

With : adjunct

Hiroe, Akira

Graduate School of Letters, Kyushu University : Doctoral Program

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With - adjunct

Akira Hiroe

O. Introduction

The goal of this paper is to explore the unique property of *with*-adjuncts. In the subsequent sections we will attempt to demonstrate that what makes it possible to delete the *with* in *with*-adjuncts is a licensing condition on participial constructions.

Some researchers have shed light on the syntactic and semantic aspects of *with*-adjuncts (Ishihara 1982, McCawley 1983, Quirk et al. 1985, Inada 1988), but we cannot find any attempt in the literature to systematically tackle the correlationality of *with*-adjuncts with participial constructions. The attempt will be made in this paper to make clear the relationship between the two phenomena.

1. Facts and Problems

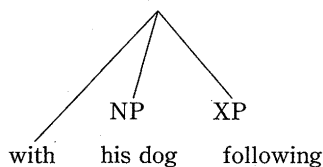
Let us begin with certain basic, if not very familiar, facts. There are three types of *with*-adjuncts, the restrictives, the non-restrictives, and the adverbials:

- (1) a. The faucet *with the water running* is useless.
- b. Perot, *with his supporters aiding in his campaigns*, rounded up votes.
- c. An old man was walking along *with his dog following*.

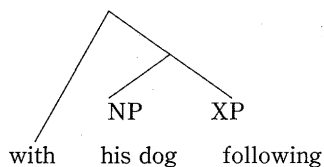
In this paper we will deal only with the adverbial type of *with*-adjuncts, illustrated in (1c). The interpretation of the adverbial *with*-adjunct, interacting with the matrix clause, ranges widely, representing temporal relations of simultaneity as well as causal relations. Some *with*-adjuncts seem to be ambiguous in interpretation. (Ishihara 1982)

Let us now turn to the structure of *with*-adjuncts. Various aspects of the English adjuncts are dealt with in, for example, Jespersen (1940), Riemsdijk (1978), and Ruwet (1978). The analyses by Riemsdijk and Ruwet both assign to this adjunct a ternary-branching structure, as in (2a); while Jespersen, who discusses it in a chapter on 'simple nexus as regimen of a preposition', implicitly assigns to it a structure as in (2b):

(2) a.

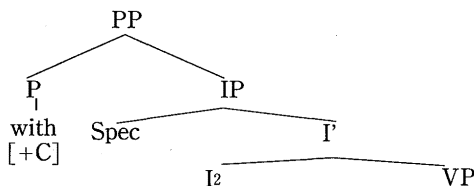


b.



It seems that Jespersen's analysis has some advantage over Riemsdijk and Ruwet's. If we adopt (2a), then a selection problem arises as to why a grammar allows the non-legitimate complement to be selected by the *with* because the structure does not conform to the X-bar principle, which can formally define legitimate Head-Complement selections. Therefore we posit the following structure ¹:

(3)



As you can see from (3), the *with*-adjuncts taking IP-complements can be supposed to be a ‘pseudo(or prepositional)-complementizer’ (Chomsky 1981a, Ishihara 1982, Quirk *et al.* 1985, Inada 1988). We can now show that the projection that the *with* forms reflects the characteristics of the head, as followed from general principles, and it also very much resembles small clauses in that it lacks inflectional elements such as tense, agreement, and modals. Thus we conjecture that *his dog following* in (1c) is some sort of a small-clause complement just like the following examples:

- (4) a. He found the girls giggling quite uncontrollably.
- b. The teacher watched strangers talking to the children.
- c. She had the porter carry her baggage.

The only difference between *with*-clauses and the small clauses in (4) is such that the former functions as an adjunct, while the latter is a verbal complement.

As a plausible piece of evidence, consider the following examples:

- (5) His time ended [PP with [_{NP} that]] .

Nominals are, in general, associated with conceptual properties such as THING, PLACE, MANNER, MEASURE, EVENT, STATE, etc.³ In the above example, when *that* refers to some event like a political affair, it is associated with EVENT. Now it seems that the ‘canonical’ syntactic structure of PP is P + NP, but the canonical structural realization of EVENT can be CP. Thus, *with*, which should not take IPs as complement, extends the function to do it because, when the complements lack complementizers, they can serve to make up for the function. (I do not claim that the complement of all prepositions can be so expanded.) In

fact, our hypothesis is borne out by:

- (6) a. Only 4.9% of them responded, with [Perot garnering two-thirds of their votes and Lamm getting 28%] .

(*Time*, August 12, 1996)

- b. I just didn't want to cut them loose with [you guys still in it] .

(*Apollo Thirteen*)

In the above examples the complement of the *with* represents some EVENT. In (6a), the bracketed part semantically represents an event that Perot garnered two-thirds of their votes and Lamm got 28%, and in (6b), you guys were still in it. Thus, it is valid to suppose that *with* functions as a complementizer that characteristically introduces EVENT-clauses.

Further evidence for our hypothesis has also been supported by Case-theoretic consideration. Assuming that *with* in *with*-adjuncts can take IP-complements, as expected from the characteristics of pseudo(prepositional)-complementizer, the *with*, together with verbs of recognition and verbs of perception, assigns accusative (objective) Case through the exceptional Case-marking mechanism.

- (7) a. I believe [_{IP} him to be paranoid] .

- b. I saw [_{IP} him paying back loans] .

- c. with [_{IP} his dog following] .

Withs take IPs, not CPs. Thus there is no barrier that blocks the Case assignment from the matrix verb. Hence, *his dog* in (7c) can be properly Case-assigned by the *with*. In fact, the observation is borne out by:

- (8) a. With himself acting on the stage, John understands how the actors feel.

- b. After (*himself) completing his work of art, Tom got absent-minded.

- c. By (*herself) shutting the old out of the nursing home, she felt guilty.
- (9) a. *With PRO acting on the stage, John understands how the actors feel.
- b. After PRO completing his work of art, Tom got absent-minded.
- c. By PRO shutting the old out of the nursing home, she felt guilty.

In the above examples the characteristics of the *with*-adjuncts are of particular interest in that, in (8b) and (8c), *after* and *by* can allow a noun phrase or a gerundive nominal as complement. Moreover, they show that the subject in the complement, or, to put it more formally, the NP in IP-Spec, is a null element, i. e., PRO. In (8a), however, *himself* in IP-Spec is governed, and Case-marked from outside the IP boundary.

Our analysis can properly predict some analogous behaviors that other phenomena share. Otherwise, we must admit the structure of the complement that violates the Projection Principle, which defines the property of unmarked structure of complements. Given that *with* is not a (prepositional) complementizer, the structure would be the marked construction that cannot be reduced from lexicon and general principles, i.e., UG. It must be supported by other marked characteristics.⁴

Correlating with these examples are the following:

- (10) a. We hope for peace-keeping.

arranged

- b. We for the meeting.
- planned

hope

- c. We arranged for Mary to join the club.
- planned

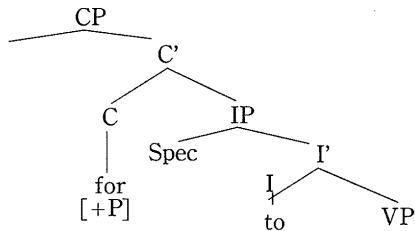
hope

d. *We arranged Mary to join the club.

planned

This shows that *for*, a complementizer, functions as a preposition. Compare (3) with (11):

(11)



The lexical intrinsic difference notwithstanding, there is a syntactic motivation in deriving *with*s taking IP-complements.

(12) a. His time ended with that.

b. His time ended with him passing away.

c. *His time ended him passing way.

Of all the behaviors that *with*-adjuncts show, what is of particular interest is that *with*-deletion can occur, as Ishihara has observed (except(c)):

(13) a. With the sun shining, John went for a walk.

b. With there being so many tourists in the city, the tourist business is booming.

c. With the audience applauding, Cary Grant stepped up to the microphone.

- (14) a. The sun shining, John went for a walk.
 b. There being so many tourists in the city, the tourist business is booming.
 c. The audience applauding, Cary Grant stepped up to the microphone.

(Ishihara 1982; 2.158)

But not all *withs* can be deleted:

- (15) a. *(With) John being employed by the firm, he began a new life.
 b. *(With) Mary so easy to please, we are looking forward to her visit here.
 c. *(With) Dole as president, more cutbacks are sure to come.
 d. *(With) Jack at home, our house is burglar-proof.

She assumes that *with*-deletion is probably best described as a stylistic rule of PF component. As a piece of evidence, she cites the examples in which other complementizers such as *for* or *that* can be deleted:

- (16) a. Mary would like (for) us to help her.
 b. Sam said (that) he would run the race.

(Ishihara 1982:2.155)

For the sake of generality, however, her proposal is not adequate because the deletion of *for* and *that* cannot always take place (% indicates variation) ⁵:

- (17) a. We all would prefer for the Mariners to win.
 b. %We all would prefer the Mariners to win.
- (18) a. Tom yelled that the Mariners had won.
 b. *Tom yelled the Mariners had won.

It follows from the above argumentation that a new analysis is required. As it stands, it remains to be explained why the forms (14) are possible whereas (15) are not. In the next section we will propose that the answer lies in the licensing condition on participial constructions.

2. A Licensing Condition

In section 1 we have seen that *with* can be deleted, illustrated in (13) and (14), repeated as (19-21) for convenience:

- (19) a. With the sun shining, John went for a walk.
b. The sun shining, John went for a walk.
- (20) a. With there being so many tourists in the city, the tourist business is booming.
b. There being so many tourists in the city, the tourist business is booming.
- (21) a. With the audience applauding, Cary Grant stepped up to the microphone.
b. The audience applauding, Cary Grant stepped up to the microphone.

But not all ((15) repeated as (22-25)):

- (22) a. With John being employed by the firm, he began a new life.
b. *John being employed by the firm, he began a new life.
- (23) a. With Mary so easy to please, we are looking forward to her visit here.

b. *Mary so easy to please, we are looking forward to her visit here.

(24) a. With Dole as president, more cutbacks are sure to come.

b. *Dole as president, more cutbacks are sure to come.

(25) a. With Jack at home, our house is burglar-proof.

b. *Jack at home, our house is burglar-proof.

With-deletion works fine for (19-21), but not for (22-25). A quick look at (19b-21b) shows that the phrase without *with* is equivalent to the so-called *participial constructions* (or *nominative absolute constructions*). The observation is borne out by:

(26) a. The sun shining, John went for a walk.

b. Because the sun was shining, John went for a walk.

(27) a. There being so many tourists in the city, the tourist business is booming.

b. Because there are so many tourists in the city, the tourist business is booming.

As you can see in (26) and (27), (26a) and (27a) can be, as with participial constructions, paraphrased with conjunctions. Once *with*-adjuncts are converted into participial constructions by the so-called *with*-deletion, therefore, the difference in acceptability seems to involve a licensing condition on participial constructions. In other words, a different grammatical device begins to emerge.

Before we continue, we must consider the possibility of whether (26a) can derive from (27b). If the derivation is possible, then we will have no reason to assume that *-ing* is crucially responsible for the semantic

behavior in participial constructions. In order to derive (26a) from (26b), the conjunction, subject and verb *be* have to be eliminated. However, the analysis cannot be tenable, as is clear from the examples shown in (28):

- (28) a. Not knowing anything about computers, I am poor with them.
b. *As I am not knowing anything about computers, I am poor with them.

We will instead have recourse to some semantic consideration explaining the relationship observed in (26) and (27). Consider next the following examples, pointed out by Williams (1975):

- (29) a. May believed that John, driving down the street, saw a jackrabbit.
b. May believed that John, who was driving down the street, saw a jackrabbit.

(Williams 1975: 22-23)

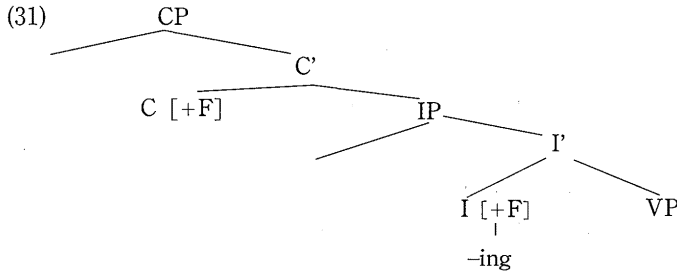
According to Williams, “In (29a), John’s driving down the street is part of May’s belief; in (29b) it is not necessarily.” In other words, in (29a), the participial construction *driving down the street* falls within the scope of the subordinate clause, while in (29b), the non-restrictive clause *who was driving the street* is not, and is part of the speaker’s belief. Hence, as Williams points out, (29a) cannot be derived from (29b). It follows from the above argumentation that participial constructions are base-generated with the form that we can see.

Now, given the fact that, in (26) and (27), (a) have the interpretation like (b), a question arises what makes it possible to produce the interpretation. The above examples force us to suppose that the *-ing* makes a contribution to the interpretation that (26a) and (27a) take. It is, therefore, plausible to suppose that with participial constructions in A'-positions

does *-ing*, the functional head of the construction, possesses a particular feature, and the feature is percolated onto the phrase structure of participial constructions. We propose that the feature of *-ing* is specified for the following (+Substantive is further specified for $[\pm V, \pm N]$, and +F is a functional feature.):

(30) *-ing*: $[+Substantive, +F]$

Now given that heads must be satisfied (Grimshaw 1993), we provide participial constructions with the following structure:



In order to explain why the feature of *-ing* is projected onto the structure of them, we will adopt the notion “relativised head”, a notion introduced in Williams (1982b) and developed for morphology in Di Sciullo and Williams (1986). The notion “relativised head” goes as follows:

(32) Definition of “head_F” (read: head with respect to the feature F):

The head_F of a word is the rightmost element of the word marked for the feature F.

Assume that the feature of *-ing* is $[+F]$. When participial constructions occur in A'-positions, a VP, which is to be associated with the *-ing*, is unspecified with respect to $[+F]$. The head of the VP gets up to I, and

then, by relativised head, the *-ing* that has the feature $[+F]$, is percolated onto the higher projection. Thus, the feature $[+F]$ of *-ing* in participial constructions plays a crucial role in the semantic behavior.

(33) A licensing condition:

The functional feature $[+F]$ of *-ing* must be percolated onto the phrase structure of participial constructions.

There is, moreover, a piece of evidence that supports our claim. Consider the following examples:

(34) a. When using the scissors, the little girl cut her finger.

b. Using the scissors, the little girl cut her finger.

(35) a. While living near the beach, I often enjoyed swimming.

b. Living near the beach, I often enjoyed swimming.

In (34) and (35), the participial constructions are accompanied by the conjunctions such as *when* and *while*. Traditional Grammar claims that the presence of *when* or *while* makes the explicitness of the meaning clearer. Note that there is a striking similarity between (34-35) and (36).

(36) a. With the sun shining, John went for a walk.

b. The sun shining, John went for a walk.

In (36b), despite the lack of the overt indication, i. e., *with*, of its logical connection to the clause which it modifies, the English speakers do not have difficulty at all understanding the meaning. Thus, this shows that *with* functions just like the conjunctions that appear in participial con-

structions.

We have seen that a licensing condition on participial constructions is crucially responsible for the acceptability of *with*-deletions. Let us again turn back to (22-25), repeated as (37) for convenience:

- (37) a. *John being employed by the firm, he began a new life.
 b. *Mary so easy to please, we are looking forward to her visit here.
 c. *Dole as president, more cutbacks are sure to come.
 d. *Jack at home, our house is burglar-proof.

In (37a), since the participial construction modifies the VP of the main clause, *he* binds *John*, a Condition C violation resulting. In (37b) and (37d), then, the acceptability of them seems to involve a licensing condition on participial constructions because the addition of *being* to their constructions makes them perfectly acceptable, illustrated in (38):

- (38) a. Mary being so easy to please, we are looking forward to her visit here.
 b. Jack being at home, tur house is burglar-proof.

Among participial constructions are the following type of constructions varying in acceptability according to the presence and absence of *being*:

- (39) a. *Angry, he said nothing.
 b. Being angry, he said nothing.

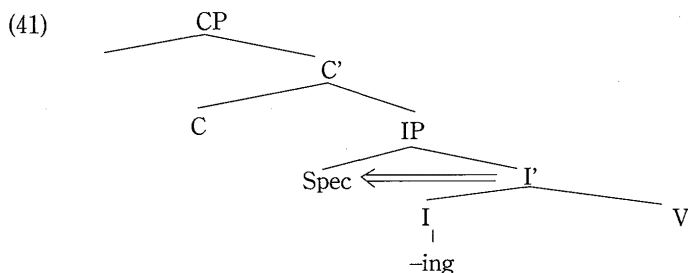
In (39a), *angry* cannot be licensed as a participial construction because it is interpreted not as a participial construction but as a secondary predicate. In other words, *angry* in (39a) cannot have the reading of *because he was angry*. In this case, therefore, *angry* requires *being*.

With this in mind, consider an example below:

- (40) a. *John angry, Mary left.
 b. John being angry, Mary left.

The form of (40) corresponds to a construction in question. To account for the difference in acceptability, we assume that the difference can be attributed to the theta-marking condition. Following Chomsky (1986), subjects are theta-marked by X' taking the subject as specifier.

In (40), I' theta-marks *Jack*. Thus, the theta-marking of *Jack* requires the manifestation of I supporting I', that is, *-ing*. It follows that (40a)



requires *being*. In fact, there is a piece of evidence that proves the validity of our proposal. Consider the following example:

- (42) a. The work (being) done, I have nothing else to do.
 b. She gets a monthly pay of 30,000yen, taxes (being) included.

In the above examples, the *beings* are optional. These participial constructions are both passive. Thus, it is possible to suppose that *the work* or *taxes* is theta-marked in the complement position by the verb. It follows, then, that the I' do not necessarily theta-marks the subject. Therefore, we can properly predict the optionality of *being* in (42) type of participial constructions. ⁶ The same explanation applies to the exclusion

of (37b) and (37d). (37c) can be ruled out by the fact that *Dole is as president* cannot be acceptable.

3. Concluding Remarks

To account for the unique syntactic properties of *with*-adjuncts, we have proposed that *with* is a pseudo (prepositional)-complementizer. And we have argued that *with*s have, commencing with simply a preposition, expanded the structure. We have attempted to demonstrate that the grammaticality of *with*-deletion requires that the forms without *with* be licensed as participial construction. Therefore, the function of the *with* can be equivalent to that of conjunctions appearing in participial constructions, contributing to making the explicitness of the meaning improve as well.

NOTES

1. We posit that the projection that *with* forms is PP, not CP because it cannot be accounted for why verbs cannot select such a CP, provided that we assume that *with* is a complementizer.
2. This I includes *-ing*, *to*.
3. See Jackendoff (1990) for detail.
4. Consider the French and Dutch counterparts below:
 - (1) a. Avec Paul malade, la reunion est remise a plus tard.
 With Paul-ACC sick the meeting postponed until later
 "With Paul sick, the meeting has been postponed until later."
 - b. Avec ma lecon apprise, je vais pouvoir aller au cinema.

With my lesson-ACC done I go be able to go to movies.

“With my lesson done (learned), I am going to be able to movies”

c. Avec ma fille Margot maitresse du roi, mes vieux jours sont assures.

With my daughter-ACC mistress of king my old days are assured

“With my daughter Margot the king’s mistress, my days of old age are provided for.”

d. Avec tous ces ennuis sur le dos, je n’arrive pas a me concentrer.

With all these troubles-ACC on the back I can’t manage to concentrate

“With all these troubles on the back, I can’t manage to concentrate.”

(Ruwet,1978)

This array of data perfectly fits the characterization of the English *with*-adjuncts. However, two points are noteworthy, in addition to the generative approach that Ishihara (1982) adopted. First, in French *with*-adjuncts, we cannot predict the unacceptability of the examples such as (47):

(2) a. *avec il / lui neigeant dehors

“with it snowing outside”

b. *avec (il) y ayant tant de monde

“with there being so many people”

c. *avec (il) etant si facile de trouver du boulot

“with it being so easy to find a job”

(Ibid.)

This shows that *avec* strictly subcategorizes elements which follows while *with* does not. As indicated above, it can be further supported by the fact that French *with*-adjuncts requires the obligatory occurrence of NP.

The second important point is that Dutch *with*-adjuncts shows much variation. In fact, some of the Dutch speakers Riemsdijk has asked find sentences like below grammatical:

- (3) a. %Met haar ziek
“with her sick”
b. %Met mijn broer burgemeester van Holystoot
“with my brother mayor of Holystoot”
c. %Met de misdaaiger achtervolgd door de politie
“with the criminal pursued by the police”

(Riemsdijk, 1978)

And Dutch *with*-adjuncts, as in the French counterparts, cannot allow expletives as the NP which follows:

- (4) a. *met het sneeuwend buiten
“with it snowing outside”
b. *met er zoveel mensen zijnde
“with there being so many people”
c. *met het zo gemakkelijk zijnde werk te vinden
“with it being so easy to find a job”

But the following example is perfectly acceptable:

- (5) Met oma in het ziekenhuis kunnen we eindelijk uit
with granny in the hospital can we at last out
“with granny in the hospital we can go out at last”

(*Ibid.*)

He suggests that the difference is dialectal one. But, rather, this seems to indicate that the variation in Dutch implicitly represents the extent to which the preposition *with* becomes a pseudo (prepositional)-complementizer, i.e., the gradability of grammaticalization in the mind of the Dutch.

5. According to Inada (1989), in American English some speakers prefer *prefer for NP to VP*. In British English, on the other hand, it cannot take *fors*.

6. There are still remaining problems that cannot be accounted for by theta-marking:

- (1) a. The children (being) asleep, Bill watched TV.
- b. School (being) over at last, they ran home.
- c. Her face (being) scarlet, Mary left the room.

In the above examples *being* is optional, contrary to our prediction. We suggest that the optionality might be attributed to the property of the adjectives in question.

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