

On Contractions in English(2)

Toshiro Umezawa

Abstract

In this paper, I will summarize some analyses proposed prior to PP (1978), the controversy between CL and PP, and the new analysis of Jaeggli (1980), and then discuss some problems.

3. The Controversy about *To Contraction*

B) Problems with Triggers Other Than *Want*

Analyses A-D (Umezawa (2002)) have their scope almost entirely to the verb *want* ignoring the other triggers in (1). However, as was previously recognized in the literature (Lakoff(1970)), the contraction process is more general. Evidently, it has been assumed that the other triggers will behave exactly as *want* does in all relevant respects.

In the one article in the EST literature in which one of the other triggers has been discussed in the context of trace theory, this assumption is quite explicit. Lightfoot (1976) attempts to build an argument on the basis of contraction with *used to*. He states:

The contraction of *use(d) to, usta* works just like that of *want to, wanna*, in that it will be blocked just in the event that an NP has been extracted (i.e. moved) from the *used to* position. Hence contraction is possible in (12), where under either the transformational or interpretive Equi analysis no extraction is involved...

(12) Tom used ___ to meet Harry for lunch.

Tom used ___ to be considered smart.

Tom used ___ to seem smart.

Lightfoot is assuming that *use(d)*, like *want*, is an Equi verb. Crucially, he is assuming that dashes in his (12) mark sites where material is deleted or where the null anaphor PRO appears, but not sites vacated by movement.

However, this assumption is denied in PP (1978). To illustrate, PP contrast the paradigm for *want*, in (26), with that for *used*, in (27),

(26)a. Some of those guys want to audit my course.

b.*My course wants to be audited by some of those guys.

c.*It wanted to rain every time we want to the beach.

d.*It wanted to be me that they didn't like.

e.*There wanted to be an old castle round here someplace.

f.*Tabs wanted to be kept on him everywhere he went.

g.*Very little headway wanted to be made during his absence.

h.*Not much heed wanted to be taken of his absurd posturing.

(27)a. Some of those guys used to audit my course.

b. My course used to be audited by some of those guys.

c. It used to rain every time we went to the beach.

d. It used to be me that they didn't like.

e. There used to be an old castle round here someplace.

f. Tabs used to be kept on him everywhere he went.

g. Very little headway used to be made during his absence.

On Contractions in English(2)

h. Not much heed used to be taken of his absurd posturing.

PP state that (26) and (27) illustrate classic tests for a Raising construction. The truth-functional equivalence of (27a,b) and the acceptability of dummy or idiom-chunk subjects in (27c-h) are indicative of the properties standardly treated in transformational grammar by means of a Subject Raising transformation. In EST terms, this would be the rule known as NP Preposing or NP Movement. It would operate as shown in (28), fronting a complement subject NP into an empty NP position.

(28)[_{NP}]used[_{NP} *some of those guys*to audit my course]

Under trace theory, this will yield the derived structure (29).

(29)[_{NP} *some of these guys*] used[_S t to audit my course]

Following this claim, every one of the analyses summarized in chapter II predicts that the contracted form in sentence (30) is not possible.

(30)Some of those guys *usta* audit my course.

For the other triggers listed in (1), PP (1978) claim that every one except *want* is also a Raising trigger. All but *got* are so listed in Postal (1974). PP illustrate in (31) with the dummy *there* construction, and state that the rest of the tests in (27) also generalize to the items in question:

- (31)a.. There is going to be a storm.
 b. There has to be a catch to this.
 c. There ought to be a law against doing it like that.
 d. There has got to be some kind of rule for these causatives.
 e. There is supposed to be a man on guard.

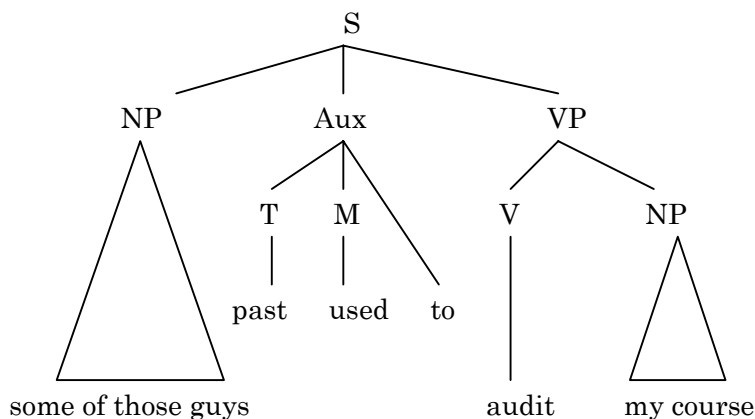
The NP Movement analysis of EST will yield derived structures in which a trace occurs immediately before *to be* in each example. Contraction is thus predicted to be impossible by all of solutions A, B, C, and D above. Yet as is well known, the prediction is false:

- (32)a.. There's *gonna* be a storm.
 b. There *hasta* be a catch to this.
 c. There *oughta*,be a law against doing it like that.
 d. There's *gotta* be some kind rule for these causatives.
 e. There's *supposta* be a man on guard.

The conclusion of this argument would be avoided under a different analysis of the items involved—specifically, one in which these were complement-taking verbs but modals or other types of auxiliary, generated in Aux position.

For example, under such a view, the structure of (27) would be (33).

(33)



On Contractions in English(2)

If *used to* had an auxiliary origin along these lines, there would be no NP Movement, no trace, and no unwanted blocking of contraction. But PP observe that no such analysis is possible.

First, it has been argued by Pullum and Wilson (1977) that even if the assumptions that characterize EST are adopted, the case for taking all auxiliaries and "semiauxiliaries" as main verbs defining separate clause in initial phrase marker is compelling. In particular, these authors argue that a main verb analysis is absolutely necessary for the items *ought* and *used*, which in some respects (e.g. in their lack of overt inflection) seem the least verb-like of the members of the list in (1).

Second, PP (1978) claim that if the implications of any attempt to pack all the items *be going to*, *have to*, *ought to*, *used to*, *got to*, and *supposed to* into the Aux node are carefully considered, it becomes apparent that intolerably ad hoc measures would have to be tolerated. There would have to be a minimum of three ad hoc sources for *to* in the Aux in addition to the regular one in the complementizer system. If a modal cooccurs with perfect *have* and progressive *be*, the order has to be Modal-*have be*, as is well known. One source for *to* that would be necessary is immediately after Modal, so that *ought* can occur with *to*. Another is after *go(ing)* and *supposed*, both of which follow *be*. Another is after *got*, which must be able to follow *have*, as in (3ld).

The base rule for Aux would therefore have to insert *to* optionally at a minimum of three points in, the maximal possible string of "auxiliaries", and provision would have to be made for strictly subcategorizing auxiliary elements for cooccurrence with *to*.

Under EST assumptions, the different occurrences of *to* cannot be generated as subparts of complex auxiliary elements.

For example, *ought to* cannot have the initial structure *ought to*, because the A-over-A Condition would then ensure that **Ought to we tell the police?* was derived by subject-Auxiliary Inversion instead of *Ought we to tell the police?*

Finally, there are items in the class under discussion that not only fail to show any behavior on which a claim that they are "auxiliaries" might be based, but that are actually impossible to analyze in such a way. Consider the item *have to*. For most dialects of contemporary English, the criterial properties of susceptibility to subject-Auxiliary Inversion and Negative Attachment, which are the justification for the notion "auxiliary", are not properties of *have(to)*:

(34)a.. Do you have to put your clammy hand on my leg?

b. *Have you to put your clammy hand on my leg?

c. You don't have to go if you don't want to.

d.. *You haven't to go if you don't want to.

and PP note that it is impossible to include *have to* within the scope of an Aux base rule. This is because it does not have any fixed order with other auxiliary verbs (subject to the general restriction that no verb may immediately precede a modal). In (35) the freedom of order between *have to* and perfect *have* is illustrated, and in (36), where at least for British dialects, both examples are grammatical, the same is illustrated with progressive *be*.

(35)a.. He has *had to*, move again.

b.. He *has to* have been kidding.

(36)a. He is *having to* move, twice a month to avoid his creditors these days.

b. He *has to* be kidding.

Thus, there could be no unique place in a string of auxiliaries for *have to*. It has the freedom of distribution of a main verb.

PP claim that for *have to* at the very least, therefore, a syntactic treatment compatible to that for a verb like *tend* must be postulated: the derived structure is raised out of the sentential complement. Example (37a) will have the derived structure (37a) under trace theory, and (37b) shows that the prediction of uncontractibility entailed by all current trace theory analyses is false.

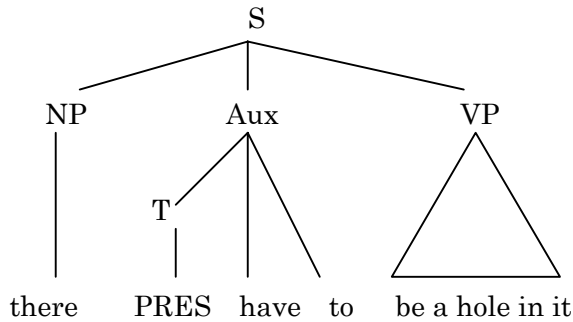
(37)a. There has[*to* be a catch to this]

b. There *has* be a catch to this.

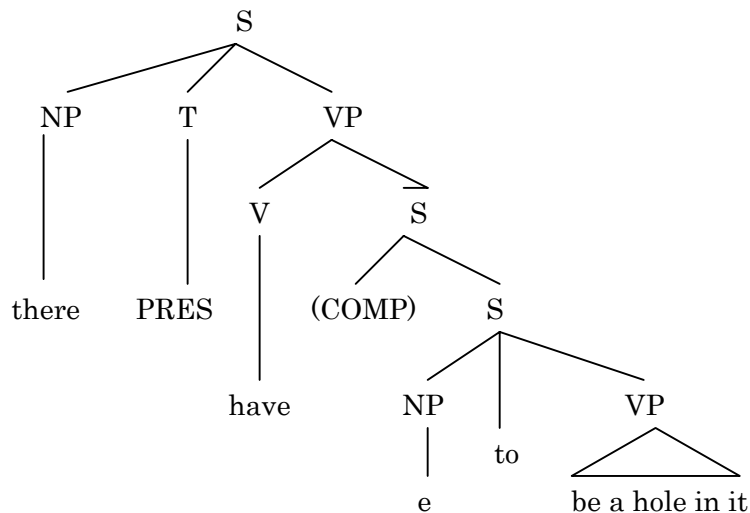
However, CL(1978) deny that any of the contracting items that behave like Raising triggers are verbs and that raising (in EST terms, NP movement) is involved, although CL agree that under this analysis ad hoc statements seem to be required for the semiauxiliaries. All might be treated, according to CL, as subelements of the Aux node. There they are generated adjacent to their accompanying particle *to*. This particle *to* is free to cliticize on to these elements. Thus, the proposals of CL would give (38) the structure (39a), instead of (39b).

(38) There has to be a hole in it.

(39)a.



b.



As for *have to*, CL(1978) propose that rules may insert *have*, +F (the lexical item *have* with a special feature differentiating it though permitting the normal rules of morphology to apply) in various positions in Aux, depending on dialect (in American English, after M and perfect; in British English, after progressives as well in itself this no more surprising than that some adverbs appear in a comparable range of positing). A special rule will assign +to (assuming contraction to be obligatory) after *have*, +F.

This informal statement allows for sentences like (35a) and, for at least British English, (36b). But (35b) is not taken up in CL(1978). PP(1979) state that *have to* before the perfect *have+en* is crucial. Similar examples include:

- (40)a. They have to have completed their before leaving.
 b. We shall have to have arranged everything by then.
 c. The candidate has to have passed his MA exams.

One might proceed nevertheless to write a (quite unnecessary) two-case phrase structure rule that specifies both the M *have+en have to* and the order M *have to have+en*:

- (41) AUX-T (M) *have+en (have to)*
 have to (have+en)

But PP claim that even this would not suffice. Although the semantic structure gets more complex as one forms longer and longer strings of *have to* and *have+en*, there do not appear to be any syntactic constraints on forming such sequences. So (42) has *have to* flanked by two instances of *have+en*:

- (42) Formerly, applicants for assistant professorships had only to possess a Ph.D., but for the past three years they have had to have taught in a university for at least a year if they are even to be considered.

On Contractions in English(2)

The *have* of *have to* is as free to occur as any other complement-taking verb.

For this reason, PP argue that accounting for (40) by means of a phrase structure rule of the form (43)

(43)AUX-T(M)(have+en)(have to)(have+en)..

seems actually impossible within a transformational grammar. For phrase structure rules minimally have to be finite in length.

PP reveal the even worse situation for the hypothesis that *have to* is dominated by "AUX" than so far indicated.

There are seven traditional criteria for auxiliaryhood set out in Pullum and Wilson (1977). *Have to* in American English fails all of them, as shown in(44).

(44)a. Subject-Auxiliary Inversion

We hafta use up all this milk today.

*Have we to use up all this milk today?

**Hafta we use up all this milk today?

b. Tag Formation

*We hafta use up all this milk today, haven't we(to)?

c. Do Support

We do not hafta use up all this milk today.

e. Negative Contraction

*We haven't to use up all this milk today.

e. Auxiliary Reduction

*We've to use up all this milk today.

f. Quantifier Floating

*We have all to use up as much milk as we can.

g. Adverb Placement

*We have hardly to do anything that we don't want to.

There is, therefore, no more motivation for considering the *have (to)* as an auxiliary element in American English than there is for a parallel move with *tend(to)* or *happen (to)*. PP conclude that the appropriate analysis for such items, even in the EST framework, is one that treats them as verbs taking sentential complements and acquiring derived subjects by virtue of an NP movement rule.

4.The Analysis of Jaeggli(1980)

Jaeggli accepts PP's claim that contraction triggers other than *want* are Raising verbs, and attempts to explain why contraction is allowed in (45) and not in(46).

(45) Some of those guys *usta* audit my course.

(46)*Who do you *wanna* kiss you?

(Accepting that *used* is a Raising verb, it follows that in (45) contraction occurs over the trace of a moved element.) In order to present a solution to this problem, he supplements trace theory with a theory of abstract Case of the sort proposed in Chomsky (1980).

Let us review some very basic notions of the theory presented in Chomsky (1980). The theory is developed to account for a number of properties of control in infinitival structures. It is motivated on grounds completely independent of the problem that concerns here.

Suppose that NPs are marked for Case in certain syntactic contexts. In particular, assume that Case marking follows the general principles given in(47)

(47)a. NP is oblique when governed by P and certain verbs.

b. NP is objective when governed by V.

c. NP is nominative when governed by Tense.

On Contractions in English(2)

It is required that all lexical NPs be Case-marked. This is accomplished with a filter, as in (48).

(48) *N, where N has no Case.

Given these principles, it follows that the subject of an infinitive must be a nonlexical NP, i. e. [NP e] , unless it is governed by the preposition *for*, which may appear in COMP or by a member of a class of verbs which exceptionally assign Case over a clause boundary so-called “noncontrol” verbs. One of these verbs is *want*. For example:

(49) You want Mary to kiss you.

That is, NP in the structure given in (50) must be a Case-marked NP, Otherwise, (48) would rule out (49).

(50) ... want [NP₁ to VP]

Notice that this is not true of Raising verbs in general. In other words, if Raising does not apply, the resulting sentence is ungrammatical:

(51) *It used some of those guys to audit my course.

Put yet another way, the subject NPs of infinitival complements embedded under Raising verbs are not in a Case-marking position.

Let us now return to the contraction facts. An obvious difference now emerges between the trace left by *Wh*-Movement and the trace left by Raising. The trace left by *Wh*-Movement is Case-marked, while the trace left by Raising is not.

We would not expect contraction to occur in a sentence in which a lexical NP intervenes between the trigger verb and *to*. For example, contraction is not possible in a sentence like (49). Jaeggli assumes that Case-marked traces function like lexical NPs; that is, like terminal symbols. His solution to the contraction facts is that a Case-marked trace blocks contraction, while a trace which is not marked for Case allows it.

This analysis accounts for all of the English data in PP (1978). And it is carried out entirely within the framework of trace theory, using the theory of Case and other completely independently motivated assumptions. This account, he claims, is essentially the one presented in Chomsky (1977). That solution assumed that the phonetic consequences of presence of trace are limited to terminal symbols (variables). The problem with that analysis, as mentioned in chapter III, is that the presence of those terminal elements is not transparent to the rule of contraction, since they are inserted by a rule which forms part of the mapping from surface structure to logical form, and presumably the rule of contraction is part of the mapping from surface structure to phonological representations.

Moreover, there are the problems with the fast speech phenomena. Andrews (1978) observes marginal forms, *hadda* and *wanna dda*, only in fast speech. He thus finds such forms as following.

(52)a. I won't conesenna waive my rights.

b. We wenna Chicago.

c. I intenna sue.

d. I demanna see a lawyer.

e. I'm [tarajn] fix the accelerator.

f. We're [g jn] Chicago.

g. He [s] stop the war.

h. They've [traj] end the fighting.

These require substantially more rapid speech than the regular *to* contraction forms.

The fast speech phenomena differ from the *to* contraction phenomena in not giving clear results with Horn's paradigm:

(53)a. Who do you intenna shoot?

b. Who are you askinna leave?

c. Who are they expectinnuw attack?

d. The man they [d♣sajrJ♣] shoot refused.

e. The man they [♣ksp°kt♣J♣] shoot refused.

While the phonological reductions may induce a slight preference for the readings in which the questioned or relativized NPs are

On Contractions in English(2)

taken as the subjects rather than the objects of the complement verbs, the effect is in his opinion too weak to draw firm conclusions from.

Observe also the lack of a clear difference in acceptability between the following sentences, in which the (a) example has the *wh*-word underlyingly between *send* and *to* and the (b) example does not:

(54)a. What did they send Chicago?

b. What did they send Chicago for?

Quantitative observation of normal speech might yield some significant data in such cases, but insofar as the unaided intuition can discern, traces have no significant effect on these fast speech phenomena.

5. CONCLUSION

To capture the adequate account of *to* contraction, it is necessary to examine a lot of theoretical points which are not directly related to *to* contraction. In particular, it is important to observe whether the contraction triggers other than *want* belong to auxiliaries, we will face a number of serious problems for the phrase structure rules expanding AUX, as mentioned in PP (1979). Furthermore, *have (to)*, at least, is shown to fail all criteria for 'auxiliaryhood'. Therefore, as it stands, Jaeggli's analysis seems to be favorable.

His analysis shows that trace-theoretical account is indeed available, contrary to the claims made by PP.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Andrews, A. (1978) "Remarks on *To* Adjunction," *Linguistic Inquiry* 9, 261-268
- Baker, C. L. and M. K. Brame (1972) "Global Rule: A Rejoinder," *Language* 48, 51-75
- Chomsky, N. (1973) "Conditions on Transformations," in S. R. Anderson and P. Kiparsky eds.
- Chomsky, N. (1976a) "Conditions on Rules of Grammar," *Linguistic Inquiry* 2, 303-351
- Chomsky, N. (1976b) "On Wh Movement," P. Culicover, T. Wasow, and A. Akmajian, eds.
- Chomsky, N. and H. Lasnik (1977) "Filters and Control," *Linguistic Inquiry* 8, 425-504
- Chomsky, N. and H. Lasnik (1978) "A Note on Contraction," *Linguistic Inquiry* 9, 268-274
- Feingo, R. (1977) "On Trace Theory," *Linguistic Inquiry* 8, 35-62
- Lakoff, G. (1970) "Global Rules," *Language* 46, 627-639
- Jaeggli, O. A. (1980) "Remarks on *To* Contraction," *Linguistic Inquiry* 11, 392-245
- Lightfoot, D. (1976) "Trace Theory and Twice-Moved NPs," *Linguistic Inquiry* 7, 559-582
- Postal, P. M. (1972) "On Some Rules That Are Not Cyclic" *Linguistic Inquiry* 3, 211-222
- Postal, P. M. and G. K. Pullum (1978) "Traces and the Description of English Complementizer Contraction,"
- Pullum, G. K. and P. M. Postal (1979) "On an Inadequate Defence of 'Trace Theory'" *Linguistic Inquiry*
- Pullum, G. K. and D. Wilson (1977) "Autonomous Syntax and the Analysis of Auxiliaries," *Language* 53
- Umezwa, T. (2002) "On Contractions in English" *Bulletin of Gifu City Women's College* 52, 41-50

(提出期日 2003年3月5日)