Raising to Oblique in Modern Greek*

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0. Introduction

Modern Greek has a syntactic process, which can be called Rais-
ing to Oblique, by which the subject of a sentential object of a
preposition can be raised to become the object of that preposition.
This process relates cognitively synonymous pairs of sentences as
in (1) through (3):

(1) a. me   to   na   filai   i Maria ton Yani, teliose
       with the/NTR Part. kiss/3SG Mary/NOM John/ACC   ended/3SG

       to ergo
       the-play/NOM

       'With Mary kissing John, the play ended'
    b. me tin Maria na filai ton Yani, teliose to ergo
          Mary/ACC
       'With Mary kissing John, the play ended'
(2) a. me to na stekome   eki, den voleftike   o Yanis
             stand/1SG there not was-comfortable/3SG John/NOM
       'With me standing there, John was not comfortable'
    b. me emena na stekome eki, den voleftike o Yanis
          me/ACC
       'With me standing there, John was not comfortable.
(3) a. me to na kalipti   i maska   to prosopo, anasenete fisika
             cover/3SG the-mask/NOM the-face/ACC breathe/2PL natu-
       'With the mask covering your face, breathe normally'   rally
    b. me tin maska   na kalipti to prosopo, anasenete fisika
          the-maska/ACC
       'With the mask covering your face, breathe normally'

The (a) sentences above involve a preposition (<u>me</u> 'with') with a
full sentential complement as its object--the neuter definite arti-
cle <u>to</u> nominalizes the clause and thus serves a complementizing
function.[1] The (b) sentences have the preposition <u>me</u> followed by
an NP which corresponds to the embedded subject in the (a) senten-
ces, which is then followed by a clause--there is no overt nominal-
izing/complementizing definite article with the clause in this sen-
tence pattern
     Thus these two types differ in the case-marking (nominative
versus accusative) and position of the NP which answers semantical-
ly the the role of subject of the embedded clause, as well as in
the presence versus absence of the definite article nominalizer. It
is claimed that the relation between these two sentence-types is to
be captured by means of a Raising rule of the sort described above;
from a source corresponding roughly to the (a) sentences of (1) to

(3), the (b) sentences arise by the raising of the clausal subject to become the object of the preposition.[2]

In this paper, then, this construction is explored in some depth, and the proposed raising analysis is defended. The broader implications of this analysis for purposes of cross-linguistic comparison and for Linguistic Theory in general are brought forth. In particular, this construction is compared to a superficially similar one in English, and the validity of this comparison and the lesson to be drawn from it concerning such comparisons are then discussed. Furthermore, Raising to Oblique is shown to be a counterexample to the Host Limitation Law proposed within the framework of Relational Grammar as developed by Postal and Perlmutter (see Perlmutter (In Press a, b) for details).

1. Arguments for the Raising Analysis

In arguing for the raising analysis, it is necessary to contrast it with an analysis in which the NP to the right of the preposition in the (b)-type sentences is generated underlyingly as the object of the preposition, with a clause tacked on after it. This analysis would involve, then, a double subcategorization option for a preposition like me, me + NP (which could be a clause) and me + NP + S. Furthermore, to prove that raising has occurred, it is necessary to show that the putative raised NP is no longer in the clause it originated in.

The base-generation analysis is immediately suspect because the "tacked-on" clause is in no way a complement to the NP, i.e. it is not a "legitimate" NP + S configuration such as a relative clause or a complex NP like the fact that S. Moreover, there are arguments, of a fairly standard type, involving evidence from idiom chunks, semantic relations, and economy of subcategorization statements, which lessen the credibility of the base-generation analysis.

For example, Greek has idioms, such as that in (4a), which can occur in the proposed Raising to Oblique pattern with no loss of idiomatic meaning, as in (4b):

(4) a. o kombos   ftani   s   to xteni
     the-knót/NOM reaches/3SG to the-comb/ACC
     'Things are coming to a head' (Lit. "The knot reaches the
     comb")

   b. me   ton kombo   na ftani s to xteni tora s   to Egio
     with the-knot/ACC   now   in the-Aegean

     den mu   fenete   kali idea   na pas   s   tin Turkia
     not to-me seems/3SG good-idea/NOM   go/2SG to Turkey/ACC

     'With things coming to a head in the Aegean, it doesn't
     strike me as a good idea for you to travel to Turkey'

This preservation of the idiomatic reading is an automatic consequence of the raising analysis, whereas in the base-generation analysis, two unrelated statements about the composition of this idiom,

one allowing for _kombos_ (Nominative) and the other for _kombo_ (Accusative) as "subject" would be needed.

Similarly, an idiomatic expression like (5a) can passivize with no loss of idiomatic meaning, as indicated in (5b)--this passivized version can occur in the proposed Raising to Oblique pattern with the idiomaticity of the expression preserved, as in (5c):

(5) a. anigome   ton dromo   ya kati
       open/1PL the-road/ACC for something
       'We pave the way for something'
    b. o dromos   anigete   ya kati
       the-road/NOM is-opened/3SG.PASS
       'The way is paved for something'
    c. me   ton dromo   na anigete   ya tin metanastefsi
       with the-road/ACC   open/3SG.PASS for the-immigration/ACC

       su, boris   na figis   amesos ya tin Ameriki
       your can/2SG   leave/2SG at-once for America/ACC

       'With the way paved for your immigration, you can leave
       at once for America'

Again, these facts are an automatic consequence of the raising analysis, and constitute a complication in the grammar under the base-generation analysis.

A further argument comes from sentences such as those in (6):

(6) a. me tin Maria na filai ton Yani, teliose to ergo
       'With Mary kissing John, the play ended'
  = b. me ton Yani na filiete   apo tin Maria, ...
       John/ACC   is-kissed/3SG.PASS by
       'With John being kissed by Mary, ...'

These sentences show that there is synonymy between sentences of the (1b) type with an active embedded verb and the corresponding sentences with a passive embedded verb. This synonymy is predicted by the raising analysis, but whereas it can be accomodated within the base-generation analysis (e.g. by allowing Passive to operate on a string with an accusative NP to the left of the verb instead of the nominative NP generally found with finite verbs), it certainly is not an automatic consequence of it.

Finally, one can cite the extra subcategorization statement needed in the base-generation analysis as an argument against it. As noted above, this approach would have to allow _me_ to occur underlyingly with either a plain NP (which could be a clause) or with an NP followed by a clause, whereas the raising analysis requires only the _me_ + NP subcategorization. More importantly, though, the _NP + S_ subcategorization would need an additional constraint to guarantee that the NP was coreferent with the subject of the following clause, in order to block sentences like (7a)--the raising analysis predicts the ungrammaticality of (7a) because its

putative source, with two embedded subject nominals, would be ungrammatical:

(7) a. *me ton Yani na pianun   i astifilakes ·   tin Maria, ...
                    catch/3PL the-policemen/NOM Mary/ACC
        '*With John that the policemen catch Mary,...'
    b. *me to na pianun i astifilakes tin Maria o Yanis, ...
                                            John/NOM

Furthermore, there is good evidence that the post-me NP, e.g.
tin Maria in (1b), is no longer a member of the clause in which it
originates and is in fact the object of the preposition. The case-
marking of accusative and the position immediately after me are ap-
propriate for an object of a preposition in Modern Greek. Also, the
existence of sentences such as (8) shows that Maria is not part of
the embedded clause:

(8) me tin Maria na filai ton Yani ki   afti,   teliose to ergo
                                    even she/NOM
    'With even Mary kissing John, the play ended'

(8) shows that Raising to Oblique leaves a copy of the raised nomi-
nal behind in the clause from which it is raised. This copy can
occur overtly on the surface as in (8), but most often is omitted
on the surface due to the general Greek process of Subject Pronoun
Drop. Generally in Greek, a subject NP cannot have a pronominal
copy of itself in the same clause with it, as shown by (9):

(9) a. *θa to   krino   ego   (mono) ego
        FUT it/ACC judge/1SG I/NOM only I/NOM
        'I will judge that'
    b. *i Maria to   ide   ki   afti
        Mary/NOM it/ACC saw/3SG even she/NOM
        'Even Mary saw it'

However, as (8) shows, a pronominal copy is possible in the putative
raising sentences, suggesting strongly that tin Maria in (1b) and
setnences like it is no longer a part of the embedded clause and
therefore that a raising has in fact taken place.[3] When there is
no raising, a pronominal copy is impossible:

(10) *me to na filai i Maria ton Yani ki afti, ...
                     Mary/NOM   even she/NOM

From these considerations, it may be concluded that sentences
such as (1b) involve an NP which has been raised to become the ob-
ject of the preposition me--that is, that NP is not underlyingly
the object of me but is not part of the embedded clause on the sur-
face.

2. An Extension of This Construction

Besides the Raising to Oblique sentences with <u>me</u> as in (1) to
(3), there is an extension of this construction to genitival clausal
complements to a head noun. Thus, (11a) alternates with (11b), with
the (b) version being the raised version; similarly in (12):

(11) a. i θea   tu   na piani · · ton Yani
        the-sight/NOM the/NTR.GEN   catch/3SG John/ACC

        i astinomia·   me   tromakse
        the-police/NOM me/ACC scared/3SG

        'The sight of the police catching John scared me'
     b. i θea tis astinomias na piani ton Yani me tromakse
              the-police/GEN
        'The sight of the police catching John scared me'
(12) a. i tasi   tu   na epanerθi   to lastixo
        the-tension/NOM the/NTR.GEN   return/3SG the-rubber-band/NOM

        s tin arxiki   tu θesi   kani   to mikro aeroplano·
        to the-original its position makes/3SG the-little-airplane/ACC

        na ksekinai
           move/3SG

        'The tension of the rubber-band returning to its original
        position makes the little airplane move'
     b. i tasi tu lastixu   na epanerθi ...
              the-rubber-band/GEN
        'The tension of the rubber-band returning ...'

The same sorts of arguments given for Raising to Oblique with <u>me</u>
hold for Raising to Oblique with complements to head nouns, so they
need not be repeated here.

These sentences are parallel to the sentences with <u>me</u> in having
the alternation in the case-marking and position of the $\overline{\text{NP}}$ answer-
ing to the role of subject of the embedded clause, and in the alter-
nation between the presence versus absence of the definite article
nominalizer/complementizer in the two sentence-types. Also, the
genitive case-marking on the raised nominal in the (b) sentences
suggests that it has become the complement to the head noun. Thus
the sentence-type illustrated in (11) and (12) seems in all respects
to be parallel to Raising to Oblique with <u>me</u> as in (1) to (3).

3. Raising to Oblique and Other Greek Raising Rules

Raising to Oblique as described above has all the properties
of other raising rules in Modern Greek. Greek has (at least) three
other raising rules, Subject-to-Object Raising, Subject-to-Subject
Raising, and Object Raising (= Tough Movement), as shown in (13):

(13) a. Subject-to-Object Raising

       θelo   ton Yani na kaθete (mono aftos) edo
       want/1SG John/ACC sit/3SG   only he/NOM here

'I want (only) John to sit here'
(Lit. "I want John that (only he) sit here")
b. Subject-to-Subject Raising

fenome   na ime   (ki eɣo) fliaros   simera
seem/1SG   am/1SG   even I/NOM talkative/NOM today
'(Even) I seem to be talkative today'
(Lit. "I seem that (even I) am talkative today")
c. Object Raising (Tough Movement)

ta aŋglika   ine diskola   na ta   katalavo
the-English/NOM are-difficult/PL   them/ACC understand/1SG
'English is difficult for me to understand'
(Lit. "The English (things) are difficult that I understand
       them")

One important feature of these rules is that they are __copying__ rules[4], and so leave behind a copy of the raised nominal in the clause out of which the raising occurs. In the case of the subject-raising rules, the copy is generally absent on the surface due to Subject Pronoun Drop, but it may appear overtly on the surface under proper conditions of emphasis, as indicated by the parenthesized elements in (13a) and (13b)--in the case of Object Raising, the copy always appears on the surface since Greek has no rule sanctioning the absence of definite object pronouns on the surface. As noted above in connection with sentence (8), Raising to Oblique is a copying rule also, and thus parallels the other Greek raisings in this regard.

Furthermore, both Raising to Oblique and the other Greek raising out of a non-subject clause (i.e. Subject-to-Object Raising) are restricted in the same way to applying only to subject nominals contained in that clause.[5] Thus (14a) with Raising to Object applied to an object of the complement clause is ungrammatical just as (14b) with Raising to Oblique raising a non-subject is:[6]

(14) a. ?*θelo ton Yani na (ton) pianun   i astifilakes
        want John/ACC   him/ACC catch/3PL the-policemen/NOM
        'I want that the policemen catch __John__'
     b. ?*i θea tu Yani na ton   pianun i astifilakes me tromakse
           John/GEN   him/ACC   me/ACC scared/
        'The sight of the policemen catching __John__ scared me' 3SG

Thus Raising to Oblique differs from the other raising rules of Modern Greek only in the type of clause from which it occurs and in the grammatical relation assumed by the raised nominal.

4. Broader Implications of this Analysis

The preceding sections have established that Raising to Oblique is a syntactic rule of Greek operative in the generation of sentences such as (1b) and (11b) above. In this section, some of the implications this analysis for matters outside the realm of Modern Greek are explored.

<u>4.1</u>: First, Raising to Oblique in Greek offers a cross-linguistic comparison with English sentences of the type in (15) through (17):

(15) a. With John's having stepped forward to confess, your good
        name is cleared.
     b. With John having stepped forward to confess, your good name
        is cleared.
(16) a. I was surprised at John's arriving on time.
     b. I was surprised at John arriving on time.
(17) a. The thought of John's arriving on time was too much to bear.
     b. The thought of John arriving on time was too much to bear.

in which there is a superficial alternation in the marking of the nominal which serves semantically as the subject of the gerund ver- bal form in <u>-ing</u>--in the (a) sentences, this subject nominal has possessive marking (<u>'s</u>) whereas in the (b) sentences it has a zero-marking. This difference in case-marking, as it were, is the only difference in the variants; hence there is no clear indication of how the relation between them is to be captured.

A comparison with the Greek Raising to Oblique construction, though, suggests that perhaps the (b) sentences in (15) to (17), with bare NP plus gerund complementation, involve a raising to ob-lique in English. That is, in (15b), it is perhaps the case that <u>John</u> alone functions as the object of <u>with</u> while in (15a), the <u>whole</u> clause, <u>John's having stepped forward to confess</u> is the ob-ject of <u>with</u>; a similar bracketing contrast would hold between the (a) and (b) sentences of (16) and (17). Such an analysis of these English setnences would be motivated almost solely by the parallel with the Greek construction--both the English and the Greek senten-ces have similar forms, involving clausal objects of prepositions (and note that Greek <u>me</u> = English <u>with</u>) and (genitive) clausal com-plements to a head noun (e.g. <u>thought of</u> versus <u>θea tu</u>).

This analysis of English, then, would illustrate how cross-lin-guistic evidence in superficially similar cases could be used to de-termine ambiguous cases in one language. Greek sentences like (1) offer more morphological clues as to what is going on than do the corresponding English ones, e.g. the presence of the nominalizing (and hence complementizing, here) definite article <u>to/tu</u> in the non-raising versions versus its absence in the raising versions, the different case-marking and the different word-order between the two variants. Thus Greek gives a clear picture of how any such variants in a language can be related.

However, as attractive as such a comparison might be, the Eng-lish facts are not as clear-cut as they first appear, casting some doubt on this proposed analysis for (15) to (17). In particular, the bare NP + gerund combination can appear in contexts in which a raising analysis is excluded,[7] such as subject position:

(18) a. Jane dumping John like that was hard on the old boy.
     b. John being promoted created discontent among his co-workers.

Ross (1973: 115) has noted that many people reject bare NP + gerund complementation in subject position, as in (18), but accept it elsewhere (e.g. (15) to (17))--this suggests that perhaps raising to oblique sentences have been reinterpreted by some speakers as a complementation option and then extended to novel uses, e.g. as subject. However, sentences like (18) have been around in English for a long time, apparently co-terminous chronologically with sentences such as (15b) or (16b), as shown by the evidence in Visser (1966: 1172 ff.). Therefore, this reinterpretation account of sentences like (18), which would rest on Raising to Oblique being a rule of English at some point in its history, is probably not valid. In addition, there is wide idiolectal and dialectal variation in the acceptability of possessive versus zero marking on the nominal with the gerund even in superficially parallel sentences, due in part to prescriptive grammarians advocating the possessive marking,[8] so the raising analysis could not hold for all dialects nor even for all registers within the same dialect.

Thus these putative Raising to Oblique sentences in English may well involve no raising at all and rather may be better analyzed as involving an optional spelling out, possessive versus zero, of the marking for the subject of a gerund. Therefore, even though Greek offers a suggestive parallel with the English sentences in question, the comparison may be just a mirage.

This situation in itself, though, is still of some theoretical interest. Despite the fact that two constructions are superfically so parallel that one is tempted to relate them cross-linguistically, in actuality, they turn out to be quite different, the Greek construction being a "legitimate" raising whereas the English being perhaps best viewed as an optional marking of the subject of a gerund. This shows, then, just how careful one must be in making cross-lingustic comparisons.

<u>4.2:</u> The second point of theoretical interest deriving from the analysis of Raising to Oblique in Greek concerns its implications for one of the proposed laws of Relational Grammar.[9] In particular, Raising to Oblique provides an apparent counter-example to the Host Limitation Law:

(19) Only a term (i.e. Subject, Direct Object, Indirect Object) can serve as the <u>host</u> of an ascension rule.

The <u>host</u> of an ascension rule is the nominal (possibly a clause) out of which another nominal is raised.

Raising to Oblique is a counter-example to (19) because although it involves a raising (i.e. is an ascension rule), the nominal out of which the ascension occurs is not a dependent of a verb, not a subject, direct object, or indirect object, and therefore not a <u>term</u>, by any conceivable test for termhood in Greek. Rather, it is what may be called an "oblique" object. Nonetheless, the evidence of section 1 indicates that this construction is a raising construction--therefore some revisions to the Host Limita-
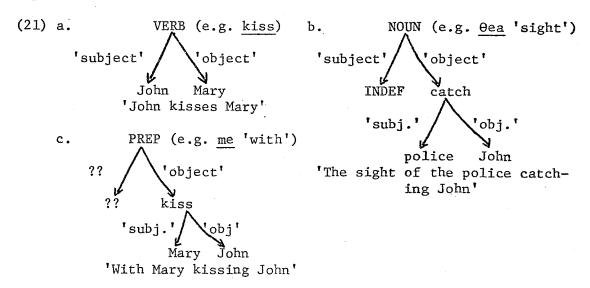
tion Law are needed.

Before considering some such revisions, it is important to note that Greek Raising to Oblique is "well-behaved" with respect to other laws of Relational Grammar. In particular, it obeys the Relational Succession Law:

(20) A nominal promoted by an ascension rule assumes the grammatical relation borne by the host out of which it ascends.

Thus in the raisings with me (e.g. (1)), the subject is raised out of an oblique object (the clausal object of me) and, as predicted by the Relational Succession Law, the raised nominal itself becomes the oblique object of the preposition. As noted above in section 1, the case-marking and immediate post-me position indicate that the raised nominal is the new object of me. Similarly, in raisings out of genitival complements to head nouns (e.g. (11)), as predicted by (20), the raised nominal becomes the complement to the head noun, and in this situation, takes on the appropriate genitive case-marking. These considerations show that Raising to Oblique in Greek is not in some sense a "crazy" rule, one which might not be expected to conform to certain general constraints, since it obeys at least some of the basic laws of Relational Grammar. Therefore, the counter-example it provides to the Host Limitation Law cannot simply be dismissed as being from a rule which is strange in other respects as well, and so some revision to this law must be sought.

One possibility, though by no means the only one, would be to treat the complement of a noun such as θea 'sight' or a preposition such as me 'with' as standing in the same relation to its head as a dependent of a verb does to its governing verb. That is, with configurations such as in (21), one could unify these three types of complements, though there are certainly problems with such an approach:

(21) a.

VERB (e.g. kiss)

'subject' / \ 'object'

John   Mary
'John kisses Mary'

b.

NOUN (e.g. θea 'sight')

'subject' / \ 'object'

INDEF   catch

'subj.' / \ 'obj.'

police   John
'The sight of the police catching John'

c.

PREP (e.g. me 'with')

?? / \ 'object'

??   kiss

'subj.' / \ 'obj'

Mary   John
'With Mary kissing John'

In this way, the Host Limitation Law could be redefined to hold for

nominals bearing a "term-like" relation to some governing element.

This is perhaps not so radical a suggestion regarding nouns
(i.e. (21b)), especially nouns which clearly express a somewhat ac-
tive verbal notion, such as 'sight' (Greek θea). However, with cer-
tain other nouns and with prepositions, this proposal is somewhat
more radical and certainly more problematic, and may well involve
too great a stretching of the notion "dependent" or "term" to be
tolerated. For example, with nouns such as <u>tasi</u> 'tension', as in
(12) above, it is harder to motivate the analysis in (21b), for
this noun has no clear active verbal sense underlying it, i.e. <u>tasi</u>
is not an action noun.

In the case of prepositions, this suggestion essentially in-
volves treating prepositions as verbs,[10]which is perhaps plausible
but not at all an obvious step. It is interesting to note, though,
that the so-called "co-verbs" in Chinese are essentially instances
of verbs being used to express "prepositional notions":[11]

(22) tā gěi wo mǎi yibĕn   shū
     he give I buy one-volume book
     'He bought a book <u>for</u> me'

In (22), the co-verb <u>gei</u> is used to express a benefactive notion.
On the other hand, it is hard to imagine what a "subject" of a pre-
position might in fact be, parallel to the indefinite or unspecified
subject of a noun like <u>θea</u> 'sight', though perhaps an apparent re-
duced relative clause such as:

(23) the building by the bank

may have <u>building</u> as a "subject" of a preposition.[12] Still, the
parallelism is far from solid, and this analysis as a way of revis-
ing the Host Limitation Law may well be vitiated.

There may yet be a way out of this problem, with regard to pre-
positions, at least. The prepositional phrase which participates
in the Raising to Oblique construction, i.e. <u>me</u> 'with' + S, is one
which is semantically reducible to a PP consisting of a preposition
with an abstract head noun with a sentential complement to that head
noun. For example, <u>with Mary kissing John</u> in (1) could be para-
phrased in this way as "with the fact of Mary kissing John" and
<u>with me standing there</u> in (2) as "with the knowledge of my standing
there" or even "with the expectation that I would be standing there".
Thus a more abstract analysis of these prepositional phrases could
provide a link with the analysis proposed for noun complements in
(21b). In that way, notions like "dependent" or even "term" could
be restricted just to constellations of noun and verb heads as "gov-
ernors", and the Host Limitation Law could be appropriately defined
to cover just these configurations.

On the other hand, maybe the Host Limitation Law simply must
be given up, and these attempts at revisions abandoned. These re-
visions are meant as suggestions only, and should thus be taken on-

ly--they simply are not yet worked out in sufficient detail. Still, they do show that perhaps the counter-example to the Host Limitation Law provided by Raising to Oblique in Greek might be handled by a fairly simple and natural extension of the question of which linguistic elements can serve as "governors" upon which nominals may depend.

5. Conclusion

Thus the Raising to Oblique construction in Modern Greek has an intrinsic interest in terms of the description of the syntax of Greek. Yet it also has a more general interest; the analysis offered here extends the knowledge of the types of raising rules that can occur in natural language and thus contributes to the understanding of what constitutes a possible grammar of a language.

FOOTNOTES

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[1]This use of the neuter definite article is parallel to the so-called "articular infinitive" nominalization found in Classical Greek.

[2]It should be noted in passing that me seems to be the only preposition in Greek which occurs in this Raising to Oblique pattern. Me is also used in Greek for accompaniment and for instrumentation, as is its English counterpart with, and thus seems to qualify for the designation "preposition".

[3]The fact that Maria is no longer in the clause it originated in means also that this pattern cannot simply be taken as a "spell-out" option (of accusative) for a fonted subject of the embedded verb. Such an analysis, as suggested in section 4.1, may be correct for English, but it seems that it could not stand for the facts from Greek.

[4]As indicated by sentences (9) and (10), the application of a raising rule is necessary in order for the copy of a subject nominal to appear. See also Joseph (1976) and Joseph and Perlmutter (Forthcoming) for more details concerning these facts.

[5]There are some sentences in Greek which may involve the raising of a non-subject out of an object clause, and may therefore fal-

sify this generalization, for example:

(i) idan   ton Yani pu   ton   epiase   o astifilakas
    saw/3PL John/ACC COMP him/ACC caught/3SG the-policeman/NOM
    'They saw the policeman catch(ing) John'

However, all of these examples involve perception verbs, the analysis of which, as in English, is especially hard to determine. Thus, (i) may well have ton Yani as an underlying object of idan.

[6] To the extent that such a sentence is acceptable, it can be shown that it really involves a topicalization within the embedded clause--an NP such as ton Yani in (14a) passes no tests for membership in the matrix clause; it cannot cliticize onto the matrix verb when pronominalized, it cannot become the reflexive form under conditions of coreference with the matrix subject, and with appropriate matrix verbs (i.e. ones which can passivize) it cannot be promoted to subject by Passive.

[7] One might suppose that (18) involves a raising of Jane, for example, from subject of dumping to main-clause subject status, i.e. schematically $_S$[$_S$[Jane dumping John]$_S$ was hard ...]$_S$ ===> $_S$[Jane $_?$[Ø dumping John]$_?$ was hard ...]$_S$. However, with a conjoined or plural subject in the same sentence-type, plural agreement on the main verb causes an ungrammatical sentence:

(i) Jane and Mary both dumping John in successive weeks $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{was} \\ \text{*were} \end{Bmatrix}$ hard on him.

Thus it seems unlikely that Jane in (18a) is a main clause subject. Note that the sentence-type illustrated in (i) is probably distinct from that in (ii):

(ii) Jane and Mary were/*was hard on John, both dumping him in successive weeks.

in which both dumping him ... seems to be a modifying clause, less closely connected to the sentence, almost an aside (note also the comma/pause intonation preceding it).

[8] See Visser (1966: 1177-1179) for an account of this prescriptivism, with relevant citations.

[9] The statement of the laws in question comes from Class Lectures by David Perlmutter at M.I.T. in the Spring of 1976.

[10] It seems possible that preposition-like elements in some languages must be etymologizable as coming from earlier verbs, although most of the prepositions in Indo-European that I am aware of seem to come from case forms of nouns. Possibly, though, the use of given, in Modern English, which is clearly verbal in origin, but

seems prepositional in some of its functions, cf.:

(i) Even given his shortcomings, you could still do a lot worse
    for a husband.
(ii) Given (the fact) that 2 + 2 = 4, we can construct a theory
    of arithmetic.

offers an instructive parallel to the notion of prepositions as verbs.

[11]Thanks are due to John Hogan for bringing these Chinese facts
to my attention.

[12]Thanks are again due to John Hogan for this example.

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ADDENDUM

Questions raised after the presentation of this paper pointed
out that the nature of the oblique element out of which Raising oc-
curs in this construction was not made clear, nor were all the possi-
ble avenues for testing the obliqueness of the raised nominal (espe-
cially Reflexivization as a test) explored. This addendum is an at-
tempt to rectify this situation.
    The me + S part of sentences like (1) to (3) is not an "integral"
part of the main clause; rather it appears to be an adverbial adjunct
to the whole sentence. Since the me + S adverbial specifies the con-
ditions under which the activity in the main clause takes place, it
can be identified as a "circumstantial" adverbial. Therefore, since

adverbials such as locatives or temporals are generally held (in Relational Grammar) to be oblique relations, it seems reasonable to treat a circumstantial like me + S as an oblique also.

Regarding the possibility of Reflexivization with the new oblique object in the raising versions of these sentences, the following comments are in order. Oblique objects in Greek normally can reflexivize:

(i) milisa   s ton Yani ya   ton eafton   mu
    spoke/1SG to John/ACC about the-self/ACC my
    'I spoke to John about myself'.

However, the oblique object in the Raising to Oblique sentences with me seems not to reflexivize well; (iia) is (almost completely) ungrammatical while the source sentence (iib) is fine:

(ii) a. *?me ton eafton   mu na vgazi   to psomi   tu,
            the-self/ACC my   take-out/3SG the-bread/ACC its

         ekana   tus gonis\   mu eftixis
         made/1SG the-parents/ACC my happy/ACC.PL
     b. me to   na vgazo   to psomi mu, ekana
            the/NTR   take-out/1SG   my

     tus gonis mu eftixis

     'With me earning my own living, I have made my parents happy'

(for a discussion of the third person agreement in the complement clause with the Reflexive form, as indicated in (iia), see Joseph and Perlmutter (Forthcoming)). Reflexives can occur as these oblique objects somewhat more acceptably, but they seem not to be instances of Ordinary Reflexivization; for example, in (iii):

(iii) ?me ton eafton   mu na dulevi   toso sklira, teliosame grigora
          the-self/ACC my   work/1SG so - hard   finished/1PL quickly
       'With myself working so hard, we finished quickly'

there is a first-person plural main clause subject, and so the antecedent conditions for Reflexivization are different from Ordinary Reflexivization (the equivalent in Greek of *We hit myself is unacceptable).

With oblique raisings out of a complement to a head noun, one finds Reflexives occurring acceptably:

(iv) i skepsi   tu eaftu   mu na pianete   apo
     the-thought/NOM the-self/GEN my   be-caught/3SG.PASS by

     tin astinomia me   tromakse
     the-police/ACC me/ACC scared/3SG

     'The thought of myself being caught by the police scared me'.

These, however, seem to be a variety of "Picture Noun" Reflexivization, and again are therefore probably not instances of Ordinary Reflexivization. Thus the main evidence for the raised nominal being oblique itself is the case-marking and position relative to the governing word (preposition or head noun) that it displays.