A STUDY OF AUXILIARY REDUCTION IN ENGLISH

By

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0. In the body of this paper I examine the English contraction rule Auxiliary Reduction, while studying J. D. Salinger's The Catcher in the Rye. 1 It may be admitted that the rule is generally neglected or paid little attention to in our school grammar, 2 and it may be worth reexamining the conditions here under which contraction can occur. This is a preliminary paper, which will be followed later by my own data drawn from the study cooperated with American English speaking informants.

Perrin (1972, 532) describes briefly but clearly: The term contraction is applied to the written forms of words in which an effort is made to indicate the colloquial pronunciation, usually by substituting an apostrophe for one or more letters of the standard spelling. As a trait of spoken English, contractions abound in Informal usage but are notably rare in Formal. ³ In General usage a writer will favor or avoid them just as he makes other rhetorical choices, considering the rhythm of the particular sentence, how much distance he wants between himself and his readers, and whether the subject and the occasion call for a relaxed or a restrained style. Contractions are necessary, of course, in actual representations of speech, as in dialog.4

Transformationalists observe this phenomenon and categorize it as the *contraction transformation*. ⁵ Roughly speaking, auxiliary reduction types are as follows:

Zwicky (1970) states that there are four classes of auxiliaries undergoing reduction: (i) is, has; (ii) would, had; (iii) have, will, are; (iv) am. He observes that the reduction takes place:

- (1) only after vowels for classes (ii) through (iv)
- (2) only after pronouns immediately dominated by S in classes (iii) and (iv)
- (3) only after the specific pronoun *I* for class (iv). ⁶

1. BE 7

Technically, all uses of *be* seem to be contracted, but we may find some phonologically restricted instances where no contraction occurs, which will be discussed later.

Zwicky classifies is into five types and admits that is contracts in all of its uses:

- a) progressive be (He's going)
- b) passive be (He's criticized every day)
- c) be of identity (January's the first month of the year)
- d) be of obligation (He's to go right away)
- e) predicative be with following:
 adjective (He's sick)
 noun phrase (He's a farmer)
 adverbial of place (He's in town, He's
 from Idaho)
 adverbial of time (The concert's tonight)
- 1.1 In *Catcher* I find the following instances. (See Table 1)

In the contraction that's I find two kinds of that: one is a demonstrative pronoun, and the other is a relative pronoun. Among the instances in the former use of that, I find the following expressions common: that's all, that's right, that's because, that's why. One of the few instances in the latter use of that is:

- (1) I know it's only his body and all that's in the cemetry 162
- 1.2 Is is contracted in any of the instances, regardless of the type of its predecessor, unlike other variants of be:

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In the study of the reduction forms in J. D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye*, three of my students helped me, who were Kazuya Kabuki, Hideko Tsuchie, and Yasue Yoshihara.

	he's	she's	it's	that's	-body's	NP's	ľm	we're	you're	they're
Progressive	14	4	3	2	11	6	88		29	16
Passive	2		3			. 2			8	3
+Adj	18	33	70	43	4	18	69	1	35	22
+NP	19	13	53	54		15	28	1	24	6
+Adverbia1	9	9	11	22	1	6	20		13	6
= has	10	3	1		1	2				,

(Table 1 BE contraction)

Consonant

- (2) My aunt's pretty charitable 119
- (3) Do you happen to know whose band's at the Taft or the New Yorker, by any chance? 64
- (4) I love it when a kid's nice and polite 125
- (5) New York's terrible when somebody laughs on the street very late at night. 86
- (6) But if a girl's quite young and all 84
- (7) It's not too bad when the sun's out 162
- (8) Nothing's the matter, it's just that all my money and *stuff's* in one of my bags. 199

[r]___

- (9) His mother's blind as a bat. 144
- (10) And your hair's so lovely. 131 Vowel____
- (11) Daddy's gonna kill you. 172
- (12) I mean if somebody says the coffee's all ready and it isn't. 191 what the hell____
- (13) what the hell's in that bag? 212/6 more instances.
- (14) What the heck's his name? 101
- 1.3 Zwicky suggests that we should consider the following examples, all being unacceptable:
 - 1) *Tell me where the concert's this evening.
 - Cf. The concert's in Royce Hall this evening.
 - 2) *I just realized how happy Kurt's these days.
 - Cf. Kurt's very happy these days./I just realized how happy Kurt's been these days.
 - 3) *Do you know who the king's now?
 - *Bert is more distinguished than Jean-Claud's.
 - Cf. Bert is more distinguished than Jean-Claud's ever been.
 - 5) *Herman is as fond of peanuts as Glo-

ria's of almonds.

- Cf. Herman is as fond of peanuts as Gloria's enamoured of almonds.
- 6) *Fafnir is nasty when you tickle him, and Fasolt's when you tell jokes.
- 7) *Bruce is thin, and Thelma's too. Cf. Bruce is thin, and so's Thelma.

The failure of Auxiliary Reduction to apply in these cases, as Zwicky observes, has nothing to do with the preceding context. It might seem that the stress on is is too heavy for the contraction rule to apply.

In 1), as well as in 2) and 3), is bears stress because it is the last constituent within the VP, other material that originally followed is having been removed by transformational rule, and adverbs of the type this evening, these days, and now not falling within the VP. 8

In 7), Thelma's too and so's Thelma have identical stress patterns as Zwicky justly noted, but we find the former unacceptable, while the latter the reverse. In the former we know the constituent following Aux has been removed by deletion transformation, leaving the sentence unacceptable. In the latter, on the other hand, we find so, the most common pro-form for predication.

(15) He's carrying this copy of Oliver Twist and so's she. 144

Further, I study the instances in which no contraction occurs, the constituent following Aux having been deleted or moved away. 9

- 8) I wonder how tall {he is. *he's.
- 9) How tall {they are! *they're!
- 10) I am more evil than \(\begin{cases} \text{he is.} \\ *he's. \end{cases}
- 11) He's at least as evil as { I am. *I'm.
- 12) I am nice to Linda, and { you are } to the swan. 10

- 13) Mike is building a house, and Tom is too.
- 14) Akira is tall for a Japanese, and Samoset is for a Mic-Mac. 11
 *Samoset's
- 15) Horace said that his brother is seven feet tall, and

16) A great man $\{my \text{ father is.}\}^{12}$

The following example may show that the reduction is blocked when there exist the stress conditions.

- (16) I don't mean Fm oversexed or anything like that—although I am quite sexy. 58 Here the second am is stressed, being contrasted with the former am, which, in its deep structure, is negative am (I am not oversexed or anything like that—although I am quite sexy).
- 1.4 First observe Table 2 and the instances:

there's here's how's what's where's why's who's

		0 0 110 11 0			TO STATE OF	
11	7	15	26	3	1	12
who	're	what're	how're	where'	re	that're
1		6	1	1		1
(Table 2)						

- (17) I can understand somebody going to the movies because *there's* nothing else to do 122
- (18) Here's my idea. 137

There's, here's are quite usual, but I find no there're, here're forms in Catcher. ¹³ Labov (1969, 756) describes the process of a phonetic equivalent to they being produced. ¹⁴

- (19) 'Well! How's Connecticut?' or 'How's Florida? 148
- (20) 'How's your sex life?', I asked him.

Zwicky suggests a case, stating that stress restrictions are operative:

- 17) How is the weather in Boston?
- 18) *How's is it in Boston?

(where *is* receives greater stress because of the stresslessness of pronouns like *it*)

- (21) What's your name, anyhow, may I ask?
 -69
- (22) 'What's the matter?' I said. 183

I read one instance of has being contracted, followed by got to:

- (23) What's old Phoebe got to spread out? Nothing, 166
- (24) She did? Where's she from? 152
- (25) 'Where's the light?' I couldn't find the light. 50
- (26) 'Where's your date?' I asked him. 30 Labov (1969) notes that Who's it? with dummy it is unacceptable, while Who's IT? with lexical IT ('the person who is IT in a game') is acceptable. In the following first two examples we find is after where. In such case Auxiliary Reduction may or may not occur, only leaving the full form is stressed.
 - (27) 'The thing is, I had an operation very recently.'

'Yeah? Where?'

'On my wuddayacallit—my clavichord.' 'Yeah? Where the hell's that?'

'The clavichord?' I said. 'Well, actually, it's in the spinal canal. I mean it's quite a ways down in the spinal canal.' 101

- (28) He came in griping about how cold it was out. Then he said, 'Where the hell is everybody? It's like a goddam morgue around here.' 44
- (29) No kidding. Why's it better in the East? 152
- (30) Who's calling me up at this crazy goddam hour? 68
- (31) Where are you? Who's with you? 157
- (32) Who's this boy? 31
- (33) Who's that? 11
- (34) 'Who's this'?' she said. 68
- (35) 'Who's your date?' he said. 27

In standard English we may find no ambiguity in the form who's [hu:z], because no one would interpret it as whose [hu:z], in which case he finds no verb in the sentence.

- (36) 'Who're you going around with now?', I asked him. 151
- (37) What're you trying to be-funny? 150
- (38) 'What're you majoring in?' I asked him. 150
- (39) 'What're ya gonna do—sleep in Ely's bed" Ackley said. 52
- (40) How're all your women? 197
- (41) 'Where're the mummies, fella?' the kid

said again. 209

- (42) Just because somebody's dead, you don't just stop liking them, for God's sake—especially if they were about a thousand times nicer than the people you know that're alive and all. 178
- 1.5 The reduction of am, except after I, is less acceptable than the reductions of have, will, and are. Wh-+ 'm (wh-+ am) is unacceptable:
 - 19) *Why'm I to go there?
 - 20) *How'm I to do this?
 - 21) ?Who am (?[huwm]) I to see?/, Who'm I to see?
- 1.6 Zwicky states that the condition that only one segment follow the vowel to be deleted prevents the rule from applying to the forms with enclitic n't, or to having and that there are no double contractions of the type:
 - 22) John'sn't (only John's not / John isn't)
 - 23) we'ren't (only we're not / we aren't) Cf. § 3.5.
- 1.7 Cedergren and D. Sankoff (1972) show the statistical method of maximum likelihood, listing gonna as the firstorder constraint: 15

.89 ___gonna .86 Pro

.65 V

.49 ___Verb

.16 NP

but not

0 [+nuc]___, Pro___, __Adj/Loc

- (43) I'm gonna start reading some good books. I really am. 200
- (44) Relax. I'm not gonna sleep here. I wouldn't abuse your goddam hospitality. 52
- (45) You're gonna miss your ride. 218

I find 8 more instances. We may find the following three types:

24) You are going to You're going to You're gonna miss your ride.

25) *You are gonna to miss your ride.

- 1.8 Auxiliary Reduction fails to apply even after pronouns when they are the last nouns in coordinate subjects, or the final words in relative clauses, or in various types of reduced relatives: 16
 - 26) *You and I're old friends.
 - 27) *The two men who said it was they

- are (*[ð eyr]) arriving on the midnight plane.
- 28) *The tallest of you are (*[yuwr]) being shipped off to Frederick the Great.

But is is acceptable:

29) The man I told you about's here. (Cf. All I need's an audience. 33)

2. WILL

First, study the types in Catcher:

Pro	I'11	we'11	you'11	he'11/she'11			
	61	5	16	7			
		y'11 it					
·	7						
•	(Table 3)						

- (46) What it'll fit and, maybe, what it won't. 197
- (47) It'll depress you. 201
- (48) There'll be oodles of marvellous places to go to, 138

Noun

- (49) the blame'll be on you, not them 97
- (50) Holden'll be home on Wednesday, won't he? 184
- (51) If he ever gets married, his own wife'll probably call him 'Ackley'. 23
- 2.1 Zwicky states that Auxiliary Reduction does not apply after nonpronouns, even those ending in vowels, but in Catcher it does:
 - 30) *Sue'll [suwl]
 - 31) *Diana'll [dayænal]
 - 32) *the car'll [karl]

Also, he states that it does not apply after some pronominal forms (but who'll is acceptable):

- 33) *where'll [weyrl] (Where will you go?)
 Vowel 17
- (52) 'Daddy'll kill you!' she said. 171
- (53) Mrs Morrow'll keep thinking of him now as this very shy, modest guy that wouldn't let us nominate him for president, 61
- (54) *Phoebe'll* say right out loud in the movie 72
- 2.2 As with am, are, Auxiliary Reduction fails to apply after I, you, he, she, we, they and who when they are the last nouns in coordinate subjects, or the final words in em-

bedded complements, or the final words in various types of adjective phrases and clauses or of noun phrases and clauses(Cf. Zwicky, 1970, 332):

- 34) Grace and you will (*[yuwl]) like it in Manitoba.
- 35) Knowing who will (*[huwl]) help us
- 36) To see you will (*[yuwl]) be nice
- 37) The guy next to you will (*[yuwl]) speak first.
- 38) Anyone saying it was I will (*[ayl]) be in deep trouble.
- 39) A man as tall as he will (*[hiyl])

3. HAVE

According to Zwicky, the uses of *have* fall into three classes:

- a) perfective have
- b) the main verb *have* in its central senses of possession, location, availability, etc.
- c) the main verb *have* in various restricted, idiomatic, or derived usages:

He has a party every night. ('hold', 'give')

She has a baby every twelve months. ('give birth to')

I have to write a letter. [Obligation] Mildred has Frank pick her up every day at noon. [Causative]

- **3.1** The forms of perfective *have* contract freely. Note the tags:
 - 40) He has been watching TV,

{ hasn't he? *doesn't he?

- (55) I mean I've left schools and places I didn't even know I was leaving them.
- (56) We've enjoyed talking to you so much.
- (57) You've probably seen the ads, anyway.
 6
- 3.2 The forms of have in its central senses do not normally contract in Zwicky's dialect, but he admits that they do in some British dialects. Note the tags:
 - 41) He has some money left,

hasn't he? *doesn't he?

- 42) *He's some money left.
- 43) *I've a wart on my nose,
- 44) *Cecilia'd a car at her disposal.
- 3.3 The forms of have in its special senses do not contract at all. Note the tags:

- 45) He has a party every night,

 | *hasn't he? |
 | doesn't he?
- 46) *He's a party every night.
- 47) *She's a baby every twelve months.
- 48) *Mildred's Frank pick her up every day at noon.

3.4 Wh-

- (58) 'How've you been, Mrs Spencer?' I said again 9
- (59) Mostly people who've never read any of his stories. 91
- (60) I'm always saying 'Glad to've met you' to somebody I'm not at all glad I met. 92 Modal
- (61) Anybody else except Ackley would've taken the goddam hint. 24/24 more instances.
- (62) You should've seen the steak. 39/28 more instances.
- (63) I *could've* sworn she went to Shipley. 37/7 more instances.
- (64) He must've picked up that goddam picture and looked at it at least five thousand times since I got it. 24/5 more instances.

3.5 Double contraction

There are no double contractions like:

- 49) we'ven't (only we've not, we haven't)
- 50) we'dn't have (only we wouldn't have, we wouldn't've)
- (65) I wouldn't've read it out loud to him if he'd written it 16/9 more instances.
- (66) I know I shouldn't've said it, and I probably wouldn't've ordinarily, but she was depressing the hell out of me. 139
- (67) I couldn't've sat there another ten minutes to save my life. 19

Also the following type:

(68) You'd've thought I wanted to marry them or something. 74/4 more instances.

4. WOULD/HAD

Zwicky observes that would and had contract after vowels, but they contract in no other contexts. Some cases with [r] are marginal.

51) He'd go

Mary'd go

Kermit and Kay'd gone by the time we arrived.

- 52) *John'd [jand]
 *Sam'd [sæmd]
 *Bill'd [bild]
 *the mob'd [ðə mabd]
- 53) ?The car'd been destroyed. / ?Homer'd go if you let him.

4.1 Pronoun

'd = would

- (69) I thought Γd go downstairs and see what the hell was going on in the Lavender Room. 71/120 more instances.
- (70) we'd know where to get off 7/9 more instances.
- (71) You'd be surprised what was going on the other side of the hotel. 65/30 more instances.
- (72) He'd have been the king of the hotel. 66/39 more instances. /Also 29 instances of she'd type.
- (73) They'd know it was me. 71/21 more instances.

'd rather, 'd better forms are often found:

(74) *I'd rather* be bald than do that. 65/7 more instances.

'd = had

- (75) I'd wiped off all the finger prints and all. 109/60 more instances.
- (76) We'd gone in to New York that morning for this fencing meet with Mc-Burney School. 7
- (77) He didn't care if you'd packed something or not and had it way in the top of the closet, 27/1 more instance.
- (78) She'd turned it on low, though, so the maid wouldn't hear it. 181/10 more instances. / Also 16 instances of he'd type.
- (79) Not that they would've killed me or anything if they'd caught me home 185 I find nobody'd, somebody'd, everybody'd, someone'd, the 'd of each being interpreted as would in most of the cases.
 - (80) Everybody'd think I was just a poor deaf mute bastard and they'd leave me alone, 205
 - (81) somebody'd stolen my camel's-hair coat right out of my room 8
 - It'd, and that'd are usual in Catcher:
 - (82) 'It'd be entirely different,' I said. 138
 - (83) I figured it was some perverty bum that'd sneaked into the school late at night to take a leaf or something and then wrote it on the wall. 207

I find four instances of it'd (= it would), and two instances of that'd (= that had) in all.

4.2 Noun_

- 4.2.1 After nominal forms with vowel endings. Zwicky states that would and had do not contract in no other contexts than after vowels. (Cf. 4.2.2)
 - (84) And when Allie and I were having some conversation about things in general, old *Phoebe'd* be listening. 73
 - (85) I laid awake for just a couple of seconds thinking about all that stuff Mr Antolini'd told me. 198
 - (86) I had a feeling old Ackley'd probably heard all the racket and was awake. 49 The following instance has 'd after adverb:
 - (87) I mean I started thinking that even if he was a flit he *certainly'd* been very nice to me. 202
- **4.2.2** After nominal forms with consonant endings:
 - (88) What a mob'd be there. 161
 - (89) Old Luce'd say, 'Certainly.' 149/1 more instance.

4.3 [r]

We find ten instances with [r], which phenomenon is marginal according to Zwicky:

- (90) If you was a fish, Mother Nature'd take care of you, wouldn't she? 88
- (91) Old Spencer'd practically kill himself chuckling and smiling and all, like as if Thurmer was a goddam prince or something. 175
- (92) I knew my mother'd get nervous as hell and start to cry 211
- (93) there'd be this terrific silence in the back of the car 53
- (94) I kept wanting to kill whoever'd written it. 207

4.4 Wh-

'd = had

- (95) I wished I knew who'd swiped my gloves at Pency, because my hands were freezing. 93
- (96) For instance, if I'd found out at Pency who'd stolen my gloves, I probably would've gone down to the crook's room 93

How is exceptional in that how'd occurs when [haud39] is possible in how did you,

how had you, and how would you.

- (97) 'What was the trouble?' Mr Antolini asked me. 'How'd you do in English? I'll show you the door in short order if you flunked in English, you little ace composition writer.' (= did) 189
- (98) How'd she happen to mention me? Does she go to B. M. now? She said she might go there. She said she might go to Shipley, too. I thought she went to Shipley. How'd she happen to mention me? (=did) 35

After where neither would nor had contracts:

- 54) *Where'd he gone?
- 55) *Where'd you go if you had a chance? Note that *did* contracts to [d] quite extensively after *wh*-words:
 - 56) Who'd he see? [huwd]
 - 57) When'd they go? [wend]
 - 58) What'd he want? [wad]
 - (99) What'd he say to you? 12
 - (100) 'What'd she say?' I said. 'Did you ask her if she still keeps all her kings in the back row?' 46
 - (101) 'What'd you do?' I said. 'Give her the time in Ed Banky's goddam car? 47
 - (102) What'd you say the name of it was?
 - (103) I laughed, and Mrs Antolini yelled something in to me from the kitchen, but I couldn't hear her. 'What'd she say?' I asked Mr Antolini. 189
 - (104) 'Where'dja get that hat?' Stradlater said. He meant my hunting hat. He'd never seen it before: 33
 - (105) If you didn't go to New York, where'd ya go with her? 46
 - (106) Where'd you go with her if you didn't go to New York? 46
 - (107) Leave it alone. Why'd he push you down the stairs? 171

NOTES

- 1. Penguin Modern Classics edition.
 - 'A study of the language of J. D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye* can be justified not only on the basis of literary interest, but also on the basis of linguistic significance.' (Costello, D. P., 1959)
- 2. Labov (1969) describes: 'To the best of my knowledge, the rules for SE (i. e. Standard

- English) contraction have never been explored in print in any detail.'
- 3. It is necessary that we should study linguistic phenomena from a sociolinguistic standpoint. Wolfram and Fasold (1974, 117) note:

$$\begin{vmatrix}
-\operatorname{nuc} \\
-\operatorname{son} \\
-\operatorname{con}
\end{vmatrix} \longrightarrow (\phi)/ \begin{bmatrix}
-\operatorname{nuc} \\
(+\operatorname{son})
\end{bmatrix}$$

$$\# + \sim ([+\operatorname{nuc}])$$

This rule formally includes only linguistic constraints on variability, but it may be possible to incorporate the types of social constraints... into such rules as well.

- 4. Also, Bryant, M. M. (1962), 61-62.
- 5. In the first-generation transformational grammar, it means introduction of the morpheme Cntr after the modal or have or be in the auxiliary of a negative sentence: $X + not Contr + Y \Longrightarrow X + n't + Y$. In the second-generation, it means a phonological transformation, the contraction rule, which converts a sentence with the full form of the negator not into a sentence with the contracted form of not ([nt]).
 - Cf. Lees(1960), Chomsky (1962), Jacobs-Rosenbaum(1968).

6. [] ##
$$\begin{vmatrix} V \\ -\text{tense} \\ -\text{stress} \\ +\text{auxiliary} \end{vmatrix}$$
 [+cons] ## $\begin{vmatrix} 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\ 1 & # & \phi & 4 & 5 \end{vmatrix}$ Restrictions

- (a) If 4 is not [z], then 1 is a word;
- (b) if 4 is not a coronal obstruent ([z] or [d]), then 1 is a segment of a pronominal NP immediately dominated by S;
- (c) if 4 is [m], then 1 is a segemnt of the pronoun *I*. (Zwicky, 1970, 333).Also, Labov (1969, 748).
- 7. Wolfram and Fasold (1974) found the constraints that affect the output of the contraction rule. The rule is favored:
 - 1) if a verb follows: (e. g., John is going is more likely to undergo contraction than an example like John is good or John is a man):
 - 2) if the preceding word ends in a vowel(e. g., Joe is going is favored over John is going);
 - 3) if the following constituent, if not a verb, is a noun phrase (e. g., John is a

man is favored over John is good or John is in Chicago).

See Table 4, and Table 5.

Labov observed another constraint on the output of the contraction rule.

4) If a pronoun proceded (e. g., He is run-ning), then contraction is heavily favored.

Labov's data shows that regardless of the preceding vowel or consonant or following constituent, contraction took place in over 97 percent of the cases. If a pronoun proceded, the rest of the constraints can be ignored and contraction applies to every copula and auxiliary.

 Cf. Chomsky, N. (1965); Lakoff and Ross (1966). Also, Thomas and Kintgen (1974, 186).

Labov (1969) states that it is evident that the grammatical relations between *is* and *are* and the following elements are important. He introduces his own stress rule and a figure.

See FIGURE 1.

- 9. Cf. Zwicky (1970, 335). Also, King (1970); Lakoff (1969a, b).
- 10. 'Gapping' (Ross, 1967).
- 11. 'VP Deletion' (Ross, 1967).
- 12. 'Topicalization'
- 13. T. Toda (1975) studied 1273 instances of 'there be' variants from *Time*, *Newsweek*, etc., but found no *there're* instance.
- 14. Cf. Labov's study of non-standard Negro English (1969).
- 15. Labov (1969) also shows per cent of full, contracted, and deleted forms of is, according to grammatical category of complement. The least deletion and contraction take place before a follwoing noun phrase; more occur before predicate adjectives and locatives; both rules apply with even greater frequency before a following verb with the progressive -ing, and with the highest frequency before the future form gonna.
- 16. Cf. Zwicky (1970, 332).
- 17. In Palmer, F. R. (1974²) we find: The key'll be waiting.

	ENVIRONMENT	•	Example	PERCENT DELETED
Preceding vowe1	Following verb	{Following noun phrase	(Not possible) –
Preceding vowel	Following verb	No following noun phrase	Joe is going	86
Preceding vowel	No following verb	{Following {noun phrase	The play is a musical	80
Preceding No following vowel verb	No following verb	No following noun phrase	The tree is in the yard	n 70
Preceding consonant	Following verb	Following noun phrase	(Not possible) –
Preceding consonant	Following verb	No following noun phrase	The men are going	65
Preceding No following consonant verb	{Following {noun phrase	The women are leaders	37	
Preceding consonant	No following verb	{No following {noun phrase	The children are fine	25

Table 4 Ranking of three linguistic factors favoring contraction.

Wolfram and Fasold (1974. 119)

FOLLOWING ENVIRONMENTS

PRECE Envir	DING ONMENTS	gonna	Verb	Noun Phrase	Adj/Locative
C	Observed	8/9	9/14	18/35	8/32
	Predicted	8.2/9	8.7/14	13.1/35	8/32
v	Observed Predicted	6/6 5.8/6	$12/14 \\ 12.1/14$	51/64 50/64	16/23 17/23
Pro	Observed	23/23	33/34	30/32	64/65
	Predicted	22.9/23	33.4/34	31/32	62.7/65

Table 5 Observed frequencies of contraction by preceding and following environment with frequencies predicted by a variable rule with probabilities. (Sankoff 1972)

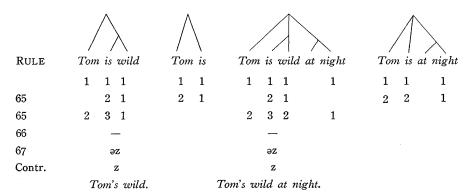


FIGURE 1

Labov (1969, 724)

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