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		8	TİPOGRAFİK ANİMASYONUN GÖRSEL HİKÂYE ANLATIMINDA KULLANIMI: BİR KARŞILAŞTIRMALI ÇALIŞMA	BERHİV EKİN

## CONSTRUCTIONS THAT DEPEND ON AUXILIARIES

**Sashka Jovanovska**

PhD, Assistant Professor at the Department of English Language and Literature, Faculty of  
Philology, Goce Delcev University, Stip, North Macedonia,

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3965-8697>

**Marija Talevska**

MA, Bitola, North Macedonia,

**Marija Tashkoska**

MA ,Prilep, North Macedonia,

### Abstract:

As noted by Sag and Wasow (1999, p. 295) the English auxiliary system involves a relatively small number of elements interacting with each other in complicated and intriguing ways. This has been one of the main reasons for making the system the most extensively analyzed empirical domains in the literature on generative syntax. This paper shows that the precise lexicon information on auxiliary verbs and constructional constraints sensitive to the presence of an auxiliary verb can play important roles in predicting various related properties. In particular, facts such as linear ordering restrictions among auxiliaries can directly follow from the precise subcategorization information on the auxiliary verbs. It also shows that constructional constraints can explicitly express generalizations among auxiliary-sensitive phenomena such as negation, inversion, contraction, and ellipsis, which we would otherwise miss.

**Key words:** English auxiliary, negation, inversion, contraction, VP ellipsis,

### INTRODUCTION

One of the main research issues in the study of English auxiliary system concerns ontological issues: is it necessary to posit 'auxiliary' as an independent part of speech or not? Auxiliary verbs can be generally classified as follows<sup>1</sup>:

- modal auxiliary verbs such as will, shall, may, etc.: have only finite forms and combine with a base VP.
- have/be: have both finite & nonfinite forms and select a past participle VP.
- do: has a finite form only with vacuous semantic meaning.
- to: has a nonfinite form only with vacuous semantic meaning.

Such auxiliary verbs behave differently from main verbs in various respects. Ross (1969) provides strong arguments to treat 'these so-called auxiliary verbs' to be categorized as V, though they are crucially different in terms of the semantic contribution. For example, both

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<sup>1</sup> Chomsky (2000)

auxiliary and main verbs bear tense information and can undergo the same syntactic operations such as gapping, as shown in (1):

- (1) a. John drank water and Bill \_\_\_ wine.  
b. John may drink water, but Bill \_\_\_ drink beer.

Such phenomena provide apparent stumbling blocks to assign a different lexical category to the English auxiliary verbs from the main verbs.

**Distinction between auxiliary and main verbs:** Another important issue that raises in the study of the English auxiliary system is the question of which words function as auxiliary verbs and how we can differentiate the two. As noted in previous literature (see Akmajian et al., 1979; Pullum & Wilson, 1977), most reliable criteria for auxiliaryhood seems to lie in syntactic phenomena such as negation, inversion, contraction, and ellipsis (henceforth, NICE):

1. Negation: Only auxiliary verbs can be followed by not as a sentential negation (have and be too):

- (2) a. Tom will not leave.  
b. \*Tom kicked not a ball.

2. Inversion: Only auxiliary verbs can undergo the subject-aux inversion.

- (3) a. Will Tom leave the party now?  
b. \*Left Tom the party already?

3. Contraction: Only auxiliary verbs can have contracted forms with the suffix n't.

- (4) a. John couldn't leave the party.  
b. \*John leftn't the party early.

4. Ellipsis: The complement of an auxiliary verb, but not of a main verb can be elided.

- (5) a. If anybody is spoiling the children, John is \_\_\_ .  
b. \*If anybody keeps spoiling the children, John keeps \_\_\_ .

In addition to these NICE properties, tag questions can be another criterion: an auxiliary verb can appear in the tag of tag questions, but a main verb cannot:

- (6) a. You should leave, shouldn't you?  
b. \*You didn't leave, left you?

The position of adverbs or floating quantifiers can also be adopted in differentiating auxiliary verbs from main verbs. The difference can be easily observed from the following contrast:

- (7) a. She would never believe that story.  
b. \*She believed never his story.



- (8) a. The boys will all be there.  
b. \*Our team played all well.

Adverbs such as never and floating quantifiers such as all can follow an auxiliary verb, but not a main verb.

**Ordering Restrictions:** The third main research issue centers on how to capture the ordering restrictions among auxiliary elements. Auxiliary verbs are subject to restrictions that limit the sequences in which they can occur and the forms with which they can combine. Observe the following contrast:

- (9) a. The children will have been being seen.  
b. He must have been being interrogated by the police at that very moment.
- (10) a. \*The house is been remodelling.  
b. \*Margret has had already left.  
c. \*He has will seeing his children.  
d. \*He has been must being interrogated by the police at that very moment.

As can be observed here, when we have more than two auxiliary verbs, they must come in a certain order. In addition, each auxiliary verb requires that the immediately following one be in a particular morphological form.

In the study of the English auxiliary system, any adequate syntactic theory thus needs to address the following issues at least:

- Should we posit an auxiliary category?
- How can we distinguish main verbs from auxiliary verbs?
- How can we account for phenomena (such as NICE) that are sensitive to the presence of an auxiliary verb?
- How can we capture the ordering and cooccurrence restrictions among auxiliary verbs?

The aim of this paper is to provide answers to such questions from a lexicalist, constraint-based theory of HPSG. This perspective is basically different from traditionally accepted views that posits movement operations with rather strict configurational structures. In what follows, we will briefly review such derivational analyses.

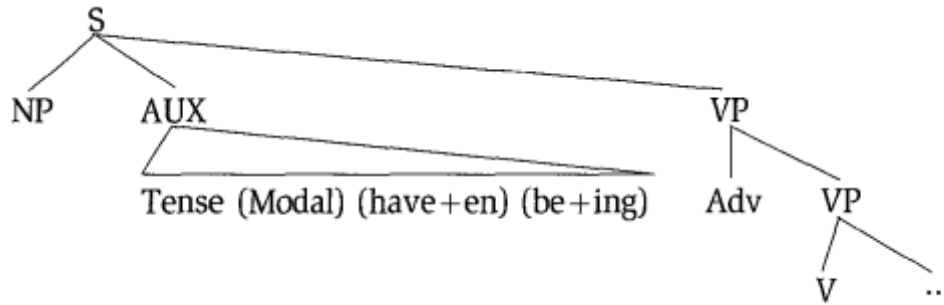
## 2. Development of Derivational Analyses

### 2.1. Chomsky (1957)

The seminal work on these three issues is that of Chomsky (1957). His analysis, introducing the rule, directly stipulates the ordering relations among auxiliary verbs:

Aux - Tense (Modal) (have + en) (be+ing)

The PS rule would generate a deep structure like the following:



In surface structure, the Affix Hopping rule ensures that the obligatory element Tense is hopped to Modal or to the main verb when Modal does not appear.<sup>2</sup>

2) Such a movement operation generates cases like<sup>3</sup>

- a. Mary will solve the problem.
- b. Mary solved the problem.
- c. Mary was solving the problem.

In such examples, if V raises to Aux (Tense), this would then generate cases like 'Mary avoided cleverly Bill.

Another crucial mechanism Chomsky's (1957) system introduces is the so-called English particular rule "do-support" to account for negative sentences:

- a. John must not avoid Bill.
- b. George will not answer the question.
- a. \*Mary not avoided Bill.

<sup>2</sup>The Affix Hopping rule states "Move Aux to V, unless Aux dominates a Modal."

<sup>3</sup> Arguments for Affix Hopping from Aux to V, rather than by movement of V to Aux, come from adverb positions:

- (i) a. Mary cleverly avoided Bill.
- b. John rarely visited Mary.

b. Mary did not avoid Bill.

The presence of not (or Neg) in such examples is claimed to prevent Tense from joining with the verb. This eventually leads us to posit the language particular rule do-support to save stranded Tense.

Several issues arise from such an analysis where the order among auxiliary verbs is imposed on constituents through the interactions among the PS rule, Affix Hopping, and do-support rule. For example, the structure misses the constituent properties we find in coordination

(cf. McCawley, 1988):

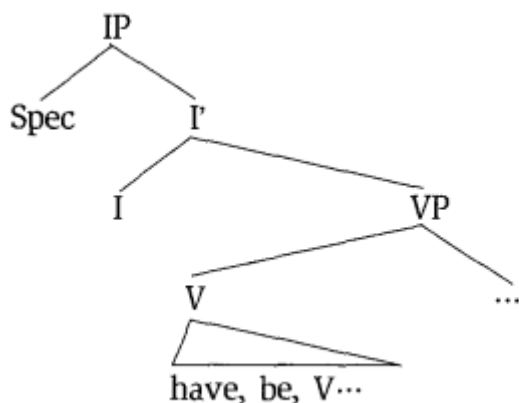
- a. Fred [must have been singing songs] and [probably was drinking beer].
- b. Fred must both [have been singing songs] and [have been drinking beer.]
- c. Fred must have both [been singing songs] and [been drinking beer.]
- d. Fred must have been both [singing songs] and [drinking beer.]

As noted, the auxiliary verb forms a constituent with the following VP. The constituent hood in (b) and (c) also cannot be captured by the structure in above.

Another related question that arises from such a system is whether it is necessary to have two different categories: verb and auxiliary. Though they are different with respect to properties such as NICE, they have substantial similarities. For example, they both can head a sentence; they both can bear tense information; they both are sensitive to identical syntactic phenomena such as gapping. If we conflated the two into one simple category V (while distinguishing the two with a feature like AUX), the grammar would be much simpler.

## 2.2 Government and Binding Theory (Chomsky, '1981)

Incorporating the category Comp and Infl into X-bar theory, the GB (Government and Binding) system developed in Chomsky (1981) posits a structure like for English auxiliary constructions:





In this system, S is the maximal projection of Infl and Infl takes VP as its complement. The basic assumptions that this analysis adopts are the following:

- a. have and be under V raise to Infl,
- b. Otherwise Infl lowers to V (Affix Hopping),
- c. Otherwise do adjoins to Infl (Do-Insertion)

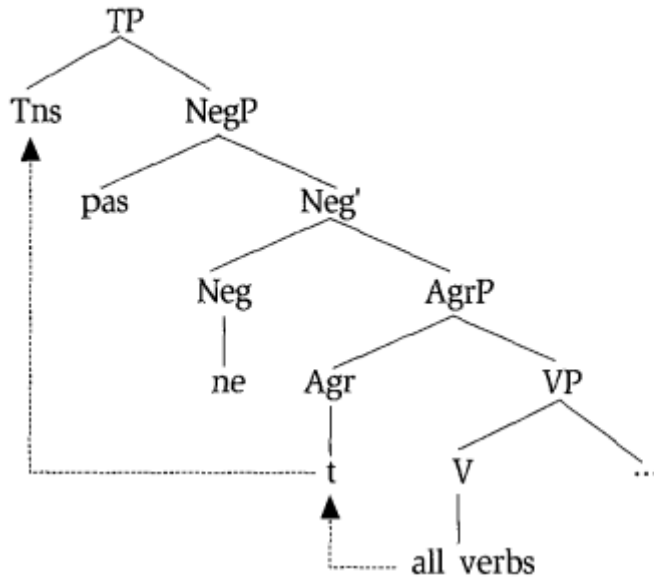
One main difference of this system from an earlier system is that the base-generated have and be under V move up to the Infl position. In so doing, the system differentiates these aspectual auxiliary verbs from other main verbs by introducing a feature value like AUX.

### 2.3. Analyses of Pollock (1989, 1994)

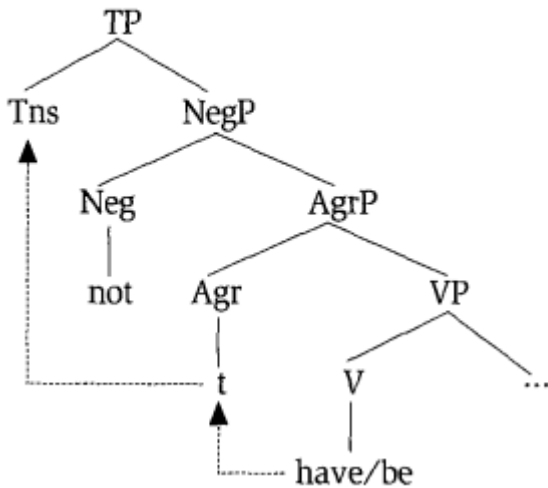
Drawing on the earlier insights of Emonds (1978), Pollock (1989) and his subsequent work (1994, 1997a,b) propose that all verbs in French move to a higher structural position, whereas this is possible in English only for the auxiliaries have and be (see Kim & Sag, 2002). Such a parametric difference between the two languages can be schematized as in the

following trees:

a. French:



b. English:

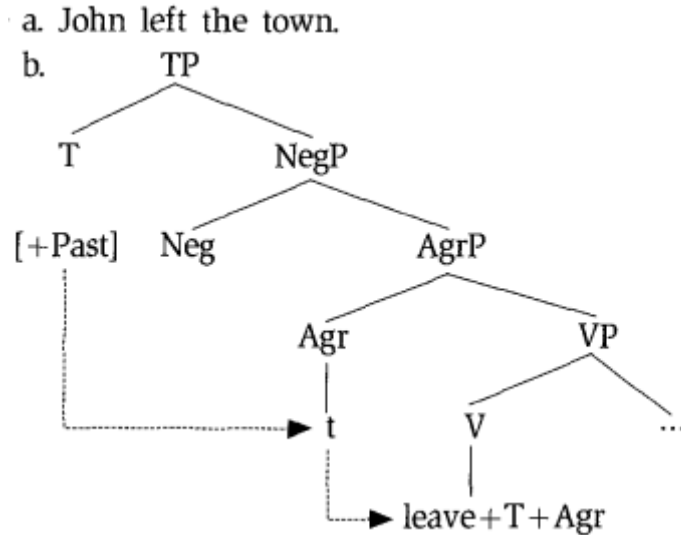


Pollock's (1989) system assumes that, unlike French, English non-auxiliary verbs cannot undergo this movement because Agr in French is 'transparent' (or 'strong') whereas Agr in English is 'opaque' (or 'weak').

The richness of French verbal morphology is assumed to provide the motivation for the strength of French Agr, in consequence of which, the raised verb in French can transmit theta roles to its arguments through AGR, thus avoiding any violation of the theta criterion. But the weakness of English Agr (assumed to follow from the paucity of English verbal morphology) is what blocks lexical verbs from assigning theta roles once they have moved to Tns. Hence movement of a theta-assigning verb in English would result in a violation of the theta criterion.



Meanwhile, English main verbs do not undergo the head movement process. Rather, they may undergo the transformation of Affix Movement, as sketched in (20b).



In the structure, Tns and Agr should be lowered onto the verb via Affix Movement, generating the S-Structure. The basic spirit of this analysis—that 'morphology determines syntactic movement'—has remained essentially unchanged in subsequent research (Pollock, 1997a, 1997b; Chomsky, 1995) though what triggers V-movement has varied considerably in subsequent work.

However, the treatment of auxiliaries has been rather unstable. Pollock (1989) assumes that main verbs, have and be are generated under V, do under AGR, and modals under T. But in Pollock (1997), main verbs are based-generated under V whereas do, have, be and modals are under Mood or can be generated under T through a reanalysis process.

In Pollock (1997a), V-movement is driven by 'mood' distinctions, where modals, have and be are interpreted as mood markers. In Pollock (1997b), by contrast, V-movement is dependent upon 'interpretable' or 'uninterpretable' 'person' features. From Haegeman's (1995) perspective, English and French are both claimed to have V-movement. The difference between the two languages comes from the fact that French verbs move to I at S-structure and English finite lexical verbs move to I at LF. The English verbs can wait until LF because their features are 'interpretable'.

#### 2.4. Checking and Minimalist Approaches (Chomsky, 1991, 1993)

Departing from Pollock (1989) and Chomsky (1991), Chomsky (1993) adopts a strictly lexicalist view in assuming that verbs are fully inflected from the lexicon. The system, however, still requires the verbs to be syntactically associated with the appropriate functional heads for their inflectional properties to be checked off. Within this system, there is thus

no need for Affix Hopping. His analysis attributes parametric differences between English and French to the question of whether verb raising takes place in overt syntax (French) or in the LF component (English). In English the V-features of Agr are weak and not visible at PF. This allows English to delay V-raising until LF according to the principle of

Procrastinate. This system plays a central role in ruling out examples like

\* John likes not Mary.

In accounting for cases like above, the system takes have and be to be semantically vacuous, hence not visible to LF operations.

a. John has not returned the book yet.

b. John is not a student.

This assumption requires have and be to be overtly raised before LF operations in order to avoid a crash at LF. As pointed out by Lasnik (1999), such a lexicalist, minimalist approach raises several questions. It is unclear whether have and be are always semantically vacuous for cases like the following:

a. There is a solution.

b. John has money.

a. There is not a solution.

b. John has not money. (British English)

In addition, as noted by Lasnik (1995, 1999), the limit of Chomsky (1993) analysis concerns an account of examples like the following:

\*John not likes Mary.

Since the system posits neither affix lowering operation nor do-support, it cannot explain why the derivation does not crash in examples.

## Summary

Transformational analyses have posited a universal basis for a wide range of constructions and hence hold promise for providing an explanation of language-particular divergences in terms of parametric variation. We are not in a position to discuss the issues raised from such views in detail. The goal of this paper is just to sketch a radically different, lexicalist account of the English auxiliary system. In what follows, the paper observes basic properties of modals, have/be, and do and to and then motivates our lexicalist treatment of English auxiliaries within the articulated feature system of HPSG. It also shows that the present approach with enriched lexical information can provide a straightforward account for the ordering restrictions among auxiliaries and related phenomena such as NICE properties.



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