *superstore nor local deli*, *textbook nor glib survey* moreover imply contrast in size), co-meronyms (*elbow and wrist*, *finger and thumb*, *gum and jaw*, *hand and eye*, *veil and train*, *kitchen and bathroom*), some involve holonym-meronym combinations (*novel and heroine*, *manager and club*; in a way also *horse and rider*, *car and driver*, where *rider/driver* might be seen as a whole including both 'person and vehicle'). In some cases the link between the constituents is spatial, based on contiguity and/or association (*valley and road*, *river nor brushwood*, *wharf and ship*, *forest and meadow*), in others the relation appears to be causal (*liberator and victim*). In yet others the relation is semantically dubious and must be regarded as being contextually and formally imposed or 'transferred' (*father and career*, *ball and mouth*, *symbol and victim*, *statute nor authority*).

Whether lexical opposites or sharing a superordinate term, it is significant that the constituents semantically and/or spatially are presented as an integrated structured whole which psychologically gives the impression of completeness. Thanks to the inherent links between the constituents and its distinguishing formal anomaly (lack of overt determination), this structure behaves in fact as an autonomous referential system. Although the effect of a close-knit whole seems to be best achieved by a binary contrast (especially through the two related types of opposition: converse and complementary), in principle there is no reason why the semantic links should not sustain three-member units (*mother, father and sister*, *man, woman and child*, *man, tourist and settler*). The need to create an interrelated system may account for the fact that synonym-synonym sequences are conspicuously missing among these structures. The synonymy binomials (*null and void*) mentioned by Malkiel are based on the repetition of the same concept, a device which serves an intensifying function but does not produce a clearly defined 'structured configuration' but a cluster (cf. Cruse 1986:112).

4.3 As regards the order of constituents, which may also be seen as reflecting cohesive ties between them, the structures under study basically follow the patterns of other binomials (see Malkiel above). *CGEL* (pp. 971, 1487) briefly mentions other factors, such as the prosodic principle of rhythmic regularity (preference of neat dactylic or trochaic rhythms to disorderly sequences), possible phonological constraints (high before low vowels, front before back vowels, etc.), conventional cultural dominance or courtesy, and rules like 'short before long', 'general before specific'. The sample suggests that there may be a few other, similar semantic principles of ordering, such as superior-subordinate (*employer and employee*, *doctor and nurse*), agent-patient (*aggressor and vic-*

*tim*), service provider—service user (*doctor and patient, supplier and customer*), man-animal (*man and beast*; the order in *horse and/nor rider* seems due to rhythmic reasons), or seniority (*grandfather, father and son*). It is interesting to note that the order in even such well-established pairs as *mother and baby* may be overruled by context, as in *a very short period when neither baby nor mother was getting oxygen*, i.e. describing a situation where the baby is in greater danger and so more important. The element of chronological priority may be found in such sequences as *grandfather, father and son*. Also, in keeping with the rest of binomials, other than semantic cohesive means which occurred in the sample include alliteration (*pilot nor politician, friend and foe, fan and philistine, police and public, duke and dustman, employer and employee*).

4.4 Finally, we may ask about the reasons for the conspicuous absence of an overt determiner in this type of coordinate structure. It is possible to speculate that the explanation for such an absence may have to take into account the very essence of the in/definiteness category and determination in English. There have been various theories about the function of the articles and their origin. Christophersen (1939.54-55) discusses some of them and puts forward his own actualization theory: 'The gist of the theory is that by the prefixation of an article a substantive, from being the name of a mere idea, is turned into the name of something actual and real.' A critical analysis of this and other theories is provided by Chesterman (1991). An example of an explanation of the origin of articles is found in Hewson (1972.11-14), who relates the development of an article system to the loss of inflection in the noun. He suggests that 'the article system satisfies a practical need that arises in the evolution of a language. This practical need for a morpheme is to counteract the drift, within the system of the noun, towards a greater generalization' and elsewhere 'Expression of case in the morphology of the noun prevents the notion expressed by the noun from reaching general proportions: there is always a particular aspect of the noun expressed as well as the general notion—case tells us something about the situation as well as the object and thus adds an experiential element to the notion.'

While discussion of such theories is not the aim of this study, their general tenor may be summed up by saying that (overt) determiners are markers of the noun phrase being embedded in a specific linguistic and situational context and having a certain kind of reference. It is then possible to formulate a tentative answer to the above question—why in spite of being used in a context and possessing reference, coordinate structures such as *mother and child* evidently have no need for overt determination—along the following lines. This type of coordinate structure represents a closed system whose constituents are mutually defined through the semantic relation between them. It thus forms an autonomous unit with its own internal context and as such is, so to speak, less subject to the rules of determination applying to the other noun phrases in text. The contextual 'embeddedness' of the coordinated constituents follows from the nature of their relationship (converseness and complementarity implies an unambiguous reference of one constituent to the other and vice versa) and so the overt signal of contextuality is not necessary (though possible). Thus the interpretation of the

absence of overt determiners may be that because the constituents within the structure are sufficiently specified, the external indication of their determination is superfluous, and may be omitted.

## 5.

We may conclude that coordination in conjunction with a specific semantic relation between its constituents results in a specific type of structure and creates suitable conditions allowing the dispensation of overt determiners with singular count nouns that make up these structures. Evidently, of the three aspects considered as potential factors in the absence of overt determiners—the type of reference, syntactic function, and the semantic relation between the conjoins—the last has proved itself to be the most important. On the other hand the syntactic function of a coordinate structure, in contrast to the role played by some syntactic functions in the type and form of determination in the case of single nouns, appears to exert little, if any, influence on explicit expression or absence of the determiner. The syntactic aspect asserts itself only in coordination as such. As regards the type of reference, it does play a partial role insofar as coordinate structures do not express nongeneric indefinite reference. However, unlike single countable singulars without overt determiners, which are basically restricted to one type of reference, viz. nongeneric definite, coordinate structures moreover express generic reference. What they share with single countable singulars lacking an overt determiner is thus only the alternative overt form of determination, the definite article, which, however, performs both its basic functions.

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## Appendix

### Collection of coordinate structures

1. But many of the top jobs, such as **doctor and lawyer**, require their recruits to have spent longer in academic study than do, say ...

2. Here Michael Howell and Peter Ford, **doctor and writer** respectively, diligently seek to reconstruct the truth of a story that needs no lurid embellishment.

3. When he arrived, ..., he found **brother and sister** arguing over the correct amount of absinthe to be put into the cocktail-shaker.

4. Jones, ..., argues that holding initial interviews by phone speeds up the process dramatically and benefits **candidate and client**.

5. Graham's business, Morton's T. Shirts in Kelvinbridge, often supply **cast and crew** in the film and television industry.

6. Procedures to tackle sexual harassment include formal channels of complaints, a telephone hotline and a mediation unit where a senior barrister will advise **complainant and victim**.

7. The fourth member of the party observed **father and son** with a distinct twinkle of amusement in his deep-sunken eyes.

8. True, my eyebrows might climb a little if I overheard **lawyer and client** discussing the proportions of the sums they both were looking out for, but ...

9. Oh, sure, I tried the thing with the reading and the crayoning and the see-saw, and the just being together, **father and daughter**, but by 11 am I'd given up and we were on the way to Toys'R'Us...

10. The other British member, Stan Mendham, the Forum of Private Busi-

ness chief executive, will argue for greater use of participative risk assessment, in which **bank and client** discuss a project's potential before finance is agreed.

11. Successive half-century stands with Slater and Steve Waugh were precisely what **doctor and country** had ordered.

12. You would think that **doctor and nurse** had been caught in flagrante delicto on the operating table, rather than job-sharing a simple operation.

13. **Father and daughter**, the Penny of the title, express a mutual respect, and she throws a cockroach out of the balcony window a symbolic gesture if ever I saw one.

14. **Father and son** began to expand and another practice joined them, so that there were four doctors.

15. But since Knipper continued to pursue her acting career, **husband and wife** lived apart during most of the winter months, and there were no children of the marriage.

16. ... without regard for his father's protests, **mother and infant** left Stratford together to begin an 18-month stage tour.

17. **Parent and teacher** may be in conflict about the best procedures to use with a pupil.

18. His Lordship said that (the) **plaintiff and defendant** entered into a partnership on September 29, 1989 ...

19. Now when **speaker and addressee** switch participant-roles, the co-ordinates of this entire world switch to the space-time-social centre of the erstwhile addressee, now speaker.

20. The valley twisted towards the south, and before them the great barrier of dim-green peaks which barred it had, miraculously, parted, and now **valley and road** were cupped between pine-clothed slopes.

21. He looks all **elbow and bone** when he runs.

22. This blurring of distinction between **aggressor and victim** is carried through to a highly ambiguous ending.

23. The relationship between **architect and client** can be a tricky one, especially when as architect has as clear a vision as this.

24. Such a contrast between **brother and sister** is surprising.

25. Even in normal circumstances, the relationship between **coach and pupil** is an intense one, modelled on the potent template of **master and apprentice**.

26. But to use professional show trials as a deterrent to any physical or emotional warmth between **counsellor and client** puts a giant hurdle in the way of their common humanity.

27. As well as the extra money, a great advantage ... would be a reintroduction of dignity into the relationship between **doctor and patient**.

28. Narrow-fit sleeves ended somewhere between **elbow and wrist**, often with a flick-up cuff.

29. Not only in cases between **husband and wife** but also in those between **father and child** the presumption was rebuttable by comparatively slight evidence.

30. Relations between **father and daughter** were strained.

31. Everything about this drama was good, the performances, the direction, the editing and the script, although the set-piece rows between **father and son** bordered on a petulant modern rerun of Darwin versus the bishop.

32. Other tests include asking the subject to catch a ruler between **forefinger and thumb**, ...

33. Chlorhexidine can help to keep

bacterial plaque above the gum line under control, but it won't reach plaque lodged deep between **gum and tooth**.

34. Children who are frightened of being hit by hard balls or have no co-ordination between **hand and eye** can be given more profitable activity than that of scorers, umpires or spectators.

35. Not only in cases between **husband and wife** but also in those between **father and child** the presumption was rebuttable by comparatively slight evidence.

36. An Englishman may scoff at the fiscal integrity of the Italians or the culinary sophistication of the Greeks, but they, in their turn, could respond effectively by taking their noses between **index finger and thumb**.

37. Its plot, in which the innocent hero is approached by a psychotic to „swap“ murders, each removing an obstacle from the other's life with not visible connection between **killer and victim**, happened to be used simultaneously by ...

38. Fifty years on, the first meeting between **liberator and victim** is no less emotionally resonant or appalling to recall.

39. The logical next step would be to eliminate the state middleman and treat crime as a matter between **offender and victim**.

40. Firstly, the interaction between **parent and child** is most directly expressed in terms of the person selections in the grammar.

41. The proposed regulations state that the agreement between **solicitor and client** must state if any limit is to be placed on fees in relation to damages recovered, ...

42. When he opened them [= the closed lids] the space between **vessel and land** had widened.

43. As the distance lessened between **wharf and ship** the communal life that had bound the passengers together for five



weeks dwindled and fell away.

44. ... it allowed us to follow the plot (outspoken, society spinster travels to Middle East with **doctor and lover** and stays there) ...

45. For the same reason, as the preserved numerous drafts show, when making the drafts he abbreviated or completely eliminated some of the parts he had already composed (e.g. Závěš's song *Zasténala bouře nad lesem a nivou* – The storm went moaning over **forest and meadow** – with the following ensemble of Hedvika, Jarek and Katuška in the first scene of Act III).

46. I am snapped out of this reverie by a hand making an „O“ shape with **finger and thumb**.

47. ... a pair of trousers that is unmistakably (sic) a pair of trousers, while a series of judicious pinches with **forefinger and thumb** will give them a crease guaranteed to win an appreciative nod from Savile Row.

48. There is something almost unearthly in the sight of enormous spaces of **hill and plain**.

49. Even in normal circumstances, the relationship between **coach and pupil** is an intense one, modelled on the potent template of **master and apprentice**.

50. Knowledge is transmitted in social contexts, through relationships, like those of **parent and child**, or **teacher and pupil**, or classmates, that are defined in the value systems and ideology of the culture.

51. Knowledge is transmitted in social contexts, through relationships, like those of **parent and child**, or **teacher and pupil**, or classmates, that are defined in the value systems and ideology of the culture.

52. Wearing a white satin gown with

**veil and train**, Ms Kerrigan posed with Mr Solomon for photographers but said nothing to a crowd of about 300 fans as they emerged from the Church of the Covenant on Boston's fashionable Newbury Street.

53. Saturn, which indicates challenges, has been at odds with all his planets in Virgo, and Saturn signifies all matters related to **father and career**.

54. Fewer people talk about the wireless these days and television has been a great leveller, watched by **duke and dustman** alike.

55. Despite being described by **friend and foe** alike as monetarist, and introducing the Medium Term Financial Strategy (MTFS), by the second half of the 1980s, her government had abandoned the central tenets of ...

56. Pinnock himself was the soloist in Handel's Organ Concerto in D minor, Op7, No4, crisply delivered by **organist and ensemble** alike, with some stylish improvisatory figures in the passages marked by the composer "ad libitum".

57. ... more than some of the results both good and bad was the lack of serious ethical reflection about cosmetic surgery, by **patient and surgeon** alike.

58. ... she demonstrated in a welcome performance of Zemlinsky's Maeterlinck settings, which were beautifully coloured by **voice and piano** alike.

59. To be judged a success as Ambassador to the European Union, he will have to become the champion of **federalist and sceptic** alike, and for ever remain above the charge of having "gone native".

60. All are guaranteed to provide a heady and decadent experience for both **gourmet and amateur** alike.

61. that caused him to fall under the spell of "that unbounded affluence of one ever-present agency for **heart and brain** alike the English language."

62. Nor was it healthy if any legal process failed to command the respect of **lawyer and layman** alike, as was regrettably true of the assessment of damages by libel juries.

63. The Poor Clares in York provide gluten-free wafers in a distinctive shape, in order to avoid this problem for **lay and clergy** alike.

64. ... but there are whispers that the production is already behind schedule, costs are running wild and tempers of **man and beast** alike are fraying fast.

65. But, in many ways, it can also be a source of frustration to **resident and tourist** alike.

66. To the credit of **team and management** alike, they cling steadfastly to progressive principles, playing a composed, passing game good enough to put some ...

67. Essential education is a constant and, at best, joyful challenge for **tutor and pupil** alike.

68. So what might appear, at first sight, to be an easy system proves in practice to be demanding for **assessor and candidate** alike.

69. Yet monuments that would be the glory of any city in Europe are barricaded against **citizen and visitor** alike.

70. ... paid according to the number of patients on their list) and social and financial pressures and constraints mount on **doctor and patient** alike, the incidence of sick families being overlooked is increasingly likely.

71. As general practices continue to grow ... and social and financial pressures and constraints mount on **doctor and patient** alike, the incidence of sick families being overlooked is increasingly likely.

72. And very enjoyable it was, too,

with the producer, Caroline Wright, cleverly catering for **fan and philistine** alike.

73. He has the gift, valuable to **film-maker and novelist** alike, for giving emotion concrete form.

74. ... underestimating the power of nationalism to motivate America's enemies; misjudging "**friend and foe** alike" through a profound ignorance of the country and its culture; - And he has confused **friend and foe** alike by first fighting for the North American Free Trade Agreement (Nafta), and then threatening a trade war with Japan... - Mr Blair's team make much of their leader's readiness to be hard on **friend and foe** alike.

75. They should thumb their noses at **Government and public** alike.

76. His 15-piece big band is the living embodiment of vibrancy, unrivalled in its ability to thrill **mind and body** alike; it also draws most of its personnel from a core of British musicians

77. One of the better bridge simulators around, good for **novice and expert** alike.

78. so many hundreds of thousands of pounds for an admission to be given 24 days prior to the trial, causing anguish to **plaintiff and doctor** alike?

79. The crowd's baiting of Barnes puzzled **player and coach** alike.

80. The spokespeople for the regions involved were unanimous that it would be beneficial for **police and public** alike.

81. What is clear is that sacrifice will be required of **Prince and Princess** alike if the best interests of the monarchy are to be served.

82. Basically, the wild punter displays a lack of application and effort to **recruiter and employer** alike.

83. ... guises the patriarchal international event, the film and television jamborees but it is the Fringe that assaults **resident and visitor** alike.

84. The halcyon days of May 1829, when **orchestra and audience** alike had been captivated by the charm and brilliance of the 20-year-old Mendelssohn seemed heart-achingly remote.

85. They found fertile ground in the Languedoc in particular, where **peasant and nobility** alike were determined to maintain their independence from the encroaching French king, and from the taxes of the ...

86. For having just been signed up by the Lord Chamberlain as both **actor and dramaturge**, he was contractually obliged not only to turn out twice nightly in that season's panto as ...

87. He is in rumbustious form with both **ball and**, as usual, **mouth**.

88. to Gibraltar, where you fly out single on Wednesday and come back married on Friday, for less than £600 for both **bride and groom**, including flights, accommodation in a three-star ...

89. ... supply evidence of local public support and local funding, will to some extent ensure that the public remains in command as both **client and consumer**.

90. ... the admirable soloists, Françoise Pollet and Lucy Shelton, or the chorus, London Voices, as of Boulez himself, who as both **composer and conductor** did little to facilitate the projection of words.

91. Jonathan Miller made his absurdly belated debut at Covent Garden on Wednesday as both **director and designer** of a new co-production (with Teatro dell'Opera di Roma) of *Così fan tutte*.

92. The Willow Song drew an exquisite performance from both **soprano and conductor**.

93. Richard will be David Troughton, currently both **hero and anti-hero**

of Goldoni's Venetian Twins.

94. His literary tastes have long been dominated by foreign affairs: he fell in love with Anna Karenina (both **novel and heroine**) at a tender age, and considers Racine's heroines "very sexy".

95. That resonant French film, *The Return Of Martin Guerre* was remade as *Sommersby*, and Richard Gere, both **producer and star**, had enough clout to ensure that the soul of the film was not devoured by Californian blandness.

96. But as he hovered for months in a coma, both **symbol and victim** of the ultimately dysfunctional family, the lost boy provided an unexpected turning point in the story.

97. "Private banking requires little capital and the added value from services offered can benefit both **client and bank**," explains Mr Cooper.

98. Tax relief is allowed on contributions from both **employer and employee**.

99. His psychology with both **horse and rider** is incredible.

100. For the floors in both **kitchen and bathroom** she chose rustic terracotta tiles.

101. Little's move from Filbert Street to Villa Park may yet prove to be worth the damage it caused to the reputations of both **manager and club**.

102. I forget the name of both **manager and player** involved in this story, but it goes like this: "I've given the lad *carte blanche*."

103. After the tragic death of both **mother and baby**, she finds herself drawn deeper into a conspiracy which involves her in anti-abortion riots and ...

104. It is darkly brooding music, full of wintry imagery (cold flutes), glancing dissonance, and sinewy counterpoint for both **orchestra and choir**.

105. that £2m represented a science-fictional demand for a concern £1.5m in

debt and needing significant investment in both **stadium and squad**.

106. Harris's *Hecuba* effortlessly commands both **chorus and stage**, but she opts too often for noble grief, too seldom for the exhaustion, helpless rage and raw intensity

107. He calculated that it can cost both **employer and employee** 30% more to use a telecentre than to work from home.

108. There is a graphic example of the sort of mess this can get both **firm and client** into.

109. Jason is stealing from both **mother and sister**, and all his energy goes into frenzied self-justification.

110. A trip in Green's *Jag* confirmed just how sturdy both **car and driver** can be, even if neither is in the first flush of youth.

111. With Wales meeting France tomorrow week and this being a critical match for Pontypridd, both **club and country** had seemed to be tugging at his allegiance all week.

112. It was clear that both **counsel and judge** overlooked section 77 and their Lordships suspected that if that had been brought to the judge's ...

113. Both **father and son** won the Somerset Maugham award for their first novels, 20 years apart.

114. Both **governor and minister** are also anxious to push a shift away from security-based lending by banks.

115. In Spain, both **husband and wife** are entitled to a pension after a divorce, if they have fallen on hard times.

116. But both **manager and player** were at odds over the transfer.

117. The birth took place this morning, and both **mother and child** are doing well.

118. Both **novel and play** were

written by a raffish, bisexual former British Army officer: Robin Maugham, nephew of the writer ...

119. ... it should reach a verdict quickly so that both **plaintiff and defendant** know where they stand in the eyes of the law. – Both **plaintiff and defendant** will now have a chance to make an offer to settle through a payment into court.

120. Both **president and First Lady**, of course, "acted dumb" when they appeared, behaving as a typical American couple,

121. In his Lordship's view a payment was not made in respect of a supply unless both **supplier and customer** agreed to treat it as such.

122. Though they are in different parts of the country, both **teacher and student** can watch each other playing and listen in high-quality stereo sound.

123. By then he had served as chairman of GEC for nearly 15 years, having been both **chairman and chief executive** of English Electric for the six years before that.

124. For most of the inmates, the instructors become both **father and mentor** for many years after they leave behind the punishing schedule of PT, three-mile runs and early-morning

125. Tuigamala, a bull of a man compared with the whippet-like Paul, is both **friend and training partner**.

126. There is little pretence that the trial is anything more than televised theatre in which the anchormen and commentators are both **judge and jury**.

127. ... European football, would not appreciate how his competition has changed. It has become a hybrid; neither **league nor cup**.

128. That was partly down to Isosceles' parlous finances, partly to the seemingly outdated format, neither **superstore nor local deli**.

129. Neither **victim nor dominatrix**, Polly Harvey turns the question of her own sexuality into a hall of ...

130. He kitted Stearns out in a uniform that bore neither **number nor name**, to keep his identity quiet from Schott.

131. ... from its impenetrable title, Granite, or from a programme-note for this premiere that mentioned neither **piano nor concerto**. It is reminiscent of Gershwin, Bartok, Prokofiev launched on heavily ...

132. Sark has neither **town nor village**

133. Neither **author nor subject** came well out of the reviews of Nicholas Ind's biography of Terence ...

134. There was a very short period when neither **baby nor mother** was getting oxygen.

135. ... Erich Maria Remarque's bestseller *All Quiet on the Western Front* became a celebrated film. Neither **book nor film** was liked by all Germans particularly the Nazis.

136. Neither **horse nor rider** was hurt, but *Bond Line Engaged* was disturbed, later refused and was retired ...

137. Neither **husband nor wife** really want to up sticks and head off for Winchester.

138. But who to blame, Reyes or her translator? The temptation is to blame Reyes, not least because neither **man nor woman** escapes an encounter with the author, behind one of the doors.

139. But neither **mother nor son** managed to get more than one bite, because Someone came along who needed ...

140. Neither **pilot nor politician** need see the mangled bodies.

141. They pitched camp between a small winding river and a ridge covered

with brush wood; but **neither river nor brushwood** afforded the protection they needed in the event of attack.

142. ... the statutory provisions from which the jurisdiction of the county court was derived. Neither **statute nor authority** precluded the making of an exclusion zone order.

143. ... paired with a highly experienced baritone (Zancanaro) in the title role. But the outcome was drab. Neither **tenor nor soprano** set the sparks flying in the palaces and brothels of Mantua.

144. The title could mislead, for *The Romantic Generation* is neither **textbook nor glib survey**. Its 700-odd pages of text and musical examples avoid any attempt to ...

145. With neither **passport nor visa** she was consigned to custody at the airport's police station until ...

146. ... among the first into the winner's enclosure will be the four owners, Chas, Jeff and Simon Gay (**grandfather, father and son**), and Alf Chadwick.

147. A Cardiff litigator complained that chambers would ask what a „telecon“ was (a conference between **solicitor and barrister and client** held over the telephone).

148. And the strident colours envenoming **door, bed and window** accentuate anxiety.

149. A dozen midwives were chosen from a hospital volunteers to look after **mother, father and baby** round the clock.

150. ... he is most comfortable with the close-knit family set-up which Middlesbrough have happily decided to recreate by bringing **mother, father and sister** to Teesside.

151. But their world is now threatened and has been so for many years by **man, tourist and settler** alike.

152. For me, it was an introduction to the rules of Bosnia's war in which the very young, the very old, **man, woman and**

child alike were as likely to be deliberately shot at as the soldier on the front line.

153. Drawing pleasure from the rigours of endless hours lapping the eight mile circuit, during which **driver, car and mechanics** alike take a ferocious battering, is a magic trick which only Leslie can explain.

154. Co-ordination of **hand, feet and eye** to produce an elegantly balanced turn is the elusive goal.

155. As mother cooked their hearty Christmas repast, **father and sons** would haul the tree home ... – **Father and sons** die in car crash.

156. **Fingers and thumb** cast an exclamatory shadow on the blank paper beyond the line containing the portrait.

157. questions, using a new-fangled computer to select question cards apparently at random (the questions were, in fact, known to both **quizmaster and contestants**), and teaching contestants to deliberate over a question to which they already knew the answer

158. ... control officers, who arrive to remove the creature. But the most efficient rodent operative requires neither **computer nor batteries** and is far better company: a cat.

159. However, neither **manager nor the hero of the hour** was talking of cup-tie football after the whistle.

160. The Health Secretary now proposes "the writing-in of the pre-existing obligation into the relationship between **doctor and the employing health body**"

161. She even spent her spare time teaching biology to underprivileged children in the neighbourhood where she lived with **an uncle and aunt**.

162. ... she rubs her **finger and thumb** together.

163. Though I had not been even touched with **knife or stick**, I began to feel my legs doubling up under me.

164. The conventions are simple and understood by **young and old** alike. – ... of impending doom lurks at every corner at Club or Stowe, at Copse or Woodcote and generates a weird fascination among **young and old** alike.

165. And yet there are surely many among us, **old and young** alike, whose vision still extends to the goal of greater union in the peoples and nations of the world.

166. In the mists of Moel Hebog and its neighbour Moel yr Ogof you will find the other great cash crops of **present and past** alike.

167. triumphs of the National Health Service was the concept of the salaried general practitioner, toiling for the health of **rich and poor** alike.

168. He did not expect as much at the end of his life; his modest hope was that "nature, whose sweet rains fall on **just and unjust** alike, will have clefts in the rocks where I may hide, and secret valleys in whose silence I may weep undisturbed"

169. The over-consumption of the world's resources by developed countries is not only immoral, it deprives **both rich and poor alike** of authentic social development. – ... in 1948, the health minister Nye Bevan said: "Medical treatment and care should be made available to **rich and poor** alike in accordance with medical need and by no other criteria."

170. was discarded in 1993 after two seasons the teetering club structure now has a huge financial buttress supporting **strong and weak** alike.

171. He regarded the college as his family and treated **young and old** alike with unfailing courtesy, warmth and infectious good humour.

172. ... affords space to no fewer than

13 letters in response to Henderson's odious psychobabble, with **black and white** alike unanimous in condemnation.

173. The yellow press pictures are confined to modest portions of her paintings and juxtaposed with large areas where **oil and pencil** are deployed in an elusive way.

174. Although he learnt to use a typewriter, creative writing, he said, had to be done with **paper and pencil**.

175. He grabbed hold of Mr Noble's ears and in a twisting movement with **his finger and thumb** degloved the skin of both of them.

176. ... he strained a tendon between **the index finder and thumb**

177. ... in the neighbourhood where he lived with **an uncle and aunt**

178. Despite being in a wheelchair after breaking **a leg and an elbow**

179. ... whether when there was a claim for privilege in respect of confidential communications between **solicitor and client** there was a balancing exercise to be performed

180. In other respects, **father and son** were not much alike.

181. **Father and son** were inseparable.

182. ... it was ridiculous to compare **father and son**.

183. **Father and daughter** remain close.