

A COMPARISON OF THE MODIFIED NOMINAL PHRASE
IN ENGLISH AND FRENCH

by

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ABSTRACT

The problem which we consider in this thesis is that of the modified noun phrase in French and English. Attention is focussed on the analysis of the modifying adjectives and in particular on their derivation. The derivational source for the adjectives in both English and French is postulated to be the restrictive relative clause. By positing such a structure we are immediately able to transformationally relate other nominal modifying structures, namely the non-restrictive relative clause, the appositive, the participial constructions as well, of course, as the simple pre-nominal adjectives.

In the course of the analysis we develop a grammar related to Chomsky's extended standard theory. Quantifiers, for example, are introduced directly into the Base, indicating that the meaning of a sentence is not entirely established in the Deep Structure. Similarly, we introduce a meaning-changing transformation which derives the non-restrictive from the restrictive relative clause.

Our analysis is guided by the general principle that the Deep Structure should resemble as closely as possible the Surface Structure - a claim based upon the principle of economy. Indeed, it is this principle which ultimately compels us to confront the problem of word synonymy in the derivation of adjectives. It is then in the context of word synonymy and the structure of the Lexicon that we make suggestions concerning the treatment of metaphor and referent, particularly as these affect the French adjectives. ✓

In concluding, we find that in terms of the transformational grammar which we have employed, English and French differ, not at the level of the Deep Structure, but solely at the level of the Transformational component. Here, it is the problems of agreement in French which give rise to rules which do not exist in English. In short, the transformations for the grammar of French are more numerous and complicated than those of English.

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INTRODUCTION

The modified noun phrase in English and French will constitute the subject of this thesis. We will concentrate our analysis on the derivation of the nominal modifiers and the order in which they occur.

There are certain problems which might be termed characteristic of the noun phrase. For English, the major problem is a question of modifier order.¹ For example one says a small green apple but not a green small apple. In French this question of order is also of major concern but relates to two groups of modifiers, those which occur pre-nominally. Traditionally the division of these two groups on the following basis:² adjectives which are either monosyllabic in form or which in content are ordinals or epithets of nature are generally positioned pre-nominally. By contrast, adjectives which are either polysyllabic, or which express colour, physical qualities or are derived from proper nouns, are generally placed post-nominally. A second problem in French, is that of agreement of number and gender. If the adjective modifies more than one noun it is pluralised and is specified as either masculine or feminine gender; if the nouns modified are of different gender, then the adjective is automatically given the epicene plural ending. However, when the adjective refers to two or more nouns it can agree with the noun positionally nearest to it. Finally, two or more adjectives referring to one pluralised noun may be either singular or plural.

In addition to the head noun³ and its modifiers, the structure of the noun phrase in both English and French contain Determiners, and relative clauses. The Determiners consist of Quantifiers and Articles. The relative clause is of two types, namely restrictive and non-restrictive. The object of this study is to show that these structural elements, namely, the relative clause, Determiners and nominal modifiers, interact in a specific way. Since the occurrence of either a restrictive or non-restrictive clause can be syntactically predicted by the presence of the determiners,⁴ we shall now attempt to indicate how the restrictive clause constitutes the source for modifiers which, when in pre-nominal position, function in a contrastive manner. Distinctively or contrastively functioning modifiers will be derived from within restrictive clauses. For example in sentence (1):

(1) Erik bought a yellow car.

yellow is derived from a restrictive clause and is stressed contrastively. If derived from a non-restrictive clause, yellow would not function contrastively nor would it receive contrastive stress.⁵ It would function qualitatively. By postulating these derivational relationships, we are able to relate syntactically the following sentences which are already alike in meaning:⁶

- (2) restrictive clause:
the dog which was brown and old buried his bones in the backyard.
- (3) the dog, which was brown and old, buried his bones in the backyard.

- (4) the dog, brown and old, buried his bones in the backyard.
- (5) the old brown dog buried his bones in the backyard.

Our objective is therefore to formalize the relations between the nominal modifiers, the relative clauses and determiners by means of Phrase Structure Rules and Transformations. Transformational rules and syntactic features required will be introduced as the need arises in the course of the analysis, with a complete list presented at the end of each chapter. We will introduce the Determiners, that is the Quantifiers and Articles, directly into the Base. The majority of nominal modifiers will be derived from adjectives in the predicate attribute position of an embedded relative clause. There exist however, some modifiers which cannot be derived from the same source. Rather, they stem from adverbs, or in some cases, indirectly from other adjectives by means of a transformational rule termed Synonymous Replacement. The adjective former in English and ancien in French are examples of modifiers which, in surface structure, occur as adjectives, but are derived from an adverb in an embedded sentence. In the former prime-minister delivered a thundering speech against American investments in Canada, the embedded S prime-minister held office formerly contains the adverb formerly which will be adjectivalised to produce former. The adjective late as in the late prime-minister is not derived from an embedded S containing the prime-minister is late, since late is an adjective which cannot occur in predicate attribute position. Rather it is derived by means

of synonomous replacement from deceased in the deceased prime-minister.

The problem of order among two or more pre-nominal adjectives and the question of the pre- and post-nominal placement in French will be dealt with by means of selectional restrictions.

Adjectives, which in the surface structure occur in a series, are introduced through different embedded sentences, except in the case of adjectives of colour, such as blue and green dresses, where blue and green may represent one property and hence must be introduced together, in order to distinguish them from blue dresses and green dresses.

To account for the various problems of agreement in French, we make use of the concept of referent. Agreement between an adjective and two or more nouns of different gender, e.g. une consolation et un travail permanents, is achieved by means of postulating a more abstract underlying phrase. This noun phrase differs from those which it dominates in that it contains only syntactic features, among which occurs the feature for referent, represented by 'R'. The noun phrase, containing only syntactic features, indicates that the two or more dominated noun phrases are functioning syntactically as one unit and not as two. As one unit, the gender specified is epicene.

In those cases where an adjective agrees with the closest noun in a series, e.g., un bonheur et une gaïeté particulière,

the claim will be made that agreement is effected by means of one embedded sentence attached to the noun with which the adjective agrees.

Finally, the feature of referent is employed to account for the placing of two or more singular adjectives with a plural noun, e.g., les philosophies Greque, Chinoise et Allemande. Specifying the referent in the noun as 2 R 1 permits a discrepancy in Number between the noun and adjective. The 2 R 1 simply indicates that there are different referents each of which is singular.

The sentences upon which the analysis is based are presented in groups, according to the particular problem of the noun phrase which they exemplify.

FOOT-NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. Cf. Barritt, The Order Classes of English Modifiers:
pp. 92-128.
2. Cf. Grevisse, Le Bon Usage: pp. 138-41.
3. Cf. Strang, Modern English Structure: pp. 61.
4. Cf. Smith, "Determiners and relative clauses in a generative grammar of English."
5. This is not to say that the sentence is unstressed prior to the application of contrastive stress. The sentence is indeed stressed, however, with non-contrastive stress. An additional way to stress semantically in English is by means of inversion of the normal order of adjective modifiers. For example, the yellow small car, as opposed to the more normal small yellow car, would stress the colour yellow.
6. Cf. Lees, "The constituent structure of noun phrases."

CHAPTER 1

ANALYSIS OF THE MODIFIED NOUN PHRASE IN ENGLISH

We begin our analysis of the modified noun phrase in English by considering the pre-nominal modifiers and their derivational source. We will endeavour to account for such sentences as the following:

- (1) The small dog stood at the gate.
- (2) The tall man walked into the house.
- (3) The Catholic Church is situated on 48th Avenue.
- (4) The late de Gaulle smoked a packet of Gauloises every day.
- (5) The heavy smoker decided one day to abandon the habit.
- (6) The laughing girl distributed leaflets of a very serious nature.
- (7) The dull book bored everyone.
- (8) *The ill boy is not patient, (the boy is ill).¹
- (9) *The last Frenchman... (the Frenchman is last² in the game).
- (10) The right side of the book, *the side is right.
- (11) The left side of the book, *the side is left.
- (12) My old friend, *my friend is old.
- (13) Some small dogs stood at the gate.

Before proceeding directly to the derivation of the pre-nominal adjectives in sentences (1)-(7), we will consider more closely the derivational system to be employed, and more particularly, how the restrictions upon the occurrence of the non-restrictive clause are to be dealt with. Briefly, the

occurrence of a non-restrictive clause is obligatory when the noun it modifies is preceded by either the Unique Determiners, that is \emptyset (before generic or proper nouns), or optional if the Specified Determiners, the, a and \emptyset . The restrictive clause is employed when the noun is preceded by either the Unspecified Determiners, all, some etc., by the Specified Determiners or when the main verb is a copula, such as to be, to seem, to appear etc. We choose to derive the non-restrictive from the restrictive clause, because of the greater number of syntactic environments in which the latter occurs. The Phrase Structure rules employed throughout the derivation are as follows (we recall that a list of the transformations is presented at the end of each chapter):

S	----->	NP	VP
NP	----->	NP ⁿ	S ⁿ
		Det	N
VP	----->	(neg)	Vb ⁽ⁿ⁾ (NP)
Vb	----->	Vb	Vb
		α , β narr.	α , β narr.

As noted above, both the restrictive and non-restrictive clause may occur in the environment of the Specified Determiners. This dual possibility leads therefore to a situation of choice. In effect, the speaker chooses to use either the restrictive or non-restrictive clause. In general, the speaker-hearer may view things in the empirical world either in isolation or as related to other things, that is, contrastively. If a speaker chooses to view a phenomenon in isolation then any information contained in a relative clause can function only in a qualifying

or supplementary fashion. However, the same phenomenon may be also viewed contrastively, that is in relation to other things in a group. To observe this duality, let us consider the following sentences:

- (14) \emptyset Jim, who got married on Saturday last, works downtown.
- (15) * \emptyset Jim who got married on Saturday last works downtown.
- (16) The Jim who got married on Saturday last works downtown.

In the first sentence, we have a proper noun Jim. The man called Jim is being viewed in isolation. Consequently, the information contained in the relative clause is supplementary. It cannot function distinctively, since Jim is not viewed in relation to any one else. Sentence number (15) is ungrammatical. The more acceptable form is (16) in which Jim is now regarded as a member of a group of men named Jim. Therefore, the speaker views Jim contrastively. Nevertheless, there exists a certain number of phenomena, either of an empiric or sociological nature which can be perceived only in isolation. They are never interpreted as forming part of a group, in that there exists no group to which they can belong. That is they share no quality or property with any other phenomenon. For Moslems, Christians, and Jews, there is only one God, a God, that is without comparison; in our solar system, there is only one sun. We note the following two sentences:

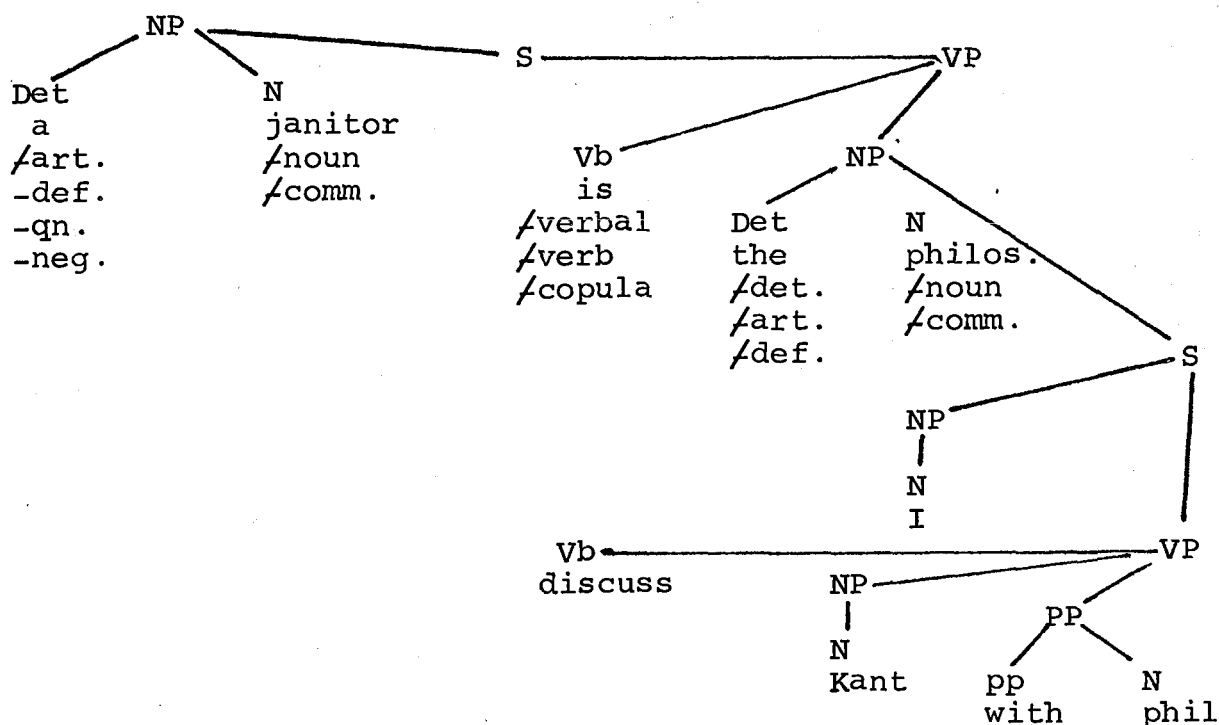
- (17) The sun, which has a molten surface, constitutes the greatest source of heat and energy in our solar system.

- (18) *The sun which has a molten surface constitutes the greatest source of heat and energy in our solar system.

We observe that sentence (18) is unacceptable since the sun cannot be contrasted,³ hence no restrictive may occur. In summary, in the environment of Specified Determiners a relative clause may be either restrictive or non-restrictive according to the intention of the speaker and the constraints of sociological and empirical suppositions of the language community.

Continuing now the formal analysis, let us consider the derivation of the relative clauses with a copula verb:⁴

- (19) A janitor is the philosopher with whom I discussed Kant.

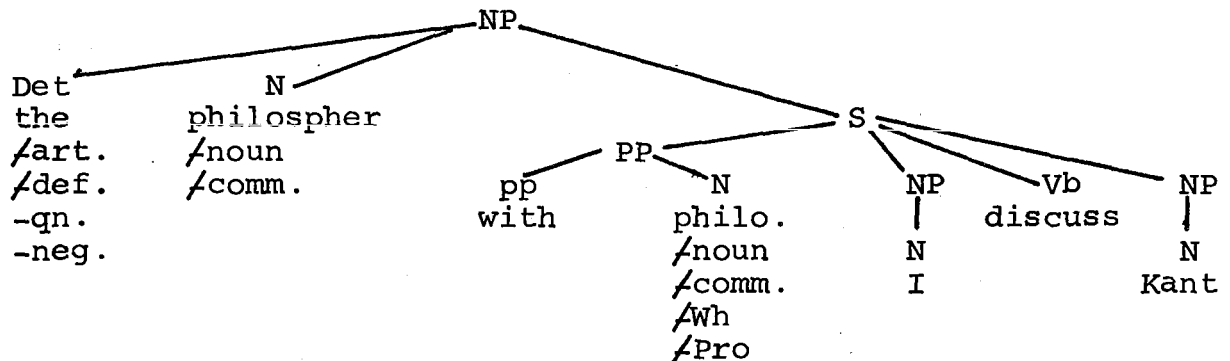


The Relative Clause Transformation (4) now applies and effects two changes; Wh and Pro are added to the noun segment in the identical NP of the embedded S, and then, (in this case since

the identical NP 'philosopher' is found at the end of the sentence), moves this identical NP to initial position in the embedded S. The form of the Relative Clause Transformation is:⁵

$$N \dots \text{---} \rightarrow N \ / \text{Pro, } / \text{Wh} \dots \ / \text{ (Det) } N \ S$$

We now have the following structure:



By means of a lexicalisation rule, the relativized noun will be converted into a relative pronoun who, if the noun is specified /Human, and that or which if the specification is -Human. The restrictive relative clause with whom I discuss Kant cannot be converted into a non-restrictive due to the presence of the /copula main verb to be. That is, the environment does not permit the application of the non-restrictive transformation or Sa Rule which normally would effect this change. We note the form of the Sa Rule:

$$S \text{ -----} \rightarrow Sa \ / \ Art \ N \ Vb \ Art \ N$$

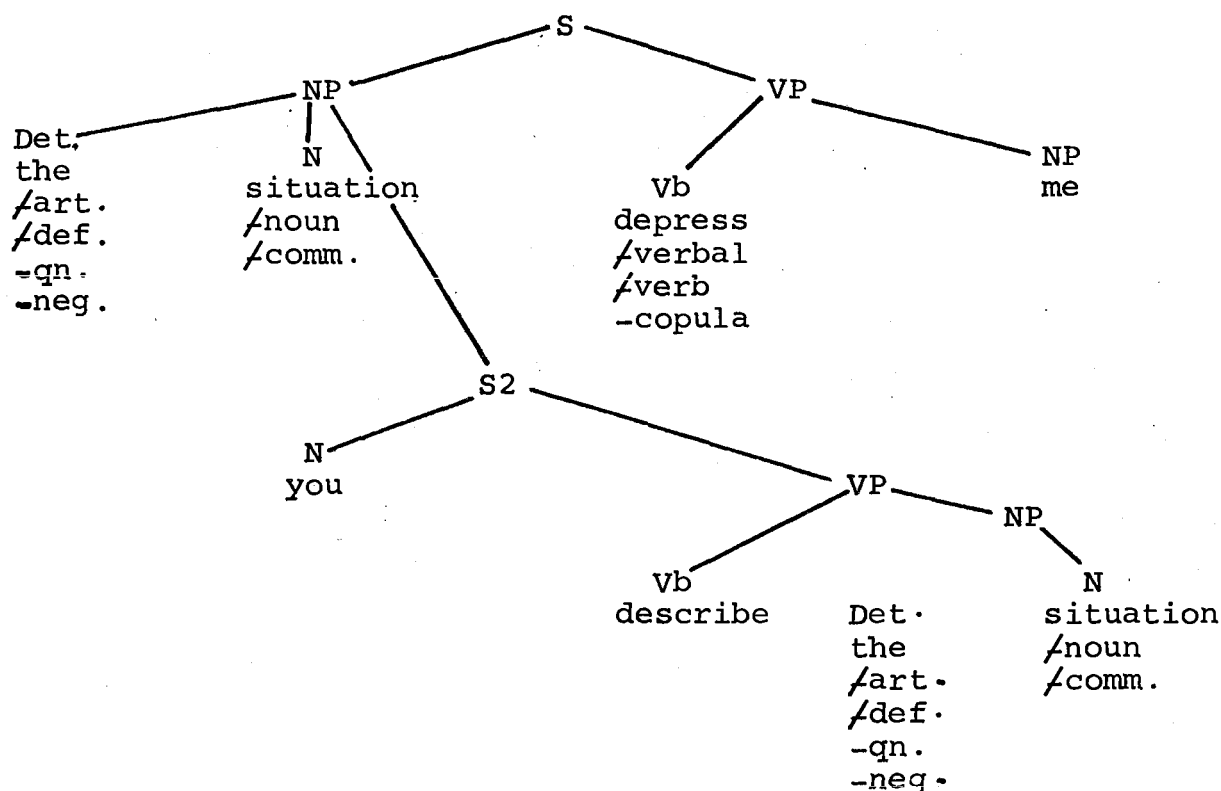
$$Art \ N \ Vb \ (Art \ N)$$

$$\ / \text{copula} \ (\ Adj)$$

where S is a restrictive embedded clause, and Sa a non-restrictive clause.⁶

Let us consider the derivation of a sentence with a -copula verb:

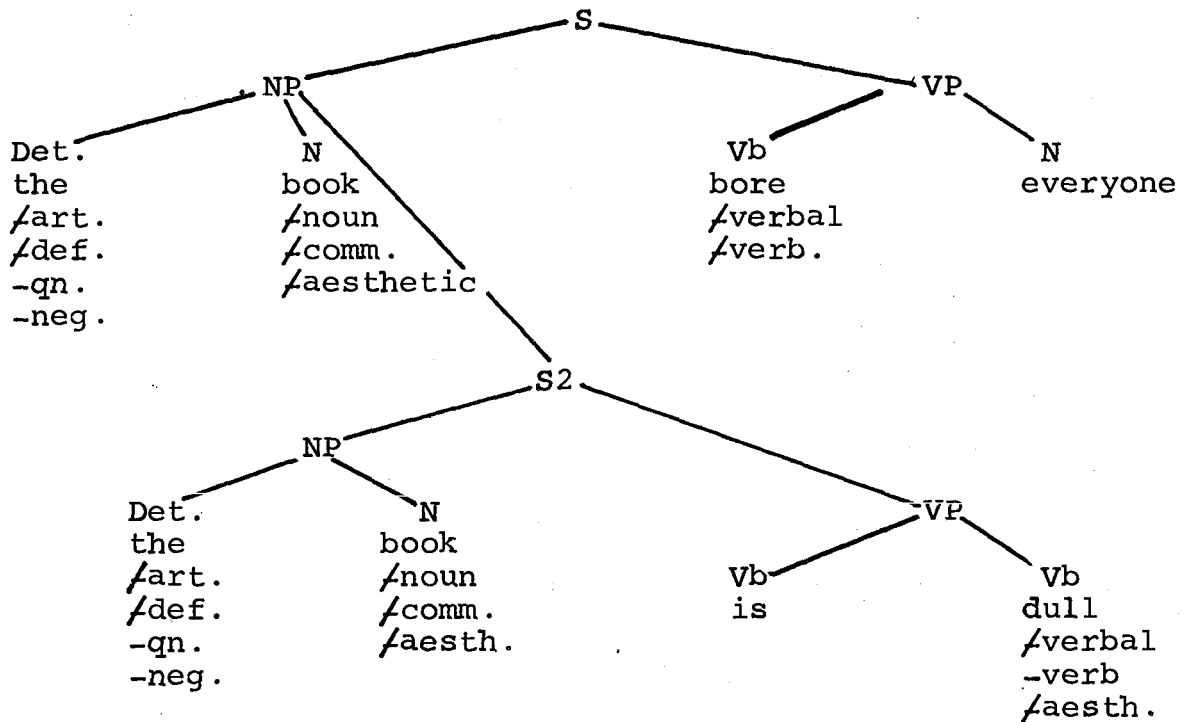
(20) The situation, which you describe, depresses me.



At this point the Sa transformation may apply since the environment is appropriate, namely, a transitive main verb, and /article for the Determiner.

We now consider the analysis of sentences (1)-(7) on the basis of the derivations which we have just presented for the restrictive and non-restrictive clauses. We take as a typical example, sentence (7):

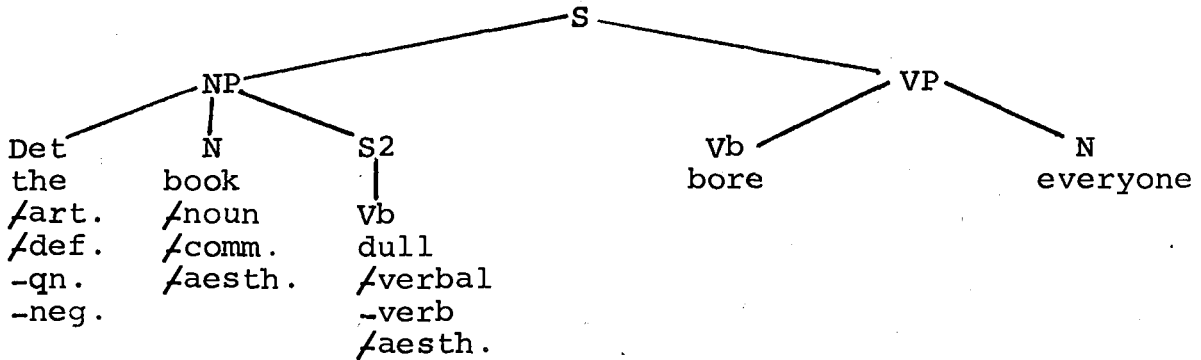
(7) The dull book bored everyone.



We note that S2 may undergo the non-restrictive transformation and become an Sa. As noted in the Introduction, the non-restrictive clauses will be used as the source for adjectives and other modifiers which function qualitatively. The modifiers which function distinctively, are derived from the restrictive clause. In surface structure, the distinctively functioning modifiers will be subject to contrastive stress. Accepting that it remains restrictive, the clause undergoes the following transformations: the Relative Clause transformation adds the features /Pro and /Wh to the noun book in the second NP. The lexicalisation rule then applies giving, book which is dull bored everyone. The Relative Clause Reduction transformation now applies to delete all the segments preceding a constituent marked /verbal -verb,; the form of the rule is:

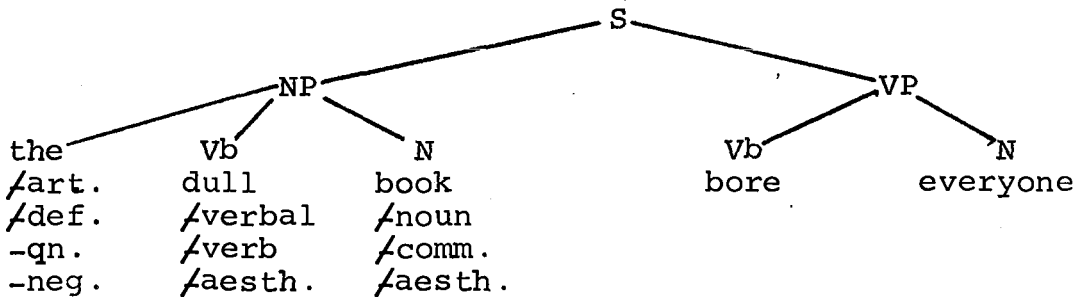
(5) S2 BCDE Y, /verbal, -verb. , -----> S Y, /verbal
-verb...

where BCDE refer to all segments preceding the +verbal, -verb, constituent. The structure is now:



Part (ii) of the Transposition rule (6) now applies. The form of the rule is:

(ii) (Q) (art) N S Y, /verbal, -verb... ----->
(Q) (art) N Y, /verbal, -verb... S



We note before passing onto succeeding derivations that the possibility of co-occurrence of a modifier and a noun is determined in the original relative clause. That is, if the attributive can occur in predicate position, then it can modify the noun in pre-nominal position.

We consider now sentences (8) and (9):

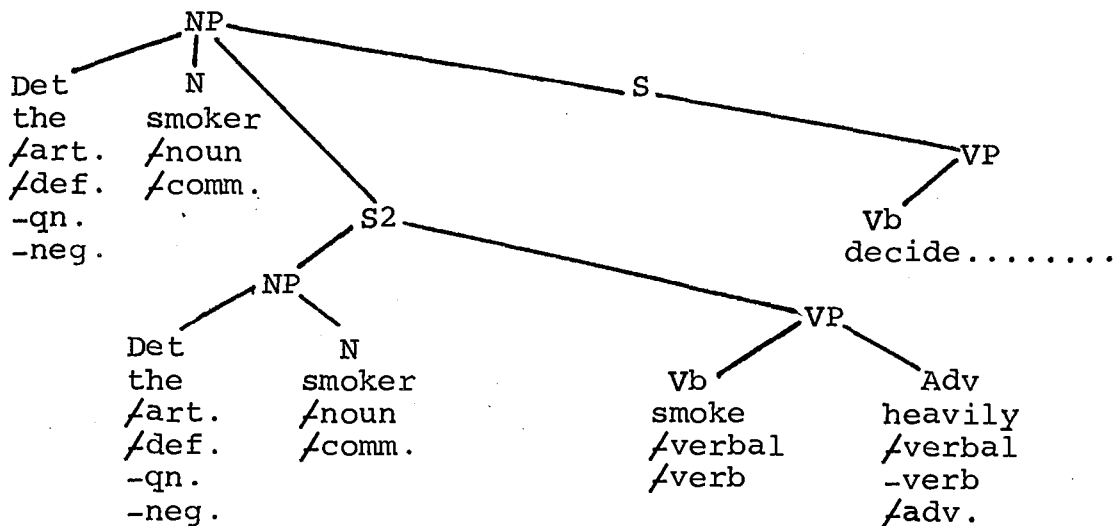
(8) *The ill boy is not patient, (the boy is ill).

- (9) *The last Frenchman (The Frenchman is last in the game).

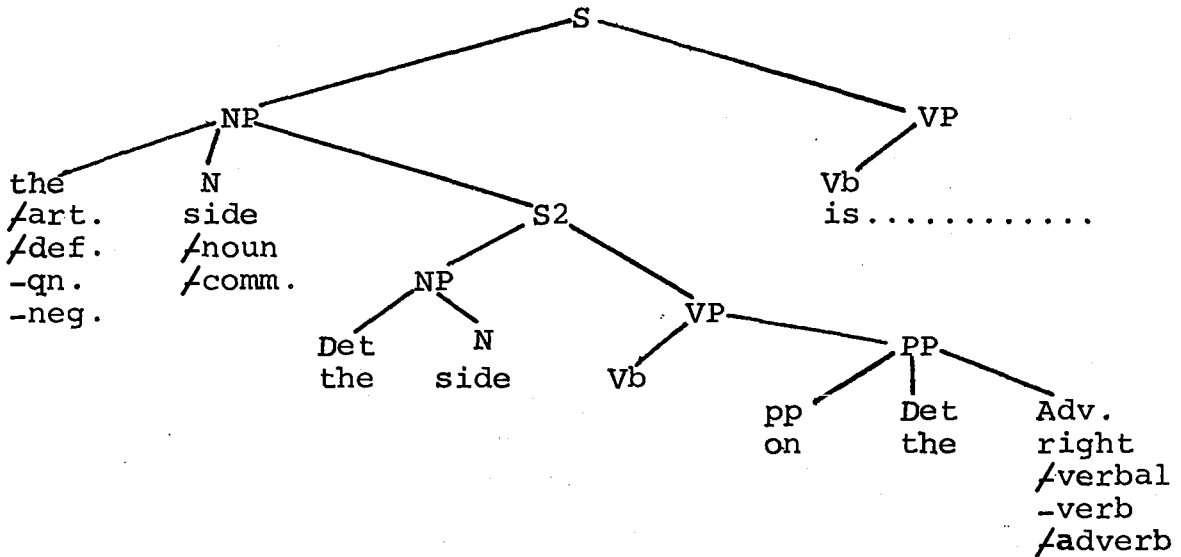
In both cases the adjectives ill and last cannot occur in surface structure pre-nominal position. This distributional peculiarity is resolved by specification in the lexicon. These two lexical items and any others which have a similar distributional gap, that is, those which in surface structure do not occur in predicate nominal position, will be marked for non-occurrence in pre-nominal position. Consequently, after their insertion in the Base, the application of the Transposition transformation will be blocked.

Continuing on to sentences (5), (10) and (11), we observe that all three are similar, due to the behaviour of their pre-nominal adjectives. The adjectives are in fact derived from adverbs. We note the following derivations:

- (5) The heavy smoker decided one day to abandon the habit.



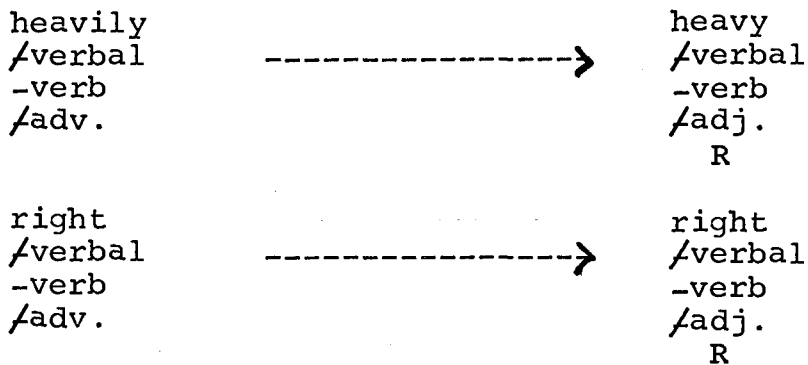
(10) The right side is where the difficulty is situated.



The transformations 1, 2, 4, 5, 6 apply normally with the result that both heavily and right are transposed to pre-nominal position.

The Adjectivalisation rule now applies to convert the adverbs heavily and right to the adjectives heavy and right.

The change would be essentially the following:

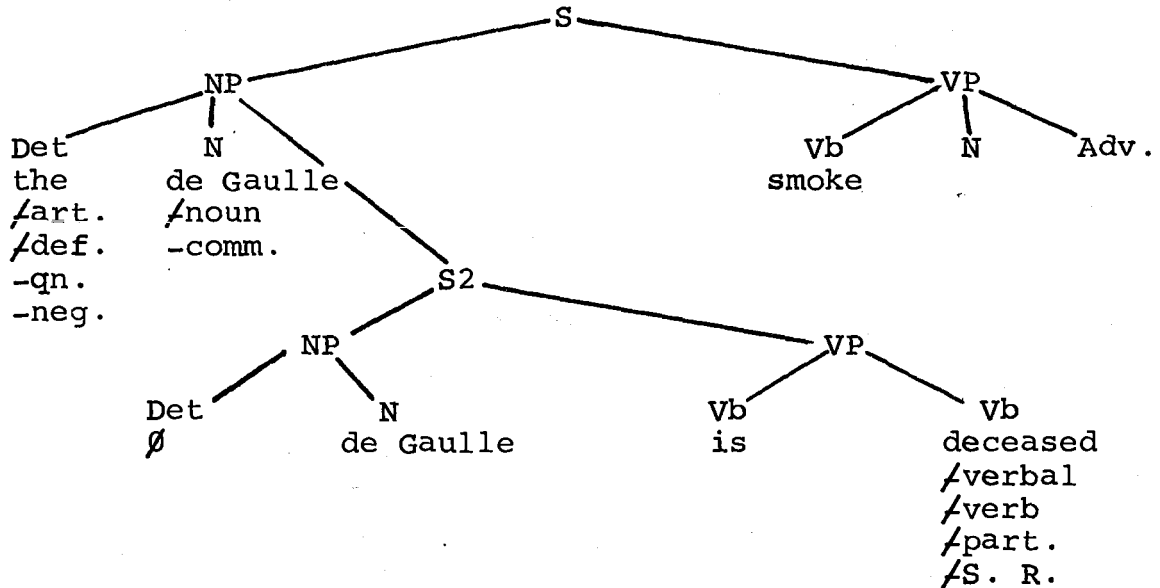


The meaning of the symbol R will be discussed later in the thesis. (see page)

Passing on to sentences (4) and (12) we find that they involve essentially the expansion of the lexicon to include

something like a thesaurus.⁷ The derivation of sentence (4) is as follows: .

- (4) The late de Gaulle smoked a packet of Gauloises every day.



We note that deceased has been specified S. R., indicating synonymous replacement. That is, in the lexicon under the entry deceased there will be indicated various synonyms such as late, deceased, dead, passed away, kicked the bucket etc. In addition, the distributional pattern of each word will be indicated. For example, with the word late, one will find only the pre-nominal position indicated. Since late can be derived from a clause, we insert it by means of synonymous replacement. Whether or not replacement is to occur is indicated by either / or - S. R. Thus, through synonymous replacement the correct result is produced, namely, (4) The late de Gaulle smoked...

In the following paragraphs we will deal with the restrictions arising from negation and quantification. However,

before proceeding to the actual derivations, we shall consider briefly the way in which quantifiers and negators are to be introduced into the grammar. Both are to be generated directly in the Base by means of the Phrase Structure rules. Quantifiers will be introduced directly in the Base since, if we were to introduce them via embedded relative clauses, we would be obliged to form a new restriction to prevent sentences such as the following from being produced:

(21) *Men who are several are speaking English.

(22) *Men who are blond and several are speaking French.

Introducing quantifiers directly into the Base avoids this problem entirely. We observe firstly that quantification may be:

(a) either positive or negative in meaning;

(b) that negative quantification may be realised grammatically either as a negative quantificative adjective or as a negative adverb plus a positive quantifier.

Some of the adverbial constructions which are equivalent to the above negative quantifiers are the following:⁸

(a) not all (few), (b) not many (few) (c) not much (little).

In this analysis, however, we shall restrict ourselves to quantificational adjectives, positive and negative, and exclude the negative adverbs plus positive quantifier as a source. The reasons for this decision are as follows: (i) in a phrase such as not many dogs, one has in effect a derived structure. That is, the adverb not is derived from an underlying negated verb, which has been deleted. It would therefore be impossible

to generate this structure in the noun phrase. However, if we use the quantitative adjective, we can proceed in a straightforward manner, introducing them directly into the Base.⁹

(ii) furthermore, we consider the negative adverb plus a positive quantifier to be synonymous with the negative quantificative adjective. Since the latter is simpler to handle, we choose to employ it rather than the more complex derived structure to represent negative quantification of noun phrase.

The following constitute positive quantifiers:¹⁰

- (a) some, (b) all, (c) each, (d) every, (e) several, (f) many, (g) much.

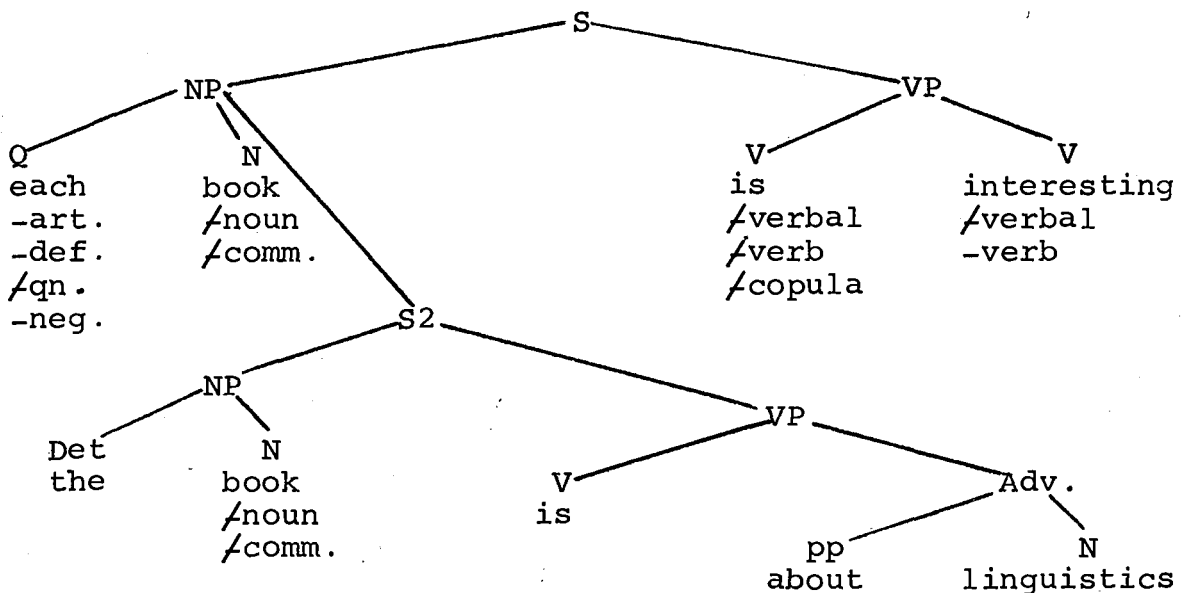
The negative quantifiers are represented by:

- (a) none, (b) no, (c) few, (d) little, (e) no one.

Let us observe the derivation of the following sentence

(24):

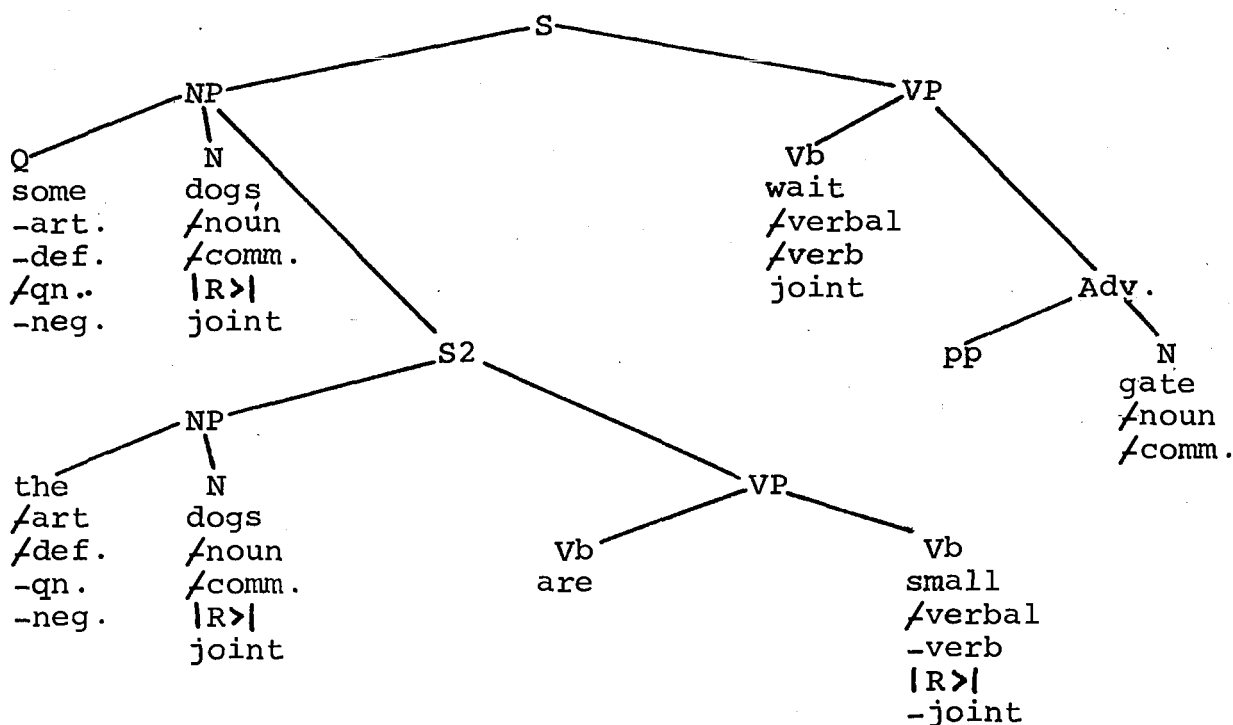
(24) Each book which is about linguistics is interesting.



We note that the presence of the embedded Q indicating positive quantifier, prevents the application of the Sa Transformation. The relative clause transformations 4 and 5, are now activated to produce Each book which is about linguistics is interesting.

We now observe the derivation of a sentence such as (13):

(13) Some small dogs waited at the gate.



Firstly, we note that the application of the Sa Transformation is blocked, just as in the earlier example, by the presence of the positive quantifier. From this point, the transformations leading to the transposition of the verbal small to pre-nominal position will apply.

The derivation of sentences with negative quantifiers and adverbs is as follows:

(25) *John has no book, which deals with linguistics.

(26) ~~We~~ never go to the opera house, which is in West-Berlin.¹¹

(27) ~~No~~ antique dealer, who had any sense, would buy a piece of furniture, which was less than a hundred year old.

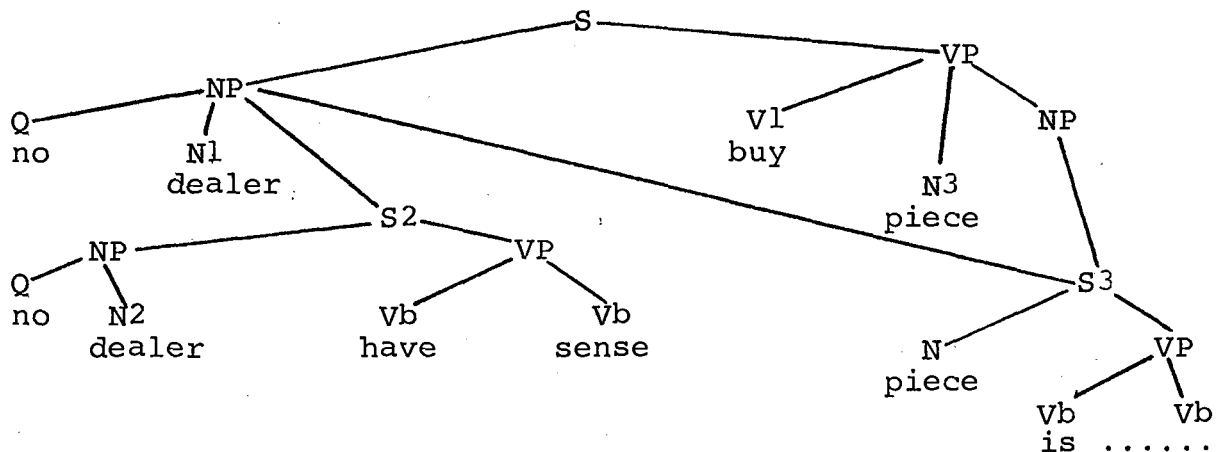
The derivation of sentence (25) proceeds in a straight-forward fashion similar to the examples with the positive quantifier. In this case it is the presence of the negative quantifier preceding the second noun book that will prevent the Sa Transformation from applying and hence the generation of deviant sentence (25). Examples (26) and (27) however, indicate the way in which negative quantification possesses a scope or range. To formally account for this range we introduce a special rule termed the Transformation Marking Rule. The form of the rule is the following:

(i) N neg Vb N S ----> N neg Vb Q N S
/neg

(ii) Q N Vb B S ----> Q neg Vb Q S
/neg /neg. /neg.

We now consider the derivation of sentence (27):

(27) ~~No~~ antique dealer, who had any sense, would buy a piece of furniture, which was less than a hundred years old.



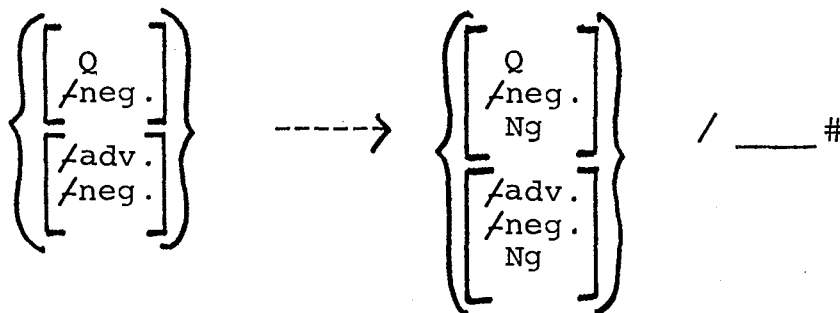
The Transformation Marking Rule will apply assigning a negative adverb to Vb1, i.e., buy and a negative quantifier to the N3, i.e., piece. In this way the scope of a negative quantifier placed before a subject NP is extended to include all the constituents of the sentence. Thus, the Sa Transformation cannot apply to convert either S2 or S3 to non-restrictive clauses. If this derivation were translated directly into surface structure we would have in effect three negatives. Something of the following nature would result:

No dealer ... would not buy no furniture ...

In order to render the sentence acceptable, all but one of the negatives must be removed. To achieve this reduction we formulate the following surface resetting rule:

Ng 1 -----> Ng1/ _____ #

The rule will apply recursively, beginning at the end of the sentence. It will eliminate, proceeding two constituents at a time, the second of two occurrences of two or more negatives. The application of this resetting rule will be preceded by that of another rule which will re-mark the negative constituents whether they be adverbs or adjectives, with the same symbol Ng. The form of the Re-marking rule is the following:



The rule applies recursively beginning at the end of the sentence, marking each segment which is already specified as being negative. Such a remarking is based upon the fact that in surface structure the negative quantifiers and the negative adverbs all function alike, that is, simply as negative constituents. Therefore, they may be represented by merely one symbol Ng.

We note that when the Ng is removed from before an N, it is frequently replaced by the indefinite article a. Thus, after the application of our resetting rule, the derivation for sentence (c) will have the following form:

No antique dealer ... would buy (a) piece of furniture...

We shall now consider conjunction in the noun phrase. There can exist conjunction of two major constituents, either conjunction of nouns together, or conjunction of verbals (adjectives). By means of the derivations to be proposed, we shall endeavour to account for the occurrence of conjunction in sentences such as the following:

- (28) The erudite professor and scholar played a game of cards together.
- (29) The erudite professors and scholars played a game of cards together.
- (30) The Catholic and Protestant churches are situated on the corner.
- (31) The Catholic and Protestant churches in Vancouver are of a dubious architectural value.
- (32) Some small children bought fish in the market.
- (33) The explicit and easy to read rules confused us all.

- (34) All black and white dogs are to be kept on one side of the exposition area.
- (35) Some nationalists and all separatists believe that Quebec must become independent.
- (36) Some black and white dogs are to be kept on one side of the exposition area.
- (37) No black and white dogs are to be kept on that side of the exposition area.
- (38) No black or white dogs are to be kept on that side of the exposition area.
- (39) All the separatists but none of (no) nationalists were present at the trial of Pierre Vallieres.
- (40) The small intelligent girls bought the fish together.
- (41) The small intelligent girl bought the fish by herself.

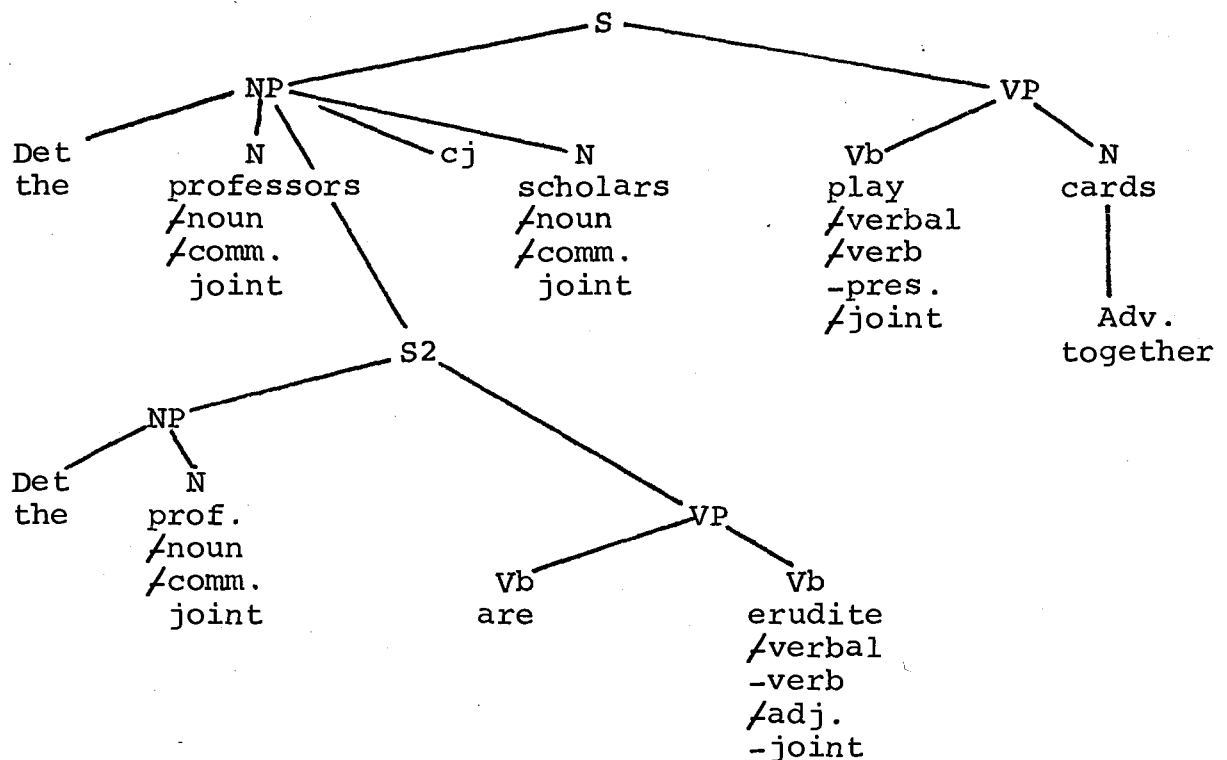
Let us consider firstly sentence (18)¹²

- (~~18~~³²) Some small children bought fish in the market together.

While the subject of the sentence children is not a compound noun, it will nevertheless serve as an example to introduce a syntactic feature which plural common nouns share with conjoined nouns. This syntactic feature, which we shall term joint, arises from the affirmative qualities of the verbals.¹² That is, if the subject is plural then one may have a particular quality affirmed either of it taken as a group, or simply of the individuals which compose the group. Likewise, some verbs have the potentiality of referring to both the individuals and the group. Thus, in sentence (32), because the properties of the verb to buy are joint, we may affirm of the children, either as individuals that they bought the fish, i.e., -joint,

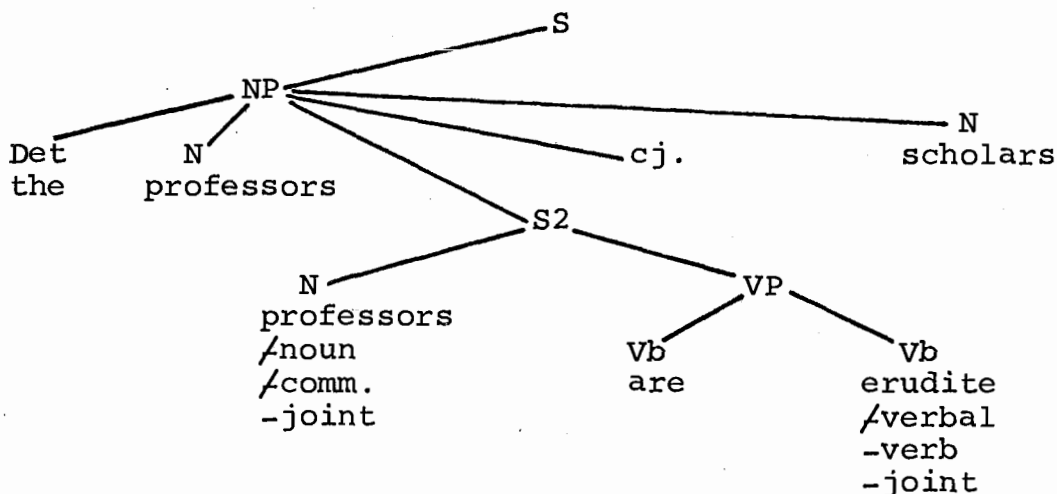
or that they as a group, i.e. /joint bought the fish. The same range of possibilities holds true for the verbal small. The children are either considered as a group to be small, that is /joint, or they are affirmed to be small individually, i.e., -joint. The feature joint will be one of the inherent features in the lexical specification of verbals, and will be indicated as being either /, - or $\frac{1}{2}$. The lexical specification of each noun, will contain the feature joint but in unspecified form. We may ~~not~~ consider the derivation of sentence (28) using the feature joint:

(28) The erudite professors and scholars played a game of cards together.

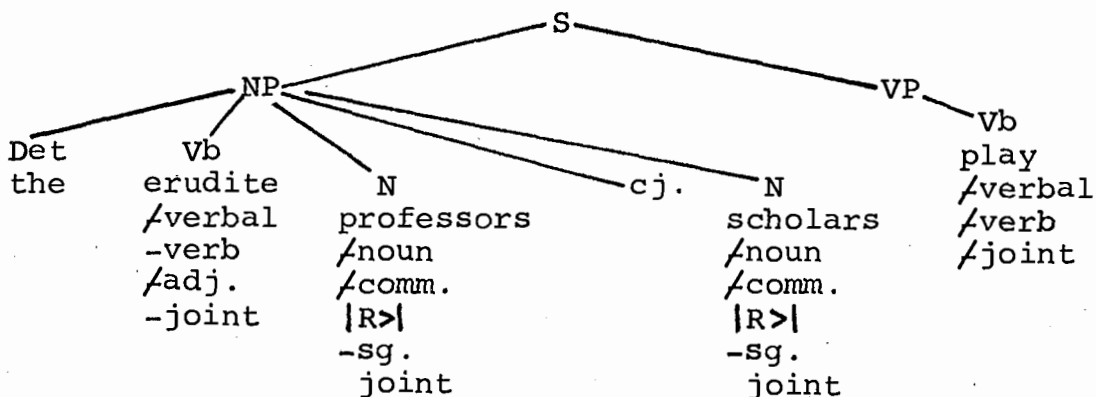


The first rule to apply is the Joint Marking Transformation.
The form of this rule is:

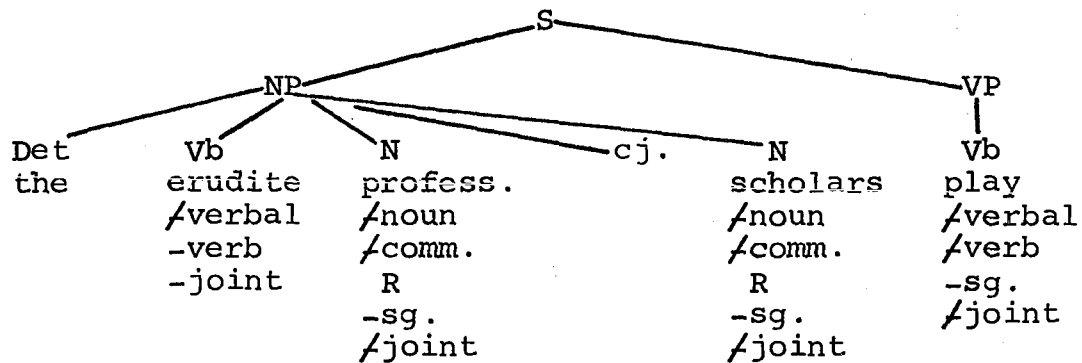
N joint, Vb ... α joint, -----> N ... α joint, Vb... α joint.
 The rule simply indicates that the value of the Vb is assigned to the feature joint in the NP. This rule will apply cyclically, starting from the lowest embedded constituent and proceeding to the highest. As a result of the first application of the Joint Marking rule we have the following structure:



The transformations 1, 4, 5, 6, now apply to transpose the verbal erudite to pre-nominal position. In this example we have affirmed the verbal erudite of the professors only and not of the scholars.¹³ This difference is formally indicated by the existence of only one embedded S which was later transformed into a relative clause. The structure is now:



The Joint Marking Transformation now applies twice (or as many times as there are noun phrases in the environment of a Vb which has a specific value for joint) taking the value /joint from the Vb play and assigning it to both occurrences of N.



We note that the difference in value between the joint of erudite and the joint of professors does not affect the Transposition rule. For the latter was activated when erudite and professors were non-distinct.

To generate verbals which in surface structure appear as conjoined structures, we recognize two different and independent structures. The first consists of two conjoined embedded sentences: the second contains only one S, but has the verbals already conjoined. The decision to postulate two different structures for the generation of verbals is based upon the following observations:

(i) structures such as are explicit and easy to read cannot be generated directly as a conjoined constituent, as one of the constituents, easy to read is a derived structure. Hence, the two segments, easy to read and explicit must be introduced by means of conjoined embedded sentences.

(ii) the use of conjoined sentences permits a subordinate relationship among the verbals. That is, there may exist in the same sentence, two verbals, one which is derived from a non-restrictive clause and which will operate qualitatively in pre-nominal position; the other verbal may be derived from a restrictive relative clause and will function distinctively in prenominal position. However, if one were to introduce the verbals directly as conjoined constituents, it would be impossible to generate both restrictive and non-restrictive clauses in the same embedded sentence.

(iii) there is a limited number of verbals, especially the adjectives of colour, which occur in the surface as a conjoined constituent and which must be generated also as a conjoined constituent. For the two adjectives taken together, e.g. black and white represent one property which is affirmed of the NP. We therefore recognize a second structure, namely one embedded S, in which two verbals are introduced directly as a conjoined constituent. Conjoined structures are generated by means of the following rule:

$$Vb^n \quad \text{-----} \rightarrow \quad Vb \quad \text{cj.} \quad Vb$$

$$\alpha, \beta \text{ narr.} \quad \alpha, \beta \text{ narr.}$$

The values substituted for alpha and beta must be the same for both adjectives, indicating that both come from the same lexical group, e.g., black and white are subsumed under adjectives of colour. We note that only those adjectives which are members of the same lexical group can form together a single property affirmed of a noun. Hence, it is only these adjectives which

can be generated as a conjoined constituent.

We now consider sentences with conjoined modifiers. In this category are grouped examples (34), (36), (37), (38), (40) and (41). We restrict our analysis to sentence (36) since it contains at least three points of interest.

- (36) Some black and white dogs are to be kept on one side of the exposition area.

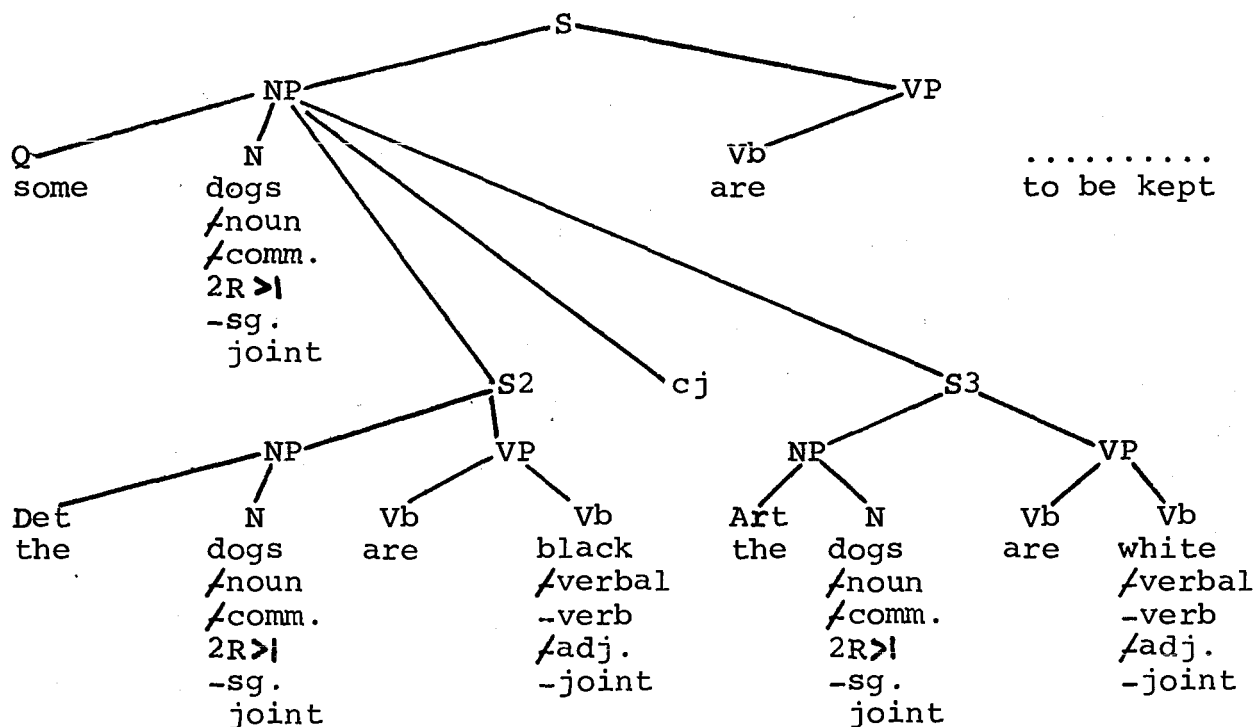
We note the following paraphrases:

- (36a) Some dogs which are white, and some (other) dogs which are black are to be kept on one side of the exposition area.

- (36b) Some dogs which are both black and white in colour are to be kept on one side of the exposition area.

The problem here, is essentially one of referent. A plural common noun may refer to one or more groups of objects or people. That is, a common noun may contain one or more groups of objects or people. That is, a common noun may contain one or more group referents. If two or more verbals are affirmed of the same one group and represent one property, then they will be introduced as a conjoined structure in the Base. However, if there is more than one group referent and the verbals are each affirmed of a different group referent or if one verbal functions contrastively and the other referent qualitatively, then the verbals are introduced each in a separate embedded sentence. To symbolize group referent we use the symbol R, with the number of different group referents indicated by an integer to the left of R. In addition there exists the problem of joint. Are we speaking of dogs that are individually black or (and) white, or are we speaking of dogs, that are viewed as

a group because they share the same colour. Both interpretations in this respect are possible, and it simply depends upon what the speaker wishes to signify. The third problem is the presence of the quantifier some in a conjoined NP. Our derivation of the sentence (36a) is the following:



The Joint Marking Transformation applies, assigning the value - to joint in the NP of S2, and then reapplies to S3. We note that both S3, and S2, will remain restrictive clauses due to the presence of the quantifier some which prevents the application of the Sa Transformation. The next rule to apply is the Conjunction Insertion Transformation. The form of this rule is the following:

N ... 2R Vb cj Vb -----> N ... 2R, Vb cjo Vb

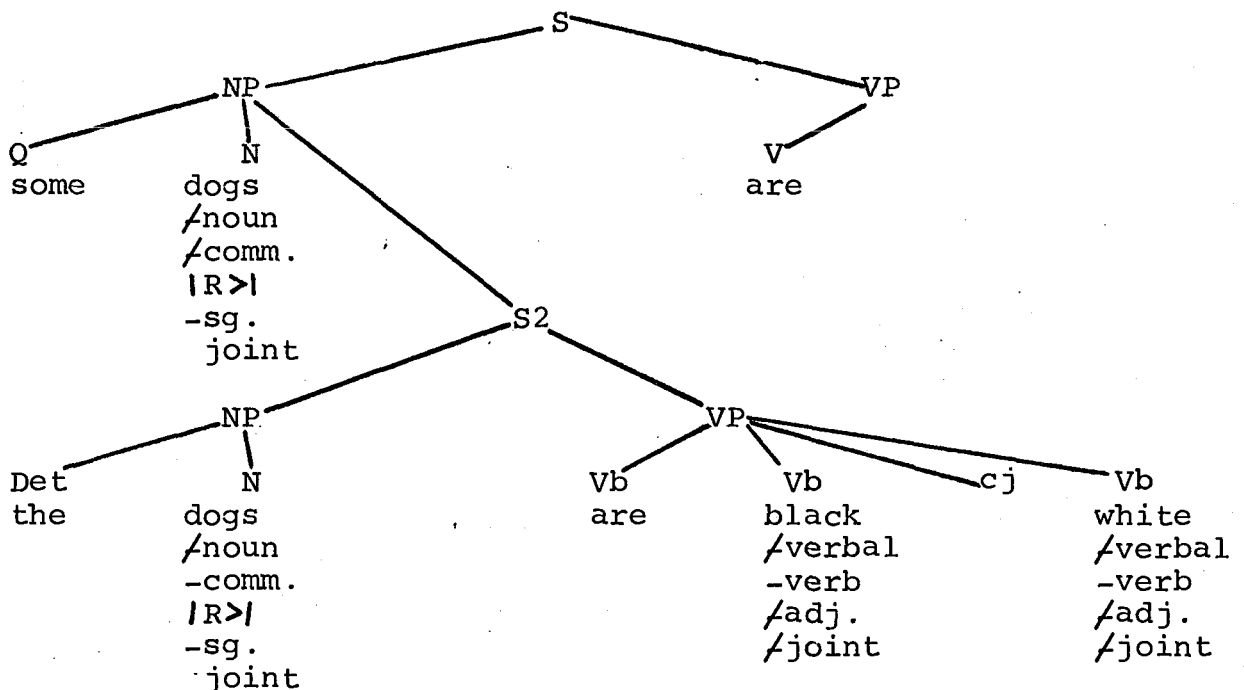
The purpose of this rule is to mark the already present

cj. in such a fashion as to prevent its deletion when transposition takes place. That is, a co-ordinating conjunction is obligatory between two or more pre-nominal modifiers, when the plural subject noun contains more than one referent. That the plural common noun dogs makes reference to more than one group of dogs, is indicated by 2 R. We observe that only one positive quantifier has been generated. This one Q suffices in that it includes the S 2 and the S 3 within its scope.

We shall now consider the derivation for paraphrase (36b):

(36b) Some dogs which are both black and white
in colour are to be kept on one side of
the exposition area.

In this case, only one group referent is contained in the common noun dogs. Thus we have the following structure:



The Joint Marking Transformation applies firstly followed by the other transformations which will lead to the transposition

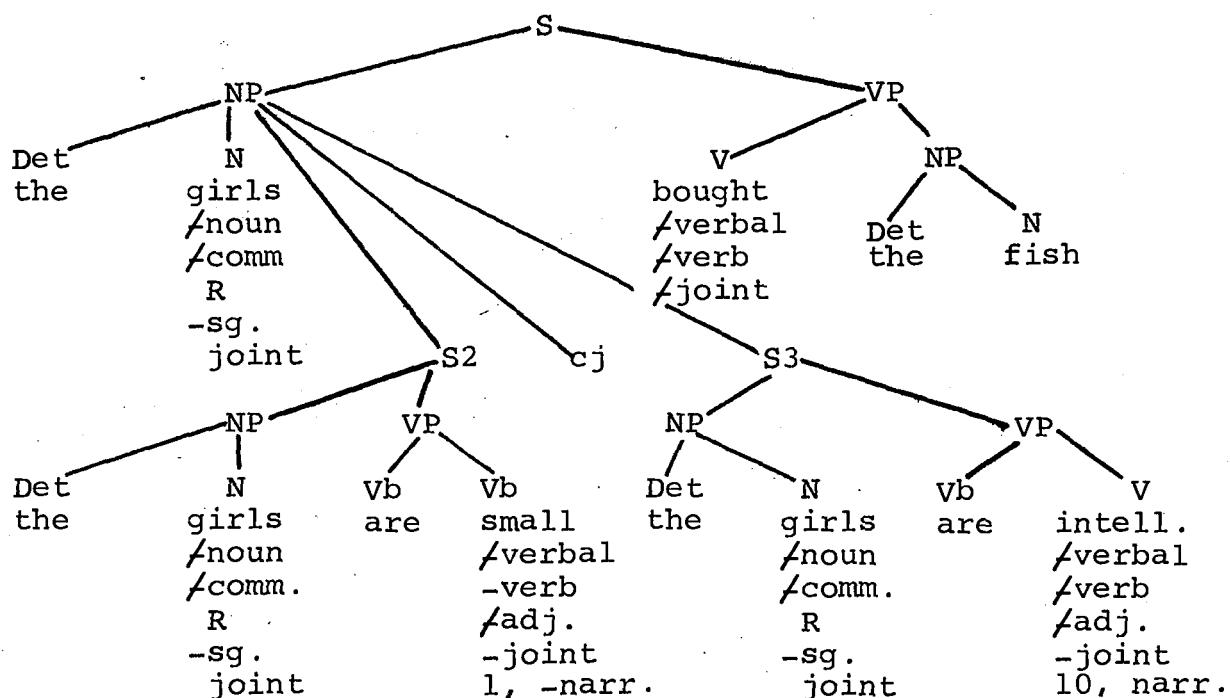
of the two verbals black and white to pre-nominal position. It is in cases of Discourse Pronominalisation in English that the number of members composing a group referent becomes significant. If there are two group referents each with only one member, then we must indicate this fact in the noun. This we do by affixing the integer 1 to the right side of R. The 1 corresponds to the total of one member in each group referent. Thus, 2R1 would correspond to two group referents each with one member. A specification of 2R1 indicates that the pronominalisation must be singular. For example sentence (42):

(42) the men were working, one had a pick and the other an axe.

If the noun is specified with a greater sign (>) to the right, then plural pronominalisation, some ... others, is required.¹⁴

We consider sentence (40):

(40) The small intelligent girls bought the fish together.



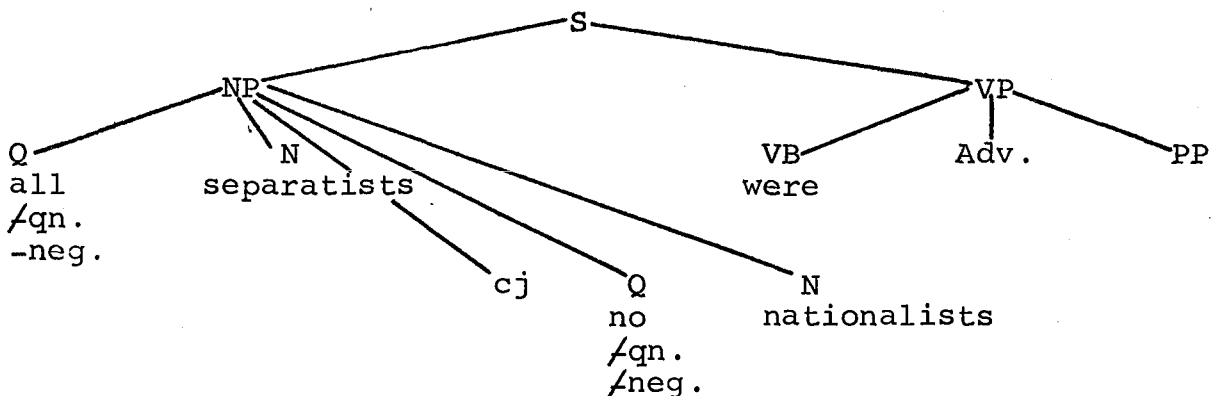
The Joint Marking Transformation applies first to the embedded S2 and S3 assigning the value - to the feature joint to the nouns. At this point the Sa Transformation may apply, producing upon cyclical application Sa cj Sa. Ultimately, we will have two pre-nominal modifiers; that both embedded Ss are now Sa indicates two facts: both verbals when transposed will act qualitatively, and there is a type of co-ordinate relationship between the two verbals and the 1 R subject noun girls. That is, it is affirmed that the girls belong simultaneously to the class of small things and to the class of clever things. On the other hand, were the Sa Transformation not to apply different results again would obtain: (a) in pre-nominal position the adjectives would act distinctively and would provide the basis for optional contrastive stress. (b) the two verbals would be characterised by a relation of subordination as opposed to the earlier co-ordination. In such an example as the small intelligent girls... a subordinate relationship among the adjectives would signify that small is considered somewhat closer to girls than intelligent. That is the girls belong to the class of small things; the class of small girls then belongs to the class of intelligent beings or things. Such a relationship is produced by one Sa clause and one S (restrictive) clause as opposed to either two restrictive clauses or two non-restrictive clauses.

We now consider the matter of conjoined noun phrases and multiple quantifiers. It is to be noted that this type of sentence as exemplified by (35) and (39):

(35) Some nationalists and all separatists believe that Quebec must become independent.

(39) All the separatists but none of (no) nationalists were present at the trial of Pierre Vallieres.

is considered ungrammatical by Ross. Hence the formulation of his conjoined constituent constraint.¹⁵ However as observed earlier, we do not accept the classification of such sentences as ungrammatical. We must therefore make provision for their generation as grammatical sentences. Conjoined Quantifiers are generated by means of the phrase structure noun phrase NP⁽ⁿ⁾. The latter indicates indefinite recursive generation of any symbol which it dominates, among which of course is included the Quantifiers. We observe the derivation of sentence (39);



At this point the problem is simply one of lexicalisation. The \neg neg Q will be lexicalised as it usually is in the form of no. However, there will exist a variant none of the which may be simply exchanged for the no as a result of synonymous replacement. The conjunction will be realised not as the coordinate conjunction and but rather as the subordinate conjunction but. One could if necessary establish a lexical rule stating that

order in a contrived sentence such as (51):

(51) A small red good old car stood in the garage.

Secondly there are two general types of adjectives, those with wide general connotation and those with limited or restricted connotation. In the first group we place the following:

height: tall, short.

weight: fat, thin.

length: long, short.

moral qualities: good, bad.

social attributes: kind, nasty.

age: young, old.

physical appearance: beautiful, ugly.

colour: black, white.

Considering merely a small sampling of the possible adjectives with restricted connotation we have:

European or Asian nationalities

German, French, English, Chinese, Japanese.

New-world nationalities

Canadian, Australian, American.

religion: Protestant, Catholic, Lutheran, Unitarian.

Thirdly we note that when two or more adjectives of the first class are placed together in a dependent relationship, they operate differently from the semantic viewpoint than the adjectives of the second class. We demonstrate this by returning to our original examples:

(48) the red small car/.

(50) the fat tall man/.

The marginal acceptability of each noun phrase arises from the wide connotation of both adjectives. That is, for English speakers, it is somehow acceptable to predicate of a tall man that he is fat. However, in the second group of examples, which includes the restrictive adjectives, one does not seem to be able to predicate of a big tour that it is foreign. One can of course predicate of a tour either that it is big or that it is foreign. This individual predication is, nevertheless, different from two attributive adjectives in a subordinate relationship. Likewise, it is impossible to predicate of a Canadian situation that it is political and economic.

Let us consider the above observations in endeavouring to formalize a procedure to produce the correct order of attributive modifiers. We suggest that the first group of marked sentences be considered as marginally unacceptable and therefore if derived, to be so by violating certain syntactic constraints. This will be a simple matter of formally indicating that sentences such as (48), (50) and sentences such as (45) and (46) break restrictions of different importance, i.e., the restrictions on the latter group of sentences being more important than those on the former group. This may be done as follows:

The adjectives will be divided into two groups as above, the first group termed /narrow, indicating the semantically narrow connotation, and the second group, -narrow, for the wide connotation. The adjectives will be ordered in each group with the

position indicated by a positive integer; thus, we might assign 1 to height, 2 to length and so on. Similarly with the adjectives of the -narrow category. In the lexical specification of each adjective we will have the following features:

α, β narr.

where α represents the integer which corresponds to the position of the adjective relative to the other members of its group and where β will ultimately be converted to either plus or minus. We might consider as an example the following entry for the adjective tall:

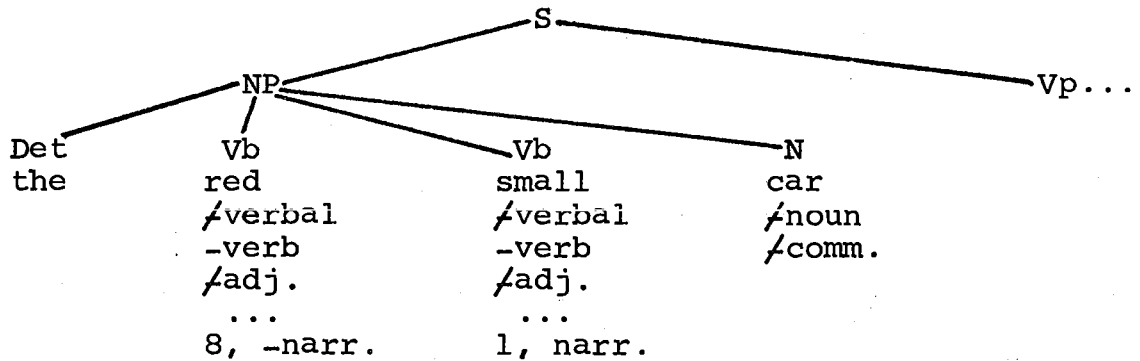
D	C
tall	$\not\text{verbal}$, -verb, $\not\text{adj}$. -joint
	$\not\text{animate}$, 1, -narr.

Our general procedure will be to enter in the embedded S, two or more adjectives in ascending numerical order. Consequently, any violation of order will be immediately obvious. However, the gravity of the violation will be indicated by the specification \not or -narr. If the violation is $\not\text{narr}$. the sentence is to be rejected forthwith; if -narr. then it will be in varying degrees unacceptable. In cases of order violation, we may employ a corrective device which as it were, resets the order. This surface reset rule will apply only to prenominal modifiers since in the post-nominal appositive position, order is seemingly irrelevant. As the order violation will always be indicated as a higher integer preceding a lower, the resetting

device will have the following form:

Xa... Ya ... -----> Ya... Xa... / ____ N

We might now apply this resetting rule to correct a marginally deviant sentence such as (48):



The resetting rule adjusts the order of the verbals so that 1 precedes 8. Thus the non-deviant sentence (47) is produced:

(47) the small red car.

FOOT-NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. We note that the asterisk symbol indicates an ungrammatical sentence and that the "/" symbol has the same meaning as "+".
2. We observe that the phrase the last Frenchman may be grammatical and meaningful under certain circumstances.
3. In sentence (18) there is a violation of the selectional restrictions upon the feature comp. (i.e. comparison). The lexical entry sun has been in this instance marked -comp, indicating that it cannot be compared or contrasted with anything else. It is the semantic projection rules which indicate that a selectional restriction has been violated. Namely, that a restrictive relative clause cannot occur in the environment of a head-noun marked -comp. This violation leads to a type of empirical incongruity such as with Chomsky's examples in Aspects, pg. 77:
 'the ice cube that you finally managed to melt just shattered.'
4. Cf. Thompson, "The deep structure of relative clauses". We do not accept Thompson's analysis of the relative clause. Firstly, the conjunctions she uses, namely and, would not permit two or more pre-nominal subordinate modifiers to be generated, such as in the small intelligent girls. That is, a combination of a distinctively functioning adjective small, and an adjective functioning in a qualifying manner, intelligent. Secondly, it would seem that Thompson would require a special transformation in order to transpose her conjoined relative sentence to the correct post-nominal position, as for example, the man bought the car, and the man is tall, and the car is red. The conjoined sentences must now be moved to post-nominal position in order to produce, the man who is tall bought a car which is red. This transposition of course is not necessary if the relative clauses are embedded directly post-nominally.
5. Cf. Jacobs and Rosenbaum, English Transformational Grammar, pp. 200-04. The motivation for the Relative Clause Transformation and Reduction rules was derived from Jacobs and Rosenbaum. The formalisation of the rules is however, our own.
6. Cf. Hall-Partee, "On the requirement that transformations preserve meaning". According to Partee, that transformations be meaning preserving is simply an empirical hypothesis rather than an actual rule of Transformational Theory. Thus, the hypothesis can be upset at any time. In our particular instance the syntactic distribution of the relative clause warrants deriving the non-restrictive from the restrictive clause. It so happens that the transformation

which derives the non-restrictive from the restrictive clause, namely the Sa T., is not meaning preserving. However, the motivation for the Sa T., as noted above, is as good as that for any non-meaning changing transformation such as the Relative Clause transformation. On the other hand, were we not to use a meaning changing transformation, we would be obliged to introduce the restrictive and non-restrictive clauses separately from each other into the Base. This would lead to the formation of two relative clause transformations, instead of one. There would be the Sa Transformation, in addition to the Ra or restrictive Transformation, both derived from an S. However, if one decides to relate the two relative clauses in derivative syntactic fashion then only one Transformation, namely the Sa, is required. Hence a more simple analysis. (see conclusion)

7. Throughout our analysis we will endeavour to posit a deep structure which resembles as closely as possible the surface structure. Such a decision is motivated by the following reason; simplification of the analysis is achieved by such a procedure. For example, were we to posit late in predicate position we would be obliged to form either a special rule or feature indicating that late is obligatorily prepositioned and cannot occur in predicate adjective position in a relative clause. Such a rule or feature is avoided if one inserts late only in pre-nominal position, corresponding therefore to its surface distribution.
8. Few is logically equivalent in both cases to the negative quantifiers not all and not many. It differs from a few which is equivalent to some.
9. We say that in essence, it is easier to introduce negative quantifiers directly into the Base as lexical categories rather than obtaining them via derivation from a negated verb.
10. Some is considered logically as a positive quantifier, i.e., the existential quantifier in positive form. Few similarly would be considered as a negative quantifier, being in effect the negation of a universal quantifier such as all. (see foot-note 8)
11. We note that the clause which is in West-Berlin is acceptable not as a non-restrictive clause but as a kind of resultative or circumstantial relative clause implying because.
12. Cf. McCawley, "The role of semantics in a grammar." We note McCawley's discussion of joint and indexes.

13. Cf. Hockett, A course in Linguistics, Chp. 17. We have here a problem of the scope of pre-nominal adjectives in surface structure. For example in:

old men and women ...
 the adjective old may modify simply men or both men and women. In Deep Structure no ambiguity exists in that it is a straightforward case of old being predicated of the noun men, or of the conjoined noun phrase men and women. It is interesting to note that in Surface Structure, when three or more nouns occur in succession preceded by an adjective, such as in:

old men, women and dogs...
 the scope of old is automatically limited to the first noun, in this case, men.

14. Cf. Karttunen, "What do referential indices refer to?". We accept basically the approach to referent as presented by Karttunen. However, we make some additional observations dealing with plural referents and pronominalisation. We consider the following examples:

(a) The tall and blond girls wore long Edwardian dresses. One of them wore a green dress, the other a black lace dress.

(b) The tall blond girls wore long Edwardian dresses. Some wore green dresses and others wore black lace dresses.

(c) Les hommes grand et blond travaillaient à la plage. L'un portait un manteau gris et l'autre un manteau noir.

(d) Les hommes grands et blonds travaillaient à la plage. Les uns portaient des manteaux gris ~~et les autres des manteaux gris et~~ les autres des manteaux noirs.

In sentence (a) and (c) the common plural nouns girls and hommes refer to only two people. It is because of this reference to only two people that one has the singular in the French adjectives; secondly, it is the reference to only two people that requires the pronominal forms (the) one ... (the) other, l'un ... l'autre. In sentence (b) and (c) however, the number of referents is expanded to more than simply two, to an indefinitely large number. Hence, the plural adjectives in French and the pronominal forms some ... others, les uns ... les autres. In order to be able to choose the correct form of the pronoun, we must represent the number of referents represented by the plural noun, in the specification of the noun itself in the Base.

15. Cf. Lakoff, "Repartee, or a reply to 'Negation conjunction and quantifiers'". Lakoff presents Ross's co-ordinate structure constraint on pp. 408-10.

9. Resetting Rule(i) $X\alpha... Y\alpha... \text{-----} \rightarrow Y\alpha... X\alpha... / \text{---} N$ (ii) $E\alpha / \text{narr}... F\alpha \text{-narr}... \text{-----} \rightarrow$ $F\alpha \text{-narr}... E\alpha / \text{narr}... / N$ 10. Obligatory Conjunction Transformation $N \dots 2R. Vb \quad cj \quad Vb \text{-----} \rightarrow N \dots 2R, Vb \quad cjo \quad Vb$ 11. Remarking Rule

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} Q \\ \text{-neg.} \\ \text{/adv.} \\ \text{/neg.} \end{array} \right\} \text{-----} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} Q \\ \text{-neg.} \\ Ng \\ \text{/adv.} \\ \text{/neg.} \\ Ng \end{array} \right\} / \text{---} \#$$

CHAPTER TWO

ANALYSIS OF THE MODIFIED NOUN PHRASE IN FRENCH

We begin our analysis of the modifier noun phrase in French by considering the derivative source of the pre-nominal modifiers. Only attributive adjectives and attributively functioning participles will be derived from underlying relative clauses. As in English, there exist two groups of adjectives, qualitative and quantitative, which will be directly generated in the Base. A list of the positive and negative quantitative adjectives as well as the qualitative adjectives will be given in the section dealing with Quantification and Negation.

We will endeavour to account for the following sentences:

- (1) Le grand homme parle avec sa femme.
- (2) La petite fille parle avec son père.
- (3) L'église catholique se situe au coin des rues Richards et Dunsmuir.
- (4) La main droite sert à faire beaucoup de choses.
- (5) La main gauche sert à faire beaucoup de choses.
- (6) Le feu de Gaulle aurait fumé deux paquets de Phillip Morris par jour.
- (7) Un vieil ami a décidé de venir me rendre visite à Vancouver.
- (8) Quelques petits chiens attendaient à la porte.
- (9) Aucun petit chien n'attendait à la porte.

We posit as the source for the modifiers an underlying relative clause. There are, as will be recalled, two types

of relative clauses, namely restrictive and non-restrictive. As we shall see, both the restrictive and non-restrictive are subject to the same occurrence restrictions as in English.

As noted in the INTRODUCTION, there are two subdivisions of adjectives, those which occur pre-nominally and those which normally occur post-nominally. Formally, we deal with these two subdivisions by marking only those which normally occur pre-nominally. This group will contain in their lexical specification the syntactic feature ___N. This feature simply indicates that the adjective must be pre-positioned. The Transposition Rule (ii) (Q) (art) N, Y /verbal - verb ___N ----->

(Q) (art) Y /verbal - verb ___N N

applies only to the adjectives marked with the feature ___N, moving them to pre-nominal position (we recall that a complete list of the transformations is appended to the end of the chapter). However, these two subdivisions of pre- and post-nominal adjectives are not entirely constant. According to Grevisse¹ any normally post-nominal adjective may be placed in pre-nominal position if it can function qualitatively, forming as it were, one unit of thought with the noun which it modifies. This qualitative function may indicate a personal judgement, a subjective reaction or impression as well as a qualitative value. We have for example:

(10) une charmante soirée.

(11) un vilain personnage.

(12) une noble initiative.

Normally, all three adjectives occur in post-nominal position, thereby operating distinctively. On the other hand, Mansion² states that normally pre-nominally-occurring adjectives may be placed in post-nominal position, thus functioning distinctively. We have for example:

- (13) Pour endurer ce climat il faut des hommes jeunes.
- (14) Le roi de Prusse recherchait des hommes grands pour les enrôler dans sa garde.
- (15) Ca serait déchirer le vêtement neuf sans que la pièce neuve s'accorde avec le vêtement vieux.
Luke V 36.

Once again, the transposition of these normally pre-nominally-occurring adjectives produces distinctively functioning adjectives. To account for these transpositions we formulate the following transformations. The first rule is termed the Qualitative Transposition. It applies optionally to adjectives not marked ___N, moving them for the duration of the analysis to pre-nominal position. The form of the rule is the following:

Det. N Adj. -----> Det. Adj. N

Similarly, to place adjectives marked for pre-nominal position in post-nominal position we formulate the Contrastive Transposition rule. The form is:

Det. Adj. N -----> Det. N Adj.

Once again this rule applies optionally.

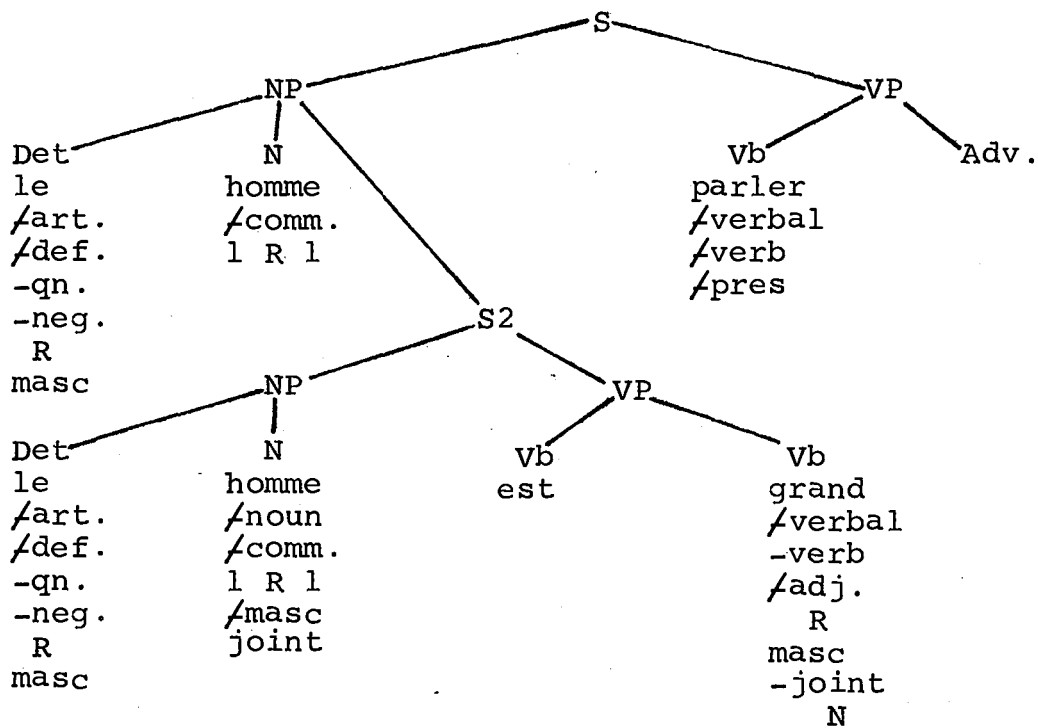
However, in addition to the qualitative and distinctive meaning changes arising through transposition, there exists also metaphoric meaning. We observe the following phrases:

- (16a) un homme pauvre.
 (16b) un pauvre homme.
 (17a) une famille noble.
 (17b) une noble famille.
 (18a) de l'eau froide.
 (18b) la froide raison.
 (19a) un patron ancien.
 (19b) un ancien patron.

The adjectives in all the sentences (b) have a metaphoric meaning. However, rather than deriving them from the post-nominal adjectives by a transposition rule we choose to consider both pre- and post-nominal adjectives as simply homonyms. The adjectives with metaphorical meaning will be treated by the Synonymous Replacement rule.³

We consider directly the analysis of sentence (1):

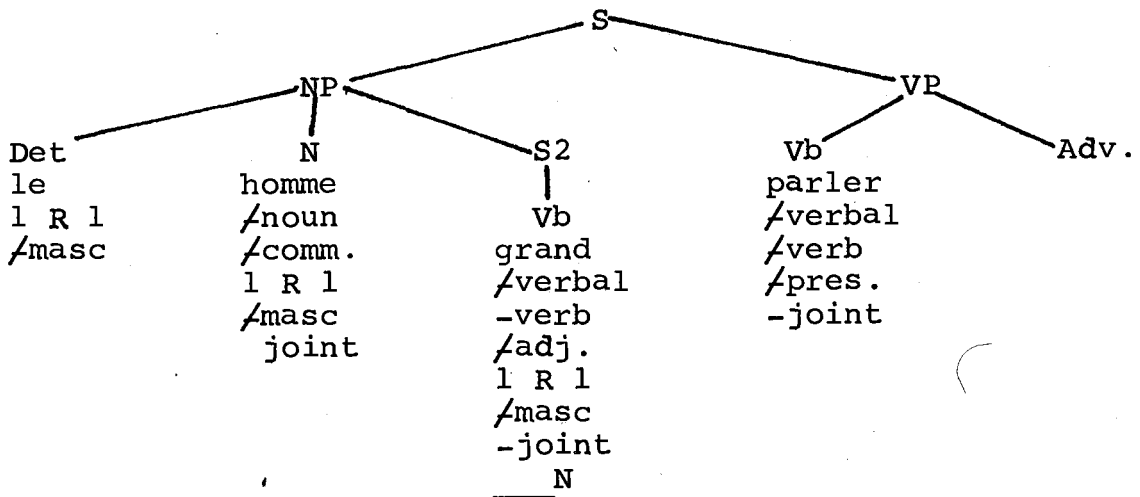
- (1) Le grand homme parle avec sa femme.



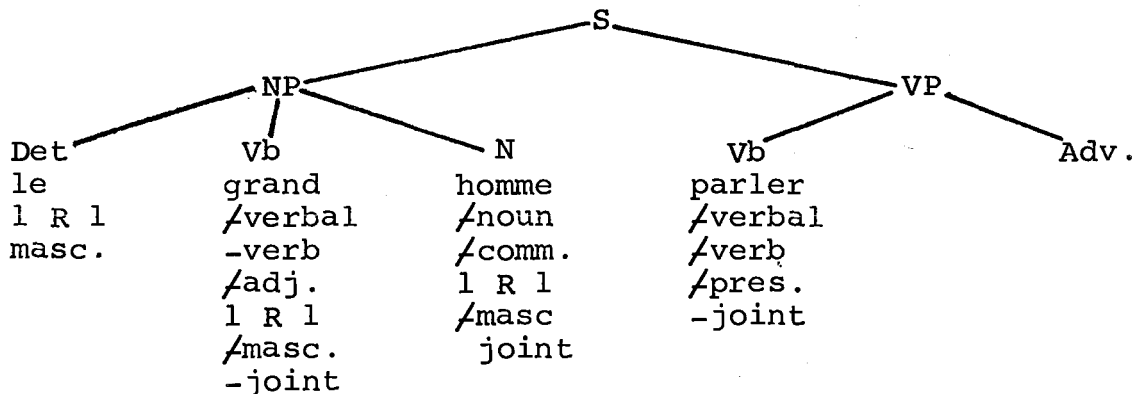
If the R is specified 1 R, this indicates that the verbal is affirmed of the one group referent. If the R is specified as two or more, i.e. 2 R, then the verbal is affirmed of that number of group referents. The first rule to apply is the Joint Marking Transformation. The value _ of the verbal grand is assigned to the noun. The transformation for Concord of Gender and Number now applies copying the values for this syntactic features R and masc of the noun onto the verbal. As will be recalled from the English analysis, an integer to the left of the feature R indicates the number of group referents, and the integer to the right, singularity, duality or plurality. Gender is indicated by the feature masc. with / specifying masculine, while - indicates feminine gender.⁴ We say that gender is simply indicated by the feature masc and grammatical number by an integer to the right of R, since the actual morphological forms will be produced by the phonological component, not by the syntactic component.

The Sa Transformation may now apply optionally. As in English, modifiers derived from non-restrictive clauses will be susceptible to contrastive stress, or accent d'emphase. In this particular instance, we choose not to activate the Sa rule, thereby simplifying slightly our derivation. The adjective grand therefore will act distinctively. We note that the assignment of the accent d'emphase will be effected by the phonological component.⁵

The Relative Clause and Reduction Transformations now apply to produce the following structure:



The Transposition Rule now applies to produce:

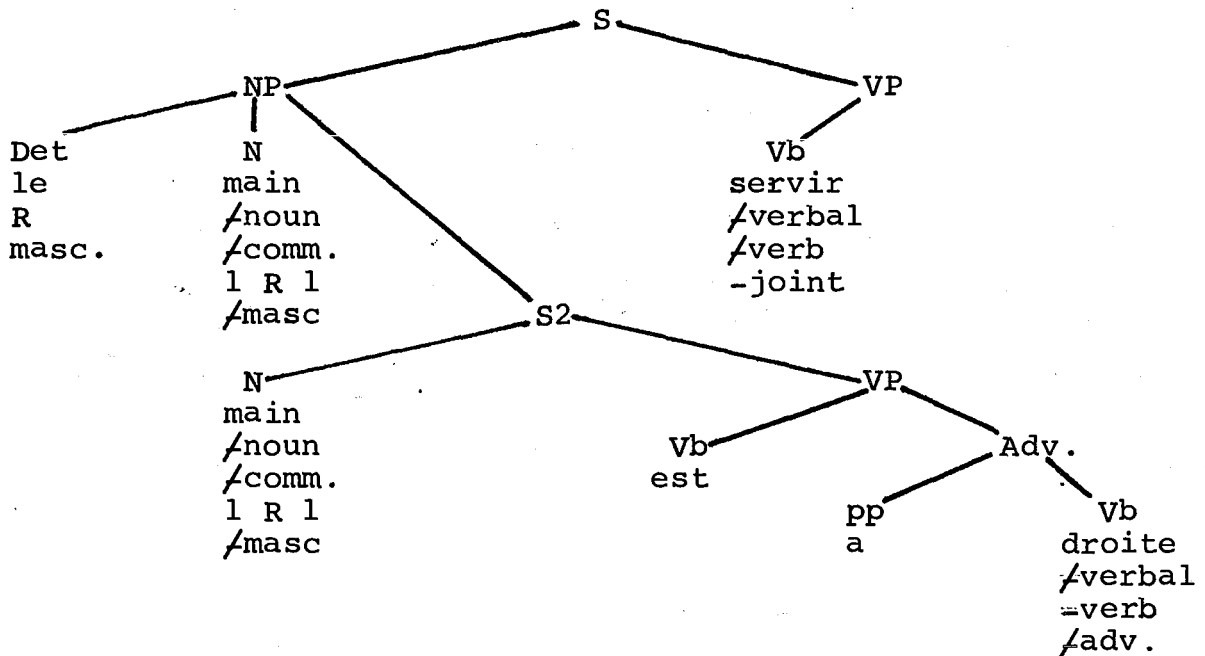


The Joint Marking Rule reapplies giving the value - to the N homme.

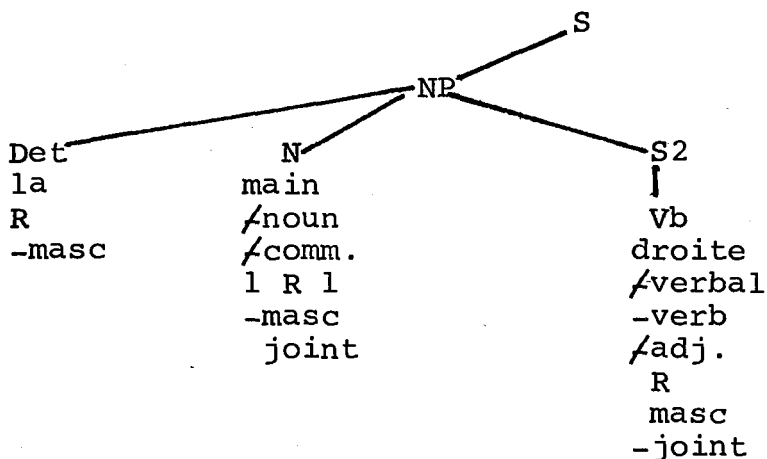
Having observed how the derivation procedure operates upon the most common of the modified nouns in French, we may now consider sentences (4) to (7). We note that these sentences contain verbals of the same type as those treated in the English sentences, (5) and (10). Considering sentence (4):

(4) La main droite sert à faire beaucoup de choses.

We observe that the surface structure adjective droit although originating from an underlying relative clause is not derived from an attributive adjective. Rather, as will be demonstrated, the source is an adverb. The underlying structure is as follows:



Transformations (2), (3), (6) and (7) now apply producing the following structure:



The Joint Marking Transformation reapplies assigning the value - to the one remaining noun.

Sentences (6) and (7) share certain characteristics:

- (6) Le feu de Gaulle aurait fumé deux paquets de Phillip Morris par jour.
- (7) Un vieil ami a décidé de venir me rendre visite à Vancouver.

That is, they contain verbals, namely feu and vieux which, when functioning metaphorically do not occur in predicate adjective position. These verbals will be treated by means of the Synonymous Replacement Rule exactly as with the earlier English examples. Since their derivation will be essentially the same as the English, we will omit their duplication here.

We proceed to examine the Quantifiers in French, both plus and moins negative. As was noted earlier with English, Quantifiers may function either positively or negatively. The group of positive quantifiers in French consists of:

- (a) chaque, (b) plusieurs, (c) quelque, (d) tout,
- (e) maint, (f) plus d'un, (g) divers.

The negative quantifiers are:

- (a) aucun, (b) nul, (c) peu de.⁶

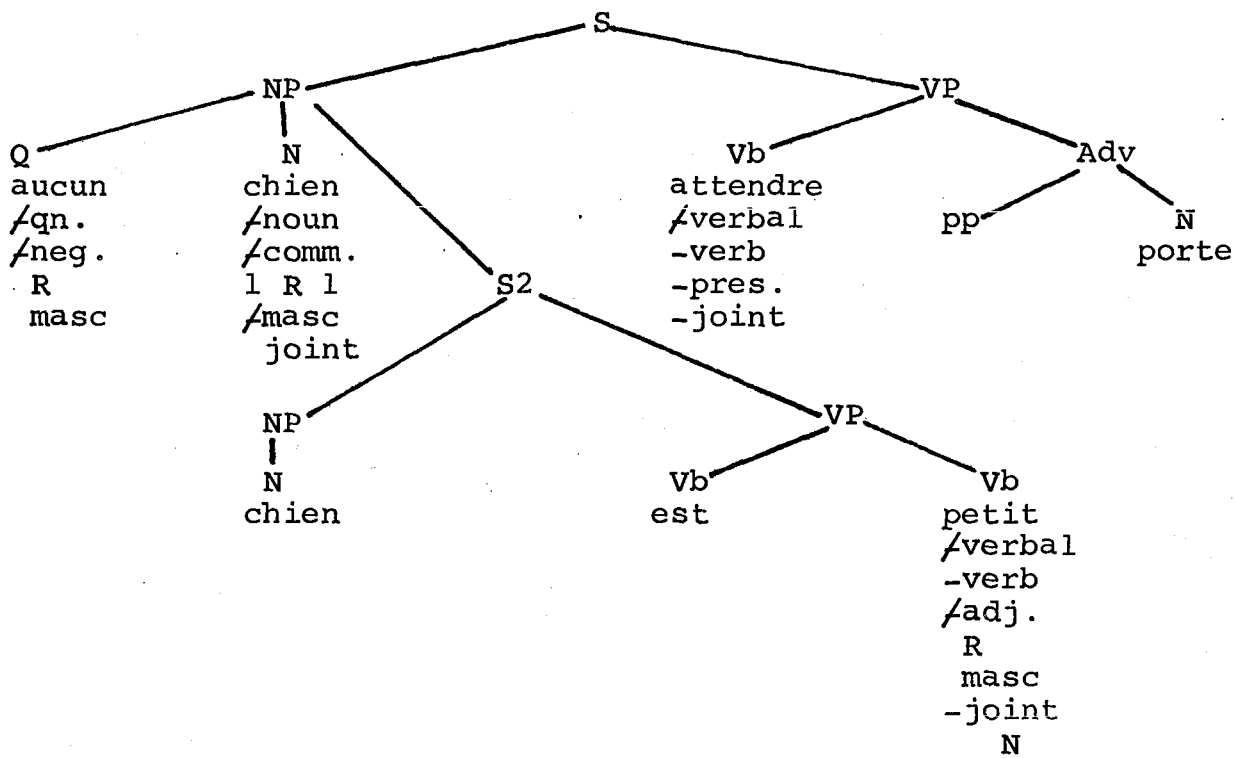
The negative adverbial constructions consist of:

- (a) pas de, (b) point de, (c) pas beaucoup de,
- (d) pas tout, (e) pas une, pas de (aucun), (f) pas beaucoup de (peu de), (g) pas tout (quelque).

In terms of derivation we proceed in essentially the same manner as with the English. However, we will consider here only the negative quantifier, as its behaviour is more interesting than

that of the positive quantifiers, and secondly, the negative quantifier has characteristics which distinguish it from its English counterpart. We consider sentence:

(9) Aucun petit chien n'attendait à la porte.



The Determinant Agreement Transformation is applied in order to specify the segment Q /neg. (aucun) as 1 R 1, /masc.

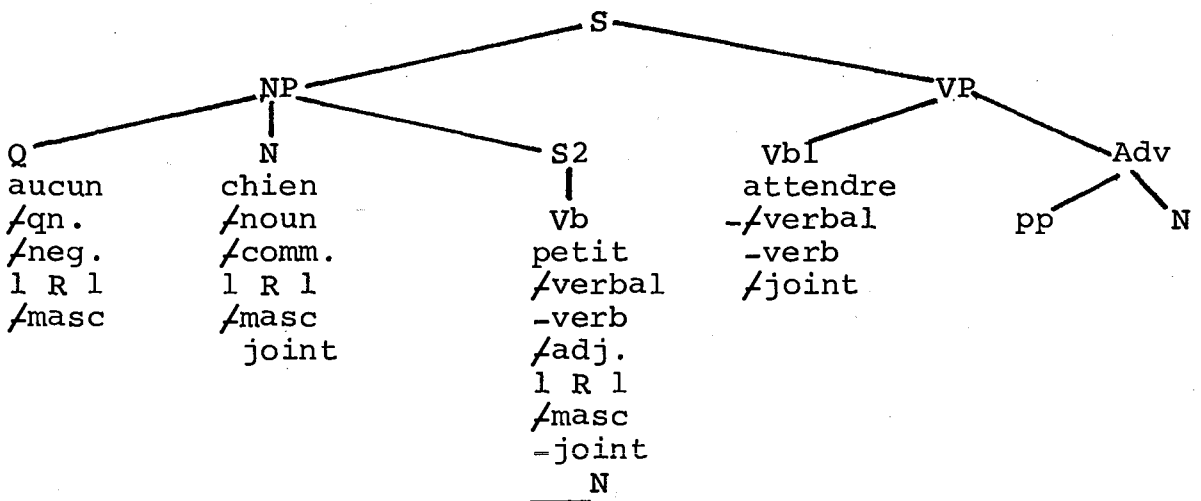
Considering more directly the influence of the negative quantifier of the subject noun upon the other constituents of the sentence, we observe that:

- (a) the verb is negated, contrary to normal use, visibly attesting to the extensive scope of a negative quantifier of the subject noun phrase.
- (b) the Sa Transformation is blocked by the presence of a negative quantifier in any NP. Also, the relative clause, if

left to appear in surface structure, will have its verb placed in the subjunctive. For example:

(9a) Aucun chien qui soit petit n'attendait à la porte.

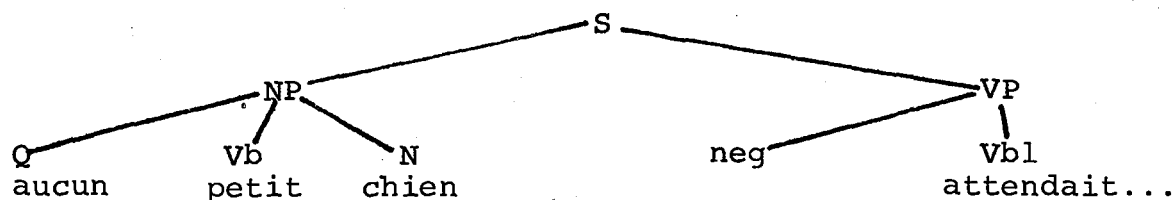
Returning to our derivation of sentence (9), we proceed through the Relative Clause Transformation and Relative Clause Reduction after the Determinant Agreement Transformation has applied to establish agreement between the negative quantifier and subject noun:



The Transposition Transformation now applies inserting petit between aucun and chien; a neg is introduced before Vbl by means of the Transformation Marking Rule part (ii):

(ii) Q N Vb N S -----> Q neg Vb Q S
/neg /neg /neg

Introducing the negative particle before the verb by means of this transformation, indicates that the neg is not the result of ordinary verb negation but arises from the presence of a negative quantifier preceding the subject noun. The structure subsequent to the Transformation Marking Rule is as follows:



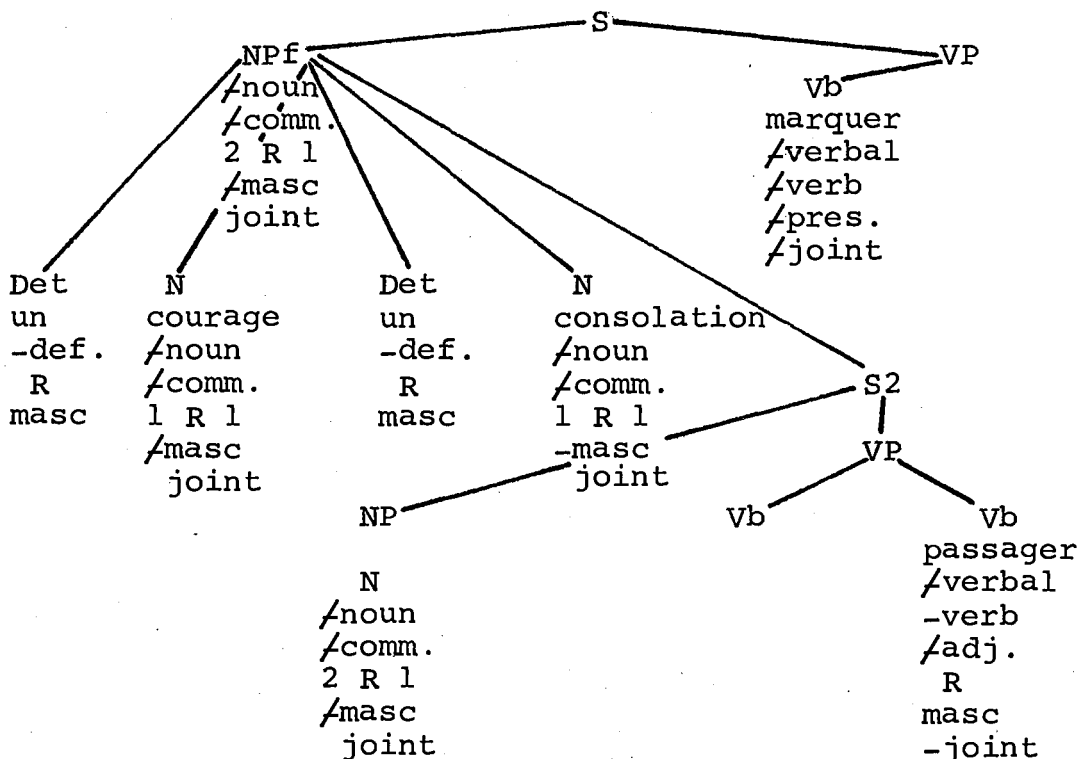
We consider now compound NP's and modifiers in the French noun phrase. As the basis for our analysis we take the following sentences:

- (20) Les professeurs et les savants érudits ont joué aux cartes ensemble.
- (21) Le professeurs et les savants érudit ont joué aux cartes ensemble.
- (22) Les philosophies Arvenne, Chinoise et Malaise ont crée l'ambiance spirituelle nécessaire pour la propagation de différentes religions.
- (23) Un goût et une aise nouvelle ont caractérisée sa rentrée en grace.
- (24) La petite boîte noire contient des bijoux précieux.
- (25) Les chaussures blanches et noires exigent un cirage special qui coûte 5 dollars.
- (26) Quelques nationalistes et plusieurs separatistes ont assisté au procès de Pierre Vallieres.
- (27) Les églises catholiques et protestantes à Vancouver sont assez riches.
- (28) Les églises catholique et protestante se trouvent en face l'une de l'autre au coin de Richards et Dunsmuir.
- (29) Un courage et une consolation passagers marquaient son visage.
- (30) Un courage et une consolation passagère marqu son visage.
- (31) Quelques règles sont explicites et faciles à lire.

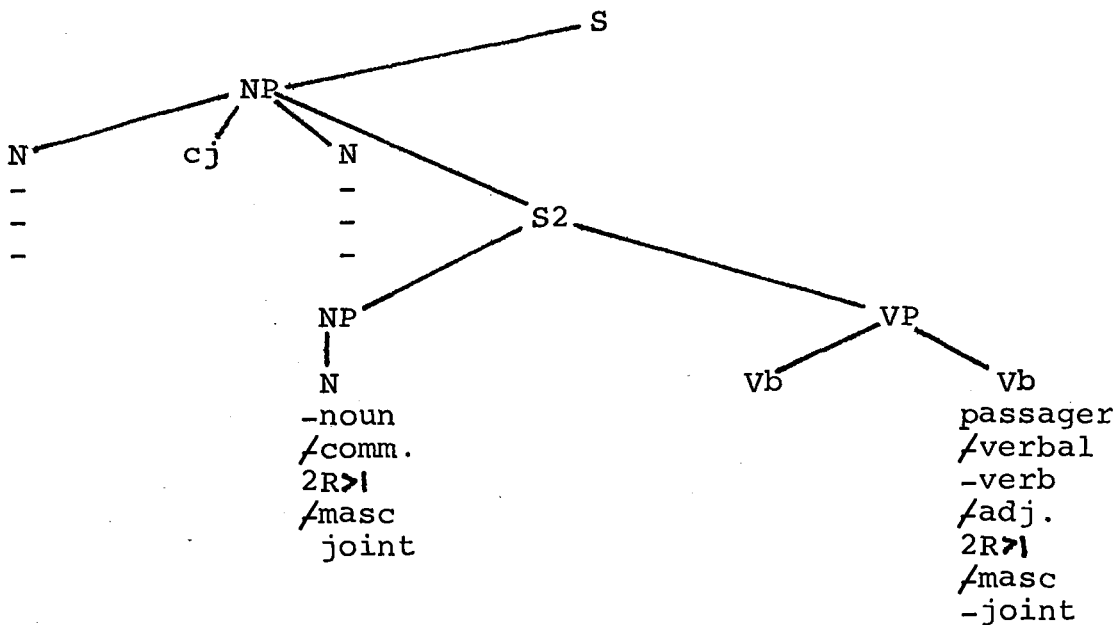
Conjoined nouns and plural common nouns are interesting

in that they raise problems of agreement. Indeed, in certain instances, there would appear to be a breach of agreement in either number or gender of the verbal and that of the plural or conjoined noun. We shall begin with sentences (29) and (30) since they provide the most obvious examples of apparent lack of agreement between the number and gender of the verbal and the number and gender of the compound noun.

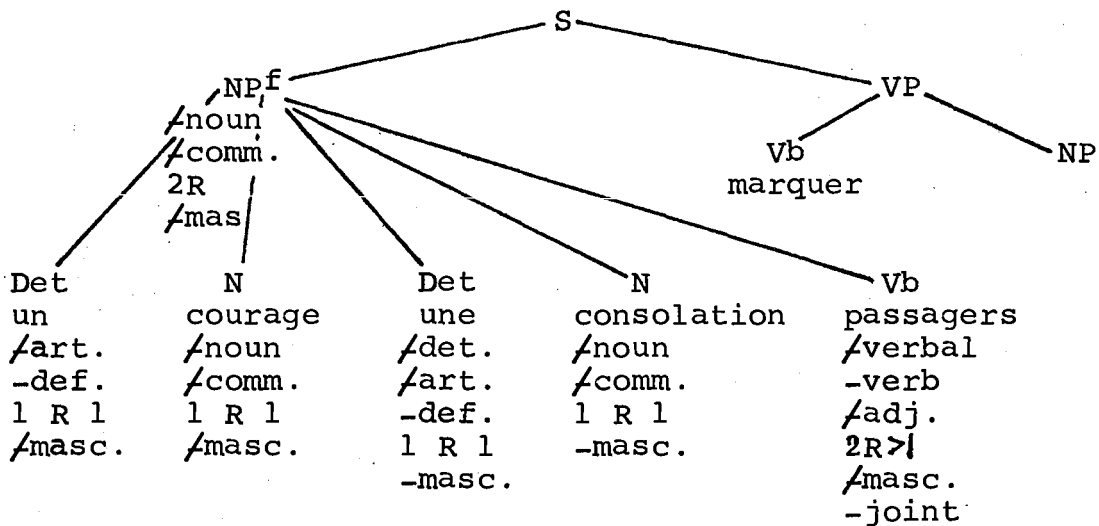
We recall firstly that in a compound NP composed of words of masculine and feminine gender, priority is given to the masculine gender. This is the case with sentence (29). However, that a certain priority is given to the masculine gender indicates that the conjoined NP is in fact being considered as a single syntactic unit with regard to agreement and concord of adjectives. In order to reflect this syntactic status we must adjust our derivational procedures accordingly. The following is the analysis of sentence (29):



That the compound is to be considered as one unit is reflected in the deep structure by a special entry dominated by the NPf. This entry contains only syntactic features which, in effect, represent the syntactic definition of a unit functioning as a conjoined NP.⁷ The syntactic features are reproduced in the S2 where the constitute the subject noun and determine the concord specifications of the adjective passager. This purely syntactic specification may be employed only when there exists a conjoined NP, that is NPf. However, even in such an environment, the purely syntactic specification does not obligatorily occur since the conjoined NP itself does not always function syntactically as one unit. This we will observe later in our derivations of other sentences. The Joint Marking and the Concord of Gender and Number transformations may now apply to sentence (29) producing the following structure:



The Determinant Agreement and Reduction Transformations apply followed by the Relative Clause, Relative Reduction and Transposition Transformation, part (ii). We are left with the following structure:

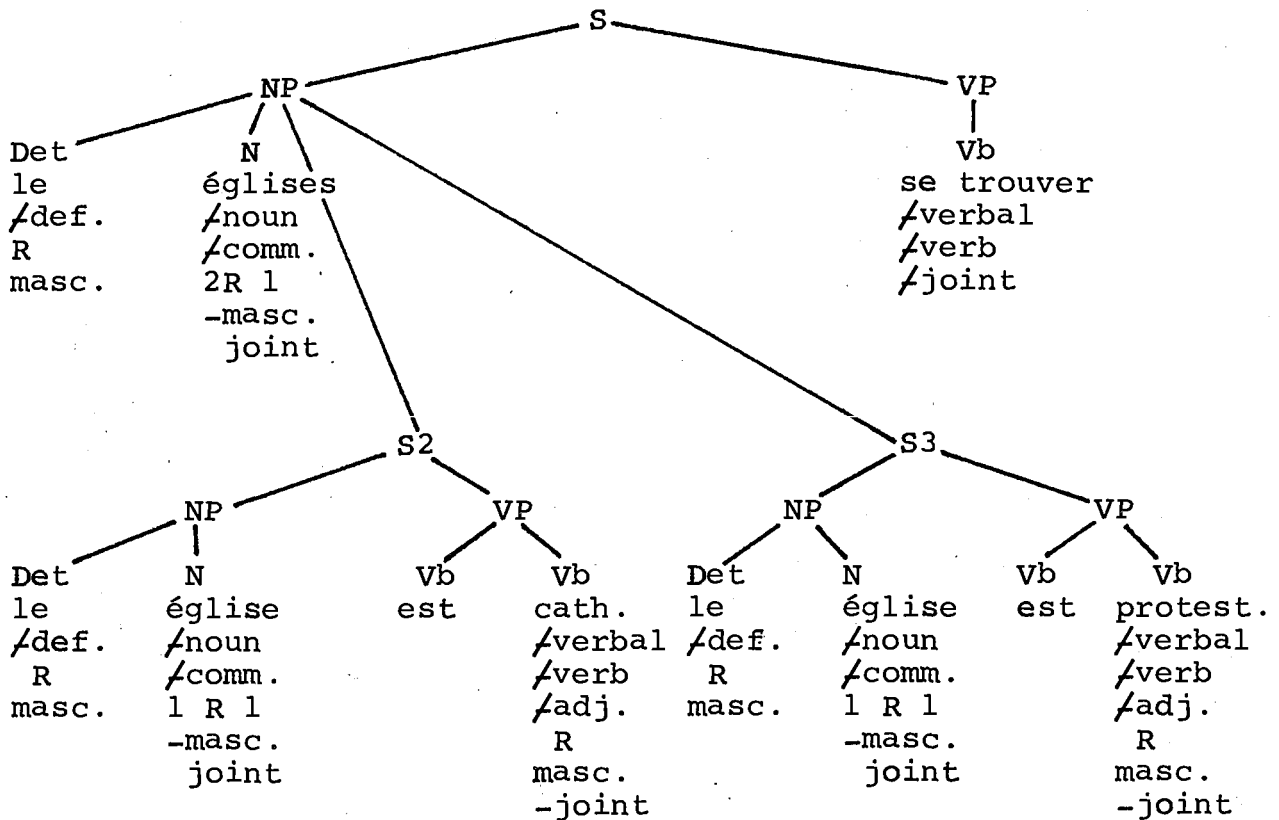


We observe that passagers agrees not with the subject nouns but rather with the specification of the nouns as a conjoined constituent of the NP^f. Therefore, no breach of the agreement rules occurs in either number or gender. We now consider sentence (30):

(30) Un courage et une consolation passagère
marquaient son visage.

Agreement of the verbal in this sentence is constructed according to the rule that an adjective may agree with only the last of a series of nouns in a conjoined noun phrase. The derivation is as follows:

The derivation is as follows:



We have two underlying sentences which will become relative clauses. All the transformations required to post-position adjectives are now activated. We note that when the two adjectives catholique and protestante are inserted next to the subject noun églises no violation of agreement with respect to Number occurs. That is, the R in the main subject is specified for two group referents, namely 2 R each with only one member. This indicates that each adjective is affirmed of one of the group referents.

Continuing now with sentences (25) and (27):

- (25) Les chaussures blanches et noires exigent un cirage spécial qui coûte 5 dollars.

- (27) Les églises catholiques et protestantes à
Vancouver sont assez riches comme ailleurs.

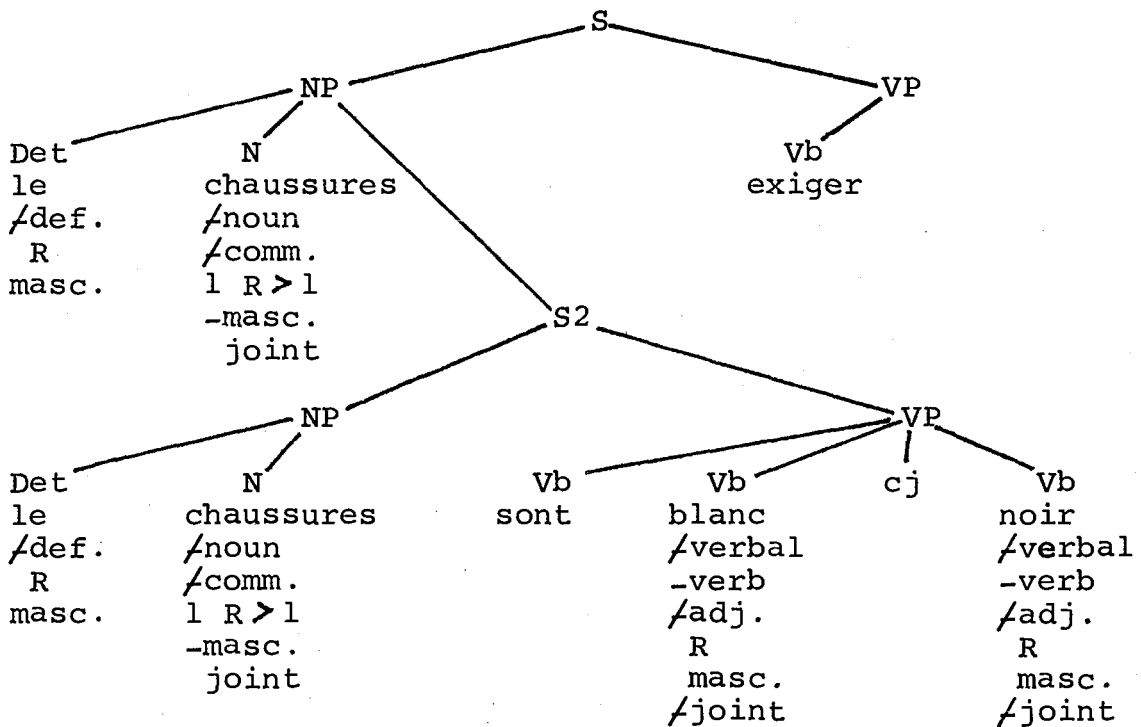
The compound verbals may be generated in (27) and for one of the interpretations of (25) by two different underlying clauses.

However, for the second sense of (25), namely, when chaussures involves only one and the same referent, then the verbals, as in English, must be generated directly in compound form. We consider sentence (25) and its two paraphrases:

- (25i) Les chaussures qui sont blanches et noirs
exigent ...

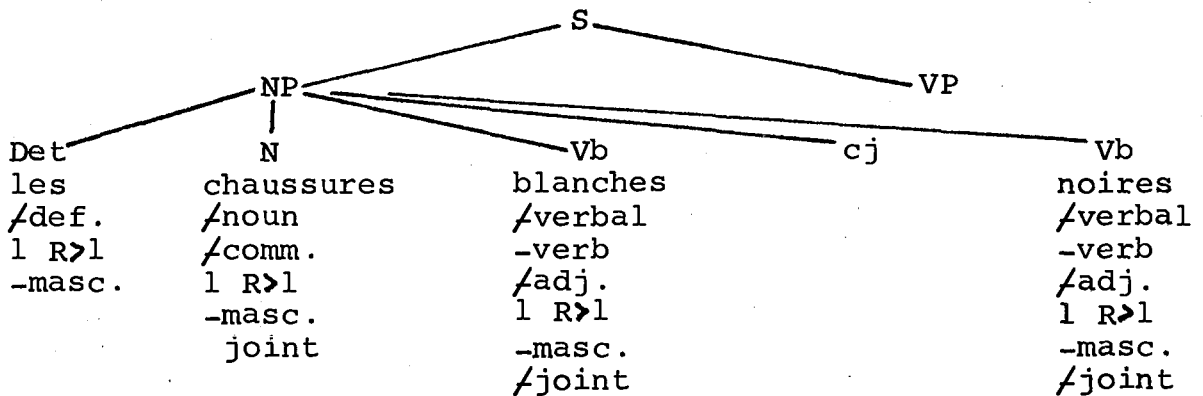
- (25ii) Les chaussures qui sont blanches et les
chaussures qui sont noires ...

The derivation for paraphrase (25i) is:

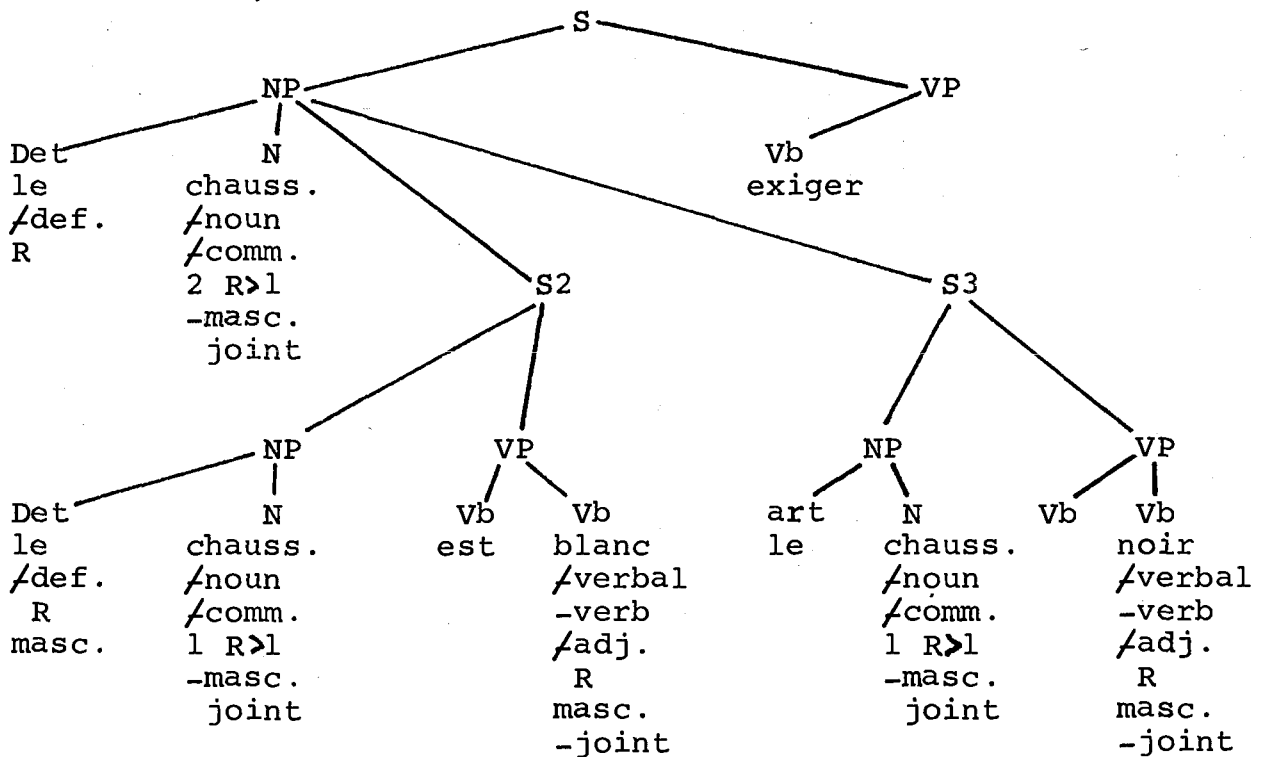


That only one group referent is involved is indicated by the specification 1 R. These specifications are transferred to the adjectives by means of the Concord and Gender Transformation.

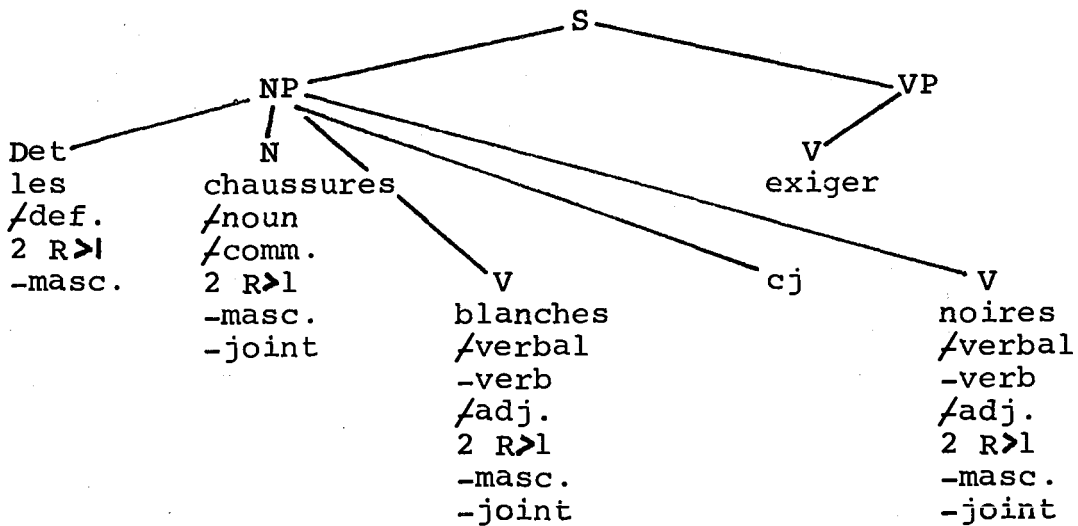
After all the appropriate transformations have applied to produce post-nominal modifiers, the structure will be as follows:



The derivation of paraphrase (25 ii) is:



The structure now undergoes the following transformations; (1), (2), (3), (5), (6), (7ii). We now have the following structure:

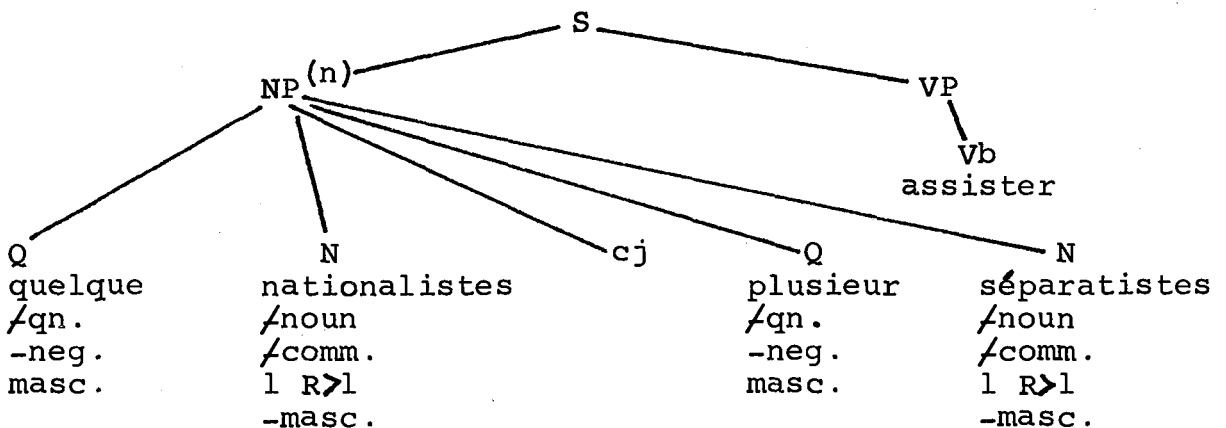


The existence of two or more different pairs of shoes some of which are black and others of which are white is indicated in the subject noun by the group referent specification 2 R.

We consider finally sentences such as (31), which contain double quantifiers and a compound noun:

- (31) Quelques nationalistes et plusieurs séparatistes ont assisté au procès de Pierre Vallières.

The derivation follows in essence the procedure used in the English sentences of the same type.



We now apply merely the Determinant Agreement Transformation, which will effect agreement of gender and number between the quantifiers and the compound nouns.

We conclude the analysis of the noun phrase in French by considering the problem of order among prenominal modifiers. Once again the treatment will be basically similar to that applied to the English modifiers. We begin by considering the order of the adjectives which normally occur in pre-nominal position. These modifiers, which according to Grevisse are generally monosyllabic, are also words of wide connotation.⁸ The order would seem to correspond generally to that of the wide connotation in English:

- (1) height: grand, petit.
- (2) weight: gros, mince, svelte.
- (3) moral qualities: bon, mauvais.
- (4) social attributes: gentil, méchant.
- (5) age: jeune, vieux.
- (6) physical appearance: beau, laid, vilain.
- (7) colour: noir, blanc.

We have the following order for some of the adjectives of narrow connotation:

- (1) religion: protestant, catholique.
- (2) new-world nationalities: canadien, américain.
- (3) old-world nationalities: français, anglais.

Our data are contained in the following sentences:

- (32) une grande belle femme.
- (33) / une belle grande femme.
- (34) une méchante vieille dame.
- (35) / une vieille méchante dame.

- (36) la situation politique et économique canadienne.
 (37) la situation politique et économique au Canada.
 (38) * la situation canadienne économique et politique.
 (39) une grande influence économique française.
 (40) une grande puissante dame.
 (41) * une puissante grande dame.

We note firstly sentences (32) - (38). They each involve two or more adjectives of the same connotative group, that is, either wide or narrow. However, changes in the order of the adjectives produce sentences of different degrees of acceptability, according to whether the connotation of the adjectives is wide or narrow. Secondly, the phrases (40) and (41) each involve two adjectives of different connotation. It would seem that the adjective of more restricted connotation, when transposed to pre-nominal position, should be placed nearest the modified noun. We observe in the third place that French has a propensity for eliminating more than two modifiers in post-nominal position, and replacing one of them, such as in:

(37) la situation politique et économique au Canada
 by a prepositional phrase. However, as such, this tendency does not really affect the question of modifiers. We first formally indicate the two groups of adjectives as being either / or - narrow. We then assign an integer to each group of / and - narrow adjectives, simply in terms of their occurrence in surface structure sentences such as:

- (42) Le grand, gros, bon, gentil, vieil homme a beaucoup marché.

Here we see in terms of the - narr. group of adjectives the subgroup of height adjectives, e.g. grand, precedes that of size, e.g. gros, then that of moral qualities, e.g. bon, etc. The positional occurrence is indicated in the lexical specification of the adjective in the following manner:

adjectives of wide connotation:

(1) height	(2) size	(3) moral
grand	gros	bon
/verbal	/verbal	/verbal
-verb	-verb	-verb
/adj.	/adj.	/adj.
-	-	-
-	-	-
-joint	/joint	-joint
1, -narr.	2, -narr.	3, -narr.
<u> </u> N	<u> </u> N	<u> </u> N

adjectives of narrow connotation:

(1) religion	(2) new world nationalities
catholique	canadien
/verbal	/verbal
-verb	-verb
/adj.	/adj.
-	-
-	-
-joint	-joint
1, /narr.	2, /narr.

The Reset Rule as formulated for English will operate for the cases in which the order of two or more adjectives of the same connotative class is violated. We repeat the form of the rule here:

$X\alpha \dots Y, \beta \dots \text{-----} \rightarrow Y, \beta \dots X\alpha \dots / \underline{\quad} N$

Here X and Y are two adjectives; their positional value is stated in the most general manner possible by means of the alpha conventions. Thus, order violation is defined as the occurrence of

an adjective of a higher integer value preceding an adjective of a lower integer value. The resetting rule does nothing more than change the order of the adjectives so that the smaller integer precedes the larger.

Our extension of the above surface resetting rule (ii) is constructed to account for the following deviations:

(43) une grande normande obstination.

(44) * une normande grande obstination.

Sentence number (44) involves a violation of two adjectives of the same positional value but of different connotative classes. Consequently, the Resetting Rule must take into account the connotative classes in certain cases. We introduce this modification in the following manner:

$E \alpha, /narr \dots, F \alpha, -narr \dots \text{ ----> } F \alpha, -narr \dots, E \alpha, /narr \dots$

After the application of part (ii) of the Resetting Rule to sentence (44), the -narr. grande, is placed before the /narr. catholique, thus producing the acceptable sentence (43).

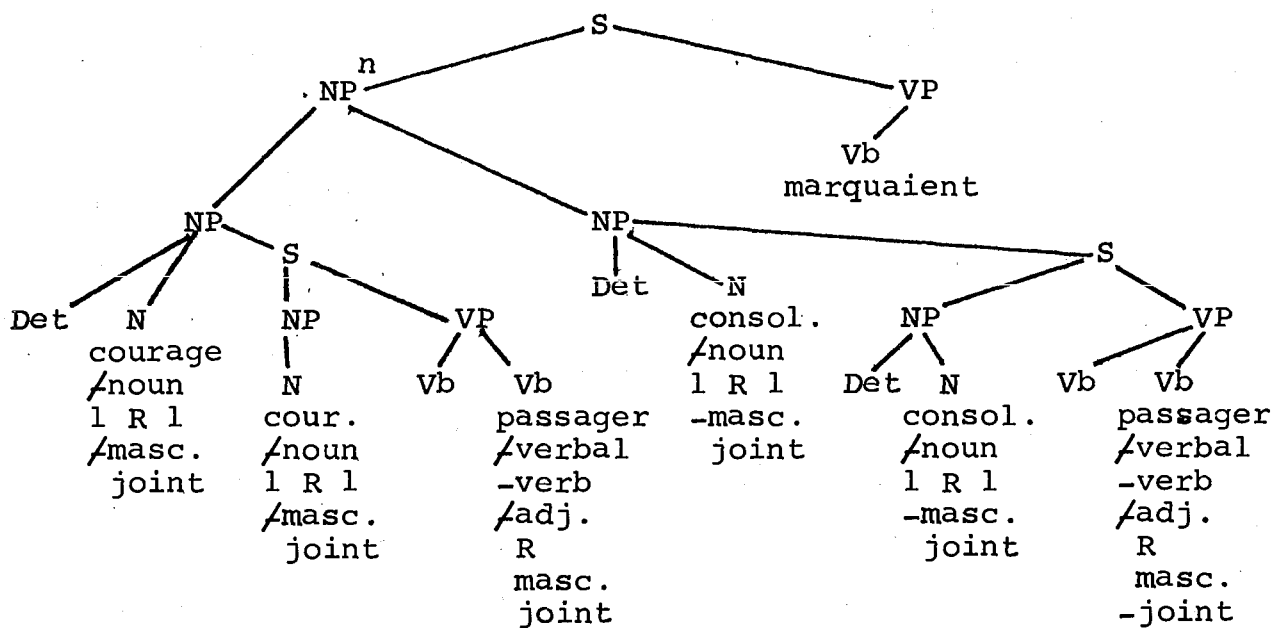
NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. Cf. Grévisse, Le Bon Usage, pp. 331-35.
2. Cf. Mansion, A Grammar of Present-Day French, pp. 254-56.
3. We note the following phrases:
 - (i) un bel apartment
 - (ii) une belle personnalité
 - (iii) un vieil homme
 - (iv) un vieil ami.
 Both the metaphorical and qualitatively functioning adjectives may occur in the same position, requiring therefore two different derivative sources. Thus, if one derives the qualitatively functioning (i.e. pre-nominal) from the distinctively functioning (i.e. post-nominal) adjectives and vice-versa, then the only source that presents itself for the derivation of the metaphorical adjectives is the Synonymous Replacement rule.
4. We note here a difference between the oral grammar of French and the written grammar with respect to Number and Gender. Whereas in the spoken grammar, the morphophonemic changes are indicated in the Article, (except for certain nouns such as oil and yeux) the changes in the written grammar are indicated graphically in both the Article and the Nouns.
5. Cf. Grévisse, Le Bon Usage, pp. 55. We note Grevisse's definition of the accent d'emphase:

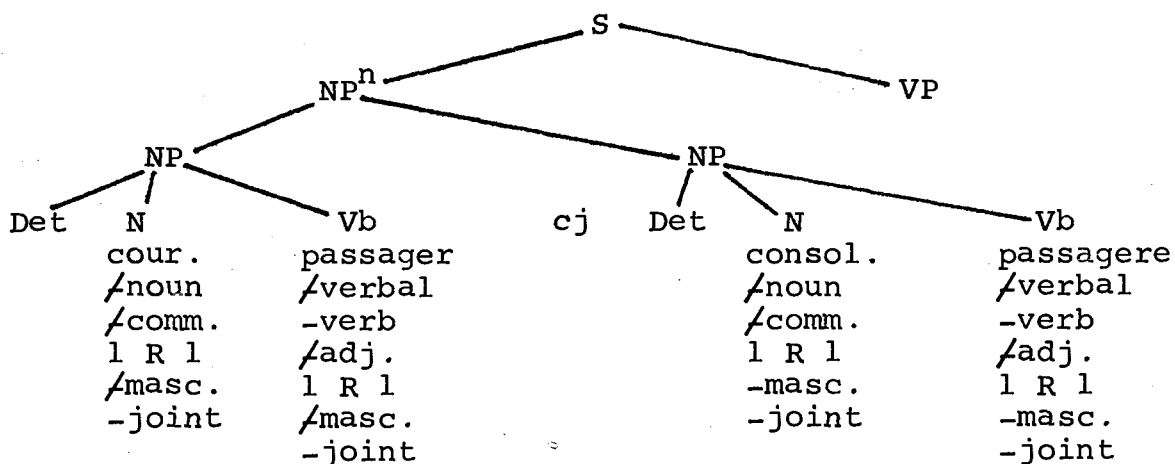
'L'accent d'insistance ou emphatique consiste dans une intensité plus grande de la voix sur une syllabe d'un mot qu'on veut mettre en relief. Cet accent augmente non seulement l'intensité de la syllabe qu'il affecte, mais encore sa hauteur et sa durée; il porte essentiellement sur une consonne, dont l'allongement expressif entraîne l'intensité de la voyelle qui suit.'

 We note at this point, that following the distinction between written and spoken language, our analysis deals essentially with written French. We nevertheless make periodic reference to the spoken form in considering such properties as the accent d'emphase.
6. We note that peu de is different from un peu de.
7. The difference between the Number of the participle passagers and that of the nouns in the compound noun phrase un courage et une consolation may be regarded as an instance of grammatical plurality. There are two methods by which we may analyze sentence (29):
 - (29) Un courage et une consolation passagers
marquaient son visage.

The first method is present, beginning on page 58. Here, un courage et une consolation is introduced into the Base directly as a compound noun phrase. The syntactic plurality is indicated by the special syntactic entry (note pg. 58). The second and somewhat more revealing method is presented here. We have the following Deep Structure:

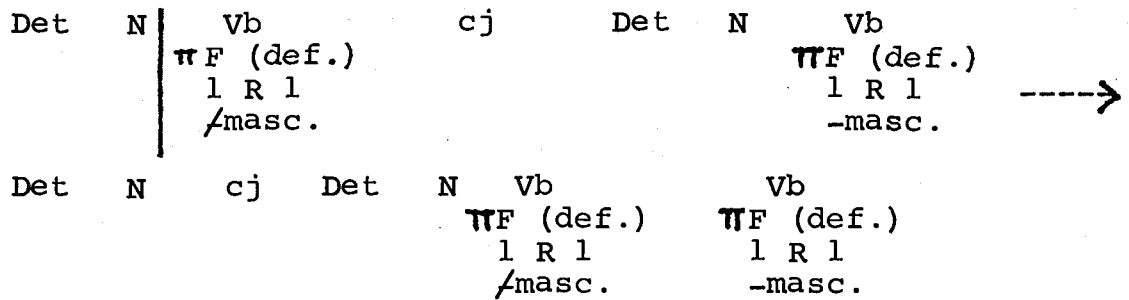


The Joint Marking Rule applies to assign the value - to the feature joint. This is followed by the Determinant Agreement, the Relative Clause and Relative Reduction Transformations. The result is the following:



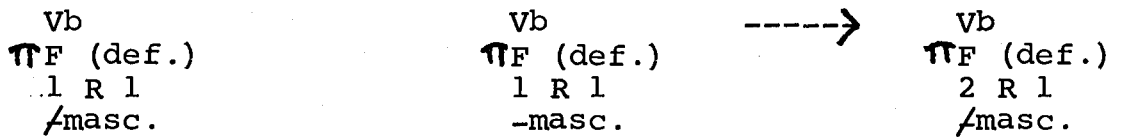
We now employ two new transformations: the Verbal Grouping and the Verbal Conflation Transformations. The form of the rules is the following:

Verbal Grouping:

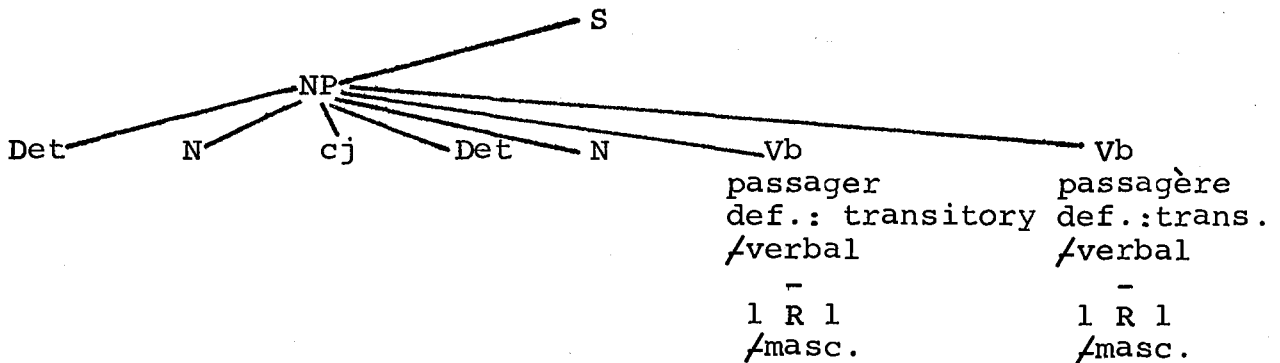


where F (def.) indicates word definition, and π is a variable.

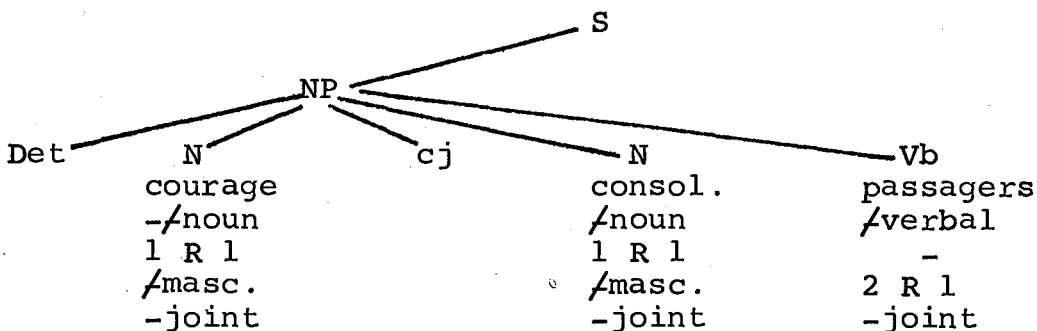
Verbal Conflation:



At this point the Verbal Grouping rule applies to produce:



The Verbal Conflation rule applies:



The effect of the Verbal Conflation is to conflate two occurrences of the same lexical entry (in this case, passager) into one. In the process of conflation of the lexical entries,

the Verbal Conflation rule produces a plural morpheme. The plurality in this instance indicates merely that two occurrences of the same lexical item have been reduced to one. Hence, the plurality is entirely syntactically motivated, having nothing to do with the actual specification of number in the two nouns courage and consolation. The change from feminine to masculine now adapts itself to a possible Markedness Theory explanation.

8. Cf. Grevisse, Le Bon Usage, pg. 332.
On place avant le nom en général, l'adjectif monosyllabique qualifiant un nom polysyllabique: Un bel appartement. Un bref aperçu.

CONCLUSION

We conclude by summarizing certain characteristics of our analysis. However, we note that the conclusions and observations presented are of a very tentative nature, given the present volatile state of linguistic research and theories.

The noun phrases in English and French are generated by the same phrase structure rules. Consequently, the noun phrases may be said to share the same deep structure, as is normally the case in transformational analyses. The major difference is that French contains qualitatively different transformations from English. It is these additional transformations that give rise to a difference in surface structure between the adjectives of English and French. As will be recalled, all the adjectives in English may occur both in pre- and post-nominal position, taking into account certain syntactic restrictions, such as the fact that no less than two adjectives may occur post-nominally. In French, however, the adjectives may be divided into two distinct groups according to whether they occur normally in pre- or post-nominal position. We account for this distributional patterning by means of a lexical feature /___N/. Only those adjectives which are marked with this feature are transposed to pre-nominal position. Consequently, we have provided a means of explaining Deep Structure similarities and surface structure differences between English and French. The differences involve types of transformations required by French and the additional highly important lexical feature /___N/. Together, the transformations

and lexical features account for the differences between the English and French noun phrases.

We employ throughout the analysis of English and French the Sa Transformation which changes meaning in a very specific way. We note that if the Sa Transformation changes meaning it does so not only in a special but also in a very limited way. In short, the meaning change is not arbitrary. The change is one of restrictive to non-restrictive meaning. That is, the difference between a noun being contrasted with other members of a group, and being viewed in isolation. Our justification for using this transformation is based upon the following arguments. Firstly, we achieve a somewhat simpler analysis. Deriving the non-restrictive from the restrictive clause requires one transformation fewer than would introducing the two clauses separately into the grammar. Secondly, one can deal formally with the distributional occurrence of the two clauses in a way which is normal for transformational analysis. That is, when relating two phenomena, one of which occurs more frequently and with less restrictions than the second, it is the second which is derived from the first. Thus, the environmentally constrained non-restrictive clause is derived from the more freely occurring restrictive clause.

The relating of the non-restrictive clauses directly by means of a transformation brings us to the question of whether or not only synonymous sentences are to be transformationally related.¹ Our present position is that the criterion for relating sentences derivationally should be fundamentally syntactic.

That is, we give priority to the criteria of generality, economy and distributional surface facts, maintaining that these theoretical considerations provide a principled basis for the relating of sentences as opposed to the intuitive basis upon which sentences synonymy normally depends.

Quantifiers, both negative and positive, are introduced directly into the base for two reasons. Firstly, this approach simplifies the analysis; one has need of neither the quantifier lowering mechanism of Lakoff², nor rules which would introduce the quantifiers at surface level after all the transformations have applied to the deep structure. We claim that the presence of quantifiers in the base is correct in so far as they contain basically meaning changing characteristics, relative to whole phrases and even sentences. That is, the choice of, for example, all or no implies major differences of meaning which affect the whole sentence. In our opinion therefore, quantifiers must be present at all stages of the derivation.

Referent is treated as a lexical feature for the following reasons; information concerning the number of group referents as well as the number of members in each group referent is necessary in the specification of the lexical item itself for the correct specification of number in French adjectives following plural common nouns. For example, les soldats grand et blond, where only two soldiers are implied. Similarly, specification of the number of group referents is necessary in determining whether surface structure compound adjectives e.g., black and white are to be introduced as compounds and then are derived

separately, black for one group, and white for another, from two separate embedded sentences. In addition, the quantifiers may determine the number of the group referents in the context of a plural common noun. For example all such as in:

- (1) All the rules are explicit and all the rules are good.

implies only one group referent. The quantifier few, however, may take either one or more than one group referent as in:

- (2) Few rules are explicit and good.
 (3) Few rules are explicit and few rules are good.

Consequently, referent must be considered as a feature in the lexical specification of each dictionary entry or word.

We consider finally the relationship between synonymy and homophony. We choose to introduce the homophones as two individual lexical entries since, particularly in French, two homophonous adjectives such as grand, one meaning tall and the other important/great, can occur distributionally in the same position as in:

- (4) Un grand homme peut se cogner la tête dans cette entrée.
 (5) Un grand homme a dirigé le gouvernement pendant le 17^{ème} siècle.

Thus, two different derivative sources are required for their insertion. The non-metaphorical adjective, meaning in this case tall, will be derived from predicate adjective position in a relative clause. The source, however, for the metaphorical adjective is the Synonymous Replacement Rule. While we have tended to minimize the synonymy of sentences in the formation

of a transformational grammar, we nevertheless accord considerable importance and value to synonymy of words where their synonymy is established on the basis of straightforward word definition. In our example we have a synonym, e.g. important providing the source for a homophonous metaphorical adjective, in this case grand (important/great).

The transformational model which we have adopted, the transformations and features which we have needed to postulate together account for the differences of the English and French nominal phrases, and also establish an interesting link between the traditional problems of homophony, synonymy and metaphor.

FOOT-NOTES TO THE CONCLUSION

1. Cf. Hall Partee, B. "On the requirement that transformations preserve meaning".
2. Cf. Lakoff, G. "Repartee, or a reply to 'Negation conjunction and quantifiers'".

SUMMARY OF RULES

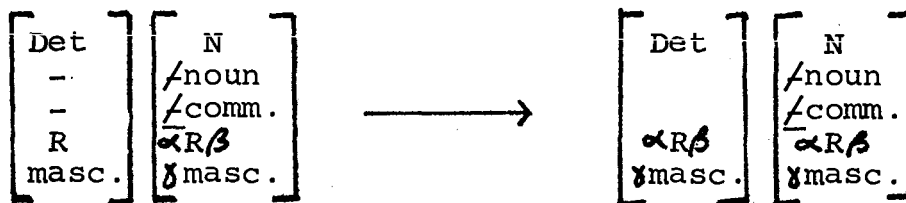
(1) Joint Marking.

N...joint, Vb... α joint, \rightarrow N... α joint, Vb... α joint.

(2) Concord of Gender and Number.

N... α R β , α masc., Vb/ α verbal, -verb, α adj., -R-, masc., \rightarrow

N... α R β , α masc., Vb/ α verbal, -verb, α adj., α R β , α masc.

(3) Determinant Agreement Transformation.(4) Transformation Marking Rule.

(i) N neg Vb N S2 \rightarrow N neg Vb Q α neg. N S2

(ii) Q α neg. N Vb N S2 \rightarrow Q α neg. N neg. Vb Q α neg. N S2

(5) Sa Transformation

S \rightarrow Sa / Art N Vb Art N

Art N Vb (Art N)
 α copula (Adj)

(6) Relative Clause Transformation.

N... \rightarrow N α Pro. α Wh ... / (Det) N S

(7) Relative Clause Reduction.

S2 BCDE Y/ α verbal, -verb, ___ N \rightarrow S2 Y/ α verbal, -verb

(8) Transposition Transformation.

(i) (Q) (Art) N Y/ α verbal, -verb... ___ N \rightarrow

(Q) (Art) Y/ α verbal, -verb ___ N N

(ii) (Q) (Art) N S Y/ α verbal, -verb... \rightarrow

(Q) (Art) N Y/ α verbal, -verb ... S

(9) Qualitative Transposition.

Det N Adj. -----> Det Adj. N

(10) Contrastive Transposition.

Det Adj N -----> Det N Adj.

(11) Adjectivisation Rule.

X /verbal, -verb, /adv.... -----> Y /verbal, -verb, /adj...

(12) Resetting Rule.

(a) X α Y β ----- Y β ... X α /N

(b) E α /narr. F α -narr. ----->

F α -narr. E α /narr. / N

(13) Conjunction Insertion Transformation.

N... 2 R Vb cj Vb -----> N ... 2 R Vb cj Vb

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