A workbook in English syntax

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A WORKBOOK
IN
ENGLISH SYNTAX

(Preliminary version, revised 1976,
with exercises on the syntax of other
selected languages)

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Chapter One: Orientation

There are perhaps 5,000 different human languages spoken around the world, and we know of a great many others which have gone out of use or which have been transformed into another language. Among all these languages, there is a fascinating richness in the variety of speech sounds and sentence patterns that are used. At the same time, this variation is not limitless. There exist striking and deep-seated similarities among the world’s languages.

Linguistics is the study of what all human languages have in common, and the ways in which they can differ from each other. There are several more or less distinct, but interacting, aspects of the study of language that we need to distinguish at the outset. These become apparent when we consider how any given language works. To communicate with someone else in any given language, we must pair that which we wish to convey with a sequence of sounds. The linking of meaning and sound is mediated by various other linguistic features, comprising these more or less distinct but interacting areas.

The study of the meaning of sentences (and of individual words) is referred to as semantics. The arrangement of words to form sentences, and the relationships among sentences, fall under syntax. The formation of words from meaningful units (morphemes) is termed morphology. The specification of the articulation and perception of speech sounds comprises phonetics. The sound patterning found in words and sentences constitutes the area of phonology.

In this workbook, the focus is on syntax. We will also be looking at semantics, morphology, and to a much lesser extent phonetics and phonology, where these interact with syntax.

It will be useful to review at the outset several basic concepts in syntax and related areas.

A. Grammaticality

Some arrangements of words are well-formed or grammatical sentences in a given language, while other arrangements are ill-formed
or ungrammatical. For example, if the words gave, go-ahead, the, to, MacDonald, Cartier, are arranged as in 1a, b, then we have grammatical sentences of English, but if the words are arranged as in *2a, b, c, then we have ungrammatical sentences. The asterisk * is used to mark a sentence judged as ungrammatical.

1. (a) MacDonald gave the go-ahead to Cartier.
   (b) Cartier gave MacDonald the go-ahead.

2. (a) *MacDonald gave go-ahead to Cartier.
   (b) *Cartier the go-ahead to MacDonald gave.
   (c) *Cartier gave the.

It is important to realize that these judgements of grammaticality are based on introspection by someone who is a native speaker of English or who has native-like command of the language. This becomes quite obvious when we examine sentences of other languages: only a native speaker of Nitinat, or a person with native-like control of that language, can confirm that 3 is grammatical, and *4 ungrammatical, in Nitinat. (This is an Indian language spoken on the west coast of Vancouver Island.)

3. Tcėwtycw ?E?is ?a ?Qyoqi?t ?as. 'he will tickle you'
   4. *Tcėwtycw ?E?is a ?Qyoqi?t ?as. 'I'll tickle you' (lit.)

B. Competence and Performance

Judgements of grammaticality are based on a person's knowledge of his or her language: this knowledge is referred to as linguistic competence. In spite of having native competence in a language, a person might occasionally use an ungrammatical sentence, for example,
someone might start to say sentence 1a, but then hesitate and stop: the result could then be *2c. One's actual use of the language, or linguistic performance is not a wholly accurate reflection of one's linguistic competence, but represents other influences as well.

Most of the time (but not always) when we are studying linguistic competence, we ignore other factors that go into performance. For example, even sentences that are unlikely to be ever actually used, perhaps because they are either obvious or false like (a) – (b) below, may be judged grammatical and studied.

5. (a) Your eyes lie on either side of your nose.
   (b) Leif Eriksson seems to have visited Vancouver Island in the year 995.

C Paraphrase Relationships

The set of words used in example 1 can be arranged in two different ways, as in 6a, b, that nevertheless convey the same meaning. That is, 6a and 6b are paraphrases of each other. (Can you describe the syntactic differences between 6a and 6b?)

6. (a) Cartier gave the go-ahead to MacDonald.
   (b) Cartier gave MacDonald the go-ahead.

The syntactic relationship between 6a, b is a regular one for English, as the examples in 7 attest. Nevertheless, the correct statement of the relationship is non-trivial: if we rearrange the words of 7c and 8a on the pattern of 6 and 7, then ungrammatical sentences *7d and 8b are the result.

7. (a) The city awarded a contract to Bill.
   (b) The city awarded Bill a contract.
   (c) Angelo's delivered a piping hot pizza to the party.
   (d) *Angelo's delivered the party a piping hot pizza.

8. (a) MacDonald rode the train to Moncton.
   (b) *MacDonald rode Moncton the train.
Semantic Relations

To establish that a paraphrase relation exists, it is necessary to examine the meaning of the relevant sentences more closely than we have done so far. One important aspect of the logical form of a sentence involves the semantic relations of the nominals. (Sometimes, semantic relations are referred to as thematic relations.) Sentence 9 describes an act of giving. The one carrying out the action, the agent (or actor), is Smith; the recipient is Jones. The entity most affected by the activity (here, the item that the agent transfers to the recipient), is called the patient (or theme). The patient in 9 is a present. There is also a time expression, yesterday, in this sentence.

9. Smith gave a present to Jones yesterday.

If we construct a paraphrase of 9, then we are constructing a sentence with the same semantic relations as 9, even though the form of the sentence differs. Thus, 10 is a paraphrase of 9, in that the agent, recipient, patient, and time expression (as well as the activity expressed by the verb) can be seen to be identical.

10. Smith gave Jones a present yesterday.

(It should be evident that the linguistic notion of paraphrase differs in important ways from the sense in which this term is employed in English composition.)

Semantic relations such as agent, recipient, time, are relatively straightforward. The notion of patient or theme is more elusive. In general, we can characterize the patient as the affected being or object. For action verbs, it is clear what to identify as the patient (as underlined in 11). For a verb of motion, the patient is the entity in motion (12). The transferred item with a transactional verb (13); with certain verbs of transportation, apparently both the nominal which is also agent and the transported item are patients (14); with a verb of consumption, the patient is the entity
consumed (15), and so on.

   Bill helped John.
12. Mrs. Trent left.
   The children ran out of the room.
   A huge truck approached the roadblock.
13. Salley gave an avocado seedling to Barbara.
   We sent a strong protest to the working committee.
14. John brought the newspaper to me at 10 a.m.
   We carried the injured dog to the side of the road.
15. Pat ate a cheeseburger.

It is important to distinguish the recipient with a verb of transfer or transaction (16) from both benefactive and delegative. A person who benefits from an action verb which is not inherently one of transfer or transaction is the benefactive (17). If an action is carried out by a person in someone else's place, then the latter is the delegative (18). Some sentences are ambiguous between benefactive and delegative (19).

16. (a) Sarah gave some ice cream to her children.
    Nathan passed a note to Suzie.
    Mr. and Mrs. Duncan sent congratulations to their neighbours.
    (b) Will received a present from his uncle.
17. I dug up some potatoes for John.
    Tom Smith cut the grass for us.
    Mabel made a quilt for me.
18. A lawyer went to the hearings on subway construction for me.
19. I can't repair the car for you.
    Clark gave a speech for Stanfield.
The agent and patient in sentence (20) are Bob and Joe,
respectively. The third nominal, axe, fulfills a semantic role similar to agent, but one that is nevertheless distinct. The role of axe in (20) is controlled by the agent, Bob; axe here is the object that the agent uses to carry out the action. The semantic relation of axe is thus that of instrument.


An instrument is typically, but not necessarily animate, cf. (21).


Two other major classes of semantic relations are those of time and place. A time expression can refer to a point in time (22), duration (23) or any one of a number of other temporal aspects.

22. The battle began at dawn.
Bill left in the morning.
I first realized the seriousness of the matter yesterday.

23. We have to wait (for) two hours.
John talked all evening.
I only closed my eyes for a second.

Among the types of place expressions are location (24), destination (sometimes called goal) (25), and source (26).

24. The demonstration was held in Edmonton.
Bicycles must be left outside.
Barrett was sitting near Bennett.

25. We are going to Kamloops tomorrow.
Too many salesmen have been coming to my house.

26. Most of the delegates are from Edmonton.
John has just arrived from Kamloops.

E (Central) Grammatical Relations

Distinct from the notion of semantic relation is the notion of grammatical relation, i.e. concepts like subject, direct object,
and indirect object. It is true that there is a link between the two concepts: hence, agent and patient typically function as (active) subject and direct object. Nevertheless, there is a difference between semantic and grammatical relation. For example, the recipient nominal Williams is the indirect object of (27) but the subject of (28); the patient nominal oilfield is the direct object of (29) but the subject of (30). In fact, a paraphrase relation in general holds between two sentences in which the semantic relations are the same but the grammatical relations are different.

27. The city awarded a large contract to Williams.
28. Williams was awarded a large contract by the city.
29. Panantarctic Limited has discovered a new oilfield.
30. A new oilfield has been discovered by Panantarctic Limited.

The various grammatical relations have associated syntactic properties which enable us to set up tests for a given grammatical relation. Some of the tests reflect universal syntactic laws, i.e. constraints governing all languages, and others are due to language-particular restrictions. We will now develop some tests relevant to English. Grammatical relations will be identified with numbers:

1. Subject
2. Direct Object
3. Indirect Object

(i) Word order in English is consistently: subject, verb, direct object.

31. John has lost your chainsaw.

1 verb 2

Hence, a test for subject versus direct object is word order relative to the verb.

(ii) The verb in English, if it is not in the past tense or in the infinitive, agrees in person and number with the subject. (That is, the form of the verb varies, depending
on the person and number of the subject.) We can confirm this by altering the subject of (31), as in (32) versus the direct object (33). Only in (32) does the form of the verb vary.

32. The Smiths have lost your chainsaw.
   
   1 verb 2
   
I have lost your chainsaw.

33. John has lost your chain saws.
   
   *John have lost your chain saws.

If we look at pronouns functioning as subjects and direct objects, then we can see that grammatical relation determines case form. (By case is meant the difference between the forms in column I versus column II below.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>him</td>
<td>her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us</td>
<td>them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>she</td>
<td></td>
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A subject must be in the form listed in column I (the nominative case); a direct object must be in the form listed in column II (the accusative case), as the following sentences demonstrate.

34. I saw him.
   *Me saw him.
   *I saw he.

1 2

(Case can be manifested either by a difference in form, as the nominative versus accusative, or, as we'll see below, by the presence of a preposition.)

A further test in English for subjects is revealed by the sentences in (35) (due to Paul M. Postal).
35. (a) Not many Australians have visited Gleichen.
   (b) My brother knows not many Australians.

The expression _not many_ can modify a subject, as in (35a), but not a direct object. So we can test for subjecthood by adding the expression _not many_ to a sentence. By this test, for example, the patient nominal of (36), _students_, can be seen to be the subject of (36a), but not of (36b).

36. (a) (Not many) students have been admitted by the university this year.
   (b) The university has admitted (*not many) students this year.

For indirect objects, the most obvious test is case: here, though, we mean not a distinctive form for pronouns, from, say, direct objects, but rather, the presence of the preposition _to_.

37. John gave a present to Mary.
   1 Verb  2  3

Moreover, word order is typically: 1 Verb 2 3. Given the tests developed so far, we conclude that the recipient nominal Mary of (37) is the indirect object, but in (38), that same recipient nominal is the direct object.

38. John gave Mary a present.
   1 Verb 2

Some terminology pertaining to grammatical relations will now be introduced.

We group the grammatical relations of subject, direct object, and indirect object together as the _terms_. Any nominal that is not one of these three is a _non-term_. The non-terms in (39) are labelled _NT_.

39. (a) The university admitted few students this year.
   1  2  NT
John was waiting in the hallway with obvious impatience. The terms and non-terms are dependents of a given verb. The network of relations between verb and dependent nominals in sentence (40) is shown in (41).

40. They sent the bill to me by mistake.

We sometimes refer to the terms and non-terms as central grammatical relations to distinguish them from, for example, the relations borne by the modifiers of the direct object in (42):

42. I have sold those three paintings that you asked me about.

in (42) are dependents of the direct object paintings. For now, we will label the relations simply as Modifier (MOD):

43. have sold

(The terminology and notation introduced in this section are due to David M. Perlmutter and Paul M. Postal, with the exception of Modifier. Perlmutter and Postal distinguish a number of relations within the general concept of a modifier of a nominal.)

An alternative way to draw the network of a clause places the verb on an arc as well, that arc being labelled P (for Predicate). Thus (40) can be diagrammed as in 41'. below.

41'.
Or, the relations may be shown in matrix format. For a sentence like (40), the matrix has a single row (41''), but for other sentences, two or more rows would be needed.

41''. They bill me mistake sent.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | NT | P |

F. Overlay Relations

Every nominal bears a semantic and a grammatical relation; in addition, some nominals bear an overlay relation.

One example of this is the nominal what in (44). This nominal is patient and direct object, and in addition it is a question word. A question word in English receives special syntactic treatment (for example, it must come at the beginning of the clause), and we say that this is due to its overlay relation, Q' (Q prime).

44. What did you give to John?

2 1 3

Q'

There are a number of other overlay relations, which are treated in a later chapter.

G. Relationships Among Sentences

We have studied the paraphrase relationship previously. A paraphrase relations holds between a pair of sentences when (i) the nominals and verb are the same in meaning, though not necessarily, form, (ii) the sentences are of the same sentence type (statement, question, command, etc.) and (iii) the conceptual relations borne by the nominals are the same.

Conceptual relations (elsewhere called, rather unsatisfactorily, semantic or thematic relations) include agent (the person or animal carried out an action) with verbs of action, including verbs of transfer, and recipient (the person or animal receiving some entity) with a verb of transfer, and so on. We can see for example that sentences (a) and (b) are paraphrases: both contain the same nominals and verb and both are statements; in each sentence, Stanley is the
agent and me the recipient. (The conceptual relation of records is the same in both sentences as well: the item being transferred.)

(a) Stanley will bring some records to me.
(b) Stanley will bring me some records.

But paraphrases can differ in various ways. (i) Firstly, the syntactic (grammatical relations of the nominals may be different. In (a) above records is the direct object while me bears that relation in (b). Paraphrases can also differ in the presence or absence of overlays, as well as in something known as presuppositions (see section 5.2, pp. 87-89 below). Sentences may be related in other ways. For example, corresponding to the statement (45a) is the question (45b); corresponding to the positive sentence (46a) is the negative sentence (46b).

45. (a) Stanley has brought some records.
(b) Has Stanley brought some records?
46. (a) Michael waved.
(b) Michael didn't wave.

We will have to study these kinds of relationships.

Observe that they way a question can be formed varies: besides (45b), we have the related questions of (47).
47. (a) Stanley has brought some records, eh?
(b) Stanley has brought some records, hasn't he?
(c) Stanley has brought some records, has he?
H Ambiguity

Consider whether sentences (48a, b) are paraphrases of each other.

48. (a) John and Sue got married.
    (b) John got married and Sue got married.

(48a) and (48b) may or may not be paraphrases. In one meaning of
(48a), that in which John married someone other than Sue, (48a, b)
are paraphrases. But in the meaning of (48a) in which John and Sue
married each other, (48a) is not paraphrased by (48b), but rather
by a sentence like (49):

49. John married Sue.

In summary, 48a = 48b
    and 48a = 49
    but 48b \neq 49.

When a sentence has two distinct meanings, like (48a), then
we say that it is an ambiguous sentence.

I Coreference

A further aspect of meaning which frequently interacts with
syntax is the area of coreference. Compare sentences (50a) and (50b).
In each sentence of (50a), two distinct persons are being referred
to. In (50b), even though there are the two nominals Bill and himself,
it is necessarily the case that only one person is being referred to.

50. (a) Bill defended John.
    Bill defended him.
    (b) Bill defended himself.

We can indicate that two nominals are coreferential by using
the letters \( i \) and \( j \) as subscripts: \( \text{Bill}_i \) defended \( \text{him}_j \); \( \text{Bill}_i \) defended
\( \text{himself}_j \).

Coreference is manifested in various ways in English. When
subject and direct object are coreferential, then a reflexive pronoun
(ending in -self) is used as the direct object; if the subjects (or
other nominals of two more or less separate sentences are coreferential,
Then pronouns or epithets are used, as in (51a, b). If a subordinate subject is coreferential to the subject or direct object of the main clause, then the subordinate subject is sometimes not overtly expressed, as in (52).

51. (a) If you see John\(_i\), tell him\(_i\) I was here.
(b) If you see him\(_i\), tell John\(_i\) I was here.
(c) If you see John\(_i\), tell the idiot\(_i\) I was here.

52. (a) Brian\(_i\) tried ___\(_i\) to get the cheque.
(b) Martha\(_i\) refused ___\(_i\) to join the club.
(c) Brian\(_i\) sent Klaus\(_i\) ___\(_i\) to get the cheque.
(d) Martha\(_i\) invited Arnold\(_i\) ___\(_i\) to join the club.
(e) Martha\(_i\) refused in front of Arnold\(_i\) ___\(_i\) to join the club.
(f) Klaus\(_i\) was sent by Brian\(_i\) ___\(_i\) to get the cheque.
(g) Arnold\(_i\) was invited by Martha\(_i\) ___\(_i\) to join the club.

**J Tense**

When a verb shows time reference overtly in its form, as in (53a, b) then the verb is said to be tensed. The verbs of (53a) are Past Tense, and those of (53b) are Non-Past Tense (referring variously to present or future time or habitual action. A verb lacking overt time reference in its form is said to be infinitival. The underlined verbs of (54) are infinitival; observe that the word to may or may not be present with a given infinitival.

53. (a) John bought a new car.
   Everybody believed that the world was flat.
(b) John buys a new car every year.
   John believes that the world is flat.
   John writes his pilot's examination tomorrow.

54. (a) John expects to buy a new car.
   Everybody believed the world to be flat.
   They made John write the exam all over again.
Chapter Two

2.1 Passive

Compare the pairs of sentences in (1) - (4). Verify that, in each set, the (a) and (b) sentences are paraphrases of each other. What differences are there between the corresponding (a) and (b) sentences? (Check grammatical relations or word order, as well as morphological form.)

1. (a) Hees accused Turner of favouritism.
   (b) Turner was accused of favouritism by Hees.

2. (a) Fischer checkmated Spasky in the third game.
   (b) Spasky was checkmated in the third game by Fischer.

3. (a) The oil companies have transferred a third of Canada's seismic exploration crews from Calgary to Houston.
   (b) A third of Canada's seismic exploration crews have been transferred from Calgary to Houston by the oil companies.

4. (a) The arduous task ahead of him frightened John.
   (b) John was frightened by the arduous task ahead of him.

Consider sets (5-6). Both sets are derived in the same way as (1-4): the direct object has been advanced to subject. In (5b, 6b), the direct object has been advanced with the prepositional phrase that follows it, and in (5c, 6c), that prepositional phrase has stayed behind. But the judgements of grammaticality between (5) and (6) differ. Why?

5. (a) A salesman accosted the man in the checked suit.
   (b) The man in the checked suit was accosted by a salesman.
   (c)*The man was accosted by a salesman in the checked suit.

6. (a) A salesman accosted the man in a forceful manner.
   (b)*The man in a forceful manner was accosted by the salesman.
   (c) The man was accosted in a forceful manner by the salesman.
In (7), all three sentences are grammatical. How can this be so?

7. (a) The mounties arrested the man in the parking lot.
    (b) The man in the parking lot was arrested by the mounties.
    (c) The man was arrested in the parking lot by the mounties.

The sentences of (8) below differ in one respect from the passives that we have examined so far. What is it? Find some reasonable active paraphrases for the sentences of (8).

8. (a) Smedley has been fired.
    (b) The mayor was criticized for his indecision.
    (c) The meeting has been postponed several times.
    (d) The cabin was completely destroyed.
    (e) The windows have been broken several times.
    (f) I've been robbed.
    (g) I've been stung.

2.2 Arguments for a Passive Rule

To account for the paraphrase relation between actives and passives, we assumed an initial representation for passives which resembles the overt form of actives, and a rule which converted this representation, in appropriate ways, to yield the passive.

What other facts about English sentences besides the paraphrase relation, are accounted for by this kind of analysis? The following sets of sentences provide pertinent data.

(i) Verb form

9. (a) An astronomer in B.C. has an interesting theory.
    (b) Two planets have atmospheres much like the earth's.

10. (a) Several kids are outside.
    (b) The dog is outside.

11. (a) An astronomer in B.C. has discovered two more planets.
    (b) Two more planets have been discovered by an astronomer in B.C.
12. (a) Several kids are chasing the dog.
   (b) The dog is being chased by several kids.

(ii) Missing nominals

13. (a) Officials estimated the damage as minimal.
   (b) Officials estimated the significance of the protest as minimal.
   (c)*Officials estimated as minimal.

14. (a) The damage was estimated as minimal by officials.
   (b)*The damage was estimated the significance of the protest as minimal by officials.

(iii) Selection restrictions

15. (a) A little old lady befriended Clyde.
   (b) All the dogs in the neighbourhood befriended Clyde.
   (c)*Two spiders befriended Clyde.
   (d)*Some rocks befriended Clyde.

16. (a) Clyde was befriended by a little old lady.
   (b) Clyde was befriended by all the dogs in the neighborhood.
   (c)*Clyde was befriended by two spiders.
   (d)*Clyde was befriended by some rocks.

2.3 Locatives as Subjects

What is the relationship between the (a) and (b) sentence in each pair below. How can this relationship be accounted for?

17. (a) The British army quietly advanced, while the people slept in Corinth.
   (b) The British army quietly advanced, while Corinth slept.

18. (a) People waited impatiently in Inuvik for non-stop monorail service to Edmonton.
   (b) Inuvik waited impatiently for non-stop monorail service to Edmonton.
There are two possibilities for the initial representation of the time clause of (18b):

I ... while PRO slept in Corinth.

II ... while Corinth slept.

Representation I resembles the form of (18a), while in representation II, Corinth is taken to be a metaphor for the people of Corinth. Use the following sentences to show that representation I is better.

19. (a) The people of Corinth slept in Athens.
   (b)*The people slept in Corinth in Athens.
   (c)*Corinth slept in Athens.
   (Based on observations by David M. Perlmutter.)

2.4 Time as Subject

Suggest an analysis for the (b) sentences below that will account for their relationship to the (a) sentences.

20. (a) We saw the most tourists ever in 1968.
   (b) 1968 saw the most tourists ever.

21. (a) They witnessed an embarrassing scene that night.
   (b) That night witnessed an embarrassing scene.

2.5 A General Restriction

The following sentences are ungrammatical. In what way does the formation of them differ from the sentences we have studied previously?

22. (a)*The most tourists ever were seen by 1968.
   (b)*An embarrassing scene was witnessed by that night.

Formulate a general restriction to prevent sentences like these from being formed.

2.6 Instruments as Subjects

Consider pairs of sentences like those below. In what respects are the (a) and (b) sentences alike, and in what respects are they different?
23. (a) You can cut wood easily with this saw.
    (b) This saw cuts wood easily.

24. (a) A demonstrator broke this window with a brick.
    (b) A brick broke this window.

There are two possibilities for the initial representation of (23b), roughly:

I  PRO cuts wood easily with this saw
II This saw cuts wood easily.

Use the sentences below, in combination with the general constraint formulated in the previous section, to support representation II.

25. (a) Wood is cut easily by this saw.
    (b) This window was broken by a brick.

2.7 Indirect Objects

Describe the relationship between the (a) and (b) sentences in each pair below. What are the differences between them? Construct an analysis to account for your observations.

26. (a) Paul gave some blues records to his girlfriend.
    (b) Paul gave his girlfriend some blues records.

27. (a) They awarded an honourary doctorate to the lieutenant-governor.
    (b) They awarded the lieutenant-governor an honourary doctorate.

28. (a) Dr. Frankenstein has sent many peculiar samples to our lab.
    (b) Dr. Frankenstein has sent our lab many peculiar samples.

29. (a) Mo tells the same joke to everybody he meets.
    (b) Mo tells everybody he meets the same joke.

30. (a) The payroll office mailed a notice to all new employees.
    (b) The payroll office mailed all new employees a notice.
31. (a) The guru gave some good advice to Sidney.
(b) The guru gave Sidney some good advice.
32. (a) Tiny gave a good beating to the bully.
(b) Tiny gave the bully a good beating.
33. (a) Sir John A. Nokes gave many rare books to the university library.
(b) Sir John A. Nokes gave the university library many rare books.

2.8 Feeding Relationship

For each passive sentence below, state the corresponding active sentence. Is it the same as the initial representation? If not, then what rule, besides the passive, is involved in the formation of the sentences in question? How does this rule interact with the passive rule? Why is there no violation of the constraint established in section 2.5?

34. (a) Many fine bark paintings have been given to the museum by an anthropologist.
(b) An exciting job was offered to me by a firm in Saskatoon.
(c) The questionnaire was mailed to all residents by the city.
(d) Brochures were sent to former students by the registrar.
35. (a) The museum has been given many fine bark paintings by an anthropologist.
(b) I was offered an exciting job by a firm in Saskatoon.
(c) All city residents were mailed the questionnaire by the city.
(d) Former students were sent brochures by the registrar.

2.9 Comitatives

In (36-39) below, are the (a) and (b) sentences paraphrases? Justify your conclusion. If you conclude that there is such a
relationship, then formulate a rule to derive the (b) sentences from the same underlying structure as the (a) sentences. (Call the rule Comitative Float.)

36. (a) John and Mary went to the drive-in.
   (b) John went to the drive-in with Mary.
37. (a) Mutt and Jeff had an argument.
   (b) Mutt had an argument with Jeff.
38. (a) Trudeau and Lougheed have never cooperated.
   (b) Trudeau has never cooperated with Lougheed.
39. (a) Marx and Engels wrote the Communist Manifesto.
   (b) Marx wrote the Communist Manifesto with Engels.
What restriction is necessary to account for the varying degrees of grammaticality encountered in the (b) sentences of 40-44?

40. (a) Chartrand, Lemieux, Vallieres, and Godin were arrested on October 16, 1970.
   (b) Chartrand was arrested on October 16, 1970, with Lemieux, Vallieres, and Godin.
41. (a) John and an axe chopped down the old oak.
   (b) John chopped down the old oak with an axe.
42. (a) John and his new Black & Decker made short work of the old oak.
   (b) John made short work of the old oak with his new Black & Decker.
43. (a) An uncompromising corporation and a tough new anti-strike law brought a quick end to a potentially long and militant sit-in.
   (b) An uncompromising corporation brought a quick end to a potentially long and militant sit-in with a tough new anti-strike law.
44. (a) (The) wind and (the) rain ruined the elaborate flower garden.
   (b) *(The) wind ruined the elaborate flower garden with the rain.
What additional restriction on comitatives is exemplified by the following sentences?

45. (a) The queen bee and hundreds of worker bees swarmed around impatiently in my living room.
    (b) ?The queen bee swarmed around impatiently in my living room with hundreds of worker bees.

46. (a) Riel and the other Metis leaders gathered at St. Boniface.
    (b) *Riel gathered at St. Boniface with the other Metis leaders.
    (c) The Metis leaders gathered at St. Boniface with Riel.

47. (a) Louis, Marcia, Bill, Kim, and Alan gathered around the curious object.
    (b) *Louis gathered around the curious object with Marcia, Bill, Kim, and Alan.
    (c) Louis and Marcia gathered around the curious object with Bill, Kim, and Alan.

Apart from the restrictions implied by the sentences above, just how general is Comitative Float? Does it apply to only subjects, or to direct objects and other nominals as well? The sentences below provide some relevant data.

48. (a) I saw Adolf and Bennie.
    (b) I saw Adolf with Bennie.

49. (a) Lasker checkmated Capablanca and Horowitz.
    (b) Lasker checkmated Capablanca with Horowitz.

50. (a) The Police Gazette caters to the bloodthirsty and the perverted.
    (b) *The Police Gazette caters to the bloodthirsty with the perverted.

51. (a) I sent the latest catalogue to Charles, Lawrence, Francis, and Roger.
(b)*I sent the latest catalogue to Charles with Lawrence, Francis, and Roger.

52. (a) Steve is standing near Susan and Ellen.
(b) ?Steve is standing near Susan with Ellen.

Discuss the rule of Conjunct Movement in the light of the sentences below.

53. (a) John and Mary disagreed.
(b) John disagreed with Mary.
(c) Mary disagreed with John.

54. (a) Sonny and Cher sang 12 songs.
(b) Sam and Harry weigh 300 pounds.

55. (a) Sonny is not willing to share the stage with Cher.
(b) Cher is not willing to share the stage with Sonny.
(c) Sonny and Cher are not willing to share the (same) stage.
(d) Sonny and Cher shared the stage.
(e) Sonny shared the stage with Cher.
(f) Cher shared the stage with Sonny.

(Comitative Float has also been called Conjunct Movement. Some sentences above are due to Robert X. Ware.)

2.10 Quantifiers

Confirm that the (a) and (b) sentences below are paraphrases of each other. What is the difference in form between the (a) and (b) sentences? Justify your conclusion.

56. (a) All (of) the band councils have condemned the proposed new Indian Act.
(b) The band councils have all condemned the proposed new Indian Act.

57. (a) Both (of) the silos might collapse.
(b) The silos might both collapse.

58. (a) All (of) the brothers remained in the village.
(b) The brothers all remained in the village.

59. (a) All (of) the passers-by disliked the graffiti.
(b) The passers-by all disliked the graffiti.

60. (a) Both (of) the architects ridiculed their colleague's design.
(b) The architects both ridiculed their colleague's design.

Construct a rule to account for the relationships above (call it Quantifier Float). What restriction must be placed on the rule of Quantifier Float? What is the ordering of this rule relative to other rules? The following sentences provide the kind of evidence you will need to support your answers.

61. (a) The ambassadors dealt with all (of) the important issues.
(b) The ambassadors all dealt with the important issues. (b \not\equiv a)

62. (a) Three corporations sold all (of) their shares.
(b) Three corporations all sold their shares. (b \not\equiv a)

63. (a) These draughtsmen prepared all (of) the plans.
(b) These draughtsmen all prepared the plans. (b \not\equiv a)
(c) All (of) the plans were prepared by these draughtsmen.
(d) The plans were all prepared by these draughtsmen.

64. (a) John kissed both (of) the girls.
(b) John both kissed the girls.
(c) Both (of) the girls were kissed by John.
(d) The girls were both kissed by John.

Quantifiers include all, both, each, many, few, and so on. Which quantifiers undergo Quantifier Float?

2.11 Subject Raising

The sentences below contain subordinate clauses. Identify them for both the (a) and (b) sentences: What are the differences between these two sets? Also, what are the subjects of the (a) sentences and what are the subjects of the (b) sentences? Assuming that the initial representation of the (b) sentences are essentially the same as for the (a) sentences, formulate a rule to derive the (b) sentences. (Call the rule Subject to Subject Raising.)
65. (a) That many farmers will lose their crops this year is likely.
   (b) Many farmers are likely to lose their crops this year.
66. (a) That the accidents are due to faulty axles appears certain.
   (b) The accidents appear certain to be due to faulty axles.
67. (a) That Chief George will invite you to his potlatch is unlikely.
   (b) Chief George is unlikely to invite you to his potlatch.

The sentences below also involve Subject Raising. In what respect, however, does the formation of these sentences differ from that of (65-67)?

68. (a) Everybody believes that his proposal is the best of all.
   (b) Everybody believes his proposal to be the best of all.
69. (a) I assume that Alice has closed her restaurant.
   (b) I assume Alice to have closed her restaurant.
70. (a) We concluded that the new thermometer is totally unreliable.
   (b) We concluded the new thermometer to be totally unreliable.
71. (a) Francis alleges that Will has been plagiarizing.
   (b) Francis alleges Will to have been plagiarizing.
72. (a) Several journalists conjecture that another cabinet shuffle has been decided on.
   (b) Several journalists conjecture another cabinet shuffle to have been decided on.

Use the sentences below to construct an argument in support of the raising hypothesis.

73. (a) These preservatives are frequently alleged to cause cancer.
   (b) The earliest human inhabitants are believed to have reached the island about fifty thousand years ago.
(c) Spinach is believed to be a good source of iron.
(d) Victoria is assumed to be a quiet little town.

Some of the strongest evidence for raising comes from a study of idioms like 'somebody keeps tabs on so-and-so'. What general restriction emerges from a study of sentences like (74) below? In what respect does (75) seem to violate the restrictions? How does the raising analysis overcome this problem?

74. (a) The RCMP kept tabs on Louis.
   (b) *The RCMP considered tabs on Louis.
   (c) The RCMP removed tabs on him.
   (d) Tabs were kept on Louis by the RCMP.

75. Tabs are believed to have been kept on Louis by the RCMP.

2.12 Topics and Dislocatees

We have previously examined sentences like those below. In what respects does the formation of the (b) sentence in each set differ from the formation of passive sentences?

76. (a) I can't stand Adolf.
   (b) Adolf, I can't stand.

77. (a) Leonard gave a necklace to Ms. Baker.
   (b) To Ms. Baker, Leonard gave a necklace.

78. (a) Florence opened the package with a knife.
   (b) With a knife, Florence opened the package.

79. (a) Wayne, (well) he can't stand Adolf.
   (b) The necklace, (well) Leonard gave it to Ms. Baker.
   (c) The package, (well) Florence opened it with a knife.

80. (a) Adolf, (well) I can't stand him.
   (b) Ms. Baker, (well) Leonard gave a necklace to her.
   (c) The knife, (well) Florence opened a package with it.

81. (a) Ms. Baker, (well) Leonard gave her a necklace.
   (b) Ms. Baker, (well) she was given a necklace by Leonard.
Additional Topics in English Syntax

Sections 2.13 through 2.21 are optional. They may be omitted, if time requires, without loss of continuity in later chapters. (See also the note preceding section 2.22)

2.13 More on Unspecified Nominals

We have seen that the agent phrase (chomeur) in a passive is not necessarily overt if it is unspecified. The occurrence of unspecified nominals is actually somewhat more general, though still restricted. Examine the sentences below in this respect. Unspecified nominals are shown by a line ____, while corresponding overt nominals are underlined.

82. (a) Somebody has taken away my drink.
   (b) My drink has been taken away ____.

83. (a) Something destroyed all the newly planted flowers.
   (b) All the newly planted flowers were destroyed ____.

84. (a) Clyde broke the vase ____.
   (b) Mabel cleaned the wall ______.

85. (a) For somebody to protest now would be foolish.
   (b) ____ to protest now would be foolish.

2.14 Benefactives and Delegatives

The distinction between the semantic relations of recipient, benefactive, and delegative can be shown to have syntactic consequences. For each sentence below, establish the semantic and grammatical relations of the nominals. In particular, distinguish the three semantic relations just mentioned, and establish which grammatical relations each may fill.

If we assume that recipients, but not benefactives or delegatives, can be initial indirect objects, then what rule is needed in addition to those previously established to account for the sentences below? Justify this rule explicitly.
86. (a) I built a raft for John.
    (b) I built John a raft.
87. (a) Mr. Nacaco made a thumb piano for me.
    (b) Mr. Nacaco made me a thumb piano.
88. (a) Martha baked a cake for me.
    (b) Martha baked me a cake.
89. (a) I dug some potatoes up for John.
        (ambiguous)
    (b) I dug John up some potatoes.

2.15 Some Further Observations Concerning Indirect Objects

Sentences (90e) and (90g) are ungrammatical: what restriction
must be stated for English sentences? Cf. (91).

90. (a) Arnold has given the new chess book to John.
    (b) Arnold has given the new chess book to him.
    (c) Arnold has given him the new chess book.
    (d) Arnold has given it to John.
    (e)*Arnold has given John it.
    (f) Arnold has given it to him.
    (g)*Arnold has given him it.

91. (a) John gave the wheelbarrow away.
    (b) John gave away the wheelbarrow.
    (c) John gave it away.
    (d)*John gave away it.

Sentences (92b), (93b) are ungrammatical. Explain why, using
grammatical relations.

92. (a) My friends named their second child Jeremy.
    (b)*My friends named Jeremy to their second child.

93. (a) They promoted Jones to third assistant vice-president.
    (b)*They promoted third assistant vice-president Jones.

We correctly predict (94b) to be grammatical. What restriction
makes (95b) ungrammatical?
94. (a) We gave candies to all the kiddies.
   (b) We gave all the kiddies candies.
95. (a) We gave out candies to all the kiddies.
   (b)*We gave out all the kiddies candies.

2.16 Overweight Nominals

On the basis of what we have concluded so far about English, we correctly predict that (96a, b) are grammatical and (96c) is not. But, the grammaticality of (97c) (as well as the ungrammaticality of (97a)) contradicts our predictions. What additional factor accounts for the ill-formedness of (97a) on the one hand and the well-formedness of (97c) on the other?

96. (a) Hundreds of people sent letters to Dr. Morgenthaler.
   (b) Hundreds of people sent Dr. Morgenthaler letters.
   (c)*Hundreds of people sent to Dr. Morgenthaler letters.
97. (a)*Hundreds of people sent letters which expressed very strong opinions concerning the abortion controversy to Dr. Morgenthaler.
   (b) Hundreds of people sent Dr. Morgenthaler letters which expressed very strong opinions concerning the abortion controversy.
   (c) Hundreds of people sent to Dr. Morgenthaler letters which expressed very strong opinions concerning the abortion controversy.

2.17 Non Subject Raising

Develop a rule to account for the relationships manifested by the following sentences.

98. (a) For an amateur gardener to grow bananas in Edmonton is tough.
    (b) Bananas are tough for an amateur gardener to grow in Edmonton.
99. (a) For Howie to spot faulty reasoning is easy.
    (b) Faulty reasoning is easy for Howie to spot.
100. (a) For a beginner to control this glider in a thermal is difficult.
    (b) This glider is difficult for a beginner to control in a thermal.

101. (a) For Spassky to checkmate Fischer had usually been a breeze.
    (b) Fischer had usually been a breeze for Spassky to checkmate.

102. (a) For a pacifist to explain his ideas to an ROTP student is frustrating.
    (b) An ROTP student is frustrating for a pacifist to explain his ideas to.

103. (a) For residents of this town to complain to the mayor is easy.
    (b) The mayor is easy for residents of this town to complain to.

104. (a) For a snowmobile fanatic to live in Victoria must be frustrating.
    (b) Victoria must be frustrating for a snowmobile fanatic to live in.

2.18 Rule Ordering

We have studied among others the following to this point:
- Passive (2-1 Advancement)
- Dative (3-2 Advancement)
- Locative - 1 Advancement
- Time - 1 Advancement
- Comitative Float
- Quantifier Float
- Subject to Subject Raising
- Subject to Object Raising
- Non-Subject Raising
- Agreement.
Verify the validity of the feeding principle for rule ordering. With which subject does a verb agree, when there is more than one nominal assigned this grammatical relation in the formation of a sentence?

The following sentence examples will be useful in this exercise.

105. (a) John is believed to have been criticized rather harshly. (Passive and Subject Raising)
(b) John was seen at the movies with Mary. John was praised by the boss with his colleagues (Passive and Comitative Float)
(c) That we will win now seems uncertain. We now seem uncertain to win.
   (Subject Raising and Agreement)
(d) These puzzles were all difficult to do.
   (Non-Subject Raising and Quantifier Float)

2.19 Unspecified Nominals Again

The following sentences differ somewhat in form from the previous set of non-subject raising examples. What exactly is this additional possibility?

106. (a) To grow bananas in Edmonton is tough.
(b) Bananas are tough to grow in Edmonton.

107. (a) To spot faulty reasoning is easy.
(b) Faulty reasoning is easy to spot.

2.19 Verb-Particle Constructions

The (a) and (b) sentences below are paraphrases, but differ from each other in word order. Describe these.

108. (a) The minister shrugged off the embarrassing questions.
(b) The minister shrugged the embarrassing questions off.

109. (a) Several indignant tenants drew up a petition.
(b) Several indignant tenants drew a petition up.
110. (a) Emily checked out the carburetor.
   (b) Emily checked the carburetor out.

111. (a) Excessive killing by hunters could wipe out the caribou.
   (b) Excessive killing by hunters could wipe the caribou out.

To precisely what position does the particle move in the (b) sentences?
Cf. the following sets.

112. (a) Dumont passed out the report to all his associates.
   (b) Dumont passed the report out to all his associates.
   (c)*Dumont passed the report to all his associates out.

113. (a) Lewis and Madeleine set up the projector in the living room.
   (b) Lewis and Madeleine set the projector up in the living room.

114. (a) The government forced through several controversial bills at the last minute.
   (b) The government forced several controversial bills through at the last minute.

115. (a) The self-proclaimed expert explained away his critics' objections without any sign of emotion.
   (b) The self-proclaimed expert explained his critics' objections away without any sign of emotion.

116. (a) The report was passed out among the audience by three attendants.
   (b) The transmission was checked out by Stan.
   (c) The caribou could be wiped out by too many casual hunters.

2.20 Semantic Relations and Initial Grammatical Relations

We have identified both semantic relations and grammatical relations for the nominals of a sentence. What generalizations can be made about the link between the semantic relation and the
initial semantic relation of a given nominal? Examine both the set of previous examples, as well as those below.

**Change of State Verbs**

117. (a) Billie broke the window with a hammer.
    (b) Fred opened the door with this key.

118. (a) A hammer broke the window.
    (b) This key opened the door.

119. (a) The window broke.
    (b) The door opened.

**Creative Activity Verbs**

120. (a) Joe made a candle with wax.
    (b) Joe used wax to make a candle.
    (c) Martha told a joke.

**Motion and Extent**

121. (a) Clyde ran for two miles.
    (b) The Rockies run for thousand's of miles.

122. (a) Joe fell into the sea.
    (b) This hill falls into the sea.

123. (a) Lucy went to Cochrane.
    (b) This road goes to Cochrane.

124. (a) Lucy took a package to the post office.
    (b) Lucy sent a package to the P.O.

**Transfer Verbs**

125. (a) Lucy gave a package to Joe.
    (b) Lucy sent a thank-you note to our hosts.
    (c) Glenn took a package to Lynn.

126. (a) Lucy got a hot dog for Joe.
    (b) Lucy bought a present for our hosts.

**Creative Verbs**

127. (a) Bebe built a mansion in Acapulco for Dick.
    (b) Clyde made a candle for Wally.
    (c) Pablo painted a portrait for me.
    (d) We did a favour for Fred.
128. (a) Pat painted the house for me.
(b) Norman found the missing coins for his sister.
(c) Old Sam dug up some clams for us.
(d) Glenn took a package to the garage.
(e) Bob Dylan composed several songs for Arlo Guthrie's birthday.
(f) Lucy got Joe a hot dog for his lunch.
(g) This restaurant has substituted margarine for butter.
(h) We'll collect signatures for John's petition.
(i) We'll collect signatures for John.
(j) The instructor pronounced a word for me.

2.21 Review Exercises

129. (a) The surveyors both sent reports to the government.
(b) The government was sent several reports.
(c) The instructor was sitting with some students near the blackboard.
(d) Most of the students are likely to join the ski club this year.
(e) The three boys all left early.
(f) Some clubs were given a lot of money by the student union.
(g) These questions are likely to embarrass the mayor.
(h) The general is widely believed to have been given a bribe.
(i) The students are not likely to all complain at once.
(j) The students are all not likely to complain at once.

EXERCISES IN OTHER LANGUAGES

Sections 2.22 through 2.25 deal with the syntax of Lardil (an Australian Aboriginal language), German, Japanese, and Nitinaht (a Native Indian language from the west coast of Vancouver Island).
There is no loss of continuity from Chapter One to Chapter Two if these exercises are omitted.

### 2.22 Lardil

The Lardil language belongs to the Pama Nyungan family; the Lardil homeland consists of Mornington and Sydney Islands in the Gulf of Carpentaria, north Queensland, Australia. Sentences 130-137 introduce two tests for grammatical relations (case and word order) plus some interesting grammatical categories found in this language.

130. (a) Ngata ratha kun tiinin yakin. 'I speared this fish'
    (b) Ngithun thapu ratha kun tiinin yakin. 'My (older) brother speared this fish'
    (c) Ngata ratha kun yarpujin. 'I speared a snake'
    (d) Ngithun thapu ratha kun ngawun. 'My brother speared a dog'
    (e) Nylingki ratha kun tiinin ngawun. 'You speared this dog'

131. (a) Ngawa petha kun ngithaan. 'A dog bit me'
    (b) Ngawa petha kun ngithunin thapujin. 'A dog bit my brother'
    (c) Tiin ngawa petha kun yarpujin. 'This dog bit a snake'
    (d) Yarpud petha kun ngawun. 'The snake bit a dog'
    (e) Yarpud petha kun ngipeen. 'The snake bit you'

132. (a) Ngawa petha kun yadamanin. 'The dog bit a horse'
    (b) Ngawa yadamanin petha kun (b = a)
    (c) Yadamanin petha kun ngawa. (c = a)
    (d) ?*Yadamanin ngawa petha kun.
    (e) ?*Petha kun ngawa yadamanin.
    (f) ?*Petha kun yadamanin ngawa.
133. (a) Ngithun thapu were kun yadamanin ngithummar.  
' My brother sent a horse to me'
(b) Ngata were kun wirniin ngithummar thapujimari.  
'I sent food to my brother'
(c) Pidngen were kun wirniin ngithummar.  
'The woman sent food to me'
(d) Pidngen wutha kun wirniin ngithummar.  
'The woman gave food to me'

134. (a) Ngata jitha kun ruyin.  
'I ate, am eating the fat (fatty meat)'
(b) Ngata yuud jitha ruyin.  
'I have eaten, have begun to eat the fat'
(c) Ngata jithur ruur.  
'I will eat the fat'
(d) Ngata jithad kun rungad.  
'I ate, am eating the fat'

135. (a) Pidngen matha kun ngukun.  
'The woman got, is getting, water'
(b) Pidngen yuud matha ngukun.  
'The woman has gotten, has begun to get water'
(c) Pidngen mathur ngukur.  
'The woman will get water'
(d) Pidngen mathad kun ngukungad. (rare)  
'The woman has gotten, is getting water'

136. (a) Nyadi mathur ngukur.  
'He and I (e.g. brothers, cousins, grandson and grandfather) will get water'
(b) Ngakudi mathur ngukur.  
'You and I (e.g. brothers, cousins grandson and grandfather) will get water'
(c) Ngaanki mathur ngukur.  
'He and I (e.g. uncle and nephew, father and son, great grandson and great grandfather) will get water'
(d) Ngakuni mathur ngukur.
'You and I (e.g. uncle and nephew, etc.) will get water'

(e) Ngali rathur tiinkur yakur.
'They and I (e.g. three or more brothers; two or more brothers and one or more cousins; three or more cousins; two or more grandsons and one or more grandfathers; a grandson and two or more grandfathers) will spear this fish'

(f) Ngalmu rathur tiinkur yakur.
'They and I (e.g. uncle and two or more nephews; two brothers and one or more nephews of theirs; two or more brothers and father; two or more brothers and one or more sons of theirs; a man and two or more greatgrandsons of his; a man, his father, and his son(s); a man, his uncle(s), and his nephew(s) will spear this fish'

(g) Ngakuli rathur yarputhur.
'You (two or more) and I will spear a snake'

(h) Ngakulmu rathur yarputhur.
'You (two or more) and I will spear a snake'

On the basis of (136a-f), what difference do you predict between (136g, h)? If a woman and her two daughters are getting water, how can the woman report the situation? If two sisters are getting water, how can one of them describe what they are doing?

The following sentences exemplify the enclitic kun (Eventive) and the proclitic yuud (perfective).

137. (a) Ngata yalalî kun. 'I laughed'
(b) Pidngen yalalî kun. 'The woman laughed'
(c) Yadaman yuud puti. 'The horse has fallen'

Consider the sentences below in terms of paraphrase relations, forms, and grammatical relations. Construct an analysis to account for your observations.
138. (a) Ngithun thapu ratha kun tiinin yakin.
   'My brother speared this fish'
   (b) Tiin yaka rayi kun ngithunin thapujin.
   'This fish was speared by my brother'

139. (a) Pidngen matha kun ngukun.
   'The woman got water'

140. (a) Pidngen matha kun tiinin yakin.
   'The woman got this fish'
   (b) Tiin yaka mayi kun pidngenin.
   'This fish was gotten by the woman'

141. (a) Yarpud petha kun pidngenin.
   'A snake bit the woman'
   (b) Pidngen peyi kun yarpujin.
   'The woman was bitten by a snake'

142. (a) Ngawa petha kun ngithaan.
   'A dog bit me'
   (b) Ngata peyi kun ngawun.

143. (a) Yarpud petha kun ngithunin thapujin.
   'A snake bit my brother'
   (b) Ngithun thapu peyi kun yarpujin.
   'My brother was bitten by a snake'

144. (a) Ngata ratha kun ngithunin thapujin.
   'I speared my brother'
   (b) Ngithun thapu rayi kun ngithaan.
   'My brother was speared by me'

145. (a) Pidngen mathur ngukur.
   'The woman will get water'
   (b) Nguka mayithur pidngenngan.
   'Water will be gotten by the woman'

146. (a) Yarpud pethur pidngenkur.
   'The snake will bite the woman'
   (b) Pidngen peyithur yarpudkan.
   'The woman will be bitten by the snake'
147. (a) Ngata rathur tiinkur kanjinkur.
   'I'll spear this wallaby'
   (b) Tiin kanjin rayithur ngithun.
   'This wallaby will be speared by me!

148. (a) Ngithun thapu kupari kun tiinin wangalkin.
   'My brother made this boomerang'
   (b) Tiin wagal kuparii kun ngithunin thapujin.
   'This boomerang was made by my brother'

149. (a) Ngithun thapu were kun tiinin wangalkin.
   'My brother threw, sent this boomerang'
   (b) Tiin wagal wereekun ngithunin thapujin.
   'This boomerang was thrown, sent by my brother'

150. (a) Pidngen were kun wirniin.
   'The woman sent food'
   (b) Werne weree kun pidngenin.
   'Food was sent by the woman'

If the relationships among the following sets of sentences (151-159), are expressable by the advancement rules 2-1 Advancement and 3-2 Advancement, what additional set of sentences do you predict? After making your predictions, examine (160).

151. (a) Pidngen were kun wirniin ngithummar kun.
   'The woman sent food to me'
   (b) Pidngen were kun ngithaan winiin.
   'The woman sent me food'

152. (a) Pidngen were kun wirniin niwenmari thapujimari kun.
   'The woman sent food to her brother'
   (b) Pidngen were kun niwenin thapujin wirniin.
   'The woman sent her brother food'

153. (a) Ngithun kantha were kun wangalkin ngithummar
   thapujimari kun.
   'My father sent a boomerang to my brother'
   (b) Ngithun kantha were kun ngithunin thapujin wangalkin.
   'My father sent my brother a boomerang'
154. (a) Ngithun thapu kupari kun wangalkin.
   'My brother made a boomerang for my father'
(b) Ngithun thapu kupari kun ngithunin kantham wangalkin.
   'My brother made my father a boomerang'

155. (a) Ngata kupari kun tiinin muthan wangalkin ngithummarim thapujimari kun.
   'I made this big boomerang for my brother'
(b) Ngata kupari kun ngithunin thapujin tiinin muthan wangalkin.
   'I made my brother this big boomerang'

156. (a) Pidngen wutha kun wirniin ngithummarim kun.
   'The woman gave food to me'
(b) Pidngen wutha kun ngithunin wirniin.
   'The woman gave me food'

157. (a) Pidngen wutha kun wirniin ngithummarim thapujimari kun.
   'The woman gave food to my brother'
(b) Pidngen wutha kun ngithunin thapujin wirniin.
   'The woman gave my brother food'

158. (a) Ngata wutha kun wangalkin ngithummarim kanthamari kun.
   'I gave a boomerang to my father'
(b) Ngata wutha kun ngithunin kanthan wangalkin.
   'I gave my father a boomerang'

159. (a) Ngithun thapu wutha kun wurtaljin ngithummarim kun.
   'My brother gave meat to me'
(b) Ngithun thapu wutha kun ngithaan wurtaljin.
   'My brother sent me meat'

If the relationships in these sentences are expressable by advance­ment rules, what additional set of sentences do you predict?

160. (a)*Ngata weree kun wirniin pidngenin.
(b)*Ngithun thapujin Weree kun wangalkin ngithunin kanthan.
(c)*Ngithun thapu kuparii kun tiinin muthan wangalkin ngithun.
2.23 German

Sentences (161-163) illustrate how case form serves as a test for distinguishing grammatical relations in German.

161. (a) Ich sah ihn gestern in deinem Haus.
    1 V 2 Time Place
    'I saw him yesterday at your place'
(b) Ich habe ihn gestern in deinem Haus gesehen. (= a)
    1 Aux 2 Time Place V
(c)*Ich habe gesehen ihn gestern in deinem Haus.

162. (a) Der Mann küsste die Frau.
    1 V 2
    'The man kissed the woman'
(b) Der Mann hat die Frau geküsst. (= a)
    1 Aux 2 V
(c) Die Frau hat den Mann geküsst.
    'The woman kissed the man'
(d) Er hat sie geküsst.
    1 Aux 2 V
    'He kissed her'
(e) Sie hat ihn geküsst.
    1 Aux 2 V
    'She kissed him'
(f) Ich habe sie gesehen.
    'I saw her'
(g) Sie hat mich gesehen.
    'She saw me'

163. (a) Ich habe das Mädchen gesehen.
    'I saw the girl'
(b) Das Mädchen hat ihn gesehen.
    'The girl saw him'

Word order is variable, as illustrated by (164). Does ambiguity result? Examine (165) and discuss.
164. (a) Ihm habe ich gestern in deinem Haus gesehen. (= 161a)
(b) Gester habe ich ihm in deinem Haus gesehen. (= 161a)
(c) Die Frau hat der Mann geküsst. (= 162b)
(d) Den Mann hat die Frau geküsst. (= 162d)

165. (a) Die Frau hat sie gesehen.
(b) Die Frau hat das Mädchen gesehen.

Discuss the relationship between semantic relation and grammatical relation in German, based on sentences (166-170). What cross-linguistic generalizations can you make, based on English, Lardil, and German? How do these languages differ?

166. (a) Peter hat den Wagen gekauft.
   \[1 \text{ Aux} \ 2 \text{ V} \]
   'Peter bought the car'
(d) Der Wagen wurde von Peter gekauft. (= a)

167. (a) Klaus hat den Dieb gesehen.
   \[1 \text{ Aux} \ 2 \text{ V} \]
   'Klaus saw the thief'
(b) Der Dieb wurde von Klaus gesehen. (= a)

168. (a) Wolfgang hat Hans eingeladen.
   \[1 \ 2 \text{ V} \]
   'Wolfgang invited Hans'
(b) Hans wurde von Wolfgang eingeladen. (= a)

169. (a) Karin klagte Renate wegen Eifersucht an.
   \[1 \text{ V} \ 2 \]
   'Karen accused Renate of jealousy'

170. (a) Die Transformationsregeln spezifizieren die grammatischen Sätze.
   \[1 \text{ V} 2 \]
   'The transformational rules specify the grammatical sentences'
(b) Die grammatischen Sätze werden von den Transformationsregeln spezifiziert. (= a)
171. (a) Die Studenten verlangen bessere Bücher.
   1 V 2
   'The students demand better books'
   (b) Bessere Bücher werden von den Studenten verlangt. (= a)

172. (a) Biber bauen Dämme.
   1 V 2
   'Beavers build dams'
   (b) Dämme werden von Bibern gebaut. (= a)

173. (a) Man hat die Zustände geändert.
   1 Aux 2 V
   'One changed the circumstances'
   (b) Die Zustände wurden geändert.
   'The circumstances were changed'

174. (a) Man hat die Maschine dorthin gestellt.
   1 Aux 2 Place V
   'One put the machine there'
   (b) Die Maschine wurde dorthin gestellt. (= a)

175. (a) Peter schenkte \{\text{dem} \} Bruder ein Buch zu Weihnachten.
   1 V 3 2 Time
   'Peter gave a book to (his) brother for Christmas'
   (b)*Peter schenkte einem Buch den Bruder zu Weihnachten.

176. (a) Grossmutter schickte uns Kuchen.
   1 V 3 2
   (b) Kuchen wurden uns von Grossmutter geschickt. (= a)
   (c)*Wir wurden Kuchen von Grossmutter geschickt.

2.24 Japanese

Sentences (177-183) illustrate Japanese word order, case marking, and certain interesting grammatical categories distinguished in this language. (This section owes much to S. Kuno, Structure of the Japanese Language, MIT Press.)

177. (a) John ga Mary o mat-u.
   1 2 V-NonPast
   'John awaits, is waiting for Mary'
(b) Mary o John ga matu. (= a)
   2  1  V
(c) John ga matu Mary o.
   1  V  2
(d) Matu John ga Mary o.
   V  1  2

178. (a) John ga Mary ni hon o yat-ta.
   1  3  2  V-Past
   'John gave a book to Mary'
(b) John ga Mary to Kuruma de Kobe ni itta.
   1  Manner  Goal  V
   'John went to Kobe by car with Mary'
179. (a) John wa Mary ni hon o yatta.
   TOP/1  3  2  V
   'John gave a book to Mary'
     'John, (well) he gave a book to Mary'
180. (a) Kore wa hon desu.
   TOP/1  V
   'This is a book'
(b) Kore wa hon desu ka?
   TOP/1  V  Q
   'Is this a book?'
181. (a) Kore wa hon da.
   1  V
   'This is a book' (informal)
(b) Kore wa hon desu. (polite)
(c) Kore wa hon de gozaimasu. (superpolite)
(d) Kore wa hon de aru. (formal writing)
182. (a) Watakusi ga Mary o matu.
   1  2  V
   'I'm waiting for Mary'
(b) Mary o matu. (b may paraphrase a, in context)
   1  V
(c) Anata ga Mary o matu ka?

1  2  V  Q

'Are you waiting for Mary?'

(d) Mary o matu ka? (d may paraphrase c, in context)

2  V  Q

183. (a) is-satu no hon  'one book'
(b) ni-satu no non  'two books'
(c) ip-pon no ki  'one tree'
(d) ni-hon no ki  'two trees'
(e) ip-pai no mizu  'a cup of water'
(f) ni-hai no mizu  'two cups of water'
(g) ip-piki no inu  'one dog'
(h) ni-hiki no inu  'two dogs'

Develop both transformational and relational solutions to account for the following sentences.

184. (a) Smith ga Jones o korosita.

'Smith killed Jones'

(b) Jones ga Smith ni yotte korosareta. (b = a)

185. (a) Sensei ga kodomo o sikata.

'The teacher scolded the child'

(b) Kodomo ga sensei ni yotte sikarareta. (b = a)

2.25 Nitinaht

Nitinaht is a Native Indian language belonging to the Southern branch of the Wakashan family, spoken on the west coast of Vancouver Island.

Sentences (186-194) illustrate the word order, case marking, and encliticization properties of nominals. A few other features of the syntax are illustrated as well.


'The girl is tired'
'The man is tired'

'The girl is hiding in the canoe'
'The girl is hiding from the (her) mother'
'The boy is hiding in the canoe'
'The deer is hiding from the man'

'The girl is watching the deer'
'The man is watching the girl'
'The boy is watching the canoe'

'The girl is pointing at the canoe'
'The deer is hiding from a man'
'The man is watching a girl'
'A girl is watching a deer'

'The girl was tired'
'The girl was hiding in the canoe'
'The girl was watching the deer'
'The girl pointed at the canoe'
'Maybe the girl is tired'
'Maybe the girl is hiding in a canoe'
'Maybe the girl is watching a deer'
'Maybe the girl was hiding in the car'
'Maybe the girl was watching a deer'

193. (a) P'osāk ?a.
'She's tired', 'He's tired'
(b) Dātcīl ?a xāda?ak ?aq.
'The girl is watching it/him/her'

194. (a) P'osāk ?as.
'You're tired'
'You're watching the deer'

195. (a) P'osāk s.
'I'm tired'
(b) Dātcīl s ?oyoqw bowatc ?aq.
'I'm watching the deer'
(c) P'osāk xisic.
'I guess I'm tired'
(d) P'osāk xikic.
'I guess you're tired'

Account for the following sentences in both relational and transformational terms.

(c) ?Aptā?it s ?oxtīt qō?as ?aq.
'The man is hiding from me'

(The above study is based on material supplied by the late Mary Chipps, Frances and Joe Edgar, Joshua Edgar, Charles Jones Sr., and other speakers of Nitinaht/Pacheenaht, to all of whom I am grateful.)
2.26 Some Final Questions for the Chapter

A (Review)
In what sense are (la–d) 'related sentences'? Explain in detail. Explain how the relationships among these sentences can be shown, in either a relational or a transformational framework.

1. (a) John sent flowers to Mary.
   (b) John sent Mary flowers.
   (c) Flowers were sent to Mary by John.
   (d) Mary was sent flowers by John.

B Two sentences in (1) below are paraphrases. Which ones? Justify your decision explicitly.

1. (a) John was given a new watch for his birthday.
   (d) Mary gave John a new watch for his birthday.
   (c) Somebody gave John a new watch.
   (d) Somebody gave a new watch to John for his birthday.

Set up the initial representations for the paraphrases in (1) and derive both of them.

C Identify the grammatical relations in sentence (1) below. For those nominals which are underlined, justify your decision.

1. Most people believe that the earth is bigger than the moon.

D The sets of sentences below each illustrate some rules of English syntax. Work out these rules in both relational and transformational form, where possible. Where not possible, explain why not.

Hint: assume the initial representations of (1a) and (2a) to be identical to their overt forms.

1. (a) A falling rock struck John's head.
   (b) A falling rock struck John on the head.
   (c) The mayoral candidate kissed the baby's cheek.
   (d) A child kicked my shins.
   (e) A child kicked me in the shins.
   (f) I was kicked in the shins by a child.
2. (a) John began his speech confidentially.
(b) John confidentially began his speech.
(c) The mayor shook everybody's hand enthusiastically.
(d) The mayor enthusiastically shook everybody's hand.

E On the basis of the total range of data examined so far, construct arguments supporting the view that either the transformational or the relational analysis of the passive is better than the other.

F Morris Halle, in *Language* vol. 51, no. 3 (September 1975), has described the 'themata' of modern linguistics. Read and summarize the part of the article dealing with 'themata'.
Chapter Three: Frameworks and Theories

We are now in a position to consider how some of the kinds of intuitions about syntax mentioned in Chapter One may be accounted for, e.g. grammaticality, paraphrasing, and so on.

David M. Perlmutter has made the distinction between a linguistic framework and a linguistic theory. A framework is, essentially, some specific way of thinking and talking about language. Any framework will have a set of primitives, or basic concepts that are used to describe language. For example, most modern linguistic frameworks include the notion of morpheme: it is taken for granted that this notion is available for the description of any given human language.

But not all linguistic frameworks accept the distinction between competence and performance, a basic division established in Chapter One.

Differences between frameworks lead to very different descriptions of languages. For example, the transformational-generative framework is a generative one, that is, it aims to provide devices for predicting exactly what comprises the set of all and only the possible grammatical sentences of a language. But the structuralist (also called descriptive or neo-Bloomfieldian) framework is non-generative: rather, it attempts to provide methods for analyzing actually existing sentences into morphemes and phonemes.

Some linguistic frameworks use the notion of grammatical or syntactic relation as a primitive, while other frameworks, including in general both structuralist and transformational-generative frameworks, more or less explicitly reject such concepts.

A linguistic theory is a set of constraints or laws that predict what the limits of variation among human languages will be. Naturally, a theory must be based in some framework or another.

In this chapter, we will consider three frameworks, those that have been associated with, among others, Charles F. Hockett (3.1), Noam Chomsky.
(3.2) and David M. Perlmutter and Paul Postal (3.3); an approach suggested by Kenneth L. Hale is mentioned briefly (3.4).

The following selected items are well-written and insightful treatments of language in non-generative frameworks.

Franz Boas, *Introduction to the Handbook of American Indian Languages*

Edward Sapir, *Language*

L. Bloomfield, *Language*

H. A. Gleason, Jr., *An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics*


3.1 A Finite State Grammar for English

![Diagram of a finite state grammar for English](image)

S --- many X₁
S --- some X₁
S --- the X₁
S --- the X₃
X₁ --- farmers X₂
X₂ --- are X₅
X₃ --- farmer X₄
X₄ --- is X₅
X₅ --- likely X₆
X₆ --- to X₇

X₇ --- expect X₁₃
X₇ --- lose X₈
X₇ --- sell X₈
X₇ --- buy X₁₀
X₈ --- their X₉
X₉ --- crops X₁₁
X₁₀ --- big X₁₀
X₁₀ --- costly X₁₀
X₁₀ --- tractors X₁₁
X₁₁ --- # X₁₂
X₁₃ --- that S
What RSG accomplishes:

(1) Generates grammatical strings.
(2) Permits recursion.
(3) Permits expression of the statistical probability of transition between any given two states.

Problems with FSG:

(1) Assigns incorrect constituent structure.
(2) Assigns arbitrary labelling.
(3) Can't express relationships among sentences such as the paraphrasing involved in Subject-to-Subject Raising.
(4) To express selection restrictions, missing constituents, agreement, and the like, requires duplication in the grammar.

Some references for FSG:

See also:

3.2 Transformational-Generative Grammar

A transformational grammar consists of a base, which generates phrase markers (configurations of noun phrases, verbs, etc.); a lexicon; a morphological component; a transformational component (some transformations produce paraphrase sets; others do agreement, etc.) and as well a phonological component (ignored here).

The following is a sample transformational-generative grammar for English:

Base Component

\[
\begin{align*}
S & \longrightarrow NP \ VP \\
NP & \longrightarrow (\text{Determiner})(\text{Adjective})N \ (\text{plural}) \\
NP & \longrightarrow \text{COMP } S \\
VP & \longrightarrow V \ NP \\
VP & \longrightarrow \text{be Adjective}
\end{align*}
\]
Lexical Insertion and Morphology

**COMP** ----> \{ that/\_\_NP \}

Determiner ----> \{ the \\
many/\_\_plural \\
some/\_\_plural \}

Adjective ----> \{ big \\
costly \\
likely \}

N ----------> \{ farmer \\
crop \\
tractor \}

Plural -------> \{ [Z] / [+voice]___ \\
[S] / [-voice]___ \}

V ------------> \{ be / ___\_\_N \}

Assignment: Write transformational versions of the following rules of English: Passive, Comitative Float, Quantifier Float.

For German: Passive, Agreement.

For Lardil, Japanese, and Nitinaht: Passive.

Transformations

Subject to Subject Raising

S.D.: (COMP - NP - VP) - be likely
1 2 3 4

S.C.: \( \emptyset \) 2 \( \emptyset \) 4 + 1 + 3

Agreement

S.D.: X - N - plural - V - X
1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4+3 5

\{ be + plural ----> are \}
\{ be \ ----> is \}
Advantages of TGG:

1. Generates grammatical sentences.
2. Is recursive.
3. Assigns more accurate constituent structure.
4. Assigns correct labelling.
5. Expresses relationships among sentences, e.g. Subject-to-Subject Raising.
6. States selection restrictions, possibility of missing constituents in surface structure, agreement, etc, explicitly.

What TGG doesn't Express:

1. Statistical probability of any given string (this is considered to be a part of performance).

Problems with TGG:

1. Repeats surface word order in many transformations. For example, the subject-before-verb order of English is stated separately in the base and Passive, Comitative Float, Quantifier Float, and Subject to Subject Raising. Doesn't express derived grammatical relations.
2. In studying languages other than English, similarities cannot be expressed directly, e.g. the Passive. Cf. the three word order types exemplified by English (or Lardil), Korean (or Japanese), and Nitinaht.

English

(a) The child saw a fish.
   1 2

(b) A fish was seen by the child
   1 V Agent

Korean

(a) Ai-ka koki-lul po-ass-ta
   1 NOM 2 ACC V Past Declarative

(b) Koki-ka ai - eykey po - i - ass - ta
   1 NOM Agent V

Nitinaht

V Past Declarative NOM 1 the ACC 2
3. Use the following sentences to show that Quantifier Float cannot be stated correctly for English as a transformation. (These sentences are due to David M. Perlmutter.)
(a) David promised all of us to help out.
(b) *David promise us to all help out.

The following are recommended readings dealing with TGG.

3.3 Network Relational Grammar

The framework and theory of Network Relational Grammar, being developed by David M. Perlmutter and Paul M. Postal, differs in significant respects from TGG. The most important feature of NRG, in this context, is that the notion of a grammatical relation (e.g. subject, direct object) is taken as a primitive.

The grammatical relations form a hierarchy:
1. Subject
2. Direct Object
3. Indirect Object
   Non-Terms: Time, Place, Benefactive, Instrument, etc.
Grammatical Relations and Semantic Relations

Associated with a given verb are specific dependents, e.g. the verb give takes dependents with the semantic relations of agent, patient, and recipient (and optionally time, place, manner, etc). These semantic relations are related to (initial) grammatical relations by rules like the following:

Agent --> 1
Patient --> 2
Recipient --> 3

Rules of the above kind should possibly be considered universal.

Grammatical Relations and Paraphrases

Grammatical relations of dependents can be changed from the ones assigned initially. Thus:

Advancements
Passive 2 --> 1 (And old 1 automatically loses that relation, becoming what is called a chomeur)
3 --> 2 Advancement 3 --> 2 (And old 2 automatically becomes a chomeur)
Time Advancement. Time --> 1 (And old 2 becomes a chomeur)
Place Advancement. Place --> 1 (And old 2 becomes chomeur)

Ascensions
Subject to Subject Raising. The 1 of a clause, itself a 1, takes over as superordinate 1)
Subject to Object Raising. The 1 of a clause functioning as 2, takes over as superordinate 2.

The active and passive sentences of English, Korean, and Nitinaht presented in section 3.2, are diagrammed as follows in NRG. (The circumflex, as in 1, indicates a chomeur.)
(a) saw

1
down

child
down

MOD

fish
down

MOD

the
down

apo-ass-ta

1
down

ai-ka
down

koki-lul
down

datco?al

1
down

yadaqak

down

MOD

ha?of

down

?oxw
down

?aq

down

?oyoqw

(b) was seen

1

up

child

up

MOD

fish

up

MOD

by the
down

a

po-i-ass-ta

1
down

ai-eykey
down

koki-ka
down

datco?alit

1
down

yadaqak

down

MOD

ha?of

down

?oxwIt

down

?aq

down

?oxw
Grammatical Relations and Agreement

In English and German, a finite verb agrees with its 1. In Japanese, Lardil, Mitinaht, there is no verb agreement.

Grammatical Relations and Word Order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>Non-Terms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3 Non-Terms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Non-Terms</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mitinaht</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3 Non-Terms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Grammatical Relations and Encliticization

In Mitinaht, nuclear terms (i.e., 1s and 2s) encliticize. In other languages, e.g., French, the rule for encliticization differs from this.

Grammatical Relations and Constraints on Grammars

The theoretical force of NRG lies in its constraints, called laws, which are universally applicable. Examples of some laws proposed by Perlmutter and Postal follow.

Agreement Law. Only terms may trigger agreement.

Host Limitation Law. Only terms may host ascensions (i.e., serve as the source for an ascending nominal).

Relational Annihilation Law. When the relation borne by some nominal, \( N_A \), is assumed by another nominal, \( N_B \), then \( N_A \) ceases to bear a term relation, and becomes a chomeur.

Advance Tenure Law

A nominal which has advanced may not subsequently be made a chomeur.

Overlay Relations

The question nominal in the following sentence is a 2, but doesn't come in the regular position for 2s (which is post-verbal):

What have you sold to John?

```
2    1    3
```

It is said that the 2 here bears the overlay relation Q'; an additional word order statement for English places Q' in sentence initial position.
Assignments

A. Write the following rules in the NRG framework:
   Comitative Float
   Quantifier Float
   Non Subject Raising.
B. Write a statement in NRG to account for overweight nominals in English.
C. State case assignment for English, Lardil, Japanese, and Nitinaht, in NRG.

Selected References


Cf. also the following:


The following items deal with problems in relational frameworks that have developed more or less independently of NRG, in some instances predating NRG by many years.


Lucien Tesnière, *Eléments de Syntaxe Structurale*. Paris. (Cf. the summary by Paillet and Dugas:...


A group of Soviet linguists have developed a relational framework. They refer to their approach as Structural Typology.


A. A. Холодович (1969), Типология Наусативных Конструкций. Академия наук СССР, Ленинград (P241 A52).


Cf. also:


3.4 Autonomous Systems Grammar

Autonomous systems grammar is a generative framework which incorporates concepts from both transformational and relational grammar. It is developed by Kenneth L. Hale and his associates in the article listed below.


3.5 General Review

A. Identify the rules involved in each set below, and then (i) show transformational derivations from initial to surface structure and/or (ii) relational networks.

1. (a) The payroll office mailed a notice to all new employees.
   (b) The payroll office mailed all new employees a notice.
2. (a) Somebody accused the mayor of favouritism.
   (b) The mayor was accused of favouritism.
3. (a) Trudeau and Lougheed have never cooperated.
   (b) Trudeau has never cooperated with Lougheed.
4. (a) He passed by too many opportunities.
   (b) He passed too many opportunities by.
5. (a) All of my friends voted Liberal.
   (b) My friends all voted Liberal.
6. (a) That Lougheed will buy CP Air seems unlikely.
   (b) Lougheed seems unlikely to buy CP Air.
7. (a) The mounties arrested John and Joe.
   (b) John was arrested by the mounties with Joe.
8. (a) That Chief George will invite you to his potlatch is unlikely.
   (b) Chief George is unlikely to invite you to his potlach.
9. (a) The parking meters were all painted black.
   (b) Somebody painted all of the parking meters black.
10. (a) Both the students looked the answer up.
(b) The students both looked up the answer.

B. In what sense are the sentences in (1) below 'related sentences'? Explain in detail. Describe how the relationships among these sentences can be shown in a transformational (or relational) generative grammar.

1. (a) The Prime Minister was given that elephant in Sri Lanka.
(b) Somebody gave that elephant to the Prime Minister in Sri Lanka.
(c) That elephant was given to the Prime Minister in Sri Lanka, wasn't it?

C. (TGG) Show the constituent structure of the sentences in (2). (In particular show S and NPs [and PPs]; ignore VP). Prove that the constituents you have labelled NP are in fact constituents.

2. (a) That the women in the office saw the thief in the parking lot is unlikely.
(b) That the women in fact saw the thief in the hallway is unlikely.

D. (NRG) Identify the initial, canonical, and classic grammatical relations of all nominals in (3). Justify your decision for each one.

3. (a) Bill brought the wine and Sally the beer.
(b) This book is hard for most students to read.

E. Describe the themata of modern linguistics according to Halle (Language, vol. 51). With reference to these themata, distinguish linguistics from literary studies; and distinguish between at least two schools of linguistics.

F. Describe concord in English and Spanish on the basis of the data below. Write concord transformations for both languages. Be sure to bring out both the similarities and differences between the two languages.
4. (a) el caballo blanco  
(b) la mesa blanca  
(c) los caballos blancos  
(d) las mesas blancas

the white house
the white table
the white horses
the white tables

5. (a) this white table
(b) These white tables
(c) this white horse
(d) these white horses

G. (TGG) Given the initial structures in (1) and (2) below, derive all possible different surface sentences.

(NRG) Draw relational networks for (1) and (2). Display networks for all paraphrases of (1) and (2).

1. John believes that Bill and Mary arrived in a Cadillac.
2. For John to remove all (of) the debris from this yard will be hard.

H. (TGG) Find the initial structures for sentences (3) and (4). Show the derivations.

(NRG) Draw networks for sentences (3) and (4).

3. At Christmas, John is likely to be given a watch.
4. The children all left their toys out in the yard.

I. Assume statement (1) below. PROVE statement (2). Use the sentences in (3) and (4) in your proof.

1. Relation rules must always permit feeding order.
2. Nitinaht has both the relation rules Passive (2 --> 1) and Dative (3 --> 2), but Lardil has only Passive.
3. Nitinaht

   V Aux NOM 1 2 DATIVE 3
   "Mary is making a basket for John"

(b) ?ökwaŋlip ?a ?ọxw Mary John bab?ọ.
   (paraphrases a)
(c) '?Okwilib't ?a (?oxw) John bab?ö ?oxwit Mary.
(paraphrases a, b)

4. Lardil (first person singular pronoun is ngata, ngithaan, ngithun.)
   (a) Tangka kupari kun wangalkin ngithumari.
      1 V 2 ACC e DAT
      ' A man made a boomerang for me'
   (b) Tangka kupari kun ngithamwangalkin.
       (paraphrases a) ACC - ACC
   (c)*Ngata kupari kun wangalkin tang(k)an.
      NOM ACC ACC
   (d) Wangal kupari kun wangalkin tang(k)an.
      {ngithumari DAT} ACC
      (paraphrases a, b)

J. Show that the following sets of sentences (1-5) involve ASCENSION
   rules. (Describe what an ascension rule is in general and describe
   each such rule below clearly.) NOTE: one set of sentences does NOT
   involve an ascension rule: identify this set of sentences and show
   why an ascension cannot be involved.

1. (a) That your friends will object to these plans is unlikely.
   (b) Your friends are unlikely to object to these plans.

2. (a) Sam and Clara wrote a letter to the premier.
   (b) Sam wrote a letter to the premier with Sara.

3. (a) That inflation will stop at last seems possible.
   (b) It seems possible that inflation will stop at last.

4. (a) These eggs have all been checked by the inspector.
   (b) The inspector has checked all these eggs.

5. (a) For us to convince him will be difficult.
   (b) He will be difficult for us to convince.
   (c) For a mechanic to get this car on the road again will
      be tough.
   (d) This car will be tough for a mechanic to get on the road again.
(e) Italian is a snap for a Spaniard to learn.
(f) For a Spaniard to learn Italian is a snap.

K. The finite state grammar (1) below generates the sentences in (2) among others. Explain clearly how (1) fails to bring out the relationships among the sentences in (2) that need to be expressed.

1. (a) Bill was seen in the hallway.
   (b) The thief saw the mayor in the hallway.
   (c) The mayor saw the thief in the hallway.
   (d) The mayor was seen by Bill in the hallway.
   (e) The mayor was seen by the thief in the hallway.
   (f) The thief was seen by Bill in the hallway.

2. (a) Bill saw the mayor in the hallway.
    (b) Bill saw the thief in the hallway.
    (c) The mayor saw the thief in the hallway.
    (d) The mayor was seen by Bill in the hallway.
    (e) The mayor was seen by the thief in the hallway.
    (f) The thief was seen by Bill in the hallway.

L. Using the sentences in (3), prove that statement (4) is false.
   All the sentences in (3) are paraphrases of each other.

3. (a) Bill dug up the potatoes yesterday.
    (b) The potatoes were dug up by Bill yesterday.
(3) Bill dug the potatoes up yesterday.
(4) Yesterday, Bill dug up the potatoes.
4. All rules expressing paraphrase relationships must change central grammatical relations.
Chapter Four

4.1 Yes-No Questions

Describe the formation of yes-no questions in English, using the following data.

1. (a) You can repair the car easily.
   (b) Can you repair the car easily?
2. (a) Firestation no. 6 will receive new equipment next year.
   (b) Will Firestation no. 6 receive new equipment next year?
3. (a) The rain is washing away a lot of topsoil.
   (b) Is the rain washing away a lot of topsoil?
4. (a) The sail was rigged securely.
   (b) Was the sail rigged securely?
5. (a) Many engineers have doubted the safety of the proposed tunnel.
   (b) Have many engineers doubted the safety of the proposed tunnel?
6. (a) Joe is from Saskatoon.
   (b) Is Joe from Saskatoon?
7. (a) You have all of the required texts.
   (b) Have you all of the required texts?
   (c) Do you have all of the required texts?
8. (a) Jones repaired the washing machine.
   (b) *Repaired Jones the washing machine?
   (c) Did Jones repair the washing machine?
9. (a) Sally prefers skiing to skating.
   (b) *Prefers Sally skiing to skating?
   (c) Does Sally prefer skiing to skating?
10. (a) The car can be repaired easily.
    (b) Can the car be repaired easily?
11. (a) John has had a chance to read the report.
    (b) Has John had a chance to read the report?
12. (a) The Trans-Canada is being widened.
    (b) Is the Trans-Canada being widened?
13. (a) This vacuum cleaner could have been designed better.
    (b) Could this vacuum cleaner have been designed better?
14. (a) The law against jaywalking can't be enforced.
   (b) Can the law against jaywalking not be enforced?
   (c) Can't the law against jaywalking be enforced?
15. (a) This mill hasn't polluted the lake.
   (b) Has this mill not polluted the lake?
   (c) Hasn't this mill polluted the lake?

4.2 Tag Questions

The (b) sentences below are tag questions: their surface form differs greatly from yes-no questions formed by inversion alone. Describe the difference in surface form between the statements (a) and the tag questions (b) below. In general, how is a tag question formed?

16. (a) You will be attending the reception.
   (b) You will be attending the reception, won't you?
17. (a) I have improved my backstroke.
   (b) I have improved my backstroke, haven't I?
18. (a) She is using the typewriter.
   (b) She is using the typewriter, isn't she?
19. (a) The pupils are studying set theory.
   (b) The pupils are studying set theory, aren't they?
20. (a) He couldn't lift that grate.
   (b) He couldn't lift that grate, could he?
21. (a) Mrs. Stephens hasn't been feeling well.
   (b) Mrs. Stephens hasn't been feeling well, has she?
22. (a) The earth is cooling off.
   (b) The earth is cooling off, isn't it?

In the light of the sentences below, describe the interaction of tags and do.

23. (a) Robert took this photo.
   (b) Robert took this photo, didn't he?
24. (a) The flood destroyed a dozen houses.
       (b) The flood destroyed a dozen houses, didn't it?

There exist other restrictions on tags. The sentences below will help you in the search for these.

25. (a) ?*A tall woman waited outside, didn't she?
       (b) The children were entertained by a clown, weren't they?
       (c) Edna went to the drive-in with Dennis, didn't she?
       (d) Manfred is likely to get the job, isn't he?

4.3 Subject copying

Certain expressions, among them those in 26 - 28 below, are subject to a certain restriction that is not generally applicable (cf. 29). What is the restriction?

26. (a) Most of the boy scouts lost their way.
       (b) Grant lost his way.
       (c) I lost my way.
       (d) *Grant lost my way.

27. (a) Nancy racked her brains for hours.
       (b) *Nancy racked my brains for hours.

28. (a) Clarence always keeps his wits about him.
       (b) *Gail always keeps Clarence's wits about him/her.

29. (a) Grant lost my switchblade.
       (b) Nancy studied my botulism cultures for hours.
       (c) Gail always keeps Clarence's photo with her.

4.4 Reflexives

There are several different forms that a pronoun may have in surface structure, e.g. the first person singular has the forms I, me, myself, my, mine. In this exercise, we are going to examine the distribution of two sets, which we'll refer to as the Accusative and the Reflexive.
It is evident at the outset that there is an especially close relationship between the two sets: both for example may function as direct objects:

30. (a) She congratulated her.
   (b) She congratulated herself.

However, there exist restrictions:

31. (a) You impressed me.
   (b) You impressed us.
   (c) *You impressed you.
   (d) You impressed him.
   (e) You impressed her.
   (f) You impressed them.

32. (a) *You impressed myself.
   (b) *You impressed ourselves.
   (c) You impressed {yourself }
        {yourselves}
   (d) *You impressed himself.
   (e) *You impressed herself.
   (f) *You impressed themselves.

In each paradigm 31 and 32 above, there are both grammatical and ungrammatical sentences. What correspondence is there between the two paradigms? How can we account for these correspondences? Provide additional examples which demonstrate the generality of your conclusions.
4.5 Imperatives

The sentences in 33 below express commands, and are referred to as imperative sentences. In what respects does the surface form of an imperative differ from a statement or question?

33. (a) Turn up the volume.
(b) Pass the chutney.
(c) Give those books to your brother.

What reasons are there for supposing that the deep structure of an imperative differs in significant respects from the surface structure? What exactly must the underlying structure of an imperative be? Use the sentences below to justify your answer.

34. (a) John shaved himself.
(b) Did you shave yourself?
(c) *John shaved yourself.
(d) Shave yourself!
(e) *Shave himself!

35. (a) Jake didn't lose his way.
(b) Did you lose your way?
(c) *Did Jake lose your way?
(d) Don't lose your way!
(e) *Don't lose Jake's way!

36. (a) The supplies will arrive tomorrow, won't they?
(b) You can stand on your head, can't you?
(c) *The supplies will arrive tomorrow, can't you?
(d) Clean these curtains, won't you?
(e) *Clean these curtains, can't they?

37. (a) I won Norman's cooperation.
(b) *I won my cooperation.
(c) Win Alec's cooperation!
(d) *Win your cooperation!

38. (a) I didn't take sides with Norman.
(b) *I didn't take sides with myself.
(c) Don't take sides with Alec!
39. (a) Ricardo put on Enrique's sombrero.
    (b) Ricardo put on his sombrero.
    (c) Ricardo put on his own sombrero.
    (d) *Ricardo put on Enrique's own sombrero.
    (e) Put on Enrique's sombrero!
    (f) *Put on Enrique's own sombrero!
    (g) Put on your own sombrero.

Must the subject of an imperative always be you or are there other possibilities? How does imperative formation differ in the latter circumstances?

40. (a) Everybody stand on their head!
    (b) Somebody pass the chutney, won't they?
    (c) Nobody move!
    (d) Don't anybody move!

What restriction is there on the predicate of an imperative, exemplified by the sentences below?

41. (a) *(Somebody) Know the answer!
    (b) *Grow a wart on your nose!
    (c) *Be Nelson's cousin!
    (d) *Have a body temperature of 39 degrees!

4.6 Existential There

The (a) and (b) sentences below are paraphrases. How do they differ in surface structure? Assuming the (b) sentences to be derived from the structures underlying the corresponding (a) sentences, write the needed syntactic rule called there-replacement.

42. (a) A woman was sitting near the fireplace.
    (b) There was a woman sitting near the fireplace.

43. (a) A tourist was mugged in Chicago last night.
    (b) There was a tourist mugged in Chicago last night.

44. (a) Unemployment exists nowadays in Poland.
    (b) There exists unemployment nowadays in Poland.
What rules provide inputs to there-replacement? What rules can apply to the output of there-replacement? (Think of all the rules affecting subjects.

What exactly is the condition that must be placed on there-replacement in the light of the sentences below?

45. (a) *There was Helen sitting near the fireplace.
   (b) *There was this lady sitting near the fireplace.

How does agreement apply to the output of there-replacement?

46. (a) A plane was approaching the runway.
   (b) There is a plane approaching the runway.
   (c) A plane's approaching the runway.
   (d) There's a plane approaching the runway.

47. (a) Two planes are approaching the runway.
   (b) There's two planes approaching the runway.
   (c) There are two planes approaching the runway.

48. (a) There aren't any good wines made in this region.

49. (a) There is a dog running in the backyard.
   (b) There is some dogs running in the backyard.

50. (a) A boy and some girls coming up the sidewalk.
   (b) There is a boy and some girls coming up the sidewalk.

(The dialect represented by (49-50) is the typical one for Canadian English. If your own dialect differs from this, determine in what respects).

4.7 It-replacement

Describe the relationship between the (a) and (b) sentences in the pairs below.

How do the (a) and (b) sentences differ? Assuming that the form of the (a) sentences is essentially the same as the initial form for both (a) and (b), write a rule to get the (b) sentences.
51. (a) That fewer farmers will lose their crops next year is likely.
   (b) It is likely that fewer farmers will lose their crops next year.

52. (a) That the fire could spread so quickly surprised everyone.
   (b) It surprised everyone that the fire could spread so quickly.

53. (a) For you to lose the race would surprise everybody.
   (b) It would surprise everybody for you to lose the race.

To which grammatical relations may It-Replacement apply? Consider the following:

54. (a) I believe it sincerely that Mr. Logan didn't take the money.
   (b) Debbie denied it strenuously that she had known of the plot.
   (c) Andre takes it for granted that we are going to the reception.
   (d) Many people hate it that the freeway goes through the park.

Both it-replacement and there-replacement create new terms of grammatical relation by bringing in 'outside' material, it and there respectively. (Call these dummies). One dummy, it, is identical to a pronoun phonetically. Is there a syntactic identity as well? How about the other dummy, there? What part of speech is it, syntactically?

55. (a) It seems to be raining, doesn't it?
   (b) It's likely that you will be moving to Prince George, isn't it?

56. (a) There aren't many apples left, are there?
   (b) There will be two consultants available, won't there?

4.8. Content Questions

What is the semantic difference between the (a) and (b) sentences below? What is the difference in surface structure form?
75. (a) Alice has been to Paris sometime.
   (b) Alice hasn't been to Paris anytime.
   (c) Alice hasn't ever been to Paris.

Under what additional circumstances is *any/ever* required in place of *some*? The following sentences provide some clues.

76. (a) Were any participants enjoying themselves?
   (b) Did Violet bring any quadraphonic records?
   (c) Should we send invitations to any neighbours?
   (d) Has Alice ever been to Paris?

Consider the sentences below, in your statement of the *any/ever* rule.

77. (a) We weren't seen by anybody.
    (b) There aren't any good wines made in this region.

4.10 Affixes

By *affix*, we mean any morpheme which is always suffixed or prefixed (or in some languages, infixed) to a word. Tense, for example, is an affix category in English. In general, which word does tense appear on in sentences of English? Be sure to account for all appearances of tense in the sentences below. (The tense affix is underlined for your convenience.)

78. (a) The caretaker cleans the furnace skilfully.
   (b) The caretaker cleaned the furnace skilfully.
   (c) The caretaker would clean the furnace skillfully
   (d) The caretaker was cleaning the furnace skillfully.
   (e) The dressmaker would be weaving the lace carefully.
   (f) The dressmaker has cleaned the place thoroughly
   (g) The dressmaker has been cleaning the place thoroughly.
   (h) The shoemaker would have been stitching the boots methodically, (if he hadn't gone to the trots instead.)
   (i) The boots were stitched by the shoemaker.
   (j) The boots were being stitched by the shoemaker.
   (k) The furnace has been being cleaned by the caretaker.
   (l) The furnace would have been being cleaned by the manager (if he hadn't got sidetracked.)
There are other affixes as well. What is the distribution of the affix -ing? of the affix -en (sometimes -ed)?

79. (a) The food improved here.
   (b) The food was improving here.
   (c) The food was being improved here.
   (d) The food will improve here.
   (e) The food will be improving here.
   (f) The food will be being improved here.

80. (a) The fish ate.
   (b) The fish will have eaten.
   (c) The fish has eaten.
   (d) The fish has been eaten.
   (e) The fish has been being eaten.

81. (a) The fish ate.
   (b) The fish will be eaten.
   (c) The fish was eaten.
   (d) The fish was being eaten.
   (e) The fish has been being eaten.

In general, then, where is an English verbal affix attached?

4.11 Emphasis

In the sentences below, emphasis is indicated by capitalization of the word on which stress is placed. What generalizations can be made about emphasis placement? How does emphasis placement interact with other rules?

82. (a) The payroll office will mail a notice to all new employees.
   (b) The PAYROLL office will mail a notice to all new employees (not the president's office).
   (c) The payroll OFFICE will mail a notice to all new employees (the president won't).
   (d) The payroll office WILL mail a notice to all new employees.
      (etc.)
83. (a) The payroll office mailed the notice.
    (b) The payroll office DID mail the notice.
84. (a) Ed and Rod repaired the car.
    (b) Ed and ROD repaired the car (Bob and Tom didn't).
    (c) ROD repaired the car with Ed (Tom didn't.)

4.12 More On Word Order
Account for word order in the sentences below.
85. (a) The Health Minister never failed to consult his
    ouija board.
    (b) Never did the Health Minister fail to consult his
    ouija board.
86. (a) A Canadian has never won the international championship.
    (b) Never has a Canadian won the international championship.
87. (a) Elizabeth was never able to get a refund on the toaster.
    (b) Never was Elizabeth able to get a refund on the toaster.
88. (a) The counsellor at no time lost his temper.
    (b) At no time did the counsellor lose his temper.
89. (a) The senator will resign under no circumstances.
    (b) Under no circumstances will the senator resign.
90. (a) Garry had scarcely repaired the furnace when the fridge
    failed.
    (b) Scarcely had Garry repaired the furnace when the fridge
    failed.
91. (a) There have rarely been landslides in this part of the
    Rockies.
    (b) Rarely have there been landslides in this part of the
    Rockies.
Consider also (92) to (95).
92. (a) If he had been on time, he would have got the job.
    (b) Had he been on time, he would have got the job.
93. (a) If Newfoundland had not joined Confederation, the history
    of the Maritimes would have been very different.
(b) Had Newfoundland not joined Confederation, the history of the Maritimes would have been very different.

94. (a) If the roof should come off your new mobile home, it will be restapled free of charge.
   (b) Should the roof come off your new mobile home, it will be restapled free of charge.

95. (a) If I could help you, I would.
   (b) Could I help you, I would.

State at least two ways in which the (b) sentences below differ from the sentences you have studied previously, with respect to word order.

96. (a) A strange old man lives in that cave.
   (b) In that cave lives a strange old man.

97. (a) A decrepit half-ton sat in the middle of the intersection.
   (b) In the middle of the intersection sat a decrepit half-ton.

98. (a) A tractor was parked beside the barn.
   (b) Beside the barn was parked a tractor.
   (c) Beside the barn, a tractor was parked.

99. (a) An all-night diner is nearby.
   (b) Nearby is an all-night diner.

Develop a rule to account for sentences like (96) to (99). In the light of this rule, of what significance are sentences (100) to (101) and (102) to (104)?

100. (a) There is an all-night diner nearby.
    (b) *Nearby is there an all-night diner.

101. (a) There is a strange old man living in that cave.
    (b) *In that cave is there a strange old man living.

102. (a) The tractor is near your station wagon.
    (b) *Near your station wagon is the tractor.

103. (a) Stanley lives in that cave.
    (b) *In that cave lives Stanley.
104. (a) *In that cave a strange old man lives.
(b) In that cave a strange old man lives by himself.

4.13 More on Tag Questions

The tag question consisting of a copy of the subject and auxiliary has been studied previously. Another common tag is the formative *eh*. In what ways is it syntactically identical to the subject plus auxiliary tag? In what ways does it differ? Should we modify the tag formation rule to permit, as an optional alternative to copying the subject plus auxiliary, the insertion of *eh*? Use the following sentences to back up your arguments.

105. (a) All the students failed, didn't they?
(b) All the students failed, eh?

106. (a) Wash the dishes, won't you.
(b) Wash the dishes, eh.

107. (a) I guess it's getting late {*don't I? isn't it?}
(b) I guess it's getting late, eh?

108. (a) I bet you forgot, {*don't I? didn't you?}
(b) I bet you forgot, eh?

109. (a) Everybody bet that you forgot, {*didn't they?}
(b) Who did you meet last night, {*didn't you. eh?}

110. (a) What was Otto complaining about {*wasn't he?}
(b) Who did you meet last night, {*didn't you? eh?}

111. (a) John didn't come, {did he?}
(b) Lefty can't swim, {can he?}

112. (a) Pass the sugar, {won't you. eh.}
(b) Keep your dog on a leash, {won't you. eh.}
(c) Don't complain so much {will you. eh.}
(d) Somebody pass the sugar, {won't they. eh.}
(g) Let's go to the movies {won't we. *don't we. eh.
(b) I support your candidacy, { *don't I, *eh.

114. (a) I think it's not going to rain { *don't I, is it, *eh.
    (b) I don't think it's going to rain { *do I, *don't I, *isn't it, is it, *eh.

There exists yet a third type of tag in English, exemplified below. How does it differ from the other two kinds, syntactically and semantically?

115. (a) Floyd broke the window, did he.
    (b) Brenda was late, was she.
    (c) You forgot, did you.
    (d) *I bet you forgot, did you.
    (e) Keep your dog on a leash, will you.
    (f) Somebody pass the sugar, will they.
    (g) *Let's go to the movies, will we.

4.14 Exclamations

Describe the formation of the exclamations below.

116. (a) What a scary movie (that was)!
    (b) What a beautiful view (you have)!

117. (a) What a boring lecture (he gave)!
    (b) What a useless piece of junk (this is)!
    (c) What a wide river (we'd have to cross)!

118. (a) What a bore!
    (b) What a woman!
    (c) What a man!
    (d) What a movie!
    (e) What a view!
    (f) What a car!

119. (a) Could I go for a drink!
(b) Could I use a drink!
(c) Would I like a hot cup of tea right now!

120. (a) Is John (ever) fat!
(b) Was that movie (ever) boring!

121. (a) Did John (ever) eat (a lot of potatoes)!
(b) Did John smash that glass!
(c) Do I hate freeways.

What restrictions are there on the formation of exclamations of this type?

122. (a)*Did John give a book to a fat man!
(b)*Did John see a fat man!
(c)*Did a tall man come here!
(d)*Did John (ever) eat a potatoe!

4.15 Review Exercises


123. (a) Somebody was trying to get his car started in the middle of Crowchild Trail.
(b) There was somebody trying to get his car started in the middle of Crowchild Trail.

124. (a) Your sister never reads Le Devoir, does she?
(b) Does your sister never read Le Devoir?

125. (a) Accusing Sykes of meekness is absurd.
(b) It is absurd accusing Sykes of meekness.

126. (a) Stanfield has only rarely visited Quebec.
(b) Only rarely has Stanfield visited Quebec.

127. (a) That the climate will change suddenly is improbable.
(b) It is improbable that the climate will change suddenly.

128. (a) Give these books to your brother.
(b) Give your brother these books.

129. (a) There was a good suggestion made by some engineers.
(b) Some engineers made a good suggestion.
130. (a) Can those new gadgets eliminate pollution?
    (b) Those new gadgets can eliminate pollution, can't they?

131. (a) Don't blow your nose in class, will you?
    (b) Who blew their nose in class?

132. (a) Dale wouldn't lend his car to me.
    (b) Dale wouldn't lend me his car.

133. (a) There were tips left on some trays.
    (b) On which trays were there tips left?

134. (a) Toronto has never been plagued by as much smog as this year.
    (b) Never has there been as much smog plaguing Toronto as this year.

135. (a) The university awarded scholarships to two students from Yellowknife.
    (b) There were two students from Yellowknife awarded scholarships by the university.
Chapter Five

5.1 Dependent Clauses

We have already seen that a dependent clause may be introduced by the complementizer that (1).

1. (a) The restaurant requests that guests dress formally.
(b) Few voters believe that the referendum is important.
(c) That John drives blindfold is dangerous.

Other complementizers exist, as exemplified by the sentences below. Determine what these complementizers are.

2. (a) I would prefer for you to play the piano.
(b) Everybody waited for the band to arrive.
(c) For him to hesitate now would annoy them.
(d) For John to drive blindfold is dangerous.

3. (a) The executive's wife encouraged his speaking at the public forum.
(b) The whole cabinet criticized the premier's calling a winter election.
(c) Tom's opposing the plan surprised me.
(d) John's driving blindfold is dangerous.

4. (a) The secretary asked whether I had an appointment.
(b) All the students wondered whether the course would be hard.

It is fairly evident that the complementizer whether (4) can introduce an indirect question corresponding to a simple yes-no question. The three complementizers that (1), for-to (2), and POSS-ing (3) all introduce non-interrogative dependent clauses. Initially, it may seem that there is no difference among these three, and that there is pretty well a free choice among them: cf. (1c, 2d, 3d) as well as (5-6 below.

5. (a) That John jogs to work every day convinces me of his physical fitness.
6. (a) The principal accepted that parents would have more say in the choice of curriculum.
(b) The principal accepted parents having more say in the choice of curriculum.
(c) The principal accepted parents to have more say in the choice of curriculum.

But there are subtle differences in meaning among the complementizers. Can you explain these? Also, as the following sentences indicate, there is not always a free choice among the complementizers that, for-to, and POSS-ing. Describe the semantic restrictions revealed by these sentences.

7. (a) That John jogged to work yesterday impressed everybody.
(b) John's jogging to work yesterday impressed everybody.
(c)*For John to jog to work yesterday impressed everybody.
(d) For John to jog to work tomorrow would impress everybody.
(e) John's jogging to work tomorrow would impress everybody.
(f)?That John will jog to work tomorrow would impress everybody.

8. (a) I clearly remember that John borrowed your pen.
(b) I clearly remember John's borrowing your pen.
(c)*I clearly remember for John to borrow your pen.
(d) Remember that John will borrow your book.

9. (a) For John to have jogged to work yesterday would have impressed everybody (if he had done it).
(b) John's having jogged to work yesterday would have impressed everybody (if they had known that he did it).
5.2 Presuppositions

10. (a) Nathan regrets that he didn't close the door (cf. 
   ...his not closing the door).
   (b) Nathan claims that he didn't close the door. (cf. 
   ...his not closing the door).
   (c) Nathan didn't close the door.
   (d) Nathan closed the door.

11. (a) Lougheed is criticizing Trudeau again.
    (b) Lougheed has previously criticized Trudeau.

Sentence (10a) (but not (10b)) presupposed (10c) and (11a)
presupposes (11b). That is for a given sentence, we are sometimes
able to identify a presupposition (P), or more than one presupposition.
Various characterizations of the motion presupposition have been pro-
posed, e.g. (12i–iv).

12. i. The person who asserts the sentence acts as if his 
audience already knew that P is true.
   ii. The speaker must believe P if he is to assert the 
sentence sincerely.
   iii. Unless P is true, then the sentence has no truth-
value.
   iv. P must be true according to the common ground of 
beliefs or assumptions among the speaker and audience 
at the time the sentence is uttered.

Consider the relative merits of 12i–iv in the light of (13, 14).

13. (a) The Heavenly Dog is eating the moon again.
    (b) The Heavenly Dog has eaten the moon previously.

14. (a) I will explain again the conditions on Nitinaht enclitics.
    (b) I have explained previously the conditions on Nitinaht 
enclitics.

Determine the presuppositions, if any, of the following sentences.

15. (a) Clarence almost bought a snowmobile.
    (b) Clarence allegedly bought a snowmobile.
    (c) Nixon has stopped cheating on his income tax.
(d) Nixon has considered cheating on his income tax.
(e) Barrett promised to win the election.
(f) Barrett managed to win the election.
(g) The strike lasted for a whole month.
(h) Lois said that Stanley is a Liberal, and he insulted her, too.

The presupposition associated with sentence (6a), but not (6b), is that the proposition of the subordinate clause is true.

16. (a) It is regrettable that the pipeline destroyed large areas of permafrost.
(b) It is possible that the pipeline destroyed large areas of permafrost.

Determine whether the following verbs presuppose the truth of a subordinate clause or not.

17. deplore   conclude   deem   bear in mind
ignore      resent      make clear   forget about
assert      care (about) comprehend charge
suppose     be aware (of) be odd   be false
be tragic   be true      be significant be exiting
be likely   be relevant  be sure   matters
counts      seems       appears   chances
suffices    amuses      bothers   turns out

So far we have studied presuppositions that are associated with particular words. Evidently, there are also presuppositions associated with the application (or non-application) of particular syntactic rules. In the following sentences, determine the presuppositions and the rules with which they are associated.

18. (a) The Globe and Mail reported that Rivard had been arrested.
(b) It was reported by the Globe and Mail that Rivard had been arrested.
(c) That Rivard had been arrested was reported by the Globe and Mail.
19. (a) Julius Caesar struck me as honest.
(b) It stuck me that Julius Caesar was honest.

20. (a) John telephoned about an accident.
(b) What John telephoned about was an accident.

21. (a) Gail discovered something.
(b) What did Gail discover?

Certain questions with why are somewhat different from other wh-questions. Observe that while (22b) necessarily has a certain presupposition, (23b) may be understood as either having or lacking the same type of presupposition. Prove this by constructing paraphrases of (22b, 23b), and by considering types of possible answers to (22b) versus (23b).

22. (a) Janet is nervous.
(b) Why is she nervous?

23. (a) Janet is an idiot.
(b) Why is she an idiot?

(This section is based in part on Stanley Peters, Presuppositions and Conversation, *Texas Linguistic Forum* 2, pp. 122-134, 1976; and Paul and Carol Kiparsky Fact.)

5.3 Equi Versus Raising

The sentences in (24) are derived by Subject to Subject Raising. Review the previous arguments for this proposal.

24. (a) The miners are likely to go on strike.
(b) the new mayor of Calgary is reputed to speak fluent French.

Sentences (25a) and (26a) below have a form that appears to be derived by Raising. If that were so, what prediction would you make about the grammaticality of (25b, c) and (26b, c)?

25. (a) The miners are reluctant to go on strike.
(b)*That the miners will go on strike is reluctant.
(c)*It is reluctant that the miners will go on strike.
26. (a) The new mayor of Calgary is eager to speak fluent French
(b)*That the new mayor of Calgary will speak fluent French is eager.
(c)*It is eager that the new mayor of Calgary will speak fluent French.

(Transformational Analysis)

Under the Raising hypothesis, a sentence like (26a) has the initial structure (27a). Since this hypothesis does not account for the ungrammaticality of sentences like (25b, c), and (26b, c), let us consider an alternative analysis to Raising for the derivation of (25a, 26a). Suppose the underlying structure of (25a) is (28b). Now, let us posit a rule, Equi, which will erase the subject in a subordinate clause, provided that this NP is identical to an NP in the higher clause. Thus (28b) is converted by Equi to (29b), which will yield the correct surface structure once housekeeping rules are applied. In contrast (28a) is converted to (29a) by Subject to Subject Raising.
40. (a) These pups are likely to have been born in the barn.
   (b)*These pups are reluctant to have been born in the barn.
41. (a) Walter is likely to receive a lot of attention.
   (b)*Walter is reluctant to receive a lot of attention.

VII. Possibility of Clefting.
42. (a) What is likely is that the miners will go on strike.
   (b)*What is reluctant is that the miners will go on strike.

VIII. Absence of subordinate clause in surface structures.
43. (a) The miners are reluctant.
   (b) The mayor is eager.
44. (a)*The miners are likely.
   (b)*The mayor is reputed.

IX.
45. (a) It seems to be snowing.
   (b) It seems to be singing.

Are the predicates of the sentences below Raising or Equi predicates? Justify your conclusion in detail, and draw either underlying and surface structure phrase markers (or networks, for each sentence.
46. (a) Bruce is sure to enter the race.
   (b) Bruce is ready to enter the race.
   (c) The hotel is expected to close for repairs soon.
   (d) Mosquitoes seem to have invaded all parts of the town.
   (e) This accident appears to be the worst one in aviation history.
   (f) Fred wants to find a safer job.
   (g) Fred turns out to have found a safer job.
   (h) Fred claims to have found a safer job.
   (i) Fred tried to find a safer job.

So far, we have contrasted Equi with Subject to-Subject Raising. Equi may also be this contrasted with Subject to Object Raising. Show how the sentences below verify this claim. You will have to cite additional sentences to support the argument.
47. (a) Many people believed the mill to have polluted the lake.
   (b) Many people believed the lake to have been polluted by the mill.

48. (a) Many people asked Margaret to comment on George.
   (b)*Many people asked George to be commented on by Margaret.

Do the following verbs permit subject to Object Raising or Equi?
49. (a) The instructor persuaded Ernest to drop his math course.
   (b) The instructor assumes Ernest to have dropped his math course.
   (c) Lois cautioned Carol to be patient.

5.4 More on Equi
(TGG)
   Call the higher NP that controls Equi the **trigger** and the NP that is erased the **target**. What conditions govern the possible choice of the trigger and the target? Must the target be the subject of its own clause? Which NPs of the higher clause may function as the trigger?
   (NRG)

   Under what conditions may a nominal undergo Equi? State specifically the grammatical relations borne by this nominal in both the superordinate and subordinate clauses? Is initial or canonical termhood relevant?

   The following sentences will provide a basis for resolving these questions. The place where an NP has been deleted is indicated by a dash.

50. (a) Klaus waited for Luigi -- to tell an anecdote.
    (b) Brian sent his brother -- to get the cheque.
    (c) Martha invited Arnold -- to join the club.

51. (a) Klaus waited -- to tell an anecdote.
    (b) Brian tried -- to get the cheque.
    (c) Martha refused -- to join the club.
52. (a) Arnold was invited by Martha to join the club.
   (b) Jones was sent by Richardson to negotiate the deal.

53. (a) Brian sent his brother to Tom to get the cheque.
   (b) Klaus waited next to Luigi to tell an anecdote.
   (c) Martha refused in front of Arnold to join the club.

54. (a) Larry promised his girlfriend to solve the mystery.
   (b) Larry promised to solve the mystery.
   (c) Larry promised his girlfriend that he would solve the mystery.

55. (a) Carl petitioned the minister to reveal his dissatisfaction with the increase in pollution.
   (b) We re-elected Smith to ensure continuity.
   (c) Brian sent his brother to get the cheque to avoid meeting his boss.
   (d) Bob brought the rack to hang coats on it.

56. (a) To qualify as a master electrician requires a lot of experience.
   (b) It is dangerous to feed bears.

57. (a) Bob bought a rack to hang coats on.
   (b) This is a rack to hang hats on.

5.5 Relative Clauses

State the relationships holding within the following sets of sentences.

58. (a) Two men delivered the package.
    (b) Two men were wearing black leather jackets.
    (c) Two men who were wearing black leather jackets delivered the package.

59. (a) A person should be shot.
    (b) The person designed this theatre.
    (c) The person who designed this theatre should be shot.

60. (a) The young man is from Winnipeg.
    (b) A young man gave a drum solo at the end of the concert.
    (c) The young man that gave a drum solo at the end of the concert is from Winnipeg.
61. (a) One problem has caught the attention of most voters.
   (b) One problem is very touchy.
   (c) One problem which is very touchy has caught the attention of most voters.

62. (a) One tree species is the poplar.
   (b) A tree species grows more rapidly than most others.
   (c) The tree species which grows more rapidly than most others is the poplar.

63. (a) I lost a rabbit's foot.
   (b) The rabbit's foot has always brought me good luck.
   (c) I lost a rabbit's foot that has always brought me good luck.

An adequate description of relative clauses must answer the following questions, among others. What differences are there between a relative clause and the simple sentence to which it is related?

What determines the choice of relative words who, which, that?
What restrictions are there on determiners in relative clause constructions? What is the constituent structure or network of a sentence containing a relative clause?

The sentences above do not provide sufficient data to determine how a relative clause is derived from its underlying representation. Consider those below. What is the word order of a relative clause?

64. (a) The girls were repairing their Volvo.
   (b) I was waiting for the girls.
   (c) The girls whom I was waiting for were repairing their Volvo.

65. (a) Several people have become vegetarians.
   (b) Dave's novel claim about dandelions impressed several people.
   (c) Several people whom Dave's novel claim about dandelions impressed have become vegetarians.

66. (a) The old codger is the finest gardener east of the rockies.
(b) The city presented the award to the old codger.
(c) The old codger to whom the city presented the award is the finest gardener east of the Rockies.
(d) The old codger that the city presented the award to is the finest gardener east of the Rockies.

67. (a) The dog is obviously a mongrel.
(b) John bought a dog.
(c) The dog which John bought is obviously a mongrel.

68. (a) The rook has been moved previously.
(b) You want to castle with a rook.
(c) The rook that you want to castle with has been moved previously.
(d) The rook with which you want to castle has been moved previously.

5.6 Reduced Relative Clauses and Perceptual Strategies

The following sets of sentences contain alternative forms of the same relative clauses. Determine the difference within each set in the relative clauses. In general, how may a relative clause be reduced in form?

69. (a) The boy who you met yesterday delivers our newspaper.
(b) The boy you met yesterday delivers our newspaper.

70. (a) The book which the professor recommended is not in the bookstore yet.
(b) The book the professor recommended is not in the bookstore yet.

71. (a) The girl that I lent my fountain pen to lives in that building.
(b) The girl I lent my fountain pen to lives in that building.

72. (a) The box that you are sitting on is likely to break.
(b) The box you are sitting on is likely to break.
What restriction must be placed on the reduction of relative clauses? cf. (73-76). (Based on work of T. Bever and T. Langendoen.)

73. (a) The man who is repairing the roof has dropped his hammer.
   (b)*The man is repairing the roof has dropped his hammer.
   (c) The man repairing the roof has dropped his hammer.

74. (a) The students who are preparing the new handbook have been working hard.
   (b)*The students are preparing the new handbook have been working hard.
   (c) The students preparing the new handbook have been working hard.

75. (a) The bristles that are on this brush fall out very easily.
   (b)*The bristles are on this brush fall out very easily.
   (c) The bristles on this brush fall out very easily.

76. (a) A car that is easy to repair is the best to buy.
   (b)*A car is easy to repair is the best to buy.
   (c) A car easy to repair is the best to buy.

The following sentences provide additional exemplification of reduced relatives.

77. (a) I bought a paper from the boy who you met yesterday.
   (b) I bought a paper from the boy you met yesterday.

78. (a) Nobody liked the book which the professor recommended.
   (b) Nobody liked the book the professor recommended.
   (c) Have you seen the girl that I lent my fountain pen to.
   (d) Have you seen the girl I lent my fountain pen to.

79. (a) Have you spoken to the man who is repairing the roof?
   (b)*Have you spoken to the man is repairing the roof?
   (c) Have you spoken to the man repairing the roof?

80. (a) I don’t like the bristles that are on this brush.
   (b)*I don’t like the bristles are on this brush.
   (c) I don’t like the bristles on this brush.

An additional restriction is involved in reduced relative clauses, cf. 82, 82.
81. (a) Have you seen the girl that I lent my fountain pen to?
    (b) Have you seen the girl who I lent my fountain pen to?
    (c) Have you seen the girl I left my fountain pen to?
82. (a) Have you seen the girl to whom I lent my fountain pen?
    (b)*Have you seen the girl to I lent my fountain pen?

5.7 The Position of Modifiers

Modifier Shift

In each of the sets below, there is a full relative clause
(a). Apply the rule of Relative Clause Reduction to these sentences.
Is the output grammatical? If not, why not?

83. (a) The chalk which is blue is over near the wall.
    (b) The blue chalk is over near the wall.
84. (a) A man who was very fat was waiting for the bus.
    (b) A very fat man was waiting for the bus.
85. (a) A bat species which is nearly extinct inhabits this cave.
    (b) A nearly extinct bat species inhabits this cave.
86. (a) They have bought a painting which is quite obviously phoney.
    (b) They have bought a quite obviously phoney painting.

Formulate a statement to describe the (b) sentences above.
Extend it to handle (87-91).

87. (a) A student who was snoring woke up the entire dormitory room.
    (b) A snoring student woke up the entire dormitory room.
88. (a) A dog that was panting blocked the doorway.
    (b) A panting dog blocked the doorway.
89. (a) A tenant who was evicted sued the landlord.
    (b) An evicted tenant sued the landlord.
90. (a) The building which was completely destroyed carried no insurance.
(b) The completely destroyed building carried no insurance.

91. (a) The posts that have been recently painted will last longer.
(b) The recently painted posts will last longer.

What further restriction must be placed on reduced relative clauses in the light of (92) below?

92. (a) The electrician who was chairman shouted loudly.
(b) The electrician chairman shouted loudly.

Other restrictions can be determined by contrasting (83-91) with the sets below.

93. (a) A student who was snoring heavily woke up the entire dormitory room.
(b) *A snoring heavily student woke up the entire dormitory room.

94. (a) The building which was destroyed completely carried no insurance.
(b) *The destroyed completely building carried no insurance.

95. (a) The paper which is blue on one side should be used for covering the books.
(b) *The blue on one side paper should be used for covering the books.

96. (a) The posts which have been painted recently will last longer.
(b) *The painted recently posts will last longer.

5.8 Possessives

Discuss the relationship between the (a) and (b) sentences below. If you choose to relate them syntactically, then state exactly how. If you choose not to relate them syntactically, explain why.

97. (a) The cup which I have is cracked.
(b) My cup is cracked.
98. (a) The skill which you have impresses everybody.
   (b) Your skill impresses everybody.
99. (a) Sally's newspaper is two days old.
   (b) The newspaper which Sally has is two days old.
100. (a)*The left hand which he has is bleeding.
    (b) His left hand is bleeding.
101. (a) The assignment which we have is too difficult.
    (b) Our assignment is too difficult.
102. (a) The picture which the children have is amusing.
    (b) The children's picture is amusing.
103. (a) John lost his way.
    (b)*John lost the way which he has.
104. (a) John washed his own car.
    (b)*John washed the own car which he has.

5.9 Case Marking

Note: Before reading this exercise, in column C: go through sentences 105-125 and record your own judgments of grammaticality, e.g. ok for grammatical; * for ungrammatical; ? for doubtful; ** for crashingly bad, and so on. Don't expect your judgement to necessarily match the ones recorded next to the sentences: you are likely to accept more sentences or fewer, or different ones. It may be best to cover up the judgements printed in columns A and B while recording your own.

We are concerned here with the distinction of the two sets of pronouns -- call them nominative and accusative -- as set out in the paradigm below. (Other pronoun case forms are the reflexive, myself etc., and the possessive, my, mine, etc.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she</td>
<td>her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who</td>
<td>whom</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some pronouns don't distinguish these case forms, e.g. you, it, what. We can assume that these pronouns have both nominative and accusative forms, but they just happen to coincide.

There are numerous dialect differences of English, with respect to case marking. The sentences set out below represent the judgments of two different dialects. For each of these, dialect A and dialect B, determine the grammar of case marking. In particular, what is the deep structure form of pronouns, nominative or accusative? What is the rule of case marking?

In (105-108) below, both dialects, A and B, have identical surface distribution of nominative and accusative. Describe the distribution. Construct two alternative case marking rules to cover (105-108).

Dialect A Dialect B Dialect C

105. (a) ok ok I saw John.
(b) * * Me saw John.
(c) * * John saw I.
(d) ok ok John saw me.

106. (a) ok ok She brought John.
(b) * * Her brought John.
(c) I * John brought she.
(d) ok ok John brought her.

107. (a) * * Tony came with I.
(b) ok ok Tony came with me.

108. (a) I * Mary sent a note to me.

Now let's look at some examples where there are dialect differences. Describe the distribution of nominative and accusative in (109-122) below. What is the simplest grammar for dialect A? For dialect B?

109. Question: Who broke this vase?
   Answers:

   A  B  C
   (a) * * Me did.
   (b) ok ok I did.
110. (a) Question: Who told you the plan?

Answers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>He did.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Him did.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>He.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d)</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>Him.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

111. Question: Which witness did the accused threaten?

Answers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>Me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>I.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

112. (a) Question: Which of the mechanics did you speak to?

Answers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>He.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>Him.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

113. (a) ok * We westerners tend to be reserved.

(b) * ok Us westerners tend to be reserved.

114. (a) ok * We three are the only ones who know what really happened.

(b) ok * Us three are the only ones who know what really happened.

115. (a) * * The eastern establishment tends to ignore us westerners.

(b) *ok *ok The eastern establishment tends to ignore us westerners.

116. (a) * * The three of us are the only ones who know what really happened.

(b) ok ok The three of us are the only ones who know what really happened.

117. (a) ok * Larry and I will change the flat tire.

(b) * ok Larry and me will change the flat tire.
A B.

118. (a) * * John insulted Larry and I.
(b) ok ok John insulted Larry and me.

119. (a) ok ok Who won the election?
(b) * * Whom won the election?

120. (a) * ok Who did they choose?
(b) ok * Whom did they choose?

121. (a) * ok Who did you give the watch to?
(b) * * Whom did you give the watch to?
(c) ? To who did you give the watch?
(d) ok * To whom did you give the watch?
(e) ok * Whom did you give the watch.
(f) * ok Who did you give the watch?
(g) * ok You gave the watch to who?
(h) ok * You gave the watch to whom?

122. (a) * * Everybody expected he to arrive soon.
(b) ok ok Everybody expected him to arrive soon.
(c) ok ok Everybody expected that he would arrive soon.
(d) * * Everybody expected that him would arrive soon.

How do Dialects A and B differ? What needs to be added to your account to take care of sentences like those below?

123. (a) ok ok He failed the exam.
(b) * * Him failed the exam.
(c) ok ok Did he fail the exam?
(d) * * Did him fail the exam?

124. (a) ok ok He convinced me.
(b) * * Me was convinced by he.
(c) ok ok I was convinced by him.

125. (a) * ok Me and him fixed the flat.
(b) ok * He and I fixed the flat.
(c) ok ok I fixed the flat with him.
(d) * * Me fixed the flat with him.
Dialect A is the dialect of prescriptive grammar, i.e. the one that is often taught as being the only "correct" one. Dialect B is very widespread, having been attested in several English-speaking countries. Probably your own dialect matches neither A nor B exactly. Examine now the judgements of grammaticality for your own dialect that you recorded earlier. Construct a grammar of case marking to account for your own dialect.

5.10 More on Relative Clauses
Each of the sets (126-130) introduces new aspects of relative clauses. Discuss the significance of each set.

126. (a) I met a man who robbed me.
(b) I met the man who robbed me.
127. (a) Elderly people, who are dependent many of them on their pensions, tend to avoid the high priced spread.
128. (a) A man entered and a boy left who were similar.
(b) A man who was limping entered the room.
(c) The man who was limping entered the room.
(d) A man entered the room who was limping.
(e)*The man entered the room who was limping.
129. (a) John resents the tabs they are keeping on him.
130. (a) The waiter when he comes will point out the ambassador to us.
(b) This mangrove if it grows will be the only one of its species on Baffin Island.

(Thanks to Kenneth Hale for pointing out sentences similar to 130.)

5.11 Contraction
What formatives may undergo contraction with a preceding element? There are three groups, as represented below (131-133).

131. (a) Bob is absent.
(b) John's been to the bank already.
(c) John'll help you later.
(d) John's the treasurer.
(e) The treasurer's John.

132. (a) Loretta isn't coming tonight.
     (b) Loretta didn't go.
     (c) Loretta can't help you.

133i. (a) You hafta be there tonight.
      (b) Barbara has gotta go to the bank.
      (c) I wanna leave right now.

The sentences in (134-135) show that contraction of type (131) is blocked under certain circumstances. What single constraint accounts for these? The sentences in (136) provide additional evidence. Show how this is so.

134. (a) Sally asked where Bob is.
      (b)*Sally asked where Bob's.
      (c) Sally asked where is Bob.
      (d) Sally asked where's Bob.

135. (a) Sally asked who is the treasurer.
      (b) Sally asked who's the treasurer.
      (c) Sally asked who the treasurer is.
      (d)*Sally asked who the treasurer's.

136. (a)*Loretta is more conscientious than John's.
      (b)*Ann is absent and Bob's, too.
      (c)*How conscientious Loretta's!

What restriction is there on contraction type (132)? Consider (137).

137. (a) Is Loretta not coming?
      (b)*Is Loretta'n't coming?

Does the restriction on contraction type (131) generalize in any way to type (133)? Compare (138) against your conclusions for (134-136).

138. (a) You are paying more for a used car than you hafta.
      (b) John has to leave and I hafta, too.
      (c) You're welcome to join us if you wanna.
      (d) Just leave the boxes wherever you wanna.
   V    PAST DECL 1 2
   'The man shot the deer'
(c) D̕ətc̕il ak bowatc ?aq yaq-?oyoqw ?aq tl’itcitl qo?as ?aq?
   V 2 REL/2 ACC V 1
   'Did you see the deer that the man shot?'
159. (a) Ts’oqcitl ibt ?a (?o̱w) qo?as (?oyoqw) ba?itlqats ?aq.
   V   1 2
   'A man punched the boy'
       'He/she punched the boy'
(c) ħabop s qo?as ?aq.
   V 1 2
   'I recognize the man'
(d) Wik s ħabop qo?as ?aq.
   NOM 1 V 2
   'I don't recognize the man'
       'I don't recognize the one who punched the boy'
160. (a) Ts’oqcitl’t ibt ?a ba?itlqats ?aq o̱wIt qo?as.
   V/PASS 1
   CHOMEUR
   'The boy was punched by a man'
(b) Wik s ħabop yaq-χIt ?aq ts’oqcitl’t ba?itlqats ?aq.
   V V/PASS 1
   'I don't recognize the one who the boy was punched by'
161. (a) Tc’ăpats-Tl ?a Joe ?o̱waw’al tc’ăxay’k.
   2 V 1 INSTRUM
   'Joe made the canoe with an adze'
(b) Ts’ăxay’k ?a yaq-χaw’āl ?aq tc’ăpats-Tl Joe.
   PRED INSTRUM 2 V 1
   (This) is the adze that Joe used to make the canoe'

(Some of the above Nitinaht examples were provided by the late Mary Chipps.)
5.14 Negation in Nitinat

162. (a) Dælcitl ?a.
   He is watching
   (b) Wik ?a dælcitl.
   He isn't watching

163. (a) Daqcitl s tc'a?ak.
   'I drank/drink water'
   (b) Daqcitl s ik tc'a?ak.
   'I always drink water'
   (c) Wik s tc'a?ak læb.
   I didn't drink liquor
   (d) Daqcitl a ik tc'a?ak læb.
   'I always drink water, I never drink liquor'

164. (a) Da?æ?it s.
   'They listen to me' (lit. 'I am listened to')
   (b) Wiy'it s da?æ?it.
   'They never listen to me'
   (c) Wik'it s da?a?it.
   'They don't listen to me'

165. (a) T'iqwil ?i!
   'Sit down!'
   (b) Wik ?i t'iqwil.
   'Don't sit down'

161. (a) Bakwäl s høhpøbis ?aq.
   'I(1l) buy the car'
   (b) Wik s bakwäl høhpøbis ?aq.
   'I won't buy the car'

167. (a) Hid?ɪx ibt sitsex.
   'I worried for you'
   (b) Wik ibt sitsex hid?ɪx.
   'I didn't worry for you'

   'Let's talk'
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(b) Wik ?m1i?Idits? tsi?qts?.
'Let's not talk'

'I can see the deer'
(b) Tc'ncil s bowatc ?aq.
'I can't see the deer'

170. (a) Ka?at?p s w? Babablad'q.
'I know (how) to say (it) in English'
(b) Wi?at s w? Babablad'q.
'I don't know (how) to say (it) in English'

'I can tell you'
(b) Yobol sits? ?oy'a?kw.
'I can't tell you', 'I'm unable to tell you'

172. (a) T'aqw?k s w? qIksis.
'I believe what you say to me'
(b) Q'it?k s w? qIksis.
'I don't believe what you say to me'

(Many of the above examples were provided by the late Mary Chipps.)

5.15 General Review of Syntactic Rules in English

For each sentence below, provide the initial representation, and list the rules applied. Provide as many paraphrases for each sentence as you can, and indicate which rules have applied for each sentence.

172. (a) It seems to me to be obvious that you are all being swayed by irrational arguments and emotional sentiments.
(b) I don't think that the new legislation leaves any logical possibilities out.
(c) What would a woman opposed to these styles replace them with?
(d) In no case will Ringo give a concert with Paul.
(e) Does there seem to be a hoax being perpetrated without your knowledge?
(f) A tall man nodded his head.

(g) To go to Victoria, you have to take a ferry, don't you?

(h) Summarize the essay without repeating yourself, will you.

(i) Did the film give you any information on contemporary astronomy?

(j) The judge warned the witnesses not to perjure themselves.

(k) These athletes, you just can't win their cooperation.