The *With* Construction (2)

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Foreword

We have considered how the *with* construction by Jespersen can be translated into transformational syntax in the last number of our journal. The cases like this, however, were so much complicated that it was then impossible for us to conclude which is better, the structure (A) or (B), for the construction.[1] Now, we are going to consider the problem once more here.

The feature [±AUX]

The analysis (A) forces us to make the deletion rule sensitive to the feature [±AUX] under this hypothesis, for auxiliary *have* or *be* can be deleted in English. (The deletion rule, however, is not sensitive to the feature [±AUX] in languages like German, for auxiliaries cannot be deleted under the hypothesis (A).)[2]

(1) a. The beer is/has been drunk.
　　 b. We have drunk the beer.
　　 c. With the beer (having) (been) drunk, we started working again.

Now, it appears constructive to ask what X″ ′ may be in the *with* construction of the form below, according to the hypothesis (A).[3]

(2) *With* − N‴ ′ − X‴ ′

P‴ ′ seems to be more acceptable than N‴ ′ and A‴ ′.[4] On the other hand, certain participial constructions (i.e., V‴ ′) may be much better than the others. Consider the following examples.

(3) a. With John mayor of Nagoya, ...
　　 b. ?With John a doctor, ...
　　 c. *?With John ill, ...

By the way, note that (3.b) presumably introduces a third verb into the discussion; i.e., the auxiliary *become,* though we have restricted to *have* or *be* as the auxiliary for the *with* construction in our former paper. Consider the following example.

(4) As John became a doctor, ...

Now, therefore, we had better to abandon the restriction and consider the problem in a wider point of view.

At any rate, the simplest and most straightforward characterization of X''' in the *with* construction appears to be a direct one; i.e., lexical one rather than the one based on the hypothesis of sentential sources, when we consider the following facts. That is, we may characterize the constructions *with* − N''' − V''' for the more permissible dialects and *with* − N''' − [−N] ''' or *with* − N''' − P''' for less permissible dialects in English, where individual restrictions on the third constituent are tied to the lexical entry of the preposition *with* rather than to the deletion transformation as would be necessary under the hypothesis (A). Therefore, whether the *with* construction has V''', X''', [−N] ''' or P''' in the third constituent may be the problem of the marked case rather than the problem of the core. We cannot conclude here which one is better than others, without studying other dialects in English and other related languages; i.e., German, French and others.[5]

"Gaps" in the construction

We have already considered the distributional parallelism between the form *be/have* − N''' − X''' and the *with* construction above, but the form *with* − N''' − X''' was rather imperfect. Let us consider some cases where the parallelism is broken down.

(5)   a.   I have him on my list.
      b.   With him on my list, ...
(6)   a.   I know him.
      b.   ? With him knowing, ...
(7)   a.   I made Mary glad.
      b.   ? With Mary glad, ...
(8)   a.   The train is (not) to start.
      b.   ? With the train (not) to start, ...
(9)   a.   John is eating.
      b.   ? With John eating, ...
(10) a.   It is cold.
      b.   *? With (it) cold, ...

We may conclude now that the initial appeal of the hypothesis (A) derives from an intuition about semantic parallelism between simple nexus and the *with* construction rather than from any kind of distributional (i.e., syntactic) parallelism between the two. The problem is how this semantic intuition can be captured. We will discuss this point below, though the syntactic parallelism rather favors the hypothesis (B) in our former paper.

Note, now, that *with* in the construction can be deleted, where N''' in the construction is not controled by N''' in the matrix sentence. Consider the following examples.

(11) a.   It is cold.
      b.   It being cold, ...
(12) a.   The train is (not) to start.
      b.   The train (not) to start, ...

(13) a. John is eating.

  b. John eating, ...

This kind of transformation, however, cannot be allowed because of Emonds' (1976) argument about deletion.[6] This phenomenon can be formalized as below.

(14) ..... X_i ..... $[_{p'''}$ *with* $-$ Y .....] $_{p'''}$ ..... X_j .....

  1   2   3 $\rightarrow$

  $\downarrow$

  ϕ 2   3

(where Y is not controled by X_i or X_j)

We are going to discuss his argument below. Note that the verb deletion rule needed under the hypothesis (A) would have to be formulated essentially as in (15).

(15) $[_{p'''}$ *with* $-$ N''' $-$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l} have \\ be \\ etc. \end{array}\right\}$ $]_{p'''}$

  1   2   3 $\rightarrow$

  $\downarrow$

  1   2 ϕ

The N''' and the second constituent in the complement of the *with* construction (indicated as X''' in (B)) separates the deleted elements from *with*. Emonds (1976) argues that specified deletions over essential variables should not be considered by the rules of possible transformations, since specified deletion rules should be restricted to strictly a local construction. These considerations rule out any transformation of the type (14) or (15).

Conclusion

After seeing these arguments for and against hypotheses (A) and (B), we have to consider a way how to incorporate advantages of the hypotheses into one. Let us, furthermore, consider the base rules, the transformations, coordinations, control, semantics, the specified subject constraint, binding theory, and etc. for the *with* construction in the next number of our paper.

Notes

1) Cf. our former paper (1982)

(A)

(B)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
P'''\\
|\\
P''\\
|\\
P'
\end{array}
$$

P   N'''   X'''
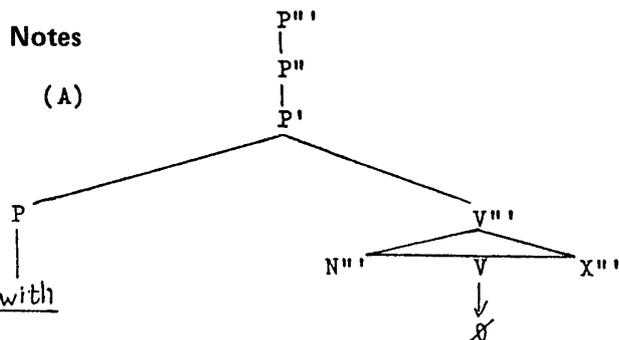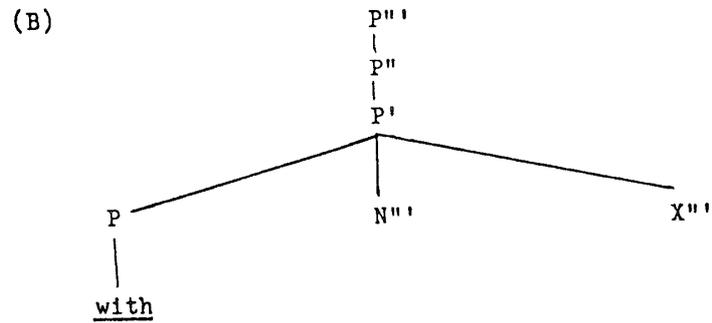
<u>with</u>

2) Cf. Hornstein, N. and A. Weinberg: "Case theory and preposition stranding" in *Linguistic Inquiry*, **12-1** (1981)

3) Cf. our former paper (1982)

     for (A): *with*-V''' or *with* — N''' — V — X'''

     for (B): *with* — N''' — X'''

4) Cf. our former paper (1982)

     (5) $[_{P'}$ *with* $[_{N'''}$ Chomsky$]$ $[_{P'''}$ in mind$]$ $]$

5) Cf. Hornstein, N. and A. Weinberg: "Case theory and preposition stranding" in *Linguistic Inquiry*, **12-1** (1982)

6) Cf. Emonds, J.E.: *A Transformational Approach to English Syntax*, Academic Press (1976)