

THE UNMOTIVATED PASSIVE TRANSFORMATION

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CHAPTER I

REVIEW OF PREVIOUS PROPOSALS

Aside from Jan Svartvik's On Voice in the English Verb (1966), little full-length criticism regarding the status of the English passive construction within the framework of transformational generative grammar has been undertaken. Although Noam Chomsky's Syntactic Structures (1957) does not emphasize the passive to any large degree, it represents the initial formalized application of transformational tenets to the passive. Following Syntactic Structures, R. B. Lees presented a paper entitled "On Passives and Imperatives in English" before the 1963 Linguistic Institute of the Linguistic Society of America. Following Lees, B. L. Fraser presented a similar study, "Passive Constructions in English," at the 1964 Winter Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America. The analyses presented in the above mentioned works, along with other pertinent proposals, will be given explicit attention throughout the text of this discussion of the passive and the passive transformation, a rule which appears to suffer from insufficient motivation.

At this point it is necessary to mention that when

the passive is given attention it is, for the most part, treated as a secondary aspect of syntax. More important, with the exception of the propositions advanced by Svartvik, Jerrold Katz, and Paul Postal, the available material having to do with analyses of the passive describes it from the point of view that it is a grammatical formation dependent on underlying active strings. In opposition to this particular assumption, it seems logically possible to ascertain that such an approach is descriptively inadequate in that the passive is not dependent on underlying active strings. According to Svartvik, as one analyses sets of passive constructs, "it becomes increasingly realistic, and economical to consider the production of passive sentences in terms of serial relationship with equative and intransitive active clause types."¹ Before going further, it should be noted that serial relationship does not imply that the passive is syntactically dependent on the active. This position can be clarified only after the completion of the following consideration of previous studies, most of which contend that the passive is the result of a transformation involving a corresponding active.

If one is willing to go back to Jespersen's The Philosophy of Grammar (1924), it becomes quite evident that as early as 1924 a somewhat primitive transformational theory was applied to the assumed relationship between the English active and passive voices. According to

Jespersen, "what was the object in the active sentence is made into the subject, and what was the subject in the active sentence is expressed by means of a prepositional group in English with by."² In The Philosophy of Grammar, the above is expressed by means of a formula, using the letter S for subject, O for object, V for verb, a for active, p for passive, and C for converted subject.³ The following sample sentence illustrates the descriptive ability of Jespersen's innovation.

S	Va	O	⇒	S	Vp	C
Richard	loves	Liz.	⇒	Liz	is loved	by Richard.
	Richard:	Sa	⇒	Cp		
	Liz:	Oa	⇒	Sp		

Offering a curious contrast and nothing more to Jespersen's proposal, R. B. McKerrow, in his article "English Grammar and Grammars" (1922), had earlier made known his views regarding the relevance of the passive in English syntax. Initially McKerrow felt that,

If we were now starting for the first time to construct a grammar of modern English, without knowledge of or reference to the classics, it might never occur to us to postulate a passive voice at all. It seems to be that it is questionable whether in the spoken English of today there is actually any such thing, and though, as a matter of convenience, it may be well to retain it in our grammars, I doubt whether it ought to occupy so prominent a position as it sometimes does.⁴

However, as inconceivable as it may appear to those who follow the radical view of McKerrow, the passive is of

major significance to the syntactic component of a grammar. Therefore, it must be allowed to occupy a prominent position, and it must be analyzed and accounted for in terms of itself, apart from the active.

Etsko Krusinga's A Handbook of Present-Day English (1927) presents what seems to be the first opinion regarding the possibility that the passive may be accounted for while divorced from any active construction. Here Krusinga makes the statement that although "it is unusual to consider the passive as a kind of secondary form of the verb, a derivative form dependent on the active, this treatment, though supported by convenience and tradition, does not really permit us to state the facts completely or correctly."⁵ Supporting and, at the same time, expanding Krusinga's proposal, W. S. Allen, in his Living English Structure (1959), expresses the opinion that

a great deal of harm has been done by teaching the passive voice as if it were merely another way of expressing a sentence in the active voice. Students are asked to put such sentences as: John likes girls, Henry can read English and French, etc. into the fantastic forms of Girls are liked by John, English and French can be read by John, etc. We ought to stress the fact that the passive voice has an important and special place in language; most sentences that are good in the active voice are just grotesque curiosities when put into the passive.⁶

Thus, at this point it is evident that Allen's opinion, along with that of Svartvik, is very much influenced by conditions which indicate that there does not exist an adequate syntactic relationship between the active and

the passive. Hence, due to this situation, it is likely that a passive transformation, formulated while relying on the assumption that the passive presupposes the existence of an underlying active, will not yield an adequate grammatical description.⁷ The difficulties encountered in the attempts of Chomsky and Lees to derive a sufficiently motivated passive transformation exemplify, to a degree, the types of problems involved if one approaches the passive as a derivation of the active.

In spite of the various attempts to account for or cancel out the existence of the passive, it remains clear that only in the case of modern transformational theory has an attempt been made to systematically formalize and incorporate in a unified grammatical scheme a description of the passive. Chomsky's Syntactic Structures, as already mentioned, represents the initial formalized approach to what has often since been referred to as the generative transformational analysis of the grammatical utterances, both active and passive, that constitute a natural language system.

From the outset, Chomsky considered the passive to be a result of a transformation of a corresponding active. The description that appears in Syntactic Structures stipulates that the derivation of a passive takes place by means of an optional transformational rule that operates on and adds to the constituents of an underlying active

containing a transitive verb. The optional transformation $(NP' - Aux - V - NP'' \longrightarrow NP'' - Aux + be + en - V - by + NP')$ ⁸ was not received with favor by a number of generative linguists. Lees, in both The Grammar of English Nominalizations (1963) and "On Passives and Imperatives in English" (1963), admits to questioning the descriptive adequacy of Chomsky's optional passive transformation.

Since this declaration, Lees has insisted on the necessity of revising certain singulary transformational processes, such as the passive, through the insertion of optionally chosen constituents in deep structure. As a result, transformations that were once optional become obligatory transformations. Serving as motivation for the above is the attempt to arrive at uniform assignment of constituent structure to the entire range of sentence components.⁹ For example, Lees did not approve of the fact that Chomsky allowed the constituents be+en, the passive auxiliary, and by, the adverbial-like element, to appear in the output of the transformation while not appearing in the input. Hence, in The Grammar of English Nominalizations, he asserts with justification that Chomsky's passive transformation "fails to provide for the correct constituent structure of the resulting passive, even though it does correctly serve to derive the passive from an underlying active sentence."¹⁰

Upon evaluating the criticism of Lees and others,

Chomsky introduced a revised process of handling the derivation of the passive. In Aspects of the Theory of Syntax (1965) he proposes that the passive be obtained through the application of an obligatory transformational rule rather than through the previous optional rule. Taking advantage of Lees's two-fold concept of manner adverbials and middle verbs, he proposed the following constituent-structure rules, revisions of those originally listed in Syntactic Structures.¹¹

1. $S \rightarrow NP \hat{\ } Predicate\ Phrase$

2. $Predicate\ Phrase \rightarrow Aux \hat{\ } VP\ (Place)\ (Time)$

3. $VP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Copula} \hat{\ } \text{Predicate} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (NP)\ (Prep.\ Phrase)\ (Prep.\ Phrase) \\ (Manner) \end{array} \right\} \\ V \\ S' \\ \text{Predicate} \end{array} \right\}$

From Chomsky's point of view, observations regarding the motivation of the above rules seem to suggest that the manner adverbial may employ, as one of its realizations, a dummy element, a mechanism used to indicate that the passive transformation must be applied. That is, by inserting the rewriting rule ($Manner \rightarrow by \hat{\ } Passive$) into the constituent-structure rules it becomes possible to stipulate that the passive transformation obligatorily applies to an underlying structure appearing in the form (NP-Aux-V- ... -NP- ... -by passive- ...). The actual

conversion of the active to the passive is initiated by the application of a simple transformation which places the first NP in the position occupied by the dummy element. Next, completing the transformational process, the second NP assumes the position originally occupied by the first NP.¹² As is noticeable, this approach possesses a number of advantages over the proposal presented in Syntactic Structures. Summarizing the overall effect of the obligatory passive transformation, Chomsky places emphasis on three major points.

First of all, it accounts automatically for the restriction of passivization to verbs that take manner adverbials freely. That is, a verb will appear in the frame (NP-Aux-V- ... -NP- ... -by passive- ...) and thus undergo the passive transformation only if it is positively specified, in the lexicon, for the strict subcategorization feature (-NP Manner), in which case it will also take manner adverbials freely. Second, with this formulation it is possible to account for the derived phrase-marker of the passive by the rules for substitution transformations. This makes it possible to dispense entirely with an ad hoc rule of derived constituent structure that, in fact, was motivated solely by the passive construction (Chomsky, Syntactic Structures). Third, it is now possible to account for pseudo-passives by a slight generalization of the ordinary passive transformation.¹³

Although the impact of the efficiency added by virtue of the passive transformation becoming an obligatory rule cannot be overlooked, Chomsky's revision lacks a sufficient degree of descriptive adequacy. The procedure advocated in Lees's "On Passives and Imperatives in English" appears more suitable in that it provides for the correct constituent structure at the deep structure level in an efficient

manner. Neither of Chomsky's attempts accomplished this. The following list of constituent-structure rules formulated by Lees is characterized by the fact that it possesses the ability to satisfy the condition that the input to the passive transformation must contain the constituents that appear in the output.¹⁴

1. $S \rightarrow \text{Nom} + \text{VP}$
2. $\text{VP} \rightarrow \text{VAX} + \text{MV}$
3. $\text{MV} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{be} + \text{Pred} \\ \text{V} \end{array} \right\}$
4. $\text{Pred} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Nom} \\ \text{Adj} \\ \text{Loc} \end{array} \right\}$
5. $\text{V} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{V}_{\text{tr}} + \text{Nom} \text{ (AG)} \\ \text{V}_{\text{in}} \\ \text{V}_{\text{m}} + \text{Nom} \end{array} \right\}$
6. $\text{VAX} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Aux} + \text{be} + \text{En} \text{ if: } \text{---} + \text{V}_{\text{tr}} + \text{Nom} + \text{AG} \\ \text{Aux} \text{ otherwise} \end{array} \right\}$
7. $\text{V}_{\text{tr}} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{V}_{\text{x}} + \text{Pred} \\ \text{V}_{\text{ct}} + \text{C} \\ \text{V}_{\text{t}} \end{array} \right\}$
8. $\text{AG} \rightarrow \text{by} + \text{Nom}$
9. $\text{Nom} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{PP} \text{ (PL)} \\ \text{N}_{\text{pred}} \end{array} \right\}$

10. $N \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} N_c \text{ (PL)} \\ N_u \end{array} \right\}$
11. $Aux \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(Prev)} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Imp} \\ Aux_a \text{ (Aux}_b) \end{array} \right\} \text{ if: you+} \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \\ Aux_a \text{ (Aux}_b) \text{ otherwise} \end{array} \right\}$
12. $Aux_a \rightarrow Tns \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(M)} \text{ if: (Aux}_b) \text{ be+En} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{be+to} \\ M \end{array} \right\} \text{ otherwise} \end{array} \right\}$
13. $Aux_b \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} H \\ B \end{array} \right\} \text{ if: } \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \text{be+En} \\ (H) \text{ (B) otherwise} \end{array} \right\}$
14. $Prev \rightarrow (E) \text{ (not) (Pvb)}$
15. $Pvb \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} Pos \text{ if: (Not)} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} Pos \\ Neg \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Imp} \\ \text{otherwise} \end{array} \right\} \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \end{array} \right\}$
16. $Tns \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} Past \text{ if: } \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \text{+be+to+H} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} Pres \\ Past \end{array} \right\} \text{ otherwise} \end{array} \right\}$
17. $H \rightarrow \text{have+En}$
18. $B \rightarrow \text{be+Ing}$

These constituent-structure rules make possible the compilation of the obligatory passive transformation listed below.¹⁵ The advantages of such a rule are quite obvious when compared to the previous systems discussed.

$$\text{Nom}' + Aux + \text{be} + \text{En} + X + \text{by} + \text{Nom}'' + Y \Rightarrow$$

$$\text{Nom}'' + Aux + \text{be} + \text{En} + X + \text{by} + \text{Nom}' + Y$$

Relying on the motivated assertion that middle verbs do not take manner adverbials, Silas Griggs presents an alternate proposal in "Aspects of the Theory of English Passives as Manner Adverbials" (1967). The rules listed below have been abstracted from the set of constituent-structure rules used by Griggs in order to provide the correct constituent structure required of the input to the passive transformation.¹⁶

1. $S \rightarrow NP + VP$
2. $VP \rightarrow Aux MV (Place) (Time)$
3. $MV \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} Vcop \quad Pred \\ V \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (NP) (Psv) (Manner) \\ \quad \quad \quad Pred \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$
4. $Pred \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} Adj \\ (like) NP' \end{array} \right\}$
5. $Psv \rightarrow \text{by Psv}$
6. $Psv \rightarrow \text{be} + En$
7. $Man \rightarrow \text{Adj} + ly$

By optionally selecting the passive from the above rules of the base component in deep structure, the passive transformation becomes obligatory. Both the input and the output of the passive transformation formulated by Griggs (see below) appear to be somewhat confusing. Note that the symbol S in the rule is used to signify the position of the grammatical subject. This particular use of S represents a slight alteration of Griggs's passive

additional comment. These matters will be given more explicit consideration in the concluding chapter.

In addition to the views thus far mentioned, numerous similar attempts have recently been made in an effort to adequately describe the English passive. I use similar in the sense that the foundation of these theories includes a reliance on underlying actives. Of them, Kinsuke Hasegawa's "The Passive Construction in English" (forthcoming in Language) is the latest. Hasegawa's contribution to the cause seems to offer nothing new in that it follows the basic format of the past proposals. In essence, it supports the far-reaching assumption that the passive cannot be realized unless it remains dependent on the active, no matter the abstractness of the dependency.

The general theories regarding the origin of the passive that cling to the principles of Chomsky and Lees have come under attack by Katz, Postal, and Svartvik. Allen's contention, which presupposes the view that nothing constructive has been realized by assuming the passive to be just another mode of expressing the active, has already been given attention. By expanding Allen's notion, Katz, Postal, and Svartvik have attempted to substantiate the assumption that the passive is independent of the active throughout its derivation.

In An Integrated Theory of Linguistic Description (1964), Katz and Postal introduce a semantically orientated

theory asserting the independence of the passive. According to Lyons' "Review of An Integrated Theory of Linguistic Description" (1966), Katz and Postal at the outset assume a position which is essentially that of Chomsky's Syntactic Structures. However, they gradually modify it by superimposing involved extensions of the semantic component over the syntactic component. In fact, semantics is stressed to such a degree that it becomes difficult to avoid the assumption that Katz and Postal might be advocating a theory of language based, for the most part, on semantics.¹⁸ Still, as in the proposals of Chomsky and Lees, the arguments brought forward emphasize the syntactic side of the issue as well. For instance, according to Katz and Postal, strong syntactic motivation has been found which denies the assumption that passives are derived through a transformation of corresponding actives.¹⁹

The foundation of their analysis depends on the syntactic inability of obligatory transformations to change meaning. Meaning, as defined by Katz and Postal, relies heavily on choice. Therefore, it follows that because obligatory transformations do not imply a choice it is virtually impossible for them to change meaning. Here, one must recognize that the prerequisite for such a process consists of an encompassing set of constituent-structure rules. In turn, this condition stipulates that

the majority of the transformational rules in a grammar be of the obligatory type. Hence as Lyons comments,

What they have in effect done is to transfer the choice upon which depends the difference of meaning from the transformational to the phrase-structure rules. As the authors point out, this treatment has already been adopted for negative sentences, on purely syntactic grounds and without concern for the question whether transformations preserve meaning or not by Lees (1960) and Klima (1964).²⁰

Further, by virtue of assigning an encompassing nature to the constituent-structure rules, Katz and Postal have advanced a theory whereby the passive is derived from underlying P-markers. While concluding, Katz and Postal stress the opinion that the passive must be "derived from a P-marker with a passive morpheme dummy as a transformation whose structure index makes that transformation applicable only to P-markers with such a dummy."²¹ However, whether such an approach rules out the dependency of passives on corresponding and underlying active forms is questionable.²²

In the final assessment, what Katz and Postal have actually accomplished is, in a number of ways, similar to the proposals introduced by Chomsky and Lees. They have assumed a set of constituent-structure rules resembling those of Chomsky and Lees. The chief element of differentiation lies in the fact that Katz and Postal interpret the process involved as being primarily a semantic one, which stabilizes the semantic component of a grammar of a natural language.

A different point of departure is found in Svartvik's On Voice in the English Verb. Here, the element of voice is observed from the angle of syntactic formation rather than from the semantic point of view. According to Svartvik, previous attempts to formulate an adequate description of the passive have been anything but successful.

The name is certainly partially responsible. Grammarians do not generally claim that the subject of the passive construction must necessarily suffer the action. Yet there must be some such requirement present in the minds of those grammarians who preoccupy themselves so much with the concepts of action and occurrence as opposed to state when they are setting up definitions of the passive voice.²³

Svartvik's concept of the passive is revolutionary in the sense that it relies on the distributional characteristics of the principle constituents of the passive as opposed to those of the active. Svartvik considers the passive to be a grammatical construction which depends on combinations of the auxiliary be, or auxiliaries commutable with be, and a past participle to complete the verb phrase requirement. Note that this manner of describing the passive does not, in any way, refer to the active for support. In Svartvik's terms, the passive is viewed as a grammatical entity to be accounted for in terms of its distributional characteristics, as all such entities should be analyzed. The end result is the realization that the passive constitutes a separate class of grammatical constructions due to its distributional idiosyncrasies.

The argument presented by Svartvik is convincing in a number of significant areas. Particularly impressive is the observation that the distributional characteristics of the passive reveal that there exists a number of syntactic features of the passive that cannot be explained in terms of an active-passive transformation.

Favoring a line of thought which is in some ways similar to Svartvik's, it becomes obvious that a more accurate analysis of the passive is a necessity if a grammar is to achieve and maintain descriptive adequacy. In order to achieve this end, the means must consist, in part, of a more efficient and general set of constituent-structure rules. Also, in addition, the active-passive transformation must be deleted in favor of a less involved transformation.

Hoping to develop and add to the essentials outlined above, the following chapters consist of an attempt to approach a motivation of a more efficient analysis of the passive, one far more abstract than previous descriptions. The ensuing chapter presents an analysis that counteracts all previous descriptions of the passive. The third and final chapter has as its purpose to emphasize a number of arguments which, to a large degree, motivate the analysis of the passive as a grammatical construction independent of the active. The majority of the arguments presented are relatively unique in that they have been given little

or no attention in the past. Therefore, at first sight, some of them may appear to be questionable. However, upon reconsideration a somewhat different opinion may be the result. Nonetheless, regardless of the position taken by the reader, it is intended that the arguments presented will, at least, provoke further study and questioning.

CHAPTER II

TOWARDS A MOTIVATION OF A PROPOSAL: THE PASSIVE IN TERMS OF ITSELF

As implied many times throughout the course of the preceding chapter, the conception of the passive as being a grammatical construction dependent on underlying actives, no matter the abstractness of the dependency, has remained dominant.¹ In spite of the attempts presented in both Katz and Postal's An Integrated Theory of Linguistic Description and Svartvik's On Voice in the English Verb, passives in generative grammar have too often been analyzed as expanded reorganizations of underlying actives.

In connection with the generally prevalent view, an element of the ironic prevails. The assumed relationship involving the active and the passive, upon which most transformational analyses of the passive have relied, has never been adequately established. Robin Lakoff, in the unpublished version of her thesis entitled Studies in the Transformational Grammar of Latin: The Complement System (1967), alludes to this problematic relationship in the following manner.

That the active sentences and the passive sentences

are somehow related is well known. What is less well known is precisely what the relationship between them is. The passivization transformation is one of the most mysterious rules of the transformational component. We know, to be sure, that it exists. We know apparently what it does to the deep structures on which it operates, and what superficial structures it produces. But we do not know, and can barely begin to guess, the actual form of this transformational rule, and the kind of deep structures on which it operates.²

Judging from Robin Lakoff's statement, it is not at all difficult to conclude that past descriptions of the passive have to a large degree been formulated within frameworks vacuous of systematic theory. Regarding various notions as to what constitutes a grammar of a natural language system, something is terribly deficient if a condition exists whereby, on the one hand, we know apparently what the passive transformation does to deep structures and what outputs it produces, and, on the other hand, we do not know the basic form of the rule and the types of deep structures that serve as inputs to the passive transformation. Therefore, it follows that previous analyses make claims that have the potential to seriously threaten the ability of a theory of grammar to approach descriptive and explanatory adequacy. It is rather obvious that the removal of this potential is of prime necessity. A significantly adequate description of the passive must then be derived in order to cancel out the difficulties encountered through an absence of systematic theory.

Again referring to Robin Lakoff's thesis, the assumption the active sentence types and the passive sentence types are somehow related is not to be denied. What is to be denied, however, is that the one is syntactically as well as semantically dependent on the other. In an attempt to motivate such a denial, assertions of the following type must be shown to be highly insufficient. According to Peter Rosenbaum's The Grammar of English Predicate Complement Constructions (1967).

There is hardly a simpler formulation of the passive transformation than that according to which the noun phrase preceding and the noun phrase following the main verb of a sentence are inverted with a concurrent insertion of the passive morphemes be+en and by. It has been shown, furthermore, that a passive transformation of this general form follows as a logical consequence from a general theory of language seeking to explain the linguistic abilities possessed by normal speakers of a language in some formal and systematic fashion.³

Opposing Rosenbaum, it appears possible to approach a motivation of a theoretically adequate analysis of the passive by first proposing a revision of the concept of the sentence in deep structure. Such a proposal claims that both the active and the passive evolve from a more abstract and general concept of the sentence. In addition it adopts, from the outset, an extension of the binary notation initially presented in generative phonology. And by the insertion of a minimal number of revised constituent-structure rules, made possible by the revision of the concept of the sentence in deep

structure, the unmotivated passive transformation can be eliminated from the transformational component. As a consequence, the passive can be accounted for in terms of the passive, not in terms of the active.

In order to enhance the possibilities of a favorable acceptance of a proposal advocating an analysis of the passive in terms of the passive, at this point, one essential distinction must be made. Too often, if not always, the notion of relatedness (Svartvik's serial relationship) has been confused and subsequently identified with the notion syntactic dependency. In reference to accounts of the passive, the results of this state of confusion have proven to be particularly bothersome. For instance, Chomsky, Lees, and Rosenbaum, in addition to many others, emphasize the correctness of deriving the passive from corresponding actives through an obligatory transformation, one relying on inputs made available by corresponding and underlying actives. This position appears to rely on the implications of the notion relatedness, considered by them to be identical to those of syntactic dependency. Due to the widespread effect of this view, a false analogy has managed to influence previous analyses of the passive.

The inability to efficiently make note of the difference between relatedness and syntactic dependency has done much to inhibit the evolution of an acceptable

description of the passive. It is claimed here that this inability has been brought about through the incompetent use of the notions comprising a theory of deep structure. According to George Lakoff's "Instrumental Adverbs and the Concept of Deep Structure" (1968), the theory of deep structure that emerges from Katz and Postal's An Integrated Theory of Linguistic Description and Chomsky's Aspects of the Theory of Syntax dictates that deep structure is that level of linguistic analysis defined by the following conditions.

First, the basic grammatical relations (subject-of, object-of) are represented at this level in terms of grammatical categories (S, NP, VP, N, V). Second, the correct generalizations about selectional restrictions and co-occurrence can be stated at this level. Third, lexical items are assigned to their appropriate categories at this level. Fourth, the structures defined at this level are the inputs to the transformational rules.⁴

In regard to these defining conditions, most important in relation to the passive is the assignment of lexical items to their appropriate categories. The assignment of the proper lexical items to their appropriate categories presupposes that the semantic representation of a grammatical utterance is formed in deep structure. Further, in George Lakoff's terms, the "semantic interpretation rules are defined in terms of lexical-semantic context (condition three) and grammatical relations (condition one), and, since selectional restrictions involve lexical items, the second and third conditions are

interdependent."⁵ Finally, because it is assumed that the first three conditions allow one to state the correct generalizations about sentences at the deep structure level, the structures defined at this level provide the corpus of inputs utilized at the transformational level.

One of the most prominent characteristics of the inputs to the rules of the transformational component is that they are generated by the base component, consisting of rules that attempt to express pertinent generalizations concerning the semantic and syntactic content of grammatical structures. Therefore, in order to avoid needless complications and subsequent degrees of unnaturalness specific generalizations are to be stated no more than once within the framework of the base component. For example, the passive should not be introduced in the base component if it is assumed that the passive is dependent, semantically and syntactically, on corresponding underlying actives. If the passive is introduced under such circumstances a generalization is overlooked. This matter will become clearer as the study proceeds.

Upon closely reviewing the concepts and analyses of the passive entertained by Katz, Postal, Lees, and Chomsky, it becomes evident that the underlying conditions of deep structure have, at times, been ignored. For instance, Katz and Postal have made the claim that the choice upon which depends the difference in meaning

is relegated to the level of deep structure. Extending this view, they insist that the passive, made possible by the optional selection of a passive marker in deep structure and an obligatory transformation, has no independent semantic interpretation.⁶ If they were to add consistency to their argument the selection of the passive should be restricted to the transformational level, not the deep structure level. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, the choice of negative constructions has been allowed to appear in a high level constituent-structure rule. However, it has generally been agreed that negative markers, along with question and imperative markers, have independent semantic interpretations.⁷ Consequently, this view does not support Katz and Postal's proposal for the simple reason that they are not of the opinion that passives have independent semantic interpretations.

Chomsky's analysis as presented in Aspects of the Theory of Syntax, agreeing with Katz and Postal's contention that transformations cannot introduce meaning-bearing elements, also appears inconsistent in regard to the underlying conditions governing deep structure.⁸ By introducing the passive in deep structure, whether by a high or a low level rule, it is presupposed that a difference in meaning, an independent semantic interpretation, is included. It is rather apparent that

Chomsky has ignored this condition if one takes into consideration the constraint that the passive, unlike questions, negation, and imperative markers, has no independent semantic interpretation.⁹ Why then, if much of deep structure is concerned with establishing generalizations regarding the semantic content of grammatical utterances, has Chomsky deemed it necessary to insert the choice of the passive into the set of rules that generate deep structures? True, without its presence in the set of rules that generate deep structures problems dealing with selectional restrictions and derived constituent structure may be the result. Nonetheless, this is hardly sufficient motivation for Chomsky's revised analysis of the passive.

In the event that a theory fostering the assertion that passives do in fact retain independent semantic interpretations can be demonstrated, propositions identical or similar to those found in Aspects of the Theory of Syntax can be proven to be theoretically and descriptively inadequate. Ultimately, motivation of such a theory requires empirical evidence showing that there exists at least one natural language system where the passives have no corresponding underlying actives, actives that are grammatically well-formed.¹⁰ Verifying the presence of a large number of passives having no corresponding underlying actives would clearly motivate

the argument that passives are neither semantically nor syntactically dependent on actives. Moving towards a motivation of such a theory, at this point it ought to be mentioned that George Lakoff and John Ross have been developing an abstract theory of syntax whereby all selectional restrictions are heavily reliant on the resultant semantic interpretation. A proposition of this order is in direct opposition to Chomsky's view that selectional restrictions are, for all practical purposes, governed by lexical conditions.

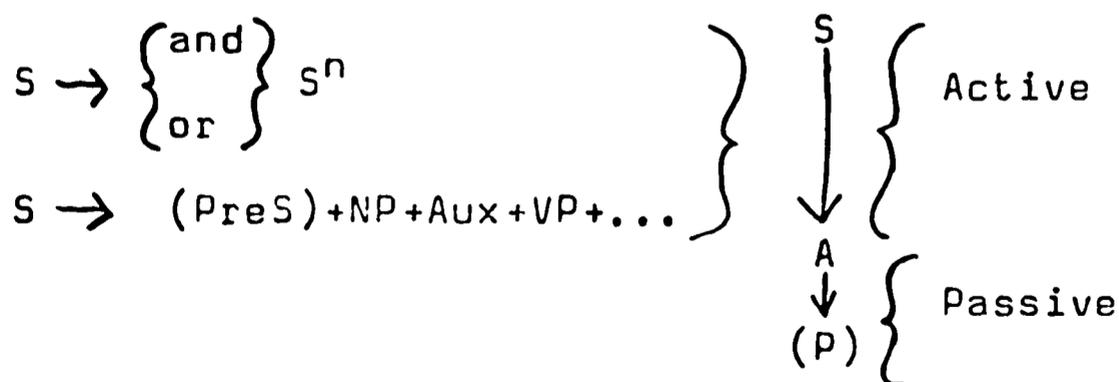
While favoring the abstract theory of Lakoff and Ross, it is possible to qualify the statement that the selection of the passive can necessitate independent semantic interpretations. It is clear that once the passive is chosen a number of restrictions are automatically imposed on the generation of a grammatical construction: the exclusion of middle and intransitive verbs and the obligatory inclusion of the passive morphemes. The far reaching effects of these restrictions on semantic interpretation are being examined in the perceptual studies of John Landow. Based on his preliminary conclusions, the two sentences listed below convey different meanings.¹¹

(Active) John hit Bill.

(Passive) Bill was hit by John.

According to the observations of Landow, significant results indicate that the active form merely denotes that John somehow hit Bill. Providing a contrast, the passive form makes the claim that John hit Bill in a forceful and definite manner. Much of the difference in meaning has to do with the stress placed on the action in the passive. Here it should be noted that the conclusions drawn by Landow could be more convincing if his data, composed only of English active-passive sentence types, were less ambiguous and more appropriately representative. This matter will be taken up later in a somewhat exacting manner, especially in relation to the passive in Spanish and Tagalog.

Returning to a more explicit discussion of the conditions governing deep structure and the question of independent semantic interpretation, the confusion surrounding the notions relatedness and syntactic dependency may be resolved. The following rules and diagram are introduced in an effort to simplify the issues involved.¹²



The diagram illustrates the fact that the deep structure concept of the sentence, expressed in the rules to the

left of the diagram, allows for the generation of the basic constituents of the active prior to the optional selection of the passive. At this point, it is evident that the above constituent-structure rules produce outputs which are deep structure actives subject to expansion by virtue of lower selections. It follows that if the passive is chosen, it is chosen only after the basic active has been obligatorily introduced. The procedure claims that at a significant point in its derivational history the passive is realized as an active. Thus, we have the assertion that passives are somehow derived from corresponding underlying actives, and the notions relatedness and syntactic dependency merge into a single notion.

A more precise evaluation reveals that another claim is made by the processes initiated by the two constituent-structure rules. Since passives are designated as being syntactically dependent on actives, then, in turn, passives must also be semantically dependent on actives. If one wishes to avoid such claims, the choice of the passive must be made available at the same level as the PreS selections. As already brought out, this is not done as Chomsky's analysis in Aspects of the Theory of Syntax stipulates that the passive, unlike questions, negation, and imperative markers, has no independent semantic interpretation. Here a contradiction exists in that if the passive is introduced in deep structure it is claimed, due

to the underlying conditions of deep structure, that the passive is characterized by independent semantic interpretation. A violation of this order endangers the universal base hypothesis.¹³ According to the universal base hypothesis, all selections that are made available by the rules that generate deep structures must be syntactically motivated. Anything that is syntactically motivated must either presuppose or have the capacity to contribute to an independent semantic interpretation, no matter how slight the difference in meaning may be. Finally, to avoid needless expansion of the base component, if no independent semantic interpretation is observed the selection in question must be omitted. Chomsky's theory and analysis of the passive as briefly mentioned in Syntactic Structures adheres to this constraint. However, in addition to other major inadequacies, problems of derived constituent structure hinder the descriptive ability of the analysis. As will be seen later, problems of derived constituent structure and their side effects can prove to be just as troublesome as the failure to distinguish between the notions relatedness and syntactic dependency.

Working with the theory concerned with the semantic impact on selectional restrictions, a proposal that the active and the passive are related to some abstract and quite general concept of the sentence can be forwarded. The constituent-structure rules expressing such a rela-

tionship (see below) may appear overly complicated, but, in fact, they are more comprehensive and no more involved than the rules employed in former analyses. The use of a numbering convention and angle notation to add to the efficiency of the rules represents two adaptations of notational schemes introduced in Chomsky and Halle's The Sound Pattern of English (1968).

$$\begin{array}{l}
 1. \quad S \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{and} \\ \text{or} \end{array} \right\} S_1 \\
 2. \quad S \rightarrow (\text{PreS}) \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Act} \\ \langle \text{Psv} \rangle \end{array} \right\} + \text{by} + \text{Nom} + \text{Aux} + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{VP} \\ \langle \text{VP} \\ \text{psv} \rangle \end{array} \right\} + \dots
 \end{array}$$

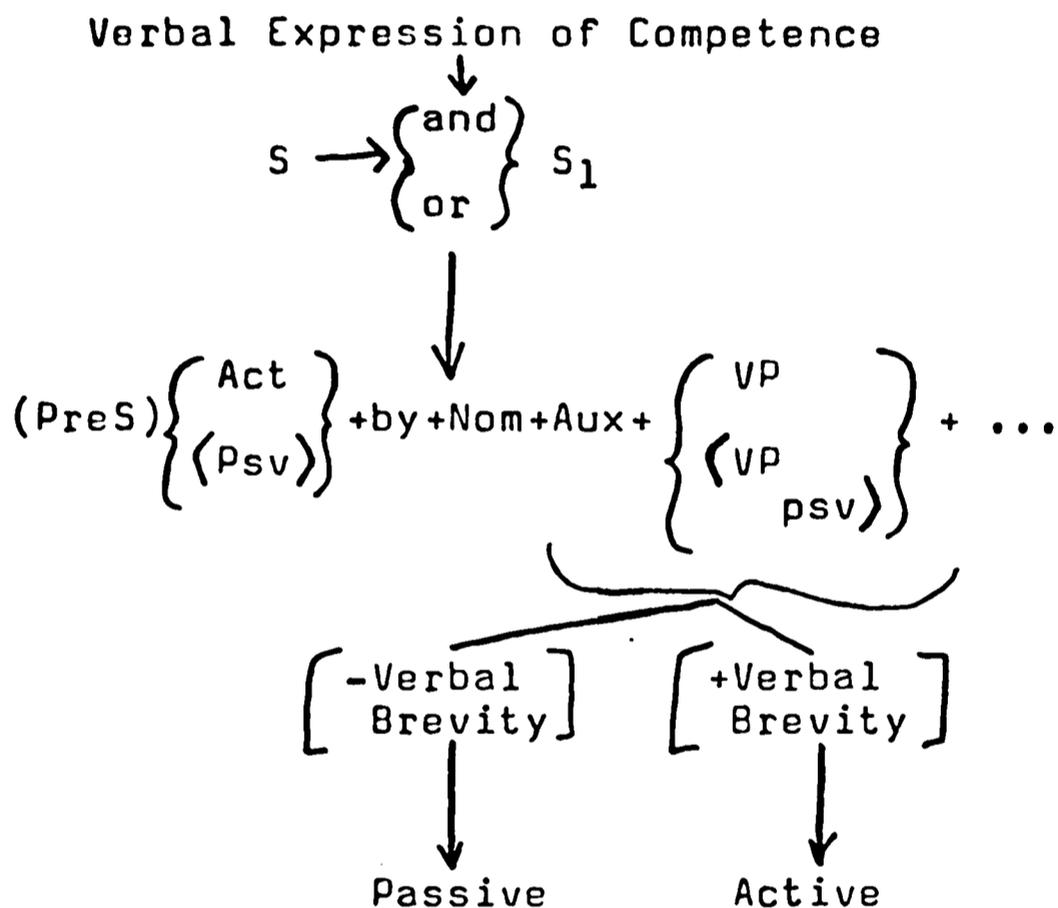
Both rules operate on the fundamental assumption that the active and the passive are realizations of one abstract concept of the sentence in deep structure. That is, the S to the left of the arrow in each of the two rules may be referred to as the output of a rule of the following possible form.

Verbal Expression of Linguistic Competence \rightarrow S

Such a claim seems plausible in view of the fact that linguistic performance presupposes linguistic competence, performance being the verbal expression of linguistic competence. Therefore, since the active and the passive represent the output of this concept of S at the same

Point, the two are related. This does not, however, stipulate that one is syntactically and semantically dependent on the other.

By making note of the implications of a phonological feature termed verbal brevity and binary branching, as seen in the following diagram, an argument for the absence of syntactic dependency can be advanced.



From the outset, the feature verbal brevity enables a grammar to distinguish the active from the passive. That is, [+verbal brevity] is indicative of the active while [-verbal brevity] is distinctive of the passive. The use of such a feature is motivated by a selectional restriction which stipulates that the passive verb phrase must contain the morphemes be and en. The presence of

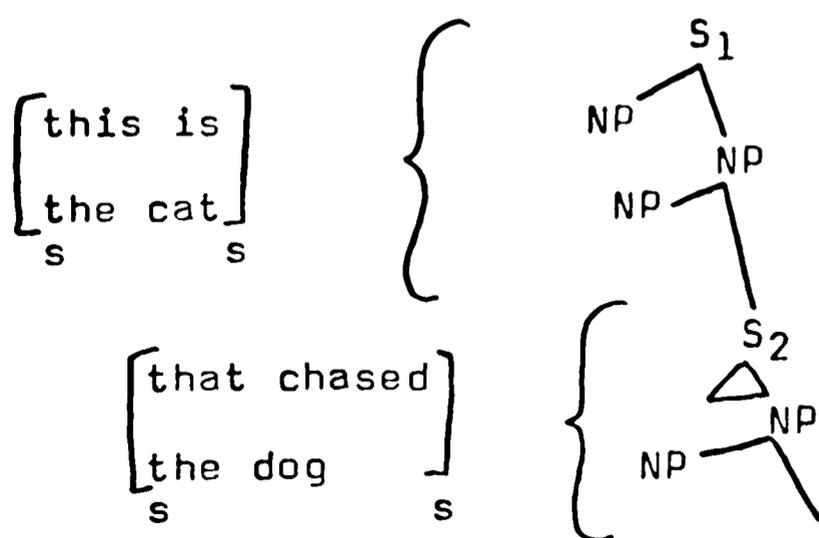
these two constituents expands the verbal element of the passive, and, as a result, greater degrees of stress are more apt to be placed on the action in the passive than the active. So far this feature may not appear to contribute anything of significance to a grammar. However, when the feature verbal brevity is combined with the feature verbal stress semantic differences develop between the active and the passive. This is obviously a claim of major proportions in that the presence of a difference in meaning rules out the assumption that the passive is syntactically dependent on corresponding underlying actives. Consequently, we at least have potential support for the claim that the semantic interpretations of John hit Bill and Bill was hit by John vary to some degree. (Note that it is not intended that the above discussion serve as a terminal argument. Essentially, it provides an advance introduction to the proposal involving the role of verbal stress which occurs in the latter stages of this chapter.)

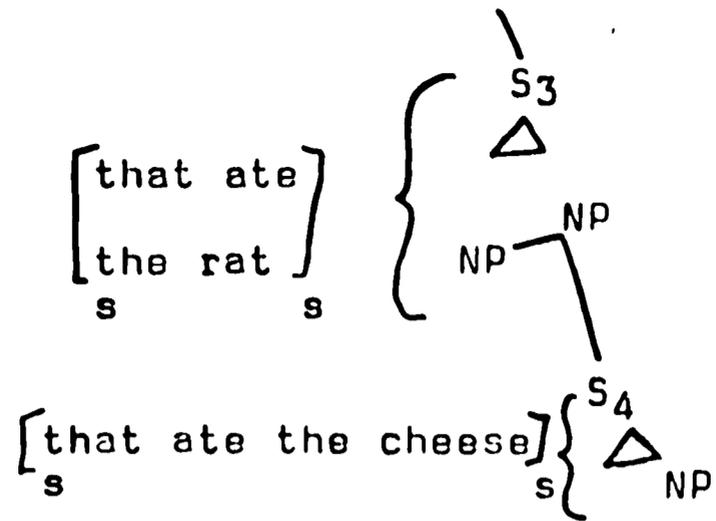
Before going on, added attention ought to be given to the fact that various phonological factors often exert influence on the semantic and syntactic components of a generative grammar. In the past it was widely acknowledged that a strict division existed between the semantic, syntactic, and phonological components. Providing a reversal, at the 1968 Summer Linguistic Institute data were

presented indicating that the division is not as decisive as formerly supposed. For example, a partial phonological analysis of the following sample sentence serves as evidence that surface structure alone can no longer be considered the only source of inputs to the phonological component.¹⁴

This is the cat that chased the dog that ate the rat that ate the cheese.

In order for the rules of the phonological component to yield an acceptable description certain aspects of deep structure that underlie the sentence must be implemented. Especially in the case of the sample sentence, the least complex set of phonological rules, the so-called re-adjustment rules, must be applied to something that is not representative of surface structure, namely deep structure as illustrated below. The deep structure has been abbreviated for the sake of simplifying the overall description.





Without the labeled bracketing, made possible through recourse to deep structure, the phonological component would not have yielded an acceptable description in relation to the correct segmentation of phonological phrases. It should be remarked that an absence of proper segmentation exposes the data to possible semantic-syntactic complications. This being the case, it may then be affirmed and concluded that both surface and deep structure are responsible for the inputs to the phonological component. Moreover, the results indicate that the primary objective of the phonological component, to generate accurate descriptions, has forced the other components to become more fluid in respect to it.¹⁵

Additional examples attesting to the lack of a strict division between the components of a generative grammar consist of situations including semantic ambiguity and stress patterns. In many ambiguous utterances the state of ambiguity persists until proper stress patterns are assigned. Hence, we have conditions whereby proper semantic interpretations are the sole result of

stress assignment. For example, the following sentence is ambiguous, and the confusion cannot be cleared up unless stress patterns are assigned.

Tom is too big to climb over.

The above may be read as Tom is so big that he cannot climb over or as Tom is so big that no one can climb over him. Stress, if properly distributed, will alleviate the problem (see below).

Tom is too big to climb ^ˈover
 Tom is too big to climb ^ˌover.

Continuing with more examples, in German there are a variety of instances where stress rules require pre-surface structure information. Also, the phonological component of German includes a rule of vowel reduction that relies on data made available by the semantic component.¹⁶

For the reason that we are more interested in discussing the role of stress in the passive, no further attention will be given to examples such as those presented in the past few paragraphs. The main purpose for providing a number of somewhat detailed examples was to demonstrate that the theory regarding the absence of a decisive division between the three components is characterized by significant degrees of motivation.

Later, the impact of this development will be emphasized in a brief discussion of verbal stress and its effect on the semantic interpretation of the passive. Needless to say, the fluid relationship of the components is an absolutely necessary precondition for substantiating the claim that the phonological phenomenon of stress affects the semantic interpretation of the passive as opposed to that of the active.

Prior to reverting back to topics dealing directly with the semantic content of the passive, the question as to how the generation of passives might be initiated within the general framework of the following rules must be entertained.

$$1. S \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{and} \\ \text{or} \end{array} \right\} S_1$$

$$2. S \rightarrow (\text{PreS}) \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Act} \\ \langle \text{psv} \rangle \end{array} \right\} + \text{by} + \text{Nom} + \text{Aux} + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{VP} \\ \langle \text{VP} \\ \text{psv} \rangle \end{array} \right\} + \dots$$

A response to this general question is composed almost entirely of an explication of the second rule and the types of deep structures it makes possible. Such an explication will eventually bring together, in a coherent manner, all that has been previously discussed.

First of all, through the use of angles the selection of the passive immediately dictates that the

appropriate verb phrase containing a transitive verb, also enclosed in angles, must obligatorily accompany the selection. For the active, the choice of the angled verb phrase is ruled out. The concluding chapter will elaborate, in greater detail, on the exact status of the verb phrase within the proposed analysis.

Next, it is imperative that a slight alteration of the concept of the subject nominal in deep structure and surface structure be introduced. In other words, the appearance of by+Nom in the second rule must be motivated.

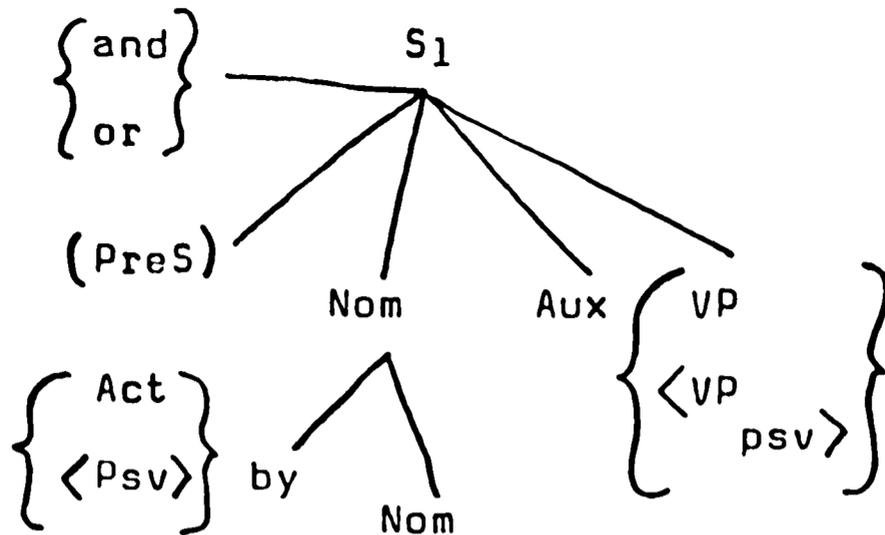
On a number of occasions Postal has remarked on the apparent legitimacy of placing the agentive by before all nominals that perform the function of the subject, whether at the deep or surface structure level. According to Postal, all subject nominals are basically realizations of the underlying form by+subject nominal. For instance, the sentence John hit the ball is actually understood by John: John hit the ball.¹⁷ This seems to be a valid assertion since the subject nominal has always been recognized as the performer of the action in deep structure actives and passives. Extending this to surface structure, previous analyses of the passive block acceptance of this proposal. Overruling the inconsistency of these accounts, it is only logical and consistent to consider the agentive nominals as being

the subjects, the agents of the action, at both levels. Consequently, motivation exists for the introduction of a more abstract concept of the subject nominal. In conjunction with this, the status of the subject nominal in surface structure passives will be given explicit attention in the following chapter.

To avoid complications, a constraint must be imposed whereby the agentive by is not allowed to preface the object of the principle action, action performed by the subject. Such a constraint is motivated by the fact that objects are not agents of the principle action. Due to this filtering device, the rules

1. $S \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{and} \\ \text{or} \end{array} \right\} S_1$
2. $S \rightarrow (\text{PreS}) \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Act} \\ \langle \text{Psv} \rangle \end{array} \right\} + \text{by} + \text{Nom} + \text{Aux} + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{VP} \\ \langle \text{VP}_{\text{psv}} \rangle \end{array} \right\} + \dots$
3. $\text{PreS} \rightarrow \left(\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Q} \\ \text{Imp} \end{array} \right\} \right) (\text{Neg}) (\text{Emp})$

permit deep structures of the following form to be generated. The particular deep structure illustrated below is somewhat comprehensive in the sense that it encompasses the selections made possible by the above rules. With the inclusion of adverb selections, usually inserted after the verb phrase selections in the second rule, the deep structure would naturally be more thoroughgoing.



Expanding some of the principle points made earlier, the insertion of the obligatory active-passive selection in the second of the proposed constituent-structure rules and its subsequent appearance in the deep structure demands additional explanation. The presence of the optional PreS indirectly supports the insertion of the obligatory active-passive selection. As originally stated in Lees's The Grammar of English Nominalizations, the utilization of the optional PreS in deep structure is largely motivated by the attempt to provide adequate and efficient assignment of constituent-structure to the entire range of sentence components.¹⁸ To achieve this end, most sets of contemporary constituent-structure rules provide for the choice of a PreS very early in the order. It follows that the high level selection and resultant appearance of a PreS in deep structure subjects the generated construction to a specific obligatory transformation. The insertion of the obligatory active-passive selection makes possible the same type of pro-

cess. Regardless of which one is selected, active or passive, the generated deep structure must obligatorily undergo an elementary transformation. And the sooner the choice is made in the derivation of an utterance the more efficient will be the remainder of the derivation.

One of the general effects of the proposed procedure is that it permits the removal of the passive auxiliary from the rules of the base component. The presence of Psv in deep structure serves as a signal that the passive auxiliary as realized in English must appear in the output of the transformation that will be formulated in the next chapter. Since little is actually known concerning the universal status of the passive auxiliary as presented in past analyses, the removal of the English passive auxiliary does not subtract from the validity of the constraint that the rules of the base component must be as universal as possible.¹⁹ In fact, its absence may very well add to the universality of the base component. Although it does not directly mention the passive auxiliary, Ross's "Auxiliaries as Main Verbs" (1967), an attack on the manner of handling the verbal auxiliaries as presented in Syntactic Structures, furnishes motivation for its extraction. However, until more is known about the actual nature of auxiliaries any claim regarding their deep or surface structure

roles is highly tentative and subject to countless revisions.

Chomsky's defense of his revised account of the passive represents a possible attack on the proposition to introduce the active and the passive in a fashion similar to that employed to allow for the selection of the PreS options. In the previous chapter, both of Chomsky's analyses were criticized for a lack of sufficient degrees of descriptive adequacy. Despite the fact that his revised version permits one to dispense with an ad hoc rule of derived constituent structure, it does not make concessions for the efficient and natural presentation of the constituent structure of the passive.

For the sake of a momentary review, according to Chomsky, an input that resembles the arrangement

NP-Aux-V- ... -NP- ... -by passive- ...

immediately becomes subject to a passive transformation. An input of this form is then obligatorily converted into an output of the following type.

NP"-Aux+be+en-V-by+NP'

This procedure to induce change is obviously somewhat radical and quite unnatural. The mere addition of by passive to an input which is essentially active should not, if attempting to reduplicate a natural pro-

cess, have the capacity to add to and redistribute the original input in such a forceful manner.

As already mentioned, Chomsky defends his obligatory passive transformation and the inability to introduce the passive in the same fashion as PreS selections on grounds that passives have no independent semantic interpretation.²⁰ Consequently, due to issues pertaining to the semantic content of a possible grammatical utterance, the derivation of the passive must be forced in a seemingly unnatural manner.

Counteracting Chomsky's defense and, at the same time, returning to a line of inquiry established by perceptual studies, the assumption that passives do require independent semantic interpretations can be further pursued. The passive in Spanish, for example, unlike the active, is characterized by the dominance of verbal stress where the action performed is emphasized to a large degree.²¹ Because of this emphasis on action, the passive often distorts the meaning of the so-called corresponding active. As a result, the semantic contents of the following sentences differ noticeably.

(Active) Los americanos construyeron el puente.

(The Americans built the bridge.)

(Passive) El puente fue' construido por los americanos.

(The bridge was built by the Americans.)

The active form conveys the meaning that the bridge was

constructed under the supervision of the Americans, preferably with the use of non-American laborers. On the other hand, besides implying that the construction of the bridge was directed by the Americans, the passive expresses the opinion that American laborers were used. The distortion in meaning is composed of what some may refer to as a fine distinction. Nonetheless, a significant sampling of native speakers of Spanish, of middle age and average education, have affirmed the preliminary conclusions. In reconsidering the results, one must be careful so as not to allow the implications of the English translations to influence the outcome to an overpowering degree.

The claim made here relies extensively on the role of verbal stress in the Spanish passive. The emphasis placed on the action performed and the agent of that action in the passive has much to do with the semantic output of the passive as opposed to the semantic output of the active. Supporting this, notice that in the sample of the passive listed above primary stress is placed on the verbal auxiliary fué. Such a condition does not exist in the active. Hence, an absence of verbal brevity combined with the presence of verbal stress in the passive contributes to the difference of possible semantic interpretations.

Administering to the motivation of the argument

against analyses of the passive in terms of underlying actives are Spanish constructions involving resultant action, where action is not clearly performed. Unlike English, which in most cases fails to make a distinction between the passive voice and expressions of resultant action, Spanish, as illustrated below, often omits the use of the passive in favor of constructions with *estar*.²²

La ventana estaba cerrada.

(The window was shut.)

Contrasting this tendency, if action is or was at some point in time clearly performed, the passive is employed as in English (see below).

La ventana fue¹ cerrada por el viento.

(The window was shut by the wind.)

As far as Spanish is concerned, there is no active counterpart to the above sentence. Consequently, the following sample is ungrammatical.²³

El viento cerro la ventana.

(The wind shut the window.)

Judging from the data presented by virtue of these examples, it seems relatively reasonable to conclude that the Spanish passive is used in instances where the active is unable to convey the precise meanings desired,

meanings imbedded in phrases of resultant action where action at one time was clearly performed. Drawing from this, the assumption that passives are derived from corresponding underlying actives can be denied. For if the existence of the passive is dependent on the active in deep structure, then all passives must have active counterparts which are acceptable as being grammatically well-formed.

There are examples in English which support the conclusions made possible by referring to the most recent Spanish samples. Kruisinga's A Handbook of Present-Day English, as already stated, presents what seems to be the first opinion concerning the possibility that the passive may be accounted for while divorced from the active. The following sample sentences, originally used by Allen, succeed in verifying the contention that a great deal of harm has been done by considering the passive as just another way of expressing a corresponding active.²⁴

(Active) John likes girls.

(Passive) Girls are liked by John.

(Active) Henry can read English and French.

(Passive) French and English can be read by Henry.

The active versions appear to be grammatically acceptable, and, as a result, they do not in any way seem awkward.

However, the passives sound awkward and are hardly acceptable as being grammatically well-formed. It is obvious that conditions of this sort should not exist if the assertion that passives are dependent, semantically and syntactically, on deep structure actives is to be considered valid.

Augmenting the impact of the proposal to describe the passive in terms of the active is the curious status of the active in Tagalog, a Malayo-Polynesian language where the subject is an object expression. The Tagalog active is strictly confined to instances where the subject (object expression), other than the agent, is either vague or omitted.²⁵ The examples below are indicative of this peculiarity.

(Active) Kumain sya nan kanin.

(He ate some boiled rice.)

(Passive) Kinain nya an kanin.

(Was eaten by him the boiled rice.)

Complementing this idiosyncratic tendency, according to Leonard Bloomfield's 1917 classic study of Tagalog, the active is not selected whenever a definite object expression, other than the agent, is available as a subject. Especially avoided are actives with anaphoric subjects when the passive is at hand.²⁶ Therefore, constructions that one would expect to translate into

such English forms as He ate the boiled rice and He took the book are not found in Tagalog. Rather, He took a book would read, in translation, as Was taken by him the book (Kinuha nya an isa n aklato.). From these data, based on a complete review of Bloomfield's syntactical study of Tagalog and interviews with representative native speakers, it can be ascertained that Tagalog, probably more than any Indo-European language, possesses a significantly large number of passives having no corresponding underlying actives. Thus, Tagalog then provides the needed overwhelming support for the analysis of passives as passives.²⁷

Prior to concluding this particular chapter, one last readjustment must be made. As recently pointed out, Tagalog is a language where the subject is always an object expression. This condition makes necessary a revision of the by+Nom, in the past referred to as the subject nominal. From this point on, to avoid unnecessary complications, the by+Nom will be simply designated as the agent, the agent of the action performed. No longer is there a subject; there is only an agent of the action performed.

So far two major arguments have been presented in defense of a proposed analysis of the passive, an analysis claiming that the passive must be accounted for in terms of itself. Firstly, that there are

instances where the passive does require independent semantic interpretation attacks the supposed validity of Chomsky's claim that passives do not necessitate such interpretations. Secondly, conditions which indicate that corresponding underlying actives do not exist for a large number of passives, especially in Tagalog, asserts that it is theoretically inadequate to consider the passive as being dependent on corresponding underlying actives. That is, the assumption that it is a natural process to derive passives from underlying actives is incorrect.

Of the two arguments, the first may appear somewhat questionable. When evaluated in conjunction with the second, however, it reveals a subtle and very important fragment of evidence. Briefly, if there are passives which do not have corresponding actives that are grammatically acceptable then passives do, in fact, necessitate independent semantic interpretations. In Tagalog, as just illustrated, an overabundance of such passives are found.

In accordance with the concluding remarks of the introductory chapter, this chapter has presented, in compact form, an analysis of the passive as a grammatical construction independent of the active. A number of extended arguments were introduced to avoid the inherent awkwardness of making claims without pro-

viding supporting evidence. In connection with the aims of this chapter, the ensuing chapter has as its purpose to add to the force of the arguments thus far presented.

Acting as a conclusion, the comments listed below, arranged in order of relative importance, make note of the advantages of introducing the passive in a high level constituent-structure rule. The following chapter consists of an attempt to further develop, expand, and motivate the claims made below.

- A. The analysis of passives as passives cancels out the highly inadequate and wide spread assumption that passives are correctly derived from corresponding underlying actives.
- B. The conception that the passive, unlike question, negation, and imperative markers, has no independent semantic interpretation is proven to be unmotivated.
- C. By providing an analysis where either the active or the passive is selected from the outset, derivations that approach conditions of naturalness are a distinct possibility.
- D. The removal of the English passive auxiliary from the base component strengthens the universal base hypothesis.
- E. The appearance of by+Nom in a high level constituent-structure rule immediately accounts for the presence of

an agent. Such a condition imposes two beneficial constraints on the analysis. First, what was formerly considered to be the subject is nothing more than an agent. Thus, the often confusing notion of what constitutes the subject in both deep and surface structure is removed. Second, it is stipulated that the agent performs the same function in the active and the passive. The revision of Grigg's passive transformation as presented in the first chapter expresses this tendency.

F. The selection of the passive simultaneously and automatically limits, at the same level, the choice of the appropriate verb phrase.

G. The transformational level is simplified by the removal of the unmotivated passive transformation that has handicapped all previous accounts of the passive in generative grammar.

CHAPTER III

PASSIVES AS PASSIVES

Upon acknowledging the reliance on current hypotheses advanced by Ross and George Lakoff, namely that the study of syntax must be based essentially on selectional restrictions and meaning as related to selectional restrictions, the analysis of passives as passives seems neither illogical nor unnatural. While superimposing semantic and pragmatic concerns over selectional restrictions, Ross and Lakoff's theory of abstract syntax has unveiled extensive weaknesses in Chomsky's framework wherein the components are isolated from each other by means of a hierarchical arrangement, with the syntactic component occupying the first position.¹ In effect, their contention that the components of a grammar must be in flux with each other increases the possibility of approaching or attaining a universal account of the deep structure that underlies natural language systems. By virtue of recognizing the advantages of a flexible relationship between the syntactic, semantic, and phonological components, the analysis of passives recently forwarded is consequently more general than former analyses. Attesting to this is the fact that

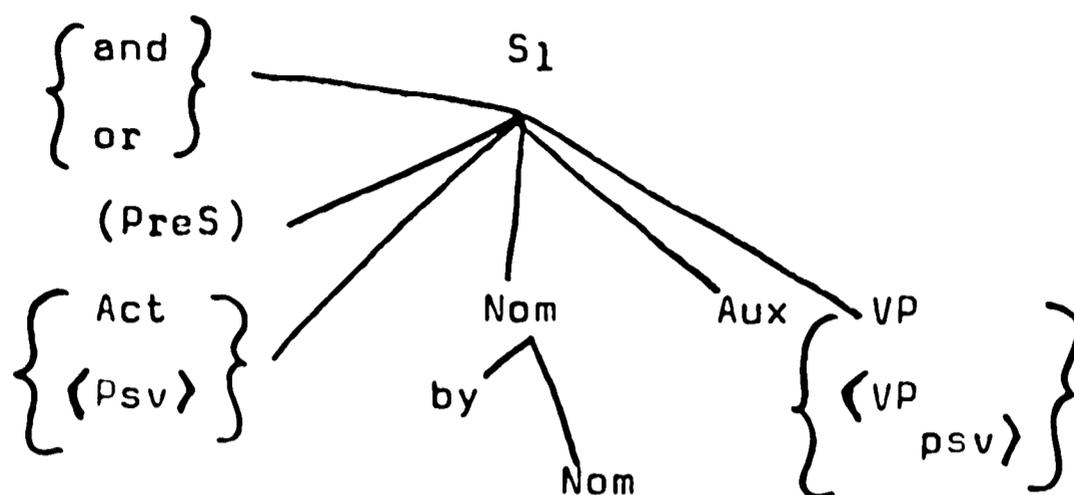
the analysis of passives as passives has the capacity to account for the behavior of the passive in both Spanish and Tagalog. Previous proposals, depending on the problematical passive transformation, are not capable of handling passives in a theoretically and descriptively adequate manner. This being the case, the remainder of this study will attempt to further establish the supremacy of describing passives as passives, not as derivatives of actives.

As just mentioned in the preceding chapter, the analysis of passives as passives cancels out the highly inadequate and widespread assumption that passives are correctly derived from corresponding underlying actives. Unlike previous rules associated with analyses of the passive, the constituent-structure rule

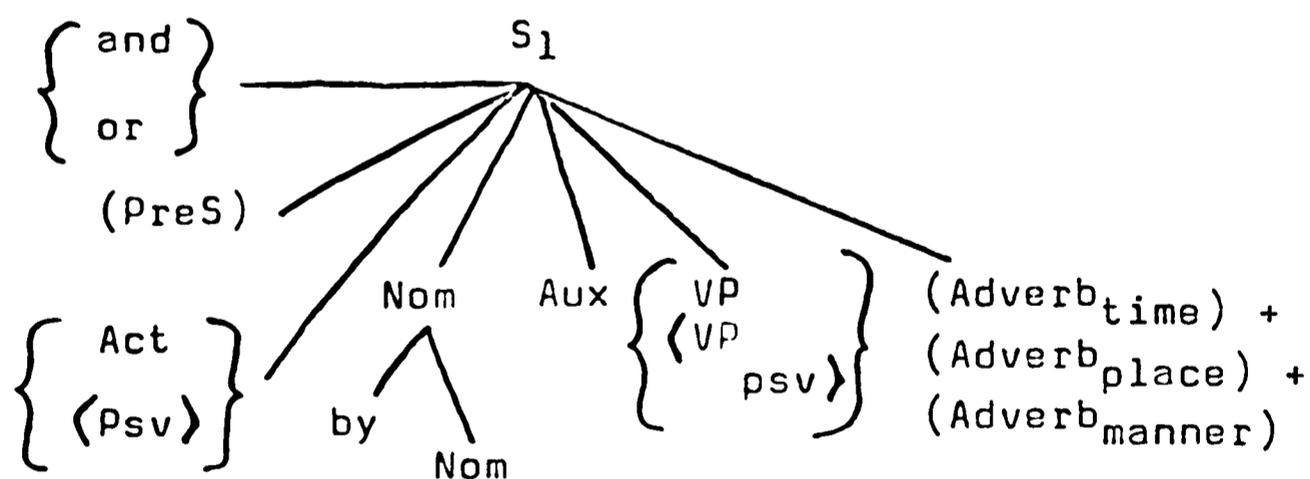
$$S \rightarrow (\text{PreS}) \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Act} \\ (\text{Psv}) \end{array} \right\} +\text{by}+\text{Nom}+\text{Aux}+ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{VP} \\ (\text{VP}_{\text{psv}}) \end{array} \right\} +\dots$$

enables a grammar to efficiently account for the passive. Consequently, the problems having to do with derived constituent structure which greatly perplexed the analyses of Chomsky are eliminated. No longer must one first generate what is in reality an abstract active before optionally selecting the passive, whether or not it be by the selection of a dummy element.² And due to the fact that a significant number of passives do necessitate independent

semantic interpretation deep-structure possibilities of the following sort must be made available from the outset.



Adding to the encompassing nature of the above deep-structure possibilities is the fact that the appropriate adverb selections may be made available at the same level. As one may recall, this matter was briefly mentioned in the second chapter. By virtue of including the adverb selections we now have the following deep-structure possibilities at our disposal.



Needless to say such a deep-structure arrangement presupposes a rule of the possible form listed below.

$$S \rightarrow (PreS) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} Act \\ \langle Psv \rangle \end{array} \right\} + by + Nom + Aux + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} VP \\ \langle VP \\ psv \rangle \end{array} \right\} + (Adverb_{time}) +$$

(Adverb_{place}) + (Adverb_{manner})

Judging from the majority of remarks already made it is obvious that the motivation for the above approach is heavily reliant on extensions of semantic theory. In view of the work done through 1967, including especially Chomsky's Aspects of the Theory of Syntax, one might conceivably attack the analysis of passives as passives, regardless of the problems it solves. Here it must be called to mind that prior to the work of Ross, George Lakoff, and James McCawley, it was held that selectional restrictions were vastly influenced by lexical and syntactic matters. Therefore, in order to justify an argument one had to firstly motivate a proposal from the point of view of syntax.³ However, as initially stated in the opening comments of this chapter, the theory of selectional restrictions as advanced by Ross and George Lakoff refutes such a constraint. McCawley's "On the Base Component of a Transformational Grammar" (1968) has recently done much to reamplify the assumption that selectional restrictions are semantic in nature.

According to McCawley,

It ought to be mentioned that selectional restrictions are actually semantic rather than syntactic in nature, that the full range of properties which figure in semantic representation can figure in selectional restrictions, and that it is the semantic representation of an entire syntactic constituent such as noun phrase rather than (as implied by the proposals of Chomsky's Aspects of the Theory of Syntax) merely

properties of the lexical item which constitutes its head that determines whether a selectional restriction is met or violated. Despite Chomsky's assertion that every syntactic feature of the subject and object imposes a corresponding classification on the verb, no clear case has been adduced of a selectional restriction which involves a non-semantic feature.⁴

More important, McCawley goes on to stress the point that the "selectional restrictions imposed by a lexical item can be predicted from its meaning and that the superimposed counterexamples to this assertion, i.e. items which supposedly have the same meaning but different selectional restrictions, actually have different meanings."⁵ It goes without saying that this final assertion appears to support the analysis of passives as passives in view of the fact that the passive is bounded by a set of selectional restrictions which are quite unlike that of the active.

As emphasized in Chapter II, the assumption that the passive, unlike question, negation, and imperative markers, has no independent semantic interpretation seems to be grossly unmotivated. Such an assumption has contributed much to the continuous violation of naturalness conditions in past and present descriptions of the passive.⁶ Roughly from the time of Chomsky's Syntactic Structures (1957) to the present date, attempts to revise proposals concerning the derivation of the passive have centered about the attempt to cancel out the problems pertaining to derived constituent structure. And because only syntactic matters

have been allowed to influence such revisions, unnatural and overly cumbersome accounts have been devised. In connection with this, the extents to which Chomsky and Lees go in order to satisfy constraints imposed on constituent structure appear only to force an analysis of the passive.

Attempting to account for passives by first assuming that they are dependent on corresponding underlying actives, no matter the abstractness of the dependency, often causes considerable degrees of confusion. For example, it is not at all clear as to what actually becomes of the Nom listed in the sixth rule (see below) of Lees's analysis presented in "On Passives and Imperatives in English."⁷

$$VAX \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{Aux+be+En} & \text{if: } \text{---} + V_{tr} + \text{Nom} + \text{AG} \\ \text{Aux} & \text{otherwise} \end{array} \right\} 8$$

Furthermore, the twelfth rule (see below) of Lees's analysis seems incorrect due to the apparent fact that it precludes sentences such as He is to be arrested tomorrow.⁹

$$Aux_a \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{Tns} & \text{if: } (Aux_b) \text{ be+En} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (M) \\ \text{be+to} \\ M \end{array} \right\} & \text{otherwise} \end{array} \right\} 10$$

It is obvious that conditions like these should not exist if the analysis in question intends to approach naturalness conditions.

By providing an analysis wherein either the active or the passive is to be selected from the outset, derivations that approach naturalness conditions are at least a distinct possibility. Added motivation for the analysis of passives in terms of themselves can be extracted from the views presented in J. F. Stall's "Generative Syntax and Semantics" (1965). According to Stall, it is clear that "from the character of the semantic component that a particular constituent cannot have a given reading in a sentence unless that reading is one of the constituent's reading in isolation."¹¹ As has been brought out by perceptual studies and the study of the passive in both Spanish and Tagalog the passive marker in the rule

$$S \rightarrow (\text{PreS}) \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Act} \\ \langle \text{Psv} \rangle \end{array} \right\} + \text{by} + \text{Nom} + \text{Aux} + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{VP} \\ \langle \text{VP}_{\text{psv}} \rangle \end{array} \right\} + \dots$$

necessitates a reading in isolation.¹² The passive marker can be characterized by the possible feature [+definite]. That is, the passive denotes a quality of definiteness that the active cannot denote.¹³ For instance, referring again to Landow, the action performed in Bill was hit by John can be interpreted as being of a more definite nature than the action performed in John hit Bill. The passive form makes the claim that John hit Bill in a definite manner.¹⁴ It may prove advantageous here to recall that

in Tagalog the passive, not the active, is used where the subject (object expression) of the action is [+definite] as in Kinain nga ah kanin (Was eaten by him the boiled rice.). Hence, it can be said that passives are not derived from underlying P-markers of corresponding active-declarative sentences but from declaratives that contain a specific passive marker. Continuing this line of thought it can also be said that actives are derived from declaratives that contain a specific active marker.¹⁵

Adding to the efficiency of deriving actives and passives in essentially the same manner is the possible removal of the English passive auxiliaries from the base component. Upon taking advantage of this possibility it would seem only logical and consistent to remove all other such language-particular auxiliaries from the level of deep structure. Consequently, it becomes feasible to introduce a constraint which dictates that have+En, be+Ing, be+En, and get+En¹⁶ must be introduced in the English-particular lexicon as realizations of auxiliaries employed in English sentential constructions. The constituent-structure rules adhering to such a constraint appear as illustrated below.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Aux} &\longrightarrow \text{Aux}_1 (\text{Aux}_2) \langle \text{Aux}_3 \rangle \\ \text{Aux}_1 &\longrightarrow \text{Tns (M)} \\ \text{Aux}_2 &\longrightarrow (\text{Perfect}) (\text{Progressive}) \end{aligned}$$

$$\text{Aux3} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Passive}_1 \\ \text{Passive}_2 \end{array} \right\}$$

A highly significant by-product of imposing a constraint of this type on the rules of deep structure is that the universal base hypothesis is strengthened. The removal from deep structure of all language-particular auxiliaries that qualify as realizations of Aux increases the universal nature and applicability of the constituent-structure rules.

At this point it seems appropriate to mention again that the appearance of by+Nom in a high level constituent-structure rule immediately accounts for the presence of an agent. Probably just as important, while accounting for the presence of an agent it also contributes to a grammar's potential of satisfying the constraints imposed by the universal base hypothesis. For instance, a grammar may avoid the problems encountered while attempting to account for the fact that in Tagalog the subject is classified as an object expression by acknowledging that what is generally accepted to be a subject in English-particular utterances should be considered nothing more than an agent of principle action. Further, as briefly stated in Chapter II, the often confusing notion as to what actually constitutes a subject in deep structure and surface structure is removed by the presence of by+Nom.

The insertion of by+Nom in addition claims that the

agent performs the same function in active and passive constructions. The revision of Griggs's description of the passive as presented in Chapter I can be interpreted as illustrating this characteristic. That is, by substituting by+Nom in place of the symbol S (subject) in deep structure the result, the surface-structure realization, indicates that there does exist possible motivation for the assertion that by+Nom (agent) performs the same function in active and passive constructions. The behavior of by+Nom in the following rule is indicative of this tendency. Note that the rule below represents a slightly more explanatory version of the transformational process illustrated in Chapter I while giving brief attention to Griggs's proposal.

$$\text{by+Nom+Aux+V+NP'+Psv+X} \quad \Longrightarrow$$

$$\text{by+Nom+NP'+Aux+be+EN+V+(by+Nom)}^{17} \text{+X}$$

The agent constituent by+Nom has been placed in the initial position of the output of the above transformation only to call attention to the fact that all English passives are understood in such a manner. In other words, the sentence The cake was eaten by the boy is actually perceived as (by the boy) The cake was eaten by the boy. This interpretive tendency becomes more apparent when the by+Nom is deleted from surface realizations. For example, The cake was eaten is understood as (by+Nom) The cake was

eaten.¹⁸ Furthermore, the fact that actives do not possess the agentive by does not cancel out the impact of by+Nom. Attesting to this assertion is the reasonable assumption that The boy ate the cake is actually understood as (by the boy) The boy ate the cake.

Prior to discussing the constraints placed on proper verb-phrase selections an adjustment must be made. Now that we have given explicit attention to the role of by+Nom it must be replaced by the more abstract constituent Agent. This is done only to satisfy the constraints placed on the manner of expanding constituents at the level of deep structure.¹⁹ Thus, the rule

$$S \longrightarrow (\text{PreS}) \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Act} \\ \langle \text{Psv} \rangle \end{array} \right\} + \text{by+Nom+Aux} + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{VP} \\ \langle \text{VP} \\ \text{psv} \rangle \end{array} \right\} + \dots$$

must be altered to read

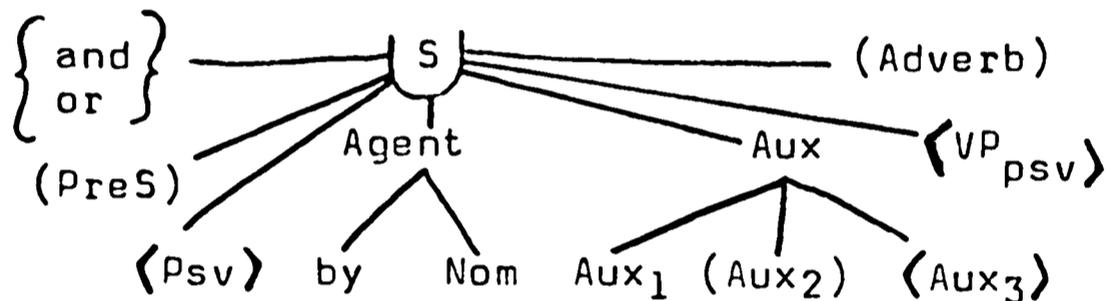
$$S \longrightarrow (\text{PreS}) \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Act} \\ \langle \text{Psv} \rangle \end{array} \right\} + \text{Agent+Aux} + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{VP} \\ \langle \text{VP} \\ \text{psv} \rangle \end{array} \right\} + \dots$$

where Agent is later expanded into by+Nom.

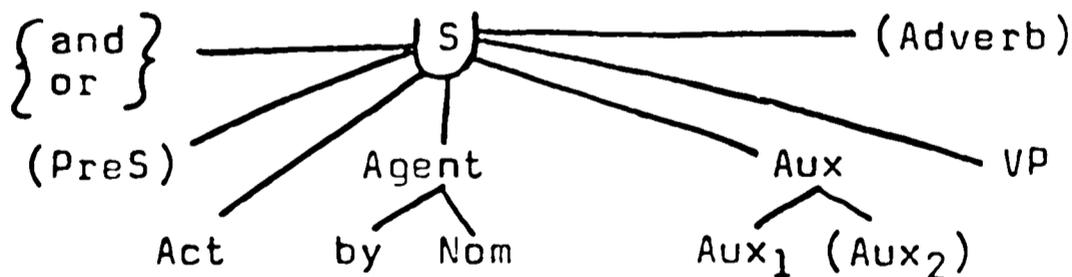
Having discussed the effects of employing the notion and constituent Agent it now seems appropriate to introduce the following constituent-structure rules, which are more descriptively adequate than other such rules due to the insertion of the constituent Agent.²⁰

1. $S \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{and} \\ \text{or} \end{array} \right\} S_1$
2. $S \rightarrow (\text{PreS}) \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Act} \\ \langle \text{Psv} \rangle \end{array} \right\} + \text{Agent} + \text{Aux} + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{VP} \\ \langle \text{VP} \\ \text{psv} \rangle \end{array} \right\} +$
 $(\text{Adverb}_{\text{time}}) + (\text{Adverb}_{\text{place}}) + (\text{Adverb}_{\text{manner}})$
3. $\text{PreS} \rightarrow \left(\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Q} \\ \text{Imp} \end{array} \right\} \right) (\text{Neg}) (\text{Emp})$
4. $\text{Agent} \rightarrow \text{by} + \text{Nom}$
5. $\text{Nom} \rightarrow (\text{WH}) + \text{Det} + \text{NP}$
6. $\text{NP} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Pro} \\ \text{N} \end{array} \right\} + \text{N}^0$
7. $\text{N} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{N}_{\text{concrete}} \\ \text{N}_{\text{abstract}} \end{array} \right\}$
8. $\text{N}_{\text{concrete}} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{N}_{\text{count}} \\ \text{N}_{\text{mass}} \end{array} \right\}$
9. $\text{N}_{\text{count}} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{N}_{\text{animate}} \\ \text{N}_{\text{inanimate}} \end{array} \right\}$
10. $\text{N}^0 \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{singular} \\ \text{plural} \end{array} \right\}$
11. $\text{N}_{\text{mass}} + \text{N}^0 \rightarrow \text{N}_{\text{mass}} + \text{singular}^21$
12. $\text{Aux} \rightarrow \text{Aux}_1 (\text{Aux}_2) (\text{Aux}_3)$
13. $\text{Aux}_1 \rightarrow \text{Tns} (\text{M})$
14. $\text{Aux}_2 \rightarrow (\text{Perfect}) (\text{Progressive})$
15. $\text{Aux}_3 \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Passive}_1 \\ \text{Passive}_2 \end{array} \right\}$
16. $\text{Tns} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Present} \\ \text{Past} \end{array} \right\}$

In order to avoid possible misinterpretations of the functions of a number of the rules proposed it is necessary to remark on the manner of handling restrictions in regard to auxiliary, verb, and verb-phrase selections. The use of brackets and angle notation in the second rule listed above automatically limits the choice of proper auxiliary, verb, and verb-phrase selections. That is, if Psv is chosen rules two and twelve of the proposed constituent-structure rules stipulate that the following deep-structure possibilities be available.



On the other hand, if Act is selected at the outset the following deep-structure possibilities are available.



In order to sufficiently clarify the above deep-structure possibilities rules two and twelve must be explicated in brief. Also, in addition, two rules regarding proper verb and verb-phrase selections must be introduced.

Because of the use of brackets and angles the second

rule prohibits the active and the passive from realizing improper verb-phrase selections. As a result, if Act is selected it follows, due to the presence of angle notation, that a verb phrase of the passive order cannot be chosen. Further down, rule twelve dictates that an active cannot employ as part of its constituent structure a passive auxiliary. The fact that Aux_3 in rule twelve is enclosed in angles cancels out the possibility of generating an active with a passive auxiliary. The passive, however, can employ as part of its constituent structure auxiliaries that are available to the active. In summary, what is enclosed in angles within the framework of the constituent-structure rules must be selected during the formation of a passive. In conjunction with this it seems only natural and logical to introduce a constraint which blocks the active from selecting angled constituents.

Verb and verb-phrase selections can be handled in a seemingly uncomplicated manner. The two rules listed below, which qualify as rules seventeen and eighteen of the proposed constituent-structure rules, appear to sufficiently restrict such selections.

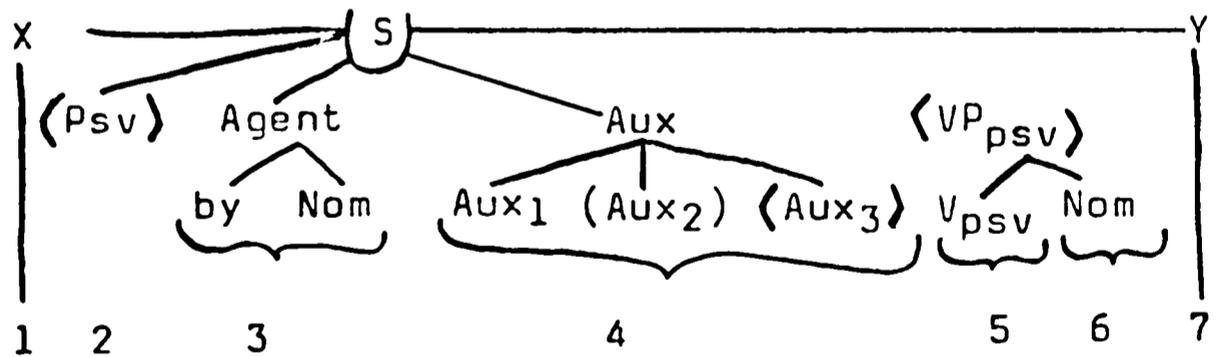
$$17. \quad VP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} V \left(\begin{array}{l} \{ PP \} \\ \{ Nom \} \end{array} \right) \left(\begin{array}{l} \{ PP \} \\ \{ Nom \} \end{array} \right) \\ \\ be \left(\begin{array}{l} \{ Adj \} \\ \{ Nom \} \\ \{ PP \} \end{array} \right) \end{array} \right\}$$

$$18. \quad VP_{psv} \rightarrow V_{psv} + \left(\begin{array}{c} PP \\ Nom \end{array} \right) + Nom^{22}$$

Rule eighteen, applicable only if Psv marks a deep structure in the process of being generated, dictates that the verb contained in the constituent structure of a passive must be marked in the English-particular lexicon as being [+Passive].²³

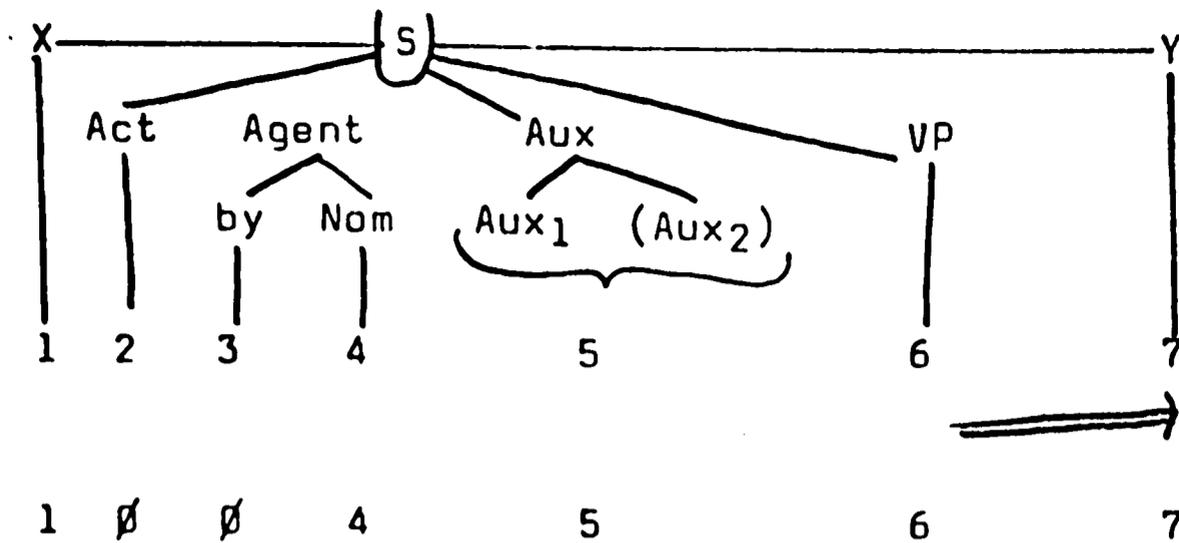
It goes without saying that it is only reasonable to assume that the deep-structure possibilities entertained in this study require the addition of two transformational rules resembling the possible forms listed below. Note that the plus definite transformation replaces the troublesome passive transformation. The minus definite transformation operates on deep structures which contain the Act marker.²⁴

T Plus Definite
Obligatory



1 ∅ 6 4 5 (3) 7²⁵

T Minus Definite
Obligatory

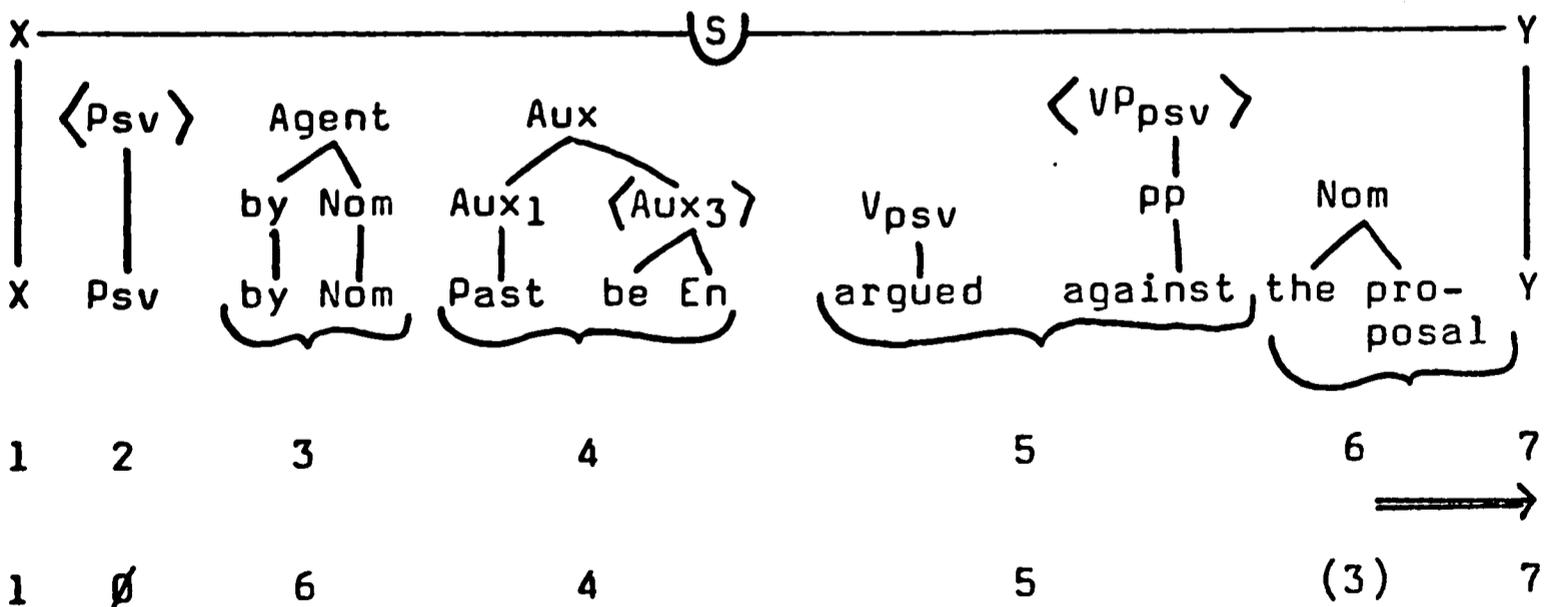


It should be mentioned here that there exists at least one serious drawback to these two transformational rules. It seems virtually impossible to order both rules in such a way that one transformational rule will produce datives of acceptable form.²⁶ Accounting for the dative in a minus definite construction is no problem when the minus definite transformation is considered apart from the plus definite transformation. However, the same rule that derives datives such as John gave a book to Mary from the minus definite utterance John gave Mary a book yields awkward datives such as A book was given by John to Mary in plus definite constructions. In order to account for datives of acceptable form in plus definite constructions an overly involved dative rule or two separate dative rules must be introduced. However, upon reconsideration it appears that such alternatives would violate naturalness conditions.²⁷

Aside from the problems dealing with the dative, little difficulty is encountered while attempting to

generate and account for the existence of both plus definite and minus definite constructions. Actually, the removal of the agent deletion transformation, made possible by the insertion of the plus definite rule, adds to the efficiency²⁸ of a grammar. Consequently, the addition of a second dative rule would not expand beyond reason the number of rules at the transformational level. However, as implied in the preceding paragraph, it is generally accepted that naturalness conditions are violated if two rules of the same general type are required to accomplish what a single rule should accomplish.

Contributing to the effectiveness of the proposed analysis is the fact that problematic pseudo-passives such as The proposal was vehemently argued against²⁹ can be accounted for with little trouble. For instance, The proposal was vehemently argued against can be generated in the following manner.



Upon the application of the remaining obligatory transformations, including some type of adverb preposing rule, the desired result is produced (The proposal was vehemently argued against.).

Granted that numerous selectional restrictions and involved subcategorizations are required in order to account for the absence or presence of grammatical acceptability in the sentences listed below, the analysis of passives as passives has the potential to cancel out as ungrammatical or accept as grammatical the data listed below.³⁰

The flower $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{was} \\ \text{got}^* \end{array} \right\}$ picked by the woman.

The plant $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{was} \\ \text{got} \end{array} \right\}$ picked by the woman.*

The plant $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{was} \\ \text{got}^* \end{array} \right\}$ killed by the woman.

The apple $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{was} \\ \text{got}^* \end{array} \right\}$ picked by the woman.

The apple $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{was} \\ \text{got} \end{array} \right\}$ killed by the woman.*

The apple $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{was} \\ \text{got}^* \end{array} \right\}$ weighed by the woman.

Five thousand pounds $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{were} \\ \text{got} \end{array} \right\}$ weighed $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{on} \\ \text{by} \end{array} \right\}$ it.³¹

The woman $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{was} \\ \text{got} \end{array} \right\}$ killed by the (falling) coconut.

The woman $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{was} \\ \text{got} \end{array} \right\}$ killed by the $\left(\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{falling} \\ \text{crab} \end{array} \right\} \right)$ apple.*

The woman $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{was} \\ \text{got} \end{array} \right\}$ killed by the poisonous apple.

They $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{were} \\ \text{got*} \end{array} \right\}$ misled by the question.

What $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{was} \\ \text{got*} \end{array} \right\}$ meant by the question?

He $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{was} \\ \text{got*} \end{array} \right\}$ had by them.³²

They have $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{been} \\ \text{gotten*} \end{array} \right\}$ had by them.

Girls $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{are} \\ \text{get} \end{array} \right\}$ liked by John.*

Girls usually $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{are} \\ \text{get} \end{array} \right\}$ stood up by John.

French and German $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{are} \\ \text{get} \end{array} \right\}$ spoken by John.*

Regarding the difficulties encountered while dealing with the above sentences and sentences similar to them, it is again claimed here that previous analyses of the passive have contributed little to a grammar's ability to cancel out a significant number of ungrammatical constructions. Hence, as implied throughout this brief study, some type of proposal must be advanced which at least attempts to observe and thereby possibly solve a portion of the major problems. The analysis of passives as passives as just presented has attempted to probe into some of the difficulties involved. Needless to say, it is quite clear that more factors must be accounted for if one expects any such analysis to fulfill the requirements relating to the levels of adequacy.³³

As a concluding note, based on observations of representative passive constructions, it can be asserted in forceful terms that concepts relating to the passive transformation and variations of it are grossly unmotivated. It seems that only an analysis of the passive as an independent construction, with no reliance on the active as a so-called underlying source, can begin to solve the problems brought about by analyses that are vacuous of systematic theory.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

¹Jan Svartvik, On Voice in the English Verb (The Hague: Mouton, 1966), p. 159.

²Otto Jespersen, The Philosophy of Grammar (London: Allen and Unwin, 1924), p. 164.

³Ibid.

⁴R. B. McKerrow, "English Grammar and Grammars," Essays and Studies, VIII (July, 1922), 163.

⁵Etsko Kruisinga, A Handbook of Present-Day English (Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1927), p. 335.

⁶W. S. Allen, Living English Structure (London: Cambridge University Press, 1959), p. 290.

⁷Svartvik, On Voice in the English Verb, p. 3.

⁸Noam Chomsky, Syntactic Structures (The Hague: Mouton, 1957), p. 112.

⁹R. B. Lees, The Grammar of English Nominalizations (The Hague: Mouton, 1963), p. xxxvii.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 29.

¹¹Noam Chomsky, Aspects of the Theory of Syntax (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1965), p. 107.

¹²Ibid., p. 103.

¹³Ibid., p. 104.

¹⁴R. B. Lees, "On Passives and Imperatives in English" (paper presented at the Summer Institute of the Linguistic Society of America, University of Washington, July 27, 1963), pp. 10-12.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 13.

¹⁶Silas Griggs, "Aspects of the Theory of English Passives as Manner Adverbials" (paper presented at the 24th meeting of the South Central Modern Language Association, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, October 25, 1967), p. 8.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁸John Lyons, "Review of An Integrated Theory of Linguistic Description," Journal of Linguistics, II (July, 1966), 119.

¹⁹Jerrold Katz and Paul Postal, An Integrated Theory of Linguistic Description (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1964), p. 72.

²⁰Lyons, "Review of An Integrated Theory of Linguistic Description," p. 119.

²¹Katz and Postal, An Integrated Theory of Linguistic Description, p. 72.

²²The following chapter, in part, deals with questions relating to the assumed dependency of passives on actives. It should be mentioned here that if a grammar does not allow for the selection of passives and actives at the same level of deep structure it makes the claim that one is somehow dependent on the other. That is, a rule of the form ($S \rightarrow NP+VP$), indicating that all possible sentences rely in abstract terms on underlying actives, allows for the generation of the basic constituents of the active prior to the optional selection of a passive or a PreS.

²³Svartvik, On Voice in the English Verb, p. 3

CHAPTER II

¹Again in reference to Katz and Postal's analysis, it can be argued that the selection of a passive marker, not available at the same level as the active, cannot avoid making the claim that the passive is dependent on underlying actives. A constituent-structure rule that allows for the selection of a passive marker sometime after the first few rules of a grammar have been applied presupposes the existence of an abstract active as an underlying source.

²Robin Lakoff, "Studies in the Transformational Grammar of Latin: The Complement System" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1967), p. 69.

³Peter Rosenbaum, The Grammar of English Predicate Complement Constructions (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1967), p. 8.

⁴George Lakoff, "Instrumental Adverbs and the Concept of Deep Structure," Foundations of Language, IV (February, 1968), 4.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Katz and Postal, An Integrated Theory of Linguistic Description, p. 72.

⁷Chomsky, Aspects of the Theory of Syntax, p. 223.

⁸Ibid., p. 132.

⁹Ibid., p. 223.

¹⁰As will be demonstrated later in this chapter, the Malayo-Polynesian language Tagalog possesses a significant number of such passives.

¹¹John Landow, personal letter.

¹²John Ross, "Structure of English," lecture delivered at the Summer Institute of the Linguistic Society of America, University of Illinois, July 5, 1968.

¹³George Lakoff, "Rule Government," lecture delivered at the Summer Institute of the Linguistic Society of America, University of Illinois, July 2, 1968.

¹⁴John Ross, "Theoretical Issues to be Raised," lecture delivered at the Summer Institute of the Linguistic Society of America, University of Illinois, July 6, 1968.

¹⁵Theodore Lightner, "Problems in Phonological Theory," lecture delivered at the Summer Institute of the Linguistic Society of America, University of Illinois, July 16, 1968.

¹⁶Ross, "Theoretical Issues to be Raised."

¹⁷For the sake of clarity, the status of by+Nom (by+Subject Nominal) in active structures, deep and surface, requires a few brief comments. In the process of generating actives, the agentive by is deleted before surface structure is reached. As a result, we actually have two means of expressing the notion by+Subject Nominal, by+Nom in the passive and ∅+Nom in the active. By virtue of assigning an abstract nature to the notion by+Subject Nominal, it can be claimed that an active such as The Earth is round is actually understood as by virtue of the fact that the earth exists: The earth is round.

¹⁸Lees, The Grammar of English Nominalizations, p. xxxvii.

¹⁹John Ross, "The Great Auxiliary Debate," lecture delivered at the Summer Institute of the Linguistic Society of America, University of Illinois, July 15, 1968.

²⁰Chomsky, Aspects of the Theory of Syntax, p. 223.

²¹Courtney Tarr, Spanish Review Grammar (New York: American Book Company, 1961), p. 119.

²²Ibid., p. 120.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Allen, Living English Structure, p. 290.

²⁵Leonard Bloomfield, Tagalog Texts with Grammatical Analysis (Champaign-Urbana, Illinois: University of

²⁶Ibid., p. 154.

²⁷The apparent fact that the Tagalog passive expresses definiteness lends support to the theory of Landow. Therefore, a preliminary conclusion can be made which claims that the passive can be characterized by the feature +definite .

CHAPTER III

¹Note that semantic concerns involve both concrete and abstract meanings and their constituents. On the other hand, pragmatic concerns deal with highly relative meanings and their respective constituents. By superimposing such concerns over selectional restrictions it becomes possible to avoid contradictory analyses, such as previous analyses of the passive. According to Karl Zimmer, in "Review of Chomsky's Cartesian Linguistics," *Language*, XXXIV (June, 1968), 290-303, the superimposition of semantic and pragmatic concerns over selectional restrictions is supported by the Port Royal view, which dictates that semantic content determines deep structure rather than dictating that deep structure determines the semantic content.

²The proposed rule, adhering to the constraints imposed by the conditions governing the theory of deep structure, accounts for the fact that a significant number

of passives necessitate independent semantic interpretations. Furthermore, from the very outset the proposed rule accounts for the constituent structure of both the active and the passive. Consequently, the rule's descriptive ability exceeds that of previous proposals.

³The result of such a constraint is that the element of semantics becomes purely secondary. Needless to say, this has caused many avoidable problems to come about.

⁴James McCawley, "Concerning the Base Component of a Transformational Grammar," Foundations of Language, IV (August, 1968), 265.

⁵Ibid., p. 266.

⁶It may prove profitable to recall that the arguments pertaining to PreS selections were first motivated from the syntactic point of view. And since PreS markers necessitate independent semantic interpretations, the insertion of PreS selections in deep structure was completely motivated. In order to solve the problems relating to derived constituent structure, attempts to syntactically motivate the insertion of a passive marker were initiated. The resultant analyses asserted that the passive must be introduced in deep structure. Unlike the arguments relating to PreS selections, the selection of the passive was inserted into deep structure without regard for semantics.

⁷James M. Foster, personal letter.

⁸Lees, "On Passives and Imperatives in English," p. 10.

⁹Silas Griggs, personal letter.

¹⁰Lees, "On Passives and Imperatives in English" p. 10.

¹¹J. F. Stall, "Generative Syntax and Semantics," Foundations of Language, I (May, 1965), 146.

¹²Consequently, the passive marker, along with question, negation, and imperative markers, must be acknowledged as yielding independent semantic interpretations.

¹³Landow, personal letter.

¹⁴ Ibid.

15 Please note that the analysis of passives as passives makes the claim that, from the outset of deep structure, two major sentence types are possible. That is, if no PreS is selected then the utterances generated must be either active declaratives or passive declaratives. Previous analyses do not admit to such possibilities.

16 Kinsuke Hasegawa, "The Passive Construction in English," Language, XLIV (June, 1968), 232.

17 The use of parentheses here indicates that the presence of the agent in surface structure is purely an optional matter. Hence, the sentence The boy was killed by the shock may be optionally realized as The boy was killed. This particular use of parentheses, therefore, accounts for the presence or absence of the agent. Consequently, it becomes possible to eliminate the agent deletion transformation from the transformational level.

18 Lakoff, "Studies in the Transformational Grammar of Latin: The Complement System," p. 71.

19 In compliance with the constraints imposed by the conditions underlying descriptive adequacy, the manner of expanding constituents at the level of deep structure must be as descriptive as possible. The constituent Agent, which is later expanded into by+Nom, accounts for the presence of an agent in a more abstract and descriptive manner than does by+Nom.

20 The proposed set of rules are experimental in nature. For the most part, they are concerned with the attempt to approach a descriptively adequate analysis of passive declaratives as well as active declaratives. Note that rules seven through nine are concerned with the assignment of features; therefore, they may actually be eliminated from the constituent-structure rules.

21 The form of this rule is questionable for a number of reasons. However, it is not the purpose of this study to discuss number in relation to mass nouns.

22 A rule of the form (PP P+(Nom)) completes the experimental grammar as far as deep structure in relation to the analysis of passives as passives is concerned.

23 The use of the feature Passive enables a grammar to classify verbs as being either +Passive or -Passive. Verbs which are -Passive cannot undergo passivization. In conjunction with this, it follows that verbs not marked -Passive are obviously +Passive. Hence, we can now

eliminate the transitive, intransitive, and middle classifications. It might be mentioned here that the feature Passive has the potential to correct the shortcomings of the middle classification which will be demonstrated later in this chapter.

24 The designations plus definite and minus definite are products of the assumption that the passive expresses degrees of definiteness that the active cannot express.

25 The use of parentheses, as mentioned before, indicates that the presence of the agent in surface structure is optional.

26 It may be that some type of dative rule relying on cyclic application would approach a solution to the problem.

27 Despite the fact that little is known regarding the exact nature of naturalness conditions, it is widely acknowledged that naturalness conditions have somehow been violated if two rules are required in order to account for some particular construction at the transformational level.

28 The use of parentheses within the framework of the plus definite transformation directly accounts for the fact that the presence of an agent is an optional matter.

29 Chomsky, Aspects of the Theory of Syntax, p. 104.

30 Concerning the sample sentences, the presence of an asterisk indicates that the utterance deviates from grammatical acceptability. Note that in a number of sentences middle verbs (weigh, mean, have) are used in grammatical passives. Hence, the claim that the middle classification is faulty can be motivated.

31 Here the middle verb weigh functions in a grammatical manner. The effective use of the feature Passive seems to be the only way to avoid insufficient classificatory systems where verbs are concerned.

32 A point of interest here as well as in other sample sentences is the apparent ungrammatical use of get. Judging from the data presented, it can be adduced that the passive auxiliaries be+En and get+En do not share the same selectional restrictions. Consequently, if we follow the suggestions of McCawley, it can be concluded that the two auxiliaries differ semantically. Thus, we have motivation for not handling the two as realizations of the same passive auxiliary.

³³However, no matter the extent of one's analyses, little can be accomplished without adherence to some valid conception of systematic theory. As emphasized in this brief study, theories pertaining to deep structure have been frequently violated by previous analyses of the passive. The universal base hypothesis, adhering to a highly systematic and theoretical framework, provides a theory of grammar the needed emphasis on descriptive adequacy. And without descriptive adequacy, it might be added, there is no hope of a theory approaching explanatory adequacy. Recall that work done in regard to phonological theory has consistently demonstrated the necessity of developing a universal (maximally applicable) set of features. The phonological theory of markedness, as presented in The Sound Pattern of English (1968), relies upon the development of such a set of features. Taking this into consideration, it seems only natural and consistent that theories of deep structure and their respective applications must somehow become just as systematic, from the theoretical view point, as aspects of phonology.

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