



Two Remarks on Dragging

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I will mention in conclusion. First, why does the *ū* in *drought* not become unrounded by Rule 23 V as does the *ū* of *impugn*? Second, how or why does the *æ* of *weight* become or stay tense? If we extended Rule 23 V so that it tensed *æ*, as well as *i* and *u*, it would also incorrectly tense the *æ* of *draught* (/dræft/).⁴

⁴ Another conceivable explanation of *-gh*-word vowels, inspired by Hasegawa (1963) is the following. Rule 23 V tenses all vowels before *-gh*. The vowels then become diphthongs in the usual way. Instead of Vowel Shift, our minor rule applies; it may now take the form

$$(i) \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{syll} \\ \text{Past} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [+ \text{low}] / ______ gh$$

which is even more similar to McCawley's rule. Backness Adjustment applies. Then, we would have the following rules:

- (ii) [glide][gh] → *φ* / *_____* Past
 (iii) [gh] → *φ* ~ [glide][gh] → f elsewhere.

This explanation is far from elegant, but it makes the minor rule simpler, and it accounts for why *f* < *gh* occurs whenever and only when there is a lax vowel, except for the lax vowel of the past tense.

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TWO REMARKS ON

DRAGGING

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A. Background

I shall use the term *dragging* to designate what Ross (1967) calls Pied Piping. Familiarity with his discussion is assumed.

Ross claims that a "small" NP which would be subject to movement, according to an unbounded movement rule, drags along some "larger" NP which contains it, subject to various restrictions. These include:

- (1) Dragging Restrictions
 a. the "small" NP node (henceforth: the *dragger*) cannot be separated by any coordinate nodes from the "large" NP node (henceforth: the *draggee*) along the branch(es) which separate them; and

- b. the dragger cannot be separated from the draggee by an S node.

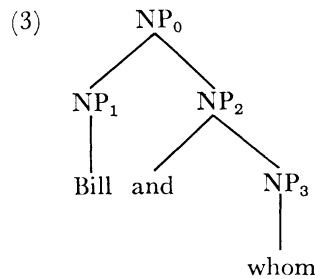
The first remark here will concern condition (1a), the second condition (1b).

B. Remark I

Ross illustrates the necessity for condition (1a) in particular by examples such as:

- (2) a. *The speaker Bill and who(m) I watched was vain.
 b. The speaker whose sister I watched was vain.
 c. *The speaker who I watched Bill and was vain.

(2b) is a normal case of proper dragging, where the dragger node corresponding to *whose* pulls along the “larger” NP node corresponding to the whole string *whose sister*. The ill-formedness of (2c) is described by Coordinate Structure Constraint, since the NP *who* has been ripped out of the coordinate NP *Bill and who*. (2a) would have the same underlying structure as (2c). However, since no coordinate structure has been disrupted, the principle which describes the ill-formedness of (2c) does not bear on (2a). Ross thus proposed that what is wrong with (2a) type examples is a violation of condition (1a) on dragging. That is, (1a) would be a case in which the dragged NP was of the form:



But here the dragger, NP₃, is separated from the draggee by the coordinate node, NP₂.

In fact, since Ross also proposed that the draggee could not itself be coordinate, while NP₀ is, (2a) would be doubly excluded if it is correct that the draggee has the structure in (3).

While Ross's characterization of dragging as involving condition (1a) seems correct for the majority of cases, certain difficulties arise with examples like the following:

- (4) a. The manuscript [the lettering on the front of which and the scribbling on the back of which] Harry deciphered was in Gwambamamban.
 b. The manuscript [the lettering on the front of which and the scribbling on the back of which] Max says Harry deciphered was in Gwambamamban.

It is clear that the bracketed NPs in (4) are coordinate. If (1a) is valid, these NPs cannot have been directly fronted by dragging. Since they have clearly been fronted by dragging, the only conclusion consistent with the assumptions would seem to be that such examples are the result of applying Conjunction Reduction to the output of dragging on prereduced conjuncts. That is, (4b) would be derived schematically as follows:

- (5) a. the manuscript Max says Harry deciphered the lettering on the front of which and Harry deciphered the scribbling on the back of which was in Gwambamamban
 ⇒
 (by *Wh* Rel Movement + dragging, applied in each conjunct)
 b. the manuscript Max says the lettering on the front of which Harry deciphered and the scribbling on the back of which Harry deciphered was in Gwambamamban
 ⇒
 (by Conjunction Reduction)
 c. = (4b).

Hence, in this mode of derivation, dragging would apply to noncoordinate nodes, as condition (1a) requires. The obvious price is the existence of Conjunction Reduction, which has sometimes been questioned, and the fact that Conjunction Reduction must apply to the output of rules like *Wh* Rel Movement.

There is a further consequence of such a derivation, inferable from the existence as well of examples like:

- (6) Joan, the oldest sister of whom and the next door neighbor of whom make an amiable couple . . .

The trouble is that the logic involved in describing (5) would here force the conclusion that sequences like *A and B make an amiable couple* are derived by Conjunction Reduction, which has often been considered impossible.

No weak spots are visible in this argument and one is thus forced to conclude the following: either Conjunction

Reduction exists, operates on the output of *Wh* Rel Movement, and is involved in the derivation of sentences like (6) or Ross's condition (1a) is too strong.

A weaker and less general variant of condition (1a) can of course be constructed. This would have to claim that a draggee can be separated from its dragger by coordinate nodes provided that the coordinate node is an NP node dominating a set of NP nodes, each of which itself is a suitable determiner for dragging. This is such an obviously generalization-missing, ad hoc complication of condition (1a) that one inclines to take the discussion as an argument for all of the conclusions concerning Conjunction Reduction mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph.

Observe that the argument shows not only that predicates like *make an amiable couple* are derived by Conjunction Reduction but also those like *are the same person*, *are identical*, and so forth, since these can replace the former in contexts like (6). Deriving examples like *A and B are the same person* by way of Conjunction Reduction has often been ridiculed as involving untenable underlying structures like:

- (7) A is the same person and B is the same person.

But this is not necessary. A more natural analysis would involve reciprocal structures:

- (8) A is the same person as B and B is the same person as A.

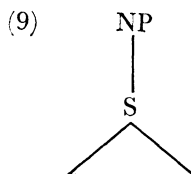
Of course, there are extreme problems involved in a conjunctive analysis of reciprocals, and I do not know how to state a description in such terms.¹

Thus there remains the relatively paradoxical situation that examples such as (4) lend discomfort to opponents of Conjunction Reduction in forcing them to add a dubious, nongeneralizing restriction to condition (1a), while the alternative seems to involve appeal to Conjunction Reduction, with all of its problems, and even worse an apparent extension of it (in ways unknown) to "reciprocal" constructions. Thus sentences like (4) seem to reveal another bad problem for which evidence has been presented and that help is needed to solve.

C. Remark II

In a generative semantic treatment, it must be the case that both gerundial and infinitival phrases have the structure of both NP and S.

¹ It may be that the concept of transderivational rules is required for the description of conjunction.



However, it has sometimes been denied (especially recently by those in the lexicalist framework²) that either or both gerundial or infinitival phrases have such a structure. There is, however, an obvious argument from dragging which shows that (many) infinitives and gerundial phrases have at least the structure S.³ Recall that condition (1b) on dragging prohibits this phenomenon when dragger is separated from draggee by an S node.

It is a fact, however, that examples such as the following are in general not well-formed instances of dragging:

- (10) a. *Mary, *the wish to kiss whom* Bill struggled against, . . .
 b. *The road *the taxes to construct which* the city has not yet collected . . .
 c. *The proposal *the opposition to passing which* was based on prejudice . . .
 d. *A girl *by dating whom you* are sure to catch a horrible disease . . .
 e. *An evil act *from doing which* I prevented Greg . . .
 f. *Mary, *of kissing whom* Larry is not overly fond . . .
 g. *The plan *about stealing which* the criminals talked . . .

In each case the italicized constituent is of the (NP) type which can serve as a draggee, and contains an appropriate dragger. Moreover, there are no independently known constraints which block extraction of constituents from the original positions of the underlined constituents. On the contrary, these positions are in general not syntactic islands.

² Thus Bresnan (1971) denies both the S and NP character of the infinitival complements of elements like *tough*, *impossible*, and so forth. Emonds (1970) denies the NP status of at least many infinitival complements.

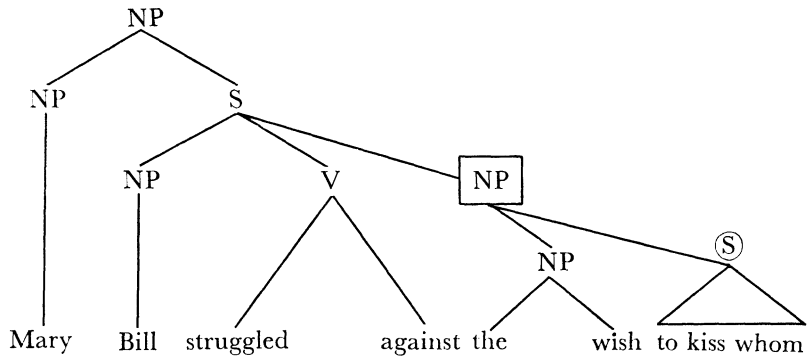
³ Arguments beyond the obvious that such phrases have the structure NP include the following:

Such phrases can serve as the antecedents for appositive relatives:

- (i) Jack wants to marry Sally, which would cost him his fortune.
 (ii) I decided to call Lucy, which Bob opposed.

Nonetheless, the examples are all ill-formed. This is, however, an automatic consequence of the (as Ross showed) independently needed condition (1b) on dragging if the infinitival and gerundial phrases in (10) all have the structure S. That is, to take (10a) for discussion, (1b) will automatically predict the ill-formedness of (10a) if its underlying form is schematically (11) at the point when *Wh* Rel Movement + dragging applies:

(11)



where it is the circled S node whose existence is supported by the ill-formedness of (10a), since this node intervenes between the potential dragger NP, *whom*, and the potential draggee, the boxed NP. Thus examples like (10) provide a direct argument for the S character of infinitival and gerundial phrases, since if the circled S in structures like (11) is replaced by VP or some arbitrary symbol distinct from S, condition (1b) will not predict the ill-formedness of sentences like (10).

There is one further point which might be relevant. The fact that various diverse constituents are characterized as instances of S does not preclude noting differences among them. Thus in groups like:

- (12) a. *Mary, that Bill kisses whom I hope . . .
 b. *Mary, for Bill to kiss whom I hope . . .
 c. *Mary, to kiss whom I hope . . .

- (iii) I like eating eight meals a day, which Melvin says is unhealthy.

Such phrases can serve as the antecedents for types of anaphors which normally have only NP antecedents:

- (iv) Jack wants to marry Sally but I think he should resist *that desire*.
 (v) I decided to call Lucy but I later regretted that $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{act} \\ \text{decision} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$.
 (vi) I like eating eight meals a day but Tony says he could not survive on *that regimen*.

all are ill-formed as a consequence of violating (1b). Nonetheless it may be that the degree of deviation lessens from (a) to (c). This could be explained by postulating a hierarchy in which derived constituents are more or less fully S-like, with tensed clauses most S-like, subject-possessing infinitives and gerunds next, and subjectless gerunds and infinitives still less, with possibly a distinction making gerunds less S-like than infinitives. Such a hierarchy is plausible, although I do not know how to describe it formally. Such distinctions seem to play a role in restricting the possibilities of extracting constituents from different kinds of clauses.⁴

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⁴ Chomsky (to appear) advances some proposals which would constrain extraction from tensed clauses in contrast to nontensed infinitival and gerundial clauses. In particular, he claims that a constituent can be extracted from a tensed clause only if it is in complementizer position, while this is not the case with nontensed clauses. While there can be no doubt, I think, that there is an important core of truth in distinguishing tensed from nontensed clauses with respect to their greater resistance to extraction, and while Chomsky's proposal draws many significant contrasts, the exact formulation seems untenable to me on various grounds. In particular, it requires that unbounded rules like those involved in the movement of question and relative forms operate on every cycle, or, in the terminology of Postal (to appear) *successive cyclically*. But as I argue there, this cannot be the case.

ON CAUSATIVE VERBS AND DERIVED NOMINALS IN ENGLISH

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A number of verbs in English occur both transitively and intransitively, e.g. *turn* (*John turned the wheel*; *The wheel turned*). These verbs are often referred to as causatives.¹ In

¹ Most verbs of this type have a causative meaning. There are, however, verbs with causative meaning that do not occur transitively and intransitively, for instance, *kill*. There are also verbs that occur as transitives and intransitives but without causative meaning, e.g. *read*, *frighten* (*The book reads well*; *Mary frightens easily*).

A serious definition and full treatment of causatives is lacking. For the limited purposes of this note, I refer to verbs as causative if they