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65. A Property of English Sentences
with a Subordinating Connective

Beverly Robbins

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A Property of English Sentences with a Subordinating
Connective

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A Property of English Sentences
with a Subordinating Connective*

O. Summary

Presupposing a familiarity with Zellig S. Harris's theory of transformational grammar and its application to English,¹ this paper describes a particular type of transformation of English sentences which contain a subordinating connective C_{sub} . The transformation replaces the connective by a prepositional phrase to whose object noun the secondary sentence is adjoined. The choice of the prepositional phrase and the nature of the adjunction depend on the choice of the connective, so that a family of related transformations is required. These are stated in #2, #3, and #6 for three subclasses of C_{sub} . Properties of $S_1 C_{sub} S_2$ and its transform are compared in #5 and #7; procedures for decomposing $S_1 C_{sub} S_2$ are discussed in #4 and #4.1. #7 and #8 deal with a few specific kinds of subordinate clauses.

1. Introduction

This paper will attempt to establish that, in English, a conjunction in which the connective is subordinating can be transformed into a sentence in which the subordinate conjunct becomes the adjunct of a noun. A sentence structure in which two sentence structures, S_1 and S_2 , are combined by means of a subordinating connective C_{sub} is of the form $S_1 C_{sub} S_2$. A subordinate conjunct has the grammatical status of being an adverbial clause and shares the mobility of elementary all-position adverbial forms (e.g., now, quietly, in a moment). Thus $C_{sub} S_2$ can be permuted to the beginning of S_1 or to some interior point within S_1 . There are certain restrictions; for example, $C_{sub} S_2$ cannot comfortably be placed in S_1 be-

*I am grateful to Professor Henry Hiž for discussing this topic with me.

¹Zellig S. Harris, Co-occurrence and transformation in linguistic structure, Language, 33: 283-340, 1957. ---, The elementary transformations, TDAP 54, mimeographed, University of Pennsylvania, 1964. ---, Transformational theory, Language, 41: 363-401, 1965.

tween the verb and a short object (*He reads, when he finds time, novels). In interior positions of S₁ a subordinate conjunct is normally set off by commas and may occur with a comma when in front- or end-position.

Three subclasses of the class C_{sub} will be distinguished as follows:

1. C_{sub-1} includes as, if, because, although, and other connectives which introduce adverbial clauses of manner, condition, cause, etc.
2. C_{sub-2} contains the connectives of locative or temporal clauses, such as where, when, before.
3. C_{sub-3} includes whether ... or, whatever, whoever, however, whenever, etc., occurring as connectives of adverbial clauses.

In the course of this paper many more members of these subclasses will be cited, but the various lists, confined to expressions in current and fairly wide usage, are not exhaustive.

Certain transformations will now be stated for sentence structures containing connectives belonging to each of the three subclasses. In general, a transformation will take S₁ C_{sub} S₂ into a sentence structure S₃ which comprises S₁ and S₂, the latter being adjoined, appositively or attributively, to a special subclass N of nouns, where N occurs in S₃ as the object of a preposition P.

2. A Transformation of S₁ C_{sub-1} S₂

Under the following transformation C_{sub-1} S₂ is replaced by a prepositional phrase whose object N_α has that S₂ as an appositive adjunct.

I. S₁ C_{sub-1} S₂ → S₁ P the N_α that S₂.

We met him as he was crossing the street → We met him in the circumstance that he was crossing the street.

If John calls, Mary will talk to him → On the assumption that John will call, Mary will talk to him.

They, because we appeared, left at once → They, for the reason that we appeared, left at once.

As the examples indicate, P the N_α that S₂ can occur in the same positions relative to S₁ that C_{sub-1} S₂ can occupy. C_{sub-1}, P, N_α, the, and that are constants of the transformation in (I). In general, a

transformational constant is an affix, a word, or a specific subclass that is added to, or subtracted from, the sentence structure on which a given transformation operates.

Table A below correlates particular members of $C_{\text{sub-1}}$ with appropriate instances of P the N_{α} + that. In some cases the preposition is composite, consisting of more than one word; e.g., in view of. The entries of the table are grouped, rather loosely, under six headings suggested by the traditional terms for adverbial clauses of various sorts. Often, for a given connective, there may be more than one rewording of $C_{\text{sub-1}}$ S_2 as P the N_{α} that S_2 , and not all such rephrasings are necessarily equivalent to one another in meaning. This points to the fact that the connective itself may be used sententially to help express more than one meaning, and a few connectives are listed under more than one heading. Moreover, some connectives appearing in adverbial clauses of place or time also occur, with suitably varied meaning, as members of $C_{\text{sub-1}}$ and are listed accordingly in Table A. Examples are given in the table wherever an entry seems difficult or doubtful. When several prepositional phrases stand after the connective in an entry, shifts in meaning are marked by a semi-colon. Parentheses inclose alternative word-choices.

Table A

C_{sub-1} — P the N_α that

i. manner or circumstance

1. as — in the circumstance that, on the occasion that; in the manner that, in the way that; in the state that, in the condition that; after the fashion that. (Also at (ii,1) and (v,3).)
2. like — in the manner (way) that, in the same way that; with the appearance (semblance) that.
He described the accident exactly like it had happened →
He described the accident exactly in the manner that it had happened.
He read the lines like he was an actor → He read the lines with the semblance that he was an actor.
3. where — in the situation that, in the circumstance that.
No danger threatens where none is feared → No danger threatens in the situation that none is feared.
4. whereas — in the situation that; in view of the fact that, in consideration of the fact that. (Also at (iv, 2).)
5. while — at the same time that; in relation to the fact (circumstance) that. (Also at (iv,3).)
6. as if, as though — with (under, in) the appearance (semblance, guise, aspect) that.
Mary lived in their house as if she were their daughter → Mary lived in their house with the appearance that she was their daughter.²
7. according as — according to (in accordance with) the way (manner) that; in accordance with the circumstance (condition, state) that. (Also at (ii,2).)
8. in that — in the fact (circumstance, matter) that. (Also at (v,4) and (vi,2).)
You acted rightly in that you trusted him → You acted rightly in the

²It seems doubtful that as if or as though has the status of a connective in such sentences as He looked as if he were sick. There is no He looked under the aspect that he was sick or the like.

fact that you trusted him.

9. besides that, beyond that — besides (in addition to) the fact (circumstance) that. (Also at (iii,10).)

The room was cluttered besides that it was tiny → The room was cluttered in addition to the fact that it was tiny.

ii. degree

1. as — to (in) the degree (extent) that.

John's story became more convincing as he gave more details → John's story became more convincing to the degree that he gave more details.

2. according as — according to (in accordance with) the degree (extent) that.

3. in proportion as — in the proportion (measure, degree) that.

4. so far as, in so far as, as far as, in as far as — to the extent (degree) that.

Mary described the episode so far as she could recall it → Mary described the episode to the extent that she could recall it.

5. so long as, as long as — to the extent (degree) that; for the duration that. (Also at (iii,6) and (v,6).)

So long as you persist in bothering him, he will not co-operate → To the extent that you persist in bothering him, he will not co-operate.

iii. condition

1. if — on the condition (assumption, hypothesis, premise) that; with the understanding that.

2. in case that — in the case that; in the event that, on the contingency (possibility) that.

3. provided that — with the provision that, on the condition that, under the circumstance that.

4. when — on (under) the condition that, in the event that, in (under) the circumstance that. (Also at (v,7).)

A flame flickers out when it receives too little oxygen → A flame flickers out under the condition that it receives too little oxygen.

5. once, once that — on (under) the condition that.

Once the reader has mastered this proof, he will find the others easy → Under the condition that the reader has mastered this proof, he will find the others easy.

6. so long as, as long as — on the condition that, with the proviso that; under the assurance that. (Also at (v,6).)

We will stay so long as we can be of use → We will stay on the condition that we can be of use.

7. unless — on (under) the condition that ... not, in the case that ... not, under the circumstance that ... not.

Unless you are ready, I'll go alone → On the condition that you are not ready, I'll go alone.

8. but that — without (except for, apart from, aside from) the fact (condition, circumstance) that.

He never saw them but that he pitied them → He never saw them without the fact that he pitied them.

9. except that — except for the fact (condition, circumstance) that.

10. beyond that — beyond (except for, apart from, aside from) the fact (circumstance, condition) that.

The house had little charm beyond that it was secluded → The house had little charm except for the fact that it was secluded.

11. only that — except for the fact (circumstance, condition) that, on the condition that ... not.

This play would be good only that the third act is too long → This play would be good except for the fact that the third act is too long.

iv. concession

1. although, though — despite (in spite of) the fact (circumstance) that, despite the eventuality (possibility) that; despite the admission (concession) that.

2. whereas — despite the fact that; in comparison with (by contrast with, in opposition to) the fact (circumstance, case) that.

3. while — despite the fact that; in comparison to the fact that, etc. as in (2).

4. even if — even on the condition that, even in the circumstance that,

in spite of (despite) the condition (case) that.

5. notwithstanding that -- notwithstanding the fact (case) that, despite (in spite of) the fact (circumstance, case) that, with (under) the admission that.

v. cause

1. because -- for the reason that, by the cause that, on the ground that, by reason of (because of) the fact that; from the motive that.
2. since -- for the reason that, in view of the fact (case, circumstance) that, on the consideration that.
3. as -- for the reason that, on account of (in view of) the fact (circumstance) that.
The maple should be pruned, as it is crowding the sapling → The maple should be pruned for the reason that it is crowding the sapling.
4. that, in that -- for the reason that, from (on account of, by) the fact that.
5. inasmuch as -- through (by, from, on account of) the fact (circumstance) that, for the reason that.
6. as long as, so long as -- on account of the fact (circumstance) that.
He was unhappy as long as you stayed away → He was unhappy on account of the fact that you stayed away.
7. when, after -- on account of (in view of) the fact that.
Your rose bush won't bloom when you neglect it → Your rose bush won't bloom in view of the fact that you neglect it.
8. now, now that -- for the reason that, because of (on account of) the fact that.
Now that the weather is improving, we can go → For the reason that the weather is improving, we can go.
9. lest -- from (in, under) the fear (apprehension, dread) that, for fear of the consequence (circumstance, possibility) that.
(Also at (vi,3).)
The maple should be pruned lest it crowd the sapling → The maple should be pruned for fear of the possibility that it will crowd the sapling.

vi. purpose or result

1. in order that — for the purpose that, with the intention (aim) that, to the end that.
2. that, so that, so as — for the purpose that; with the result (effect, consequence) that.
3. lest — for fear of the consequence (result) that, in (for, from) the fear (dread) that, in (from) the fear that ... otherwise, to the end that ... not, with (for) the aim (purpose) that ... not.
We must hurry lest we be late → We must hurry in the fear that otherwise we would be late.

It seems clear that a sentence which satisfies $S_1 C_{\text{sub-1}} S_2$ has the same information content as does its transform under (I). But sometimes there are great stylistic differences between them. These differences of style are perhaps not absolute. It may happen that in some contexts either member of the pair is replaceable by the other without loss of naturalness while in others only one of the two is comfortable. Generally the connectives are more flexible, more idiomatic, than the corresponding instances of P the N_α + that. The somewhat formal, occasionally pedantic, character of the latter may be attributable in part to the fact that many members of N_α are abstract nouns and their grammatical construction in the transform may introduce certain metatext features.

Let S_3 be S_1 P the N_α that S_2 . At least two different grammatical analyses can be given for S_3 . (1) S_3 can be said to consist of S_1 expanded by an adverbial P N insert, where N_α of the insert has S_2 , nominalized by that, as an appositive adjunct anticipated by the definite article preceding N_α .³ This analysis will be examined more fully below, when members of the subclass N_α are discussed in relation to problems of deriving or decomposing $S_1 C_{\text{sub-1}} S_2$. (2) S_3 might be analyzed as S_1 + P the N_α that + S_2 . Here P the N_α that is taken as a composite preposition which in turn is construed as a prepositional subordinating connective. There would be some precedents for this approach: on the one hand, the analogy with such composite prepositions as on account of, in view of, for the sake of, by comparison with, etc.; on the other hand, the analogy furnished by the fact that some P, including those just mentioned, occur as C_{sub} before an S_2 that has been transformed in certain ways. (The relevant deformations of S_2 are listed in §5.)

The possibility of construing S_1 P the N_α that S_2 in the manner of (2) would seem to increase the plausibility of proposing (I) as an English transformation. It also tends to suggest it is partly a subjective impres-

³Noun-phrase structure of this type is studied in Chapter 6 of my The Definite Article in English Transformations (The Hague: Mouton, in press).

sion that sentences satisfying $S_1 C_{sub-1} S_2$ are more natural or more expressive than the corresponding sentences satisfying $S_1 P_{thé} N_{\alpha} that S_2$. Nevertheless, the analysis in (1) is, I think, of greater grammatical interest. It constitutes an initial step toward a demonstration that the system of subordinate conjunction in English is transformationally equivalent to a system built on the prepositional phrase and adjunction.

3. Adverbial Clauses of Place and Time

The following examples illustrate the replacement of C_{sub-2} .

1. We will stop to rest where the oak is → We will stop to rest at the place where the oak is.
2. When the sun sets, the children will come indoors → At the time when the sun sets, the children will come indoors.
3. After you arrived, John appeared → After the time at which you arrived John appeared.

In (1) where changes in status from a conjunction to a relative pronoun; similarly for when in (2). Thus we might have written at the place in which the oak is, at the time at which the sun sets. The that or zero variants of the wh- words could also have been used: at the place that the oak is in, at the place the oak is in, at the time that the sun sets, at the time the sun sets.

After in (3) functions first as a conjunction then as a preposition. By way of comparison with (1) and (2), it is of some interest to note that the words after, before, until, since, while, can introduce clauses adjoined to nouns of time.⁴ Thus after the time at which you arrived has several variant forms, all retaining P N + adjunct structure: after the time when you arrived, after the time that you arrived, after the time you arrived, at a time after you arrived, at some time after you arrived.

By using the that variant of wh-, followed by -ere or -en in zero variant form, our transformation for $S_1 C_{sub-2} S_2$ can be stated as in (II) below.

⁴Ibid., Chapter 3, #3.8.

II. $S_1 \text{ C}_{\text{sub-2}} S_2 \rightarrow S_1 \text{ P the } N_{\beta} \text{ that } S_2.$

N_{β} is a small class of temporal and locative nouns, such as place, spot, location, time, instant, day. In Table B a number of temporal connectives are related to corresponding expressions of the form P the N_{β} + that. The connectives in (8) - (15) occur with or without that; e.g., once, once that. The applicability of (II) will be extended in §4.1 to paired sentences containing C_{sub} and P N of manner or degree.

Table B

C_{sub-2} --- P the N_β + that

1. when --- at (in, for, by, during) the time that.
 2. before --- before the time that.
 3. after --- after the time that, from (by) the time that.
 4. until --- until the time that.
 5. since --- since the time that, during the time that.
 6. while --- during (for, through) the time that.
 7. as soon as --- at (by) the time that; at (on) the instant that.
 8. once --- after the time that, from (at, by) the time that.
Once she learned the facts she forgave him → From the time that she learned the facts she forgave him.
 9. now --- at (for, in, during) the present time that.
He will buy a car now that he has a job → He will buy a car at the present time that he has a job.
 10. immediately --- on (at) the instant that, at the moment that.
Immediately that she leafed through the book, she remembered reading it → On the instant that she leafed through the book, she remembered reading it.
 11. instantly --- on (at) the instant that.
 12. directly --- at the moment that.
 13. the moment --- at the moment that.
He greeted them the moment he saw them → He greeted them at the moment that he saw them.
 14. the day --- on the day that.
 15. the week --- in (during, for) the week that.
- Similarly for other C_{sub-2} = the + temporal N. We also find one N_{tem},
the next N_{tem}, the last N_{tem}, the first N_{tem}, the second N_{tem}, etc.,
 frequently with that following, used as C_{sub-2}.

The choice of P in a (II)-transform may depend on the tenses which are used for the verbs in S_1 C_{sub-2} S_2 . For example, We have done many things since you have been here \rightarrow We have done many things during the time that you have been here; We have done many things since you were here \rightarrow We have done many things since the time that you were here. Both of these conjunctions are also transformable by (I) and perhaps We will do many things since you were here only by (I): We will do many things because of the fact that you were here. Some sentences obtained by applying (II) are not quite satisfactory. Thus neither After the time that he found a job he rented a room nor After the time at which he found a job he rented a room has the same acceptability as After he found a job he rented a room. The selection of by or from as the preposition, while leading to more naturally occurring sentences, would depart from the meaning of the conjunction. A better paraphrase would seem to be At some particular time after he found a job he rented a room. This sentence embodies the basic ideas behind (II). The words some particular have somewhat the force of the, and the after clause which follows some particular time is a relative adjunct.

The occurrences of that in (I) and (II) have connective function but the clauses thus introduced are not adverbial. Jespersen has observed the use of that to repeat members of C_{sub} .⁵ He cites, among other examples, I should have been still in a fright, lest I should meet him on the road again, and that he should know me. Such sentences, which would accept an appropriate P the $N_{x/P}$ before the that, seem to offer confirmation for (I) and (II).

4. Problems of Derivation and Decomposition

The transformations in (I) and (II) can be considered rules for re-writing sentences of the form S_1 C_{sub-1} S_2 or S_1 C_{sub-2} S_2 , but it is not intended that the structure containing C_{sub} is a transformational source for the related structure containing P the $N + \text{that}$. This section will take up the problem of specifying sources for the sentence structures whose

⁵Otto Jespersen, A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles V (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1940), pp. 369, 386-7, 393, 398.

formulas flank '→' in (I) and (II).

Let \underline{S}_1 be \underline{S}_i plus the insert $\underline{P}_1 \underline{N}_\beta$ and let \underline{S}_2 be \underline{S}_j plus the insert $\underline{P}_2 \underline{N}_\beta$; \underline{P}_1 and \underline{P}_2 may be the same or different. Given $\underline{S}_i \underline{C}_{\text{sub-2}} \underline{S}_j$, the corresponding $\underline{S}_3 = \underline{S}_i \underline{P}_1 \text{ the } \underline{N}_\beta \text{ that } \underline{S}_j$ is derived through the wh- combination of \underline{S}_1 and \underline{S}_2 . Thus \underline{S}_3 follows from $\underline{S}_i \underline{P}_1 \text{ the } \underline{N}_\beta \text{ where/when } \underline{S}_2$ ($\underline{-P}_2 \underline{N}_\beta$), -ere or -en being the post-wh- promorpheme of $\underline{P}_2 \underline{N}_\beta$. (The notation ' $\underline{S}_2(-P_2 N_\beta)$ ' indicates that $\underline{P}_2 \underline{N}_\beta$ has been excised from \underline{S}_2 leaving \underline{S}_j .) Equally \underline{S}_1 and \underline{S}_2 can combine under a transformation whose constants are the, wh-, and post- wh- pro- \underline{N}_β , to yield $\underline{S}_i \underline{P}_1 \text{ the } \underline{N}_\beta \underline{P}_2 \text{ which } \underline{S}_2(-P_2 N_\beta)$. For example, John appeared after the time at which you arrived ← John appeared after a time, You arrived at some time.

A necessary condition for closely appositive wh- adjunction is that the primary and secondary sentences each contain the same noun. This fact raises the question of whether, among the sentences which underlie a conjunction using $\underline{C}_{\text{sub-2}}$, there are any paired sentences having one or more constituents in common, in such a manner that the underlying sentences exhibit in themselves some ground of their combination in the conjunction. Our question can be answered affirmatively by choosing \underline{S}_j and $\underline{S}_i \underline{P}_1 \text{ the } \underline{N}_\beta$ that \underline{S}_j as sources for $\underline{S}_i \underline{C}_{\text{sub-2}} \underline{S}_j$. The proposed method of decomposition will first be shown diagrammatically.

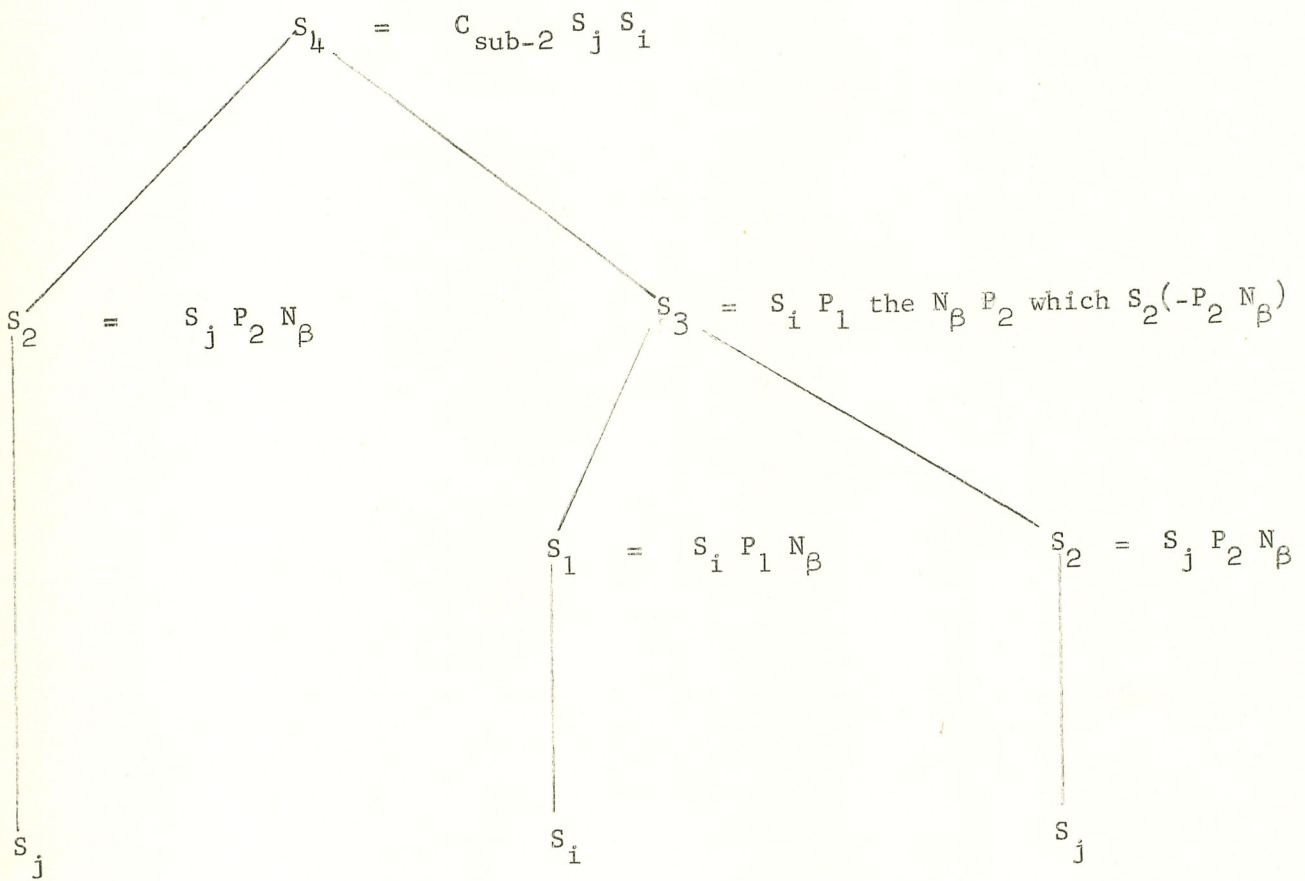


Figure 1

Examples: After you arrived John appeared \leftarrow You arrived at some time, John appeared after the time at which you arrived \leftarrow John appeared after a time, You arrived at some time \leftarrow John appeared, You arrived. When Tom saw Ann, he walked slowly toward her \leftarrow Tom saw Ann at some time, Tom walked slowly toward Ann at the time that he saw her \leftarrow Tom walked slowly toward Ann at some time, Tom saw Ann at some time \leftarrow Tom walked slowly toward Ann, Tom saw Ann.

The transformations for passing from the sentence structures at the bottom of Figure 1 to those at the top start with the insertion of $\underline{P_1 N_\beta}$ in $\underline{S_i}$ and $\underline{P_2 N_\beta}$ in $\underline{S_j}$,⁶ yielding $\underline{S_1}$ and $\underline{S_2}$ respectively. Then, to derive $\underline{S_3}$, the $\underline{wh-pro-N_\beta}$ transform of $\underline{S_2}$ is adjoined to $\underline{N_\beta}$ in $\underline{S_1}$. Thus $\underline{S_2}$ and $\underline{S_3}$ are such that $\underline{S_2}$ recurs in $\underline{S_3}$ as an adjunct of $\underline{N_\beta}$. When, next, $\underline{S_2}$ and $\underline{S_3}$ are conjoined to obtain $\underline{S_4}$, the introduction of $\underline{C_{sub-2}}$ is accompanied by the deletion of the $\underline{wh-}$ adjunct and the $\underline{P N_\beta}$ increments. In a sense equals have been put for equals: the temporal or locative $\underline{C_{sub-2}}$ for the temporal or locative $\underline{P_2 N_\beta}$ and $\underline{P_1 N_\beta}$, the occurrence of $\underline{N_\beta}$ in the latter carrying a $\underline{wh-}$ clause which becomes the subordinate clause in $\underline{S_4}$.

It would perhaps be possible to take $\underline{S_3}$ by itself, or for that matter simply $\underline{S_i}$ and $\underline{S_j}$, as the most proximate source for $\underline{S_4}$. But the choice of the pair $\underline{S_3}$ and $\underline{S_2}$ for this purpose seems to me to provide a more analytical decomposition. The fact that $\underline{S_2}$ recurs in adjunct form in $\underline{S_3}$ can be made to explain why $\underline{S_3}$ and $\underline{S_2}$, each appropriately reduced, can occur conjoined together in $\underline{S_4}$. In general, our criterion for two sentences to be conjoinable by $\underline{C_{sub}}$ will be that one contains a repetition of the other, the latter being repeated in the former by being adjoined to one of its constituent nouns.

In our discussion conjunction and $\underline{wh-}$ adjunction have been treated

⁶Concerning adverbial and other inserts, see Zellig S. Harris, *Transformational theory*, *Language*, 41; 363-401, 1965, pp. 374-7 (henceforth abbreviated T. T.).

as binary transformations. But this was not essential to the argument. One could also appeal to unary transformations only, the secondary sentence being transformed into a sentential segment headed by wh- or C_{sub} and this resultant then being inserted into the primary sentence.⁷ The problem would still remain of accounting for the conditions of occurrence of the increment in the host sentence.

4.1 The Class N_α

Turning to S_i C_{sub-1} S_j, we shall specify S_j and S_i P the N_α that S_j to be the sentence structures into which the conjunction directly decomposes. For example, If we send for him, he will come ← We may send for him, He will come on the condition that we send for him. In discussing the derivation of S_i P the N_α that S_j, three cases must be distinguished depending on the mode of occurrence of N_α in the underlying structures.

Case One: P N_α is an insert of S_i only. In this case, mentioned above in §2, that S_j has the status of an appositive nominalized sentence adjoined to N_α. Taking S_i = S_i P N_α, we would derive S₃ = S_i P the N_α that S_j as a shared-noun combination of S_i and S₂ = The N_α is that S_j. In turn, S₂ is a the-introducing permutation of That S_j is N_α, whose sources are S_j and the sentence-operator is N_α.⁸ Thus He will come on the condition that we send for him ← He will come on a condition, The condition is that we send for him ← He will come on a condition, That we send for him is a condition.

⁷Cf. ibid., p. 387, fn. 34.

⁸The sentence-operators W are certain word-class sequences containing a verb or predicate which requires a nominalized sentence as its subject or object. The deformation of S under W results in a derived sentence structure of a particular type. See ibid., pp. 375-6.

The decomposition of $S_i C_{sub-1} S_j$ relative to Case One is represented by the diagram in Figure 2 below. The major connectives to which the analysis is pertinent are if, because, although, in order that.

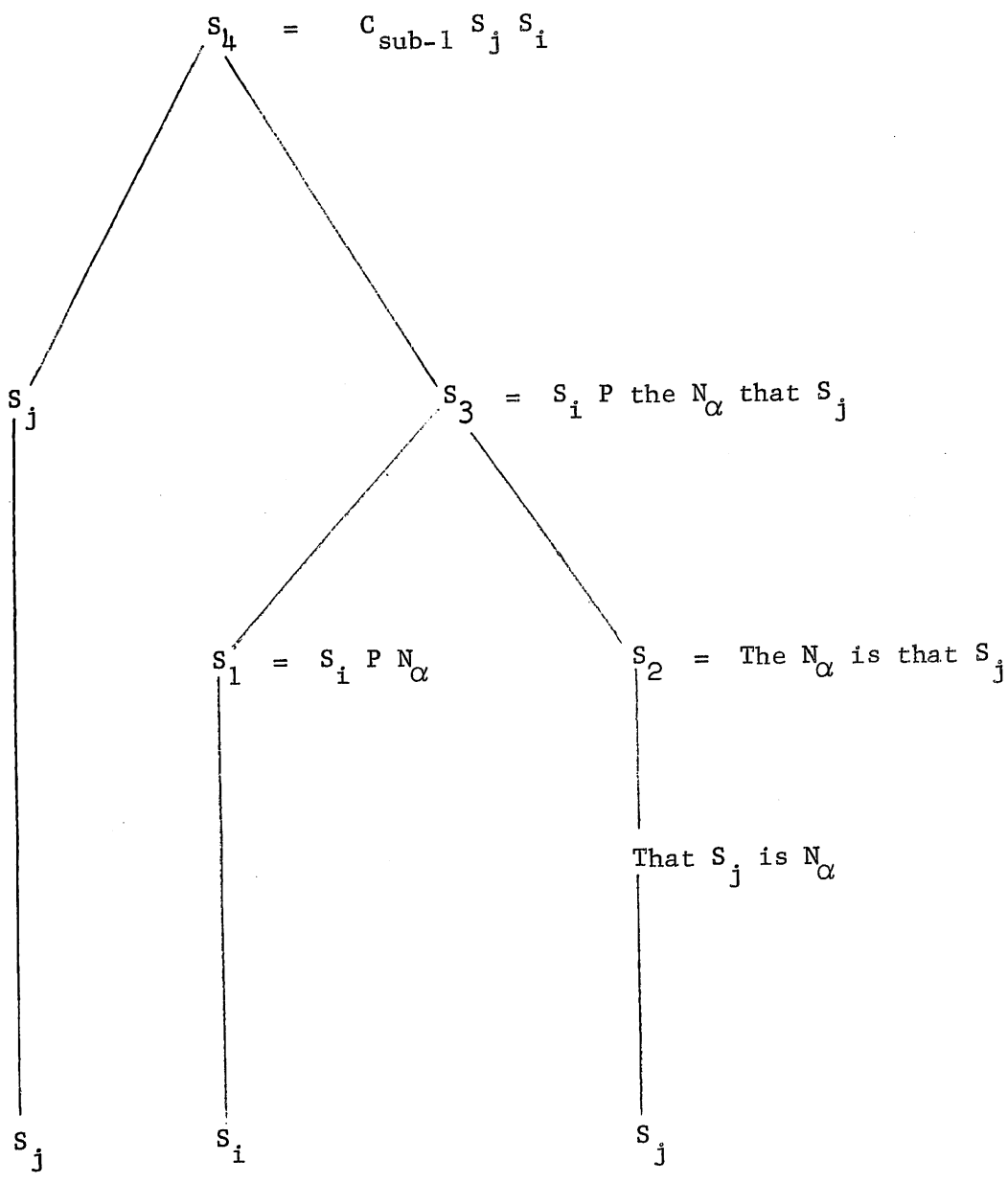


Figure 2

Here the presence of the connective in $S_i C_{sub-1} S_j$ is balanced, so to speak, by the presence of N_α in the $P N$ insert on S_i and in the sentence-operator on S_j . These elements, along with S_i and S_j , are recovered in the process of decomposing the conjunction. Correlatively, when S_j is conjoined by C_{sub-1} to $S_i P$ the N_α that S_j , the appositional occurrence of S_j and its governing N_α are deleted. Or, if we think of $C_{sub-1} S_j$ as being a sentence-insert, we would say that it operates not on S_i but on $S_i P$ the N_α that S_j , the connective-headed increment canceling the prepositional one because of the shared S_j .

Some values of N_α found in Table A are formed by the addition of a nominalizing suffix to a verb or an adjective. There are transformations for deriving sentence structures containing nominalizations of the type the Xxn that S_2 ,⁹ but it does not seem possible to derive $S_1 P$ the Xxn that S_2 without taking the preposition as a subordinating connective.¹⁰ Therefore, for our purposes here, we may confine our attention to those values of N_α which are primitive nouns. For every member of C_{sub-1} listed in Table A there is at least one transcription into P the N_α that in which the value of N_α is an unaffixed noun belonging to the kernel grammar. This course was open to us partly through the inclusion in the class P of complex phrases like for fear of, by contrast with, in consideration of, which might otherwise have been analyzed as $P_1 Vvn P_2$.

Case Two: $P N_\alpha$ is inserted in both S_i and S_j . As in the dis-

⁹Here X is V (verb) or A (adjective) and xn is a class of suffixes (including zero) which, added to members of X , give words that can occur in positions of N (noun).

¹⁰A possible exception to this statement will be discussed in #5.11.

cussion in §3 of adverbial and relative clauses of place and time, here also that in $S_i P_1$ the N_α that S_j is a variant of wh-. $C_{sub-1} S_j$ in the corresponding conjunction is an adverbial clause of manner or degree. The method of decomposition conforms to the pattern in Figure 1. For example, Mary described the episode so far as she could recall it is transformable into Mary described the episode to the extent that she could recall it. On the interpretation of that as equivalent with to which, the latter decomposes into Mary described the episode to some extent and Mary could recall the episode to some extent. The phrase to an/some extent is a P N of degree matching the connective so far as.

In relative clauses in which the promorphemed N is the object of a preposition, it is somewhat unusual to find the that or zero variant of wh- unless the post-wh- promorpheme, to occur then in zero form, is -en (or perhaps occasionally -ere or -y) or it is -ich and the preposition can stand at the end of the clause. Nevertheless, in Case Two there seems no obstacle to accepting $S_i P$ the N_α that S_j as coming from $S_i P_1$ the $N_\alpha P_2$ which S_2 ($-P_2 N_\alpha$), where S_2 is $S_j P_2 N_\alpha$, N_α is manner, extent, degree, way, or similar words, and $P_1 = P_2$. We may note that in substantive clauses introduced by how the -ow can be a promorpheme for P N of manner or degree. It simply happens that how is not normally used in relative clauses: There occurs, for example, the way in which he speaks or the way that he speaks or the way he speaks, but the way how he speaks is avoided.

The question arises whether a sentence satisfying $S_i P$ the N_α that S_j with the grammatical analysis assigned in Case One could be reinterpreted as falling under Case Two. I believe such a reinterpretation is sometimes possible but the reinterpreted sentence will not correspond to whatever conjunction matched the originally given sentence. Let us consider, for example, John quit school because he took a job and its transformation by (I) into John quit school for the reason that he took a job. In accordance with Case One that he took a job is an appositive substantive clause. Reconstructing it as a relative clause, we would have in effect John quit school for the reason for which he took a job. This sentence implies that John's quitting school and his taking a job had one and the same reason behind them. This is not implied by John quit school because he took a job.

Case Three: $P N_{\alpha}$ is inserted in S_j only. Sentences like So far as I know, he wrote the letter yesterday exemplify this case. The subordinate conjunct contains a sentence-operator $N t V_{(n,s)}^{11}$ whose object can be assumed to be a zero occurrence of the sentence which is the principal conjunct. Thus the sample conjunction might be decomposed into He wrote the letter yesterday and To some extent I know that he wrote the letter yesterday. The second sentence is derived by embedding the first one in the object-position of I know and attaching to some extent to the resultant.

So far as I know, he wrote the letter yesterday is transformable by (I) into To the extent that I know, he wrote the letter yesterday. Under the assumption made above concerning the object of know, this sentence has the same kernelization as the one containing so far as and is itself a conjunction of the same primary and secondary. Now, however, To some extent I know that he wrote the letter yesterday undergoes a wh- permutation into to the extent that I know that he wrote the letter yesterday. This is conjoined by zero C_{sub} with comma to He wrote the letter yesterday, whose occurrence in nominalized form in the secondary sentence is simultaneously deleted.

The deletion of the that clause is probably obligatory in So far as I know that he wrote the letter, he wrote the letter or in He wrote the letter, so far as I know that he wrote the letter. A substantive wh- clause chosen as the object of know would be optionally deletable: So far as I know whether he wrote the letter or not, he wrote the letter; So far as I know what he did, he wrote the letter. But I believe no advantage would accrue from supposing generally that conjunctions falling under Case Three are reduced forms of conjunctions of the type just illustrated and which in fact also belong in Case Three. Unless a particular nominalization of S_1 is already given with the sentence-operator W in $C_{sub-1} S_2$, any nominalizing transformation which is applicable to S_1 in subject- or object-position of

¹¹The class t contains the tense morphemes -s or zero (present) and -ed (past). The tense auxiliaries will, can, could, may, etc., can be considered members of t or inserts to the left of t . To the subclass $V_{(n,s)}$ belong verbs whose subject and object are N and nominalized S respectively.

the given \underline{W} and which is consistent with the meaning of the conjunction may be used. Sometimes indeed whether S_1 will be preferred to that S_1 :
So far as we are concerned, the new system will not work ← So far as whether the new system works concerns us, the new system will not work.
Possibly this example represents a more complicated type of conjunction involving a sentence-operator in both conjuncts; So far as whether the new system works concerns us, we say that the new system will not work.
Conjunctions of still another subtype under Case Three contain a pronominalization of S_1 or of one of its constituents in the subordinate conjunct: The new system, so far as we understand it, will not work ← The new system will not work, We understand the new system to some extent.

The connectives used in conjunctions belonging to Case Three include as, so far as, and if. Thus If it is possible, he will leave early might be retraced to If it is possible in any degree for him to leave early, he will leave early, whose primary and secondary S would be He may leave early and For him to leave early is possible in some degree.

The sentence structure $N \text{ t } V_{(n,s)}$ that S is permutable to $S, N \text{ t } V_{(n,s)}$;
I know that he wrote the letter → He wrote the letter, I know. When a sentence-operator is shifted to the position of an insert it becomes similar to a conjunct. But I am doubtful that $S \text{ C}_{\text{sub-1}} N \text{ t } V_{(n,s)}$ can be directly derived from $S, N \text{ t } V_{(n,s)}$. Dr. Harris remarks, "There is...the possibility that when a sentence-operator takes the adjunct form $N \text{ t } V_{(n,s)}$
that S → $S, N \text{ t } V_{(n,s)}$ (I know that he came; /I know) we have really to do with a comma-conjunction on a zeroed operand: ← He came, I know that he came. Similarly He came, I think ← He came, or so I think ← He came, or I think that he came."¹² The zeroing envisaged here is the same as that presupposed above with respect to $S_i \text{ C}_{\text{sub-1}} N \text{ t } V_{(n,s)}$ and $S_i \text{ P the } N_{\alpha}$ that $N \text{ t } V_{(n,s)}$, though perhaps the recurrence of S_i after the operator

¹² Zellig S. Harris, *The Elementary Transformations*, EDAP 54, mimeographed, University of Pennsylvania, 1964, p. 44 (henceforth abbreviated E. T.).

is deleted rather than zeroed. As Dr. Harris points out, there are still unsolved problems as to whether the nominalized form of S under the operator can be zeroed as a repetition of the S (not nominalized S) preceding the operator.¹³ The same reservations apply to the permissibility of zeroing an adjunctive transform of S in the presence of a related occurrence of the same S.

To review the course of our work thus far: By comparing S_i C_{sub} S_j with S_i P the N that S_j we have been led to place certain structures containing N_α or N_β among the elements from which the conjunction can be derived and to establish certain patterns of repetition of one underlying sentence structure in the other with which it is combined in the conjunction. When C_{sub} S_j expresses time, place, manner, or degree, a P N of the same category is added to S_i and S_j in the source. Thus expanded, S_i and S_j can be combined by wh-, so that S_j occurs as a relative clause adjoined to N in the P N inserted on S_i. With one exception other types of S_i C_{sub} S_j have in their source P N_α and is N_α, the former being inserted in S_i and the latter operating on that S_j, which thereby becomes adjoinable appositively with N_α in the insert. The exception is made by those conjunctions in which the subordinate clause is entirely metatextual and refers to a property of the proposition expressed by the main clause, such as its modality or its relation to someone's cognition. For this case we have assumed that in the underlying sentences N_α occurs only in a P N of degree attached to S_j. Here the repetition of one underlying sentence in another comes about by nominalization rather than by adjunction. S_i is repeated in S_j as the subject or object of its sentence-operator.

¹³ibid.

5. Other Transformations Involving

C_{sub-1} and C_{sub-2}

Dr. Harris has shown that a subordinate conjunct can take the form of a sentence-operator. In (III) below a permutation of S₁ C_{sub} S₂ nominalizes S₁ and adds be + t, so that t be C_{sub} S₂ appears as a sentence-operator with the nominalized S₁ in subject-position.¹⁴

III. S₁ C_{sub} S₂ → S₁ n t be C_{sub} S₂.

He resigned from the cabinet because he lost the people's confidence → His resigning from the cabinet was because he lost the people's confidence. We arrived in Boston before you went there → Our arrival in Boston was before you went there. He walks in the park daily in order that he will see her → That he walks in the park daily is in order that he will see her.

The verbs occur, happen, take place, come about, and a few others can replace be in the transform of (III). If S₁ is a kernel sentence structure N₁ t V Ω, S₁ n in the transform is that N₁ t V Ω, N₁'s Ving Ω, or N₁'s Vvn (of) Ω. Depending on the subclass of V, Ω is zero, N, P N, N P N, or N N.¹⁵ Of is inserted between Vvn and an Ω beginning with N; vn includes -ing, zero, -ation, -ment, etc. Ω in the kernel structure N₁ t be Ω is N, P N, A, or D_b (the class of adverbs which can occur as objects of be).

Another permutation of S₁ C_{sub} S₂ introduces It t be and that. No verb can replace be in this transform, which however, as well as the

¹⁴Ibid., p. 22.

¹⁵A list of elementary, or kernel, sentence structures is given in E. T., p. 7. See also Zellig S. Harris, Co-occurrence and transformation in linguistic structure, Language, 33:283-340, 1957, pp. 334-6 (henceforth abbreviated C. and T.).

transform in (III), accepts the addition of certain members of the verb-operator \underline{U}_t plus to; e.g., appear to be, seem to be.¹⁶

IV. $\underline{S}_1 \text{ C}_{\text{sub}} \underline{S}_2 \rightarrow \underline{\text{It t be C}_{\text{sub}} \underline{S}_2 \text{ that } \underline{S}_1}$

It was because he lost the people's confidence that he resigned from the cabinet.

It was before you went to Boston that we arrived there.

Probably It t be C_{sub} S₂ that S₁ can be most easily explained as a permutation to expletive it of S_{1n} t be C_{sub} S₂ where S_{1n} is that S₁.

In general, we have That S t V Ω → It t V Ω that S; in the present instance our V Ω is be C_{sub} S₂.

Dr. Harris comments that the operator form of adverbs, adverbial P N, and C_{sub} S₂ is less comfortable than their adverb and conjunction form.¹⁷

In view of (I) and (II), the transforms in (III) and (IV) are equivalent to S_{1n} t be P the N_{α/β} that S₂ and It t be P the N_{α/β} that S₂ that S₁. Al-

though the latter sentence structures contain the operator form of P the N_{α/β} that S₂, sentences satisfying the structures are often more natural than corresponding sentences in which a subordinate conjunct occurs as an operator. Given, for example, We will stay here unless you leave, compare Our staying here will be unless you leave, It is unless you leave that we will stay here with Our staying here will be under the condition that you do not leave, It is under the condition that you do not leave that we will stay here.

¹⁶The verb-operators, marked Y or U, are special subclasses of verbs which can be inserted before the verb in a kernel sentence structure, the latter verb (strictly, the subclass V_(n, Ω)) undergoing some concomitant change such as the acquisition of to or a suffix of va or vn type. See Harris, T. T., pp. 374-5.

¹⁷Harris, E. T., p. 22.

5.1 Ing Deformation of S₂

A comparison of the possibilities for zeroing repeated material in S₁ C_{sub} S₂ and in S₁ P the N that S₂ will be postponed until §7. Another point of comparison, pertaining to -ing transforms of S₂ in these structures, will conclude the present section. Where S₂ is N ± V Ω, the transforms we wish to consider are the following four. (If S₂ has been transformed by the addition of a verb-operator from the small class Y (be ...ing, have ...en, have ...en be ...ing), the effect is noted below.)

- i. N's Ving Ω, Mary's arranging the flowers. Y is retained except for be ...ing: N's having Ven Ω, N's having been Ving Ω.
- ii. N's Vvn (of) Ω. (Mary's arrangement of the flowers); vn = zero, -ing, -ion, -ment, etc. Y is not retained. Also the Vvn (of) Ω by/of N; by precedes N if V is transitive.
- iii. N Ving Ω with N nonrelative and Y preserved as in (i).
- iv. Ving Ω, reduced from (i) or (iii).

(i) and (ii) can be preceded by those members of C_{sub} which are also prepositions; namely, since, before, after, until (e.g., Since you have spoken with Tom, you seem more cheerful → Since your having spoken with Tom, ...). N's is zeroable in S₂ if the same N appears in S₁: After (his) registering at the desk, he went up to his room. Many other prepositions (e.g., in, on, during, by, through, from) are used as connectives before these deformations of S₂. (iii) occurs after zero C_{sub}, always set off by comma intonation. She turning aside, he stared out the window. Certain other C_{sub} can be placed before N Ving Ω provided N has been zeroed. Therefore we find S₁ C_{sub} Ving Ω only if the subject N of S₂ also occurs as subject or object in S₁. Some sentences which satisfy S₁ C_{sub} Ving Ω are ambiguous as to the noun to which the participle belongs; for example, Ann met Tom while coming home from school. The connectives which introduce Ving Ω, as reduced from (iii) but not (i), include if, unless, because, although, as, as if, as though, whereas, so long as, so far as, as soon as, lest, when, while, once, where.

A comma-separated N_{nom} Ving Ω normally has the status of an adverbial clause. I conjecture that a sentence satisfying S_1, N_{nom} Ving Ω is equivalent, for some choice of C_{sub} , to a corresponding sentence which satisfies $S_1 C_{\text{sub}}$ N_2 's Ving Ω or $S_1 C_{\text{sub}} N t V \Omega$ (He stared out the window after she turned aside). The existence of such a transformation would make it possible to bring within the scope of this paper conjunctions whose connective is zero C_{sub} plus comma.

N_2 's Ving Ω and N_2 's Vvn (of) Ω can be placed after of in apposition to certain nouns. If that S_2 (= that $N_2 t V \Omega$) is an appositive adjunct in $S_1 P$ the N that S_2 , the sentence structure is transformable into $S_1 P$ the N of N_2 's Ving Ω . He will come on the condition of our sending for him. When that S_2 has the status of a relative clause, the question of its replaceability by of N_2 's Ving Ω is more complex. Generally, the N wh- prc-N $S_2(-N)$ is not equivalent to the N of N_2 's Ving Ω , which may fail even to be grammatical; for example, the man who saw you but not the man of his seeing you. However, the cases of $S_1 P$ the N that S_2 in which we construed that as wh- were confined to those in which the governing N was a noun of time, place, manner, or degree. The part of S_2 promorphemed in the clause was a P N insert of time or etc. This leaves the fundamental structure of S_2 intact to undergo the -ing transformation. For example, The children will come indoors at the time of the sun's setting, Mary described the episode to the extent of her recalling it.

The foregoing argument will be supported by deriving $S_1 P$ the N of N_2 's Ving Ω directly from S_1 and $N_2 t V \Omega$. The same P N insert is added to both and is transformed into an operator on $N_2 t V \Omega$. Thus from $N_2 t V \Omega P N$ we obtain N_2 's Ving Ωt be P N (The sun's setting is at a time). Then N_2 's Ving Ωt be P N can be shared into $S_1 P N$ to derive $S_1 P$ the N of N_2 's Ving Ω .

5.11 Concerning S₁ P the V_αvn that S₂

Before leaving the topic of -ing transformations, let us look again at those S₁ P the N_α that S₂ in which N_α is V_αvn; e.g., John will come on the assumption that you are here. A possible source for S₁ P the V_αvn that S₂ is S₁ V_αing that S₂, John will come assuming that you are here. The latter structure, if V_α and the verb of S₁ have the same subject N₁, could be derived by subject-subject overlap¹⁸ between S₁ and N₁ t V_α that S₂. In this secondary N₁ is zeroed and t replaced by -ing. Or, to directly derive S₁ P the V_αvn that S₂ from the stipulated primary and secondary, the latter under an ... 's ...vn deformation could be conjoined to the former by P as a prepositional connective. The hypothesis that the subjects of S₁ and V_α are identical seems justified for the particular sentence cited in illustration. Reverting to John will come if you are here, we might accept John will come on his assumption that you are here as a satisfactory paraphrase. Often, however, V_αing that S₂ occurs in sentences in which none of the co-occurring nouns is a plausible subject of the participle, which is therefore said to be detached or absolute.

Two ways of analyzing S₁ V_αing that S₂ when V_αing does not have an expressed subject can be suggested,¹⁹ (1). It might be claimed that the subject is a term which makes general or indefinite reference to human beings (e.g., a person, people, or the indefinite pronouns one, someone, everyone, anyone) and which has been deleted because understandable from the context. The zeroing or dropping of indefinite pronouns has been discussed by Dr. Harris relative to certain sentence structures,²⁰ among which it may be possible to include S₁ V_αing that S₂. (2). The other analysis would deny

¹⁸Cf. Harris, C. and T., p. 320.

¹⁹Cf. George O. Curme, Syntax (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1931), pp. 158-60, 330.

²⁰Harris, T. T., pp. 394-6.

that there is an unexpressed but implied subject of the participle. Without a subject V_{α} ing that S_2 does not have the $N V \Omega$ structure of a clause, whether of adverbial or other function. Instead, V_{α} ing that would be classified as a type of C_{sub} connecting S_2 to S_1 .

The interpretation of V_{α} ing that as a connective is supported by the not unrelated role of certain Ving words as prepositions; e.g., concerning, regarding, excepting, including, owing to, depending on, touching, excluding. Further support is given by the observation that $S_1 V_{\alpha}$ ing that S_2 is more nearly equivalent to $S_1 C_{sub} S_2$, for some value of C_{sub} , than to $S_1 C_{sub}$ indefinite pro-N t V_{α} that S_2 . For example, John will go to college assuming he gets a scholarship is transformable into John will go to college if he gets a scholarship but perhaps not into John will go to college if one can assume that he will get a scholarship. Possibly carrying N t V_{α} into the subordinate conjunct requires the introduction of an associated sentence-operator in the main conjunct: If one assumes that John will get a scholarship, one can infer that he will go to college.

Adverbial clauses of condition, concession, and cause can be headed by V_{α} ing that. Frequently that takes zero form, in which case -ing or vn deformations of S_2 can follow V_{α} ing or V_{α} ing P (e.g., allowing for, depending on). V_{α} is assume, suppose, provide, allow, grant, admit, concede, consider, see, and a few others.

We also find given that, provided that, admitted that, granted that, in clauses of condition and concession. If V_{α} en that is not classified under C_{sub} , I believe that V_{α} en that S_2 , S_1 (Granted that he is young, still he should have responsibilities) can be obtained from That S_2 being V_{α} en, S_1 . The -ing clause would be derived from the passive of Indefinite pro-N t V_{α} that S_2 . (Everyone grants that he is young → That he is young is granted by everyone).

5.2 To Deformation of S₂

S₂ after certain C_{sub-1}, especially some expressing purpose or result, can undergo a deformation which drops t and adds for ... to: in order for N to V Ω, so as for N to V Ω. That, if part of the connective, is dropped or changed to as. An operator Y on V is preserved between to and V (to be Ving, to have Ven, to have been Ving). For N can be dropped if the same N occurs in S₁; e.g., I have been looking everywhere in order to find you. Sometimes the connective accompanying for N to V Ω is a zero C_{sub}, not necessarily with comma. For example, She suggested a different route so that they could avoid traffic → She suggested a different route so as for them to avoid traffic → She suggested a different route for them to avoid traffic. For N to V Ω can also stand as a nominalized S in apposition to certain N_α. Thus matching S₁ C_{sub-1} for N to V Ω is S₁ P the N_α for N to V Ω; I have been looking everywhere with the purpose (aim, intention) to find you. She waved in order for them to notice her → She waved with the intention for them to notice her.

6. Whether ... or; Other C_{sub-3}

Whether occurs, in both adverbial and substantive clauses, before disjunctions of two or more sentences, almost as if whether ... or were equivalent to wh- either ... or. If the disjuncts are N_i t V_i Ω_i and its negative, then the clause whether N_i t V_i Ω_i or N_i t not V_i Ω_i is reducible by zeroing to whether N_i t V_i Ω_i or not. More generally, Dr. Harris has suggested that whether S₁ or S₂ ... or S_n can be reduced to whether S₁ or not, with or not being a promorpheme of or S₂ ... or S_n.²¹ As he notes, or not can be dropped in substantive uses of the clause but not adverbial ones.²² (For example, Whether the fabric is pale or not, it will match;

²¹ Ibid., p. 391.

²² E. T., p. 27, fn. 20.

Whether the fabric is pale is inconsequential.) Another point of contrast is that adverbial clauses introduced by whether are always set off by commas. Thirdly, no matter can be added at the beginning of all adverbial whether clauses: No matter whether the fabric is pale or not, it will match. This is not possible when whether S₁ or S₂ ... or S_n is a nominalization.

Analogously to the transformation of S₁ C_{sub-1} S₂ into S₁ P the N_α that S₂, a conjunction having the structure S₀, whether S₁ or S₂ or S_n can be transformed into S₀ regardless of the question whether S₁ or S₂ ... or S_n. (The fabric will match, regardless of the question whether it is pale or not.) Here the whether clause is substantive, standing in apposition to question. The pattern of decomposition shown in Figure 2 of §4.1 can be adapted to the present circumstances by taking regardless of a (or any) question as the P N insert on S₀ and is a question as the sentence-operator on whether S₁ or S₂ ... or S_n.

C_{sub-3} was specified in #1 to contain whether ... or and the indefinite pronouns whoever, whosever, whomever, whatever, whichever, whenever, wherever, however, whyever, and these words with so interposed before ever. In Harris's theory of transformational grammar, indefinite pronouns are analyzed in terms of a "type of redundancy operation [which] permits the pronouncing (or, in certain cases, dropping) of disjunctions (more rarely, conjunctions) of all the words in a category or subcategory. These disjunctions of words come from disjunctions of elementary sentences."²³ At least three kinds of conjunctions of the form S₀, wh- pro-X-ever S(-X) can be distinguished relative to the way in which disjunctions or conjunctions of X arise in the underlying sentence structures. The methods of derivation are described in the next paragraphs.

Type One: the source contains whether. Let S₀, whether S(X₁) or S(X₂) ... or S(X_n) be such that S(X_i) differs from S(X_{i+1}) only in that

²³T. T., p. 394.

$X_i \neq X_{i+1}$. For example, She will be pleased, whether he selects a mirror for the room or he selects a lamp for the room ... or he selects a vase for the room. Since each X_i and X_{i+1} have the same co-occurents and grammatical status in their respective disjuncts, every disjunct after $S(X_1)$ can be zeroed except for its X_i , leaving S_0 , whether $S(X_1)$ or $X_2 \dots$ or X_n . All the X_i are collected into a disjunctive X -phrase in S_0 , whether $S(X_1$ or $X_2 \dots$ or $X_n)$, which is transformable into S_0 , wh-pro-X-ever $S(-X_1$ or $X_2 \dots$ or $X_n)$. She will be pleased, whether he selects for the room a mirror or a lamp ... or a vase \rightarrow She will be pleased, whatever he selects for the room.

Although X may be N , N^i s, or adverbial $P N$, it can also be a subcategory of nominalized S or nominalized V . Thus the subordinate clause in He will not change his plans to go abroad, whatever you tell him is retraceable to a whether clause whose disjuncts are of the form you tell him that S_i , $1 \leq i \leq n$. (He will not change his plans to go abroad, whether you tell him that the fare is too expensive or that the political situation is too uncertain ... or that he is needed at home.) In general, where W is a sentence-operator and $S_{i,n}$ is an appropriate nominalization of S_i under W , we have S_0 , whatever $W \leftarrow S_0$, whether $W S_{1,n}$ or $S_{2,n} \dots$ or $S_{n,n} \leftarrow S_0$, whether $W S_{1,n}$ or $W S_{2,n} \dots$ or $W S_{n,n}$. The nominalized S_i may be subjects rather than objects of W , as shown by Whatever happens, we must not worry.

The decomposition of such sentences as Whatever he did, he should not be blamed for her misfortunes can proceed in accordance with the following formulas:²⁴

$$\begin{aligned} S_0, \text{ whatever } N_1 \text{ t do} &\leftarrow S_0, \text{ whether } N_1 \text{ t do (the) } V_1 \text{ ing (of) } \Omega_1 \text{ or (the) } \\ V_2 \text{ ing (of) } \Omega_2 \dots \text{ or (the) } V_n \text{ ing (of) } \Omega_n &\leftarrow S_0, \text{ whether } N_1 \text{ t do (the) } \\ V_1 \text{ ing (of) } \Omega_1 \text{ or } N_1 \text{ t do (the) } V_2 \text{ ing (of) } \Omega_2 \dots \text{ or } N_1 \text{ t do (the) } V_n \text{ ing} \\ \text{(of) } \Omega_n &\leftarrow S_0, \text{ whether } N_1 \text{ t } V_1 \Omega_1 \text{ or } N_1 \text{ t } V_2 \Omega_2 \dots \text{ or } N_1 \text{ t } V_n \Omega_n. \end{aligned}$$

²⁴Cf. Harris, E. T., pp. 66-7.

The transformation which these formulas appeal to, namely,

$$\underline{N} \text{ t } \underline{V} \underline{\Omega} \rightarrow \underline{N} \text{ t } \underline{\text{do}} \text{ (the) } \underline{\text{Ving}} \text{ (of) } \underline{\Omega},$$

introduces do as a verb-operator \underline{U}_d on $\underline{V} \underline{\Omega}$, which is changed into (the) Ving (of) $\underline{\Omega}$; ²⁵ of is inserted before an $\underline{\Omega}$ beginning with \underline{N} and the is optional. This sequence which follows do, and which can be considered its $\underline{\Omega}$, is a standard \underline{V}_n -phrase. It is replaceable by pronouns that substitute for neuter \underline{N} .

Some sentences obtained by adding do ... ing (of) are at best marginally acceptable. Often a sentence containing a pronounced Ving (of) $\underline{\Omega}$ as object of do is more natural in the language than the instance of N t do (the) Ving (of) $\underline{\Omega}$ from which it is derived. Compare They did the finding of a house with They found a house, and they did it promptly or with Finding of a house was what they did. In What did they do? They found a house, do occurs once as a bearer of \underline{t} and once as \underline{U}_d .

Before going on to the second type, a transformation, comparable to (I) in §2, will be stated for conjunctions whose connective is whether or is derivative from whether.

V. 1. S_0 , whether S_1 or S_2 ... or S_n \rightarrow S_0 regardless of the question whether S_1 or S_2 ... or S_n .

2. S_0 , wh-pro-X-ever $S(-X_1$ or X_2 ... or $X_n)$ \rightarrow S_0 regardless of the question wh-pro-X $S(-X_1$ or X_2 ... or $X_n)$.

He should not be blamed for her misfortunes, whatever he did \rightarrow He should not be blamed for her misfortunes, regardless of the question what he did.

Comma punctuation of adverbial clauses beginning with whether or its derivatives is obligatory. In a (V)-transform commas can optionally be used to separate off the full phrase beginning with regardless of. Although substantive clauses can begin with wh-pro-X-ever, I am doubtful that ever appears when the clause is placed in apposition to a noun, except possibly if of precedes the clause (regardless of the question of whatever he did).

²⁵Ibid.; also I. T., pp. 374-5, 387.

For certain P different from regardless of -- e.g., in relation to, in view of, in answer to, apropos of -- a sentence satisfying S_1 P the question whether/wh-pro-X S_2 is well-formed but does not, I feel, paraphrase the corresponding sentence satisfying S_1 C_{sub-3} S_2 as effectively as when P = regardless of. That regardless of, with its implication of the indifference of the alternatives encompassed in the appositive whether or wh-pro-X clause, is appropriate in a (V)-transform seems reinforced by the fact that no matter can be inserted before the same clause used adverbially in the conjunction. It appears that ever is dropped from wh-pro-X-ever when no matter precedes. We find no matter also before certain subordinate clauses beginning with if or though. As this coincidence suggests, an adverbial clause whose connective is whether ... or or one of its derivatives is often conditional or concessive in meaning.²⁶

It must be acknowledged that occasionally a (V)-transform is paradoxical to a degree that the corresponding conjunction is not. Consider, for example, We must find the key, wherever it is; We must find the key, no matter where it is; We must find the key regardless of the question where it is. The last sentence, and possibly the second, might be erroneously taken to imply that finding of the key could be independent of where it was. On the other hand, the first sentence does not say redundantly that the key must be found where it is. Rather, its meaning should be about the same as that of the sentence from which it is derived: We must find the key, whether it is in the desk or in the lock ... or on the table. This sentence can be understood to mean that our obligation to find the key is conditioned by its being in one of the places mentioned although it is indifferent which one.

Type Two: the source does not contain whether. Here we shall be concerned with wherever, whenever, however. Although these occur as connectives in conjunctions of Type One, they are also used in adverbial clauses of place, time, or manner. The following examples illustrate this type.

- i. We looked for the key wherever it might have been.

²⁶Cf. Jespersen, op. cit., pp. 384-5.

- ii. I will go wherever/whenever/however you go.
- iii. They financed the purchase however they could.
- iv. John will come whenever we send for him.

A comma would not be appropriate before the subordinate clauses in (i) - (iv). The sentences cannot be rewritten, without change of meaning, by dropping ever and adding no matter or regardless of the question. On the other hand, wherever in (i) and (ii) is replaceably by everywhere or everywhere that: We looked for the key everywhere that it might have been.

Wherever and the rest appear in (i) - (iv) as members of $C_{\text{sub-2}}$. The sentences undergo a variant of the transformation stated in (II) of §3.

II'. $S_1 \text{ wh-pro-[PN]-ever } S_2 \rightarrow S_1 \text{ P Q } N_B \text{ that } S_2$.

N_B is time, place, or way; its adjunct is a relative clause introduced by that instead of wh-. Q is any, every, or plural as suffixed to N_B , possibly with N_B s being preceded by any or the. We looked for the key in every place that it might have been. I will go at any time that you go. They financed the purchase in any way that they could.

Whenever the choice of any N_B is feasible in a (II')-transform, it has the advantage that the phrase matches the indefiniteness of wh-pro-[P N]-ever. In a containing conjunction the latter may express an indefiniteness of temporal, locative, or modal reference without necessarily implying that more than one thing (i.e., more than one time, place, or means) is being referred to. For example, Mary will see the movie whenever you can accompany her would normally be used of just one occasion whose time of occurrence is left indefinite.

For sentences like (i)-(iv) Dr. Harris has proposed an analysis whereby the wh-word is not primitively a C_{sub} in the sentence but rather is part of a relative clause whose governing noun has been zeroed.²⁷ Thus $S_1 \text{ wh-pro-[P N]-ever } S_2 \text{ (-P N)}$ is transformed from $S_1 \text{ P Q } N_B \text{ wh-pro-[P N]}$

²⁷E. T., pp. 47-9; T. T., fn. 45 on pp. 393-4, pp. 395-6.

$S_2(-P N)$, where $Q N_B$ has the status of a pronoun for a disjunction or conjunction of N_i , $1 \leq i \leq n$. Each N_i belongs to the same subcategory, for whose members N_B is a classifier, and to each is adjoined wh-pro-[P N] S_2 (-P N). All this can be explained a bit more simply with reference to an example in which N_B is not an object of P.

To derive, say, She liked whatever he selected for the room we would start from the disjunction She liked a chair which he selected for the room or she liked a rug which he selected for the room ... or she liked a clock which he selected for the room. This can be reduced by zeroing to She liked a chair which he selected for the room or a rug which he selected for the room ... or a clock which he selected for the room. The disjunction of nouns governing the wh-adjunct can be pronounced by anything: She liked anything which he selected for the room. When anything occurs in zero form in the last sentence, -ich changes to -at or -atever.²⁸

With regard to sentences obtained by the rewriting rule in (II') the contained any time, any place, any way, or their variants, can be considered pronouns for disjunctions or conjunctions of nouns of time, place, or means. Therefore (II'), its direction being reversed, could be the last step in a derivation of conjunctions of Type Two. The formulas are as follows.

$$\begin{aligned} & \text{wh-pro-[PN] } S_2(-P N) \leftarrow S_1 P N_1 \\ S_1 \text{ wh-pro-[P N]-ever } S_2(-P N) \leftarrow & \frac{S_1 P \text{ any } N_B / \text{wh-pro-[P N}_1] S_2(-P N_1)}{S_1 P N_1 \text{ wh-pro-[P N}_1] S_2(-P N_1)} \text{ or} \\ P N_2 \text{ wh-pro-[P N}_2] S_2(-P N_2) \dots \text{ or } & \frac{P N_n \text{ wh-pro-[P N}_n] S_2(-P N_n)}{S_1 P N_1 \text{ wh-pro-[P N}_1] S_2(-P N_1)} \leftarrow \\ S_1 P N_1 \text{ wh-pro-[P N}_1] S_2(-P N_1) \text{ or } & \frac{S_1 P N_2 \text{ wh-pro-[P N}_2] S_2(-P N_2)}{S_1 P N_n \text{ wh-pro-[P N}_n] S_2(-P N_n)} \dots \\ \text{or } S_1 P N_n \text{ wh-pro-[P N}_n] S_2(-P N_n). & \end{aligned}$$

For example, Mary went last summer wherever Ann went \leftarrow Mary went last summer to any place where Ann went \leftarrow Mary went last summer to a park where Ann went or to New York, where Ann went, ... or to the mountains where Ann went.

²⁸What also occurs with the sense of the single N-classifier that: She liked the chair which he selected \rightarrow She liked the thing which he selected \rightarrow She liked what he selected. Cf. Harris. T. T., fn. 49, p. 395.

As shown in this example, the wh-adjunct of certain N_1 , mainly proper names, will occur with comma punctuation in the underlying disjunction.

Type Three: the post-wh-pronoun is related anaphorically to a pronoun in S_1 . This situation is illustrated by such sentences as Whoever phones, John will speak with him and Whatever you told Mary, it did not deter her. Although these are conjunctions of Type One, they might be derived by permutation of John will speak with whoever phones and Whatever you told Mary did not deter her. The substantive wh- clause of the latter sentences is permuted into a comma-separated adverbial clause and a third person personal pronoun fills the noun-position which has been vacated. The possibility of this permutation depends on there being a transformational equivalence between the sentence structures Whether $S_2(N_1)$ or $S_2(N_2)$... or $S_2(N_n)$, $S_1(\text{pro-N})$ (Whether N_1 phones or N_2 phones ... or N_n phones, John will speak with him) and $S_1(\text{wh-pro-N-ever } S_2(-N))$. The latter, we recall, is equivalent to $S_1(\text{anyone/anything wh-pro-N } S_2(-N))$; John will speak with anyone who phones. This in turn is equivalent to $S_1(N_1 \text{ wh-pro-}N_1 S_2(-N_1)$ or $N_2 \text{ wh-pro-}N_2 S_2(-N_2)$... or $N_n \text{ wh-pro-}N_n S_2(-N_n)$; John will speak with N_1 who phones or N_2 who phones ... or N_n who phones.

Conjunctions of Type Three can be paraphrased by conjunctions whose connective is if. If anyone phones, John will speak with him. If you told Mary anything, still it did not deter her. The last sentence seems ambiguous because of the possibility that it could substitute for your telling Mary or for what you told Mary.

7. Zeroing in $S_1 C_{\text{sub}} S_2$ and $S_1 P \text{ the } N \text{ that } S_2$

Two kinds of conditions for zeroing are encountered in $S_1 C_{\text{sub}} S_2$. The repetition of a verb plus its object is zeroable, and is with its subject can be zeroed in S_2 if the same noun occurs in S_1 . Zeroing is admissible in $S_1 P \text{ the } N \text{ that } S_2$ under the first of these conditions but not the second.

Given $N_1 t_1 V_1 \Omega_1 C_{\text{sub}} N_2 t_2 V_2 \Omega_2$ or $N_1 t_1 V_1 \Omega_1 P \text{ the } N \text{ that } N_2 t_2 V_2 \Omega_2$, if $V_1 \Omega_1$ is identical with $V_2 \Omega_2$, the latter can be zeroed. But t_2 ,

whether the same as t_1 or not, is not zeroable; it must be present in an auxiliary or suffixed to do. They will sign the petition if he does, ... on the condition that he does. I will not visit the house because John already has, ... for the reason that John already has. The catalog arrived when the letter did, ... at the time that the letter did. If $C_{sub} S_2$ or P the N that S_2 is permuted toward front-position, zeroing of a recurring $V \Omega$ may be carried out in S_1 . Because (or for the reason that) John already has visited the house, I will not.

When S_2 is of the form $N t be \Omega_b$, it may be a kernel sentence structure, in which Ω_b is A , D_b , N , or $P N$, or it may be a derived sentence structure such as $N t be Ving \Omega$ or $N_i t be Ven by N_j$. In §5 a number of C_{sub-1} and C_{sub-2} were mentioned which can occur before $Ving \Omega$ after the subject N and $be + t$ have been zeroed. To the list should be added whether ... or and wh-pro-P N-ever; She read on, whether comprehending or not. Many, but not all, of these connectives can precede the other objects of be after zeroing of $N t be$. The connectives in this case are mainly when, while, if, because, although, as if, as though, unless, whether, wh-pro-P N-ever. For example, Although sick, he went to work; He rearranged some furniture while here; He wrote several letters to them because encouraged by their response. The same zeroing operations are not possible in $S_1(N_1) P$ the N that $N_1 t be \Omega_b$; *He went to work despite the fact that sick. Perhaps such reduced forms of $S_1(N_1)$ regardless of the question whether $N_1 t be \Omega_b$ or not may occur: The fruit looks beautiful regardless of the question whether ripe or not.

The sentence He will resign if necessary can be assumed to be reduced from He will resign if it is necessary. Although this it does not have an explicit antecedent, I believe what it pronominalizes can be reconstructed from the primary clause: He will resign if his resigning (or, his resignation) is necessary. The subordinate clause of He will take the job if necessary could come from if he is necessary or if the job is necessary but most probably from if his taking the job is necessary or if for him to take the job is necessary. Other C_{sub} which enter into $S_1 C_{sub} A_s \leftarrow S_1 C_{sub}$ it t be $A_s \leftarrow S_1 C_{sub} S_1 n t be $A_s$$ include when, while, where, until, as,

as soon as, unless, whether ... or, wh-pro- \widehat{P} N-ever. Other A_s are possible, convenient, appropriate, desirable.

8. Permutations in Concessive and Conditional Clauses

Although the subjunctive mood is frequently found in clauses of condition or concession, it is not distinguishing of them, occurring as it does in other types of adverbial clauses. However, there are two permutations which are characteristic of concessive and conditional clauses respectively. In Though N t V Ω D, S_1 certain post-t constituents of the subordinate clause can be permuted before the connective.²⁹ For example, the clause of Though he would bring flowers to her eagerly, she does not care for them accepts five or more permutations: eagerly though he would bring flowers to her, flowers though he would bring to her eagerly, to her, though he would bring flowers eagerly, flowers to her though he would bring eagerly, bring flowers to her though he would eagerly. If no auxiliary is present and V Ω , assuming V \neq be, is moved before though, the t will be carried by do. He prefers essays though he writes stories \rightarrow He prefers essays, write stories though he does.

As is replaceable by though in the following examples: He could not sell the chairs, inexpensive as they were; Softly as she spoke, her words were overheard. These subordinate clauses cannot be permutations of as they were inexpensive and as she spoke softly, which are not concessive. Curme expresses the opinion that clauses having the structures A as N t be and D as N t \widehat{V} developed from clauses of degree in which a second as precedes the A or the D.³⁰ As fast as she ran, she could not overtake him. As A/D as is equivalent to however A/D; however fast she ran. It seems likely that however clauses of this sort are not derived from whether clauses.

A permutation within the subordinate clause of S_1 if N t V Ω drops if

²⁹Harris, E. T., pp. 84-5.

³⁰Curme, op. cit., p. 334.

and moves t before N .³¹ When t is a tense auxiliary (can, could, will, would, might, etc.), V including be does not change its position. If John could be here, he would help us → Could John be here, he If t is -ed, -s, or zero, it is suffixed to do placed before N , again with V immediately following N . If I saw him, I would ask him → Did I see him, I would ask him. There are two exceptions. Be as a member of V or Y is moved with its tense suffix. John would help us if he were here → John would help us were he here. If John were coming to the house, he would help us → Were John coming to the house he Similarly for have as a member of Y and optionally as a member of V . You would understand if you had read the letter → You would understand, had you read the letter. If they had the book, they could find the answers → Had they the book, they ...; Did they have the book, they

The permutation of $N t V \Omega$ into $t N V \Omega$ is used for several other structures:³² in whether clauses after wonder, ask, question and the like if whether is dropped (I wonder whether he saw me → I wonder did he see me); in interrogative sentences matching such clauses; after certain adverbs brought into initial position (Never will he discover this secret, Hardly had the music ended when/that he entered); in some sentences following and so or and neither (Mary saw the exhibit and so did I see it). An environment in which the order of subject N and t is optionally reversible will be mentioned in §8.1.

The permutations which are possible in an S_2 conjoined to S_1 by though or if do not apply to S_2 occurring after despite the fact that or on the condition that. He could not sell the chairs, inexpensive despite the fact that they were is not quite well-formed. On the condition that had they the book they could find the answers is not a sentence but a $P N$ phrase containing an appositive adjunct to N that begins with a permuted if clause.

³¹Harris, E. T., pp. 85-6. Certain instances of If S_2 S_1 can also be paraphrased by forming the imperative of S_2 and conjoining this by and to S_1 . If he is happy, they are satisfied → Let him be happy, and they are satisfied. Cf. Curme, op. cit., pp. 327-8.

³²E. T., pp. 85-6.

This P N + Adjunct could be taken equivalent to the subordinate clause of, say, If if they had the book they could find the answers, then they would write good exams.

8.1 Correlative C_{sub}

Most correlative subordinating connectives, such as if ... then and although ... yet, have in effect been covered by what has been said about their first members. But one type requires special notice: the use in both clauses of the followed by an adjective or adverb in the comparative degree.³³ For example, The longer she hesitated, the more difficult the decision became. If the plus a comparative stands at the beginning of both clauses, the first one has subordinate rank. In the subordinate clause that may occur after the comparative, the longer that she hesitated. The main clause can precede or follow the subordinate one. When pre-posed, it does not begin with the and a comparative: The decision became the more difficult the longer that she hesitated. When post-posed, it may be permuted before its subject: The longer that she hesitated, the more difficult did the decision become.

Our sentences with the ... the are transformable, in the manner of (I) or (II), into The decision became more difficult in the proportion that she waited longer. Thus The $A_{2\text{er}}/D_{2\text{er}}$ that $S_2(-A_{2\text{er}}/D_{2\text{er}})$, the $A_{1\text{er}}/D_{1\text{er}}$ $S_1(-A_{1\text{er}}/D_{1\text{er}}) \rightarrow S_1(A_{1\text{er}}/D_{1\text{er}})$ in the proportion that $S_2(A_{2\text{er}}/D_{2\text{er}})$. The transform of $S_1(\text{the } A_{1\text{er}}/D_{1\text{er}})$ the $A_{2\text{er}}/D_{2\text{er}}$ that $S_2(-A_{2\text{er}}/D_{2\text{er}})$ is the same. Phrases which could replace in the proportion that include to the degree that, to the extent that, in the measure that, in the circumstance that, under the condition that.

³³Jespersen, op. cit., pp. 380-3.

9. Conclusion

The transformations in (I), (II), (II'), and (V) can be represented by the following schema.

VI. $\underline{S_1} \underline{C}_{sub} \underline{S_2} \rightarrow \underline{S_1} \underline{P} \underline{the} \underline{N_c} \underline{I(S_2)}$,

where $\underline{I(S_2)}$ is a substantive or a relative clause transformed from $\underline{S_2}$ and adjoined to $\underline{N_c}$.

The transformational constants of (VI) are \underline{C}_{sub} , $\underline{N_c}$, \underline{P} , \underline{the} , and the wh- words or that heading $\underline{I(S_2)}$. The choice of word-values for $\underline{N_c}$ and for \underline{P} , and the kind of adjunctive form given to $\underline{S_2}$, depend on the value chosen for \underline{C}_{sub} . Throughout this paper (VI) has been used to study connections between adverbial clauses, post-nominal adjuncts, and adverbial prepositional phrases — specifically the proposed comparability between the operation of conjoining $\underline{S_2}$ to $\underline{S_1}$ by \underline{C}_{sub} and the operation of adjoining $\underline{S_2}$ to $\underline{N_c}$ in $\underline{P} \underline{N_c}$ inserted on $\underline{S_1}$.

Several generalizations seem warranted by the examples gathered for this paper. (i) Tense and aspect of the verbs occurring in $\underline{S_1} \underline{C}_{sub} \underline{S_2}$ are preserved under (VI) but not always need. A verb in the subjunctive mood after lest, though, if, in order that, may and sometimes must become indicative in the clause adjoined to $\underline{N_c}$. Thus He would not attend the meeting if he were really busy is transformed into He would not attend the meeting on the hypothesis that he was really busy, and Though she deceive you, you will still love her into Despite the possibility that she may deceive you, you will still love her. (ii) An Aly adverb can occur in $\underline{S_1} \underline{C}_{sub} \underline{S_2}$ in any one of these ways: adjoined to $\underline{S_1}$, or to $\underline{S_2}$, or to one of their constituents, or adjoined to the conjunction, or to \underline{C}_{sub} . In the first four cases Aly is moved into the (VI)-transform without any change in its form or position. When Aly is an adjunct of \underline{C}_{sub} , apparently $\underline{Aly} \underline{C}_{sub}$ can become either Aly P the N_c or P the A N_c. For example, The economy was unsound precisely because prices were too high is transformable into The economy was unsound precisely for the reason that prices were too high or

The economy was unsound for the precise reason that prices were too high. The transform of We opened an account exactly as you instructed us could contain exactly in the way that or in the exact way that. (iii) In S_1 C_{sub} S_2 the primary or the secondary, or both, may contain a subordinating connective. John will not be able to see you if you come to New York tomorrow, because he will be in Philadelphia so that he can attend the auction. The transformation in (VI) can be applied first to the conjunction and then to its conjuncts, or in the reverse order. Details pertaining to (i)-(iii) will be presented in a later paper.

It is not yet clear whether (VI) provides an exclusive characterization of conjunctions with a subordinating connective. There is a possibility that transformations similar to (VI) can be devised for conjunctions in which the connective is co-ordinating or comparative. I have not found entirely plausible transcriptions of comparative and co-ordinating connectives into expressions satisfying P the N that. The following pairs are suggested provisionally.

1. rather than -- with the preference that ... not, in preference to the possibility (case, circumstance, condition) that; with (under) the qualification (limitation) that ... not.
2. as ... as -- to the same extent (degree) that.
3. ...er than, more ... than -- in excess of the degree (extent) that.
4. and -- in conjunction (combination, connection) with the fact (circumstance, case) that.
5. exclusive or -- on the alternative that ... not.
6. but -- in contradistinction to the fact (circumstance) that.
7. co-ordinating where -- with the understanding (stipulation) that.
8. for -- for the reason that, in view of the fact that.
9. inclusive or -- with the alternative that.

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