

University of Massachusetts Occasional Papers in Linguistics

Volume 4 *Studies presented to Emmon Bach by his students*

Article 12

1979

Remarks on the Stylistic Component in Generative Grammar

Michael S. Rochemont
UCLA

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.umass.edu/umop>



Part of the [Linguistics Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Rochemont, Michael S. (1979) "Remarks on the Stylistic Component in Generative Grammar," *University of Massachusetts Occasional Papers in Linguistics*: Vol. 4 , Article 12.

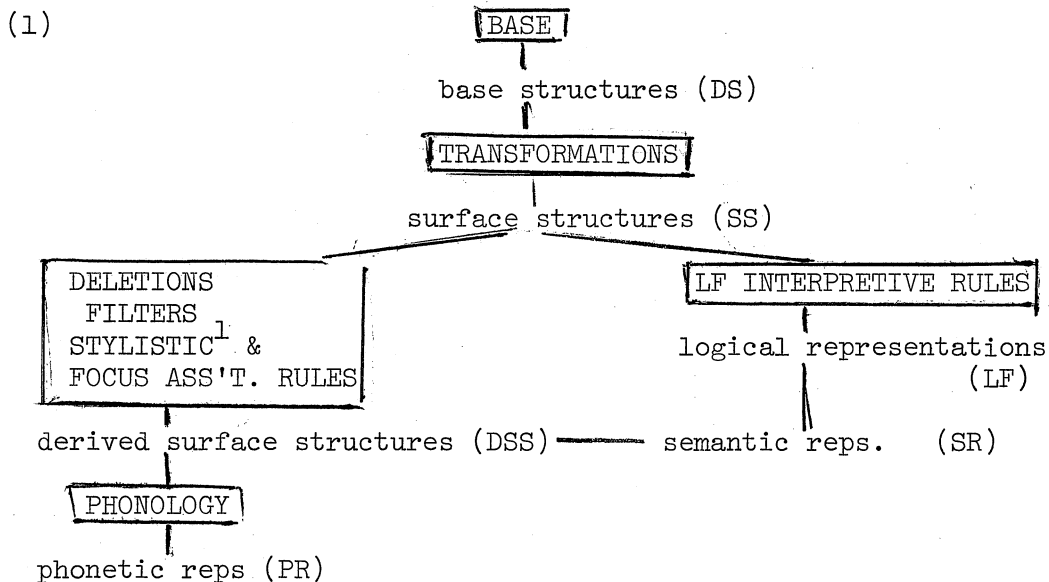
Available at: <https://scholarworks.umass.edu/umop/vol4/iss1/12>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate Linguistics Students Association (GLSA) at ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. It has been accepted for inclusion in University of Massachusetts Occasional Papers in Linguistics by an authorized editor of ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. For more information, please contact scholarworks@library.umass.edu.

Remarks on the Stylistic Component in Generative Grammar*

Michael S. Rochemont
UCLA

1. I will here assume without subsequent argument the grammatical model proposed in Rochemont (1978), schematically represented in (1):

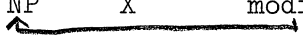


One respect in which this model differs from that proposed in Chomsky & Lasnik (1977) is that it defines an additional level of representation, which I have referred to as the level of 'derived surface structure'.² The claim made in Rochemont (1978) is that this level of representation (DSS) is utilized by the grammar in establishing semantic representations. It should be noted here that I make a crucial terminological distinction between logical representations (defined at the level of LF) and semantic representations (defined at the level of SR). LF I assume to be truth conditionally interpreted, and a characterization solely of the systematic interpretive results of syntactic combination, as defined at surface structure; it is constrained purely by sentence grammar principles. SR, on the other hand, characterizes the knowledge of language which a speaker must have in order to be able to utilize language in context, including such discourse related linguistic devices as focus, presupposition, and conventional (though not con-

versational) implicature.³ It is at the level of SR that the grammar determines 'appropriateness to discourse' in the linguistic sense.

My goal in this paper is to discuss and present argument against several recent proposals which have been made essentially within the framework of Chomsky (1977) and Chomsky & Lasnik (1977), which Rochemont (1978) (henceforth R) also assumes. The paper is organized as follows: section 2 reviews Baltin (1978), section 3 Kayne & Pollock (1978), and section 4 Hoffman (1978). All three proposals either explicitly or implicitly deny the existence of the class of stylistic rules outlined in R and specifically propose that one or more of these rules are either syntactic (as in Kayne & Pollock (1978)), constrained by conditions on LF (as in Baltin (1978)), or belong to a distinct component of grammar which is neither syntactic nor stylistic (cf. Hoffman (1978)). I will show that in all three cases there are empirical distinctions between these approaches and an approach which assumes these rules to belong to the stylistic component of grammar, and that only the latter analysis is able to capture the relevant facts.

2. Baltin (1978) (henceforth B) discusses extraposition (i.e., movement out of NP) rules; eg., PP Extraposition, Relative Clause Extraposition, Sentential Extraposition, Q Float, etc. B addresses the question whether the distinction between extraposition and other types of movement rules is terminological or ontological. He concludes that it must be ontological because extraposition is always rightward, whereas other movements may be either rightward or leftward (eg., WH Movement, Particle Movement), and that this distinction is not merely an accident of the formulation of these rules, but follows from a more general principle. B proposes (2) as an interpretive schema for the logical interpretation of modifier head constructions.

(2) NP X modifier


According to (2), the modifier of an NP must be to the right of the NP; thus, extraposition must always be rightward, since leftward extraposition will produce uninterpretable structures. To obtain evidence in favour of his proposal, B seeks examples in which both an extraposition and an NP movement rule have applied to yield a configuration in which an NP has been moved to the right of its modifier. As B notes, extraposition rules generally move phrases to clause-final position, as do rightward NP movements, so that the impossibility of determining a test situation may be an accident of the formulations of the relevant rules. Q Float, however, mentioned above, is an ex-

trapaosition rule which does not move the modifier to clause-final position, and should therefore yield structures which can interact with other movements. Heavy NP Shift (HNPS) with subsequent 'there' Insertion is an example of a rightward NP movement rule, and when both this and Q Float apply, the resulting sentence is ungrammatical, as B predicts:

- (3)a. All the housewives Frank had jilted marched into the house.
- b. The housewives Frank had jilted all marched into the house.
- c. There marched into the house all the housewives Frank had jilted.
- d. *There all marched into the house the housewives Frank had jilted.

B noted that the facts of (3) might be accounted for by extrinsically ordering Q Float to apply after HNPS and 'there' Insertion, but that such an approach is methodologically less preferable than one in which the facts fall out of the system on the basis of independently motivated considerations. In B's terms, (3d) violates the universal schema in (2), and hence is ruled out by the constraint on LF which states that all elements in a sentence must be interpreted; 'all' cannot be construed as a modifier of 'the housewives' because it does not meet the interpretive schema given in (2).

There are, however, additional facts of some interest regarding sentences which exhibit the operation of Q Float. Consider the sentence in (4):

- (4) All the arrows hit ten targets.

(4) is ambiguously interpretable, depending on whether 'all' or 'ten' is assigned widest scope. The two readings are disambiguated in (5a,b), respectively.

- (5)a. All the arrows hit (at least) ten targets.
- b. There are ten targets such that all of the arrows hit them.

Interestingly enough, however, when Q Float applies to (4), the resulting sentence can only have wide scope of 'all', as (6) indicates.

- (6) The arrows all hit ten targets.

Even with stress on 'ten', which is normally sufficient to determine a context in which the stressed quantifier takes wide scope (cf. R), 'all' still takes wide scope. A related observation, pointed out by Joe Emonds (personal communication), is given in (7), in which 'any' would normally be assumed to require wide

scope, but this assignment would conflict with the scope possibilities for 'all' determined by the operation of Q Float.

(7) *The boys don't all want any cake.

The facts of (4) - (7) suggest that Q Float may be a stylistic extraposition rule, similar to PP Extraposition (cf. R); i.e., Q Float can only move a quantifier out of a focused phrase. Suppose in addition that one were to invoke a plausible constraint on the operation of stylistic rules that only one stylistic movement be permitted in any derivation. This constraint in conjunction with the specification that Q Float is a stylistic extraposition rule would explain the ungrammaticality of (3d), since HNPS is also a stylistic movement operation (cf. R).

In addition to this alternative interpretation of data which argues in favour of B's proposal, there exists a potentially crucial counterargument. Note that B makes the explicit claim that leftward extraposition is theoretically impossible under his approach. Consider, however, the following construction:

(8) Of the girls in the group, not one was willing to leave.

I assume that (8) is derived from the structure underlying (9) by a rule which preposes 'of' PPs within NP to sentence-initial position.

(9) Not one of the girls in the group was willing to leave.

There is at least one reason to suppose that (8) is derived from (9) by a movement rule: the construction in (8) is subject to subadjacency, as the sentences (10) and (11) demonstrate⁵:

(10)a. Of the girls in the group, John claimed that not one would be willing to leave.

b. *Of the girls in the group, John made the claim that not one would be willing to leave.

(11)a. Of the remaining nobility, several decided to give up their titles voluntarily.

b. *Of the remaining nobility, rumours concerning several were being circulated throughout the city.

(10) in fact appears to offer evidence that the distinction between extraposition rules and other types of movement is merely terminological, and not also ontological as B suggests. It is of course conceivable that the rule deriving (8) is a stylistic rule in the sense considered here. Should this be a defensible position, B's proposals for constraining syntactic extraposition

rules could be maintained, but they would not be applicable to stylistic extraposition operations, since these latter cannot be constrained by conditions on logical representations.

3. Kayne and Pollock (1978) (henceforth K&P) provide evidence from French in favour of the conception of the syntactic component of grammar defended in Chomsky (1977). The relevant points of their argument may be summarized as follows: There is a transformation of Stylistic Inversion (SI) in French, exemplified in (12):

- (12)a. Où partira ton ami?
 b. Je me demande où partira ton ami.

SI is triggered by the presence of a WH word (cf. (13)) which must be immediately adjacent and to the left of the NP being operated on by the rule (cf. (14) and (15)).

- (13)a. *Partira ton ami?
 b. *Je me demande si partira ton ami.
 (14)a. Qui Marie a-t-elle convaincu que Paul était mort?
 b. *Qui Marie a-t-elle convaincu qu'était mort Paul?
 (15)a. Ton ami partira où?
 b. *Partira où ton ami?

Under certain circumstances, SI can also be seen to operate in embedded sentences which do not contain the required WH trigger, as in (16).

- (16)a. J'exige que cette solution soit éliminée.
 b. J'exige que soit éliminée cette solution.

Here the conditioning factor in the operation of the rule is the subjunctive mood of the clause in which the inversion has occurred, as shown by (17).

- (17)a. Je pense que cette solution sera éliminée.
 b. *Je pense que sera éliminée cette solution.

K&P thus propose that the rule of SI is conditioned by the presence in COMP of a WH word or the feature [+F], which indicates that the adjacent S is subjunctive.

K&P then introduce a seemingly unrelated set of facts: sentences like (18), when embedded in a subjunctive clause, only optionally require the presence of 'il' (cf. (19)).

- (18)a. Il sera mis fin au conflit.
 b. *Sera mis fin au conflit.

- (19)a. J'exige qu'il soit mis fin au conflit.
 b. J'exige que soit mis fin au conflit.
 c. *Je pense que sera mis fin au conflit.

They point out that an analysis which attempts to constrain the application of SI in questions (eg., (12)) and subjunctives (eg., (16b)) by conditioning the operation of the rule itself will miss a significant generalization in French grammar, since, as they demonstrate, sentences like (19b) do not arise through application of SI but are instead base generated. The appropriate generalization here is that in French, empty subjects are only tolerated when they appear adjacent to a WH word or the subjunctive feature [+F] in COMP, regardless of the manner in which the empty subject was generated by the grammar (i.e., as the trace of a moved phrase, as in the operation of SI, or as a base generated lexically empty phrase, as in (15b)). K&P propose that the facts can be best characterized through the stipulation of a filter which constrains the output of syntactic operations; cf. (20).

- (20)⁷ * $[_S[_{COMP}\dots]][_S[_{NP}^e]\dots]]$, where S is tensed, and COMP does not contain WH or [+F].

The adoption of (20) obviates the necessity of stating the trigger (WH or +F) for the application of SI in the rule itself. That is, if we assume that the rule was originally stated as (21), it can now be stated as (22).

- (21) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{WH} \\ +F \end{array} \right\}$ (que) NP X \longrightarrow 1 2 \emptyset 4+3

- (22) NP X \longrightarrow \emptyset 2+1

(22) is a specific case of a more general rule, 'Move NP' (cf. Chomsky (1976)). K&P conclude that (22) also obviates the need for the statement of a separate rule of Heavy NP Shift (HNPS) in French, since it will apply equally freely to objects and subjects, thus yielding an additional simplification in the grammar.

What I will argue is that (22) does not subsume HNPS in French, and that HNPS in French is a stylistic rule in the sense of R. But for this last point, I accept without dispute the arguments presented in K&P, in particular, that WH conditioned SI is a syntactic operation: note that SI applies optionally, but carries a meaning distinction when it does apply, as the sentences in (23) indicate.

- (23)a. Quel métrage Renoir a fait!
 b. Quel métrage a fait Renoir?
 c. Quel métrage a fait Renoir!

(23a) has only the interpretation of an exclamative, but (23b,c), in which SI has applied, demonstrate that the resulting sentence is ambiguous.

Let us turn now to HNPS. HNPS in French can apply to both subjects and objects (cf. (24) and (25) respectively); when it applies to a subject, 'il' must be inserted.

- (24)⁸ a. Trois jeunes filles sont entrées au magasin.
 b. Il est entré au magasin trois jeunes filles.
- (25) a. Marie a donné un cadeau qu'elle avait acheté au Canada à sa mère.
 a' Marie a donné à sa mère un cadeau qu'elle avait acheté au Canada.
 b. Jean a vu l'homme qui l'avait attaqué la veille entrer au magasin.
 b' Jean a vu entrer au magasin l'homme qui l'avait attaqué la veille.

The insertion of 'il', as in (24b), is not always obligatory; cf. eg., (26).

- (26)a. Je veux que lui soient présentés tous les députés des villages du nord.
 b. J'ai dit que lui seraient présentés tous les députés des villages du nord.

Note that the filter (20) explains why (26a) is possible, but predicts that (26b) should be ungrammatical. That (26b) has an empty noun phrase in subject position is suggested by the possibility of its having a lexically filled one, as in (27).

- (27) J'ai dit qu'il lui serait présenté tous les députés des villages du nord.

A second argument that HNPS is a stylistic and not a syntactic operation is suggested by its interaction with a rule of deletion - Equi NP Deletion, exemplified in (28).

- (28) Jean peut écouter le professeur sans le regarder.

Notice that within the grammatical model outlined in (1), it is predicted that HNPS, a stylistic rule, should follow and thus never interact with Equi, a deletion operation, whereas base generated structures, such as (18a) should be subject to application by Equi. That these predictions are borne out is evidenced by the sentences in (29a,b) respectively.

- (29)a. *Il pourrait entrer au magasin trois jeunes filles sans y entrer trois jeunes garçons.

(29)b. Il sera mis fin au conflit sans être mis fin à la guerre.

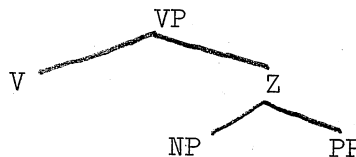
Within the grammatical model proposed in Chomsky & Lasnik (1977), any analysis that assumes that HNPS constructions are transformationally and not stylistically derived will be hard put to find a natural explanation for the inapplicability of Equi to HNPS structures, since no appeal to extrinsic ordering statements can be made in this case. (Recall that under this approach all syntactic operations precede all deletion operations.)

4. Hoffman (1978) (henceforth H) proposes the following grammatical model:

(30)	1. Base Rules 2. Transformations	
3a.	Reordering Rules	3b. Proper Binding
4a.	Deletion Rules	
5a.	Filters	
6a.	(Stylistic Rules)	
7a.	Phonology	

H suggests that there is little or no motivation for a component of stylistic rules, and that most of the rules analysed in R as stylistic can be reanalysed as reordering rules. H in fact indicates that all transformations which cannot be subsumed under the restrictive theory of transformations outlined in Lasnik & Kupin (1977) can be analysed as reordering rules; i.e., reordering rules need not be structure preserving, and can (in fact, must) determine adjacency of context and target predicates - they can permute only sisters of binary branching major category nodes. As the diagram in (30) indicates, reordering rules apply to the output of the syntactic component (i.e., surface structure). In what other respects do reordering rules differ from local rules in the sense of Emonds (1976)? Reordering rules do not require that one of the categories mentioned in the rule be nonphrasal; the categories permuted by reordering rules must be sisters; reordering rules do not require SD's - they are stated simply as 'Reorder on X'; the types of permutation reordering rules permit is constrained by the recoverability of grammatical relations in particular languages - i.e., languages with a high degree of case marking will permit a wider variety of permutations. English appears to be restricted to the rule 'Reorder on Z', where Z is a binary branching node generated as follows:

(31)



The constructions from English which H presents as primary motivation for this class of rules are Dative Movement and Particle Movement constructions, exemplified in (32a, b) respectively.

- (32)a. John sent Mary a gift yesterday.
 b. John threw out his brother-in-law yesterday.

These constructions H claims result from the application of the rule 'Reorder on Z'. In the case of (32b), H notes that if we assume the formulation of Particle Movement (PM) given in Emonds (1976) (cf. (33)) and the sentences in (34), it is readily seen that PM cannot be formulated within the theory outlined in Lasnik & Kupin.

- (33) $X + V - \underset{[-pro]}{NP} - [{}_{PP}P] - Y \longrightarrow 1 \ 3 \ 2 \ 4$
 where 1 2 3 4 is a VP

- (34)⁹a. John threw his brother-in-law out.
 b. John threw out his brother-in-law.
 c. John threw him out.
 d. *John threw out him.

H proposes that PM should also relate sentences like the following:

- (35)⁹a. John threw the trash out the kitchen window.
 b. *John threw out the kitchen window the trash.
 (36) a. John threw the trash that had been piling up in the basement out the kitchen window.
 b. John threw out the kitchen window the trash that had been piling up in the basement.

and that the rule should therefore be revised to (37).

- (37) $X + V - \underset{[-pro]}{NP} - PP - Y \longrightarrow 1 \ 3 \ 2 \ 4$
 where 1 2 3 4 is a VP

Note that (37) is no longer a local rule in Emonds' sense because it no longer involves a non-phrasal category. As H notes, (37) is also not a structure preserving transformation, hence not formulable as a syntactic rule within the Lasnik & Kupin framework. Should, then, the descriptive power of the transformational component be expanded? H proposes that this is unnecessary, if PM is analysed as a special instance of 'Reorder on Z'. Given his adoption of this solution to the problem posed by PM, H is now faced with the problem of how to distinguish (35b) from (36b). He suggests that these sentences are to be distinguished in the same

way that (34a,b) are distinguished; i.e., the output of 'Reorder on Z' is constrained by a filter:

(38) * PP NP , unless NP is heavier than PP.

where 'heaviness' is defined as a relative relation between sisters. He states that "the heaviness of a particular constituent is determined by its length (syllable count), its internal complexity (node count), its stress marking, and perhaps even its pragmatic value". Thus, compare (34b), (35b), (36b).

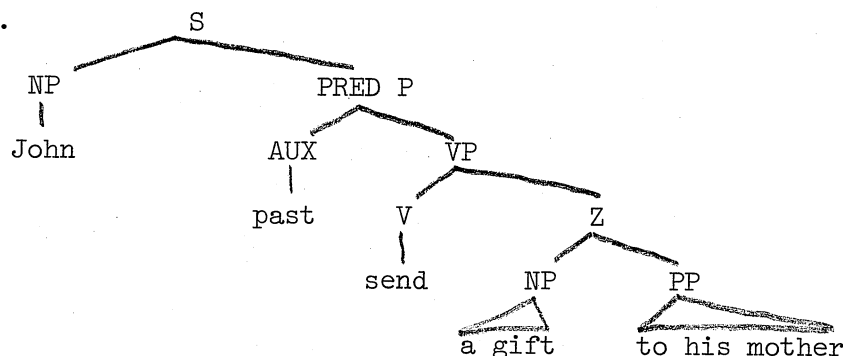
H then attempts to extend this analysis to the Dative Movement (DM) cases. DM is constrained in a similar fashion to PM. Specifically, it mentions context predicates and adjacency of target predicates, as well as the [-pro] character of NP₁.

(39)¹⁰ X+V - NP - (P) [PP for to - NP] - Y → 1 5 3 0 2
[-pro]

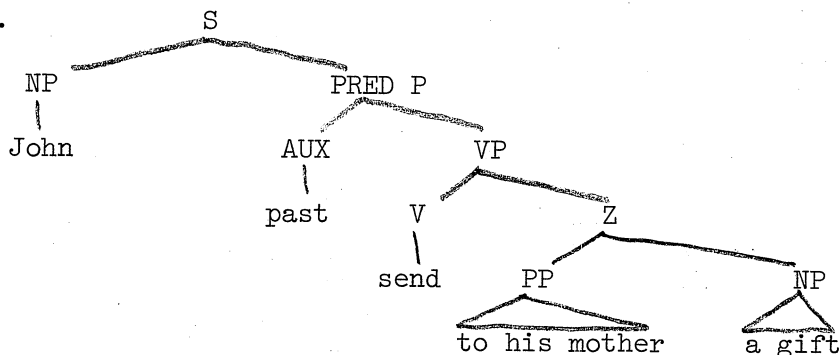
H concludes that DM is best analysed as a special case of 'Reorder on Z' for the same reasons that he argues PM is. Thus, (40a,b) have the structures (41a,b), respectively, where (b) is derived from (a) by application of 'Reorder on Z'.

(40)a. John sent a gift to his mother.
b. John sent his mother a gift.

(41)a.



b.



Since deletion of the preposition can only be accomplished by a rule of deletion, 'to' in (41b) must be deleted after the application of 'Reorder on Z'. Since this deletion is presumably optional, H proposes that (40b) and (42) both result from the application of 'Reorder on Z'.

(42)⁹ *John sent to his mother a gift.

As H would predict, however, (42) violates the filter (38), and is thus ruled ungrammatical. (43) is derived in an identical fashion, but does not violate the filter, and hence is much more acceptable.

(43) John sent to his mother a gift he purchased at Ziggy's.

H argues further that the filter is more generally applicable than (38) indicates, and is responsible for the oddness of sentences like (44) as well. Filter (38) is therefore revised to (45).

(44)⁹ *John sent the woman he met last week a postcard.

(45) * X NP , unless NP is heavier than X.

To summarize briefly, H argues that PM and DM violate well-motivated constraints on the statement of transformations and furthermore share the same violations. With the establishment of a component of reordering rules with specific properties, PM and DM can be analysed as particular instances of a more general rule, 'Reorder on Z', whose output is constrained by the filter (45).

A preliminary objection to H's analysis is that the data H considers ungrammatical in fact are not; for example, consider again (34d), (35b), (42), and (44). As is argued in R, sentences of this type are not strictly ungrammatical (i.e., unacceptable to a native speaker of English); they are simply resistant to acceptability out of context. That heavier phrases are more acceptable in a non-structure preserving sentence final position than lighter ones is a function of the interaction of two factors: such a position in English marks the focus of an utterance (in the sense defined in R); and heavy NPs are more easily interpretable, for pragmatic reasons, as the focus of an utterance which has been given out of context.

A second objection is that the movements in (35) and (36) are not the same as that in (34), as H assumes. Consider for example the following sentences:

(46)a. John threw the trash out yesterday.

- (46)b. John threw out the trash yesterday.
 (47)a. John threw the trash that had been piling up in the basement out the kitchen window yesterday.
 b. John threw out the kitchen window yesterday the trash that had been piling up in the basement.

In other words, it cannot be claimed that (47b) results from the application of a reordering rule which simply permutes sister constituents of a binary branching node (in this case, Z). Further evidence that (33) is not generalizable to (37) is given by the sentence in (48), which under H's analysis should be grammatical.

- (48)¹¹ *John threw out the kitchen window the trash that had been piling up in the basement yesterday.

Third, DM, at least, cannot be a reordering rule, because its output interacts with a structure preserving transformation ('Move NP') in the formation of passives:

- (49)a. A ball was given to Bill by Mary.
 b. Bill was given a ball by Mary.
 c. *Bill was given a ball to by Mary.

Clearly, if DM constructions result from a movement rule (but cf. Oehrle (1975)), this rule must apply in the transformational component before NP Preposing. This argument cannot be extended to PM, which I will assume to be a local rule in the sense of Emonds (1976).

Finally, the preceding discussion makes it evident that 'heaviness' is directly correlated only to stressability (or, to be more precise, interpretability as focus), and none of the other factors mentioned by H. That this is so is simply an accident in H's analysis (i.e., the statement of it does not achieve any degree of explanation). In other words, the only way to rectify this under H's analysis is to change the filter (45) to (50):

- (50) * X NP, unless NP carries heavy stress.

Under the analysis of R, the correlation between heaviness and stressability is a direct function of their relation to the discourse related notion of focus. Both DM and PM result in movement of NPs into an unmarked focus position of English sentences.

H goes on to argue explicitly against the proposals made in R for the establishment of a stylistic component with a specific effect on interpretation. H proposes instead that constructions resulting from the application of stylistic 'there' insertion and Focus NP Shift (FNPS) (cf. R) are also the result of rules applying in the reordering component; eg.

- (51)a. A woman in a red dress with blue sequins stood next to John.
 b. There stood next to John a woman in a red dress with blue sequins.
- (52)⁹a. She stood next to John.
 b. *There stood next to John her.

H argues that these cases are subject to the filter (45) (hence the difference in grammaticality between (51b) and (52b)), and that any analysis which does not relate the ungrammaticality of (52b) to the requirement of heaviness is missing a generalization. The analysis of R is assumed to be exemplary in this respect. But note, as indicated above, R does offer an explanation for the apparent requirement of heaviness in such constructions and in fact, an explanation is also offered there why (52b) is acceptable in certain contexts (i.e., when 'her' functions deictically). Again, H simply marks this sentence as ungrammatical, and fails to show how heaviness is not a requirement here, but bears a simple and direct relation to the discourse notion of focus.

In addition, H states falsely that R invokes an ad hoc restriction against the movement of pronominal subjects in such constructions, and further that R stipulates that movement of pronouns is not allowed. It is, however, explicitly stated in R that stylistically moved pronouns, like all stylistically moved phrases, must be interpretable in context as foci; the distinction between these two types of NPs as foci stems directly from their relative functions in discourse: pronouns in the unmarked case have as their referents phrases which immediately precede in the discourse. Only when pronouns function deictically or as names can they serve as foci in the stylistic sense. It is in fact H's analysis which misses the appropriate generalization, that the postposed phrases in sentences like (51b) and (52b) necessarily function as foci in discourses in which such sentences are uttered; heaviness, like verbs of appearance, serves only to make such sentences appear more acceptable out of context.

H offers two further arguments against the analysis of sentences like (51) and (52) as stylistic. First, given that FNPS moves the subject NP to right-bracket S, there is no NP position available in the derived structure for Stylistic 'there' Insertion to insert 'there' into. I assume, however, that stylistic rules operate in certain respects in the same fashion as transformational movement rules; i.e., moved phrases (at least, NPs) leave traces, as the following examples (pointed out to me by Alan Prince) demonstrate:

- (53)a. I want only the best candidates in the field to be offered jobs.
 b. I want to be offered jobs only the best candidates in the field.

- (53)c. *I wanna be offered jobs only the best candidates in the field.

Contraction in (53c) is blocked by the presence of the trace of the postposed phrase. Notably, the traces of stylistically moved phrases, unlike their transformationally derived counterparts, need not be properly bound (cf. R, esp. Chapter II).

H's final argument reflects a much deeper misunderstanding of the motivation behind the proposals defended in R. H attributes to R the claim that stylistic movements are restricted to NPs which are subjects of verbs of appearance in presentational Ss. He goes on to argue that this characteristic of stylistic rules is somewhat arbitrary and that there is no reason to expect that the conditioning factor in the application of stylistic rules might not have been something else, say, 'non-focus'; specifically, one might expect to find also a rule of Non-focus NP Shift. However, H is incorrect in his initial assumption that stylistic rules apply only to presentational Ss, as the following sentences from R¹² show:

- (54)a. The American people recently elected to the presidency a man named Jimmy Carter.
 b. John wants to give to Mary a gift of inestimable value.
 c. The preacher sent off to war his only son.

In the sentences of (54), FNPS has operated to postpose focused phrases which do not function as subjects. Furthermore, it is a principle characteristic of the analysis of R that stylistic movements ONLY determine focus, given their role in the determination of semantic representations; i.e., their sole contribution to interpretation is in this sense. Thus, under R's approach, it is not possible to formulate a stylistic rule which does NOT mention focus as a conditioning factor on or result of its application. It should be clear that the true value of the approach outlined in R is that it enables a distinction to be made in generative grammar between rules of sentence grammar which are solely discourse relevant and other types of syntactic operations.¹³ This distinction allows the resultant grammatical theory to specify in precisely what respects sentence grammar contributes to semantic representation independently of LF. Logical representations and their associated interpretations together define levels of representation at which there is no need to mention such discourse related notions as focus, or 'conventional implicature', but whose output is constrained by discourse conditions like appropriateness on the resultant semantic representations. Thus, discourse related constraints on these levels, in even the narrowest sense, are not specified in the rules defining them as output, but rather at the level of grammar at which discourse related notions can be seen more generally to come under consideration; i.e., in the

rules defining semantic representations as outputs.

FOOTNOTES

*I wish to thank both Joe Emonds and Paul Schachter for extremely helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

¹ The reader should be aware of the fact that I do not use the term 'stylistic' in the fashion in which it is used in Banfield (1973) or Emonds (1976), but rather in the fashion in which it is used in Chomsky & Lasnik (1977). Both Emonds and Banfield use the term to apply to reordering rules which are intended to have literary effect, at least in English. Banfield (1973) in particular gives an interesting account of such processes, and suggests several constraints on their operation (cf. esp. Chapter III). Following her I will assume that they are very much surface rules: within the model she employed, this meant in essence that they operated on surface structures; within the model I assume here, this would mean that they operate on derived surface structures. Note that this distinction of two classes of stylistic rules with different properties and different effects might well indicate a direction of research regarding the problem of formally characterizing so-called "free word order" languages (eg., Russian, Hungarian). Standard spoken English does not utilize the type of stylistic rules defined in Banfield (1973) to any significant extent, but it is quite possible that other languages do.

² J. Emonds has suggested to me that such a level would in fact be unnecessary were one to alter the grammatical model so that phonetic representations (PR) gave direct input to semantic representations (SR). I can at present see no difficulties with the proposal, but will not pursue that suggestion here.

³ For a germane discussion of the distinction between this aspect of grammatical competence and speakers' pragmatic knowledge which is not linguistically determined, cf. Chomsky (1972; 120-122).

⁴ It is debatable whether (8) is a base-generable structure or not, because of sentences like (i):

(i) As for the girls in the group, not one was willing to leave.

5 It might be considered that (8) results from the application of Topicalization. But note that Topicalization, which can normally apply to both NPs and PPs, cannot in general move a phrase out of NP, since it would then violate the relativized A over A Constraint (cf. Bresnan (1976)).

- (i)a. *About the president, John assigned several books t to the class.
 b. Several books about the president, John assigned t to the class.

(8) seems to be derived by an independent rule which preposes PPs out of NP.

6 B also argues explicitly that Relative Clause Extraposition is not a stylistic operation, but his arguments are not very forceful. He notes additionally two suggestions by Chomsky concerning this rule: that extraposition rules in general are stylistic, and that stylistic rules are clause-internal. The first of these finds considerable support in the analysis of R, and the second it will be argued in Rochemont (forthcoming) is essentially a well motivated constraint on the application of stylistic rules.

7 K&P do not actually formalize the filter - this is my formulation. I have included the stipulation 'where S is tensed' so that sentences like (i) will be excluded from application by the filter:

- (i)a. J'ai décidé Paul à [_{NP}e] partir.
 b. J'ai décidé de [_{NP}e] partir.

(20) is still not quite adequate for the task, since the second stipulation would have to read: 'where COMP does not contain WH or [+F] or the trace of WH'; an alternative formulation is possible, I think, but irrelevant to the present discussion.

8 I at present have no explanation for the obligatory presence of 'il' in cases like (24b) as opposed to (25b,c). I suspect that sentences like (i), with a list interpretation, are relevant here:

- (i) Seront présentés au roi tous les députés des villages du nord.

There are sufficiently significant problems in the interpretation of sentences such as (i) that I have neglected to include this sentence type in the text as a potential violation of the filter

(20). I suspect, of course, that (i) is also stylistically derived.

⁹ These examples and the corresponding judgements are due essentially to H. As I will argue below, the starred sentences are actually not ungrammatical, just resistant to acceptability out of context.

¹⁰ from Emonds (1976).

¹¹ This is only bad on the reading where 'yesterday' is associated with the main and not the embedded clause.

¹² sentences (69a,c,d) of Chapter II.

¹³ This statement should not be construed as meaning that only stylistic rules are discourse relevant, but that only stylistic rules are SOLELY discourse relevant.

REFERENCES

- Baltin, M. (1978) Toward a Theory of Movement Rules
unpublished Ph.D. diss. MIT
- Banfield, A. (1973) Stylistic Transformations in "Paradise Lost"
unpublished Ph.D. diss. Univ. of Wisconsin
- Bresnan, J. (1976) 'On the Form & Functioning of Transfs.'
in LI 7.1
- Chomsky, N. (1972) Studies on Semantics in Gen. Grammar
Mouton
- Chomsky, N. (1976) 'Conditions on Rules of Grammar'
in LA 2.4
- Chomsky, N. (1977) 'On WH Movement', in Culicover et al, eds.
Formal Syntax Academic Press
- Chomsky, N. & Lasnik, H. (1977) 'Filters & Control'
in LI 8.3
- Emonds, J. (1976) A Transformational Approach to English
Syntax Academic Press
- Hoffman, C. (1978) 'On the Reordering Component in Generative
Grammar'
unpublished paper Univ. of Connecticut
- Kayne, R. & Pollock, J.-Y. (1978) 'Stylistic Inversion, Suc-
cessive Cyclicity, and 'Move NP' in French'
in LI 9.4
- Lasnik, H. & Kupin, R. (1977) 'A Restrictive Theory of TG'
in Theoretical Linguistics 4.3
- Oehrle, R. (1975) The Grammatical Status of the English
Dative Alternation
unpublished Ph.D. diss. MIT
- Rochemont, M. (1978) A Theory of Stylistic Rules in English
unpublished Ph. D. diss., Univ. of Mass.
- Rochemont, M. (forthcoming) 'Constraints on Stylistic Rules'