The *With* Construction (4) ;
from Discourse Point of View

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Foreword

It was seen before that the hypothetical empty subject of the sources containing *have* as their verbs cannot be plausibly argued to be controled by any of the established rules of control[1]. The main reason for this conclusion was that the control of the subject was free under all circumstances and only subject to pragmatic influences of discourse. We may add to this observation, now, the new fact that exactly the same type of pragmatically sensitive but syntactically free control occurs with the *with* constructions whose sources have *be* rather than *have*.

Control (Again)

Consider again the following example.

(1) With John as a member, we are lost[2].

It was observed that the most obvious reading of this sentence is that *John* is in our team, in the other words, that we have John as a member. But given the appropriate circumstances, Jone might well be the member of the other team.

Finally, note that the same range of interpretations is again available when the *with* consists of P-N′′′structure.

(2) with such a player we lost, ...

We may conclude that the control involved in the interpretations of the *with* constructions is primarily pragmatic or related to discourse, and it is unrelated to the syntactic structures that distinguishes the hypothesis (A) and (B)[3].

Semantics

Let us now return to Jespersen's initial observation that the *with* construction represents a simple nexus ; i. e., a subject-predicate combination. This, of course, is the main reason for the superficial plausibility of hypothesis (A). Then, how can the semestics of the *with* construction be described under the hypothesis (B) ? The problem is essentially shown in the sentence (3).

(3) I regard Jone as a genius.

In (3) there is what Vergnaud (1974)[4] called a "secondary predication" between *Jone* and *as a genius*. And note that it is syntactically highly implausible to derive this secondary predication from a sentential source. Jackendoff's semantic theory, however, offers a possibility of assigning the correct interpretation to sentences like (3). In Jackendoff (1976),[5] the semantic function ; THEME would be assigned to *Jone* and the semantic function ; LOCATION to *as a genius*. And THEME-LOCATION is the formal, or logical, representation of predications of the type we find in (3).

Jackendoff's system may also be fruitfully applied to the semantics of this kind of construction. In this respect, we may assign to the preposition *with* the following lexical representation.

$$
(4) \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} with \\ [+P] \\ -[N''' - (X''')] \\ BEING\ (N''', (X''')) \end{array} \right]
$$

(Where BEING is a factor that assigns the function THEME to N''' and the function LOCATION to X''')

The specified subject constraint

A semantic theory like the one alluded to in the previous section has the consequences of turning syntactic direct objects into semantic subjects. One may ask, therefore, whether these semantic subjects play any role with respect to the specified subject constraint[6]. In fact it turns out that they do. Consider the following example.

(5) I regard Jackendoff as proud of himself/*myself.

Jackendoff is syntactically the object of the verd *regard*, but it also functions as the semantic subject of the secondary predication. Consider the following examples.

(6) With Mary and Jennifer (being) in love with each other, Grant and Peter had to become jealous.
(7) With Grant (being) only interested in himself/*myself, I had better look for another boy-friend.

Again, the specified subject constraint appears to be sensitive to the semantic notion of subject rather than to the purely syntactic one[7]. A consequence of this conclusion is that

the specified subject constraint can only operate on a level at which semantic subjecthood has been determined. But such a conclusion is quite in line with recent proposals by Chomsky that the specified subject constraint, and also the tensed S constraint, are what he calls rules of opacity operation of the level of logical form[8].

We may conclude that there are several arguments that favor the phrase structure hypothesis (B) over the deletion hypothesis (A). However, the hypothesis (A) makes possible the coherent account of the *with* constructions and other prepositional phrases. Therefore, if we abandon the hypothesis (A), we can regard base rule for the complement structure of *with* constructions and the other prepositional phrases.

(8) $P' \longrightarrow (P) - N''' - X'''$

The P in the rule (8) can be deleted in sentences like (9) or (10).

(9)   *with Peter peeling potatoes,...
(10) Peter peeling potatoes, we prepared our supper.

And the P and N''' in the rule (8) can also be deleted in the sentences like the following. Consider the example in (11).

(11) I am working.

(11) can be assumed to have the following structure[9].

(12) I am $[_{P'} with_{N'''} [me]_{V'''} [_V [being]_{P'''} [at\ work]]_{V'''}]_{P'}$

We have investigated into this analysis in considerable detail because the importance of the rule (8) will be presented in the following sections.

Prepositional phrases as islands

A lot of research in transformational syntax has been concerned with determining the structural conditions under which transformational rules can relate two positions in a syntactic structure. Now that we have established the main features of the internal syntax of P''' in English, we can add another feature of how positions inside the P''' can be related to positions outside the P'''. Schematically, we will study cases where a transformation relates X^i (or X^j) to Y in structures like (13).

(13) $...X^i...[_{P'''}...Y...]_{P'''}...X^j...$

And the main question that we will have to answer is whether P''' is essentially effective

for transformational rules, or whether it constitutes an island[10].

It will not be possible, within the limitation of this study, to exhaust all aspects of this area. Furthermore, as will be shown below, certain rules of semantic interpretation and their behavior with respect to P''' will only be considered in passing. Thus, the primary concern of our investigation will be directed to the behavior of movement rules in the situations of the type (13), so it will be concerned principally with cases of extraction of Y out of P''' into the X^i (or X^j) position. The previous studies have been limited to the form P—N'''[11]. In such prepositional cases, of course, the preposition stays behind alone. Therefore, these cases have come to be called "prepositional stranding" by Ross. But prepositional stranding will be seen to be only a special case of a vast range of potential cases of extraction out of P'''.

Conclusion

The present investigation is limited in yet another respect ; it deals only with English. However, English turns out to be good choice, because the language presents a variety of phenomena that sheds light on the question of extractability from P'''. And the recognition that extractability from P''' is the marked case leads us to work on the assumption that prepositional phrases are essentially related to movement rules. In making this assumption, we depart from the common sense in the early transformationalist's tradition ; that the category prepositional phrases are basically effective with respect to the functioning of syntactic transformations. Transformational analysis of prepositional stranding such as Ross's have, therefore, been primarily directed to try to explain why prepositional stranding is not always possible What we have been asking, instead, is why a certain amount of prepositional stranding is possible in the first place. And this is the question that we are hoping to answer in our next number of the journal.

Notes

1) Cf. Chomsky, N. ; "On binding" LI, 11, 1—46 (1980)
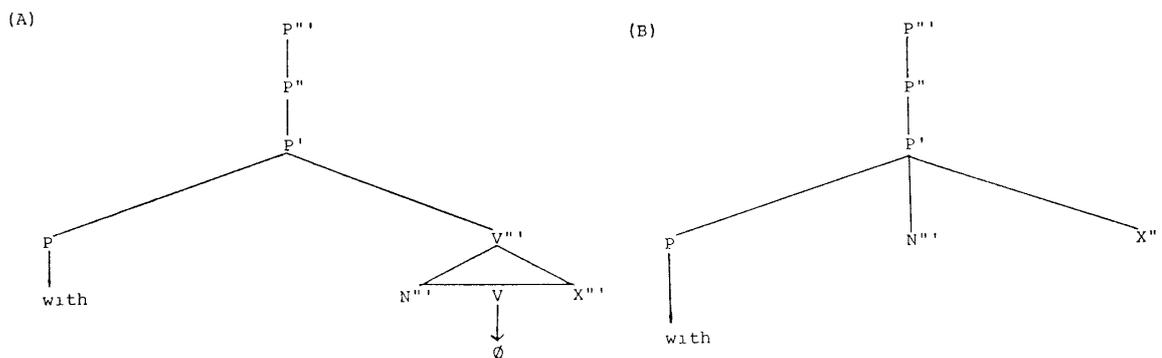2) Cf. Our former paper (1983)
3) Cf. Our former paper (1983)

Fig. I

4) Cf. Vergnaud, J.R.; "French relative clauses" PHD Diss. MIT (1974)

5) Cf. Jackendoff, R.S.; "Constraints in the phrase structure rules" in *Formal Syntax*, Akmajian, A., Culicover, P. and T. Wasow eds. 249—285, Academic Press (1976)

6) Cf. Chomsky, N.; "Conditions on transformation" in *A Festschrift for Morris Halle*, Anderson, S.R. and P. Kiparsky eds. Holt, Rinehart and Winston (1973)

7) Some remarkes regarding the semantic nature of the specified subject constraint can be found in Fiengo and Lasnik (1974), Kayne (1975), Lightfoot (1976) and especially, Vergnaud and Ruoveret (1977).

8) Cf. Chomsky, N.; *The Logical Structure of Linguistic Theory*, Plenum (1975)

9) Cf. Woisetshlaegar,E.F.; *A Semantic Theory of the English Auxiliary System*, 338—345, Indiana Press (1976)

    (i) *be* as an Aux (epistemic)
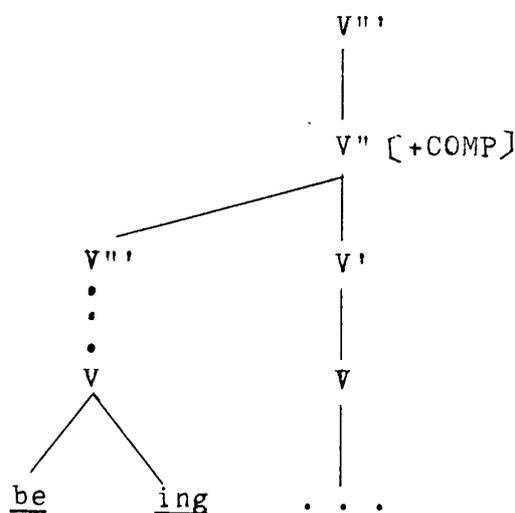
      (a) The engine isn't smoking anymore.

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                              V" '
                               |
                               |
                              V" [+COMP]
                           _____|
                          /           |
                    V" '             V '
                     •                |
                     •                |
                     •                |
                     V                V
                    / \               |
                   /   \              |
                  be   ing    . . .
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Fig. Ⅱ

    (ii) *be* as a main verb (The present study deals with this type of *be*.)

      (a) I am working.

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        V" '
         |
         |
        V"
         |_____
         |           \
        V '           \
         |            P" '
         |             •
         |             •
         V             •
         |            P '
         |           / \
         |          /   \
        be        ing    V
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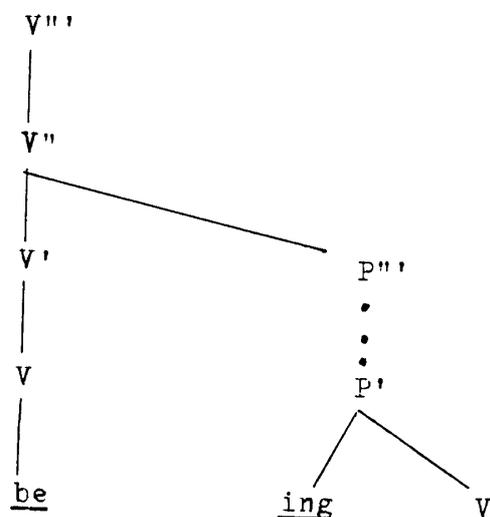
Fig. Ⅲ

10) Cf. Ross, J.R. ; "Constraints on variables in syntax" PHD Diss. MIT, 307 (1967)
11) ibid.