Ling 566 Nov 21, 2017

Auxiliaries cont: NICE

Overview

- NICE properties of auxiliaries
- The auxiliary do
- NICE properties (lexical rules)
- Reading questions

Descriptive Summary of the NICE Properties

Negation

Sentences are negated by putting *not* after the first auxiliary verb; they can be reaffirmed by putting *too* or *so* in the same position

Inversion

Questions are formed by putting an auxiliary verb before the subject NP

Contraction

Auxiliary verbs take negated forms, with *n't* affixed

Ellipsis

Verb phrases immediately following an auxiliary verb can be omitted

Negation (and Reaffirmation)

• Polar adverbs (sentential *not*, *so*, and *too*) appear immediately following an auxiliary

Pat will not leave
Pat will SO leave
Pat will TOO leave

- What about examples like *Not many people left*?
- What happens when you want to deny or reaffirm a sentence with no auxiliary?

Pat left
Pat did not leave
Pat did TOO leave

The Auxiliary do

- Like modals, auxiliary *do* only occurs in finite contexts: *Pat continued to do not leave
- Unlike modals, *do* cannot be followed by other auxiliaries: **Pat did not have left*

The ADV_{pol}-Addition Lexical Rule

$$\begin{bmatrix} pi\text{-}rule \\ & & \\ &$$

What does the type pi-rule mean?

- It maps words to words (hence, "post-inflectional")
- It preserves MOD values, HEAD values as a default, and (like other lexical rule types) SEM values as a default

Why doesn't ADV_{pol}-Addition LR mention VAL?

$$\begin{bmatrix} pi\text{-}rule \\ & \\ \text{INPUT} & \left\langle \mathbf{X} \right., \begin{bmatrix} \mathbf{SYN} & \begin{bmatrix} \mathbf{verb} & \\ \mathbf{FORM} & \mathbf{fin} \\ \mathbf{POL} & -\\ \mathbf{AUX} & + \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\ & \\ \text{ARG-ST} & \left\langle \mathbf{II} \right\rangle \oplus \mathbf{A} \\ \text{SEM} & \begin{bmatrix} \mathbf{INDEX} & s_1 \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\ & \\ \text{OUTPUT} & \left\langle \mathbf{Y} \right., \begin{bmatrix} \mathbf{FQL} & \mathbf{II} \\ \mathbf{YAL} & \begin{bmatrix} \mathbf{POL} & +\\ \mathbf{YAL} & \begin{bmatrix} \mathbf{SPR} & \left\langle \mathbf{Z} \right\rangle \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \\ & \\ \text{SEM} & \begin{bmatrix} \mathbf{INDEX} & s_2 \\ \mathbf{RESTR} & \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \mathbf{ARG} & s_1 \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \end{bmatrix} \rangle \oplus \mathbf{A} \\ & \\ \text{SEM} & \begin{bmatrix} \mathbf{INDEX} & s_2 \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\ \\ & \\ \text{SEM} & \begin{bmatrix} \mathbf{INDEX} & s_2 \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\ \\ & \\ \end{bmatrix}$$

What is the role of these indices?

$$\begin{bmatrix} pi\text{-}rule \\ & & \\$$

Which *not*s does the rule license?

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{pi-rule} & & & & & & & & & & & \\ \text{INPUT} & & & & & & & & & & \\ \text{SYN} & & & & & & & & & \\ \text{HEAD} & & & & & & & & \\ \text{FORM fin} & & & & & & \\ \text{POL} & & & & & & \\ \text{ARG-ST} & & & & & & & \\ \text{SEM} & & & & & & & \\ \text{INDEX} & s_1 \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\ \\ \text{OUTPUT} & & & & & & & \\ \text{SYN} & & & & & & \\ \text{HEAD} & & & & & & \\ \text{INDEX} & s_1 \end{bmatrix} \\ \\ \text{OUTPUT} & & & & & & \\ \text{ARG-ST} & & & & & \\ \text{SEM} & & & & & \\ \text{INDEX} & s_2 \\ \text{RESTR} & & & & \\ \text{ARG-ST} & & & & \\ \text{SEM} & & & & \\ \text{INDEX} & s_2 \end{bmatrix} \\ \\ \text{SEM} & & & & \\ \text{INDEX} & s_2 \end{bmatrix}$$

Andy must not have been sleeping?

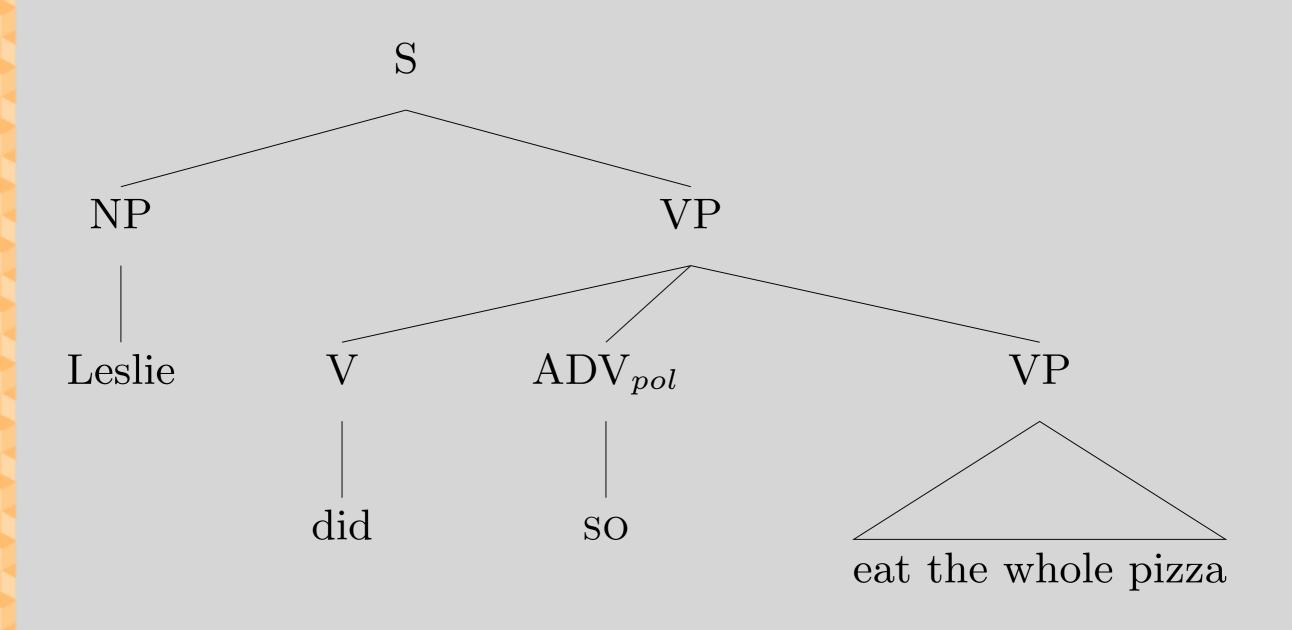
Andy must have not been sleeping?

Andy must have been not sleeping?

Kleptomaniacs cannot not steal.

Kleptomaniacs cannot not steal.

Negation and Reaffirmation: A Sample Tree



Inversion

- Yes-no questions begin with an auxiliary: *Will Robin win?*
- The NP after the auxiliary has all the properties of a subject
 - Agreement: *Have they left?* vs. **Has they left?*
 - Case: **Have them left?*
 - Raising: Will there continue to be food at the meetings?
- What happens if you make a question out of a sentence without an auxiliary?

Robin won
Did Robin win?

The Inversion Lexical Rule

How the Rule Yields Inverted Order

...plus the ARP

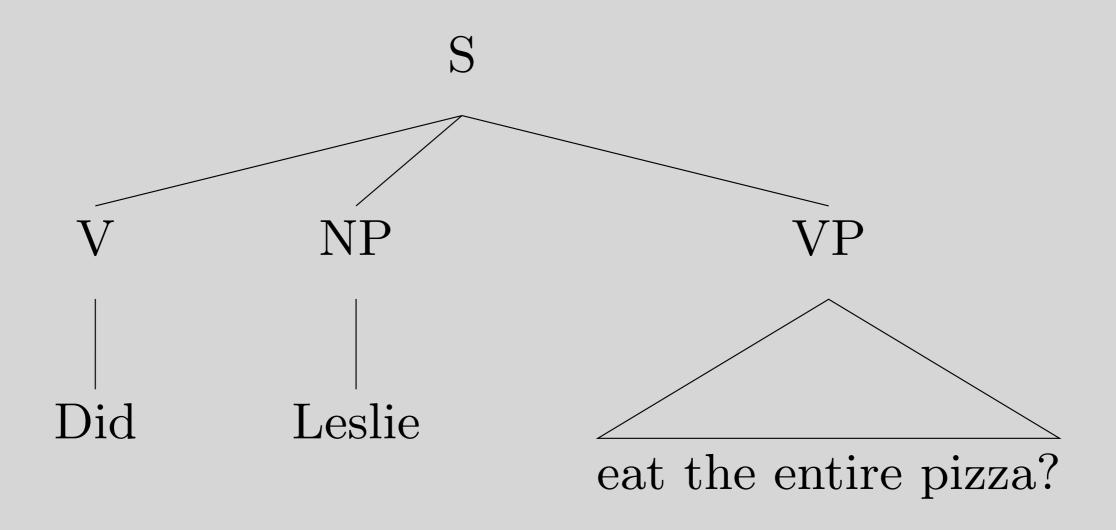
The Feature INV

- What is the INV value of inputs to the Inversion LR?
 - Perhaps surprisingly, the input is [INV +]
 - Word-to-word rules (*pi-rules*) have default identity of HEAD features, and no INV value is given on the input
- Then what work is the feature doing?
 - It's used to mark auxiliaries that can't or must be inverted You better watch out vs. *Better you watch out I shall go (shall ~ 'will') vs. Shall I go? (shall ~ 'should')

Other Cases of Inversion

- Inversion is not limited to questions
- Preposed negatives: Never have I been so upset!
- Conditionals: *Had we known, we would have left.*
- Exclamations: May your teeth fall out!
- Does our rule account for these?
- No. Our rule's output says [MODE ques]. And each construction has slightly different idiosyncrasies.
- How might we extend our analysis to cover them?
- Define a type of inversion lexical rules, sharing certain properties, but with some differences.

Inversion: A Sample Tree



Contraction

- There are several types of contraction in English, but we're only talking about words ending in *n't*
- It may seem like just *not* said fast, but there's more to it
 - Only finite verbs can take n't:
 *Terry must haven't seen us
 - There are morphological irregularities:

The Contraction Lexical Rule

Most of the work is in the semantics

$$\begin{bmatrix} pi\text{-}rule \\ & \\ \text{INPUT} & \left\langle \mathbb{Z} \right., \begin{bmatrix} \text{SYN} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{Werb} & \\ \text{FORM} & \text{fin} \\ \text{AUX} & + \\ \text{POL} & - \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle$$

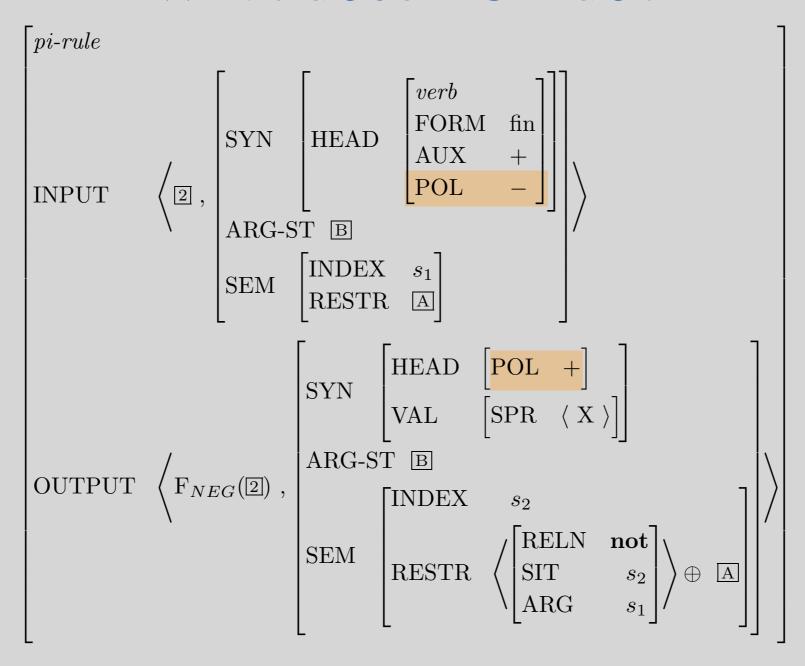
$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ARG-ST} & \mathbb{B} \\ \text{SEM} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{INDEX} & s_1 \\ \text{RESTR} & \Delta \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{OUTPUT} & \left\langle F_{NEG}(\mathbb{Z}) \right., \begin{bmatrix} \text{SYN} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} & [\text{POL} & +] \\ \text{VAL} & [\text{SPR} & \left\langle X \right\rangle] \end{bmatrix} \right.$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ARG-ST} & \mathbb{B} \\ \text{INDEX} & s_2 \\ \text{SEM} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{INDEX} & s_2 \\ \text{RESTR} & \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \text{RELN} & \textbf{not} \\ \text{SIT} & s_2 \\ \text{ARG} & s_1 \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \oplus \Delta \end{bmatrix}$$

Why?

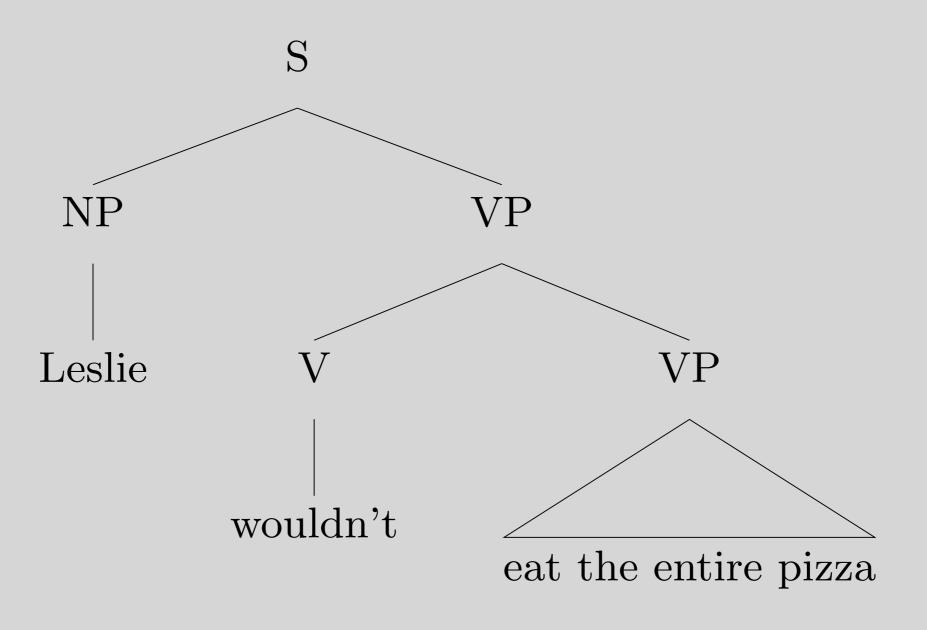
What does POL do?



*We can'tn't stop

*They won't TOO mind

Contraction: Sample Tree



Ellipsis

- Ellipsis allows VPs to be omitted, so long as they would have been preceded by an auxiliary
- * Pat couldn't have been watching us, but Chris
- Unlike the other NICE properties, this holds of all auxiliaries, not just finite ones.
- What is the elliptical counterpart to a sentence with no auxiliary?

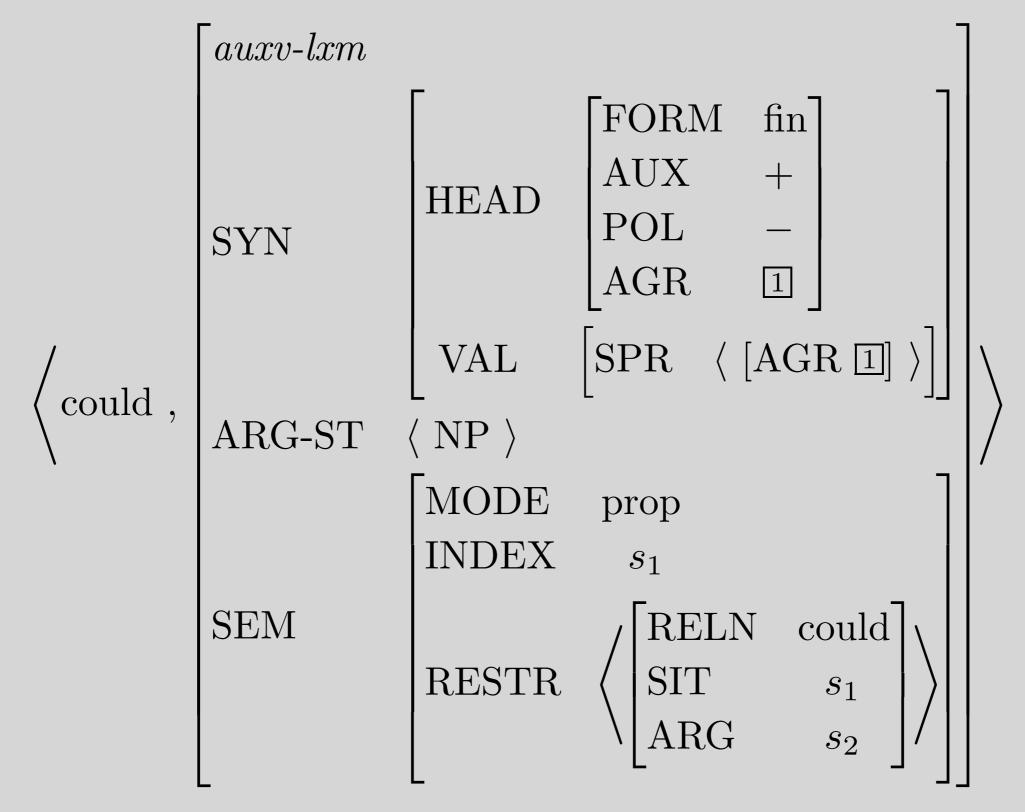
Whenever Pat watches TV, Chris watches TV Whenever Pat watches TV, Chris does

The Ellipsis Lexical Rule

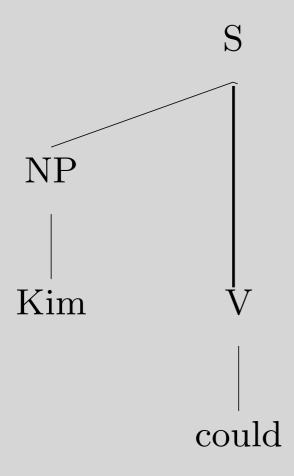
$$\begin{bmatrix} d\text{-}rule \\ \text{INPUT} & \left\langle \boxed{1}, \begin{bmatrix} auxv\text{-}lxm \\ \text{ARG-ST} & \left\langle \boxed{2} \right\rangle & \oplus & \boxed{A} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \\ \text{OUTPUT} & \left\langle \boxed{1}, \begin{bmatrix} dervv\text{-}lxm \\ \text{ARG-ST} & \left\langle \boxed{2} \right\rangle \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \end{bmatrix}$$

- Note that this is a derivational LR (*d-rule*) -- that is, lexeme-to-lexeme
- This means that SYN and SEM are unchanged, by default

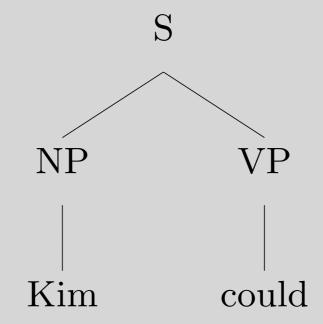
Ellipsis: A Sample Output



Ellipsis: A Sample Tree



Semantics of Ellipsis



What is the SEM value of the S node of this tree?

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{INDEX} & s_1 \\ \text{MODE} & \text{prop} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{RELN} & \text{name} \\ \text{NAME} & \text{Kim} \\ \text{NAMED} & i \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \text{RELN} & \text{could} \\ \text{SIT} & s_1 \\ \text{ARG} & s_2 \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle$$

Note: s_2 has to be filled in by context.

Infinitival to Revisited

• VP Ellipsis can occur after to:

We didn't find the solution, but we tried to.

- This is covered by our Ellipsis LR if we say *to* is [AUX +].
- Since AUX is declared on type *verb*, it follows that *to* is a verb.

do Revisited

- Chomsky's old analysis: in sentences w/o auxiliaries...
 - Tense can get separated from the verb in various ways
 - Negation/Reaffirmation inserts something between
 Tense and the following verb
 - Inversion moves Tense to the left of the subject NP
 - Ellipsis deletes what follows Tense
 - When this happens, do is inserted to support Tense
- Our counterpart:
 - NICE properties hold only of auxiliaries
 - *do* is a semantically empty auxiliary, so negated, reaffirmed, inverted, and elliptical sentences that are the semantic counterparts to sentences w/o auxiliaries are ones with *do*.

Summary

- Our analysis employs straightforward mechanisms
 - Lexical entries for auxiliaries
 - 3 new features (AUX, POL, INV)
 - 4 lexical rules
- We handle a complex array of facts
 - co-occurrence restrictions (ordering & iteration)
 - the NICE properties
 - auxiliary do
 - combinations of NICE constructions

Overview

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- The auxiliary do
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But first

- Be sure to make use of answer keys
- Thanksgiving game: Bagels, Kim likes.
 - (Oh and: no class Thursday, HW7 due on 12/1.)

• Is negation in a sentence applied to only the head verb per se and/or to the semantical situation of the verb? Since the negation indicator not has its individual semantical role, how to account for the semantics of sentences that are paraphrase of each other where negation appears to be applied to the predicate (adjective): This sentence is not grammatical. ~= This sentence is ungrammatical.

- Why don't we handle contractions like we did the possessive 's? That is, we can just treat n't as it's own word that's semantically identical to not. Is it because only certain auxiliaries can contract?
- Do we treat other contractions the same way?

- How do we get these predictions right?
 - (63) a. Will there be children in the audience?
 - b.*Will there win the game?
 - c. Has it annoyed people that dogs bark?
 - d. Are tabs kept on all linguists by the FBI?
 - e.*Are tabs taken on all linguists by the FBI?
 - f. Was advantage taken of the opportunity by students?
 - g.*Was advantage kept of the opportunity by students?
 - h. Did it continue to annoy people that nobody listened?
 - i.*Did it try to annoy people that nobody listened?

• I'm having trouble understanding the bit on pg 407, "As a result, the inherited defeasible identity constraints 'push down' to identify the values of all other features within HEAD and SEM whose values are not specified as incompatible." Does this just mean that when we look at the inherited constraints on an output word, that they will all fill in as long as they are not "defeased"?

• I was not super satisfied with the reason for the new *dervv-lxm*. In the past we've made various things defeasible to accommodate special phenomena...why is this necessary in this case?

Problem 4: Negation and Inversion

Our ADV_{pol}-Addition and Inversion Lexical Rules can interact to allow us to generate negative questions.

- A. Which of the following sentences will be licensed by our rules so far? [Hint: Figure out what the ARG-ST value of has would have to be in each case, and then decide which of those is a possible ARG-ST given our rules and the lexical entry for have.]
 - (i) Has Pat not been sleeping?
 - (ii) Has not Pat been sleeping?
- B. Are these predictions of the grammar correct, according to your intuitions about the language?

In parts (C)-(E), be explicit about the effect of the lexical rules on the ARG-ST of has and on how this interacts with the grammar rules.

- C. How does the grammar rule out the sentence it rules out?
- D. How does the grammar license the sentence it licenses?
- E. Does the grammar license sentence (iii)? Why or why not?
 - (iii) Hasn't Pat been sleeping?