

Derivational Constraints

OMIT p.1  
12/29/68

Tom Bever's fact: in English (and in German)  
you never have to revise your estimate about  
the status of a V such that what you thought  
was a main clause V turns out to be a subordinate

one: [Possible counterexample: Wärest du bereit zu helfen,  
so würde ich passen]

Thus we don't have a rule that deletes who as  
subject follows from this

The man <sup>Ø</sup> who I saw died <sup>Ø</sup> - ok - no confusion here

But The man who saw me died

If this had happened, up to me would be a S

This constraint explains why this rule doesn't  
exist in German - in a subordinate clause like  
wenn der Mann den Hans sah wennte, if den were deleted, up to sah  
would be a S.

If this is right, we should predict that  
 no L with V final will have Rel Pron Del  
 (or that it should lose it) That is, since  
 we know OE was a scrawbler, we should  
 predict that Rel Pron Del doesn't develop  
 until word-order gets fixed - Is this right?

Why can't que delete in French?

As Paul Postal pointed out, this explains why  
 \$ that Del is in subject position

He also points out that it's not a universal  
 of Japanese + Mohawk.

---

Flash (?) - Maybe this will be helpful for 12/30/68  
 typology - SOV L's can have such antiquities, VSO ones  
 Then why can Mohawk scramble?

can't seem to

12/29/68

Noam will say that John can't seem to afford ashtrays

is OK because afford is [+ can't (seem to) — ]

or some such shit.

Well, then, how can he explain that this "selectional constraint" obeys the CSC

\* John can't seem to work very hard (and) to afford a new car

NB: OK w/ or

Fact from Dave

6/14/69

No one could seem to tell the diff.

# Performatives

12/29/68

Another reason for syntactically (yuk yuk) distinguishing performatives from other V is that the former can't disjoin

\* I promise you to leave or I warn you not to watch

This shows that Fuck you etc are also performatives — they can't either.

→ The first reason was that after regret to, performatives are required

NB: since hereby forces performative reading (for some V, at least), this leads to \*5's.

\* I hereby plight you my truth or I vow to support you

Questions and Disjunction

x

12/29/88

How can Q's come from disjunctions, as they must, when S's which can't be disjoined (performatives) can be in Q's? E.g.

I promise you to leave { and / \*or } I warn you not to watch  
NB ↗

But

Do you promise to leave?

What do you promise to eat?



Wait - I'm a stupid shit - these aren't themselves performatives, they merely require performative answers

await

12/24/68

S suggested by p. 12 l. 1 of Chuck Kueberth's paper:

{ Whether this is possible } <sup>\* necessitates</sup> await further <sup>clarification</sup> study <sup>(not it)</sup>  
Bill { requires }  
 { needs }  
 etc { \* departures }  
 { \* knowledge }

? \* discovery

\* claim

work

NO

<sup>Bill</sup>  
 { The fact that he's bald } <sup>\* necessitates</sup> await  
Bill's baldness { needs }  
 { requires } <sup>\* that I explain</sup>  
 { demand } ( explanation )  
 { begs for } mention(ing)  
 { cries out for } note  
 { \* insists on } notice  
 { \* suggests }

<sup>wants</sup>  
<sup>needs</sup>  
 ?? warrants

This rule obeys the CSC \* that requires further study of light and clarification.

Bill requires { patience (\*with Sue) }  
 { careful handling (\*of the eggs) }  
 { love (\*of Max) }

# Ordering and OCs

X  
12/24/68

p.1

If all ordering is done by OCs, then SVI could be explained as a way of making main clauses look SVO. This would explain why only subject-requiring L's have SVI.

Q: Is it the case that all Type B L's can have the subject anywhere?

Probably not — what about

Spanish, Italian

→ Ha variegato molto soltanto Luigi

Is this possible in Italian? If so, NP Shift works over V in Italian too, suggesting that \*amava tua madre mio padre is only bad on grounds of the OC.

---

What about Patric? To Patric is maybe from a step in the embedded S (or something), and For Patric

# Ordering and OC's

X  
12/24/68 p.2

does change constituency.

Hypothesis: All T-rules change constituency only.  
Output and input trees are unordered,  
and should be interpreted as families.  
There is no rule of Scrambling.

Problems: ? NP Movement - this probably changes  
constituencies

Reflexive - why can't it go backwards?

? There Insertion

V Final

Benefits: Statement of NOT Hopping, S Del, Somewhat

Explanation of why I condition on  
NP Shift that subjects in English can't  
shift, and how this connects with SVI

Explanation of why so many ordering  
restrictions turn out to be OC's.



(Articles and OC) x

12/24/68

a relation a lot simpler than 5

\* a lot simpler relation than 5

?? an a lot simpler relation than 5

\*\* a lot simpler a relation than 5

Speculation:

Are all conditions on ordering of elements  
to be stated as OC's?

What about Bit Movement?  
SVI?

Order I needed

1. Clitics
2. Pronom Adj
3. Determiners
4. Adv in German
5. Post V phrases in German
6. Pronominalization
7. Post-verbal constituents in English

This would mean that no left-right conditions could ever be imposed on T-rules — that T-rules are only defined on unordered trees.

Collapsing

12/23/68

(Both) John and Bill believe that <sup>(\*the claim)</sup> identical people came.  
^ }  
\* I live in identical houses }

Beautiful argument for Flowering

(Split)

X

12/23/68

good way to show people why  
surfacism wrinkles our nose.

Really do ad hoc deepism - maybe  
like Noam's thing w/ focus in DS.

Do parallel treatment - find a quote from  
Ray and parody it

---

12/24/68

Another general form of argument - conduct a  
search for the missing rules, conditions, conventions,  
semantic rules, etc that are never mentioned, but  
which must be there for the work to be done.

Analogy to covert sources of power for  
proposed perpetual motion machines.

(Flip)

x

12/21/68

Causal before requires some deep subject (just like) having

I wanted <sup>4 hrs</sup> before I get up ← what is this damn  
S anyway?

I'd see you in hell before { I kiss her  $\rightarrow$  I kiss you  
? P'll seem to me that she's  
pretty  
\* <sup>your</sup> ~~the~~ license will be approved  
by me

---

~~He tried marrying her, but I already had tried~~

(Neg)

X  
12/21/68

We saw neither hide nor hair of X  
\*both

I don't believe we've seen hide nor hair of him

( VP Deletion )

12/20/68

Fact from Dave:

VP Deletion never deletes Ing VP's

Cf. He swam, but I avoided  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{IP} \\ * \end{array} \right\}$

Problem: Why can IP work after intransitive be?

11/7/71: I'm not sure it always does - maybe only on big VP's.  
Example: I would be trying it.

succeeded in  
He marrying a Greek, but I wouldn't want to try(it) = marrying  
\* -

VP Deletion

12/19/68

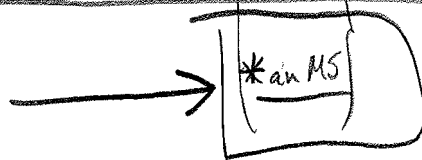
p.1

Under what conditions can VP's, part of which is missing, be deleted?

one book which I have read, and one which I want to

are in my bag

NB



However, NB

I girl who I had kissed left with a boy who

{ \*she wanted to  
\*she never had }

These books aren't easy to read, but here's one which

{ ? I want to  
I'm going to  
\*going to try to }

I wonder if this is islands showing up

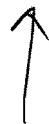
Mark

The girl who I did screw said that the

{ one  
\*spinster }

who I didn't

was jealous



this can be handled by [+Doom], I guess

VP - Deletion

12/19/68 p.2

? These Swedes are fun to goose, but I rarely do

cyclically produced

It really does look like [+Doom] at work

what about S-Deletion?

? \* It was Sheila who I said [that Bill had mistreated],  
but he'll never admit it.

Note this S

A girl who I had often spoken to left with a boy who <sup>\*I never had</sup> never had

\* No girls who I spoke to left with that boy who wanted to



VP Deletion + PP

12/19/68 P.1

As we noted earlier, these are impossible

\* I didn't want to go, but Bill insisted on  
[ approved of  
kept Sally from ]

Now note:

I wasn't able to read it, but Bill succeeded [ \* in  
to  
it  
∅ ]

This suggests that  $\exists$  rule in P  $\Rightarrow \emptyset$   
Probably also  $\square$  pr I was writing + Tom was (at it) too

This rule of PP Del is governed - NB

\* I don't want to go, but Bill is [ counting  
planning  
etc ]

It can never work except after the V

\* I tried to go, but Bill kept me  
[ coaxed Sally ]

VP Deletion & PP

12/19/68 p. 2

But halt - what about?

I tried to go, (but Bill prevented me  
because you were forcing me)

I guess I was wrong

Is this rule of PP Del the same  
as the one that gives I approve ? I bet

it is. NB also

Jack began (at it)

↓  
What I'm just beginning at is to spread

but not(??) ? It was supposed to rain, and it's beginning

No - this is fine. Crap

VP Deletion + PP

12/19/68 p.3

Cf. The rule of So Insertion never works after P  
I guess (\*at) so

I thought (\*about) so

So how about saying that "regular" VP Del  
always proceeds via so?

John has left and Bill has too



Bill has [so]<sub>s</sub> too

Ulp - then what about wants to  
seems to  
etc

where so never  
shows up

This doesn't appear to buy me much

( $\frac{S \text{ Del}}{VP \text{ Del}}$  + Crossover) \* 12/18/68

These 2 rules appear to cause no crossover violations  
cf.

? ... but pay up the girl who hadn't wanted to finally died  

---

and

? That I had cancer one of the people who'd been keeping it from me  
finally told me

OC + Acceptability

12/18/68

Why is there such a difference between?

\* \* j'en me rêve

\* I dreamt up it

?? those

and ?? I dreamt a problem about variables up

Answer: Clitics in Spanish + French are part of the word, where order is absolutely frozen.

This type of pronoun is also sort of part of the word containing the verb.

But these guys just have to do with the ordering of constituents larger than the word. So only unacceptability, not salad, results.

(A) Bill, who never realized it, lived in a subway

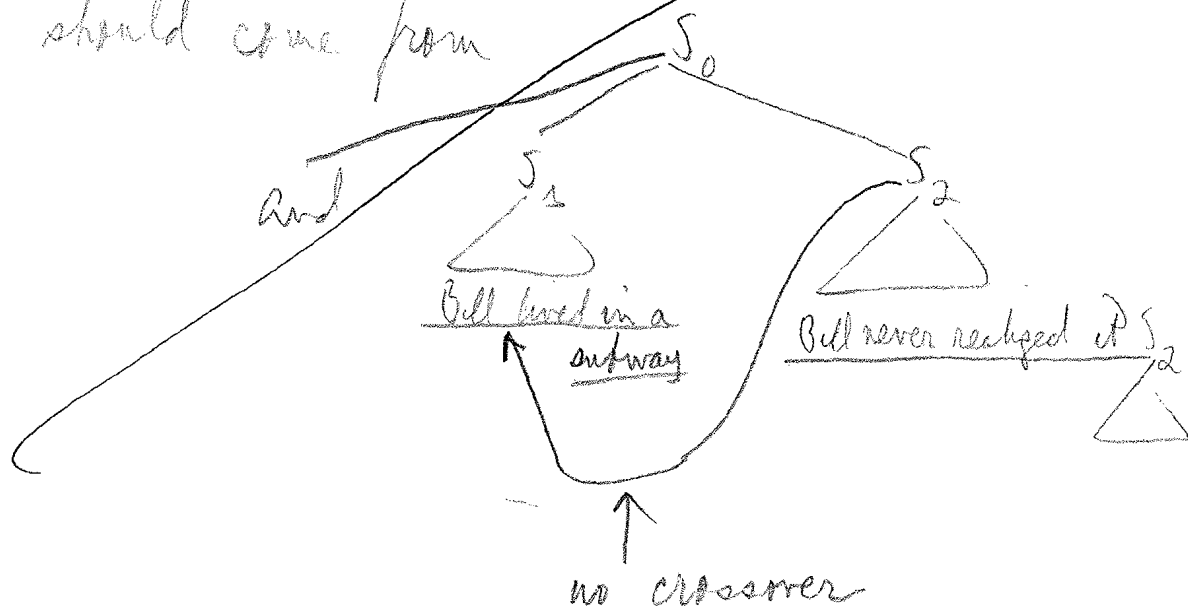
Dave points out that this is a  $\diamond$  w/ restrictives:

(B) \* The man who will never realize P is living in a subway

x

Flash! 12/19/68 - Could this be crossover?

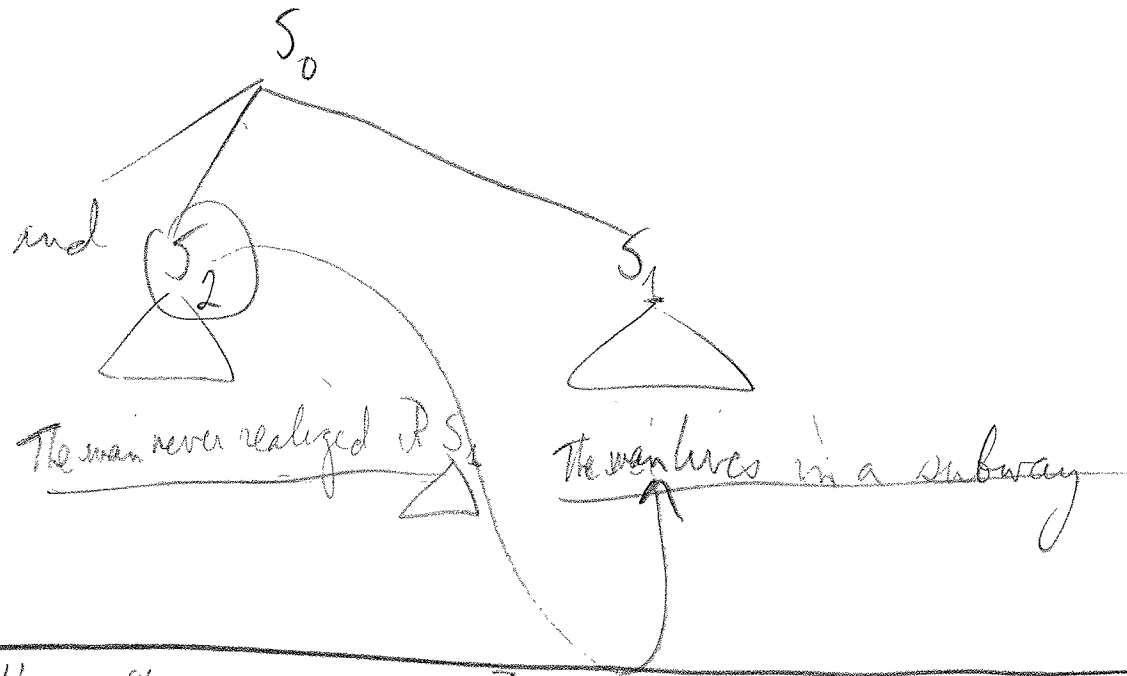
(A) should come from



SDel + Rel cl

12/19/68 p. 2

(B) should come from



It's not crossover - its backwards pronem.

If we say SDel precedes Swooping then, since  $P$  can't go backwards to produce it, we explain \*B.

Exclusion: one-Pronom works with appositive clauses, not out of them

A big brown terrier was playing with Joan, who had always wanted to play with one.

False:

Joan, who had always wanted one, was playing with a terrier.

(S Del + Rel Cls)

12/19/68 p. 3

Same should hold for VP Del

Joan, who had always wanted to pick my nose  
 awkward, → to pick my nose, was  
 but OK

What about w/ restrictives?

All the girls who want to pick their noses can  
 to Ø can pick their noses

The girl who wanted one found a terrier  
a terrier found one

So its only with S Deletion.

Very strange



Performatives

12/18/68

\*herself  
?? myself

A razor with which to shave yourself here

---

//<sub>s</sub>

I told Jane;  
\* a boy who Jane was dating

that a razor with which to shave herself was there.

\* myself

Maybe Dougherty's fact  
John talked to Mary about { their life }  
\*themselves

is to be explained on the basis of the  
CSC. If themselves  $\Leftarrow$  himself + herself  
and these ~~John talked to Mary about himself + herself~~  
are produced by a feature-changing rule <sup>Because:</sup> ~~Want! This is OK! So these should be top!~~  
from deep him + her, and the CSC  
blocks feature-changing rules, then  
we've explained it.

---

This would also explain the Inclusion  
Constraint, except for We expect me to win  
Gorak.

Reflexives and CSC

p. 2

12/18/68

These facts also suggest that my derivation of

The paper will be written by George + myself

from ... me myself, via deletion,  
is right, because only a part of a conjunct  
is getting deleted.

Pseudo-dept 5

12/17/68

{ I believe } ? that what Sam never proved was any <sup>completeness</sup> theorems  
 { \* Peter doesn't know } \* what Sam never proved to be any completeness theorems

~~Gasp - this really suggests  
 that all those nice pseudo-dept 5's  
 are some very surface thing~~

( ? )

Fact pointed out by Tom Smith (Ling 131) 12/17/68

It's time for us to go }  
\*afford a new car }

\* For us to go is time

(wether → yes or no Q)

12/16/68

I wonder whether { John perhaps left  
John left, by any chance } (\* or not)

// 's

Did John { perhaps leave  
leave, by any chance } (\* or not) ?

perhaps

12/16/68

Fact from Rudi:

I <sup>{\*don't know}</sup> asked whether (\*or not) Bill had perhaps left

Did Bill perhaps leave (\*or not)?

Bill is perhaps in Cairo, (\*isn't he)?

Same with by any chance

Direct vs Indirect Quotes

12/16/68

The girl who was fat said { that John was too  
\* "John is too" }



NP Shift

X 12/16/68

NP Shift doesn't work for subjects  
Ordering is for post-verbal constituents

These smell suspiciously the same

would that - if only

X

12/14/68

From Joan's exam:

These guys require real aux.

Well, so does wish. Let's try to prove  
it was there.

No matter WH-word

12/14/68

11. VI. MMIV.  
Bonne Sue Tomer's

— These guys are  
Siamese.

We'll kiss anybody, no matter who

We'll live anywhere, no matter where  
We'll go \* who

\* Nobody went anywhere, no matter where



This shows that this must come from

\* No matter where nobody went, ...

---

if then

12/13/68

If generics come from if then-S's then  
we can explain the following facts

anybody { drunk tomorrow  
who is drunk tomorrow } will be hanged

NB

\* Somebody is drunk tomorrow

By deriving this from this, à la Barbara

if anybody will be drunk tomorrow, he will be hanged

↓ ← by Barbara's rule  
∅

Dare - Aux as MV

12/12/68

fact from George

If Bill should dare leave, ...

This shows that DF rule of To deletion.

Norm will have to say that it is an accident that dare undergoes this rule and can also show up as a modal.

VP Deletion

12/12/68

He said there were ducks on the pond, and there were VP

had been books given to Mary by her admirers, and there had

△

σ

Vocatives + Performatives

12/11/68

If vocatives are dislocated copies of IO's of performatives, we can explain the following facts:

Rice is nice { \*somebody / everybody }

I promise { \*somebody / everybody } that S

NB

move, { somebody / \*nobody }  
{ Somebody / Nobody } move

and I command { somebody / nobody } to move

or  $\Rightarrow$  some  
and  $\Rightarrow$  every

12/11/68

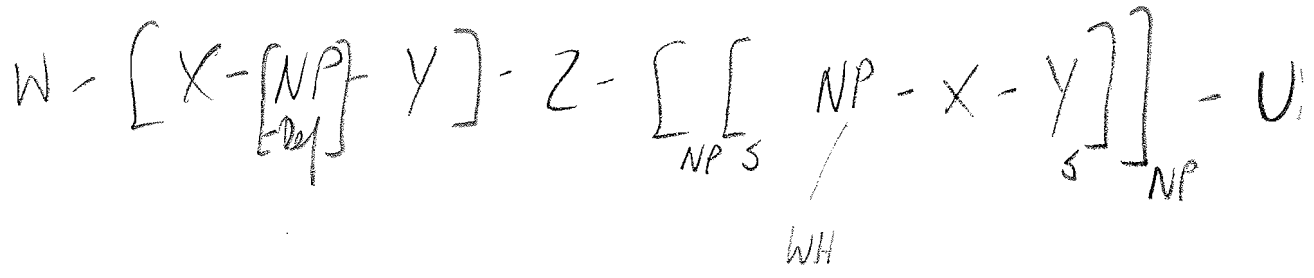
Rice is nice { Tom + Jane  
everybody  
\* Tom or Jane  
\* somebody }



I don't know who

~~W~~ X  
12/11/68 p.1  
NB - non-constituents

There appears to be a rule



1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	OPT →
1	2	3	4	5	6	0	0	9	

Somebody (from Philly) was here, but I don't know who

It must apply on derived structures, cf. I don't know by whom

NB \* I don't know whether

↑  
Agt phrase

{ \* That he will buy something is likely  
It is likely that he will buy something } but I don't know what

↪ This shows that the SSC is working, and that it certainly can't be a surface str. constraint

The fact that this is impossible (... but I don't know a picture of who) shows that the rule <sub>1</sub> must have already worked on the right

I don't know wh-word

12/11/68

x

p. 2

It will be possible to show the ends eligible constraint not to be stateable on surface structure, because of S's like so:

\* I know somebody, priced Betsy to whip him; but I don't know who



If this is the right part conjunct

---

Problem: how can I block

\* he saw someone from Philly, but I don't know what

---

This rule shows clearly that movement constraints can't be stated in terms of SS.

# Abstract Syntax

X 12/10/68

Noam never allows  $V$  to be deleted exc. under identity — we do

(V Prt) x

12/10/68

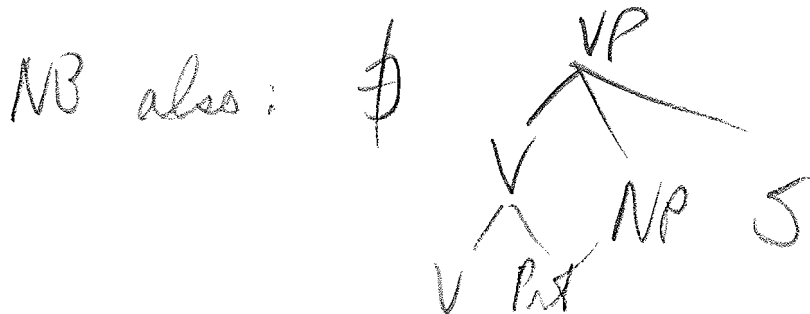
There are:  
I made there out to be

Why can no V Prt undergoes 3 shows in the cream pie  
It Repl in object position?

(cf. There turned out to be exceptions in subj position)

Does this not also suggest that  $\exists 2$  rules?

Can it somehow be related to the fact that  
Adj don't ever have It Repl in obj?



Maybe  $\exists$  - make NP out { to be AP }  
+ VP

dress NP up to VP



take it that S

12/8/68

than - clauses also are relative clauses

We are spending more than I take it that you would like to.

because I take it that S  
X takes it

does not embed

\* Harold knows that I take it that S

(of course, they do embed in declaratives

Harold <sup>\*thought</sup> ~~said~~ that he <sup>\*helped</sup> ~~took~~ it that S

Imperatives

Fact from Mark Feinberg (Queens College student) 12/5/68

or else only goes with imperatives  
+ you'd better

Command and Lexicalism

X 12/4/68

Noam will have to "generalize" the notion of command to account for this but block this

Max's refusal to buy anything surprised { some } body  
[ \*any ]

And if few etc start out inside NP, it will be tough to say command is either first 5 or first NP up.



Auxiliary as MV X 12/4/68

More hatred for Syntactic Structures analysis:

H Affix Hopping is a rule, the ordering

must be like so:

□ because otherwise T<sub>NS</sub> is after be

Rel Cl Red

NP	T <sub>NS</sub> (M)/(Perf)	be
+wh		

↓  
∅

Affix Hopping - which can't use C-Adj, as  
george pointed out, to avoid

be  
  /  \  
be  ing

Modifier Shift

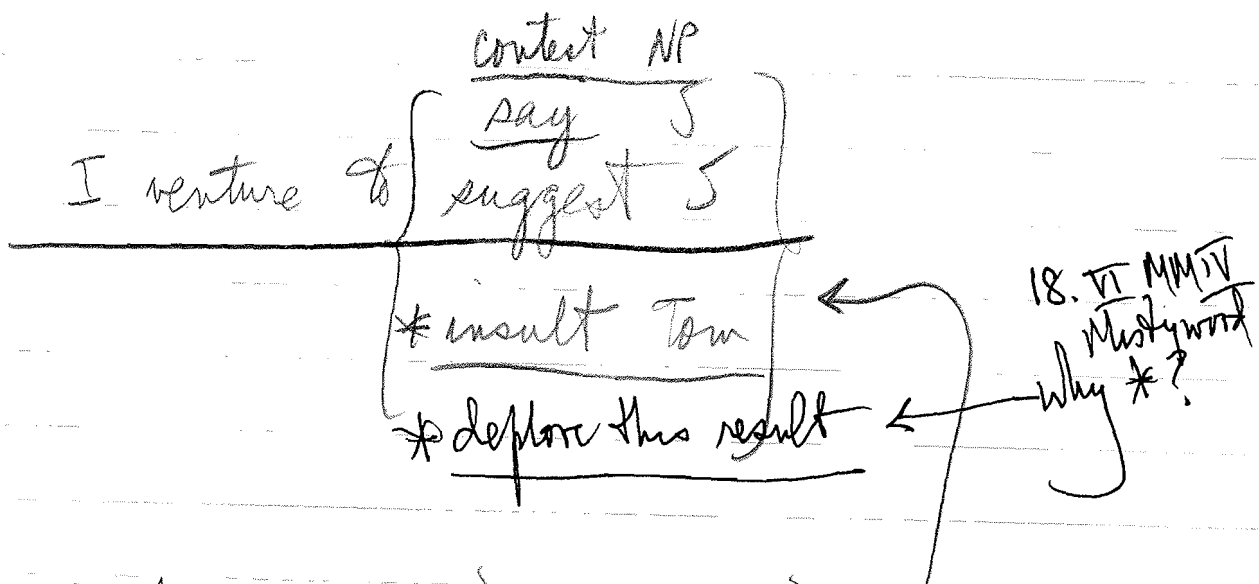
$[ \text{Det} - \text{N} - [ \text{X} \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{V} \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{ing} \\ \text{en} \end{matrix} \right\} \\ \text{Adj} \end{matrix} \right\} ] ] ] ]$  VP NP

This is D, for otherwise the ing and en aren't in the VP. And it must be VP Note this wretchedness

that's mentioned not (ecccch) PreP, because otherwise how can you specify that this V is the head of the VP?

Performatives

12/2/68



Only performatives are possible here, I think

Pos + Neg

12/1/68

\* How tall is John?

\* John is taller than Bill is

But : John is tall to an extent of which you are not

(blands)

X 12/1/68

Neg can't be in the island of the  
compared' adj

Flak for Surfacists

12/1/68

Respectively can't possibly work from 55

\* the men, whose names (I said (Bill thought...)) were <sup>resp,</sup> John & Bob, <sup>resp,</sup> weighed  
200, 300 +  
400 lbs  
resp

To get this ungrammaticality, you'd need  
 a rule of semantic interpretation which is the  
 inverse of Rel Cl formation.

No matter wh 5

12/1/68

No matter whether he leaves { or not  
\* — } , I like him



whether he leaves { or not  
\* — } , I like him

This parallelism shows the 2 to be the same construction

The no matter construction is probably basic, because some forms occur there but not in the other  
no matter why you left \*  $\Rightarrow$  \* whyever you left

so this ~~But~~  $\exists$  whatever you left for or for whatever reason you left  
this would be OK semantically.

# Inclusion Constraint

12/1/68

Dave's 5's I <sup>{\*forced}</sup> <sub>{expected}</sub> us to win

Crossover obtains, however

\* We were expected by me to win

Flash!

How about saying that anywhere constraints are just like rules, and that the inclusion constraint is ordered before It Repl?

Eccchhh

Flash #2 - This is  $\rightarrow$  anyway, because It Repl <sup>loss</sup> and I expected us to win is better than ? we expected me to win

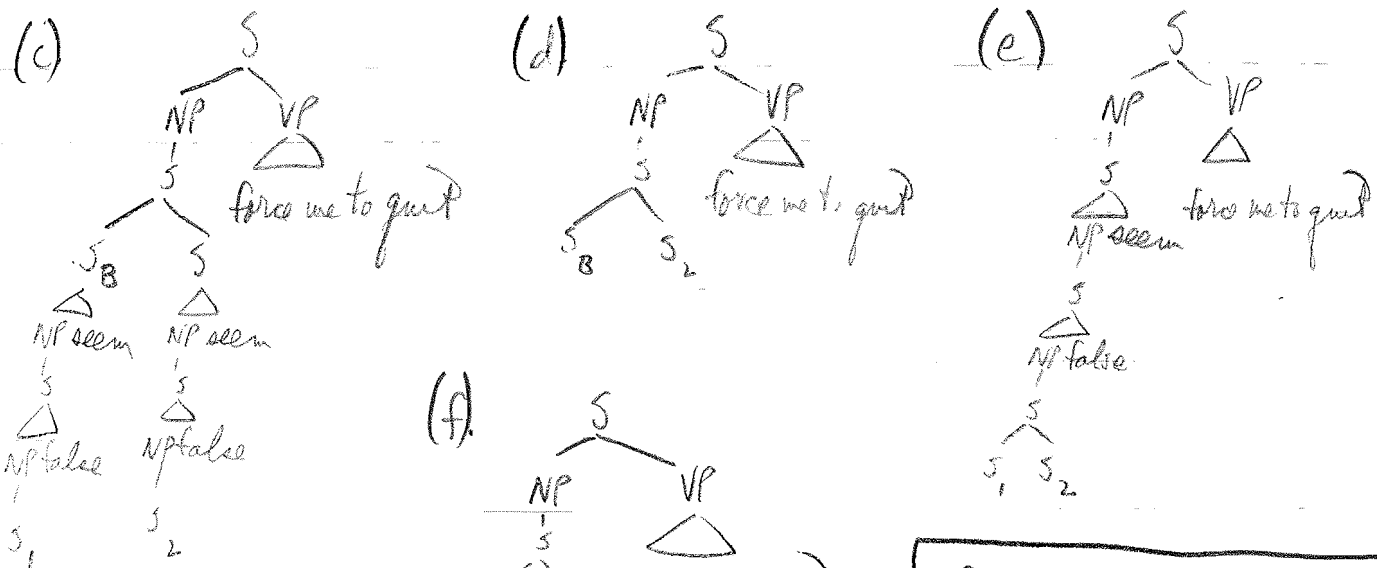
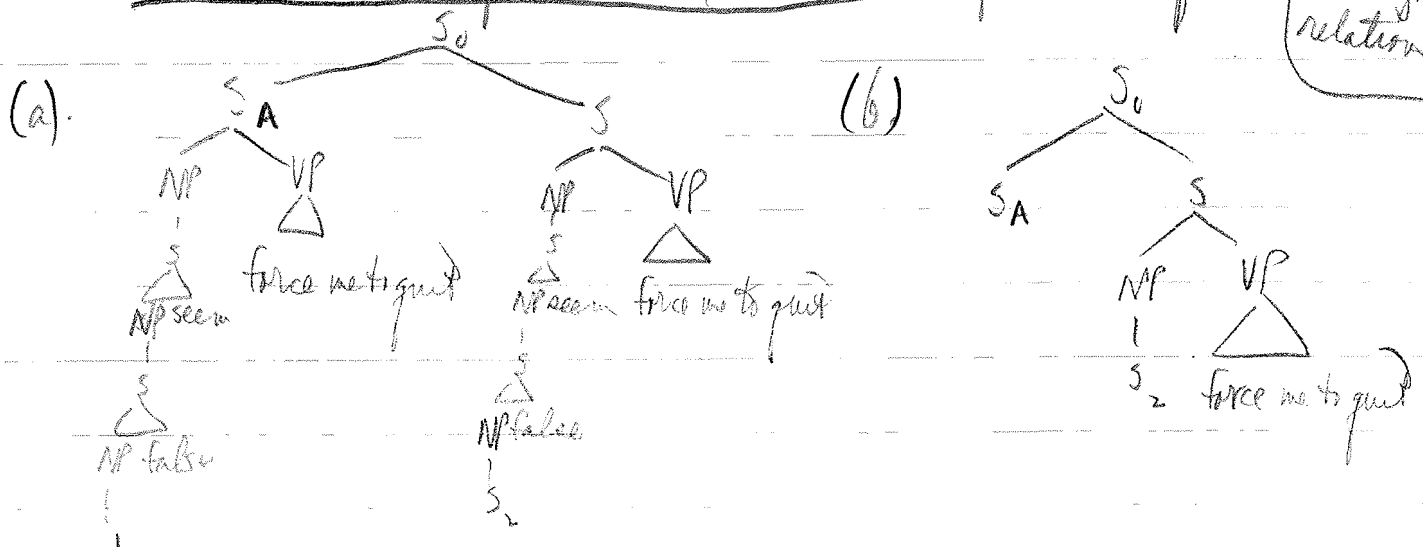
Embedded S\*

11/30/68

From discussion in class after test:

If S\* is embeddable, the following S is 6-way ambiguous (12 or more with NP\*). (a) and (b) are genuine, but none of the others are, as can be seen by not applying Comp Red of them and considering their syntagmatic relations. That it seems to be false that S<sub>1</sub> and that S<sub>2</sub> has forced me to quit.

considering their syntagmatic relations



Conclusion: There is no embedded S\*.  
(I am now stuffing that in my pipe and smoking it)



(Declaratives)

11/30/68

Maybe the fact that of all performatives, only declaratives have truth value is a red herring.

Other performatives, like sentence, <sup>move, cluster</sup> have conditions of appropriateness of use. Maybe

truth = appropriate use of I declare

falsehood = inappropriate use of I declare

I take it that S

+ Relative clauses

Uhoh 11/30/68

We hope that they take him 2B same  
?? that they take it that he's same

I take it that S  
\* They

?? Which houses do you take it that Bill wants

\* I don't take it that S

\* People are <sup>sure</sup> aware that I take it that S

? Max said that he took it that S

he had taken it that S

18.VI.MM.IV  
Mistywood  
Beller

Possible argument for relative clauses from cony S's

He got Jerry to make Ted show me a house which I take it that he intends to buy

but \* He says that I take it that he'll buy that house

This idiom is only OK when conjoined at the highest level.

but NB \* He isn't showing me any houses which I take it that he intends to buy

Tense Change

11/30/68

\* am  
OK will be

\* I would be damned if I'd eat that

but  $\exists$  I said I'd be damned if I'd eat that

Thus this obviously must result from some T-rule, namely Tense Change

18. VI. Mistywood

Hey!

I'm damned if I'll go / \*I went

\* \* I've been damned if I've gone

\* Zack must have been damned if he'd go

50

11/30/68

Fact from Kim:

Stressed so

I	imagine so
*They	

This never occurs embedded

Tells (maybe not exactly) with reckon, figure, etc

guess

But think so is OK

while think so is \*

Pied Piping

11/29/68

\* Mike, a picture of whom, was sold to him;

This is the ends-eligible constraint, or whatever,  
again, and it clearly shows pied piping to be at work.

# Pied Piping

11/29/68

It is general de Gaulle  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} a \\ * \text{Bill's} \end{array} \right\}$  picture of whom I bought

So this really looks as if pied piping  
is only possible if relativization is possible.

This is a perfect case which shows  
exactly what is crucial about pied piping.

There are two steps

- 1) Find a proper analysis of the tree (if possible) which meets the identity requirement.
- 2) Now move that NP or any one dominating it.

If  $\exists$  Bill's here, or if a coordinate node intervenes,  
there won't be any proper analysis possible

if that

11/2/168 p.1

This log will  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{only burn} \\ \text{burn} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{only} \\ * \text{burst} \end{array} \right\} 12 \text{ hours, if that.}$

\* This log will burn all day, if that.

This log will not burn more than 12 hours, if that.  
} burn less than 12 hours, }

Hypothesis: if that can only follow a sentence negation which contains a comparative.

18. VI. MMIV Mestynword

Cf. \* Few people worked 12 hours, if that.

← This should be good, if this were worth anything.

{ (\*A Few) people will look (as much as) a part, if that  
\* Many }

\* No students will study a course of 1.1

before struggle  
5

if that

11/29/68

p 2

(Barely) 100 people came, if that <sup>at best</sup> <sub>ms</sub>

He will drink only beer, if that

Mahatma will eat only artificial meat, if that.

? at most  
at least  
This one seems to require expressions of quantity

Not hopping

NB

I don't think the log will last 12 hours, if that  
\*claim

{ Process cheese } will be served, if that  
\*  
? Egg nog

At worst, we'd be waiting 12 hrs.  
\*we won't



[if that]

11/29/68 p.3

We won't wait { 12 hrs  
\* hours  
\* \_\_\_\_\_ } , if that

This requires the same complete aspect  
as within 20 minutes

$$\boxed{j \sim \check{z}}$$

11/28/67

p.1

Facts arrived at with Jay:

∅ / $\check{z}$ /. There is a rule which says No more than 1 syll. from end

$$\left( \begin{matrix} V \\ \alpha \text{ stress} \end{matrix} \right) C_0 \left[ \begin{matrix} V \\ \beta \text{ stress} \end{matrix} \right] - j - \left( C_0 \left[ \begin{matrix} V \\ \gamma \text{ stress} \end{matrix} \right] \right) \#$$

prestigious  
arpeggio

1                      2                      3                      4                      ⇒

1                       $\left[ \begin{matrix} 2 \\ - \text{vowel shift} \end{matrix} \right] \left[ \begin{matrix} 3 \\ + \text{cont} \end{matrix} \right]$                       4

Condition:  $\beta > \alpha$   
 $\beta > \gamma$       (C  $\overset{1}{\text{fuselage}} [\check{z}]$  but  $\overset{1}{\text{fuselage}} [\overset{0}{j}]$ )

Rule ordering

Either 1 or 4 must not be null

MSR

RSR

Destressing 2

$j \rightarrow \check{z}$

1 and 4 are  $\square$  to ensure that 2 is a stress maximum

$\overset{1}{\text{az\u00e2re}}$ ,  $\overset{0}{\text{garage}} \overset{1}{\text{}}$  vs  $\left\{ \overset{1}{\text{c\u00e2p\u00f4le}} \right\} \left[ \overset{1}{j} \right]$   
 $\left[ \check{z} \right]$

This rule does not get rouge, berge, regime, gendarme, genre, (lege, loge)  
(if w/  $[\check{z}]$ )

There is a subregularity, namely that  $*[\text{æ}\check{z}]$  and  $*[\text{a}\check{z}]$  are impossible

$\check{j} \sim \check{z}$

11/28/67

p. 2

This raises a more fundamental point: if  $/\check{z}/$  were a phoneme, it would have to be blocked from occurring in initial position. But is such a phoneme possible in a CVCV language? We think not.

Every consonantal phoneme must be able to occur before some V.

Are there counterexamples to this claim?

In Korean, the  $/b/$ - $/p/$   
 $/d/$ - $/t/$  contrast is neutralized  
 $/g/$ - $/k/$   
 $/z/$ - $/s/$

initially, but both members occur morpheme initially.

Glides might be an exception —  $/h/$  is <sup>final</sup> <sub>position</sub> not post-vocalic in English. In Chinese and Japanese, only  $/n/$  can close syllables.  
But what about initially?

Neg Q

11/26/68

He was seen {
   
 \* (robbing banks)
   
 \* " the bank
   
 trying to rob { banks
   
 \* the bank
   
 convincing { people
   
 \* Ray
   
 to try to rob { banks
   
 \* the bank
 }
   
 by nobody

\* How much money don't you make?

Raising

11/26/08

Maybe the same rule that

I believe that that he's fat concerns John



I believe [ <sup>about</sup> concerning ] John that he's fat  
of

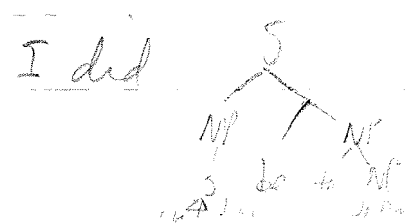
also gets

I did [ [ fail John ] ]  
NP S S NP



I did [ fail John ] to John

This would imply the existence of S



Q

11/22/68

Embedded Q's only go with V  
which can take that complementizers

---

6/15/69

Add to this the fact  
that so only replaces tened complements  
(Wow!)

Bill hopes that he will win and I hope so too  
\* to

Factives

Fact<sub>1</sub> from Joan.

11/22/68

Fact<sub>2</sub> from Suzie:

Fact<sub>1</sub>: With It Repl, know isn't a factive

Does John know Mary to like cheese?

Fact<sub>2</sub>: I know (\*the fact) that Bill left

The fact that Bill left is known  $\left. \begin{array}{c} *by \\ \hline to \end{array} \right\} me$

(fact Zapping)

11/22/68

How, if Appositive Clause Formation makes fact  
after believe, can we stop?

\* I don't believe the fact that John left until 6



prevent

11/21/68

\* There was prevented from being a fire  
parallels

\* There was forced to be an investigation

That is, these funny there objects  
of force behave like there objects of  
prevent.

Imperatives

11/20/68

Support for Peter (Why? 6/15/69)

(\*you) come here, will you?

Topic - Comment

Thoughts in Ken's class:

11/14/68 p. 1

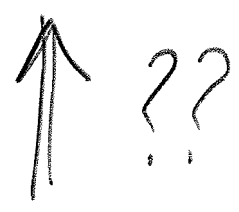
Probably all of the of-phrases after believe  
say  
know etc  
come from an embedded wa-phrase

So:

I believe of John that noone knows him



I believe that John wa, noone knows him



I believe that the fact that noone knows him is about  
concerns John

But concern is a factive  
which gives the wrong meaning, I guess.

Topic - Comment

11/14/68 p. 2

It can't be that these of-phrases are in DS.  
This would entail:

1. Redundancy rule:  $V \underset{S}{NP} \rightarrow V \underset{S}{NP} \overset{PP}{\text{of NP}}$
2. This NP has no selections
3. There's a semantic (?) restriction that this NP "have to do with" this S
4. This restriction exactly duplicates <sup>the</sup> restriction between the wa-phrase and the <sup>rest of</sup> the S

As for Holland, the tulips were great in Amsterdam  
\*Marseilles

I believe of Holland that the tulips are great in {Amsterdam} / {\*Marseilles}

Problem w/ 1. what I {want / request / ask / etc} from you do S

( Particle Movement )

11/18/68

That

his looking of the info up

can be excluded by the OC because  
VPP Prt is out.

But why do this so much better than?

\*I did with my ma away

Looks like we need a condition on  
the rule too.

(Flak for Ray)

X

11/14/68

1. japping with cease

2. The doctors didn't give penicillin to many of the children

This is ambig. - how can Ray get it?

3. dissuade vs deslike

4. George Williams' example:

What I didn't say is that anyone came

[Do this one]  
↓

neither Bill nor Tom came

a. did they? / did he?

b. did he? / \*did they?

SSC

11/12/68

9:25 AM

Goodbye to you, dear old SSC.

It was Jack who I thought { \* a picture of was on the table  
there was a picture of on the table }

NB - Why  $\nabla$  \* It was Jack a picture of whom I thought was on the table.

The real constraint is as follows:

Any NP immediately dominated by S  
is an island. No part of it may be  
moved out of it.

This doesn't work for some  $\rightarrow$  any - this is OK

I didn't say that a picture of anybody was on the table

But it does work here: Help help

\* I didn't say that having arrested anyone was mentioned by  
Why? Is it because this is a factive? Nick Tracy

Gapping

11/11/68

examples of type A are on p. 1, and of type B on p. 2.

NB

The good wine is in the fridge, and the bad on the table.

NB

But why

I closed the car door, but not  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{the } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{car} \\ \text{—} \end{array} \right\} \text{ hood} \\ \text{the bus } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{door} \\ \text{*—} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$



# Topicalization

10/31/68

Even these points I went into

\* It was even these points that I went into

Therefore topicalized S's don't come  
from clefts

Of also No difficult points did I go into

\* It was no difficult points that I went into

## Variables and Deletion

10/28/68

Japanese, where Pronom is deletion, has  
no Bach-Peters S's.

Conclusion: in Japanese, Pronominalization is  
a deletion rule.

chance

10/23/68

This crazy verb must be in the past tense

It  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{*chances} \\ \text{chanced} \\ \text{*will chance} \end{array} \right\}$  that Mike knew

Mike  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{chanced} \\ \text{*chances} \end{array} \right\}$  to know

NB

AND:

~~BUT~~: If you  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{should} \\ \text{were to} \end{array} \right\}$  chance to see her

GIVE HER THE FINGER BACK

you  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{*should} \\ \text{*must} \\ \text{might} \\ \text{may} \\ \text{*could} \end{array} \right\}$  chance to see her

For him to chance to see you <sup>will be</sup> \*15 was a catastrophe  
would be

Not-Hopping

x

10/21/68

If we state Not-Hopping like so

V (NP) [<sub>3</sub> Neg X]

then we account for the fact that Neg<sub>3</sub> can come out of subject clauses of intransitive V, not of transitive V.

Flak for Ray x 10/21/68

If Neg + Q are assigned scope on surf. str,  
how can you avoid having an interpretive  
rule which duplicates gapping?

Q.

$\diamond =$  some not

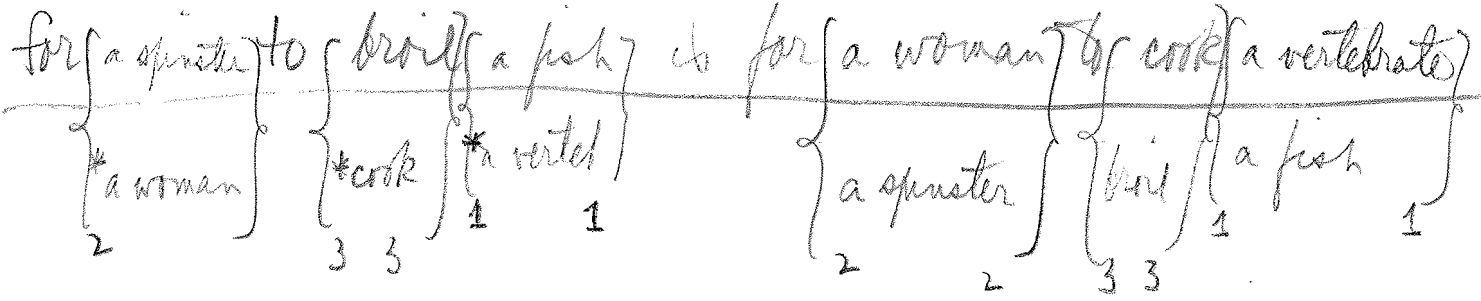
I have ceased to know the names of all of the girls

and my wife of all of the boys

also  $\diamond =$  some not

"Is a" Hierarchy

10/17/68



Everything on left must be included  
in corresponding thing on right

Aux as MV

x 10/16/68

Observation from George:

Affix Hopping is unstateable

It can't be C-Adj - \* have  
      /          \  
    have   ing

It can't be D-Adj, because  $\emptyset$  mentioned in the rule to make P a daughter of.  
   \* have  
  ing

By Noam's own petard, erasing must be a node of some kind, so it can't be S-Adj to V - \*  
  /        \  
  V        ing        NP  
  |                           / \  
  erase                the   fudge

stab + Crossbar

x 10/16/68

Mike's wife was <sup>guessed</sup> beaten up by him  
etc

\* Mike's toe was stubbed by him

Suggests that this is from

Mike stubbed himself <sup>(? in)</sup> the toe

Uh ok - why is this OK then?

what he stubbed was his little toe.

NB what he stubbed was his toe is weird

Ditto writ who stubbed <sup>his</sup> toe?  
(whose)

" " ? What did you stub?



Directional Switch

x 10/16/68

Off ran Jack  
Up the hill ran Max

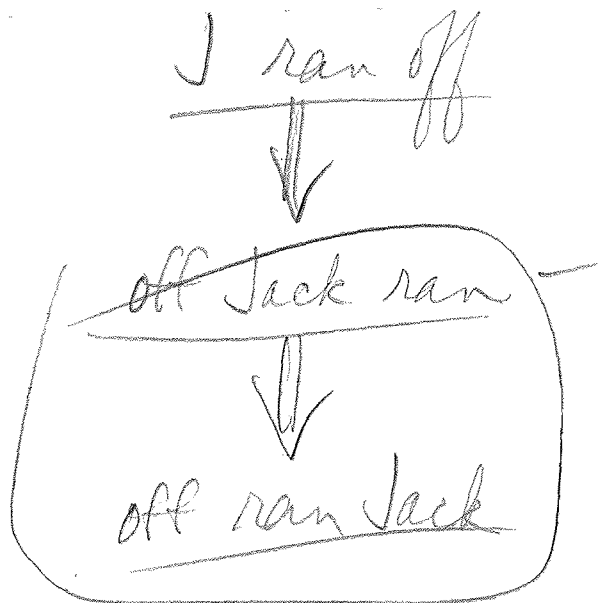
This is a  
post-cycled  
sub  
\*up the hill seems  
to run Max

Fact from  
Fred Strickland  
(student in  
23.751) —  
The rule want  
work, ...  
negatives +  
questions

Rule:

NP	V	"Directional"	
1	2	3	OFF ⇒
3	2	1	

Presumably, actually, it's in 2 stages



but NB?? off I was running  
\* Away Max has walked

So in general, these  
2 are co-OK

Aux as MV

X

10/16/68

Observation from Mike Brame:

Because if don't leave!

Imp  
off Hop

Moreover, this shows  $\square \exists$  Tms  
in temperature S's.

Then how can you avoid

\* are here!

Aux as MV X 10/16/68

Another argument against the Syntactic S113 analysis is that it requires one to mention have, a lexical item in a rule, thus violating a general prohibition against this

[ Uh oh - what about Preformation?  
Also I wanted a bike by tomorrow

Maybe have is a universal lexical item, so it's OK to mention it.

(Spurious the)

x

10/14/68

\*I met the GI satisfied with the Army

But OK The GI satisfied with the Army is rare

The beaver scared of a drought } builds dams  
  } \* is building this dam

This means that definiteness can't be determined superficially from the article.

Agreement

10/9/68

It is { I who { am } proud of { myself }  
 { \* himself }  
me who is proud { himself }  
 { ? myself }

This shows that contrary to Adrian's idea, this am is not merely some surface variant.

There Insertion

10/9/68

Normally, There Insertion doesn't work with adjectives

There were several students { \*tall  
 ? fat  
 ?? rich  
 \* intellectual }

almost fine ? unsure of themselves  
 ?? famous

However, with some Adj that have the form of participles, it does work.

There are several students { drunk  
gone  
missing  
 \* interesting }

But ∃ also some non-participial cases:

There are several students { high  
sick  
 ? hoarse  
 ? worned  
hungry }

Maybe the difference is that these don't designate inherent, unchangeable properties. NB: He was { hungry  
 \* tall } at 5 PM

False Negatives

10/6/68

I don't hope he'll come

Bill won't be sure to register

These guys are out w/o contrastive stress and mg. "I didn't say I positive"

e.g.

I didn't say I did hope he'd come



I don't hope he'll come (NB  
↓  
\*and neither does Sue)

Proof: These guys can't take neither-tags and not even tags

what  $\Leftarrow$ ? such... as

10/6/68

What evidence } there is } suggests X

(\* ———)

This means such evidence as there is

NB — it's not a question

{ what evidence } anyone found  
{ such evidence as }

\* the



# Pronominalization

10/4/68

## Flak for Ray

1. Ray's rules of reference assignment must be late (cf. gorgis arguments wrt output conditions)
2. But do so is cyclic
3. However, identity is defined so as to disregard commanded pronouns.
4. To do so, you must know about identity.
5. ∴ Pronouns have reference in DS

only

10/4/68

I spoke only to Americans about { ? anything radical  
↑  
? doing anything  
radical }

? ↑

I spoke to Americans about (doing) something radical  
and I didn't speak to anyone else about { anything radical  
↑  
doing anything radical }

Why is this good,  
and this bad? Can there  
be something going on w.r.t.  
rule ordering? Only Collapse then some → any?

only

10/4/68

I speak only { about Vietnam  
\* \_\_\_\_\_ } to people who have any finesse

This difference is explained because if

I speak to people who have (\*any) finesse, and I don't speak to anyone else

I speak about Vietnam to people who have (\*any) finesse,

and I don't speak about anything else to people who have any finesse

if the rule of Only Collapsing takes the differing NP from the first clause, deletes this clause, and whaps it onto the corresponding NP in the 2nd clause, which presumably contains a Neg.

Only Collapsing

10/4/68<sup>p.3</sup>

X	NP	Y	<u>and</u>	X	$\left[ \begin{matrix} \text{no} & \text{Z} \\ \text{NP} & \text{NP} \end{matrix} \right]$	<u>else</u>	Y	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	⇒
0	0	0	0	5	2	7		

Further evidence that  $\exists$  rule:

\* John and only Mary left

Without

John, and, of the others, only Mary, left

H Relation

X

10/1/68

I hate it that he left and (\* it) that she's here

(gapping)

X

9/30/68

gapping can't be an anywhere rule,  
because this is out in Russian

\* I read this book and that by Harry

---

Pro-minimization & Deletion

x 9/26/68

I got up & then Maryshen left.

The talk fell down, but it & the things on it were OK

OK → what + the fact 5

They said that Bill was sick, but it (\*and the fact that I saw him yesterday)

isn't generally known

I saw a snake in the well, and one (\*and an eel)

will be on the table for supper tonight

However: \*The fact that Bill believed that follows from the fact that Tom said that

Metalinguage x 8/33/68

The rules Passive and \$ Formation

must apply in that order:



~~YAK!!~~

Where from?



tend and Habituals

1/22/68

John tends to know

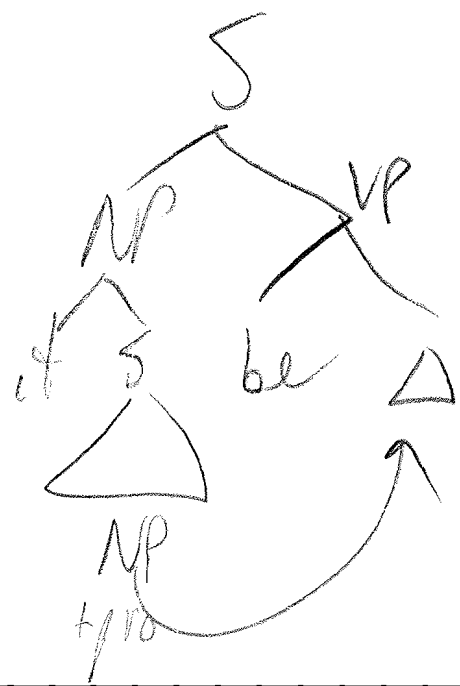
- \* the answer  
the answers
- \* that the moon is flat
- whether planets have satellites
- how that planet has

Pseudo cleft S

x 7/22/68

\* What was kept on Bill was tabs

Death to Noam's way of doing pseudo-cleft S's, because pseudo-cleft formation must follow the passives.



Quechua - talk by Stan Peters

Phonemes:

p	t	č	k	q
p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	č <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>	q <sup>h</sup>
pʔ	tʔ	čʔ	kʔ	qʔ
pʰ	tʰ	čʰ	kʰ	qʰ
s	š	x	ɣ	

lex

→ s

Rules 4, 5

Rule 3

m n r l

ɣ

Rule 6

Rule 1

w y

h

Rule 7

i u  
e a

only before or after pharyngeals

[ (+back) ]  
[ ([+low]) ]

1. [-cons] [+high] → [-voc] / { a u i } — works across morpheme boundaries

2. [-obs] [+cons] C y ⇒ 132

pr is the only underlined liquid

3. [+voc] [+cons] → [+lateral] / — [-grave]

4. [-obs] → [-anterior] / — y — source of all ñ and ɲ

5. y → ø / [+coronal] —

6. [+nasal] → ŋ / — { C } { # }

7. { i, u } → [-high] / — { pharyngeals }

only within morphemes

NP\*

X

7/17/68

B, L+T sandwich



Must be a derived N compound

[ Rel Cl vs. Comp ]

X

7/17/68

The problem of keeping complementizers out of relative clauses is handled if rel. cls. are coordinate in DS.

Performatives

x

7/15/68

[I<sub>1</sub> believes that [John ~~does~~ said that S<sub>2</sub>]] which is false

i.e. S<sub>2</sub> or S<sub>3</sub> 2 ways ambig, not 3

I regret to inform you that Ted believes that S<sub>1</sub> which is false

unambig

Generalization: comps of performatives can't be referred to by which is false.

guessatures

7/14/68

Fact from Maurice:

Q: What's John doing?

Ans: { I think } he's working,  
      { \*Bill thinks }

OK y Bill thinks he's working

→ Output Conditions X 7/14/68  
Aux as MV

Fact from Dave:

I'll be } sure and call  
{ \*was }

Try and } be sure and call  
{ I tried to }

governed by a tenseless VERB —

ergo, be is a verb

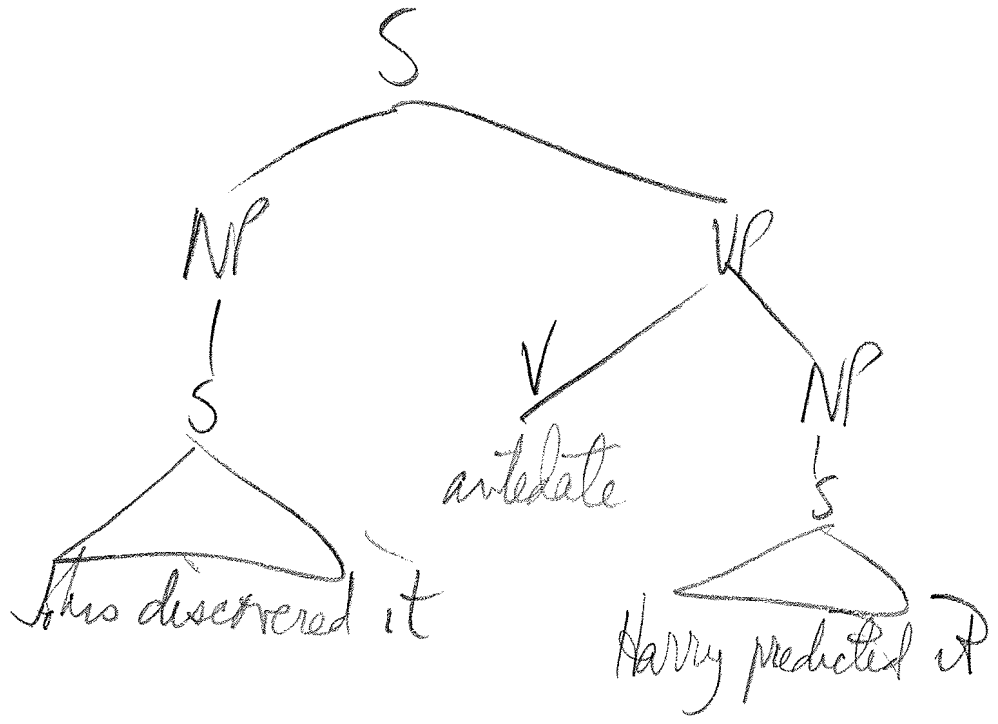


# Lexical Death

X 7/10/68  
2:30 PM

\* John's discovery of it<sub>43</sub> antedated Harry's prediction of it<sub>43</sub>

This shows discovery and prediction must be from a nominalized S.



Aux as MV

7/10/68.

Chomsky's proposal to account for  
S Aux V O and  $SOV$  Aux, that  
Aux<sup>u</sup> modifies VP<sup>n</sup> and smuggles up to  
its head, is full of shit for

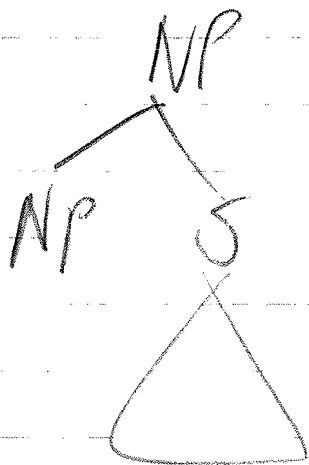
Aux V SO

which follows naturally if Aux = MV

DS of Rel cls X

7/3/68

Note that the fact that relative clauses are islands can be derived from the principle of immediate self-domination provides a really crushing argument for the following (derived) structure of relative clauses:



This structure is out to lunch



German VP Stress

X 7/3/68

er schrieb einen Brief

weil er einen Brief geschrieben hat

This works by Lloyd Anderson's idea  
that stress marks one end of VP.

Declaratives

7/3/68

Fact from Rudy:

The next chapter will be written by several  
people, including myself

# Imperatives

X

6/26/68

Fact from Steve Davis:

You will leave - ambig - a. future  
b. imperative

I will leave - unambig - only future

Facts from Maurice:

1. I want you to leave when you { can  
\*could }

Leave when you { can  
\*could }!

2. \* Vous mangez de la viande qui sort fraîche.

But: Je veux que vous mangiez de la viande  
qui sort fraîche

and Mangez de la viande qui sort fraîche.

3. Similar phenomenon with Suppose qu'il sort parti

Typicalization and Output Conditions

p.1

slightly before

6/24/68

\* That { beans he likes  
 as for Mary, she'll go  
 her apartment, Mary talks about it a lot  
 yesterday, she was asleep } worried me

compare

OK that it is beans that he likes worried me

OK that Mary talks about it a lot, her apartment, worried me.

(with that or for to complementizer)

Conclusion: sentential subject clauses must start NP VP

I mentioned that beans he doesn't like  
 \* That beans he doesn't like was mentioned.

This must apply before SVI, to exclude

\* That at no time would he sit down pissed me off  
 ? OK It pissed me off that at no time would he sit down.

Typicalization and (Pre) Output Conditions } p. 2

6/24/68

This intersects w/ factivity (I think)

IP is { \*odd } that at no time will be complain  
{ likely }

He's said { \*realized } that at no time would be complain.



gender change

6/14/69

Fact from Paul:

The person who became male hurt himself  
herself

Ambiguous, depending on when injury occurred.

# VP Deletion.

6/12/68

Facts from Richie Kayne:

Jack wanted to go, and I { encouraged him to  
\*discouraged him from  
\*plan on, too }

VP's can never be deleted after a P

My fact

I picked my nose while Bill played in the sand and

{ \* —  
\* did  
\* tried to  
tried to get  
Mary to }

But NB:

It's hard for anybody to get into college,  
and the Rector said that MIT was aware of  
this and that they hoped that more Negroes  
would in the future

Verb Final

6/9/68

ich glaube, daß ich die Bohnen { habe essen dürfen }  
\* essen gedurft habe }

bist

ich glaube, die Bohnen { essen gedurft zu haben }  
\* zu haben essen dürfen }

Discussions with Paul

5/27/68

1. John wants that Bill go <sup>Raising</sup> =>

John wants Bill that he go  
↓  
to go  
[It's a copying rule because that makes parsing easier]

This explains why

I want myself to win.

Zero ~~works~~

has non-agentive interp, because Raising only works for statives.

2. { Obj Del Pass } because The VF was control (#to) to John was talked to (about the war)  
{ Prep glossing [yes for depend on / no for look up] } The war was talked about (#to John)  
{ Gapping }  
{ PP Raising } ← why here?  
{ @ BELDF etc }

Discussions with Paul

5/28/68 p.3

6.

Schwartz is under <sup>review</sup> investigation surveillance by the FBI }  
\* himself }  
consideration  
discussion

\* of Mrs. Hodges

Schwartz squealed under torture by the FBI }  
questioning } \* himself }

The house is under con } struction  
\* de }

under the direction }  
leadership }  
command }  
sponsorship }

X 5/28/68

7. NP Shift ≠ PP Shift

Ordering:

NP Shift
PT Move
PP Shift

Also

\* who did you give to a picture of me?

who did you give a picture to of me?

8. At midnight I expected him to kill her

At midnight I expect him to kill her

Some weird kind of recoverability?

# Discussions with Paul

5/29/68

p. 7

1. Principle: Never adjoin a rel. cl. to a commanded anaphoric phrase.

Handles:

- App. cl. formation
- Epithets
- Repetition binding

so  $\Rightarrow$  such

---

What about ordering?

Imperatives

5/27/68

(or maybe Secha?)

Fact from Dave — Negative objects of verbs like command are imperfective — ditto with imperatives

Fact(?) from me

Mach du die Eier, und Hans die Bohnen  
[\*ich]

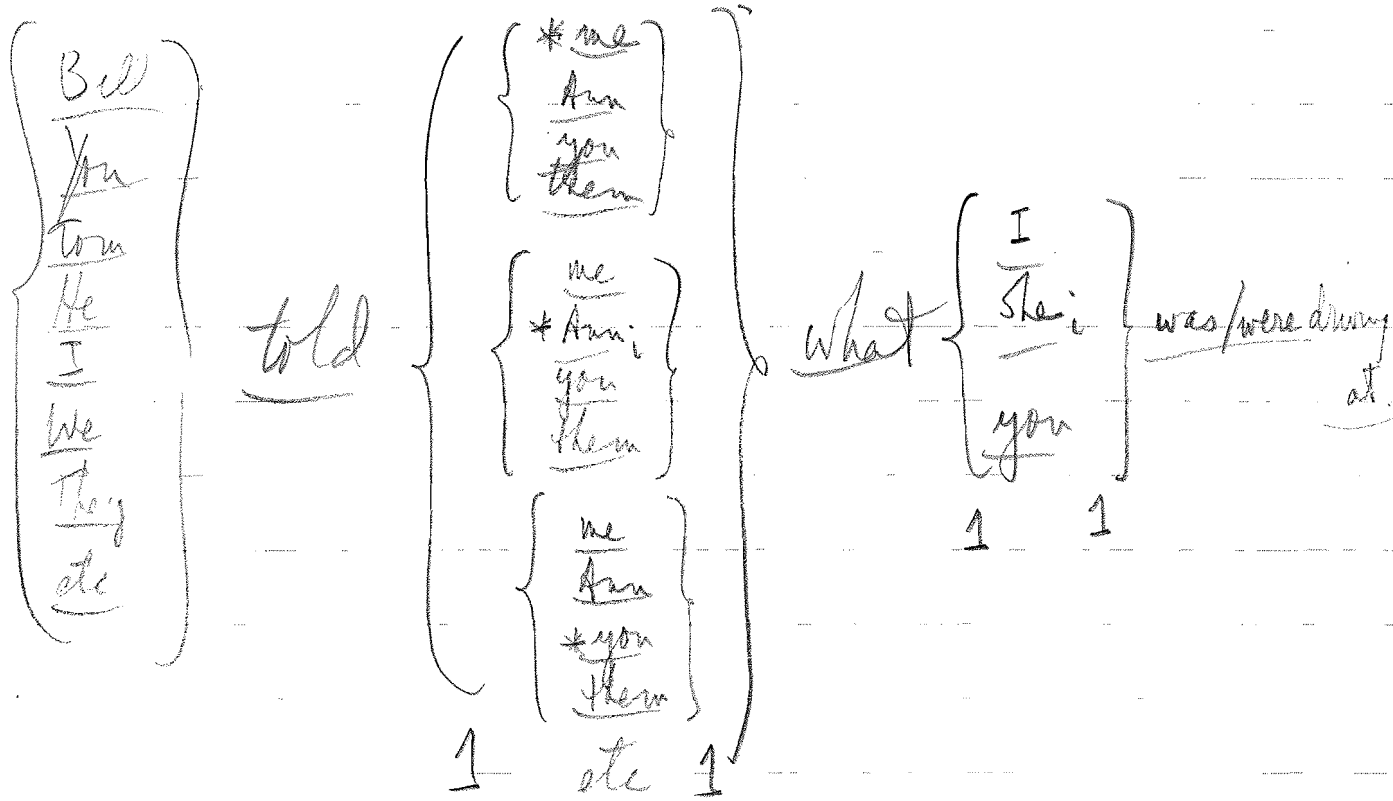
Unfortunately this S is a weaky, maybe even totally out.



Questions

5/20/68

Fact from Wayles:



what has to be NP<sub>i</sub> driving at?

requires non-identity between NP<sub>i</sub> and the next highest indirect object. Therefore, the ungrammaticality of

\*What am I driving at?

suggests a higher <sup>first person</sup> indirect object

11/7/71  
I ask you [you tell me [5]]

5/11/68

The reason that  $\nexists$  V-V constraints involving verbs in relative clauses is that rel. cls. are conjuncts in DS, and  $\nexists$  restrictions between verbs in coordinate S's.

5/13/68

NB also — performatives can't be embedded in V [\* Tom knows I sentence you to death]

but they can appear in rel cls.

Two girls who I hereby promise not to dick are in my room right now

Aux as MV

4/25/68

p.1

will, supposedly an M, has an alternative meaning "percept in" (related to He has a strong will)

He will stay up too late

NB V-V selection  
\* He will resemble his mother

Interestingly, here it doesn't behave like other Aux's - no Q's are possible

- \* What will he read?
- \* When will he stay up too late?

It's also strange when embedded, with some V

It's { \* likely  
?? odd  
true } that he will stay up too late.  
It seems

Ann { \* doubts  
?? believes  
realizes  
\* hopes  
\* expects } that he will stay up too late

Hey! Is this a case of percept in → will after a lot of rules have operated?

Of course, this will can occur in some rel. clauses.

The man { ' } { \* - } who will stay up too late { ' } { - } , is from Ohio.

(\*The) Women who will stay up late are grouchy at breakfast.

NB - only in generics

If a woman will stay up too late, she is grouchy at breakfast.

?\* I don't know anybody who will stay up too late.

She pointed out to me a man who will stay up late

She told me that her husband is a man who will stay up late

What is going on here? It would be nice to be able to say "this will only goes with the top clause", but there are all these counterexamples.

**LOOK INTO THIS FURTHER**

# Heuristics

4/24/68

I should always take the arguments I fight most strenuously against most seriously, for those are the arguments I fear may be right.

# Contrastive Stress

4/22/68

Obvious idea to be pushed:

All contrastive stress comes from comparison between two nearly identical sentences.

Can this hold up?  
Maybe Adrian can investigate it.

Winter 1967-1968

Problem:

'You always eat the meat  
and me the vegetables.'

Account for the case of me.  
Note that in ordinary style  
I is not admissible there —  
only in fancy style.

W. Browne  
R. Wright





that Adj

4/20/68

a horse that big

⇓ OPT

\* a that big horse

⇓ OBLIG

that big a horse

← That this exists suggests  
that that originates  
behind the adj  
(cf. a man proud of me)

BUT

water that hot

⇓

\* that hot water

This makes P look as if the rule that proposes  
adj has to be constrained

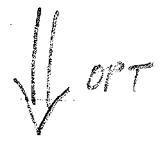
so → such

4/14/68

a horse so fast that S



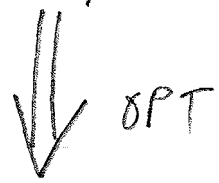
\* a so fast horse that S



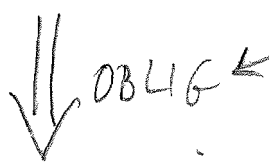
such a fast horse that S

so fast a horse that S

depreciation  
horses so fast that S



\* so fast { depreciation } that S  
horses



such fast { depreciation } that S  
horses

This shows DØ  
rule so → such  
prenominally

aux as MV

4/12/68

he would need only read them to her



NB -  $\neq$  to - this is possible if  
need is a MV, with an ad hoc  
extension of the rule deleting to after  
care and need

Pseudo-cleft 5

4/9/68

\* is what he has done written his ma?

6/15/69

Suggests some kind of OC: NB also

\* what he has done seems to be written his ma

his picture of Jack + mine of Sue

his claim that S + mine that Y

\* his gift { to Mary of a dog } and mine { of a parrot }  
                          { of a dog to Mary }                       { to Jack }

but

his talk at BU about Korea + mine about Viet Nam



This is supposed to be a constituent?

11/7/71

No - it's like gapping - if the V goes,

Clause-mates can.

Pronominalization

3/25/68

Sam + Sue  
"

Sam told Sue (that they were in trouble  
{the officer who {Sue wanted to  
arrested Sue}}

\* Sam talked about their being alone & Sue

\* Sam and the boy Mary was with said they should go  
{the boy Sam hit} X ?? cf.

? \* The boy the FBI agent talked and the girl the cop had filmed  
asked that they show their badges

Appositive Clauses

3/19/68

wrong, ym blockhead 4/21/69

The man who I (\* I think) talked to was blond.

but ∃

The man (who John, I think, talked to) was blond.

If it's in general tone that SAs can't be in embedded clauses, this isn't one.

Things wrong with Syntactic Structures analysis:

1. Crazy d.c.s. of Was there [a band] <sup>ing</sup> playing?
2. Crazy d.c.s. of Is he working? (is can't a node, by Fraser's rules of d.c.s.)
3. Ad hoc insertion of word boundaries.
4. Ordering paradox of <sup>①</sup>VP Del and <sup>②</sup>Affix Hopping. If ① then ②, how to block \* John has left and Bill has done too. If ② then ①, how to get John left after Bill did?
5. At least 4 rules (Neg Placement, SVE, Tag, VP Del) have to mention the crazy "term"  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -Tns \{ \begin{array}{l} M \\ to \end{array} \} - x \\ -Tns - v \end{array} \right\}$  - more powerful theory of adjunction needed.  
*ditto wrt have recourse to*
6. Two different DS's for Need he talk so loud? and Does he need to talk so loud?
7. It's an accident that do is inserted before the affixes, instead of after (fact from Nancy?, one of Dave's students).
8. The question of why some verbs can lose certain properties of verbs and be treated specially, and others, like design, can't, can't even be raised.
9. There would have to be an ad hoc addition to the theory of agreement.
10. Allen's fact about have can't be stated.



Declaratives

3/14/68

Fact from Ray Sackendoff:

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{I} \\ * \underline{you} \\ \underline{they} \end{array} \right\} \underline{\text{feel that Tad is mad.}}$

$\underline{\text{Tom told Georgette that}} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{I} \\ \underline{he} \\ (* \underline{she}) \end{array} \right\} \underline{\text{felt that Tad was mad.}}$

Aux as MV

3/14/68

\* what he is doing seems to be writing plays.

\* for what he is doing to be writing plays would not surprise me.

The \*ness of this might indicate that H. Repl is involved in forming for to complements (i.e., that to do from would or something.)

11/7/71

No -  $\neq$  Q of what he's doing is writing

So  $\exists$  some OC about funny

Aux as MV

3/14/08

- could
- can't
- ? can
- must
- may
- might
- \* should
- \* ought to

be that's

- Could
- Can't
- Can
- \* Must
- \* May
- Might
- \* Should
- \* Ought to

(It be that) they have cancer

Same thing w/ not

Aux as MV

3/14/20

Fact from Nancy? (Brandee's girl):

Why does do precede the affix?

No reason that there should be so  
in Mavis's analysis.

# Indefinites and Disjunctions

3/13/68

Facts from Jim McCawley:

Fuck LBJ { and } shit on Rusk  
                  \* or }

Proof that  $\exists$  Conj Red:

Fuck LBJ { and } Rusk  
                  \* or }

Proof that some comes from a disjunction

Fuck { all  
          both  
          etc } of them  
          \* some }

Declaration

3/12/61

{ I } couldn't agree more  
{ \*Tom }

but

Tom said { he } couldn't agree more  
{ \*No }

11/7/71

1. This idiom requires couldn't (but won't [sigh])
2. Nobody could agree with you as I can { he }  
{ Tom }

but

# Command + Comparatives

3/2/68

If Neg Hopping is a rule, the restriction  
on Neg in comparatives is not deep structural  
but transformational

He is a smarter man than would expect that  
I won't left a finger

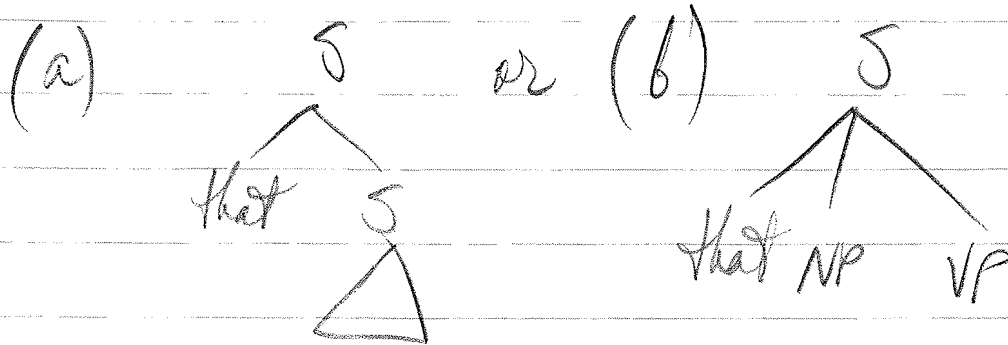
\* He is a smarter man than wouldn't expect  
that I will left a finger

# Complementizer Placement

X

3/2/68

Which is the correct structure?

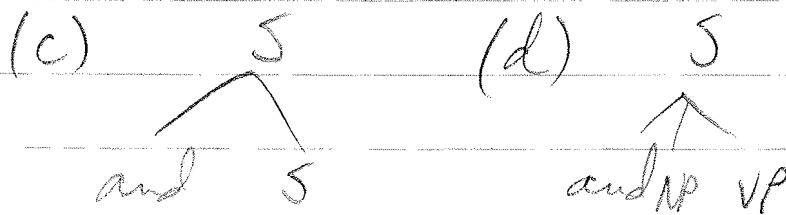


Answer: (b), for 2 reasons

(1) Clitics go immediately after da in Serbo-Croatian

(2) \* That for Tom to have gone would have surprised Bill  
is a lie

However, how about (c) or (d)?



Where do clitics go? This is OK:

John wasn't there, and that he wasn't passed everyone off  
So maybe it (c).



Output Conditions

3/1/68

Fact from PMP:

11/7/71 - suggest  $\exists$  VSI  
I<sup>2</sup>SNPC  
VP Del

The fact that Tom sings proves that he's a fink, and so does the fact that he sleeps

\* That Tom sings proves that he's a fink and so does that he sleeps

Addendum from me: This is OK: ... and that he sleeps does too

Therefore, Paul's idea that  $\frac{NP}{1}{5}$  can't be moved, or possibly moved over, is supported.

Flash: (10:15 AM, 3/2/68) The following fact is further confirmation for Paul's idea

That John smores proves his guilt more clearly than { ? that he sings does  
\* does that he sings }

a = one

2/29/68

How good a one did you want?

Does this suggest that the derivation goes

{ such }  
a { how good } one

⇓ one → ∅ / one — DNA

ditto

⇓ Adjective Preposing

{ such }  
how good } a one

It's certainly a possibility

Aux as MV

Feb. 27, 1968

3 fact. about Jimman

1. es muß sein, laps

2. \_?\_ muß Krebs haben, und sie muß 20 woch

3. \_them {<sup>swill</sup>  
muß} geschlossen werden

Noun Doorn

2/20/68

S's pointed out in a squib by Tom Patton:

1. This bar admits only suitably dressed ladies

only ladies who are suitably dressed

2. This bar admits only suitably dressed ladies

only those (ones) who are suitably dressed  
ladies

Declaratives

2/18/68

Fact from Dave:

I want your breath held for 20 min.  
\*Tom's

Tom said to Sheila that he wanted her breath held  
\*my

Declaratives

2/18/68

Fact from ZSH

\* The exam was passed by me

\* Tom knows the exam will be passed by him

↑  
Fact from Dave

---

DEATH TO THE

PRAGMATISTS!

# Processing Algorithm

2/13/08

From back of checker book

Tragedy is mingled with farce; protest wars with resignation



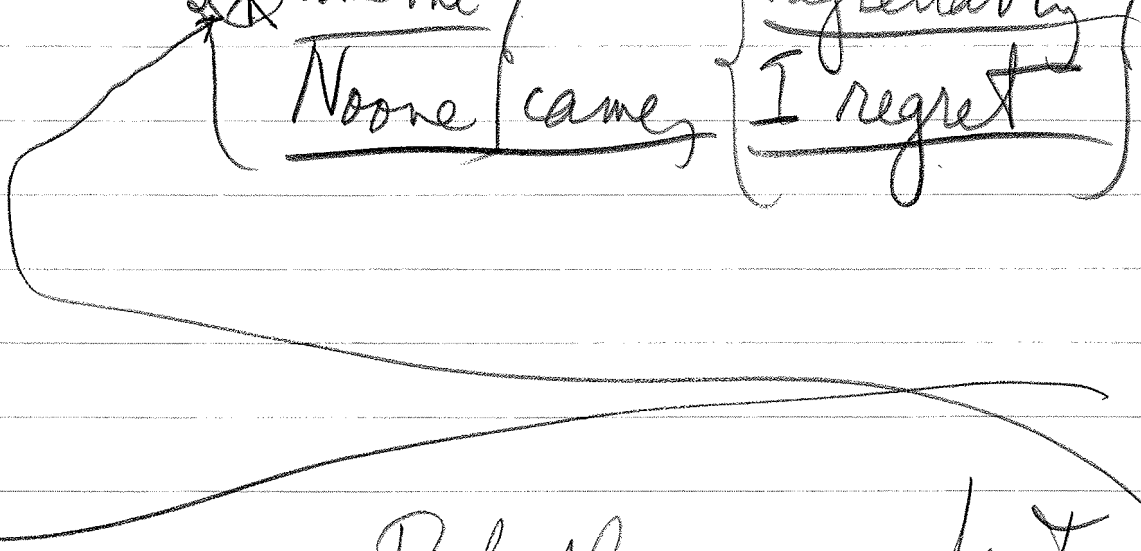
the first analysis I tried was  
protest wars  $V_i$  with resignation

This can be seen to be impossible only when no plausible analysis of protest wars is found.

Only then is wars taken to be a verb.

JAD

2/16/68

  
Someone  
Noone came, {regrettably}  
I regret

Probably wrong facts here



# Performatives

2/15/68

We can explain why I is you that  
deletes in imperatives

1. Performatives are only I=subj, you=IO

I say to you S  
\*Bill

2. command, order, tell require  
subj below to be = IO above

Q.E.D

# Flak for Ray

2/14/68

1. Refl is after T-rules
2. Because of Davis facts ( $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{9B} \\ * \text{The Queen} \end{array} \right\}$  reapportioned herself)  
the semantic check for well-formedness must follow Refl
3. In The Dr. examined John before he could do so

How does Ray get do so here  
to refer to examine Bill?

Bill, who everybody believes the Dr. examined before he could do so,  
is sick

Especially if who here comes from DEZ - in the base, it will be impossible to find a referent for DEZ, if app. cls. come from conj. S's.

Suppose DEZ in deep str. is assigned to some NP - what stops you from swooping the clause onto another NP, if you don't keep track of reference?

even and Attachment Transformations

2/11/68

Fact from Bill Watt:

the fact that  $\$ 2$  evens in the same  
S is an output condition, as the following S  
shows:

De Gaulle is urging us to give back even Louisiana,  
and even Tito is doing so too

Declaratives

2/10/68

Fact from Bill Walt:

the "pragmatic" account of performatives  
won't work because of

\* This paper was written by Sue + ourselves

But soft: is it possible, even,  
to say

?? We admitted that the paper had been  
written by Sue and ourselves

which is as

2/7/68

as you are aware (\*of)

Why?

the/a warmth

2/7/68

the

a

both

neither

expect  
 predict  
 anticipate  
 hope for  
 require  
 desire  
 ?? love  
 ? wish  
 want  
 necessary  
 mandatory

(dis) like  
 hate  
 resent  
 regret  
 surprise  
 feel  
 feign

fitting  
 ? predictable  
 (pointed out  
 by Ellen  
 Schwartz)

say  
 realize  
 consider  
 find  
 ? pretend  
 doubt  
 deny

odd  
 surprising  
 regrettable

NB - synonymous

difficult  
 easy  
 too bad

fun

all of these  
 exclude warmth  
 as a direct  
 object, as  
 George called  
 it my dull  
 attention.

These all  
 designate  
 volition  
 except  
predict  
anticipate

All take  
 future  
 commitments

Pronominalization and Dislocation

1/26/68

? I told him about her, that guy who Mary likes  
NB

\* She wrote him yesterday, that guy Mary likes  
NB

Adrian's fact, once again

Gapping

1/26/68

Tom brought (the meat in and the soup out)  
\*in the meat and out the soup

?? Tom brought the meat in and Max the soup out

\* Tom brought in the meat and Max out the soup

Max's name Slucup (maybe)

not by itself etc



I <sup>scarcely</sup> can't tell Mary from John.  
(can always) { sheep from goats }

I tell { Mary from John } by } maybe  
examining { sheep from goats } } shops  $\exists$   
their hair. } underlying  
enable?

?? I still { sheep from goats. } OUT  
{ told }

How did George tell Mary from John?

- \* ? when
- \* ? why

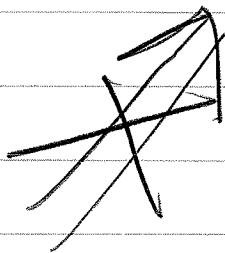
Can George tell Mary from John?  
? will  
? did  
? should  
suggests can / be able to should  
be analyzed as something  
like have a way to

and  $\rightarrow$  or

1/25/68

There can't be 2 <sup>{~~and~~}</sup> or more LBJ's

---



\* There can't be 2 LBJ's  
or there can't be more LBJ's

There can't be 2 LBJ's  
and there can't be more LBJ's

Declaratives

1/25/68

I'll see you in hell before I talk  
\*Tom will

I now think this is OK.

Tom says { he } 'll see us in hell before { he } talks  
\*Sherla \*she

4/25/68

Unfortunately,  $\exists$

Tom will see you in hell before he talks

$\therefore \exists$  argument

3/12/68

Maybe OK?

I  
\*Tom } couldn't agree with you more

but Tom said he couldn't agree with Mike more.  
\*Max

be damned if

1/22/68

There is a gun which I'll be damned if I'll shoot off

One gun which I'll be damned if I'll shoot off to Jack's

He gave me a gun which I'll be damned if I'll shoot off  
[? Tom]

\* The gun which I'll be damned if I'll shoot off costs \$200.

\* He inspected  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{each} \\ \text{every} \\ \text{no} \end{array} \right\}$  gun which I'll be damned if I'll shoot off.

I'm damned if I know what's going on

Thai + Declaratives

1/22/68

khǎw maa

{	kháp	male
	kâ	female

he comes

Factive

1/22/68

I don't remember shooting off this gun

(can be <sup>^</sup>factive or not)

Performatives

1/20/68

According to {Tom} I'm hungry  
\*me

Sheila said that according to {Tom} she  
\*her  
was hungry

aux as MV

1/15/68

He claim to have written a novel,  
and Bell a play

This must be a right-branching  
sequence of VP's.



Lexical Heresy + Reflexives

1/10/68

John's discovery of Mary by himself

\* John's self-discovery by himself

# Semantic Features

1/5/18

Facts discovered with George, Robby + Dave:

chump of: requires vertically oriented, immobile, thin objects.

cluster of: " small round things

NB { consonant } cluster  
{ \* vowel }

pile of: requires gravity

Aux Deletion

1/2/68

Fact from Joe Emonds:

I wish he were not here

I demand that he not be here

The position of not can best be predicted if there is some  $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +Aux \end{bmatrix}$  here, which is then deleted

Easy

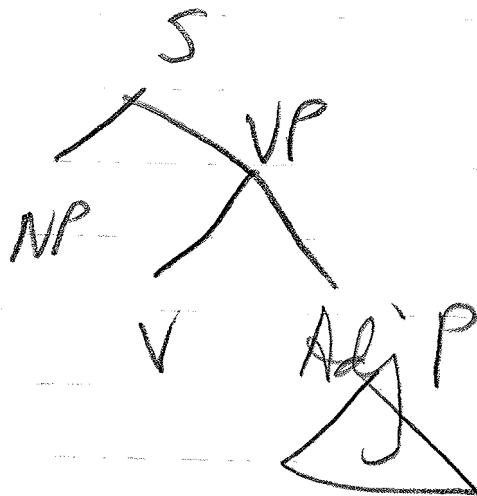
1/2/68

Flak for Noam:

John feels easy to get along with

This obviously can't have

a



structure

Reflexives + Output Conditions

12/20/67

Maybe 2 reflexives of different kinds  
can't exist in the same surface clause.

I (\*myself) shaved myself  
I (myself) shaved

I shaved myself (\*by myself)  
I shaved (by myself)

Counterexample from George

I talk to myself about myself

NB I talk about myself to myself

\* I talk about {Bob  
himself} to {himself  
Bob}

# Reciprocals

12/20/67

Help each other!

This shows that the deep structure  
must contain an NP whose index  
contains you — the conjunction reduction  
source for each other is out.

(Output Condition)

12/8/67

\* I live in a brick, and Bill lives in a wooden,  
beautiful house

# Referential Opacity

12/8/67

Everybody has assumed that

everybody knows Cicero is Cicero

is analytic — maybe it's not.

Maybe in fact the content of their  
knowledge is that Cicero is Tully  
and I supply that Tully is Cicero.



# NP Cycle

12/7/67

There must be an NP Cycle with the following rules in it:

Rel Cl Formation  
Poss Formation  
(Poss Shift)

Rel Cl Reduction  
Modifier Shift

NP Cycle

12/7/67

NP Shift works to the end of  
first NP or 5

one picture of the man on the table (of my sister)

was cracked

Declaratives

\* I'll resent her } 17/67  
\* I went }

I'll be damned if I'll go  
(\*he)

I'll be damned if I'll let you pee in my soup

- \* You'll
- \* Tom will

NB - This jewel even requires the right kind of verb

- \* I'll
- \* You'll
- \* he'll
- \* knows
- \* doubts

Tom <sup>thinks</sup> <sup>reports</sup> <sup>exclaimed</sup> <sup>screamed</sup> says he'll be damned if he'll let you pee in his soup

Similarly with I'll see you rot in hell before x

? He'll see me rot in hell before I let him marry my daughter

- NB
- \* be damned if 5!
  - \* Will you be damned if 5?

(Declaratives)

12/6/67

(facts from Izumi Ushijima)

5 koto o sitte iru

The suffix -garu in Japanese converts certain adjectives into verbs (with durative meaning)

- o omorosirogaru 'be amused at'
- kurusii (distressing) kurusigaru 'be suffering'
- hosii (desiring) → hosigaru 'crave'
- sabuu (lonely) → sabusigaru 'feel lonely'
- atarasii (new) atarasigaru ?
- tabetai 'tabetagaru 'be wanting to eat'
- okasigaru 'be amused at'

\* { John ga } okasigatta  
\* { watakushi ga }

\* John, ga (kare, ga) okasigatta to itta

Constraint: \* X { says / screams / whispers / etc } X Adj-garu  
← verbs of communication

But it's OK to have X knows X Adj-garu  
finds

Declaratives

12/5/67

Facts

from

John

Wialezky

John came with (me)

Bill said that John had come with (him) (me)

I went with a friend (of mine) (yours)

Facts

from

Dave

Did you go with a friend (of mine) (yours)?

Tom said he had gone with a friend (of this) (yours)

Material Possession

12/5/67

My hand was sore from scratching myself



I was sore in my hand <sup>h</sup>

No matter X

12/5/67

{ whatever she wears  
whether it rains or not }, I'm going  
It doesn't matter what she wears

VP Deletion  
Aux as MV

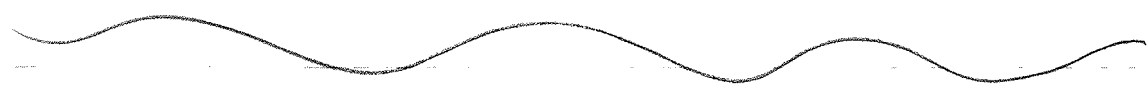
12/5/67

( Affix Hop  
VP Del

← This order is D to block  
John has crossed the river +  
Bill has (\*done) too.

( VP Del  
Affix Hop

← This order is D to get  
John left + Bill did too



He ho ho — this puzzles Noam

Obviously the problem vanishes if  
\$ rule of Affix Hop



Reflexivization

12/5/67

5's from Ray:

I {hate  
like} the story about {himself  
\*him  
\*myself  
me} that I always tells.

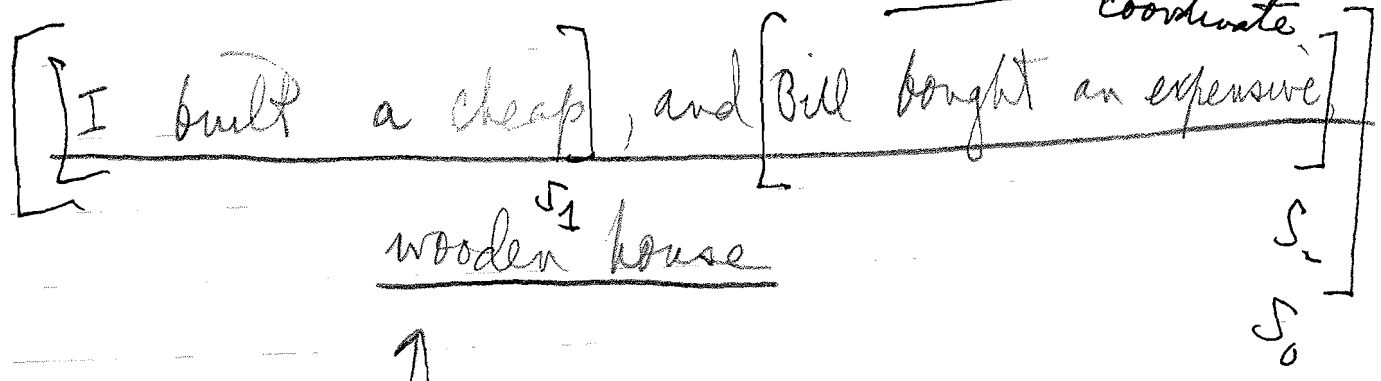
a here causes those to switch

I told the story about {? him  
\*himself  
myself  
\*me} that John always tells.

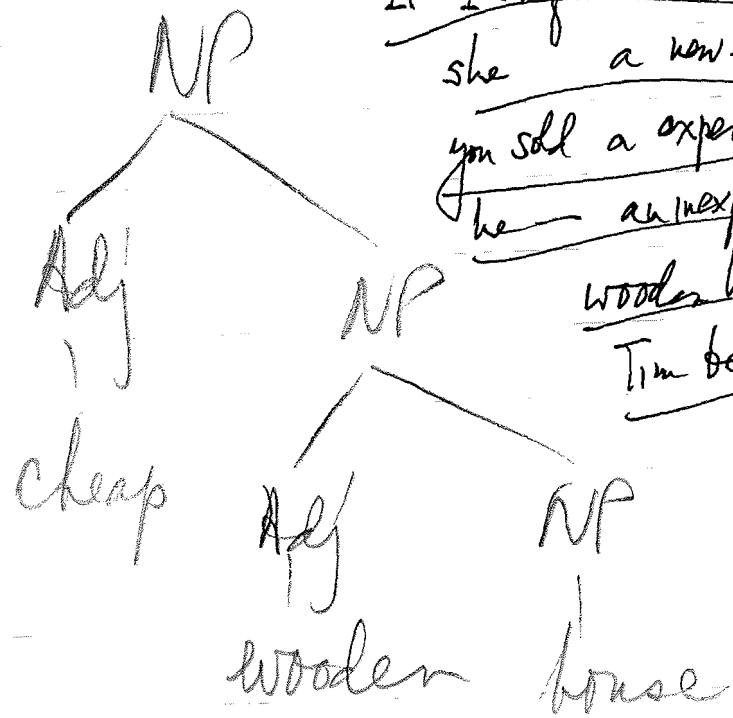
Conjunction Reduction  
NP 5

12/5/67

11. VI . MM IV  
This shows that the 2 S's are coordinate



This shows that the str must be  
 The best goes on:

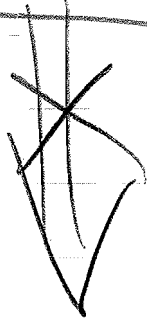


If I bought an old square, or she a new round, and you sold a expensive, or he an inexpensive wooden house, would Tim be happy?

( Anywhere Constraints )

12/5/67

You like Tom + I like you



\* You + I like Tom + you resp

NA

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

Aux as MV

11/29/67

Fact from Dave: Intransitive models can't question

\* Must John have a cold?

\* May John be leaving?

\* Ought he to be getting there?

# Articles & Rel Cls

11/28/67

He greeted me with { \*a / \*the } warmth

{ a / the } warmth that was { convincing, inspiring, infectious, unmistakably, annoying }

{ \*a / the } warmth that was { necessary, mandatory, required, expected }

→ predictable

→ predictable

with { the } warmth that I { anticipated, expected, predicted }

{ \*a }

with { a / \*the } warmth that { frightened, surprised } me

proved that he loved me

I was surprised he could muster up.

I { disliked, welcomed, regretted, disapproved of }



# Dative

11/28/67

Arguments for

V NP NP

Arguments for

V NP & NP

1. Crossover facts

1.  $V NP_1 NP_2 \Rightarrow V NP_2$  to  $NP_1$   
is a new type of operation.

2.

2.  $V_n NP NP$  don't appear in  
substantives.

Rules applying to their own output

11/27/67

Two rules which can't:

can be gotten around

These must be cyclic

- 1. Conjunction Copying (pointed out by Rudi)
  - 2. Theme Insertion
  - 3. Passive
- } pointed out by Bill Grossman

Four rules which must be able to:

Can all be post cyclic

- 1. All Hopping
- 2. Scrambling
- 3. Determiner conditioned some → any
- 4. Affix hopping in Hidatsa

( Output Condition )

11/13/67

\* [ NP of NP S ]  
NP

?? my expectation to be left alone

\* of John



some  $\rightarrow$  any

11/11/67

Proof that some  $\rightarrow$  any is cyclic and precedes It Repl or that it is pre-cyclic.

I dislike anybody singing  
\*dissuaded from

(Aux as MV)

11/10/67

Fact from Rotte:

\* what he's doing { seems to be } reading  
{ is believed to be }

In other words, It Repl can't work on S's if the object of do has been deleted.

This proves can, must, has, etc

have It Repl in their history, because

\* what he's doing { may } could be reading  
{ must }

\* what he's never done has been { study greek }  
{ ? to study greek }

# Backwards reflexivization

11/9/67

Sentences from George Williams:

A picture of himself {  
came into John's hands  
attracted John's attention  
appeared to fill John's dreams  
aroused John's admiration  
appeared on the wall of John's bathroom  
hung on John's wall

\* His picture of himself hung on John's wall

Thought of himself occupied John's mind

{\* Mary's

The thought of an attempt by himself to scale the mountain absorbed John's every waking minute.

A picture of himself hangs on the north wall of the house  
John bought last month.

Help help - backwards and up

Corresponding structure

11/9/67

John told Mary that he had washed her car, and Bill told Ann

(that John had washed (Mary's) car)  
\* Ann's

(that {Bill} had washed Ann's car)  
\* John

NB: apparently, for 11 str,  
it must be all pronouns  
or none

HELP ☺

Pronominalization

11/19/67

5 from George Williams:

Tom said there were ducks on the pond and

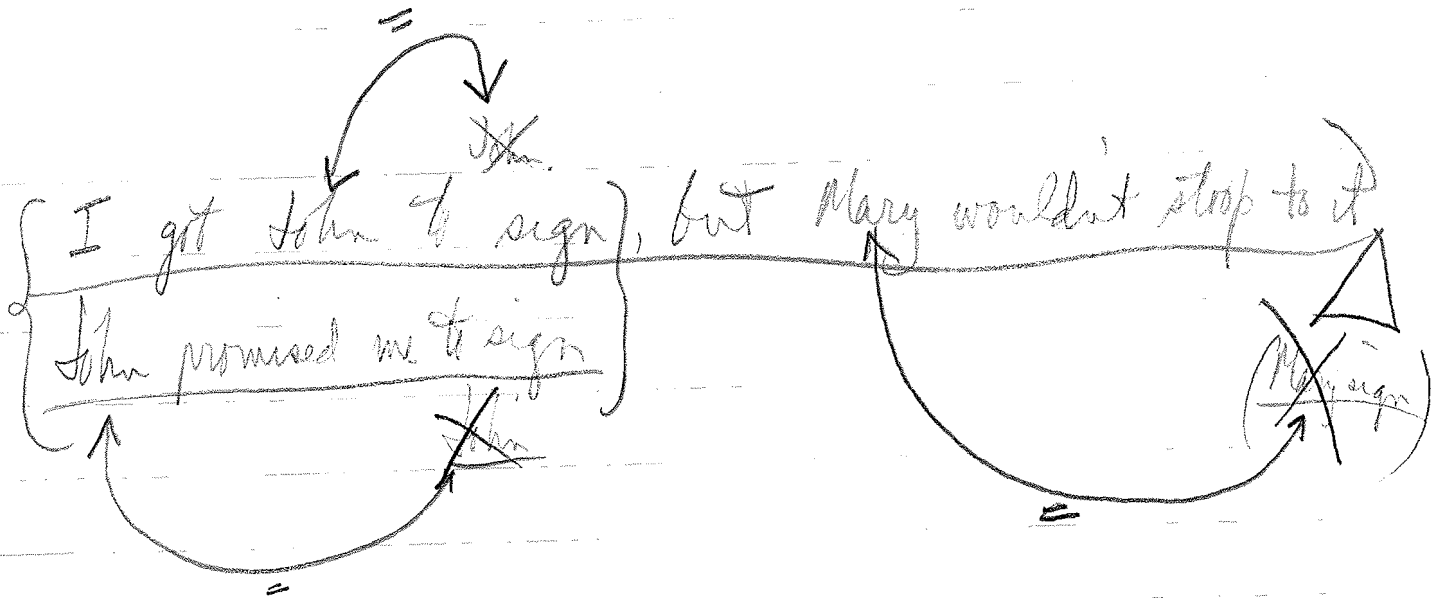
there were (ducks on the pond)

how do they supposed to  
be a constituent?

Help help

Corresponding structure

11/9/67



How are these parallel?

Tom told me he had been drafted, but Bill doesn't know it yet

Can this mean?

that Bill has been drafted

≡ =

Non-separability

11/9/67

5 from Ray Dougherty:

The pair prepared themselves.

NB → The group of lawyers is going to defend itself <sup>{\*themselves}</sup>

are " " " themselves <sup>{\*itself}</sup>

One group will defend itself ourselves alone

→ themselves

NB

The non-denumerability of indices

11/9/67

S from George W:

The points on any line allow themselves to be mapped into the interval  $[0, 1]$ .



There insertion of Aux as MV

Oct or Nov 1967

How can I block

\* There must have been being students arrested

but get ?

There must have been students being arrested

# V-V Selection

10/20/17

Conjecture: Once you have a [-stative] V in a chain of V's, you can never get back to a [+stative]

Is this true?

Except for claim

I knew him & have persuaded Tom to make Bill claim to have known Phil to run all day.

After here, you can't be [+stative] anymore

$[V NP]_{VP}$  vs  $[V NP S]_{VP}$

10/25/67

issues:

1. Synonymy of passives.
2. Is the NP always animate?
3. Can some  $\rightarrow$  any in the superficial object?
4. Is there to VP a possible object? Or NP to be allowed to...
5. In NP to be Ven objects, is the passive synonymous with get oneself?
6. Cleft S
7. Passive
8. I want us to win - \*I forced us to win.

Output Condition

10/20/67

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{hardly} \\ \text{rarely} \\ \vdots \end{array} \right\}$  must dominate Neg in surf. str.

Not Hopping

10/20/67

Not Hopping must be a rule, in  
2 parts, yet.

1. Not Copying

2. 5 Raising

3. Not Deletion

A man A Contention

10/6/67

Why can you say

who who is intelligent do you know?

but not?

\* the man who is intelligent who you know is  
a link

Non-repeatability of conjuncts

10/3/67

It's an  
anywhere  
constraint

[ This is not only a deep str constraint  
'it's' a surf str. one too

Tom gave cookies to Fred and I gave cookies to Bill



Tom + I { gave cookies to Fred + gave cookies to Bill, resp }  
{ gave cookies to Fred + (to) Bill resp }

Tom gave cookies to Fred + Joe sent letters to Bill + Sarah  
gave cookies to Ed



\* Tom + Joe + Sarah gave cookies, sent letters + gave cookies  
to Fred, Bill + Ed, resp

it here

7/29/67

\* want

\* desire

prefer

I like it at MIT

I'll try

---

good  
it's fun at MIT

difficult

? \* easy

---

he is popular } in Japan  
      famous }



Aux as MV

9/26/67

Davis' stuff about shallow str SVO. L's providing an explanation for Subj Verb Inversion is a great argument that Aux is a V.

hint is the fact that all auxiliaries  
are verbs — this is obvious by syntactic tests

Crossover Condition) 9/23/67

It seems to me that maybe  
the condition is

Don't have the same  
V of discourse IX in AS

\* some of the men were examined  
by the others.

Pied Piping

9/13/67

These sentences provide evidence for the rule that a const can't be moved none of its constituents can.

The man who we saw yesterday's death was tragic.

\* The man's death who we saw yesterday was tragic.

But rel cl can be extrap if not in det position

Jack's gift of all the medals to my father which had 3

chambers was wonderful

New NB

?? the proposal by some guy to build a house was not ever  
seen before we greeted with scorn

There insertion

9/13/67

Although  $\$$  \* there's tendency to be fixed,  
this poses no problem, because there is also  
no

\* there's being none on base worried him

This means that  $\exists$  a surf str.  
constraint excluding.



---

Remaining problem: why  $\$$  \* close tabs's tendency to be kept on X

# VP Deletion

9/1/57

The last argument I know of for VP goes out the window. It looks like (1) is derived to (2a) or (2b) by the same rule.

(1) Hans und I gehen und Fritz wird auch gehen

(2) a. Hans und I gehen und Fritz wird auch.  
b. " " " " " "

It looks like the way to delete wird gehen from (1) to get (2b). But the rule which produces (2a) is unbounded (cf (3a)), while the rule which produces (2b) is not (cf \*(3b)).

(3) a. Hans und I gehen und sich freuen. / Fritz auch. /  
b. \* " " " " " "

So there are different rules involved, and it is possible to say that (2b) doesn't come directly from (1), but rather via (2a).

Negative Inscription

5/20/67

great argument which shows that the  
sub. which produces indefinites in Rel Cls is  
not the same as the regular rule.

{ the only students who ever smiled  
+ the only }

6.7

{ only the students ever smiled  
+ the only }

Conversely

8/25/07

\* Bill { left  
sang a song } and conversely

\* the man who the woman saw went to sleep, & conversely

but  $\exists$  if it rains, the sun becomes opaque & conversely

(m) men who women saw went to sleep, & conversely

This is the first clear indication that  
generic clauses come from if-clauses.





do so and The Cycle

8/19/67

Don't the following facts provide compelling proof  
for the cycle?

The grass will be mowed by the man who usually does so

\* Our grass was mowed by Jack and Harry did so too

The rules seem to have to be

Do so  
Passive

5 stative

8/19/67

\* Be a boy!

Be a [good] boy!

smart  
nice  
kind  
+ fat  
\* tall

Islands

8/19/67

It's predictable that Serbo-Croatian clitics  
don't go down into subject clauses from the fact  
that Serbo-Croatian has the SSC

( 2 Verbs began )

8/19/67

Great fact for Dave:

\* The guests are beginning (~~to arrive~~)

\* I began (~~to doubt~~)

Ho ho ho

Gapping

8/3/67

John is easy to please and Bill (difficult)  
\*eager

I think that this apparent counterexample to gapping is from the governed (Help! Help!) rule of Equi Object Deletion, which gives things like John began and I approve

So notice

I buy the cars and Jack (sells)  
\*guards  
\*polishes

NB - ∃ interesting semantic parallels required here.

I'm proud of the US, and Bill  
ashamed  
\*mad  
\*ignorant

Most verbs can't undergo this rule at all  
e.g. wear, take, bring

pick a N

8/18/67

She listened closely when I read Tom's <sup>\*own</sup> <sub>??a</sub> statement about himself

Modalization +  
constituents

8/18/67

cf. 34.1.5

Passive

that Del

Rel Cl Formation

Modalization

Horn - can it be that  $\exists$   
relative clause  
who do you have re{ \*Narys } picture of?

a d

who do you have types that will work?

But if this is so, how can  
the grammaticality be explained?

This screws up, because how are we to get  
the claim was made?

The ordering would appear to have to be

Modalization

Passive

that Deletion

Rel Cl Formation

But now how come the  
CNPC can be violated?

(The same difficulty arises out of  
of Modalization...)

As also

a bit

base  
\*unbound } hope that the teacher will buy

as - clauses

8/10/67

\* Tom drives as he drives



Indication that  $\exists$  a conj. node in deep str.

Vitko's writ

John is taller than he  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{was} \\ * \text{is} \end{array} \right\}$

fn) It's not necessary ( $\stackrel{?}{=}$  possible) to exclude all  $\exists$ 's which require non-identity <sup>of some const.</sup> by saying that they come from a conj. node. (e.g., maybe we don't want to say this about \*The book<sub>i</sub> was under it (self)<sub>i</sub>.)

But in all cases where  $\exists$  non-identity of sentences we do want to say it - e.g.

\* That he left proves that he left

\* The man who came came

and cf. sentences above.



(Chopping)

8/13/67

Is it always the case that if an element may not be moved, nothing it dominates may be?

e.g.

\* For whom would it bother you to shave himself?

\* Who would it bother you for a picture of to be in your wife's room

---

No — it's not true

Who did they make off with picture of?

\* With which pix did they make off?

---

→ BUT IT'S ALMOST TRUE ←

# Conjunction

8/12/67

Maybe and is a V - in Japanese  $\bar{P}$   
follows the  $S^*$ , in English  $\bar{P}$  precedes.

Are there any languages where  $S$  SOV but  
 $+S^n$

or SVO but  $S^n+$ ?

I don't know of any.

Idioms

8/12/67

$\exists$  one rule I know of which makes crucial  
use of variables, and yet can occur in  
idioms — V Final (or V2 — makes no diff)

er kriecht doof aus der Wäsche

weil er doof aus der Wäsche kriecht,

1/2/67

Declaratives

8/9/61

Linguists like { myself } use Ipava  
                  { \* himself }

easy

8/8/67

Examples:

John tried to be easy (\*for me) to get along with

Reminiscent of Chomsky's sentence

Flattery is easy (\*for Jack) to be swayed by

Help<sup>2</sup>

$( [V \ NP \ S]_{VP} )$

8/7/67

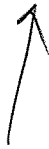
I know of no verb like this whose object  
can be [anim].

This is obviously an argument that  
this is an old subject.

Q + RC

8/5/67

who do you have? Two brothers.



This can only be the sheriff talking.

What do you have? Two legs.

Here, it is only alienable possession that is being asked about.

WHY?

NB also that what did you prevent?  
is just as strange as the fire which I prevented

Tail-chasing

8/5/67 p.1

Maybe it's a pseudo-problem.

He did it in the kitchen

comes from



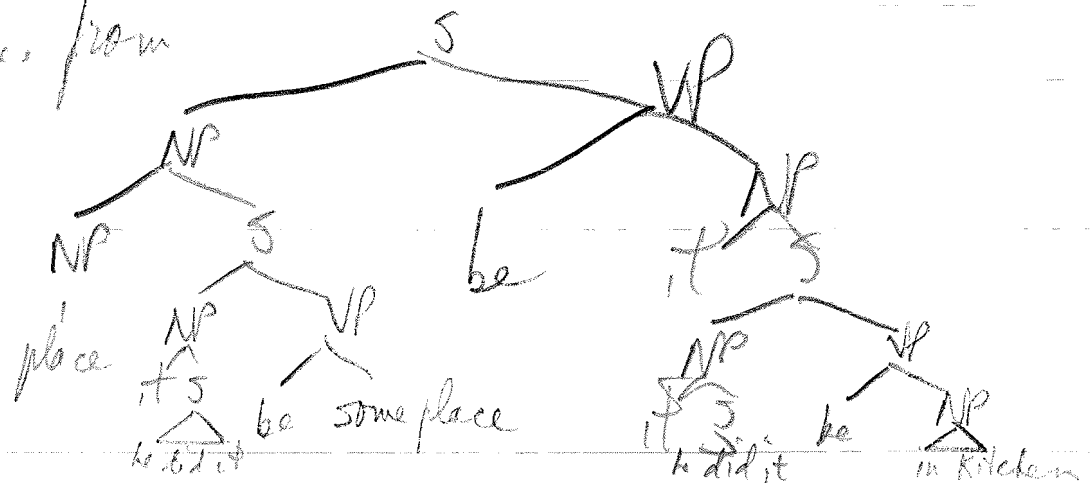
pseudo-cleft



and

the place where he did it was in the kitchen

comes from



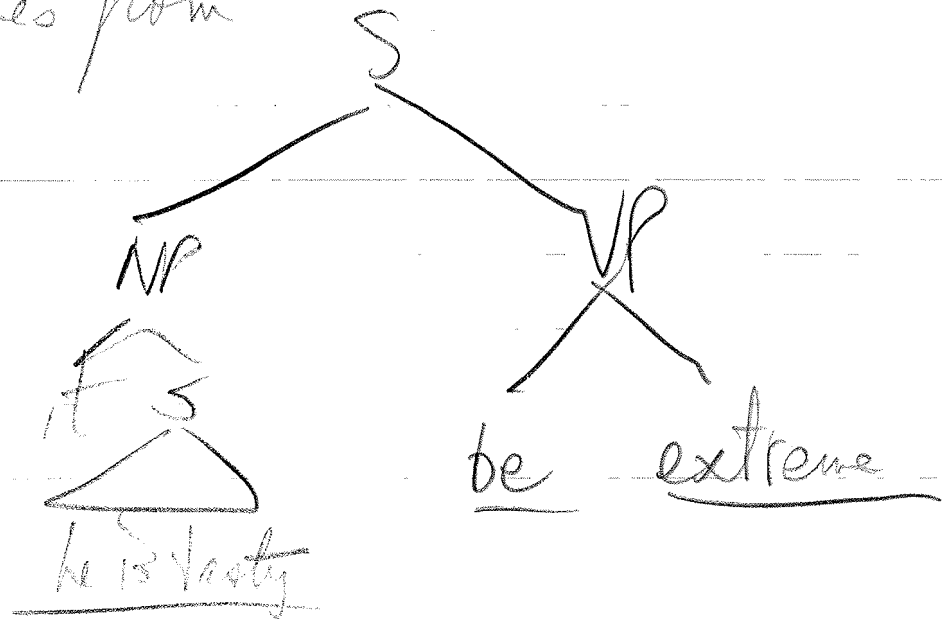


Tail-Chasing

8/5/67 p.2

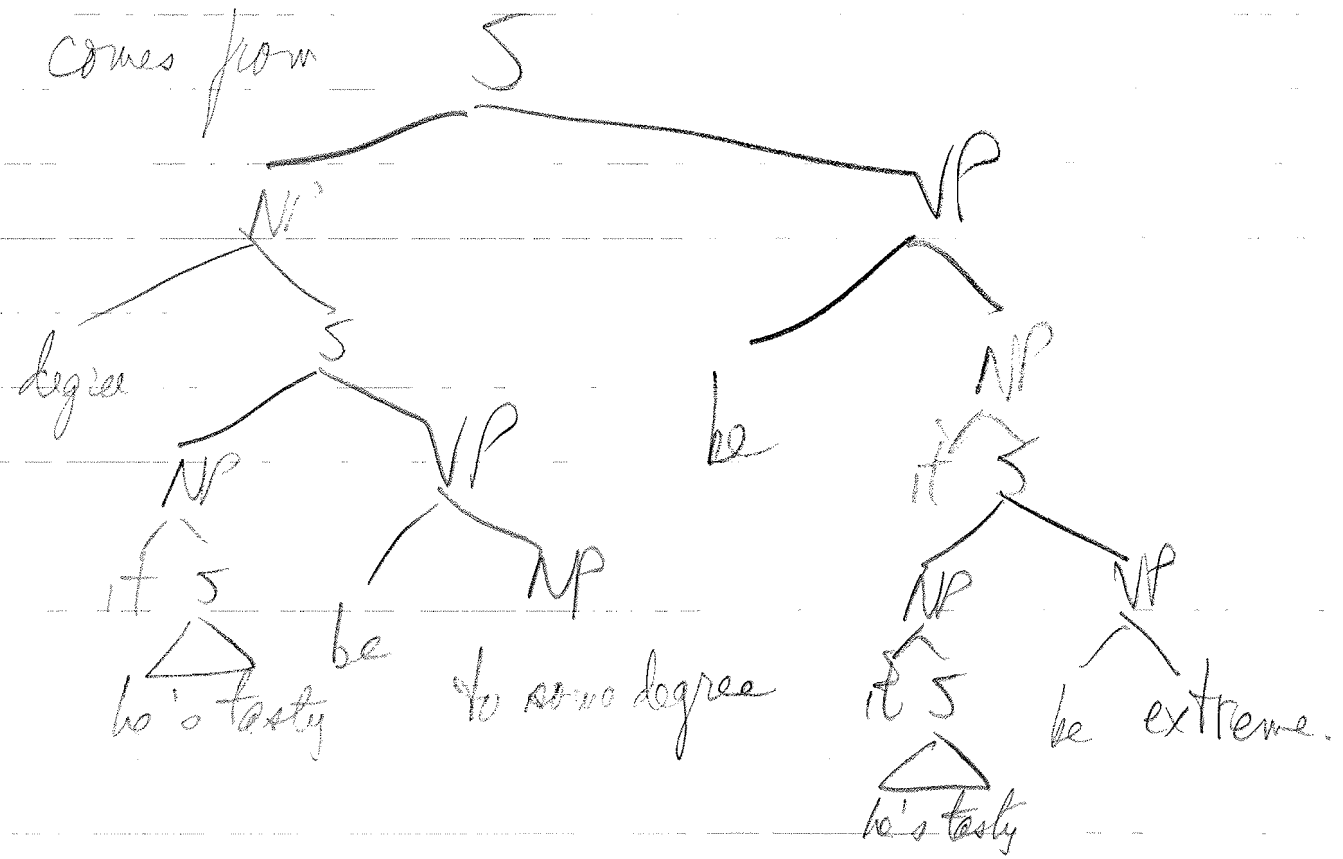
Similarly he's extremely tasty

comes from



what the degree to which he is tasty is extreme

comes from



# Sentential Subject Constraint

8/5/67

if anybody will come is not certain

that he { \*ab  
was } there was obvious

but Nobody thinks { \*that that anybody will come is certain }

{ it is certain that anybody will come }

Maybe it has something to do with  
an element coming from a higher clause

??

Then why isn't that nobody was involved is certain  
ambiguous?

# Ellipsis

8/4/67

There are at least 3 kinds of ellipsis:

1. John ate (non-generic) ] non-specific
2. John stole (generic) ]
3. } {approve} non-generic specific  
  {steal}  
  {etc}

Subject + Predicate

8/4/67

Dad {  
 was sitting  
 will. I  
 sat  
 ?? has sat  
 must be sitting  
}

The victim

From the gas {  
 drank (\* wine)  
 was drinking  
 must drink  
}

Betsy

To be personal about me with the victory

\*by his manager      \*by his manager

to {  
 left  
 \*went home  
}

Bobby

This rule seems to be

PP	NP	V*
1	1	3 →
1	0	3+2

→ Off {  
 \*has driven  
 drove (\*my Impala)  
 \*is driving  
}

Soyuz

This rule seems to be

P	NP	V
1	2	3 ⇒
1	0	3+2

Identity

7/30/67

I see his area, & Mary wants me to do so too ← 2 ways,  
not 3,  
ambig

Bill told me that I had passed, & my mother told Betty

If stress here, this clause has deleted that I had passed.

However, with stress here + here, what's been  
deleted is that, she had passed.

With w/r Bill told me that (he) had passed & (she) had seen

(Equi NP Del)

7/30/67

That only goes forward, just like R/L

cf.

After getting up, Max shaved himself.

\*

After Max's getting up, shaved himself.

Control

7/30/67

Sequence of Tenses obviously needs  
the notion of control.

He will believe that { I will be here  
I am here (= I will be here)  
I was here } NB

He believes that { I will  
I am  
I was }

He believed that { \*I will  
\*I am  
I was }

NB - It's only after believed that  
past perf isn't a fragment.

?

7/29/67

10/22/71

↓ \$ Negs in here

Knitting is not  $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{a} \\ \underline{the} \end{array} \right\}$  thing (... (Everybody thinks / Tom believes))  
1 1

I do  $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{well} \\ \underline{the\ best} \end{array} \right\}$   
1 1

No other mixture is possible

Probably related to

I do  $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{*a} \\ \underline{that} \end{array} \right\}$  thing the best

vs.

I do  $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{a} \\ \underline{the} \end{array} \right\}$  thing well (generic)  
But this is generic



Scrambling + Islands

7/29/67

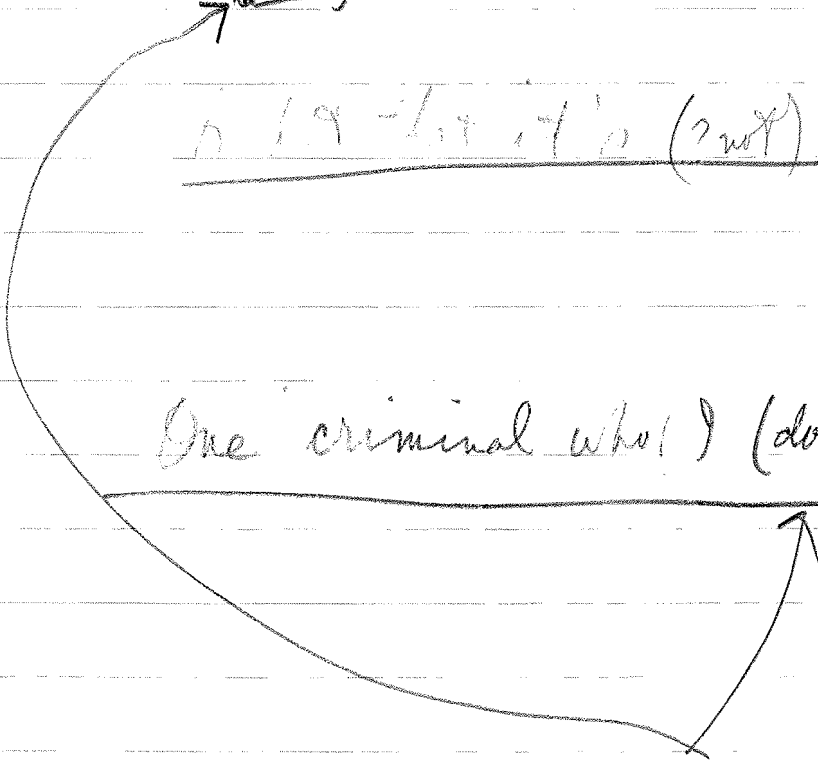
Prediction: mens and taus will scramble,  
eius won't.

Islands

7/29/67

It's ~~not~~ odd that he bought anything

It's ~~not~~ odd that he bought



One criminal who (don't) doubt that he'll catch

Here some ~~to~~ any, yet stuff comes out.

Trouble for islands

Negation

7/29/67

How can my treatment like Ed's account for

- $\exists$  Nobody likes S
- $\nexists$  I don't hope S

# Comparative It Deletion

7/29/67

(... (B.D. believed) I thought)

Jack ran faster than was necessary ~~to run~~

Rule: delete any it in a than-clause or a so-clause from which a clause has been extraposed.

Restriction - Don't go into relative clauses, coordinate structures, etc.

From - NB this This suggests that it's in the it that's deleting, but the subject complement -  
Extrap OMR  
H Del A  
Comp Del - Deletion

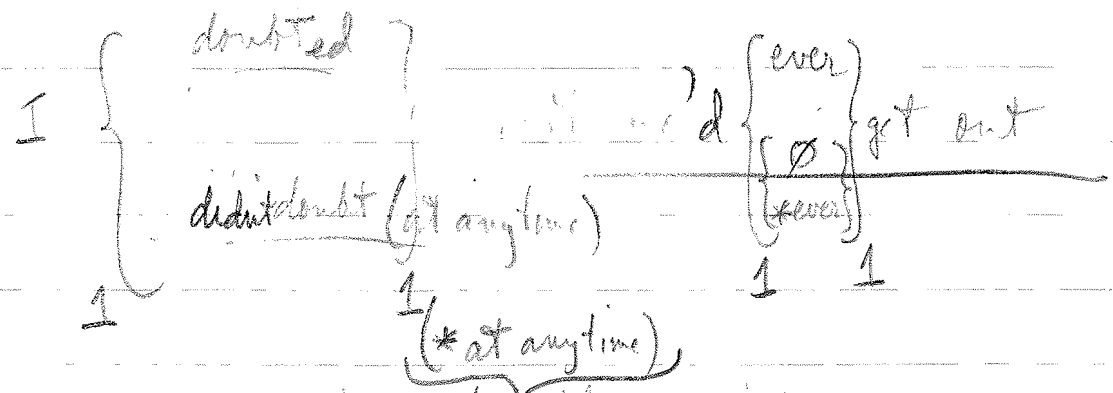
Help help - here's a deletion transformation which obeys the constraints.

to run in subject position  
But then the entail. having notated out a sentential subject - help help

We could add like "which commands the compared element"

Negation

7/29/67



It's impossible not to doubt that we'll ever get out.

---

So it appears that it is

$$Nbg^n, \quad n = 1 \pmod{2}$$

that causes Indef = incorporation

Chuckle chuckle — it will be somewhat difficult to state this in terms of Boolean conditions.

Sequence of Tenses

7/28/67

Goldwater lost + LBJ became president  
[\*becomes]



Does this indicate that all conjuncts must share tenses?

(Islands)

7/27/67

Fact discovered with Stan:

Features can't move up out of conj. str  
either

\* Few writers & any authors meet in Vienna

OK Few writers meet any authors in Vienna

This fact zaps Paul's argument about NP\* (cf. John & Mary kissed herself — this will be blocked because conjuncts are islands). Uh oh — what stops this

John & Mary kissed her ←

in the NP\* sense?

Islands

7/27/67

It is of course no accident that in the conditions box we have conditions on chopping rules, and also conditions on feature-changing rules (cf. Dave's observation about Russian Refl (OBLIG if same cl., OPT otherwise) = Russian acc  $\rightarrow$  gen (OBLIG same clause, OPT otherwise))



# Islands

7/27/67

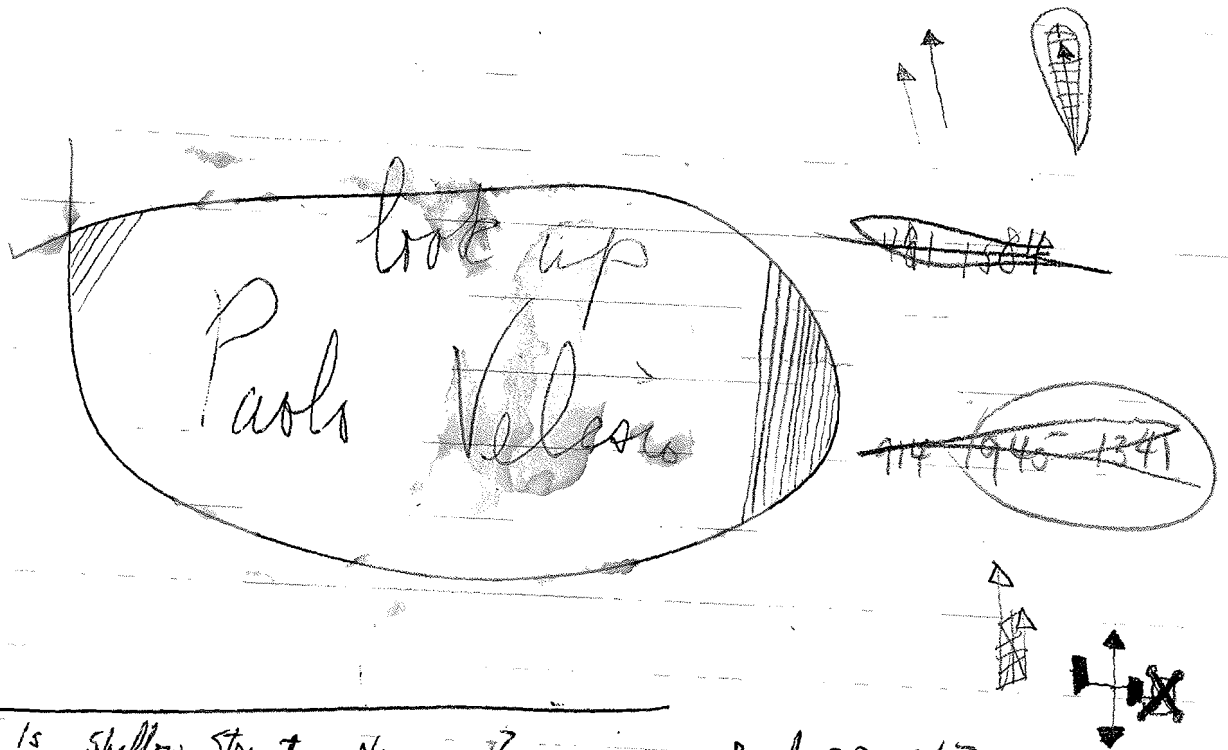
It's not surprising that Finnish  
Case Change (acc  $\rightarrow$  nom) doesn't  
work into that (että) clauses - nothing  
comes out of them either. Question:  
Does the acc  $\rightarrow$  part rule? Can  
it go into että - clauses?

I hope + bet not. (9:37 AM)

I'm correct. Prediction (2:05 PM)  
confirmed.

Fair 7 Annotations:

- ✓ 0. How two articles - Beck must further = article in New York
- ✓ 1. Thesis
- ✓ 2. Syntactic islands - deep to A-over-A
- ✓ 3. as to ground
- ✓ 4. Command



Is Shallow Structure Necessary?

July 23, 1967

Agreement

1. Variables
  - a. government
  - b. islands
  - c. Wasserscheide for rules containing
2. Preving
3. Crossover
4. Pronom ?
5. Keeps in the same family - Kirill's observation - rules only produce deep-str, like objects
6. Arguments for cycle are all fine - shallow str.

Passive

7/12/67

Nobody thought that {  
John had been examined but he had been  
track had been kept, but it had been

|| ?? use was made of LSD, but it was  
\*\*\*use

?\* Tabs are now being kept, but they didn't use to be.

?\* Advantage is now being taken of the special  
landscape, but it used not to be

If these sentences are out, then maybe  
- there are 2 passive verbs - a transitive &  
an intransitive.

Indef Incorporation

Sentential  
Subject  
Constraint

? Nobody says that that Sue has any money as certain 7/16/1

Coord Str  
Constraint

\* Nobody knew that { it had rained and any crops had been <sup>ruined</sup>  
Bill had eaten (some) peas and any grapes  
Bill played anything and sang

Complex NP  
Constraint

Note also that Neg doesn't go down into rel. cls - impossible to state, of course  
This explains why  $\neq$

\* Mary scratched Bill & tickled himself (even from VP\*)

and \*Mary scratched John & herself.

Generalization

Features can't be changed where things can't move

Exceptions: everybody I ever knew, etc.

: I don't want anybody's dog

# Auxiliary

7/4/67

2 facts pointed out by Lees (gen p. 65 and p. 66) are the same, if have, be, etc. are <sup>the</sup> stative main verbs.

\* his resembling of his mother

\* his having built of a house

\* his being building of a house

\* his being given of a house by Mary

Japping

7/2/1967 P.1

V must be in the middle in German, and also the prefix, otherwise how would (1) be derivable?

(1) Er schrieb die Nummer ab, und ich die Adresse.

shows Prefixes can gap backwards, as (2)

(2) weil er die Nummer und ich die Adresse abschrieb.

and in fact, both directions can work at once, as (3) shows

(3) Er schrieb die Nummer, und ich die Adresse ab

How else can these facts be accounted for than by assuming S'pref VO basic order?

NB also

(4) weil er die Gläser  $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{herein} \\ \text{herein trägt} \end{matrix} \right\}$  und die Teller  $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{heraus} \\ \text{trägt} \end{matrix} \right\}$   
-1 { } 1 1

(gapping)

7/2/67 p.2

⑤ \* Er schnip die Schneebälle hinaus und sie rollte  
die Bomben

hinaus can't gap

Sentential Relative Clauses

6/22/67  
2 AM

If the following is true, it has mind-boggling implications.

Hypothesis :: The auxiliary of sentential relative clause is the same as the sentence they modify

Exception { I is drunk, which is too bad }  
 { ~~\*was~~ }

NB { I was drunk, which is too bad }  
 { was }

I expect John to be drunk, which will surprise her  
 { ~~\*believe~~ }

I avoid cheating, which would piss her off

I avoided going, which would have pissed her off

I liked swimming, which was dangerous

For I to have left, which would have been suicidal, would have shocked them

(cf. It would have shocked them if John had left, which would have been shocked them



Sentential Relative Clauses

p. 2  
6/22/67

that I (will) go

I { decided on } going, which (will) be difficult  
\*succeeded in

NB

that I (went)

I { succeeded in } going, which (was) fun  
\*decided on

She studied greek, which (is) too bad  
\*was

She pissed off a lot of girls



Output condition

6/21/67

\* It, although most people hate to discuss it, has  
grown quite popular



Idioms

do away with  
make off with  
speak out for

Outer passive  
Inner passive  
P. can move  
Unspec NP Del  
Deletion of Obj under Identity  
Refl Obj Del  
E intransitive

6/15/67

✓	—	X	X	X	X	X
✓	—	?X	X	X	X	✓
✓	—	?✓	✓	X	X	?

take objection to  
make use of  
set fire to

?✓	✓	?✓	X	✓	X	
✓	✓	?X	X	X	X	
✓	?X	?X	X	X	X	



# Exclamations

6/8/67

These guys probably come from I exclaim at the extent:

Note that exclaim cannot be used in the present tense at all

\* { I  
You  
We  
They } exclaim at her strength

\* He exclaims

Furthermore, in the past tense, only questions of degree follow exclaim

We exclaimed at { how he treated her ← This can only mean how badly  
how he loved her  
how tall he was  
how tall a man she married  
\* how he was tall  
\* who came = how much  
\* what he built  
\* what he could build  
\* when he left / \* his departure  
his size/beauty/strength/power/etc

but NB

but NB

Sentence Adverb Lowering

6/8/67

maybe this is different

He gave it to someone

- astounding
- incredible
- fantastic
- impossible
- unbelievable
- improbable
- \* probable
- \* possible
- \* sure
- \* false
- \* believable
- etc

These are all exclamatory - it's not the case that all sentence adverbs work here.

Maybe they are also all future

This must come from

that he gave it to the one who he gave it to is

- incredible
- ? impossible
- fantastic
- unbelievable
- \* false
- \* possible
- ? believable

NB - Imperatives: \* give it to someone unbelievable

cf. also

Maybe OK, but funny

Somebody { tall } \* incredible } help me with this!



Not - Hopping

5/31/67

John believes she won't go, and { I believe it too  
\* ) don't believe it either }

John doesn't believe she will go, and { \* ) believe it too  
I don't believe it  
either }

even

5/30/67

Even is subjective - if LBJ says  
"Even the Negroes fight well."

then Ebony would not quote him with  
LBJ said that even the Negroes fought well

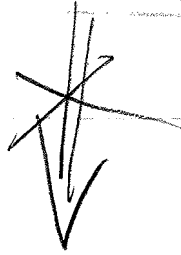
because then Ebony is assuming LBJ's expectation  
that Negroes are crummy fighters.

This suggests that even is somehow  
related to the performative. Maybe this can be used to explain  
why  $\exists$  only one even in a sentence.

Output Condition

5/23/67

I like ham + George likes cheese



\* I + George like ham + cheese, resp.

Obviously, an output condition is necessary to throw this out, for the input sentence is fine, and it's only if you've done Conj Red.

And the mind boggles at constructing a rule permuting the conjuncts (Note they'd have to permute the same in subject and object).

# Conditions Box

5/23/67

An indirect object NP in V-NP can't  
move:

Question \* who did you give the book?

Rel cl \* the boy who gave the book

Top \* Bill I didn't want to give the book

NP Shift \* I gave the book an old friend from Kankakee

NB however -  $\exists$  2 rules w/o  
variables where P can be moved

Passive he was given a book

Dative I gave a book to him

Passive

5/20/17

This matter { could stand  
bears  
warrants  
merits  
deserves  
needs } looking at

↑

The fact that the  
P is left behind means  
Passive has applied.

John { underwent  
suffered } { torture (at their hands)  
\* looking at }

NB

John deserves your { praise  
approval }  
\* self { criticism }

Another proof  
Passive is at work

NB — \* John deserves your pride

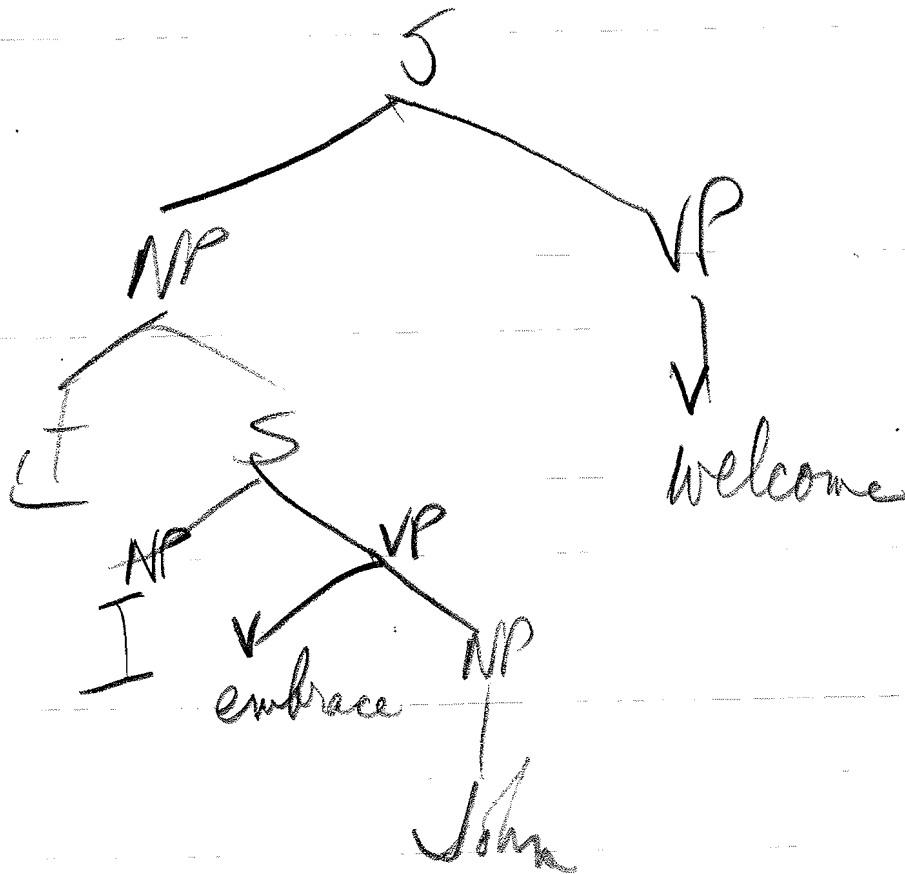
(Passive)

p. 2

5/20/67

Can it be that

John welcomed my embrace as really from



?

# Auxiliaries

5/20/67

ja čital knigu — how is this sentence quoted?

oni skazali što ja ? čital knigu

is there a be here?

I would expect this to look just like a quoted sentence with an adjective — in other words, čital is an adjective.

This of course is the eleventh argument that auxiliaries are verbs — apparently the past tense verb in Russian is был

Gapping

5/19/67

This is an excellent case of a rule with a variable output

NB - you must gap progressively deeper, working from the top down - cf.

I will try to begin to fix the case and Harry

{ to begin to fix the boat  
to fix the boat  
the boat }

\*will try the boat

Do so also works like this:

and Harry will { do so  
try to do so  
try to begin to do so } too



Fact from Cobbe

5/17(?) / 67

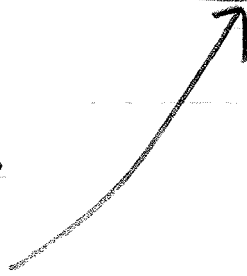
I demand that the girl be { marry } be white  
{ \*married }

Auxiliaries

5/16/67

~~What I don't think~~ { he needs is to get up }  
\*he need is get up }

Why?  
|



Aux

5/16/67

do precedes be Adj', but not be ing

They said that he had been sick, + that he { was  
has been }

that he had been writing, and that he { \*was  
has been }

# Crossover Principle

5/14/67

Maybe Paul is all wrong - maybe the correct generalization to make is that these 2 must be grouped together

\* I am understood by myself

\* He forced me to be examined by her

{ get myself  
let }

? I forced him to { make  
get } me to examine her

(Fact for Chapin)

5/13/67

These sentences are { accountable for }  
others ? { dependable (\*on) }

arguable for

?? immunizable against

? appealable to

Help for Paul?

5/13/67

John neglected { the fact } that they were unwilling to proceed  
\* —————  
their unwillingness to proceed

\* the explosion (WHY BAD?)

(\*pr Bill)  
John neglected to shave  
^

Modal T

5/10/67

make use of will exhibit all the peculiarities of use with

\* I made use of the wire to scratch itself

\* I made use of myself to break the window

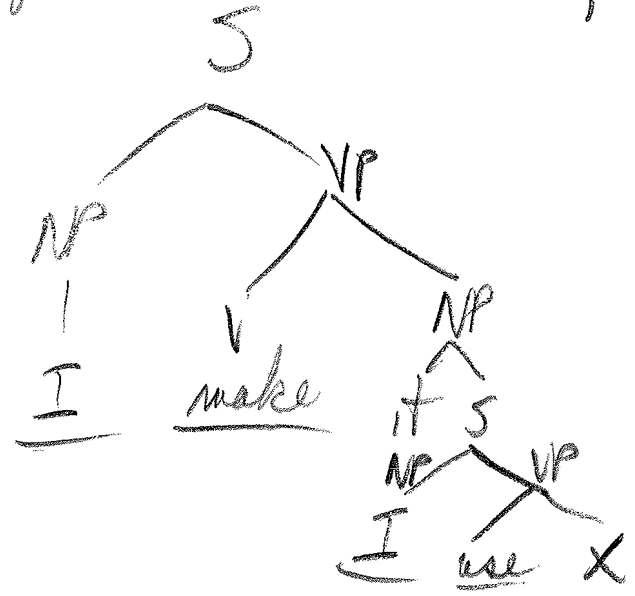
\* I made use of a slide rule to know the solution

\* I made use of a rock to not break the rock.

etc.

How can all these facts be captured if

I make use of X has the str.?



Performatives

5/10/67

What is the reason for saying I you as an indirect object in the performative?

Q. I promise {you} to be there  
\* {John}

but I promised him to be there.

ditto with I say <sup>{\*him}</sup> {you} I ask <sup>{\*him}</sup> {you} etc.

This fact shows that if any NP is in the indirect object, but it doesn't yet prove you must be there

it's you



# Performatives

5/10/67

The ungrammaticality of

\* Werde untersucht!

is explainable on the basis of

\* Ich befahl <sup>ihm?</sup> ihn untersucht zu werden

Instrumentals

5/6/67

\* The wire scratched itself  
it  
? the wire

Shows that this comes from an instrumental phrase - cf. \* I scratched the wire with \* it \* itself ? the wire

Maybe this is also the explanation for

The log prevented the house from falling  
\* itself  
to this an instrument?

Semantic Drip

5/5/67

In British English, you can agree verbs singular or plural w/ collective N

the herd { were } inoculated  
                  { was }

This might be a case of good old semantic drip.

# Question

5/1/67

Ordering seems to have to be:

{ Rel Cl  
{ Rel Cl Red  
{ VP Shift  
Q

cf. How tall a man did she marry?

\* a man (who was) how tall did she marry?

5/8/67

On second thought, this seems to suggest that we're full of shit in deriving pre-nominal adjectives from rel. cls. - this ordering is impossible to maintain, and anyway Pied Piping never obtains in the case of NP in reduced or full relative clauses.

On third thought, this suggests that this comes from  
Q the man she married was how tall Notice that what

answers one can answer the other too (cf. Meg 5/1)

Notice also that such sentences are purely English - there's nothing like them in German, French, etc.

# Types of Elementaries

Feb. 21, 1967.

Chomsky Adjunction	Daughter Adjunction	Sister Adjunction	Permutation	Substitution
Erasing	?	X	—	
Conjunction Reduction	X	X	—	
S Raising	X	X	X	
Topicalization	?	X	X	
Question	?	X	X	
Preposition Attachment	OK	X	X	
X	X	<u>There</u> Insertion	X	
X (cf. 1 exp J to go + *H B to stay)	<u>It</u> Replacement	X	—	
Case Marking	X	X	—	
?	Serbo-Croatian Clitic Placement	X	X	
Conjunct Movement	?	X	X	
<u>Es</u> Insertion	X	X	—	
?	?	Verb Final	OK	
?	?	Passive	X	
?	?	Flip	X	
X	X	Particle Movement	OK	
Appositive Clause Formation	X?	X?	X	
Relative Clause Formation	OK	X	X	
?	?	Extraposition	OK	
?	?	Extraposition from NP	OK	
X	X	?	Sentence Adverb Movement	
X	X	X	Scrambling	

Types of Elementaries

9/12/66

(cf. Adjunction 9/4/66)

This must allow  
S Adj to variables

<u>Chomsky Adjunction</u>	<u>Daughter Adjunction</u>	<u>Sister Adj</u>	<u>Permutation</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ <u>and Copying</u></li> <li>✗ Complementizer Placement</li> <li>✗ Preposition Raising</li> <li>✓ Conjunction Reduction</li> <li>✓ Sentence Raising</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><u>I</u> Replacement</li> <li>Passive; Flip</li> <li><b>Clitic Placement</b></li> <li>Adv Lowering</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><u>I</u> Extrap</li> <li>Extrap from NP</li> <li>Extrap of PP</li> <li>for Dative</li> <li>to Dative</li> <li>Particle Movement</li> <li>Verb Front/Final</li> <li>? Subject Inversion</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><u>I</u> Extrap</li> <li>Extrap from NP</li> <li>Extrap of PP</li> <li>for Dative</li> <li>to Dative</li> <li>Particle Movement</li> <li>Verb Front/Final</li> <li>? Subject Inversion</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ <b>Preposition Attachment</b></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>Preposition Attachment</b></li> <li>Conjunct Movement (she left with him, but wouldn't do so)</li> </ul>		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Case Marking</li> <li><u>es</u> Insertion</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(?? Case Marking)</li> <li><u>es</u> Insertion</li> </ul>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Complex NP Shift ??</li> <li>→ ✓ <b>Topicalization</b></li> <li><b>VP Shift ?</b></li> <li><b>Possessivization ?</b></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(D Adj to S) hockey</li> <li>Adv Preposing</li> <li>Topicalization</li> <li>Question</li> <li>(cf. Questions in German 9/12/66)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Adv Preposing</li> <li>Topicalization</li> <li>Question</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Adv Preposing</li> <li>Topicalization</li> <li>Question</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✗ Restrictive and Appositive Clause Formation (verb is final)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(<u>There</u>, but only if D Adj can add nodes in the middle)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>NB</li> <li><b>There</b></li> <li>cf <u>There</u> 9/12/66</li> </ul>	

# Chopping & Pied Piping

4/29/07

~~the museum the cupola on top of which I designed~~

the motorcycle the car beside which I own is a Honda

\*which I own the car beside

\*beside which I own the car

These 2 sentences show that elements of reduced relative clauses are not necessarily non-relativizable — they just can't be moved

WHY?

(but cf. \*Mike, the only girl wed at whom are Suzie & Jane do a shit)

Compare them to \*the motorcycle the car that is beside which I own

This is out because Pied Piping won't move a NP dominated by a sentence which contains the identical NP.

# Pronominalization

4/29/67

Idea from Steve:

If there are copying rules, Jackendoff has to countenance two sources for pronouns: deep str and those that arise in copying rules.

Does this jar him? We'll see.



Lied Piping

4/29/67

what stops me from getting

\* the man Bill + who (in) I shot at was tall

---

Help help

Pseudo Cleft 5

4/29/67

Flak for Noam: Pied Piping applies in both directions in  $[-X]_{NP}$  of.

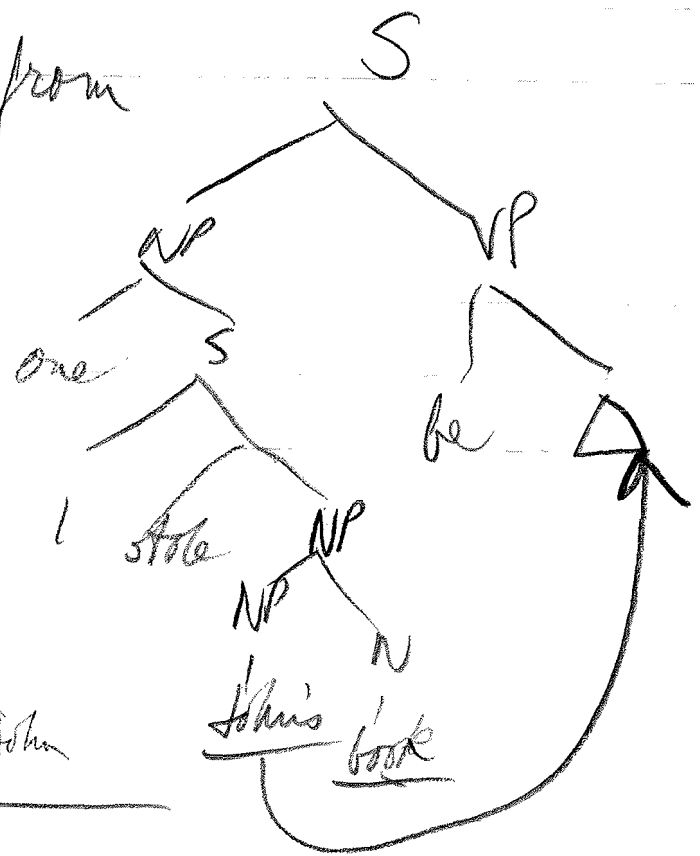
\* John's they stole car and

\* I gave picture of you to Mary the old man from Phila's

Therefore, since it is possible to say  
The one whose book I stole was John,

this can't come from

because Pied Piping won't let it move.



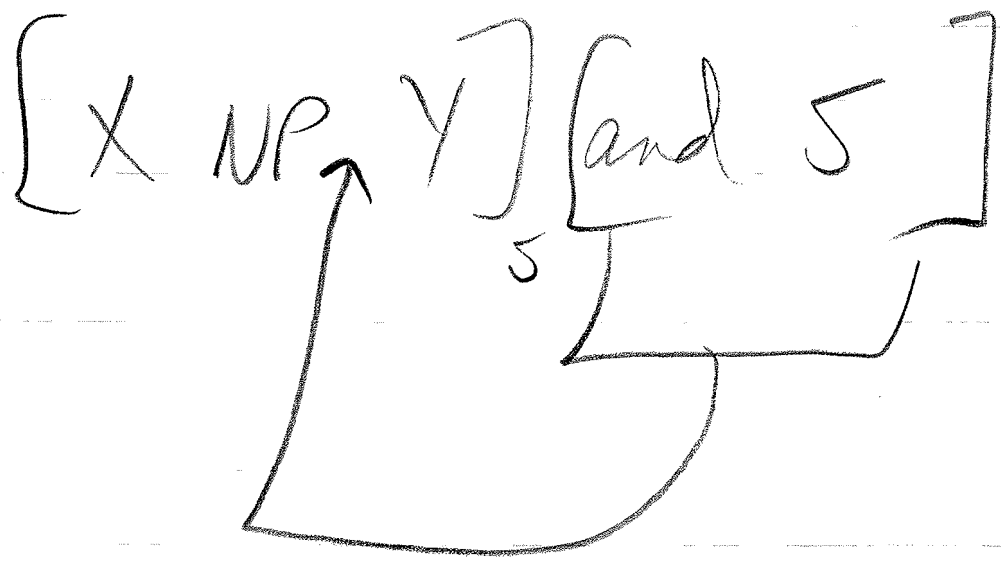
If Noam argues Pseudo Cleft is a copying rule, then why doesn't he get

\* The one who I saw Bill + was John

Coordinate Structures Constraint

4/28/67

Uh oh — how can I do Appositive  
Clause Formation? It mentions variables,  $n_i$ ?



Help help

---

Hum — maybe the constraint must be stated so that it says "No conjunct may be moved up out of the coordinate str."

(Imperatives)

4/28/67 p.1

Across the board rules

you stay here + I'll get the paper

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{you} \\ \text{—} \\ 1 \quad 1 \end{array} \right\}$  go home +  $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} ?\text{you} \\ \text{—} \\ 1 \quad 1 \end{array} \right\}$  get the paper +  $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} ?\text{you} \\ \text{—} \\ 1 \quad 1 \end{array} \right\}$  bring it back.



This means that you must be deleted  
 across the board if possible

Help help

c/ \*go home + you get the paper

Imperatives

4/28/67

Now note

John, go home + get it

\* Nobody touch his pocket + pull out anything

You go home + everybody else stand still

NB difference in meanings —

John, make the coffee + { Mary, make the bread  
Mary will make the bread }

You make the coffee and everybody else { will  
— } stand still

↑  
Different meanings

Performatives

4/28/67

\* {  
 Here's the whisky  
 I hereby pronounce you man + dog  
 I order you to leave  
 ? I hereby proclaim a national holiday

- if you don't believe me, ...

NB → There's the whisky - if you don't believe me

These are tasty, if I do say so  
 (\*he does)

# Copying vs. Chopping

4/28/67

Mike Brane tells me that in Arabic you can relativize elements within relative clauses and other complex NP constructions, also in coordinate structures.

However, you leave a returning pronoun behind.  
(Heh heh)

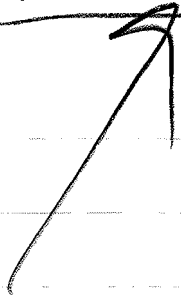
The boy who I saw Mary & him smooching

Furthermore, you usually chop in questions, but there's one dialect where you merely copy. Guess which dialect has the constraints.

Double Questions

4/26/67

He asked { who danced with whom }  
          { \* whether who left }



NB



# (Questions)

4/26/67

Maybe { who  
what } are pronouns

?? who gave whom what?

? who picked up what?

? who picked what up?

prevent

4/24/67

John was prevented from going

\* There was prevented from being a fire

WHY?

(Hum - could it be that there are 2 passive verbs be, one transitive and requiring an animate subject, the other intransitive? Hum.)

Pied Piping

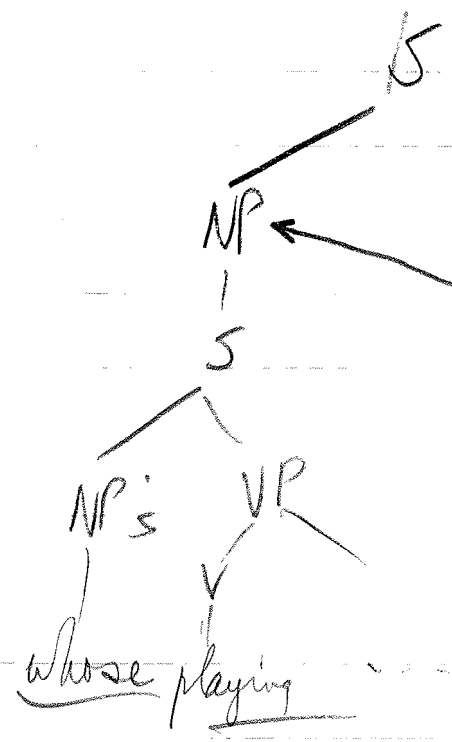
4/24/67

Subject Constraint ?

the boy ~~whose~~ playing the piano loudly distressed my father  
 whose loud playing of the piano

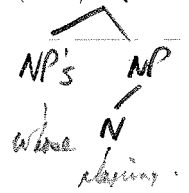
cf. also the piano {  
 ? whose loud playing of which  
 ? of which John's horrible playing  
 ? which John's horrible playing of

This is blocked if a structure like



because Pied Piping  
 won't move this NP  
 because a S intervenes.

However, if the structure  
 of the action nominal is, NP  
 things will swing.

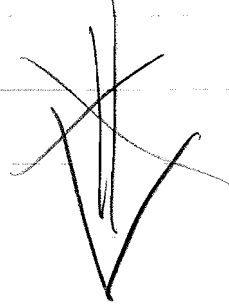


Performatives

4/24/67

although is a performative

John said " I never was a Communist, although I was sympathetic to them."



This is out because deny can only take the Neg from the next S down, and here although is the main V.

\* John denied that he had ever been a Communist although he had been sympathetic to them.

OUT

OK?

John stated that although he had been sympathetic to them, he had never been a Communist.

of. \* I don't think that although he was sympathetic to them, he was a Communist

I don't think that although he left early he arrived until 4 o'clock

Measure Phrases and Reconstructability

April 24, 1967.

The table is 5 feet { long  
wide } (but a 5 foot table)  
\* —

but

The article is 20 pages { long  
\* wide  
etc. } ← NB  
—

The { trip  
concert  
etc. } was 20 minutes { long  
\* wide  
? — }

You seem to be able to delete long only if  
it can't contrast with anything.

In fact, you seem to have to delete it, sometimes.

His sentence is 20 years (?\* long)

Paul Pepping

April 24, 1967

the crime was investigated more  
\* more investigated

the more a crime is investigated  
\* the more investigated a crime is

\* John was obstinate more

John was more obstinate

the more John was obstinate

← Only OK in  
meaning  
the longer John was o.

the more obstinate John was

Lexical Heresy

4/23/67

{ John's } tentative roll down the hill  
\*the logs

Paula Smith

(Idioms)

4/23/67

138 Hampshire St. (corner of Columbia  
128? Joe & Silva's bar)

it's worth my while to shave <sup>myself</sup>  
~~oneself~~

This shows that this must come from  
something like worth while to me, unless Egri NP Del  
is going to get all fucked up.



(Comparatives)

4/23/67

The exclusion of Neg from than-clauses is a good example of a grammatical fact which can't be expressed at all without the right theory (which, unfortunately, we don't have yet.)

We need some notion of direct ancestor

(Hmm - maybe Langacker's notion of "command" will do.)

Yes - I will.

- \* than nobody believes I think Bill is
- \* than everybody doesn't believe I think Bill is
- \* than everybody believes nobody thinks " "
- \* than everybody believes I don't think Bill is
- \* than " " " I think not all of them are
- \* than " " " " " Bill isn't

OK a more gracious man than I would tell that his B.O. has not left him.

If you have Klima's analysis of NEG + Chomsky's principle of surface structure interpretation, or our analysis of Quantifiers + Neg, you can use Langacker's notion of command.

Conjunction Reduction

4/23/67

There presumably has to be some kind of Conj Red,  
or else how will we get sentences like?

John or Bill will go

Adjectives

4/19/67

A ten-foot (long) pole

A ten-mile (\*far) walk



This is further evidence that here ten-mile  
is really from ten-miles far, otherwise the  
VP Shift Rule won't prepose it.

(gapping)

April 18, 1967.

Facts from Guy Carden

For Jock to stare at Maggie, + for Tim to at Sally

Jack's staring at Maggie, + Tim's at Sally

Olivier's [portrayal] of Job, + Newton's of Noah

assassinations

etc

My  
feet:

I have done research on Greek, + I will on Sanskrit

7

+ Bill has on Sanskrit

(gapping)

4/19/67

John's staring at Mary + mine at her sister

This is from my one

This only works when the V has become a N,

so

{ John's rapt staring at Mary } + mine at her sister  
\* John's staring at Mary raptly }

?? John's assassination of Kennedy + mine of Kennedy  
\* my

## Output Conditions

4/18/67

Sentence from Mark Liberman (via George)

He bought a wonderful big new gray house + I bought a brown one

= wonderful big new  
house

Since the NP on the right must be

\* a brown wonderful big new house

↑  
it is clear that what makes this bad is an output condition on the ordering of prenominal adjectives.

easy

April 17, 1967.

It is easy S  $\neq$  NP is easy S

1. (Ed's fact) This violin is easy to play sonatas on  $\neq$   
Sonatas are easy to play on this violin
2. (Dave's fact) John tried to be easy to please?  
(try requires identical subjects in deep structure) (\*offend) ← is this out?  
If so, why?
3. (Dave's fact) I made it easy for Mary to please John  $\neq$   
?? I made John easy for Mary to please
4. (Our fact) It is easy to please John and John is  
easy to please have different d.c.s. - in the  
first, there is a break after easy, in the  
second, there isn't.
5. (My fact(?)) John is being easy to get along with, these days  
\* It is being easy to get along with John, these days.

# Gapping

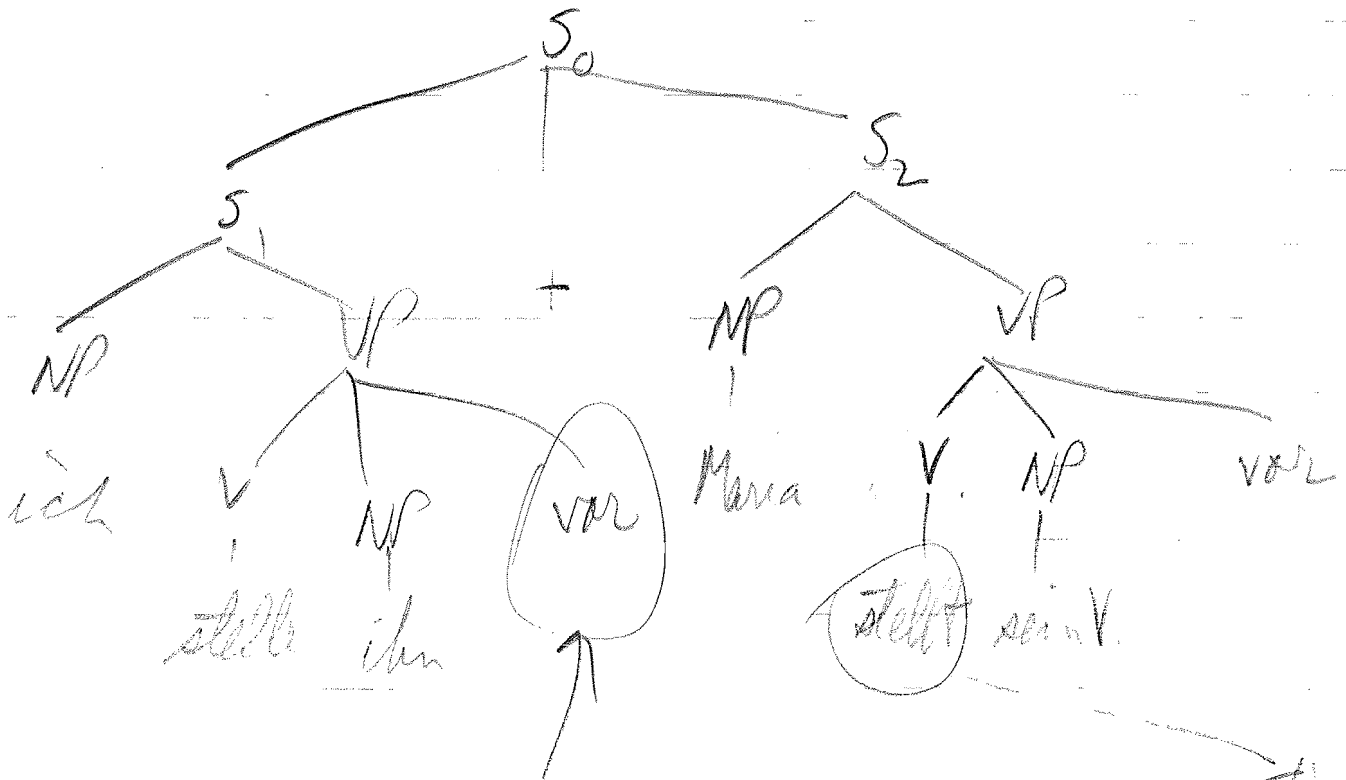
April 16, 1967. p.1

Sentence pointed out by Stackovitz

① ich stelle ihn und Maria seinen Vater vor

and ② ich stelle ihn vor und Maria seinen Vater

① exhibits Gapping in both directions. Why?  
The input structure is like so:



This gaps backwards, because it's on a right branch

This gaps forward, it's on a left branch



Gapping

April 16, 1967.

From Structure 2  
(see p 4 below)

- (3) I threw a snowball at Jack, + Billy a hammer (threw) (at Jack)
- (4) I threw a snowball + Billy a hammer, at Jack

From Structure 1 (see p 3 below) (at Jack) (threw)

- (5) I threw a snowball at Jack + Billy (threw a snowball) at Peter
  - (6) \* I threw (a snowball) at Jack + Billy threw a snowball at Peter
  - (7) I threw at Jack + Billy at Peter snowballs we had filled with buckshot
- (if the order is (snowballs) (buckshot))

Gapping  
NP Shift  
Gapping

NB - The fact that (6) is out argues for the node VP

then the derivations are:

- (3) I threw a snowball at Jack + Billy threw a hammer at Jack  $\Rightarrow$  NP Shift  
I threw at Jack a snowball + Billy threw at Jack a hammer

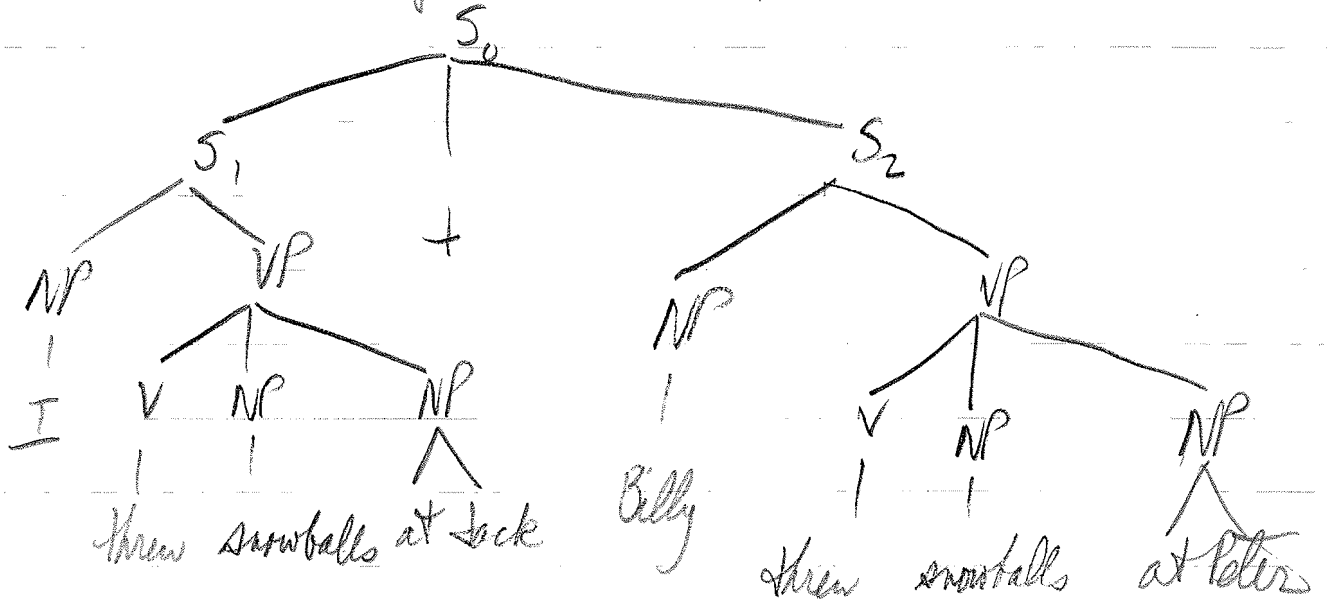
(cf. I threw at Jack a snowball + Billy at Mary a Frisby)  
Two gappings! (2nd OBLIG)  
1  $\Downarrow$  2  $\Downarrow$   
 $\emptyset$   $\emptyset$

- (4) This simply gaps in both directions at once, like stelle... vor on p. 1
- (5) Two gappings, 2nd OBLIG (?)
- (6) is out beautifully  $\rightarrow$  I threw at Jack a snowball + Billy threw at Peter a snowball  
NP Shift gives  $\rightarrow$  and now this can gap backwards (giving (7))  
but in the 2nd S, you can't move snowball back to the left; it's at P.T.

Gapping

April 16, 1967. p 3

Structure 1 (Direct objects identical)



Two gappings,  $\text{threw}_R \xrightarrow{\text{OPT}} \emptyset$ , then  $\text{snowballs}_R \xrightarrow{\text{OBLIG}} \emptyset$   
 give (5)  
 NP Shift in both S's, two gapping  $\text{snowballs}_L \rightarrow \emptyset$   
 and optionally  $\text{threw}_R \rightarrow \emptyset$  give (7)  
 (6) is excluded

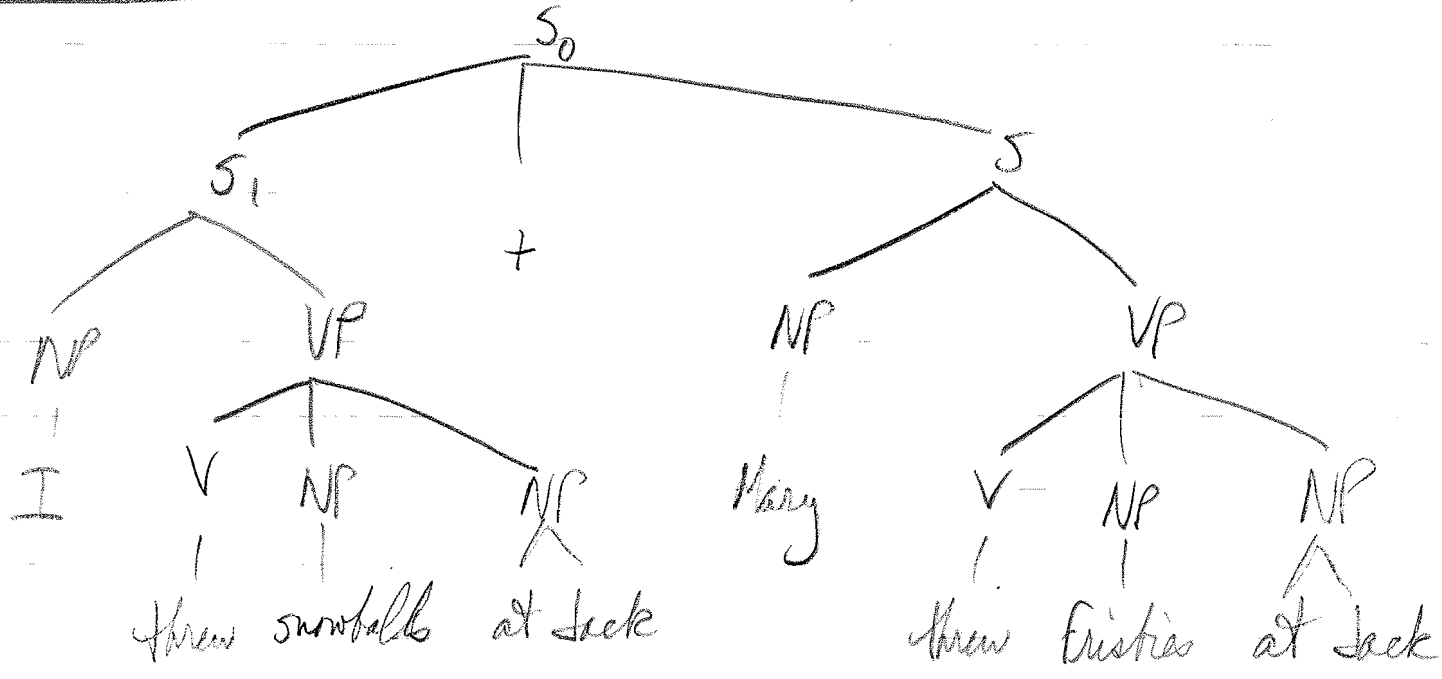
cf. (5')

(5') \* I threw snowballs at Jack + Mary snowballs at Peter

Gapping

p 4  
April 16, 1967.

Structure 2: (Directional phrases identical)



If at Jack → ∅ (alternatively, if at Jack is raised),  
 then, if threw<sub>R</sub> → ∅, we get (4)

But (3) requires NP Shift in both conjuncts, then  
 if threw<sub>R</sub> → ∅, obligatorily at Jack<sub>R</sub> → ∅

c/ (3') \*I threw snowballs at Jack and Mary Frisbies at Jack

(3'') \*I threw at Jack snowballs and Mary at Jack Frisbies

This is very bad - the whole idea would look totally wrong if (6) were grammatical.

Gapping

April 16, 1967

In (8),

(8) I'm pleased with Peter and Mary mad at Peter

NB

Different prepositions

I'm forced to say  $\exists$  intermediate stage

\* I am with Peter pleased + Mary is at Peter mad

so that at Peter<sub>R</sub>  $\rightarrow$   $\emptyset$  can gap.

This is obviously intolerable.

Note that you can't always delete unidentical prepositions

(9) \* I'm pleased with Peter + Mary curious

This might be an argument for Fullmore - you can only delete things in the same case.

Gapping

April 16, 1967.

Rule : If gapping forward, if you gap V,  
you must gap all other identical constituents

Hum - one can say

I brought the tray & she the glasses in

Can one say

?? I thought the problems and Mary the answers up

Wrong

✓ I began to try to call the UPI and Mary the AP

"

Mary to call the AP

"

Mary to try to call the AP

I guess you only have to gap identical NP.

Gapping

April 16, 1967 P7

You have to have it also gapping for

1 to 2 ... it back + Mary at P. 10



+ Mary snowballs at P. 10



+ Mary ...

Proof

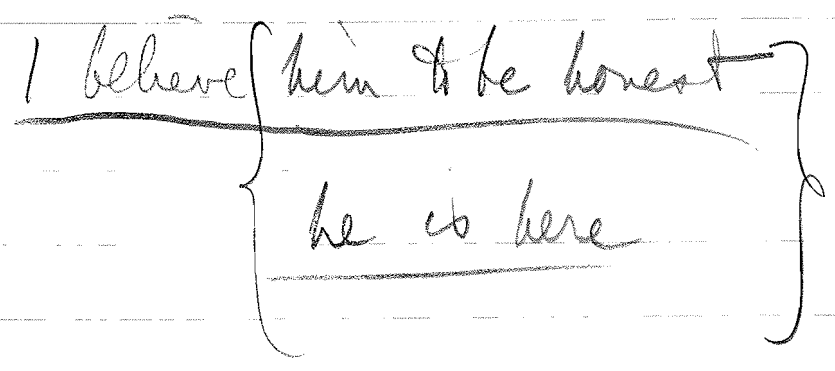
\* I want to ...

# Case Marking

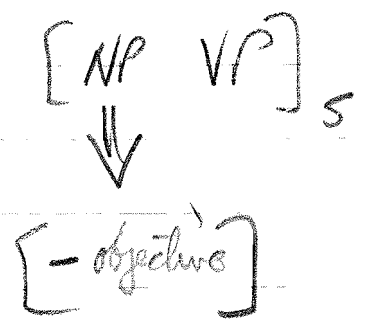
4/5/67

The only way you can do Case Marking in English is to say "the NP immediately dominated by S is nominative."

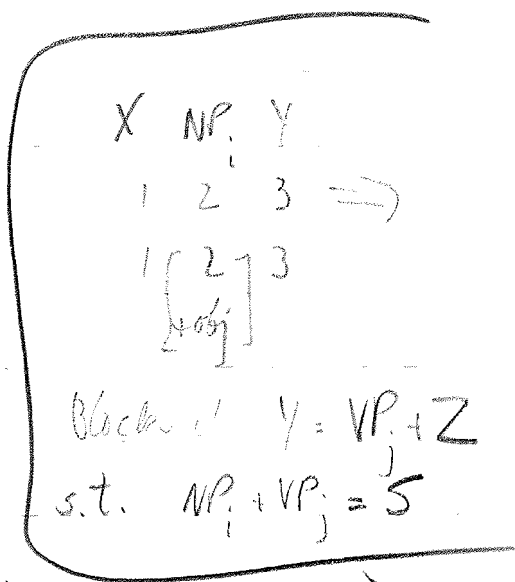
Cf. the difference between



Q: can you do it like so?



Impossible by the SD of the rule:



You either need subscripts or immediate domination.

refuse

4/5/67

Jack { turned down  
refused } my { help  
rejected } aid  
spurned } assistance  
:  
:  
:  
? offer  
love  
\* hatred  
\* murder  
\* execution  
\* examination  
\* belief  
etc

These guys all require  
[+animate] objects  
(they often seem to be  
datives)

Why are these out?



Embedded Independent Clauses

4/3/67

Fact from George:

The only cases where Subj Inversion works are after verbs of communication

IN OBJECT POSITION

- mentioned
- stated
- asserted
- claimed
- screamed
- said
- ...
- \* hoped
- \* believed
- \* denied

that at no time would Sam leave

These are probably also just those V which have independent clause word order in German

Uh oh

are these really out?

UH OH \* That at no time would Sam leave was mentioned

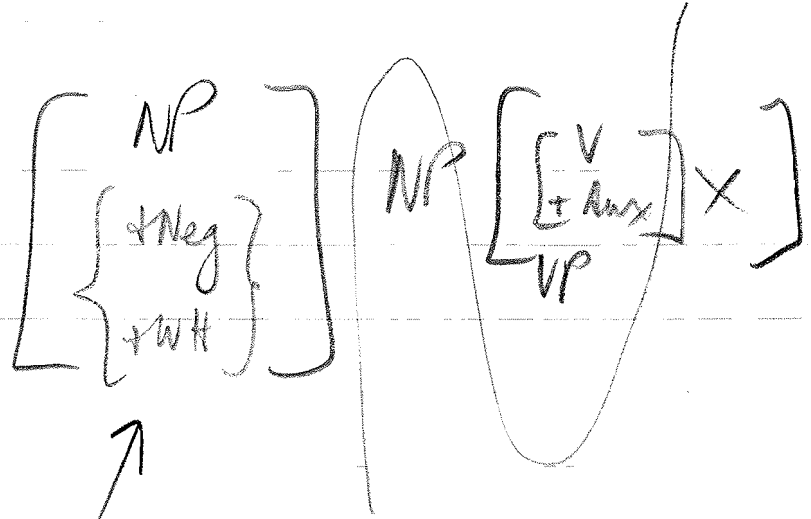
Transparency

4/3/67

{ John's article } described L.A.  
\*wallet

fact from Florence

Cf. also Subj. Inv.



how do we know that this node has the feature [+Neg], except by some transparency convention?

V NP 5

3/27/67

Why is there

(OK / = because of  
by the state of my health)

I am forced to resign (\*by Harry)

(\*Harry forces me to resign)  
OK [My health]

NB

(Also works with compel, motivate)

What about urge, command, etc.?

Maybe this means that the difference between  
I forced the Dr. to examine Jack and

I forced J to be examined by the Dr comes from

I brought about [it [Dr was forced to examine Jack.]  
[I [J was forced to let himself be examined,]]]

Adjectives + Verbs

3/27/67

≠ { Adj NP S  
Adj NP NP  
Adj NP which undergoes It Repl }

This sort of suggests that Adj NP S  
and Adj NP NP would have to derive from  
Adj NP w/ It Repl (just like V NP S  
and V NP NP), so the first 2 gaps can  
be traced to the third.

# Finnish Topicalization

(the) man comes tomorrow  
Nom Mies tulee huomenna  
Huomenna tulee mies (a) man

the men  
Nom

Miehet tulevat huomenna

Huomenna tulee miehiä ← Partitive  
men

singular V

(cf. il est arrivé { \*les } { deux } hommes)

(Sentence Raising)

3/15/67

John is, it seems to me, a total meatball

(from George)

{ he } was, { John } thought, able to do clearly  
{ John } { he }

# Deep Structure Aftertaste

3/13/67

1. Deep Structure Identity (cf. esp. He said there was a man sleeping)
2. Parallel structure and so there was  
↑  
not a deep str constituent  
(Gak! Or a dcs const. either!)
3. Ghosts
4. Government Algorithm
5. Violations as a derivational, not surface, property.

6. Steve's case with respectively (?)

Steve + Sarah said that

a. she + he	had walked + run	100p.
b. he + she	" walked + run	100p.
c. they	" walked + run	100p.

c. only means b, not a

7. George's case with Subj V tw depending on whether there is a semantic question present

Only

3/13/67

Facts from Jim McCawley:

How do we sort out

Only LBJ loves {himself}  
LBJ } ← not synonymous

Only LBJ loves only himself

Only LBJ loves only LBJ

Facts from Guy:

(\*not) only Bill ever goes there

Only must be a S Neg - he need sign only this.  
↓ only you would lift a finger

NB that only can't be sent down into clauses:

John need say only {that Mary is a shithead  
\* that only Mary is a shithead }

NB

\* You need bring a picture of only Tom



respectively

3/11/17

\* John + Bill danced + danced, respectively

This explains why  $\$$

\* John + Bill kissed the girls, resp.

(i.e.,  $\$$  \* John + Bill kissed the girl + kissed the girl, resp.)

This then means J+B have cars can't come via  
respectively.

Ellipsis

3/8/67

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{John ate} \\ \text{John was seen} \end{array} \right\} \neq \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{John} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \text{ robbed} \\ \text{robbed from the rich} \\ \text{stole} \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{John smoked ?} \end{array} \right.$

↑  
ambig

- 1. Habitual
- 2. Particular

# Copula Agreement

3/7/67

Jean et Marie sont acteurs ← unmarked for gender

Jeanne et Marie sont actrices ← NB

How about

sont acteur et actrice (l'un et l'autre)

Help help

# Features

3/7/67

How many language particular features like [+prt] are there? Can this feature be done away with by making use of an idiom separating rule (like the one for take for granted)?

Help help



# Boolean Conditions

3/1/67

$X_{11} X_{12} X_{13} \underbrace{X_2 X_3 NP X_4 X_5}_{S} X_{61} X_{62} X_{63} \&$

" " " S " "

$\&$  ← This S is the first S up

$\sim X_{11} X_{12} X_{13} X_2 S X_5 X_{61} X_{62} X_{63} \&$

$\&$

$X_{11} \underbrace{\hspace{15em}}_S X_{63} \&$

$\&$  ← This S is the second S up.

$\sim X_{11} X_{12} S X_{62} X_{63}$

Where are negative Boolean conditions needed?

1.  $\#$  Topicalization if an es precedes.
2. Complex NP Shift
3.  $\#$  Topicalization out of a clausal-clause (maybe nothing at all can move)
4.  $\#$  Question if  $\exists$  wh word in X. (\*what did who see?)

# Subordinate Clauses in German

2/28/67

ich habe gesagt, Bohnen hätte er essen sollen



Topicalization can take place  
after the dass is deleted.  
(I think)

Rule Ordering:

Extrap (must D-Adj S to S)  
{ es Del  
  dass Del  
  Verb Final  
  Topicalization  
  Subject-Verb Inversion  
  it Del

Problem: it would seem that Topicalization would have to precede es Deletion because of

⇒ möglich ist, dass S

\* ist möglich, dass S

← These mean that  
for es can only delete  
internally

only

2/27/67

Sentence from Paul Schachter:

Only tall women + short men know the answer.



Tall women know the answer + short men know the answer + women do

It can't come from

Only tall women know it + only short men know it.

obviously



# Conj Movement

2/27/67

Sentence of Stan's

I conspired with Mary to rob a bank and to make <sup>themselves</sup> ~~himself~~ rich

rich

Proves the ordering is

( Equi NP Deletion )

Conjunct Movement

+ pay up he did

for I to go would be easy for John

Feb 22, 1967,

New rules

Being sick,

happen deletion

do deletion

PP Introduction

(I demand of you that S)  
(what I did to John was NP)

etc.

If Deletion

(were he here, I'd go)

Comp S Movement  
(for App Cls)

by → of

the election of J by the committee



J's election by the comm.

Tag Q

So Preposing

And-del

And → both  
or → either

Adv. Lowering

S Raising

Disc Del

Ref Del

gap

respectively

each other?

Middle

Invert's rule

Relative & Deletion

S Deletion

Equative Del.

all hopping

All Adjunction

Modal Adj

Subst for do

Neg Placement  
inquisitive Deletion

Inchoative Del

have Del

{ come } Del  
{ go }

S → SO

Not transportation

Particle Movement  
Sentence Adverb Formation (G?) <sup>3 kinds</sup>  
Sentence Adverb Movement <sup>what's called</sup>

be → have

Subject Copying (2 kinds)

Dislocation (right + left)

Romance Pronoun Hopping  
Part Participle Agreement  
Indefinitization

One Pronominalization

That beam

German VP Shift ~~is~~

Whether Deletion

Tell George about Kimball's  
fact, make clear time, the German  
V can't ~~be~~ at the back end



Lexical Heresy

2/12/67

John's habit of cursing angered me

but

I want to know John's habits (\*of cursing)

John's peculiarity in <sup>{being afraid of her}</sup> that respect } angered me

but

I want to know John's peculiarity <sup>\*in being afraid of her</sup> (\*in that respect)

Is this right

8774604

# Pied Piping

2/11/67

1.

Maybe Pied Piping prohibits moving NP in  $[-X]_{NP}$  to the left and also prohibits moving NP in  $[X-]_{NP}$  to the right. This would explain 2 things

A. Complex NP Shift always takes the P along

\* I talked to about my problems anybody who would listen to me.

B. Extrapolation of PP - i.e. also the preposition must come along

(is this why the than always comes along?)

These should be one rule

Flak for Noam's "lowest & highest A" principle

Question: why can one say both?

I gave a picture to my father of an old man's

and

I gave to my father a picture of an old man's

Hmm

Aha - why can one then say I depend on and approve of easy

Maybe right Pied Piping only prohibits  $[P-]_{NP}$ ?

2. Flak for Noam: Pied Piping is unconnected with WH. It applies in

Topicalization

Rel Cl

App Cl Formation

and in Complex NP Shift, none of which need mention WH, and in those of which no WH ever occurs.

Pied Piping

2/11/67

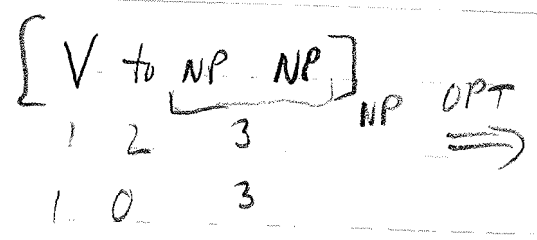
This may explain why  $\Phi$ :

\* I gave a book the man who you met

if the rules are ordered like so:

Complex NP Shift

To Deletion



Passive

For Deletion

Pied Piping

2/11/67

a university whose faculty is good and whose faculty is well paid



\* whose faculty is good and (is) well paid

A university whose faculty is big and whose students are well paid



\*

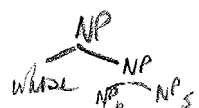
" whose " " " " — " " "

Problem: Why can one say { \*Bill } cf. also \*whose sisters + my brothers know it?

whose sisters and { brothers } know the ans ?

MYSTERY.

April 29, 1967. Hoko hoko ho - if any Bill has applied then we have



Pied Piping

2/11/67

NB - Pied Piping also only applies to chopping

I spoke to him yesterday about that, my father

As a matter of fact, it seems that in

Dislocation, one has to leave the reposition behind



Pronouns and markedness

2/11/67

3 facts suggest first + second person pronouns contain

3rd person pronouns:

- 1. It is I who am responsible
- " " me who is "

- 2. I am the one who can't protect himself / myself ] mg. is probably different - cf. Jackendoff.

- 3. Ich, { der ich klyg bin, }  
{ der klyg ist , }

Identity of subjects and coordination

2/11/67

1. Baker's sentence: I want to catch a fish and (<sup>I</sup><sub>\*he</sub> wants to) eat it
2. Rudi's problem: ni... ni may only be used when between sentences whose subjects may undergo Conj Red (or between constituents?)

ni Jean ni Pierre peut aller.

NB

[ \* ni Jean peut aller, ni Pierre peut aller.  
ni Jean peut manger, ni il va pleuvoir

Jean peut ni manger ni chanter

3. Maybe related?

commas not necessary. I bought and I read the magazine

Tom bought, and I read, the magazine

CAN THIS HAVE TO DO WITH GHOSTS?

# Copying vs Chopping

2/11/67.

Pied Piping + Complex NP Constraint are both violated in the following S:

? A man <sup>who</sup> ~~the fact that his books don't sell has always mystified me~~  
~~such that~~

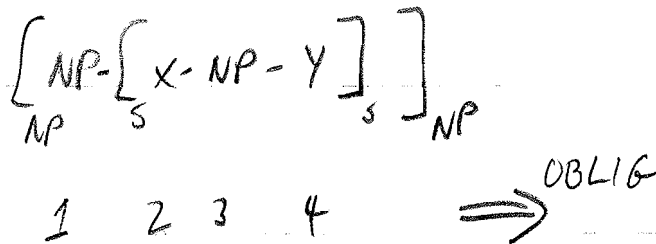
John has a book in the pocket of his suit ← Pied Piping violated

My father, they told me to burn his house

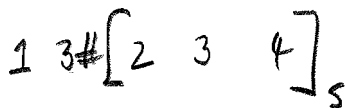
NB

\* My father's, they told me to burn house

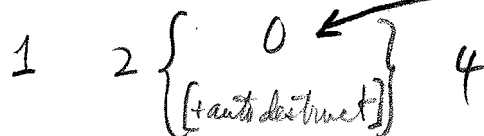
This means that maybe the Rel Cl Rule has to be stated like so:



α



σ



This would trigger the constraints, but not this

?

2/11/67

Don't be one of those guys who (Tom claims (everyone thinks (...))) runs fast  
\* looks like Mem.

# Pied Piping

2/10/67

Pied Piping only constrains variables - cf.

There is a hole in John's pocket



John has a hole in his pocket

Rob

[There]<sub>NP</sub> be NP [P NP ('s NP)]<sub>NP</sub>

1 2 3 4 5 6

5 have 3 4 [5]  
+Pu 6

This also seems to be the case w.r.t. the constraint that no NP which immediately dominates for, or is dominated by such an NP can move over a variable (\*For whom would it bother you to sleep?) though it Repl is possible here. Cf. also Conjunct Movement

Particles

Proof that look up is a V <sup>2/9/67</sup>

I looked up the # + Bill the address.

\* I walked up the hill + Bill the road

Fact from bin

2/6/67

John peeled, + everyone said <sup>(\*that)</sup> even ate, the apple.  
 Must be derived subject, that must be deleted

John felt sick, and everybody said { even was <sup>examined by</sup> ~~examined~~ a Dr. }  
 \* a Dr. even examined

Everything must be identical after the V, cf.

John peeled an apple, and everyone said even ate. { it }  
 \* a grape

# Rule Order for Aux

1/26/67

- Modal Substitution
- to Deletion
- Not Placement
- Subject Verb Inversion
- Substitution for do
- All Hopping



?

4/26/67

?\* John tried to seem calm to himself

Auxiliary

1/19/67

Prisoners may be tortured AMBIG

There may be prisoners tortured MONOG

One may is trans (may of permission)  
the other is intran

wires {could/must} be broken AMBIG

There {could/must} be wires broken MONOG

Uh oh - why can't we say  
there must be men happy

YAY!!!

Subordinate Clauses as NP

1/12/67

Only questionable examples have I started

because I am you will I consent to address

Only { if before after when since } it rains will I leave  
it never have I left

{ until while } it rains will I stay

Only at 4 o'clock did he call up

But: Only <sup>(\*at 4 o'clock)</sup> yesterday he was talking to me

(somehow different from

Only yesterday was he talking to me)

Tr. V.

1.) 2 gliedrig

- a.) Wenn S, schreit die Mutter und liest der V. zeitig.
- b.) Wenn S, " " " und der V. liest zeitig.
- c.) " " , " " " , liest der V. zeitig.
- d.) " " , " " " , der Vater liest zeitig.

	Inf. 1,	Inf. 2,	Inf. 3
a.)	-	-	+
b.)	+	+	+
c.)	+	-	-
d.)	-	+	-
2.) 3 gliedrig			
a.) Wenn S, schreit die M., liest der V. ztg. und spielen die K.	-	0 <sup>2</sup>	+
b.) " " , " " " , " " " und die Kinder spielen	+	0 <sup>2</sup>	
c.) " " , " " " , " " " , spielen die K.	+	+	
d.) " " , " " " , " " " , die Kinder spielen	-	+	
e.) " " , " " " , der Vater liest ztg. und spielen die K.	-	-	
f.) " " , " " " , " " " " und die K. kreischen	+	+	
g.) " " , " " " " " " , spielen die K.	-	-	
h.) " " , " " " , " " " " , die K. spielen.	+	+	

<sup>1</sup> c) X heißt: Erst eingeklammerte Antwort, dann verberst  
<sup>2</sup> Unentschiedenheit auch nach längerem Überlegen.

intr. V.

1.) 2 gliedrig

- a.) Wenn S<sub>1</sub> schreit die Mutter und heult der V.
- b.) " " , " " " und der V. heult.
- c.) " " , schreit die Mutter, heult der V.
- d.) " " , " " " , der Vater heult.

	Jnf 1	Jnf 2	Jnf 3
a.)	+	+	+
b.)	+	+	+
c.)	+	(-) + <sup>1</sup>	+?
d.)	-	(-) + <sup>1</sup>	-

2.) 3 gliedrig

- a.) Wenn S<sub>1</sub> schreit die M., heult der V. und kreischen die Kinder
- b.) " " , " " " , ~~der V. heult~~ <sup>heult der V.</sup> und die Kinder kreischen
- c.) " " , " " " , heult der V., kreischen die Kinder
- d.) " " , " " " , " " " , die Kinder kreischen
- e.) " " , " " " , der Vater heult und kreischen die K.
- f.) " " , " " " , der V. heult und die K. kreischen
- g.) " " , " " " , " " " , kreischen die K.
- h.) " " , " " " , " " " , die K. kreischen

a.)	+	0 <sup>2</sup>	+
b.)	+	+	+
c.)	+	+	+??
d.)	-	+	-
e.)	-	-	-
f.)	+	+	+
g.)	-	-	-
h.)	+	+	+?

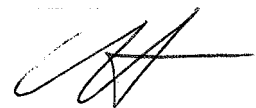
Disc Rel. (OPT)

Topic doesn't work  
V2 for me

Cong Red

Claus Heeschen

January, 1967.



Anywhere

Equi NP Del  
S Deletion

Repl

(Ordering)

1/14/67

Unspec. NP Deletion

Complex NP Shift

To Dative

Passive  
and Rewriting

Copula Agreement

Conjunct Movement (there was a man working on it with J)

There Insertion

Number Agreement

Cleft S Formation

Cop Switch

it Repl

For to be Deletion

Inclusive Substitution

Causative Substitution

Extraposition

It Deletion

Rel Cl. Formation

Extraposition from NP

Reduction of Possessive Clauses (\*His mother likes John)

Pronominalization

Relative Clause Reduction

VP Shift

Fact from Sug

1/13/67

Already requires a stative

I am already { working  
at the top  
hungry  
\* attacked }

Why?

I already know the answer =

I have already learned the answer

These facts mean be + ing is [+stat]  
have + en is [+stat]

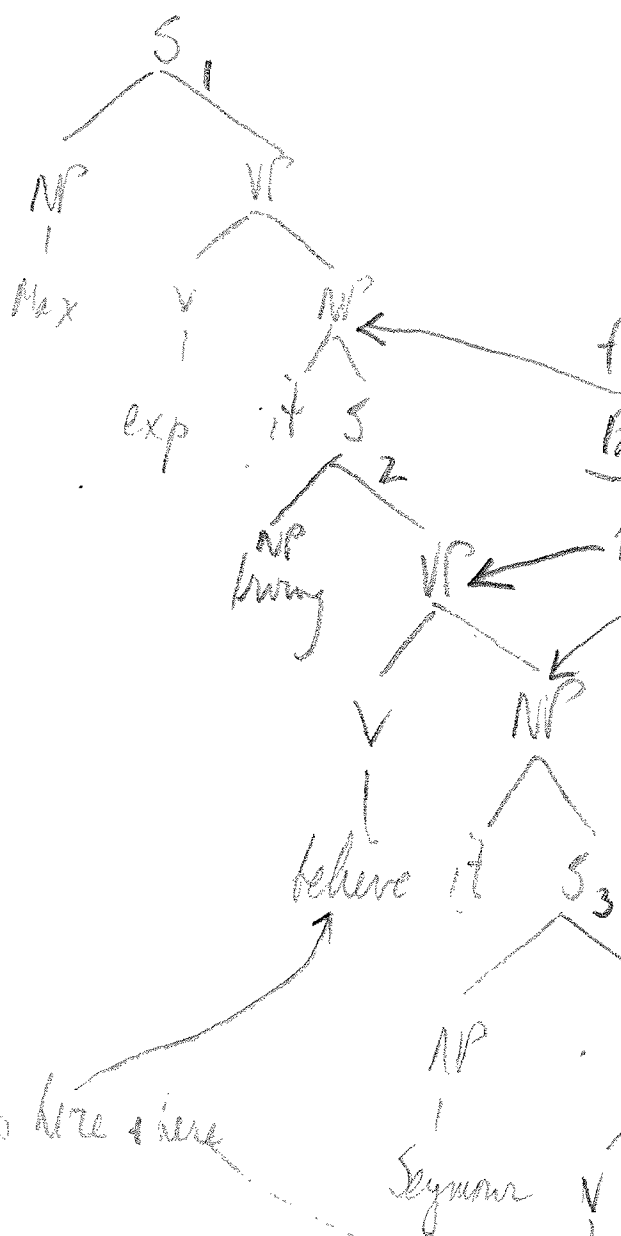
But why can you say? I am already friendly (sort of odd)  
And why not? \* There is already an explosion





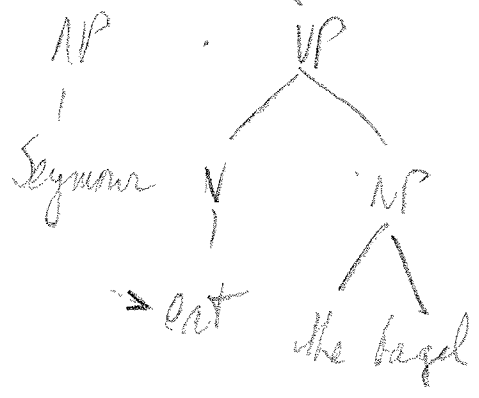
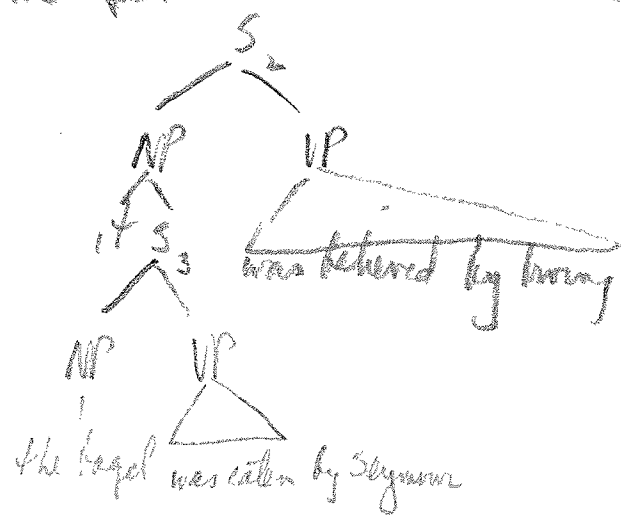
Cycle

1/12/67 p. 2



If it Repl applies  
 first, here + here,  
Passive can't apply  
 here

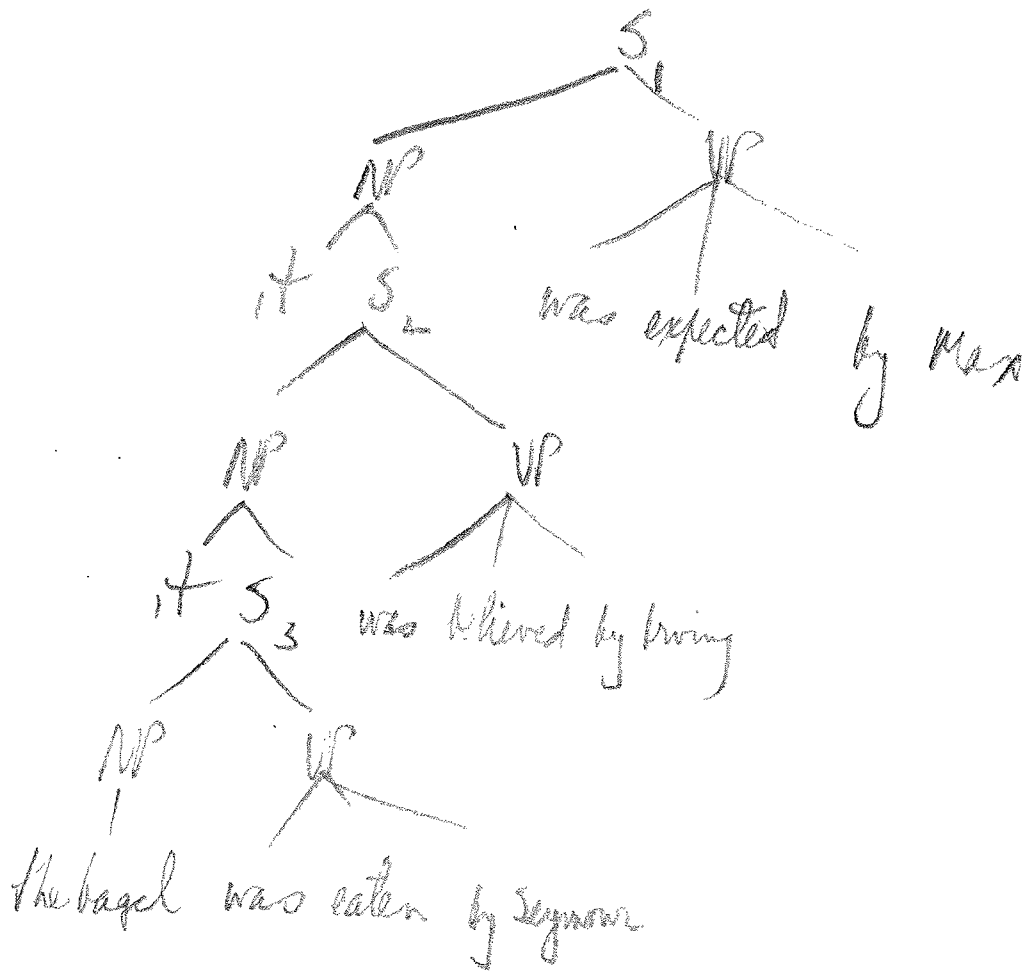
If Passive applies here + here  
 first, we get



Cycle

1/12/67 p.3

If Passive applies on  $S_1, S_2 + S_3$ , we get



So then we have to apply H Repl maximally, i.e., from the bottom up.

Objectives

4/12/67.

The watch { ticks  
runs  
etc } by itself

P.S - obviously  
an Agent too

all

1/12 '07 P.1

3 2 1

1. both All Attachment (Cyclic) - of. Fig all to have left

[all NP] VP  
NP

1 2 3 ⇒ OPT  
0 2 1#3

< do deletion (LC)

2. All Permutation (LC)

[all [V] x] VP  
+ have

Condition: If 2 = be,  
2 > [+fin]

Blocks: If 2 = have  
and 3 = NP

1 2 3 ⇒ OPT  
0 2 1#3

This says  
that there is  
a [V]  
[+have]

The man & the

have all left  
were all { all some  
happy  
working  
arrived }

\* did all know it

NB \* have all money  
but have all got money

NB - they do in all (to) ...

Why?  
✓  
\$X

all

1/12/67

They <sup>(all)</sup> have <sup>(all)</sup> been <sup>(\*all)</sup> { at home  
happy  
working  
murdered } - They <sup>(all)</sup> were <sup>(all)</sup> { at home  
happy  
working  
murdered }

They <sup>(all)</sup> have <sup>(all)</sup> seen <sup>(\*all)</sup> being <sup>(\*all)</sup> { examined } - They <sup>(all)</sup> are <sup>(all)</sup> being <sup>(\*all)</sup> { noisy }

They <sup>(all)</sup> must <sup>(all)</sup> have <sup>(all)</sup> left

They <sup>(all)</sup> must <sup>(all)</sup> be <sup>(\*all)</sup> { at home  
happy  
working  
arrested }  
They <sup>(all)</sup> must <sup>(all)</sup> be <sup>(all)</sup> being <sup>(\*all)</sup> examined

Is this OK? The girls <sup>\* both</sup> must be all being examined

They <sup>(all)</sup> seem <sup>(all)</sup> to <sup>(all)</sup> have <sup>(all)</sup> been <sup>(\*all)</sup> working

They <sup>(all)</sup> seem <sup>(all)</sup> to <sup>(all)</sup> like ice cream

Our <sup>(all)</sup> being <sup>(all)</sup> at home

all

1/12/67

NB - They didn't all leave      do is [+Aux] (no beam)

They need not all come - need can be [+Aux]

NB They ought (not) (\*all) to go at the same time

They <sup>(all)</sup> are <sup>(all)</sup> to <sup>(?all)</sup> be <sup>(\*all)</sup> by 5.

They <sup>all</sup> <sup>(\*all)</sup> can <sup>(all)</sup> not <sup>(all)</sup> have left

This shows not is adjoined to can like so  $\begin{matrix} [V] \\ [+aux] \\ \swarrow \searrow \\ \underline{can} \quad \underline{not} \end{matrix}$

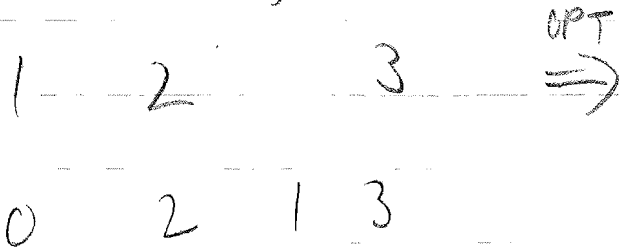
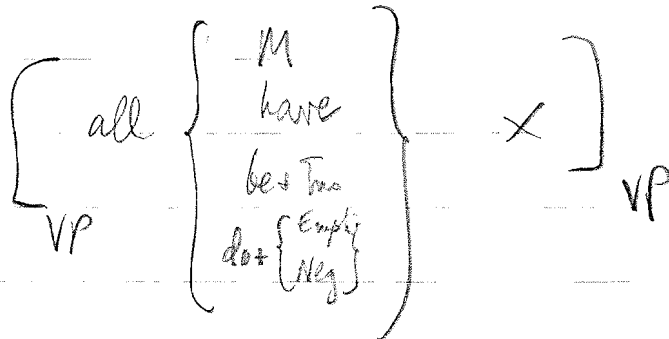
You can't wait + put not in later because of

They { didn't / \*did } all know it

all

1/12/67

What's Chomsky have to say?



NB (\*all) > (all)  
don't go away

(Precedes Imperative formation)

Subject Verb Inversion

(\*all) (all) (\*all)  
don't be unfriendly

(cf. Could they have left?)  
but they could all have left

Shows that rules must iterate

They all must have left → They must all have left

→ They must have all left

# Imperatives

1/11/67

\* werde untersucht! ←

\* Ich befahl ihm, untersucht zu werden.

Yay! I performative here  
which has been deleted.



# Conjunction Deletion

1/11/67

How's George get

I has written a novel & Bill a play

but block

\*directed a play?

NB — prepositions must be left on

I talked to Mary & Bill & Tom  
\* — Tom

Reflexivization

1/10/67

Ref can be an anywhere rule

Auxiliary

1/6/67

$\left[ \begin{array}{c} \underline{do} \\ \pm Pres \end{array} \right] \parallel \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{be} \text{ (only in imperatives)} \\ \left[ \begin{array}{c} V \\ -Aux \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right.$

$\left[ \begin{array}{c} +Modal \\ +Epistemic \\ +stat \\ +Pres \end{array} \right] \parallel \underline{be}$

(only one occurs  
in past: I had to be kidding)

it may be that he won't see us  
? will

Cf. \* I can't must be that he will leave

but

It must be that John is leaving  
left  
has studied  
can solve problems  
was leaving  
had studied  
could

$\left[ \begin{array}{c} \underline{can} \\ \underline{may} \\ +stat \end{array} \right] \parallel \left[ \begin{array}{c} V \\ -stat \end{array} \right]$

$\left[ \begin{array}{c} \underline{be} \text{ (ing)} \\ +stat \end{array} \right] \parallel \left[ \begin{array}{c} +V \\ -stat \end{array} \right]$

or maybe

// Advant of time point

NP\* vs each other

1/5/67

1. by myself never occurs in same S as with X

\* I danced with Jane by myself

2. Various selections are the same:

1.  $\exists$  Neg \* It was <sup>{by myself}</sup> with Jane that I didn't dance

NB it is John that Bill <sup>isn't similar to</sup> doesn't resemble didn't marry

Important fact

B.  $\exists$  statives \* I doubted that it was true <sup>{with Jane}</sup> by myself

3.  $\exists$  zap: I danced with <sup>{from them}</sup> you \* as \* me

- 4. \* I met by myself
- \* I agreed by myself
- \* I conferred by myself

5. Mary is friends with John.

IMPORTANT FACT

It is just those V which require NP\* which can't have by myself

get

1/5/67

Facts discovered talking to Jay:

From Morris

1. become a student!

~~\* be angry~~

but  $\exists$  Don't become angry!

2.  $\exists$  Don't be wise! (cf. he is being wise)

$\nexists$  be wise!

3. get mad, tough, mean, ?cruel, stubborn, vicious, rude, brutal

\* friendly, \* kind, \* nice

Fact from Mike geo

December, 1966.

That she, who was unpopular, would <sup>never</sup> get a date  
was apparent to Joyce.

---

George:

1/14/67

That she, who he said would never get a date, had never  
had one reminded Joyce of Bill's warning.

Bende Cleft 5

12/27/66

Fact from Ray Jackendoff's exam:

① I am the one who has to protect himself  $\neq$

② I am the one who has to protect myself  $\leftarrow$  mystery

① answers who has to protect himself?

② answers who has to protect you, Haj?

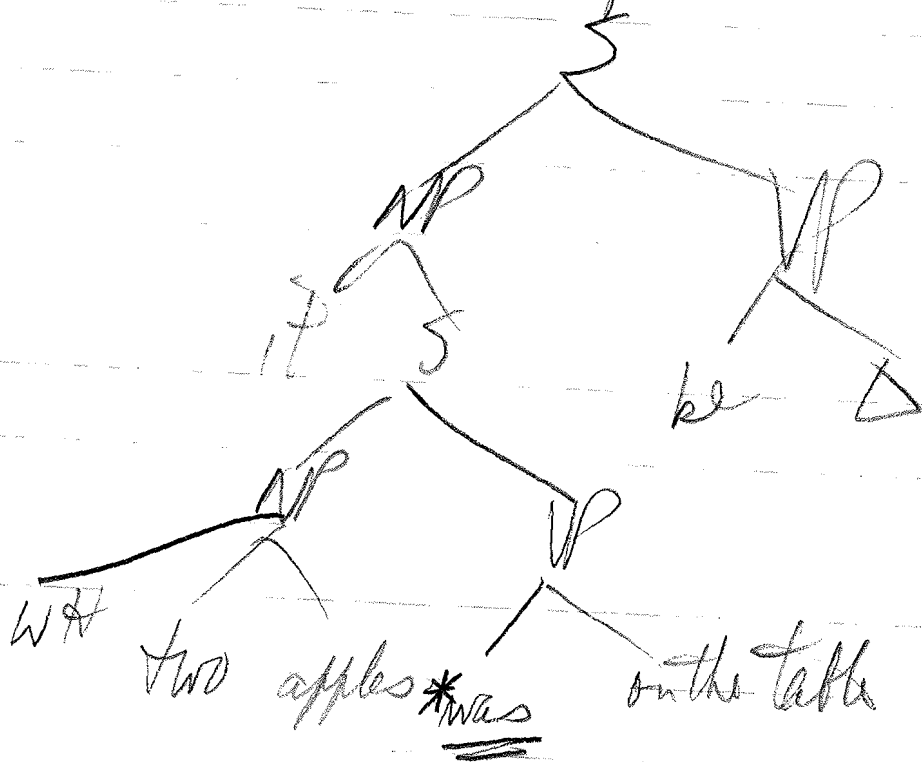
Cleft 5

12/23/66

Fact from Janet Dean's exam:

what was on the table was 2 apples

This can't be from



But NB -  $\neq$  it was 2 apples that \*was there.

Therefore, Pseudo cleft & cleft come from different sources.



Fact pr Dave

12/10/83

The goldwater win { shocked  
\* would shock } us

A goldwater win { \* shocked  
would shock } us

Reflexives

12/9/66

from VP\*

Mary kissed John & hugged him (self)

Either

shows George was right —  
Refl only operates from subject

or

∃ some ad hoc restriction about  
no Refl in conjoined nodes

Goodies from Wayles

12/8/66

The first time I went to see him was to borrow a book

---

Jim Harris & I each found a few songs that we knew



great 5's

I found a few he knew + I found a few I knew

---

I sliced it { by means of X  
with help of X } ←

{ helped } X to slice it  
{ meant }



Unspec NP Del

11/18/66

\* it surprised

∃ it was surprising (to X)

contains

(Equi NP Del)

11/18/66

How about if this is an anywhere rule?

Will this help with I want him to be examined by me

Amnesia

11/18/66

what I want is that { I be examined  
\* I have a good time  
\* I remember the Alans }

gã

11/12/66

Rules

Agentive Formation

$[_{NP} \text{moko-} [_{S} \text{ni ke ye-Adj}]_{S} ]_{NP}$

1            2            3            ⇒ OPT

$[_{+Agentive}^3 ]$     0            0

Relative Clause Reduction

$[_{NP} [_{S} \text{ni ke ye-Adj}]_{S} ]_{NP}$

1            2            3            ⇒ OBLIG

1            0            3

fco is an exception

Agentive Clause Reduction

$[_{NP} [_{S} \text{ni dzi-Agentive}]_{S} ]_{NP}$

1            2            3            ⇒ OPT

1            0            3

Tee hee - funny that fco should also be the only Adj' to form abstract N.



gã

11/10/16 big

	KE	yeo diy	feo	fɔy	ba	wulu
[N Agentive] ← NP ni dzi Agentive NP diy + yeo + wulu don't reduce	*	*	✓	✓	*	*
[N ni V] NP	✓	yeo dio	*	*	✓	*
[N Adj] NP ← OBLIG NP ni ke ye Adj	*	Root ✓	*	Root ✓	*	Root ✓
[NP ke ye Adj] S feo is exceptional in that it won't reduce	*	*	Root ✓	*	*	*
[NP V] S	✓	dio	*	*	✓	*
[NP dzi Agentive (le)] S	*	✓	✓	✓	*	✓
[Agentive VP] S	*	✓	✓	✓	*	✓

All adjectives can form Agentives, {yeo}, fɔy + wulu must form Agentives or reduce

form agentives

True verbs

like diy except \$ V meaning be big

no ni NP dzi dzi Agentive

NP ke Abstract N  
zbeke ke feo le

*	✓	✓	✓	*	✓
*	*	Root ✓	*	*	*

ga

11/10/66

p.2

feo: can't undergo Rel Cl Red, can undergo Abstract Nom

diy, foy, wulu: must undergo Rel Cl Red or Agentive Nom

diy, yey: can be converted to V

wulu, diy, yey: can't be reduced when in Agentive form.

Passive

11/10/66

John was rained on <sup>(by it)</sup>

(Passing)

11/9/66

proof that these  
are N

→ John's going and Bill's following him were unnoticed

\* that John left + that Bill followed him were unnoticed

There are five reasons for treating Passing as being different from for to and that

1. P Deletion doesn't work before Passing
2. Extrap doesn't work with Passing
3. Did { John's leaving } disturb you?  
{ \*that John left }
4. This reason
5. I remembered John's leaving (event) ≠ I remembered { that J left (fact) }  
{ J's having left }

NB

ga

11/9/66

Way out of fefeo problem:

maybe fefeo isn't a noun, but merely an adjective which has reduplicated after dzi — after all fefeo can't occur as the subject of a S.

Hope hope hope

11/10/66

Sorry — won't work. fefeo means "one who is beautiful"

tall (gã) 11/9/66 bad

[\*gbekε dzi ekε]<sub>S</sub>

[gbekε dzi fɔŋ]<sub>S</sub>

[gbekε kε]<sub>S</sub>

[\*gbekε fɔŋ]<sub>S</sub>

[gbekε ni kε]<sub>NP</sub>

[\*gbekε ni fɔŋ]<sub>NP</sub>

gbekε ni dzi e fɔŋ

\*[<sub>NP</sub>gbekε kε]

[gbekε fɔŋ]<sub>NP</sub>

who is located box in

[<sub>NP</sub>gbekε ni yεɔ adɛka lɛ mli]<sub>NP</sub>

[<sub>S</sub>gbekε yε adɛka lɛ mli]<sub>S</sub>

doctor is man

[tʃo fátʃε dzi nuu lɛ]<sub>S</sub>

[nuu ni dzi tʃofatʃε]<sub>NP</sub>

Fact from Dave

11/9/66

I was born in New York,  
which Bobby Kennedy wasn't.

¿ ?

do so

11/8/66

Katz, p. 8

But, although deductive relations between logical  
form can be given in this way, doing so affords  
no guarantee . . .



allegedly

10/20/15

Maybe allegedly goes with each V

John allegedly raped her because she had zipped him

John raped her allegedly because she had raped him

John raped her because she had allegedly raped him

---

John allegedly raped her { at 4 o'clock  
in the garden }

John raped Mary, allegedly { in the garden  
at 4 o'clock }

---

I got there, allegedly not until 4 o'clock.

I left, allegedly with Mary

?\* I ate, allegedly herrings

Yours truly

10/20/66

Yours truly = I

NB: ~~⊕~~ \*Yours truly has got to share me

---

Tell George:

JVO in German

depends on Conj Red not being LC

Performatives

10/20/66

This cabin was built by Tom + <sup>themselves</sup> myself

People such as <sup>\* themselves</sup> yourself are very discriminating

G. Gorge, p. 31

The critique of Rosenbaum's analysis  
has been worked out jointly by John Robert Ross and  
myself

(cleft 5)

10/20/66

How does Chomsky block (1) but allow (2)?

(1) \* what seems is that Bill left.

(2) what seems to be true is that Bill left

---

We have to block P by the same  
rules which block

- \* Nothing seems.
- \* What seems?
- \* Something seemed.
- etc.

while for Chomsky, it's an ad hoc fact

happen

10/14/66

{ John kicked Harry  
John was arrested } but it won't happen again  
\* John wanted to leave

[+event] This is another bit of proof that every verb is embedded in a happen sentence

(Pronouns)

10/12/66

~~{ Du } and ich, die wer für ihn sorgen müssen,~~

~~sind. they~~

# Russian Phonology

10/11/66

SW → [sv]  
 WP → [fp]  
 W# → [f]#  
 w → v / -v

Supposing that with all  $\begin{bmatrix} \alpha \text{ cns} \\ \alpha \text{ voc} \end{bmatrix}$  segments, you can have your choice as to  $\begin{bmatrix} \alpha \text{ obs} \\ \alpha \text{ voc} \end{bmatrix}$  (cf. Postal's [+obs] rc + l)

w in Russian comes from u (as y comes from i)

so supposing when we introduce w, we make it [+obs]

1.  $\begin{bmatrix} - \text{cns} \\ + \text{dfl} \\ \langle + \text{gru} \rangle \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \text{voc} \\ + \text{obs} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} + \\ \_ \end{bmatrix}$

2.  $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{obs} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{cns} \\ - \text{voi} \end{bmatrix} / \_ \#$        $xorugw\# \rightarrow xorugf\#$

3.  $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{obs} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \alpha \text{ voi} \end{bmatrix} / \_ \begin{bmatrix} + \text{obs} \\ + \text{cns} \\ \alpha \text{ voi} \end{bmatrix}$        $k + wdove \rightarrow [kvdove]$  but  $k \text{ wode} \rightarrow [krod]$   
 $xorugf \rightarrow [xorukt]$

4.  $\begin{bmatrix} - \text{cns} \\ - \text{voc} \\ + \text{gru} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{cns} \end{bmatrix}$   
 Phonetic

5. Universal Rule:  $\begin{bmatrix} \alpha \text{ cns} \\ \alpha \text{ voc} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \text{obs} \end{bmatrix}$

Normal Rules

1.  $w \rightarrow v / \_ \begin{bmatrix} \text{c} \\ \# \end{bmatrix}$

2. Deriving

3. Cluster formation

4.  $w \rightarrow v$

1. Conjunction Reduction - This rule is too complicated to state precisely here. It operates to relate the a and the b sentences below.

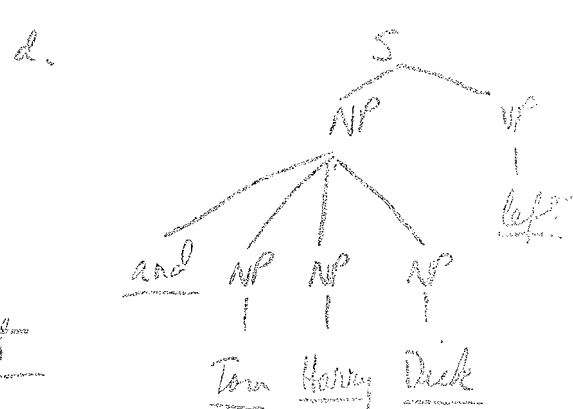
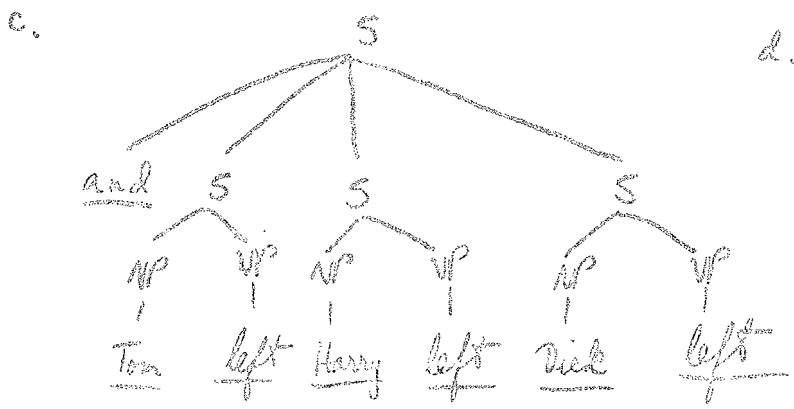
a. Tom left and Harry left and Dick left.

Bill went to the store and Bill bought some beer and Bill got himself sloshed.  
I gave money to Pete and I gave money to Ann.

b. Tom and Harry and Dick left.

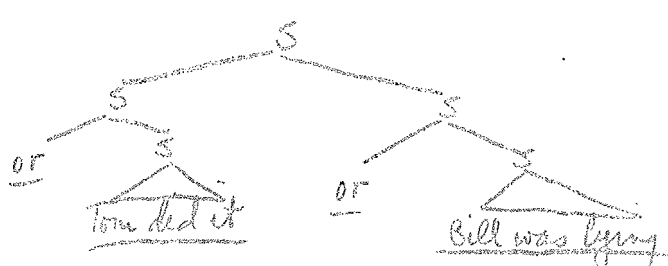
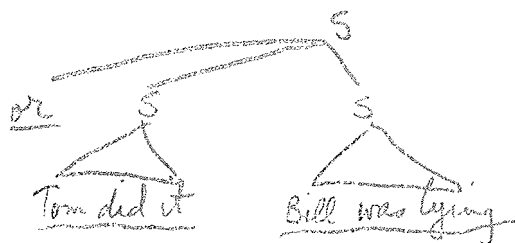
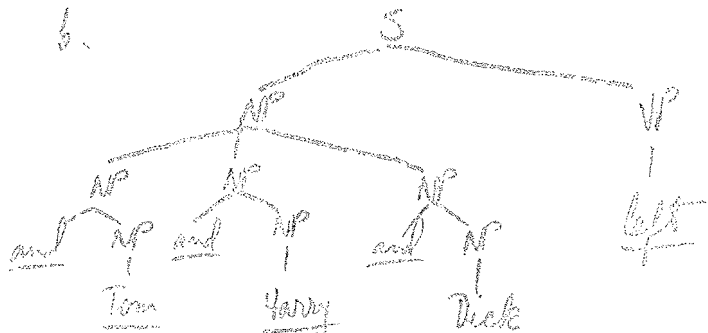
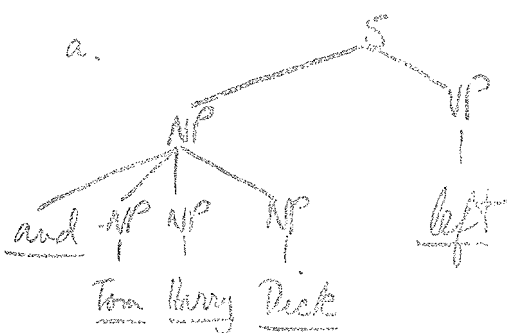
Bill went to the store and bought some beer and got himself sloshed.  
I gave money to Pete and money to Ann. or I gave money to Pete and to Ann.  
I gave money to Pete and Ann.

Trees such as the one shown in a are converted to ones like the tree in d.



This rule precedes Conjunction Copying.

2. Conjunction Copying - This rule converts the trees shown in a to the corresponding ones in b.





3. Causative Substitution - This rule converts the a sentences to b sentences.

a. John [  $\emptyset$   $\begin{matrix} +V \\ +PRO \\ +CAUS \end{matrix}$  ] [  $\text{NP}$  it [  $\text{S}$  the horse gallops ]  $\text{S}$  ]  $\text{NP}$  ]

John [  $\begin{matrix} +V \\ +PRO \\ +CAUS \end{matrix}$  ] [  $\text{NP}$  it [  $\text{S}$  Bill remembered that the sun goes around the moon ]  $\text{S}$  ]

b. John galloped the horse.

John reminded Bill that the sun goes around the moon.

4. Substitution from by-phrase - This rule converts the a sentences to the b sentence

a. John [  $\begin{matrix} +V \\ +PRO \\ +CAUS \end{matrix}$  ] [  $\text{NP}$   $\begin{matrix} +V \\ +PRO \\ +CAUS \end{matrix}$  [  $\text{S}$  Mary submit ]  $\text{S}$  ]  $\text{NP}$  by beating her.

John [  $\begin{matrix} +V \\ +PRO \\ +IMPER \end{matrix}$  ] [  $\text{NP}$  it [  $\text{S}$  for Bill to go ]  $\text{S}$  ]  $\text{NP}$  by screaming.

John [  $\begin{matrix} +V \\ +PRO \\ +INCH \end{matrix}$  ] to be at the shore by floating.

b. John beat Mary into  $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{submitting} \\ \text{submission} \end{matrix} \right\}$ .

John screamed for Bill to go.

John floated to shore.

5. Comparative Reduction - This rule converts sentence a into any one of the sentences in b.

a. Susannah ~~is~~ working harder than Mildred ~~is~~ working. has been

b. Susannah has been working harder than Mildred has been. has been  
 Susannah has been working harder than Mildred has.  
 Susannah has been working harder than Mildred.

6. As-clause Reduction - This rule converts the a sentence into either b sentence.

a. John drives as Bill drives.

b. John drives as Bill does.  
 John drives like Bill.

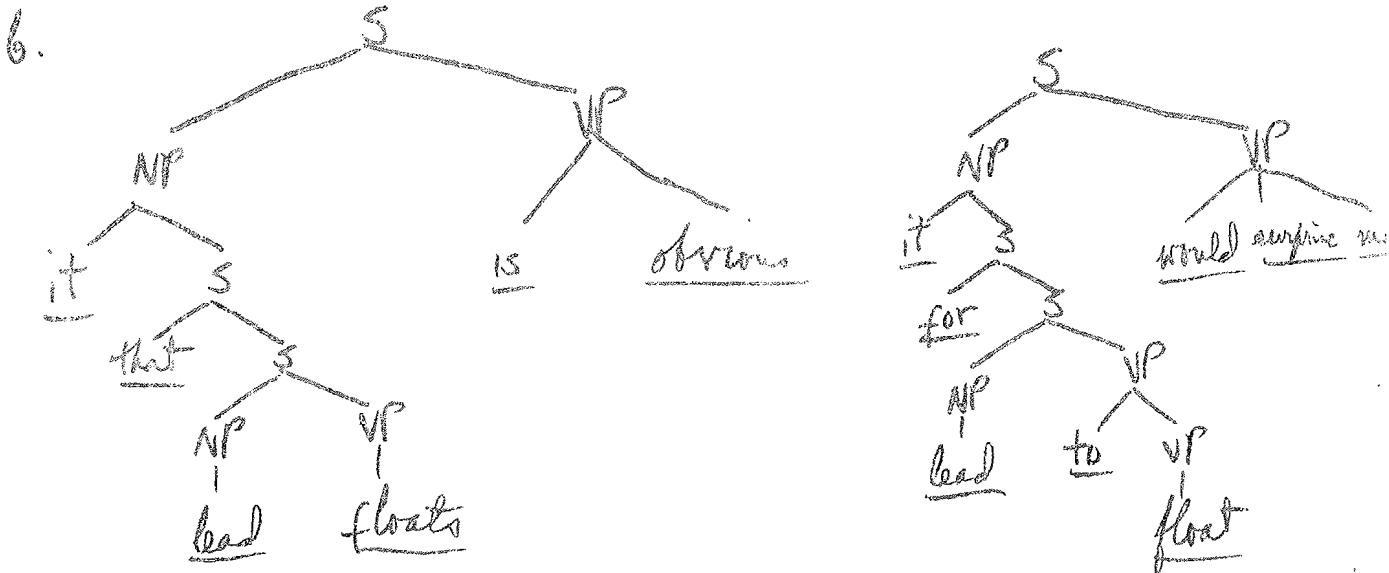
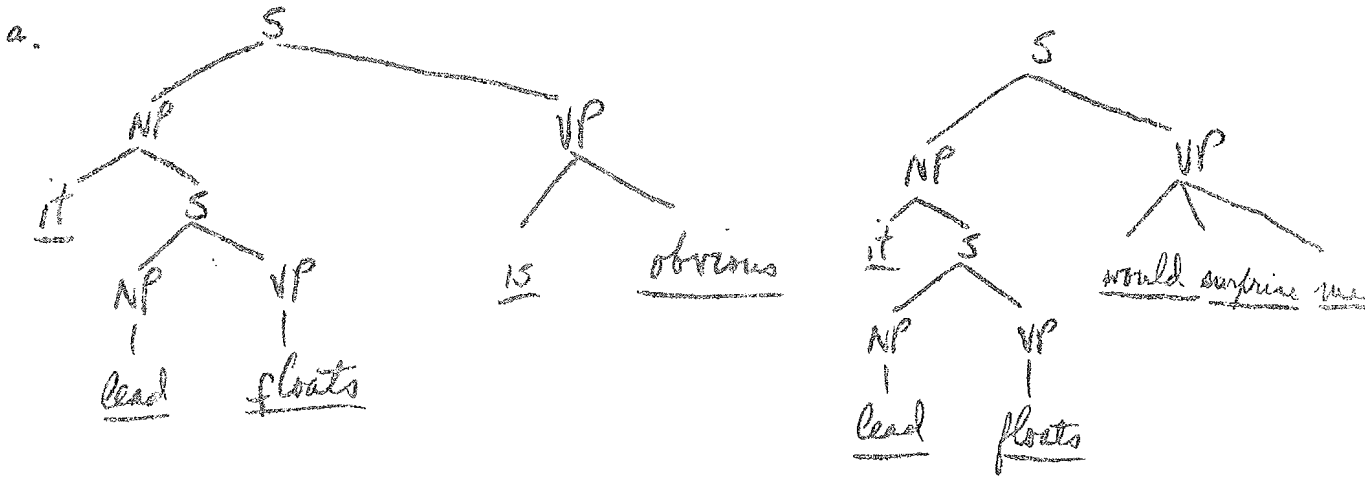
7. Complementizer Placement - At present, assume that there are two separate rules which introduce the complementizing morphemes that, for, to, Poss, and Ing. The rule which introduces that is:

X - S - Y  
 1    2    3     $\Rightarrow$     where the symbol "#" denotes Chomsky-adjunction  
 1 that# 3

The rule which introduces for - to and Poss - Ing is:

X = [ <sub>S</sub> NP - VP ] <sub>S</sub> - Y  
 1            2            3            4     $\Rightarrow$   
 1 { for / Poss } # [ <sub>S</sub> 2 { to / Ing } # 3 ] <sub>S</sub> 4  
 1            1            1            1

These two rules convert the trees in a to those in b.



8. Equi NP Deletion - This rule, which corresponds to Rosenbaum's Identity Erasure Transformation, deletes the subjects of embedded sentences under the condition that they be identical (in surface and deep structure) with some NP in the first sentence above them. At present it is not known how to specify which NP in the matrix sentence the embedded subject must be identical to. *This rule* must follow Complementizer Placement, because the rule only applies to embedded sentences with for - to or Poss - Ing complementizers. This rule must convert sentences like those in a below to their counterparts in b.

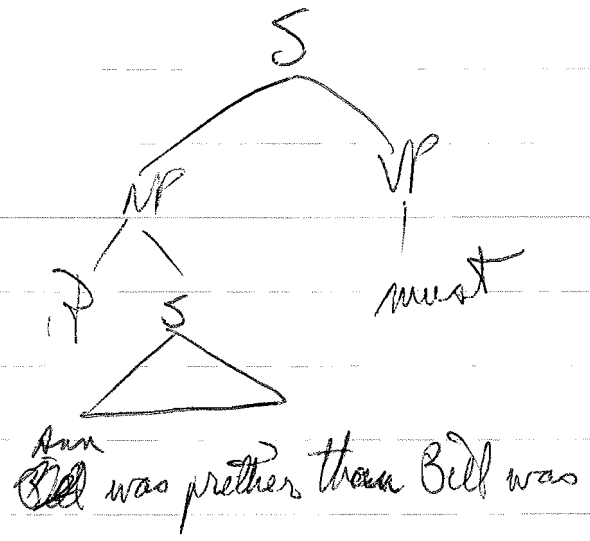
- a. I like [NP it [S for me to swim ]<sub>S</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>  
 I like [NP it [S Poss I Ing swim ]<sub>S</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>  
 I managed [S for me to swim ]<sub>S</sub>  
 I motivated John [S for John to swim ]<sub>S</sub>  
 I coaxed John into [NP it [S Poss John Ing swim ]<sub>S</sub> ]<sub>NP</sub>  
 I bought [NP a razor [S for me to shave myself with ]<sub>S</sub> ]<sub>NP</sub>  
 I gave John [NP a razor [S for John to shave himself with ]<sub>S</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>  
 I built a shack by [NP it [S Poss I Ing nail two boards together ]<sub>S</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>  
 I shave myself every day in order for [NP it [S for me to impress my chauffeur ]<sub>S</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>  
 [NP it [S for me to go home ]<sub>S</sub>]<sub>NP</sub> would be hard for me.  
 [NP it [S Poss I Ing buy razor blades ]<sub>S</sub> ]<sub>NP</sub> embarrasses me  
 I promised John [NP it [S for me to go ]<sub>S</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>  
 I gave John [the idea of [NP it [S Poss John Ing shave himself ]<sub>S</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>  
 I gave John [NP the impression of [NP it [S Poss I Ing shave myself ]<sub>S</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>  
 I requested permission of John [NP it [S for me to shave myself ]<sub>S</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>
- b. I like it for to swim ( I like to swim)  
 I like it Poss Ing swim ( I like swimming)  
 I managed for to swim ( I managed to swim)  
 I motivated John for to swim ( I motivated John to swim)  
 I coaxed John into <sup>P</sup><sub>A</sub> Poss Ing swim ( I coaxed John into swimming)  
 I bought a razor for to shave myself with ( I bought a razor to shave myself with )  
 I gave John a razor for to shave himself with ( I gave John a razor to shave himself with )  
 I built a shack by it Poss Ing nail two boards together ( I built a shack by nailing two boards together )  
 I shave myself every day in order for it for to impress my chauffeur ( I shave myself every day in order to impress my chauffeur )  
 It for to go home would be hard for me ( To go home would be hard for me )  
 It Poss Ing buy razor blades embarrasses me ( Buying razor blades embarrasses me )  
 I promised John it for to go ( I promised John to go )  
 I gave John the idea of it Poss Ing shave himself ( I gave John the idea of shaving himself )  
 I gave John the impression of shaving myself.  
 I requested permission of John to shave myself.

# Comparatives

10/10/66

~~Ann~~ Ann must have been prettier than Bill <sup>{was</sup> ~~(\*must)~~}

This means must must come from a higher S.



i.e., for purposes of deletion

have been = was

Unspec NP Del

10/7/66

[ I sprayed paint (on)  
\* I sprayed on (the wall)

---

[ I sprayed the wall  
\* I sprayed with paint

Native

Facts from Dave

10/6/66

(1) a. I gave \$100 to the UF  
b. contrib.

Base form

(2) a. I gave the UF \$100  
b. \* contrib.

Blocks by marking on control

(3) a. The UF was given \$100  
b. \* control

(4) a. \* The UF was given \$100 to  
b. \* contrib.

Blocks because \$ Native rule  
for contribute

Block by statement of  
Passive (but of take adv. of)

(5) a. \* The UF was given to  
b.  $\exists$  contrib. to

Mystery

(6) a. \$100 was given to the UF  
b. control

Straight passive

(7) a. \$100 was given to the UF.  
b. \* \$100 was control the UF.

From SD of Passive  
Blocks because  $\exists$  Native  
for contribute

Particles

10/5/66

Hierarchy knocks these out.

hand I over to them  
 hand over the box to them  
 → \* hand over them the box  
 hand them over the box

Reduced Dir

cook up some hash for them  
 cook some hash up for them  
 → \* cook up them some hash  
 cook them up some hash.

Prt w/ for dative

give up the ship to them  
 give the ship up to them  
 → \* give up them the ship  
 \* give them up the ship

Prt w to dative

To Dative (doesn't apply to ~~V~~  
For Dative  
 St. Prt

Prt Movement

have - be

10/4/66

Probably the deriv. w/ be → have  
is OK, because NB

The table has (\*the) marbles on it



Unspec NP Del

10/2/66

Ordering

(Unspec NP Del  
(Prep Raising  
(Passive

The food was stolen (~~by~~  $\Delta$ )

This goes on the be cycle

(Precyclic Del & not so)

10/2/66

I hope that it won't rain but the weatherman predicts it  
it  
 ↓  
 it will rain

I claim that it won't rain, but nobody believes it

---

The indications are that J is (not happy), but Skinner would predict it.  
 { \*unhappy }  
 ↓  
 J is happy

NP\*

10/2/66

I prefer X to Y

Refl

10/2/66

How do we block?

\* John behaved + perjured himself

If we say the Subj Copying rule is LC,  
then how do we get

John seemed to perjure himself

Mystery

Refl

10/2/66

\* Mary's { book  
father  
hair } pleases herself.

How can this be blocked? Pied Piping can't be invoked, because her is OK here.

Are these still in separate sentences, maybe?

own

10/2/66

Eat the cookies which <sup>{his}</sup> your own wife bakes!

---

Aha! own goes down into sentences  
(optionally)

- 1. Conjunction Reduction
- 2. Conjunction Copying
- 3. Causative Substitution
- 4. Substitution ~~join~~-phrase
- 5. Comparative Reduction
- 6. As-clause Reduction
- 7. Complementizer Placement
- 8. Equi NP Deletion
- 9. It Replacement
- 10. Case Marking (before 41)
- 11. Flip (P)
- 12. For to be Deletion < 12a. Appositive Clause Formation (P)
- 13. Complex NP Shift (P)
- 14. Preposition Raising
- 15. To Dative (P)
- 16. And Repeating
- 17. Asymmetrical Conjunction Movement (P)
- 18. Passive (P) < Indefinite Subj. Movement (P)
- 19. ~~Asymmetrical~~ Symmetrical Conjunction
- 20. Copula Agreement
- 21. Number Agreement
- 22. There Insertion
- 23. To Deletion
- 24. Pseudo-left
- 25. Copula Switch
- 26. Substantivization
- 27. Performative Deletion
- 28. Finnish Case Change
- 29. Verb Final (LC)
- 30. Unspecified NP Deletion

- 27. ~~Unspecified NP Deletion~~
- 28. Finnish Case Change
- 29. Verb Final (LC)
- 30. Unspecified NP Del
- 31. Preposition Attachment (LC)
- 32. It Extraposition (LC) (P)
- 33. That Deletion (LC)
- 34. It Deletion (LC)
- 35. Relative Clause Formation
- 36. Reduction of Possessive Clause
- 37. For Dative (P)
- 38. Reflexivization
- 39. Adjectival It Replacement (P)
- 40. Possessivization
- 41. Question (LC) (P)
- 42. Topicalization (LC) (P)
- 43. ES Insertion (LC)
- 44. Subject Inversion (LC)
- 45. Intransitive Verb Inversion (LC)
- 46. Preposition Deletion (LC)
- 47. Extraposition from NP (LC) (P)
- 48. Extraposition of PP (LC) (P)
- 49. Adverb Preposing (P)
- 50. Pronominalization
- 51. Complementizer Deletion (LC)
- 52. Relative Clause Reduction (LC)
- 53. VP Shift (LC)
- 54. Case Distribution (LC)
- 55. Agentive Nominal
- 56. Action Nominal
- 57. Case Deletion (LC)
- 58. Indefinite Incorporation
- 59. Negative Attraction
- 60. Pronoun Deletion (LC)
- 61. Scrambling (LC)
- 62. Clitic Placement (LC)

it Extrap + Prt Movement

9/30/66

Complex NP Shift

Action Nom

(Prt Movement (LC)

(it Extrap (LC)

The way to stop \* its possibility that Bill left never  
entered my mind

by putting it extrap in the LC

Not so bad — the S over possibility  
has to stay there until

2/20/68

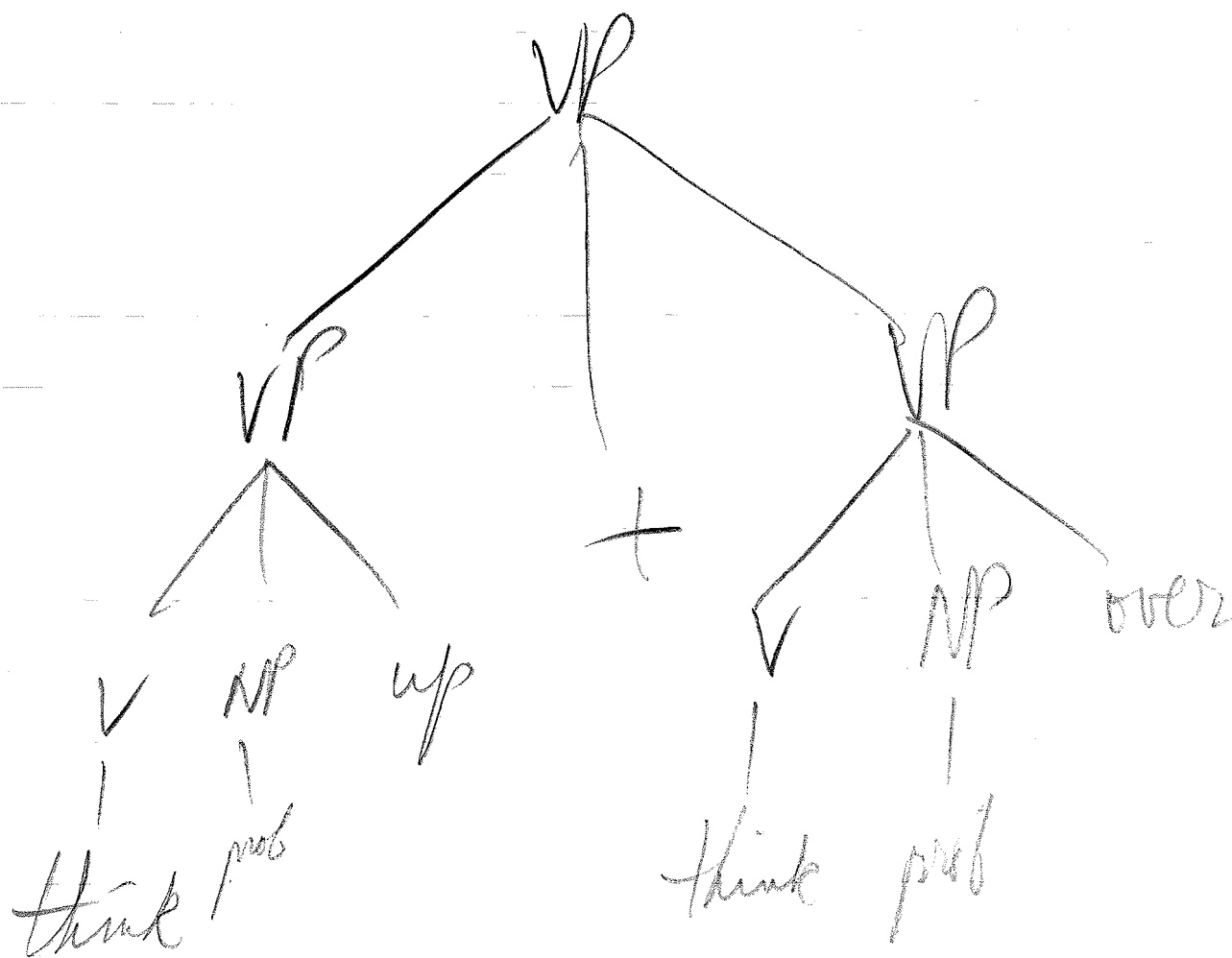
No — this can be blocked by the LBC



Particles

9/30/66

But Movement can only be LC  
because otherwise



will reduce (in 2 steps) to  
\* think the problem up + over

own

9/30/66

Maybe own isn't [+RDB]?

? He ate what I gave his own cat

---

Rel Cl

9/28/66

This rule must be cyclic because  
Coreferentiality applies

False — what about  
App Cl Formation?

# Rules & Conventions

9/28/66 p.3

55. VP Shift (gov't, lamed Down)
56. Case Distrib
57. Agentive Nom
58. Action Nom
59. Case Deletion
60. Indef Incorp (Bounding)
61. Neg Attraction (Pruning?)
62. Pronoun Deletion (Sub. Cl)
63. Scrambling (Rule Skeleton)
64. Clitic Placement (Bounding, lamed Down)

# Universals

- ✓ Node Raising
- ✓ Deep Str Identity
- ✓ Parallel Str.
- ✓ Pre-cyclic rules
- (old) ✓ Last cyclic rules
- ✓ government
- ✓ Distance
- ✓ Indexing (2 kinds)
- old ✓ No rep. of conjuncts
- ✓ Coreferentiality (that bun)
- Postal Constraint
- ✓ Bounding
- ✓ Pruning
- ✓ Movement Constraints
- ✓ Relabeling
- ✓ Conjunction Reduction
  1. Locking
  2. Hierarchy
- ✓ Hierarchy
- ✓ Pro Verbs
- ✓ Substitution (morphology)

- ✓ Performatives 9/25/66
- ✓ George's Thesis { Boolean Conditions  
SD Features  
Minor rules
- ✓ NP \* (symmetric + not)
- ✓ Transparency
- ✓ Self-exclusion
- ✓ Algorithm for contextual features
- ✓ Pied Piping
- ✓ Double Decker SD's
- old Rules applying to their own output
- ✓ Amnesties
- ✓ If then condition on Str. Desc.
- old Erasure of #'s
- ✓ Extra cycles
- ✓ Sister
- ✓ Immediate Domination
- ✓ Rule Skeletons
- ✓ Subordinate Clause
- ✓ Daughter Adjunction
- old?? Necessity of features on major categories

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9/25/66  
 Boolean Condition  
 SD Features  
 Hierar. rules

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- ✓ Self-exclusion
- ✓ Algorithm for contextual features
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- ✓ Double Decker SD's

- (old) Rules applying to their own output
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  - ✓ If then condition on Str. Desc

- (old) Erasure of #'s
- ✓ Extra cycles
  - ✓ Sister
  - ✓ Immediate Domination
  - ✓ Rule Skeletons
  - ✓ Subordinate Clause
  - ✓ Daughter Adjunction
  - ✓ Automatic SD Change

1. The word as in sentences like these (John is sick, as I'm sure you know. The problem is unsolvable, as will be proven later in the course.) seems to be some sort of sentential relative clause, like the wh<sup>ich</sup>-clause in the following sentence:

John is sick,  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{wh}^{\text{ich}} \\ \text{as} \end{array} \right\}$  is too bad.

Problem: why is the change from which to as (if this is indeed the right way of thinking about the problem) blocked in negative environments? E.g.,

Rodney is dangerously insane,  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{everyone realized} \\ \text{nobody realized} \\ \text{I never knew} \end{array} \right\}$

\*Rodney is dangerously insane,  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{as} \\ \text{everyone knew} \\ \text{*nobody realized} \\ \text{*I never knew} \end{array} \right\}$

It may be that the sentence above with too bad is out for the same reason, because adjectives like bad, odd, strange, etc. have many of the same properties with respect to negation as words which are clearly negatives, like not, never, etc. do. (Cf. \*I knew that anybody ever came, I didn't know that anybody ever came; It's too bad/odd/strange that anybody ever came, \*It's true that anybody ever came.)

Three points.

2. It seems that in sentences like this

I avoided  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Tom's grasp} \\ \text{Mirny's scolding} \\ \text{Harry's anger} \\ \text{etc.} \end{array} \right\}$

the object of the embedded verbs (grasp at, scold, be angry at) must be identical with the subject of the whole sentence, I. In other words, here's a kind of E of NP deletion which doesn't operate on subjects of embedded sentences, but on their objects, contrary to all other known cases.

Problem: How extensive is this phenomenon? Are there other verbs with this property? What are they? Do they share other syntactic properties? How should the rule deleting embedded objects be formulated, and can it be used to increase the generality of the formulation of the Equi NP Deletion Rule?

Four points.

3. Consider the sentence

John is the first, and Bill is the second tallest of my sons.

This sentence seems to support Postal's suggestion that superlatives be derived from expressions like first tallest, first strongest by a last-cyclic rule which deletes first.

Problem: Work this analysis out, or prove that it can't be worked out.

Five points and a Hero Medal.

1. The word subsequent seems to require a plural NP with the definite article. Why?

{ A subsequent chapter  
Subsequent chapters  
The subsequent chapters  
\*The subsequent chapter }

will deal with this problem in detail.

One point.

2. Normally, if a clause has been extraposed from is, NP can be questioned from the extraposed clause (Which problems was it difficult for the 7090 to solve?). But for many adjectives, this is not the case.

that { is } it { } that he could not have bought?

{ sure  
?certain  
?doubtful  
\*strange  
?odd  
\*true  
?likely  
?obvious  
surprising }

Can this class of adjectives be characterized economically? Do it and win

Four points.

3. Why are indefinite determiners excluded in the following sentences?

\*A story was about me.  
\*A picture was of me.

Is the answer to this question related in any way to the fact that after nouns like pic, story, statement, sale, etc. reflexive pronouns can appear in prepositional phrases? (e.g., Bill told me a story about myself/himself). If so, how?

Four points.

4. For each of the sentences after (a) below seem to be better than the ones after (b).

(a) There needs to be { some research into the problem of nihilification.  
an investigation into this matter by the FBI.  
definitive study of the Warren Report. }

(b) There needs to be { an explosion.  
a fire.  
a blizzard. }

Is (a) connected in any way with the facts that investigation, research, and study are derived from verbs which require animate subjects, and that need also requires an animate subject in the deepest structure - notice the difference between the following sentences: this car needs to be washed (by someone) but \*this room needs to be permeated by a vile odor. If true in the case, how does it apply to the derivation of the sentences in (a)? What does it say about the deep structure of need?

Five points and a case of Fort-Royal Champagne.



a = one

4/19/66

a picture of X + one of Y

parallels

	some	pictures	of	X	+	some	of	Y
	two	"	"	"	+	etc	"	"
?	my	"	"	"	+	(mine)	"	"

Dave is ergo right.

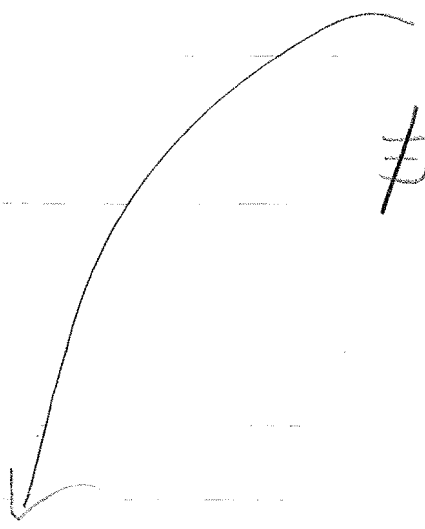
need + there

1/9/66

? there needs to be a guard here

$\exists$  { some work done on this  
an investigation into this (by the FBI)

$\nexists$  \* an explosion



... and there to be an inv.

you Deletion

10/2/66

you must be deleted after Perf Del — order is

Perf Del

Refl

you Deletion

---

Action Nom (LC)

Rel Move (LC)

if Extrap (LC)

Move Unspec NP Del

to precede

Prep Raising

Putting Rel Cl Formation in LC  
doesn't solve the problem of \*his book amuses  
What's to stop Pronom from going in whether  
the rel cl. is formed or not?

This will maybe entail moving up

Subst, Cap SW & Cleft 5

Probably # 5 and 6 are LC  
and very late because of indexing  
problems.

Rel Cl

10/2/66

This rule must be cyclic —  
It precedes Refl

I told J a tale about myself

(cf. also

He seems to have been believed to have been expected to tell her

a story about himself

In order to get this, this must have been formed + deleted in the cycle — The rules must have been

1. { Rel Cl Formation
2. { Substantivization
3. { Unspec NP Deletion
4. { Reflexivization

( App cl )

10/1/66

John <sup>always</sup> eats what his mother cooks, + she <sup>necessarily</sup> pampers him.

John told Sheila about Tom and Tom screamed that he was lying to her

Sheila who

We, who fixed her up with Tom, claim that Sheila had a nice time with him

YAY!!!

# Performatives

10/1/66.

Haj to Morris: (a) "My cats, who are very sick, have TB".

(b) "My cats, who I admit are very sick, have TB"

Noam to Carol: (a) Haj said that his cats, who he said were very sick, <sup>have TB</sup>

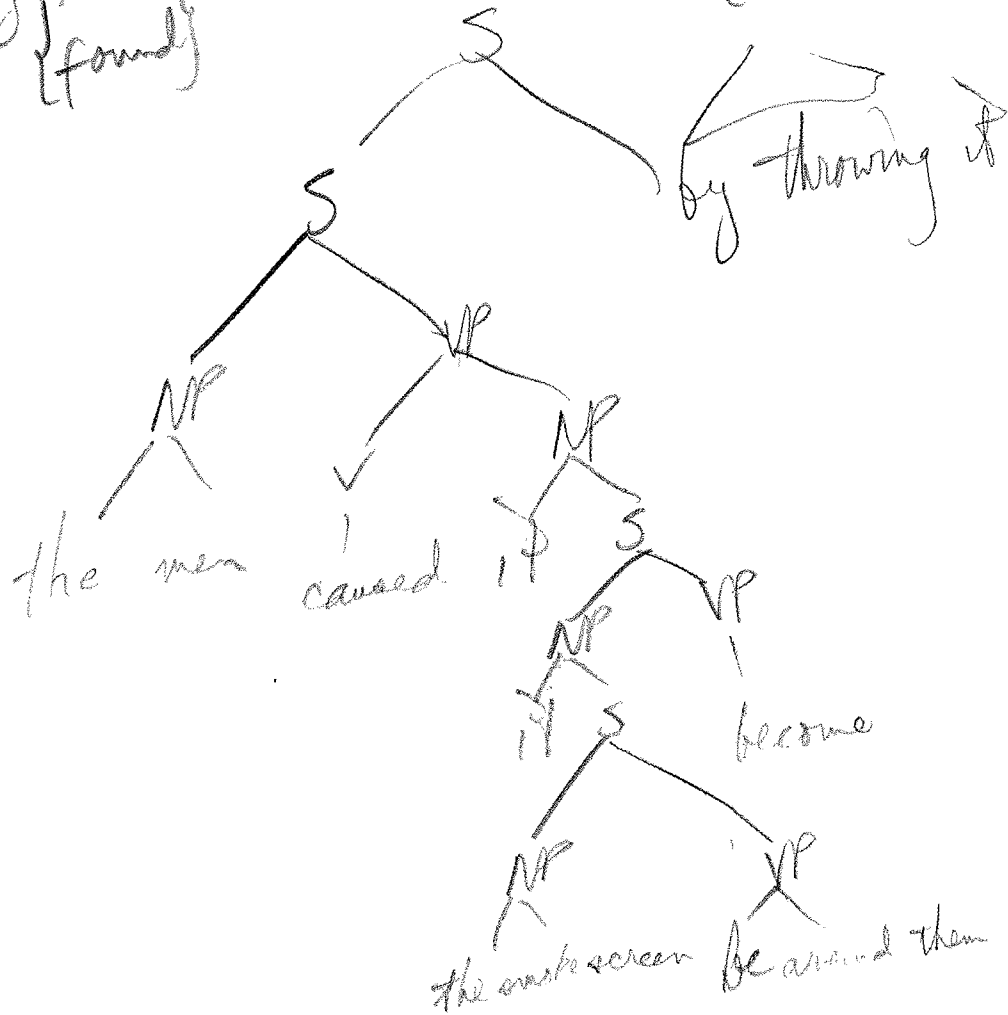
(b) Haj said that his cats, who he admitted were very sick, have TB

NB — if the verb is a performative, it's not  to insert he said here.

Refl

9/31/66

They {threw} a smokescreen around {themselves} {found} them





Refrigeration

9/31/66

He was his evasive self



- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Conjunction Reduction  | 38. Subjunctive Clause (G?)                  |
| 2. Conjunction Copying  | 39. Performative Deletion                    |
| 3. Causative Substitution (G)                                       | 40. Finnish Case Change                      |
| 4. Substitution from by-phrase (G)                                  | 41. Vert. Final (LC)                         |
| 5. Comparative Reduction  | 42. Unspecified NP Deletion (G)              |
| 6. As-clause Reduction  | 43. Preposition Attachment (LC)              |
| 7. Complementizer Placement (G)                                     | 44. <u>I</u> Extraposition (LC) (P)          |
| 8. Equi NP Deletion (G)   | 45. <u>That</u> Deletion (LC)                |
| 9. <u>It</u> Replacement (precedes) (LC) (G)                        | 46. <u>It</u> Deletion (LC) (G)              |
| 10. Case Marking (precedes <sup>37</sup> <del>18</del> ) (G?)       | 47. Relative Clause Formation                |
| 11. Flip (P) (G)  | 48. Reduction of Phrasal Clauses             |
| 12. <u>For to</u> Deletion (G)                                      | 49. <u>For</u> Dative (P)                    |
| 13. Appositive Clause Formation (LC)                                | 50. Reflex Clauses                           |
| 14. Complex NP Shift (P)  | 51. Adjectival <u>It</u> Replacement (P) (G) |
| 15. Preposition Raising (precedes <sup>37</sup> <del>3</del> ) (G?) | 52. Passivization                            |
| 16. <u>To</u> Dative (P) (G)  | 53. <u>Where</u> (LC) (P)                    |
| 17. <u>And</u> Rewriting (G)  | 54. Topicalization (LC) (P)                  |
| 18. Asymmetrical Conjunction Movement (P)                           | 55. <u>So</u> Insertion (LC)                 |
| 19. Passive (P) (precedes 29) (G)                                   | 56. Subject Inversion (LC)                   |
| 20. Indefinite S. Movement (G)                                      | 57. Intransitive Vert. Inversion (LC)        |
| 21. Symmetrical Conjunction Movement (P)                            | 58. Preposition Deletion (LC)                |
| 22. Copula Agreement  | 59. Extraposition from NP (LC) (P)           |
| 23. Nominus Agreement   | 60. Extraposition of PP (LC) (P)             |
| 24. <u>There</u> Insertion  | 61. Adverb Preposing (P)                     |
| 25. <u>To</u> Deletion (G)  | 62. Pronominalization                        |
| 26. Pseudo-left   | 63. Complementizer Deletion (LC)             |
| 27. Copula Switch (precedes 24)                                     | 64. Relative Clause Reduction (LC)           |
|   | 65. VP Shift (LC) (G)                        |
|   | 66. Case Deletion (LC)                       |
|   | 67. Agentive Nominal                         |
|   | 68. Action Nominal                           |
|   | 69. Case Deletion (LC)                       |
|   | 70. Indefinite Incorporation                 |
|   | 71. Negative Affixation                      |
|   | 72. Pronoun Deletion (LC)                    |
|   | 73. Stranding (LC)                           |
|   | 74. Clitic Placement (LC)                    |

Key: rules followed by the symbol "(P)" must precede Pronominalization; rules followed by the symbol "(LC)" do not apply until the last cycle; and rules connected by a curved line are strictly ordered.

# Transparency

9/30/66

Dave's facts: ho dovuto mangiare  
sono dovuti andare

With with potere, volere

This clearly indicates <sup>①</sup> that volere, dovere, potere are transparent <sup>②</sup> the set of V which requires essere must be independently characterized somehow.

The deep str is probly

