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Complementation in Middle English[1]

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Conditions on the form of possible transformations are proposed
by Joseph Emonds (1976). His ʽstructure-preserving″ constraint
is briefly surveyed. Some transformations in OE and ME are
posited in order to verify the constraint.

1. Constraints on Transformations. Any model of generative grammar must reduce the expressive power of transformations as much as possible. That is, we must set various conditions on the form and function of grammars. The latter is discussed in detail in J. R. Ross (1967). Joseph Emonds (1976) is an attempt to constrain the form of transformational rules. Specifically he is concerned with justifying the imposition of a ʽstructure-preserving constraint″ on movement transformations. of course this constraint is subject to empirical testing.

His structure-preserving constraint stipulates that major grammatical transformational operations are either root or structure-preserving operations. Root Transformation is the one which moves, copies, or inserts a node C into a position in which C is immediately dominated by a root S in derived structure. A root S is a sentence that is not dominated by a node other than S. Structure-Preserving Transformation is the one that introduces or substitutes a constituent C into a position in a phrase marker held by a node C. The other grammatical transformations should be local transformations, which affect only an input sequence of a single nonphrase node C and of one adjacent constituent C′ that is specified without a variable, such that the operation is not subject to any condition exterior to C and C′. Nonlocal transformations are called major transformations.

These three types of grammatical transformations which Joseph Emonds (1976) adduces are listed below.

(1) Root Transformations

Subject-Auxiliary Inversion:

COMP-NP-AUX-X $\Rightarrow$ 1-3-2-4

where 1 dominates WH or NEG or so.

Verd Placement in German

Tag Formation

Negated Constituent Preposing

Directional Adverb Preposing

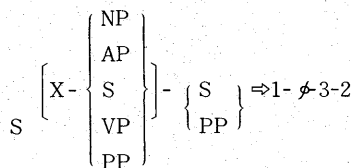Topicalization

VP Preposing

Right and Left Dislocation

Preposing around <u>Be</u>

Parenthetical Formation:

$$\left[X - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} NP \\ AP \\ S \\ VP \\ PP \end{array} \right\} \right] - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} S \\ PP \end{array} \right\} \Rightarrow 1 - \not\phi\ 3 - 2$$

Though Movement

Preposing of Adverbial PP′s

Clitic Inversions in French

(2) Structure Preserving Transformations

Agent Postposing

NP Preposing

Subject Raising

Raising to Object

Object Raising (=<u>Tough</u> Movement)

Indirect Object Movement :

$$X + V - NP - to - NP - X$$
$$1 - \quad 4 - \emptyset - 2 - 5 \quad \Rightarrow$$

Formation of Obligatory Reflexives

Subject-Object Inversion

Object Replacements in French

Conjunct Movement

Possessive Transformation (=NP Preposing
  inside NP's)

Possessive Transformation (generalized in
  order to prepose agents in S's):
$$\begin{bmatrix} \triangle \\ NP \end{bmatrix} - X - {}_{PP}[(by) - NP] - Y$$
$$4 - 2 - \quad \emptyset - \emptyset - 5 \quad \Rightarrow$$

<u>There</u> Insertion

<u>There</u> Replacement

Complex NP Shift

Conjunction Reduction

Extraposition:
$$X - {}_{NP}[\triangle - S] - Y - {}_{S}[\triangle] - Z$$
$$1 - \quad it - \emptyset - 4 \quad - 3 - 6 \quad \Rightarrow$$

Gerund Formation:
$${}_{NP}[\triangle - {}_{S}[NP - TENSE - VP]]$$
$$2 - \quad \emptyset - \quad \emptyset \quad - 4 \quad \Rightarrow$$

Cleft Extraposition

Extraposition from NP

Complement Extraposition

Adverbial AP Movement

Reduced Relative Postposing

PP Movement

WH Fronting:
$$COMP - X - \begin{Bmatrix} NP \\ AP \\ PP \end{Bmatrix} [(P) + WH + Y] - Z$$
$$3 - 2 \quad - \emptyset - \quad 4 \quad \Rightarrow$$

Verd Raising:
$$X + TENSE - {}_{V}[do] - Y - \begin{Bmatrix} be - \emptyset \\ have - en \end{Bmatrix} + Z$$
$$1 \quad - 4 \quad - 3 - \emptyset - 5 \quad \Rightarrow$$
where Y does not dominate V.

Affix Movement (Obligatory):

$$X - TENSE - Y - V - Z$$
$$1 - \quad \emptyset \quad - 3 - 4 + 2 - 5 \quad \Rightarrow$$
where Y does not dominate TENSE.

NEG Transportation

Clitic Placement in French

(3) Local Transformations

Particle Movement:
$$X + V - \begin{bmatrix} NP \\ -PRO \end{bmatrix} - \begin{bmatrix} P \\ PP \end{bmatrix} - Y$$
$$1 \quad - \quad 3 \quad - \quad 2 \quad - 4 \quad \Rightarrow$$

Indirect Question Adjustment:
$$X + P - [{}_{N}\triangle] - \begin{bmatrix} COMP \\ WH \end{bmatrix} + Z$$
$$1 \quad - \quad \emptyset \quad - \quad 3 \quad \Rightarrow$$

<u>For</u> Phrase Formation:
$$X - [{}_{COMP}FOR] - NP - Y$$
$$1 - [{}_{PP} \quad 2 + 3] - \emptyset - 4 \quad \Rightarrow$$

Auxiliary <u>do</u> Insertion:
$$X + [{}_{AUX}TENSE - \emptyset] - Z$$
$$1 \quad - [{}_{V}do] - 3 \quad \Rightarrow$$

Clitic Interchange (French)

<u>Le</u>, <u>La</u>, <u>Les</u> Rule (French)

DEG Postposing (where DEG is <u>er</u>, <u>est</u> or
  <u>enough</u> only.)

DET Incorporation:
$$[{}_{PP} P - DET] \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} 2 \\ +LOC \end{bmatrix} + 1 - \emptyset$$
  where DET = <u>which</u>, <u>this</u> or <u>that</u>.

Article Movement (permutation of the in-
  definite article and <u>as</u>, <u>how</u> or <u>too</u>)

Quantifier Postposition:
$$[{}_{NP} DET - [{}_{PP}\triangle - NP]]$$
$$\emptyset \quad - \quad \emptyset \quad - 3 + 1 \quad \Rightarrow$$
  where DET = <u>all</u>, <u>both</u>, <u>each</u>.

Quantifier-Auxiliary Interchange:
$$DET - AUX \Rightarrow 2 - 1, \ DET \neq NP$$

Verb-Clitic Inversion (Spanish)

Contraction Rules

He reaches the following conclusion concerning
movement transformations:

In English at least, all transformations that
move constituents without inducing comma into-
nation are sudstitutions for categories gener-
ated in the base, unless they interchange
adjacent constituents.

He also tries to constrain the notion 'possible
deletion rule"[2] in terms of the concepts developed
above. Most specified formative deletions are
expressible in terms of local (contiguous) contexts
of the type allowed in local transformations.

(However, a context of the form X____, where X must be ϕ, is not of this type.) All other specified formative deletions apply in independent clauses only.

Condition on Specified Deletions; No deletion of a specified formative by a transformational rule is structure‐preserving.

The structure‐preserving constraint may be inadequate in the following two respects :

(1) Embedded S's play the role of root S's.

(2) Stylistic (as opposed to grammatical) transformations break the constraint.

Banfield (1973) notes that such stylistic trans‐formations exhibit certain formal characteristics that differentiate them from strictly grammatical transformations :

(1) They follow all other syntactic rules.

(2) They cannot be "triggered" by the pre‐sence or absence of specific morphemes in the tree.

(3) They cannot introduce morphemes, nor delete morphemes except under identity.

(4) They appear to be subject to some version of Chomsky's "up‐to‐ambiguity" principle (Chomsky 1965: 126‐7).

(5) They do not seem to be statable (without loss of generalizations) in terms of the left‐to‐right analyzability conditions.

(6) Their inputs appear to be systematically as acceptable or more acceptable (even in the case of deletion under identity) than their outputs.

Joseph Emonds thinks that the structure‐preser‐ving constraint can be generalized so that the general idea of the constraint remains intact.

2. Some Transformations in Old and Middle English. Instances of root, structure‐preserving, and local transformations are shown with examples.

In Middle English the rule Subject‐Verd Inver‐sion has the form given in (1). This rule can derive both imperatives and questions.

(1) Subject‐Verd Inversion :

COMP‐ NP‐ V‐ X $\Rightarrow$ 1‐3‐2‐4

where 1 dominates WH or Imp or so.

Mossé (1952: 126‐7) says that the subject NP and the verd invert in direct questions.

(2) Gaf ye the chyld any thyng ? (The Towne‐ley Plays Mossé 1952 p. 330, 1. 571)

(3) hard ye not ? (Ibid. p. 333, 1. 656)

He also notes that the imperative was very often reenforced by an accompanying pronoun subject. This pronoun subject could be placed either before or after the imperative verb.

(4) And bringe ye[3] a fat calf, and sle him and ete we, and fede us ; (Wyclif, Bible Mossé 1952 p. 381, 1. 24‐5)

(5) ne gabbe thou me nout (The Fox and the Wolf Ibid. p. 181, 1. 121)

E. Closs (1969: 400‐1) says that the word order of Old English had the following patterns at the end of the ninth century:

In coordinate and clauses and in subordinate clauses, the finite verd often occurs at the end.

In independent clauses, the finite verb occurs after the subject.

(6) & him œ fterfylgende wœs (Or. 236. 29) ··············coordinate clause

(7) D‐œr hie hit georne ongitan cuben (Or. 214. 5) ··············subordinate clause

(8) he lufode forhæfednysse (Quirk and Wrenn 1955: 92) ·············· independent clause

She postulates the following PS Rules ;

S → NP‐ VP

VP → MV + Aux

The transformational rule that moves the verb to the second position in root S's can be formu‐lated as a root transformation. These two rules, that is, Subject‐Verb Inversion in ME and Verb Placement in OE are root transformations.

Mossé (1952:129‐30) says that the usual order puts the object after the verb. This order was equally prevalent in sub‐clauses. However, the object might well appear before the verb under the following circumstances:

When the object was a pronoun or a demons‐trative.

In impersonal constructions with the (indirect) object.

(9) I hym folwed. (Chaucer, The Book of the Duchess Mossé 1952 p. 295, 1. 397)

(10) whan she hym felte hire in his armes folde (Chaucer, Troilus and Criseyde Mossé 1952 p. 299, 1. 1201)

(11) him thoute (The Fox and the Wolf Mossé 1952 p. 179, 1. 94)

The rule Pronoun Object Preposing is formulated.

(12) Pronoun Object Preposing:

$$X - V - PRO - Y$$
$$1 - 2+3 - \phi - 4 \quad \Rightarrow$$

E. C. Traugott (1972: 161) notes that during ME an object pronoun regularly precedes not whereas a noun follows, as in I know him not, but I know not your cousin. If we assume that not is generated after the verb in deep structure, the rule can be formulated that postposes not after the pronoun.

(13) Not Postposing:

$$X - not - PRO - Y$$
$$1 - 3 - 2 - 4 \quad \Rightarrow$$

These two transformations seem to be local.

Lastly, we are concerned with a transformation which Joseph Emonds regards as structure-preserving: Complex NP Shift.

In Emonds' formulation of there Insertion, the subject NP is moved into the NP position that follows the verb inside the VP, accompanied by the insertion of the pronoun form there into the subject NP. The postverbal NP can sometimes be subsequently placed at the end of the VP by the rule Complex NP Shift. This rule moves NP's to the end of the verb phrase if they dominate an S or a PP, and the NP in question is moved to the S or PP position at the end of the VP. In the following examples taken from ME, however, postposed NP's do not dominate an S or a PP.

(14) Was never herd so swete a steven, (Chaucer, The Book of the Duchess Mossé 1952, p. 128, 1. 307)

(15) Than was hit tolde the two kyngis how there were com two messyngers. (Malory, The Tale of King Arthur I, p. 14, 1. 20-1)

Therefore, it seems impossible to formulate this NP shift as structure-preserving.

Notes:

[1] I am sorry that I changed the subject after the title was decided.

[2] According to Chomsky (1965: 144-5), a deletion operation can eliminate only a dummy element or a formative explicitly mentioned in the structure index (for example, you in imperatives), or the designated representative of a category (for example, the wh-question transformations that delete NP's are limited to indefinite pronouns), or an element that is otherwise represented in the sentence in a fixed position.

[3] Spellings are modernized for the printer's convenience.

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