

The *With* Construction (3)

Takeko SAKABE

Foreword

We have seen a lot of arguments against hypothesis (A)¹⁾ in the last number of our paper. Let us, now, consider the question whether the hypothesis (A) has any advantages, and if it does, how these advantages can be incorporated into the hypothesis (B).²⁾ Let us, therefore, consider the base rules, the transformations and coordinations for the *with* construction in the following sections of this paper.

The base rules

In order to generate simply the structure of the type (B), we may hypothesize the following modification of the base rule for the element P'.

- (1) P' — N''' — X'''

Note that this rule suffices to generate all the complement structures of P that we have considered so far. In addition it can provide the structure P — A''', which is thought rather rare in English. Consider the following example.

- (2) Her color changed to pale green.

(1), therefore, may be considered to be well motivated. Note, however, under the hypothesis (B), (1) is not quite rich enough to describe examples like (3).

- (3) a. With Peter still (being) furious about his defeat...
b. With your mother (being) not at home...

It appears that adverbs can also occur in the complement of the *with* construction, for in many such examples these adverbs may well be part of the specifier of the X''', as was mentioned above. But, in addition, such adverbial extensions occur in simple P''' structures as well.³⁾

- (4) a. After not two but three days, they left.
b. This is the cloth of without any doubt the best quality.
c. I think of yes or no.

Note, furthermore, that the similar type may occur for the complement of the element N.

- (5) The quick conquest of the city *with* only a handful (of) people in the last phase of the battle,...

Under the assumptions of the X-bar theory such partial phenomena are likely to be missed. We may, then, conclude that the rule (1) must be modified so as to include some adverbial elements.

The transformation

Another problem under the X-bar theory is that certain transformations may apply within P''' as well as within V''' domain. Consider the following.⁴⁾

- (6) a. With the new member of our team in the defence...
b. With in the defence the new member of our team...

(6a) is an example of $P-N'''-P'''$, which is generated by (1). But (6b) has the form $P'-P'''-N'''$. Note that a similar inversion transformation occurs in corresponding sentences.

- (7) a. John has positioned the new member of our team in the defence.
b. John has in the defence the new member of our team positioned.

It is not, however, correct to assume (6b) is derived from some sentential source like (7b) to which some inversion rule has applied. Instead, there is no reason why that rule should not apply to (6a) directly. The inversion rules applied to the complement of P' may be different from other similar rules applied to sentences.

The next rule to be considered here is the transformation that extraposes modifying clauses, comparative clauses, superlative clauses and the like. This rule is involved in the following examples.⁵⁾

- (8) a. We got the same food that we ate yesterday on our plates.
b. We got the same food on our plates that we ate yesterday.

A modifying clause is moved to the end of the cycle containing that clause, then extraposed to the end of the cycle containing that phrase. This same rule applies in the *with* constructions.

- (9) a. With that tie that he got from his sister (wearing) around his neck...
b. With that tie (wearing) around his neck that he got from his sister...

In these sentences the normal reduction process has been applied.

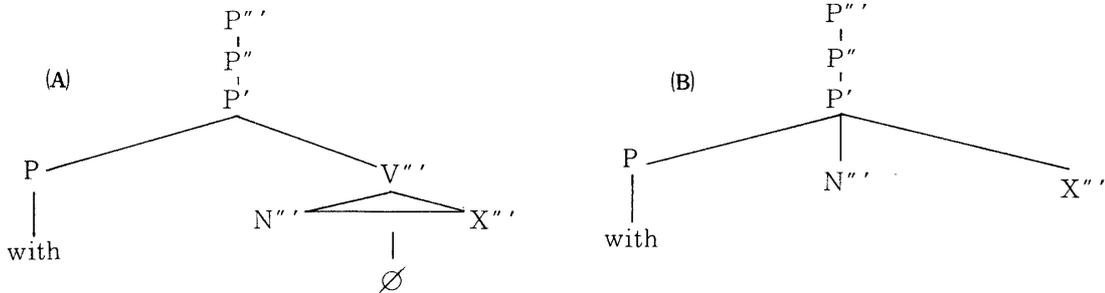
Conclusion

It was seen above that the hypothesis (A) has so many advantages that it might be too early to make any decision now. Let us, therefore, consider problems as to control (again, for we discussed this problem in our first number), semantics, the specified subject constraint and so on, in the next number of our paper.

Notes

1) Cf. our former paper (1983)

2) Cf. our former paper (1983)



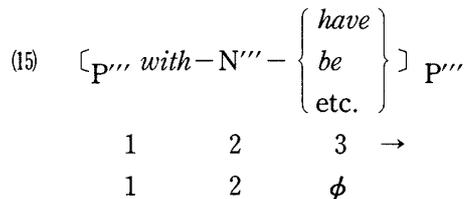
3) Cf. Ross, J.R. : "Constraints on variables in syntax" PHD Diss., MIT, 309 (1967)

4) Cf. Lakoff, G. : "Linguistics and natural logic" in *Semantics of Natural Language*, Davidson, D. and G. Harman eds., 549 (1972)

5) Cf. Langacker, R. W. : "Movement rules in Functional perspective" *Language*, 50-1, 630 ~ 664 (1974)

6) Cf. Williams, E. S. : "Across-the board application of rules" *Linguistic Inquiry*, 8, 419 ~ 423 (1977)

7) Cf. our former paper (1983)



8) Cf. Koutsoudas, A. : "Gapping, conjunction reduction, and coordinate deletion" *Foundations of Language*, 7, 337 ~ 386 (1971)

Dougherty, R. C. : "A Grammar of coordinate conjoined structures, II" *Language*, 47, 298 ~ 339 (1971)

Jackendoff, R. S. : "Gapping and related rules" *Linguistic Inquiry*, 2, 21 ~ 35 (1971)