

Pronoun Replacement

12/1/65

It would be odd for him to wear this hat.



This hat would be odd for him to wear

it would be odd for him to say that he likes this hat



? this hat would be odd for him to say that he likes

BUT

it is odd that he bought this hat



* This hat is odd that he bought.

NB \exists a likely book for him to want to read

but \nexists a book which is likely for him to want to read

\exists only " " " it is "

- est

11/27/65 p.1

NB - \$ Neg in that clause - it's been deleted of.

the { farthest / greatest distance } { (that) / *which } I ever walked ^(until Xmas) is { 2 miles / not very far / from NY to LA }
2 miles farther than you have

the { latest / earliest } { (that) / *which / *on which } I could come would be { (on) Friday / (at) 2 o'clock }
not very early
2 hrs earlier than he can

the soonest (that) I could come would be by Friday
the most often { (that) / *which } I can come is { 2x a week / once every four hours / very seldom }
still far less often than he can come

? *greatest frequency with which

the { highest / tallest / widest / broadest / deepest / longest / thickest } { (that) / *which } it ever gets is 2 ft { higher / taller / wider / broader / deeper / longer / thicker } than that
the highest that I flew
deepest that I can swim

the most expensive { (that) / *which } I have ever seen them is { 2\$ / still fairly cheap }
the longest { (that) / *which } I have ever forced them to wait is { (for) 2 hrs / not very long }

-est

11/27/65

p. 2

the coldest { (that) } I ever gets is { 20° below zero }
{ *which } { not very hot }
{ 2° warmer than room temperature }

the fastest I have ever driven was { 20 mph }
{ so fast that I was really scared }
{ at a speed which defies description }

? the oldest I have seen them get is 20 years

-est

11/27/65 p.3

I never walked farther than { from NY to LA }
2 miles

{ She never danced more prettily I never desired you more I never ran faster I never felt more lonely }	than	{ at 4 o'clock last Christmas when we lived in Tampa at your house * if I was drunk }
--	------	---

I never ran faster than I ran at the Yale meet

∴ OPT

I ran my fastest (ever) at the Yale meet

∴ OPT

∅

Problem: where can I get Ss like this, but w/ Neg?

He didn't run his fastest (*ever) at the Yale meet

↑
NB

(-est)

11/28/65 p. 4

NB → { * I am waiting }
the longest that { I have waited } is { (for) 2 hrs
still not as long as you waited }

↑ ?
I have never waited longer than { 2 hrs.
* as long as you waited }

↑
I have never waited longer than when I waited 2 hrs long
(the time)
This rule is OK - will be needed
in any case

↑
I have never waited longer than I waited when I waited 2 hrs long
(the time)

But this derivation is clearly preposterous in cases like

He is taller than 2ft

(obviously not from He is taller than he was when he was 2ft tall)

Also seems hopeless in cases like

I have never seen them more expensive than 2 A.

Comparatives

11/25/65

3. How about the by phrase? NB \exists possibility of by-phrase in Neg sentences with [that]

I'm not that {rich by \$10
ugly (by a long shot)
by a good deal}

NB - these S's are \neq of \neq that * I'm not tall by 10 in.

NB \rightarrow I'm {not} as rich as Tom by \$10
[*]

... He's taller than Pete by 5 in. \Leftarrow

He is tall to a degree to which Pete is not (tall) by 5 in.

4. * * PROBLEM * *

How can I get

I married an uglier girl than Tom (did) \Leftarrow ?

I married a girl who was ugly to a degree to which the girl that Tom married was not (ugly)

Comparatives

11/25/65 p.3

NB - \nexists *I know a taller girl than Tom does by 5ft.

Rules

0. Adj Deletion (OPT)

I. -er formation (OPT)

to a degree to which, X Neg Y

	2	3	4	⇒
er than	2	∅	4	

Cond: $Z \neq W + Neg + Z$

II. Aux be Deletion (OPT)

Only
Two
New
Rules!

Unordered w/ the above:

A. wh+PRO be Deletion (OPT)

B. N Adj Permutation (OPT - sometimes OBLIG)

C. One Pronominalization (OPT)

D. (the) one wh+PRO Deletion (OPT)

(Proof that this rule is \square we would a more famous professor than would ever consent to come)

↑
NB

Comparatives

11/25/65

by-phrases are \diamond w/ comparatives and in the presence of [that]_{D DEG} (see p. 2)

But they are also possible w/ Neg + as as S

He's {not} as tall as Pete (is) by a good deal {about 5 inches} {*}

So — let's derive that from as as S

as X as that \Rightarrow that X

He is as tall as Harry (is)^(*not)

NB - Neg is prohibited both here and here

He is tall to a degree which is the same as the degree to which Harry is tall (*not)

\Downarrow normal rules

He is tall to the same degree as [the degree to which] Harry is

\Downarrow OPT
 \emptyset

\Rightarrow OPT

He is tall to the same degree as he is as tall — as

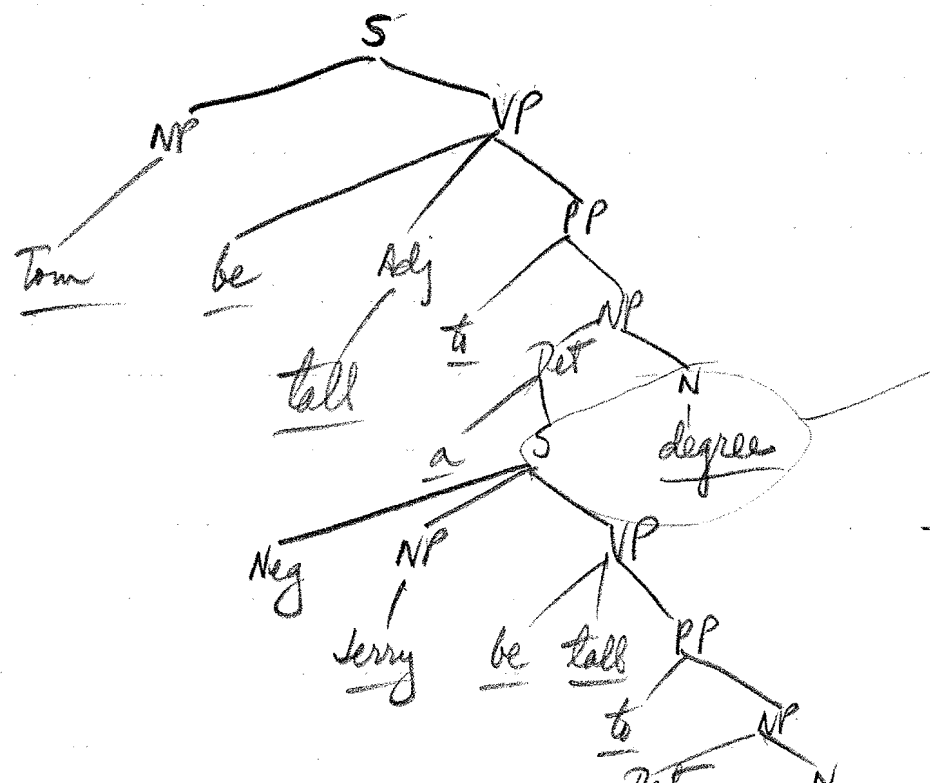
Harry is OPT \Rightarrow \emptyset
Harry (is)

Comparatives

11/25/65

So - Tom is taller than Jerry (is) ←

Tom is tall $\left[\begin{matrix} \text{to a} \\ \text{D DEG} \end{matrix} \right] \left[\begin{matrix} \text{Jerry is not tall} \\ \text{S} \end{matrix} \right] \left[\begin{matrix} \text{to a} \\ \text{D DEG} \end{matrix} \right] \left[\begin{matrix} \text{the degree is the same as} \\ \text{S} \end{matrix} \right]$
 the $\left[\begin{matrix} \text{Tom is tall to WH + some degree} \\ \text{S} \end{matrix} \right] \left[\begin{matrix} \text{degree} \\ \text{D DEG} \end{matrix} \right] \left[\begin{matrix} \text{degree} \\ \text{D DEG} \end{matrix} \right] \left[\begin{matrix} \text{degree} \\ \text{D DEG} \end{matrix} \right]$

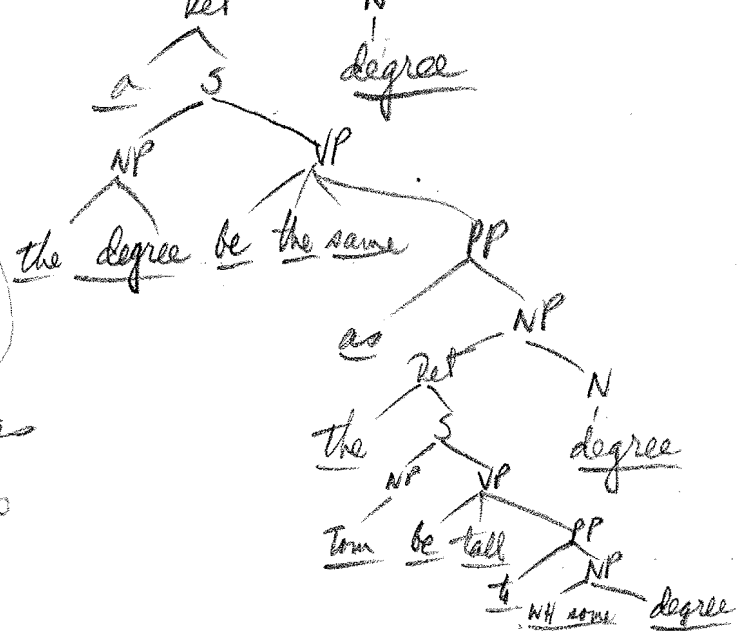


The problem lies in the relativization on this cycle

Another problem

Why I ever after same in A, but not in B?

A He's as tall as he ever was
 B* He's tall to the same extent as he ever was



Comparatives

11/26/65

p. 6

He is not tall to the degree to which John is \Rightarrow

He is not as tall as John is \Rightarrow He is less tall than John is

This suggests that as as comes from

He is tall to the degree to which John is \Rightarrow

He is as tall as John is

NB - why is a \square here?

He is tall to a degree to which John is not

And why oh why is the situation reversed when
Neg in the rel cl.?

Comparatives

p.7
11/26/65

Where can we have [that] ?

Jack is

- * extremely
- * very tall
- * quite

→ * the tallest of the brothers

too tall to be drafted
 ? taller than Bill
 tall enough to be drafted
 5 ft. tall
 as tall as Mary
 so tall that he has to duck

DOES

and Harry is that tall too.
 but Harry isn't that tall.
 although very few people around here
 are that tall
 since he has been drafted, and
 only people who are that tall
 were drafted

NB. these two are the worst - □ by an argument for getting -est from -er

* Jack is tall, and Harry is that tall too.

But ∃ Jack is tall. Is Harry that tall?

Comparatives

11/26/65 p. 8

than-clauses extrapose - further proof that they are relative clauses.

a taller man came into the room than I had ever seen here.

NB - Φ * I know a taller man than John is
but ?? \exists " " " man taller " " "
MYSTERY

NB - when \exists deletion in the than-clause, Φ extraposition

* a taller man came into the room than John

the X or Y the Z or W

11/27/65 P. 1

The bigger the car that he tries to force me to drive (is),
rel. cl.

the stronger the seat belts that I want to have installed in it (are).
rel. cl.

This rule apparently requires an Adv or Adv to be moved forward - it can come from indefinitely far down.

The better (?that) he thinks (?that) the car is, the happier (*that)
I would expect him to seem to you.

The ^{Adv} better he thinks he has treated us, the ^{Det} more money he will try to force us to pay.

The oftener he thinks you have gone to church, ^{more} the ^{seldom} think your mother
^{Ambig} will ask you to be in before twelve.

Problems in getting this form if then

* The better the car ^{is} *were, the more I would drive it

the Xer Y, the Zer W

p. 2

11/27/65

* The more often he had written me, the longer my letters would have been.

Maybe it's only counterfactual conditionals that are excluded though:

The better he behaves tomorrow, the more I will raise his allowance

NB — ∄* he behaves well tomorrow

So it looks as if ∃ a deletion of will here

NB — the -er must be a constant of this rule, for $\sim \diamond \exists$ than-clauses (in general)

* The faster he runs than Bill walks, the more I will be pleased.

The richer he is (~~*than my father~~), the faster I'm going to marry him.
(*than I married you)

NB

The more desirous he is of you (than of her), the more you'll be bothered by him.

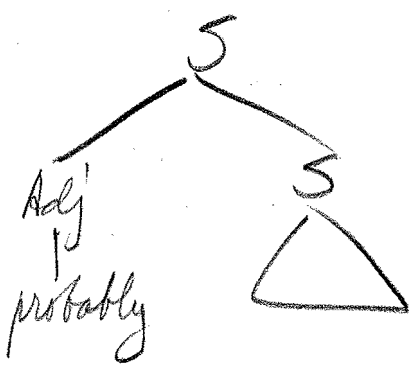
The X er Y, the Z er W

11/27/65 p.3

Won't work w/ sentence adverbs

* The more probably he is sick, the more certainly you should call a Dr.

Is this Δ an indication that \exists still coordinate structure in the case of probably and possibly



cf. the non-existence of rel cls
 like *a man who obviously I didn't know
 but NB \exists " " " who obviously " "
 cf. also *the more insane clearly he is, ...
 but? \exists ? " " " he clearly is,

This construction is blocked in $\begin{matrix} NP \\ \wedge \\ N \quad S \end{matrix}$ contexts:

The sicker you believe (*the claim) that he is, the faster you should call a Dr.

In coordinate contexts:

* The heavier you're tired and the box is, ...

But NB The heavier the box gets and the sphere seems to be, the quicker you should call me

**** IMPORTANT EXAMPLE ****

The Xer Y, the Zer W

11/27/65 p.4

This last example means that Adjectives can be topicalized (maybe only in context of -er)

cf. also

The heaviest that it ever seemed to get was 10 lb.

(This is another argument for relating -er and -est)

Then why can't V be topicalized?

But if Adj can be topicalized in American, this makes Irish sentences more understandable - they've just relaxed this restriction

It was happy that I was

NB - $\sim \diamond \exists$ Neg in first clause WHY?

* The heavier it didn't get, the more tired I became.

but \exists The more obnoxious he gets, the more I couldn't stand him.
The hotter it got, the more often we didn't shave.

The X or Y, the Z or W

11/27/65 p.5

Since \$ Neg \$\rightarrow\$ in 1st clause, let's try to prove it's been deleted:

The more anybody complains about the food, the more he gets whipped

NB

^
(*ever)

NB - def. pronoun for anybody.

Why is ever ~ \$\diamond\$?

Doesn't work

* The sicker I can help being, the better my chances are for the job.
he got until I left, ...

Rel cl?

11/27/65

What to do with

every time {that} he goes I cry
{*which}



What is this?

Anti-cycle

11/26/65

The rule allowing Neg-Attraction in rel. cls. on N which have a certain set of determiners:

each
all, every, no, any, the only, the one, -est, 1st, last
* 2nd

is anti-cyclic, because any's can result from its application

I never worked in some office where somebody who ^{some} sang folk songs called up

First pass - NB - it is ~ to insert ever here yet
↓

I never worked in any office where anybody who sang folk songs ever called up

Now it is possible: ↓

I never worked in any office where anybody who ever sang any folk songs ever worked.

What-ever

11/13/65

Whatever it was that she bought I will bring

☺ I will bring it



1 (left 5 with low)

11/16/65

How we will prove it is by using math induction

do + left 5

11/16/65^{p.1}

Proof that in what he did ← 5's
is cat's
⇒ really a sentence taken out of here

1. Neg

What he never did was try any tests

2. What I did to John was { hit } him
{*help}

3. What I did in 20 minutes was walk { 20 mi }
{ to NYC }
{* — }

4. What I tried to persuade her to force John to do was shave ^{himself}
*myself
*herself

5. If RNC is right about Ø, then where is the selection of ✓
in the NP Comp specified (i.e., it must be non-stative)

6. Further, do won't be inserted in cases like what he didn't do was X
because Ø affix

(do + Cleft 5)

11/25/65 p. 2

NB - \exists Neg-attraction even in NP

What he { never } presented was any conclusive evidence that's

What we { never } mentioned was that he had ever drunk anything

Subject Condition

11/16/65

X NP Y
1 2 3 \Rightarrow 2 1 3

Condition:

If $2 < NP_i$ and S_j directly dominates NP_i
then $2 = NP_i$ and

$\nexists X \ni$

$$S_j = X + NP_i + Y$$

Subord clauses of time + Cleft S

11/13/65

Chomsky's argument about ϕ copula Ss in after clause won't work for until, when, since, where, while clauses

I didn't leave until {

- he was {
- dead
- asleep
- ? ϕ tall
- ? ϕ heavy

Tom gave me that gun

* it was that gun that Tom gave me

I took care of him while {

- she was sick
- Tom wrote a letter to my father

* it was my father that Tom wrote a letter to

I'll take care of you when {

- your husband is drunk
- Tom is writing that article

* it is that article that Tom is writing

I've been here since {

- you were asleep
- Tom wrote that letter

* it was that letter that Tom wrote

I lived where {

- the water was drinkable
- Tom found that cat

* it was that cat that Tom found

Subord Clauses and Clefts

11/13/65

The fact that you don't get

* I left { after } John was tall
 { before }

supports Geis's analysis:
you also don't get

* John was tall { early }
 { late }

11/12/65

WH + Comparison

Comparison obeys the $\begin{matrix} NP \\ / \ \backslash \\ N \ S \end{matrix}$ condition too:

The box is heavier than they believed (*the claim) that the ~~box~~^{book} is.

er than also behaves like Compar with conjunction:

~~the~~ the box is heavier than ^{*} John fell asleep and the book is
~~I~~ expected the picture to be and they thought ^(that) the book was
^{*} that John was a Communist

WH and OR
(whor)

11/9/65

Did you go or { did you call him up?
* who left?
* what did you eat? }

* Who left or what fell?

It was John who went or it was his father { (who went)
? who read the book }

(Fine-OP) ? It was yesterday that the letter came.

(Fine-OP) ? I bought books or it was magazines that I bought

Flak for Yuki

11/6/65

Yuki can't be right about an [it S] NP stopping being a NP when the it is deleted because of

They topicalize { it was that he left that surprised me
" " " " that I mentioned

the do-something cases

cf also ? Did that he left surprise you

So maybe my NP condition is the correct one.



(Notice that this helps explain the ^{pingg} relativization in after, etc, clauses)

NB also it was after he came that I got sick.

Extraposition w/ WH

11/6/65 p. 1

what he meant is {not known
unclear}
It is {not known
unclear} what he meant ← NB

I asked {that he come
who came}

It was asked {that he come
who came} ← NB

I found out / discovered {what he liked
where he went
? whether he left}

It was never discovered {what he liked
where he went
whether he left} ← NB

Seems to require Neg or Q

? It was {discovered {? that he smoked
?* what he smoked
** whether he smoked}
known
mentioned
ascertained
said} DITTO

OK w/ Was it or It was not

Extraposition w/ WH

11/6/65

The above S's must clearly be related - NB that
 $\exists S$ it X why Y iff $\exists S$ why Y X

{ why he came is a mystery
 \Updownarrow
 it is a mystery why he came.

versus

- * why he came is possible.
- * it is possible why he came.

NB

\nexists * what she cooked was not kept
 it was not kept what she cooked

\exists what she cooked was not known
 it was not known what she cooked

Extraposition w/ WH

p. 3
11/6/65

{ we couldn't }
{ Did you }
 { figure out }
 { ascertain }
 { find out }
 { guess }
 { imagine }

{ a }
 { any }
 { the }

reason for his coming

{ the } reason that he came
 { a } why he came
 { any } why he came

{ for } { what } reason (that) he came
 { ? } { which } he came

NB

* the place where he lives
 ∃ where he lives
 [* what place] he lives
 [at what place]

{ the } time { at which } he arrived
 { * a } [? when]
 { * any }

∃ (at) what time (* { at which } when) he arrived

NB

when he arrived

NB

how he got here

{ the } way { that } he got in
 { * a }
 { * any }

* how

in { what } way (* that) he got in
 { ? } { which }

NB

whether he came (or not)
 (But; we couldn't ascertain whether he came or not)

* that he came

Extraposition w/ WH

p. 4
11/6/65

{ We couldn't
Did you }

{ guess
figure out
find out
ascertain
imagine }

[who did it
* the one who did it]

[what fell
* the thing which fell]

{ what
which } { man did it
thing fell }

at { what } time he left
{ * which }

(at) { what } time he left
{ which }

Extraposition w/ WH

p.6
11/6/65

it is not known [what (else) she cooked
what it was that she cooked
?what else]

- * whatever she cooked
- * whatever it was that she cooked

But *) { ^{knew} figured out
ascertained
was sure of
guessed } whatever she cooked
whatever it was that she cooked

though \exists I ate.

Reason: eat is [+ — [+conc]]
know, guess etc are [+ — [-conc]]

Extrapolation w/ WH

11/6/65 ^{p. 7}

But

I can't figure out { * whatever she believes
? whatever it is that she believes }

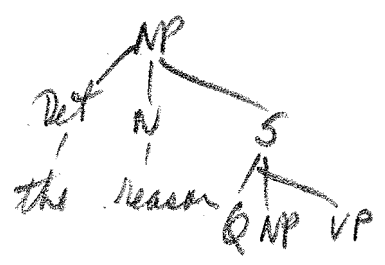
In I found out the { reason (why) way (that) time (when) } he got here

∅ underlying N reason, way, time

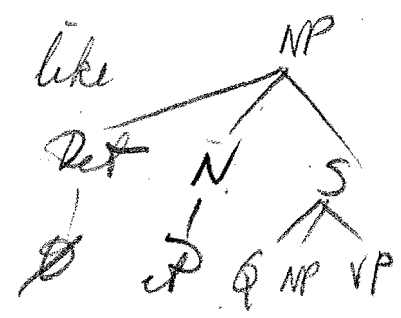
because ∅ Extrapolation (* it was known the reason why he came)

So these aren't from [it S]
Q x NP

Rather, ∃ underlying N reason, way, time



, just like

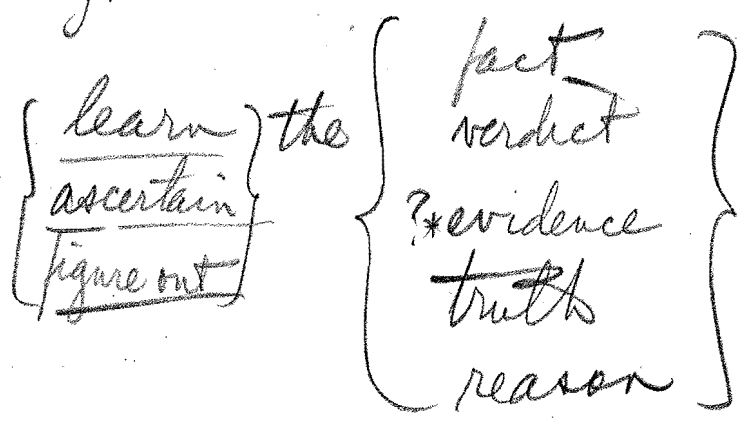


Extrapolation w/ WH

11/6/65

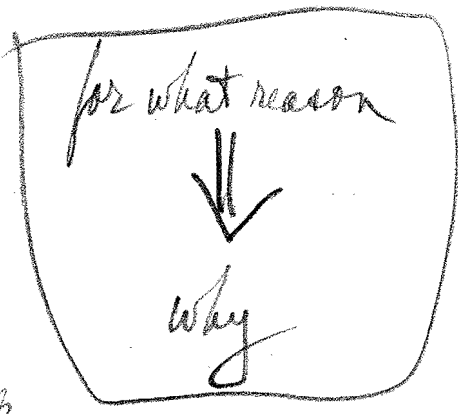
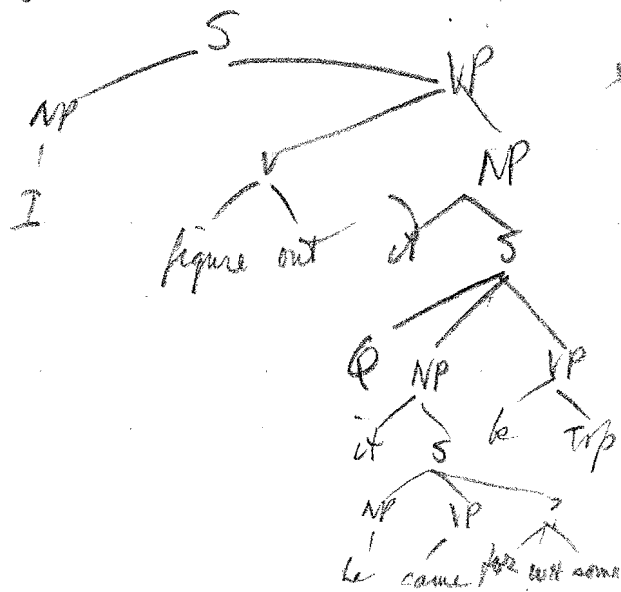
restriction on Q in embedded S is just the same

Moreover, these are precisely the abstract N that we have to get after ascertain, learn, find out anyway:



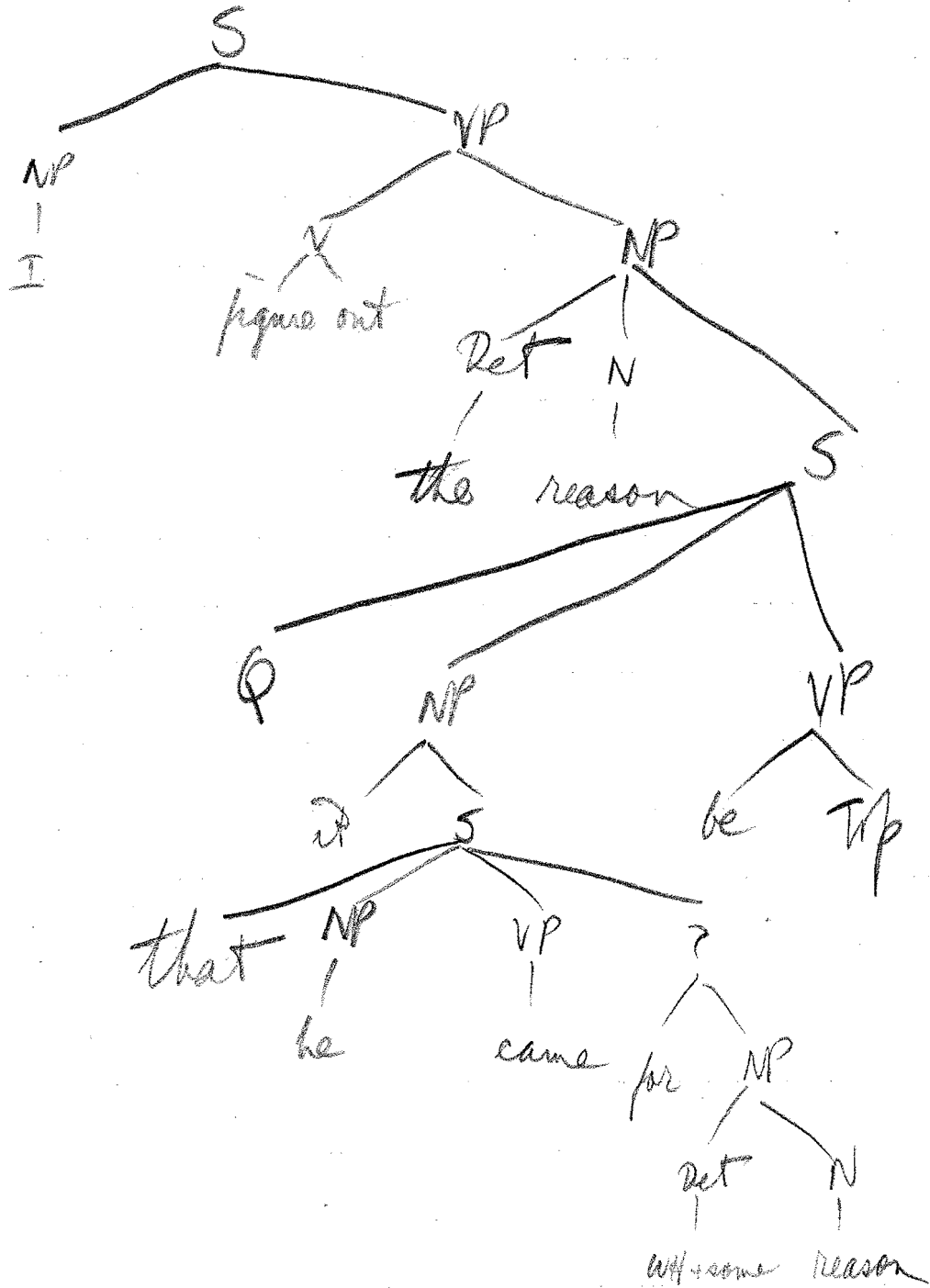
- * boy
- * dog

So I figured out why he came ^(it was that)



Extraposition w/ WH

But I figured out the reason ^(it was that) ~~that~~ ^{why} he came



clapt 5

11/5/65 p.1

{ the thing which I ate was peas
that
what } I did was eat peas

the one who came was John

? — " " " "

the one who asked the question of was John

{ (the time) when I left was 4 o'clock }
* at "

* It was Sunday that he visited us
when " " "

on Sunday that " " "
* when " " "

when he visited us was Sunday

(* the time) " " " " " "

where he lives is Boston

(* the place) " " " " "

the only condition under which I will go is if you drive

NB

left 5

11/5/65

his
Every
* No
Any

The one thing I did was build the house

only
best
first
2nd
i

best
first

} to build

the finest thing he's been doing is working w/ stem kids.

2 things
a/1 thing

all I did was go home

do

11/5/65

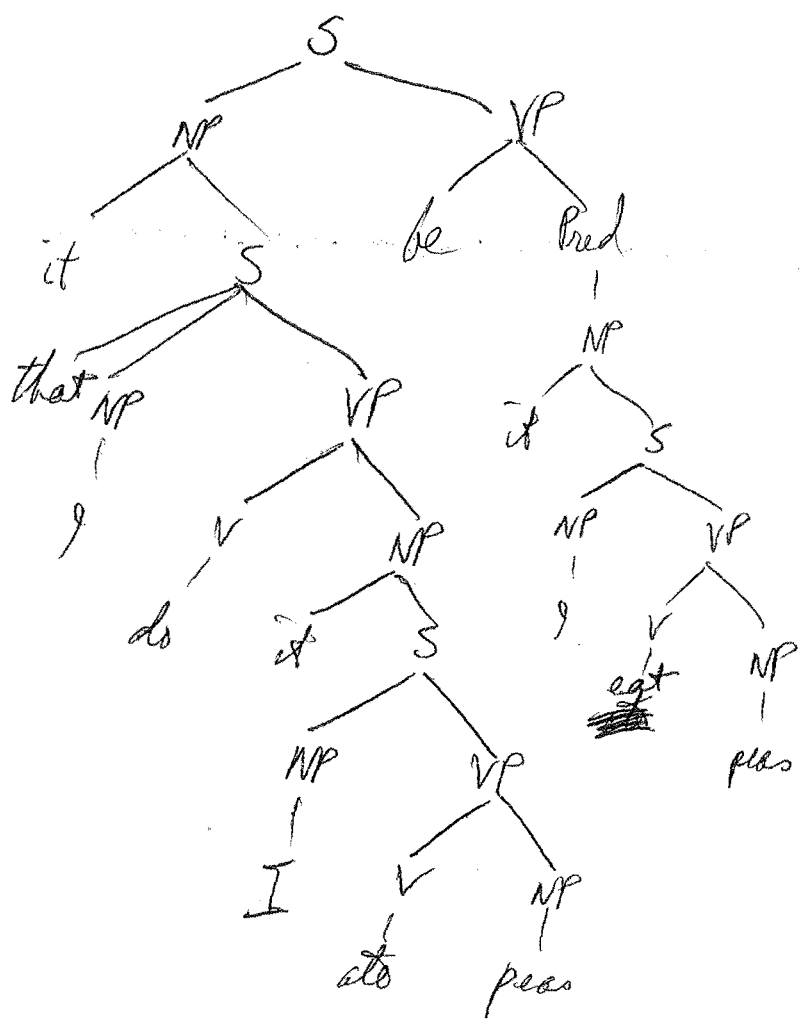
It was [pleas]_{NP} that I ate.
 [what]_{NP} was it that I ate?

NB (that) (to)
 one thing he did was build a house
 the something I've always wanted to do is build a house
 (that)

It was [go home] that he wanted to do.

[What]_{NP} was it that he wanted to do?

Therefore go home ~~here~~ here must also be a NP



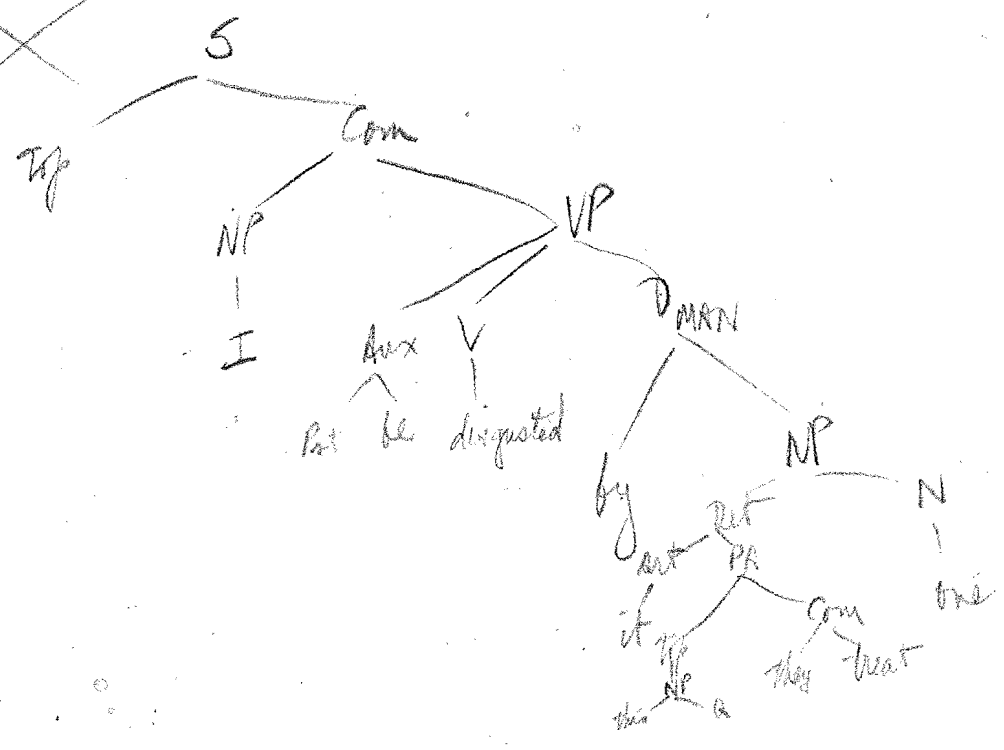
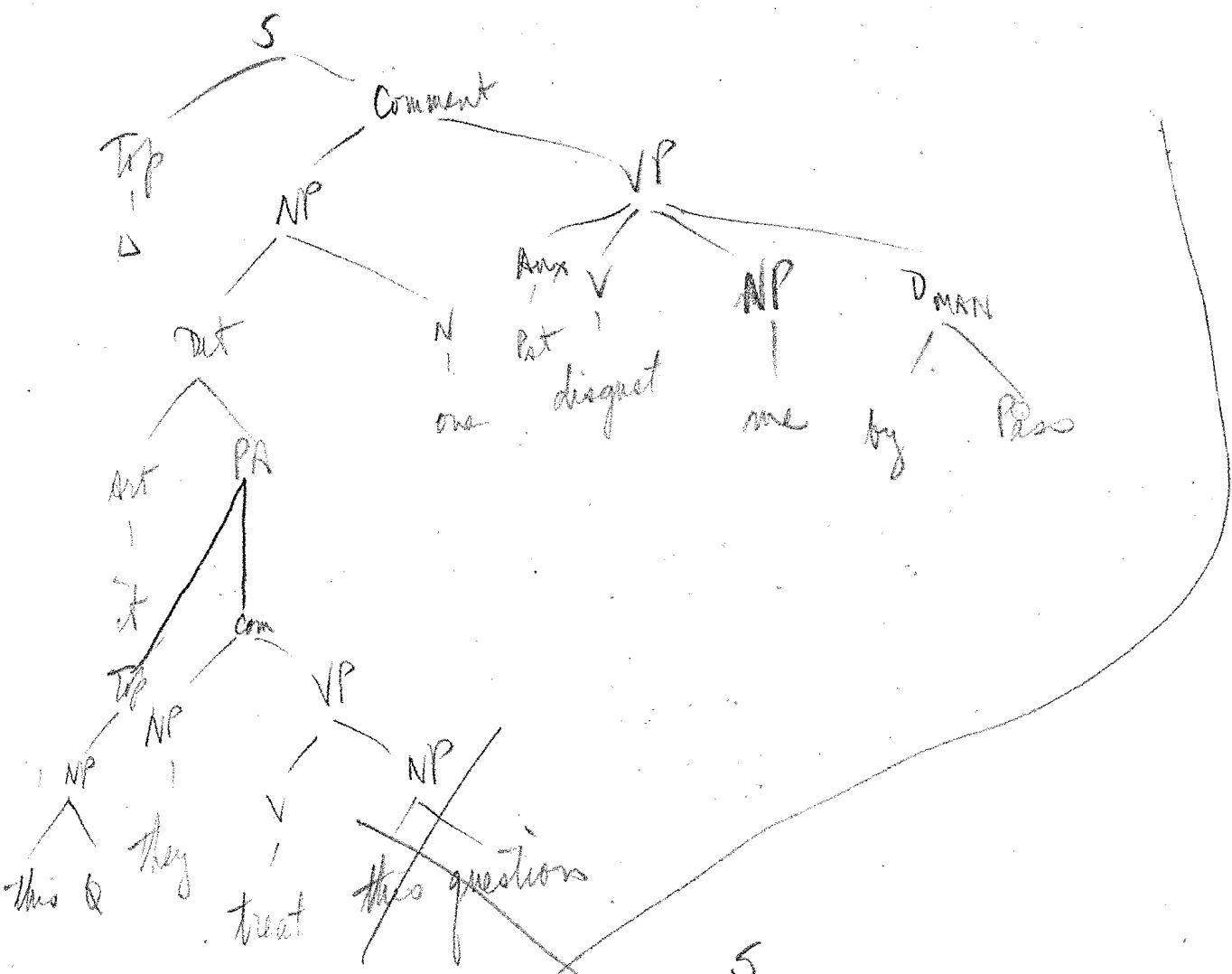
NB —
 It shouldn't be possible to extrapose over [it S]

NB also:
 Why is this ∇ ?
 It was that he left that I forgot
 The clause that he left should not be a NP anymore — ~~the~~ it is gone of a house which I forgot that he had to...

10/27/00

(Topic)

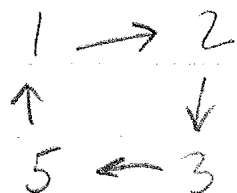
? it was this question that) was disgusted by their treatment of



Wang's Problem

8/22/65

Tone Sandhi in Mandarin(?)



	B	
A		
	+	-
+	1	2
-	5	3

$$[+B] \rightarrow [-B] / [\overline{+A}]$$

$$[-B] \rightarrow [+B] / [\overline{-A}]$$

$$[\alpha B] \rightarrow [-\alpha B] / [\overline{\alpha A}]$$

i.e.
$$\begin{bmatrix} \alpha A \\ \alpha B \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-\alpha B]$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} \alpha A \\ -\alpha B \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-\alpha A]$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} \alpha A \\ \alpha B \\ -\alpha B \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow -\alpha \begin{bmatrix} B \\ A \\ 1 \end{bmatrix}$$

$$[\alpha \beta A] \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\alpha A \\ -\beta B \end{bmatrix}$$

- $\alpha \beta$
- + + +A \rightarrow 2
 - + - -A \rightarrow 1
 - + -A \rightarrow 5
 - - +A \rightarrow 3

Hooray

$$\begin{bmatrix} \alpha A \\ \beta B \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \beta A \\ -\alpha B \end{bmatrix}$$

- 1 \rightarrow 2
- 2 \rightarrow 3
- 5 \rightarrow 1
- 3 \rightarrow 5

Case Marking

8/14/65

How's Ed explain

Him I like.

but Who do you like?

in the same dialect

In Latin, the fact that hij is permutable w/ other elements when est is gone, not otherwise, suggests that S is deleted when est goes.

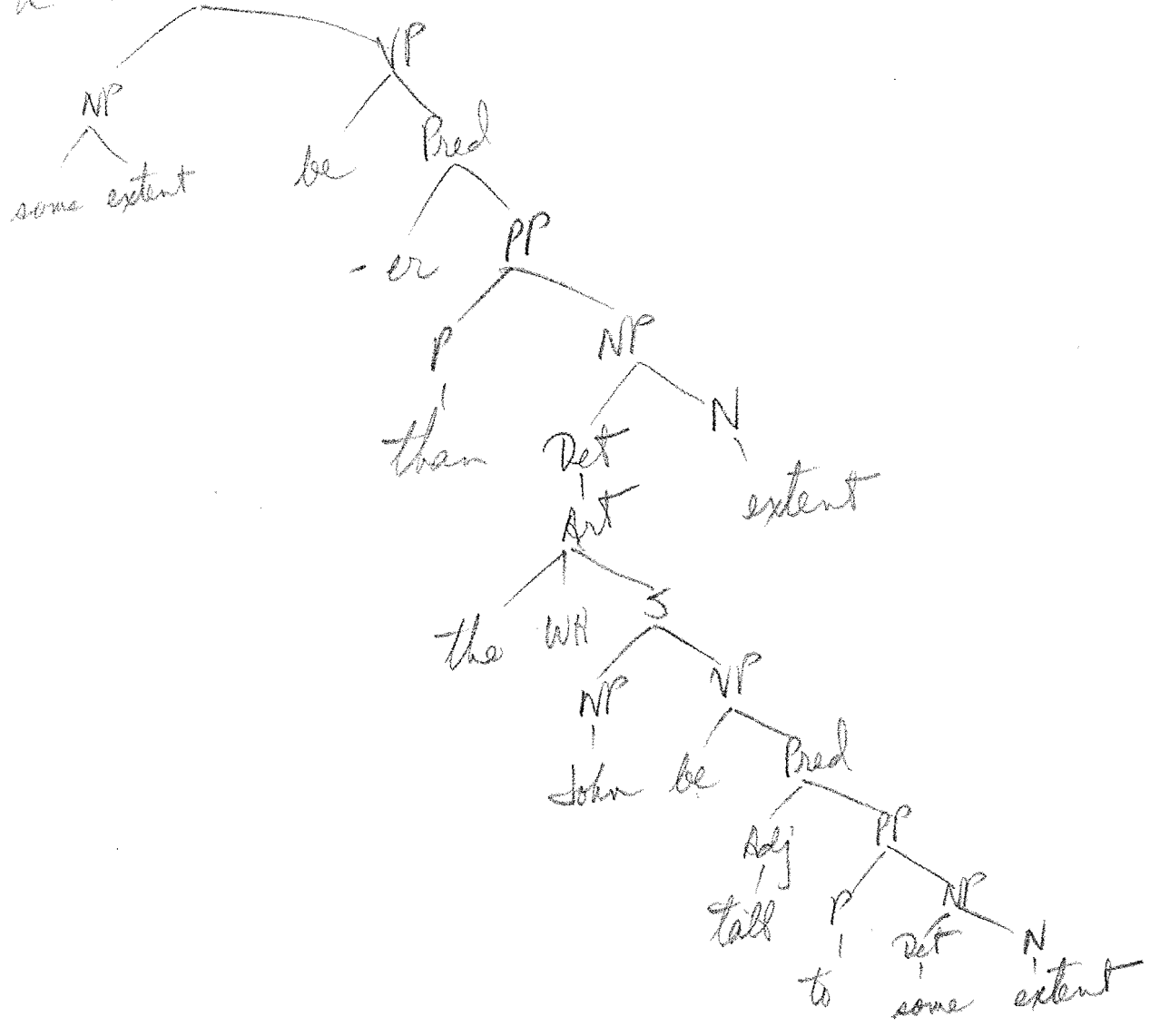
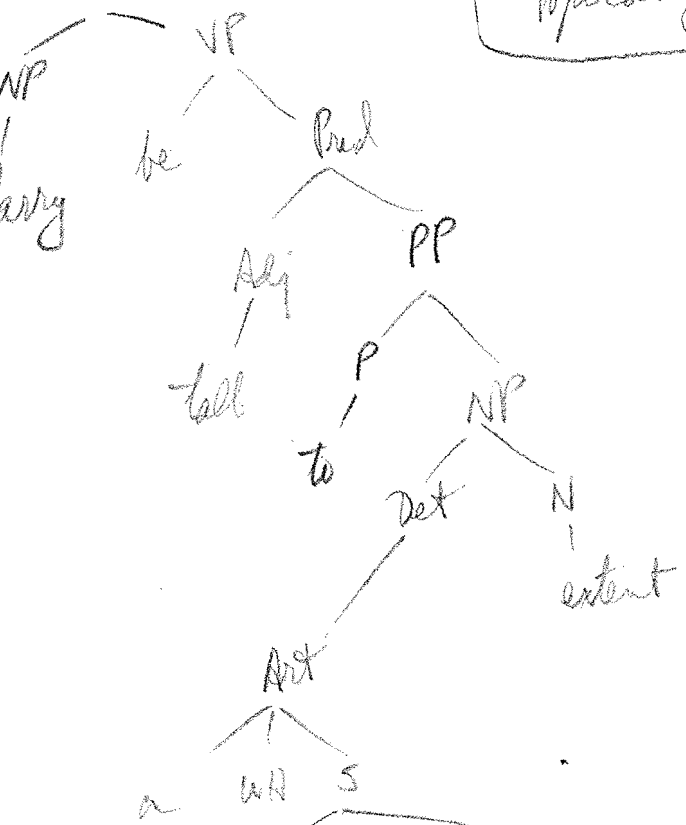
homo amat puellam quas bella erat
↑
won't permute

homo bellam amat puellam
/ \
comes from here

Topicalization

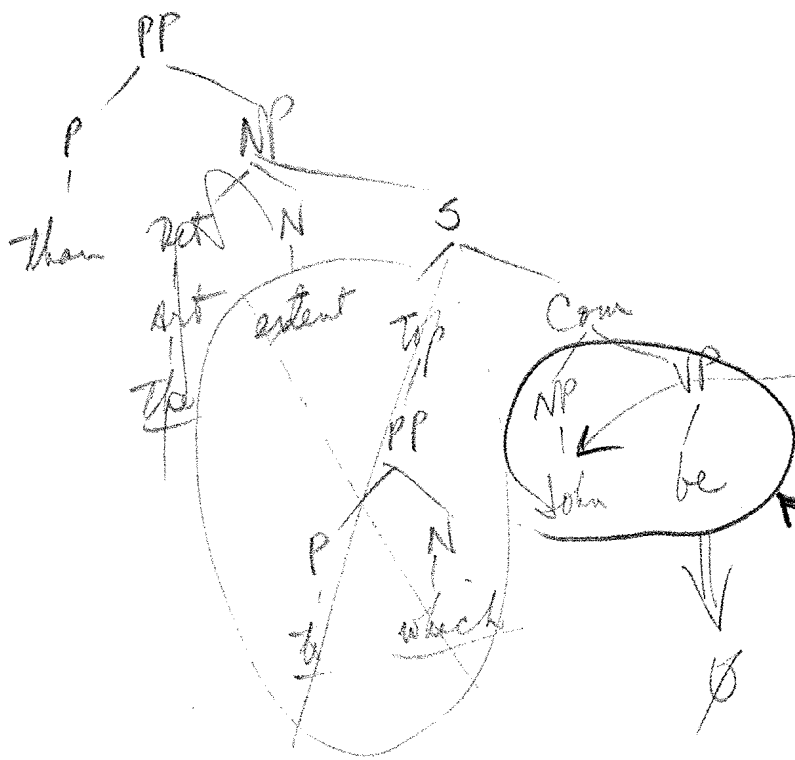
8/19/65

p. 1



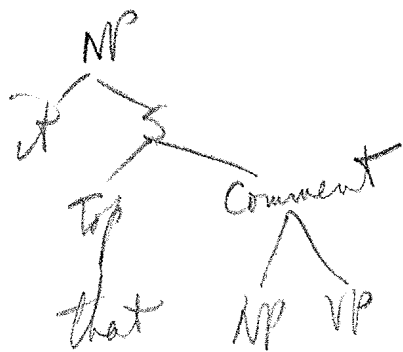
Topicalization

8/19/65



Unless be is deleted AoverA blocks this from being topicalized. But why can't this (the whole thing) be topicalized? Mystery

How about stating the rule as follows — you can't prepose things out of a complex NP?



A letter which I wrote + sent off + was received probably out

NB - 2 things gone!

2/8/65

Definitely out - this means Klima's right - these don't come from

It was this letter which I wrote + it was this letter which was received



a letter which you wrote and was received

accessible

6/25/65

p. 1

to { study ? personal
 observation
 inspection ? solution
 investigation ? manipulation
 scrutiny
 ? inquiry
 ? question

{ flattery

to { the general reader
 us by rail

These phenomena are accessible to
 statistical { description
 formulation?
 treatment
 handling

computers are accessible to
 use by trained personnel

{ These books are accessible to study by seminar members

Seminar members can { access
 have access } to (e) it [NML [seminar members] study these books]
 NP S NP S NP

? Professors have access to the investigation of such facts by res. assts.

accessible

6/25/65 p.2

1 they can access to $\left[\underset{NP}{it} \left[\underset{S}{NML\ they\ study\ these\ books} \right] \right] \underset{NP}{by\ Pass}$

2 " " study of these books by them " "
 \downarrow
 3 " " \emptyset "

4 study of these books is accessible to by them

5 these books are accessible to study by them

Maybe better to do it in one fell swoop from this.

Multiple Q and Contrastive Stress

6/21/65

who said what? 213 ↓
 John said what? 221 ↑

must be emphasized, □ ⊃ rising inton.

{ who } gave { what } to { whom }? 213 ↓
 { *John } { *the book } { *Mary }

(NB— if something is contrastively stressed, and it's a Q, then the intonation stays high up to the end of the S)

but how about Who gave her what?

Rule: □ ⊃ emphasis unless ⊃ unbroken string of wh-words from L to R

? Rel c's don't count: ? who, ^{among the people} who you know, said what?

NB: it only seems ◇ to have one emphasized wh-word per S

⊃ John said what? ⊄ *John said { what why }?

⊃ who said that? ⊄ * who ate what?

? OK ⊃ who ate what? ← maybe this is OK in the mg. "You want to know what people ate what things?"

Multiple Q and Contrastive Stress

Q's in a rel. cl can only be w/ emphasis 6/22/65

He bought the car from a man who shot who(m)? ↑

The cheese which who ate was bad? ↑

NB: rising intonation □.

Indef + Q + Neg + Exclamation

6/20/65

what I wouldn't give for a piece of ass! - I would give anything for

↑
in order for me to
have

where I wouldn't go to see a Chaplin movie! - I would go anywhere

who I wouldn't talk to if I could help you! - I would talk to anyone

NB: D_{PURP} is required in all these constructions, so maybe I link betw. if (in some sense) and

D_{PURP}

No! It seems rather that this for to stuff is a reflex of if in this environment.

How I'd work to get to NY! - I would work to get to NY

* " " wouldn't " "

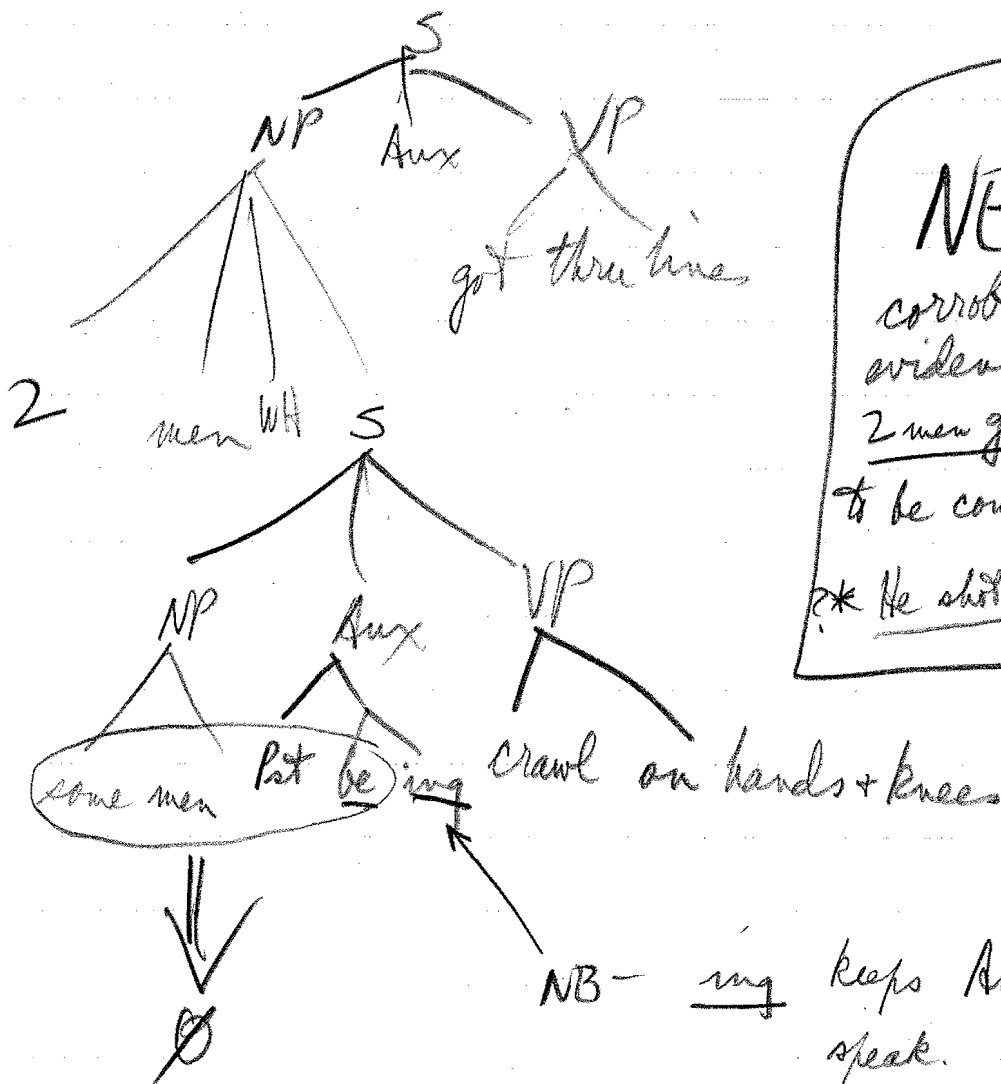
NB

Howbont S's like

Two men { found the children
got through the lines } crawling on their hands + knees
bait the trap

∴ this is to be derived by Extrap, why doesn't the node S vanish when who is ⇒ ∅ ?

Maybe because S still branches



NB
corroboratory
evidence
2 men gambling seems
to be complex, e.g.
* He shot 2 men gambling
down

extrap of ing Rel Cls

6/18/65

p.2

Maybe the opposite is the case wrt to passive
Rel Cls. Actually, there's no strong motivation yet
for attaching beten to VP or Aux

It certainly seems that Ven is an Adj -
it must permute if alone

We captured several men ordered to spy by him.

We killed several recaptured prisoner

	1	2
*	2	1

Extrap. blocking

6/18/65

I said (that) [it that he came]_{NP} had surp. me.



** It was it that I said had surp. me that he came

⇒ it was that he came that I said had surp. me.

I said (that) [evidence that he killed her]_{NP} will be given

⇒ it was evidence that he killed her that I said will be given

⊕ ** It was evidence that I said will be given that
[he killed her]

NB — Extrap block if an [NS]_{NP} has been clefted

??

Cleft 5 in Rel cl

6/18/65 p.1

∃ restrictions on cleft 5 in rel cls and sub cls

- * It was the Phila orch. which it was Armandy who conducted
- * He sent me a book which it was John who read.

NB ∃ He left, because it was just that book which he wanted to read.

{ I shot the buffalo outside }
{ He put the book outside } ⇒

* He put the book where it was { I who shot the buffalo }
 { the buffalo that I shot }
 { the buffalo was what I shot }

Why OK??

He would leave if it had been the buffalo that I had shot.

NB also [He {ran away} {left}] { although, even though } { despite the fact that } { I was I who shot her }
 { since }
 { whereas }

why? → { but }
{ and }
{ * or }

∃ (when all along)

Cleft 5 in Rel Cls

1.2
6/18/65

	during the time {when}	
	while {at which}	
* He broke the dishes	at the time {when}	{ * it was her who I shot } { ⇒ shot her }
	when	
	after	
	before	
	since	
He has broken dishes		
He didn't break the dishes	until	

But NB

He broke the dishes after Tom said it was his brother they were searching for.

Also It was him that Tom said it was {who} {they were searching for} {that}

But ? ≠ It was my brother (that it was)ⁿ who I shot
1

German

p. 1

6/18/65

Surmise (look wrong - schiß)

{ Set of V_{intr} which } = { Set of all V_{intr} }
{ have funny passives } = { w/ inner obj. }

es wurde getanzt

= einen komischen Tanz tanzen

^ " geschaffen

= * " tiefen Schlafen schlafen

* " " gekommen

= * eine X Kluft kommen

Relative Clauses w/o Deletion

June 9, 1965

He is another of those men who all they have is work

??* I got a letter from my brother, who, after he left, nobody did any work.

?* The book which I asked where you put it.

(Extraposition)

5/28/65¹

Maybe sub. cls. at the end of a S are stuck there by Extrap - maybe this T can apply twice

∃ that he is scared was obvious because he was trembling

∃ it " " that he is scared " "

∅ [it was obvious because he was trembling that he is scared]

This thing is OK, of course, but only in the way that

We elected pres the man Kil

is OK, i.e., by means of length inversion.

So maybe Extrap

Extraposition

p. 2

5/28/65

Maybe Extrap doesn't work over a NP

1. This would explain cases like prove, demonstrate, etc.
2. " " " why rel. cl. postposition is only for intransitive V. (also in German)
3. This could be so only if the argument that Flipflop has applied in cases like

surprise, amaze, etc and obvious, evident, etc.
(also beneficial, profitable)
is right. Then the order of rules would be
Extrap
Flipflop (maybe Passive is a special case)

cf \exists A bridge was blown up by a man
which crossed the river at
Amsterg.

Ambig
(I think)

An old woman was shot down by a Vopo who was stealing an apple

Extraposition

p.3

5/28/65

Problems w/ anal. suggested on p.2

Why \exists

I gave a gun to the police which had recently been fired

Answer (yay!)

Extrap doesn't work over a $[V(P) NP Y]_{VP}$
although it will work over $[X NP Y]_{VP}$

Order of Rules

5/16/65

Maybe it has to be

Extrap

Topic shift

Topicalization

because of

? A book which it surprised me for you to be able to find.
but $\Phi\Phi$ * " " " for you to be able to find surprised me.

Φ * the clothes which that I wore surprised you

? the " " it surprised you (*^{that}) I wore.

V-V Selection

5/16/65

I have to be able to come

⊘ * I am able to have to come

I planned for the rat to have to press this bar to get food

⊘ I was able to plan for the rat to have to press this bar to get food

NB - this seems to indicate that Postal's conjecture about selections only being between "adjacent" verbs is correct.

Topicalization of NEG
indef

5/13/65

* It was \exists {no} man who saw him
 {some} man who he saw
 {nobody} who we gave the book to
 {each girl}
 {neither of us}
 ? all of them
 \$ everybody
 {for}
 most boys

It was {my many friends} who came
 {the 2 boys}

but

? It was for no reason that we did it

0. Underlying Str (tree)

1. Why?

It was I that it was
who you saw

- 2. NB - # clefts in rel. cls.
 - 3. Subj - Aux Inversion
- Problems in Topicalization

pondering
rel. cl.
Geis's
example

I. Cyclical or Not?

has to be cyclical clefts w/i
clefts, rel cla w/i rel cl.
Q's w/in Q's.

II. A over A A. State

B. Evidence for B. I want you to eat this

- 1. NP+NP
- 2. Rel. Cl. + N_g that S
- 3. NA → AN
- 4. Let's Rule
- 5. German Rule

B. Evidence against

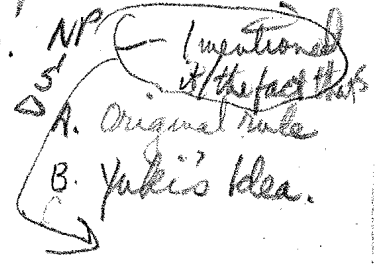
- 1. NP+NP is more general
it would be odd S+S.
- 2. AN - wrong formulation

III. Ed's Idea

i. Node Deletion

- 0. big old hat
- 1. Extrap
- 2. bit
- 3. than
- 4. Latin
- 5. AP (N's) Ving

Examples



NB reflexive examples

III. i. D. Reflexives

- a. picture of
- b. key for but not key in

told them her story abt me
 showed them her picture of me
 a pic of myself

c. I was aware of them ^{NP} washing the cat
 washing ~~myself~~ the cat

d. Suggests modification - (disjunctive deletion rule)

e. Differences

I mentioned that he had seen me

the man who I mentioned (that) he had seen ^{*myself}

a plan which I discussed their rejection of
 * " " " " of myself

ii My idea :



IV Modal T

- A. That sentences
- B. For to + ing examples

V Adverbs that don't topicalize

- A. 1. altho, since, unless, inasmuch as, insofar as
2. after, before, since, ~~when/where~~ until, if instead of
- B. \$ substitution
- C. Ambig w/ not
- D. Comp w/ force, help, cause, have

Topicalization

5/13/65

◇ argument for getting wh 5 is X from
P is X that 5 instead of vice versa as ESK

suggests:

Not all of these have this variant

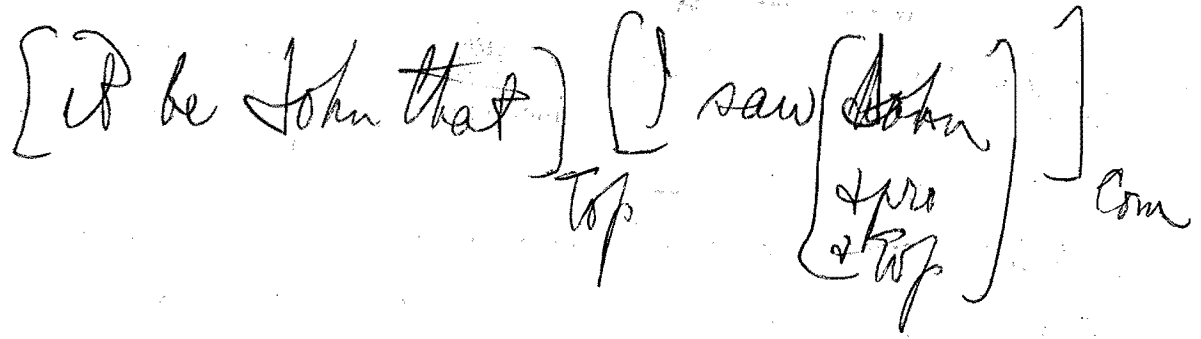
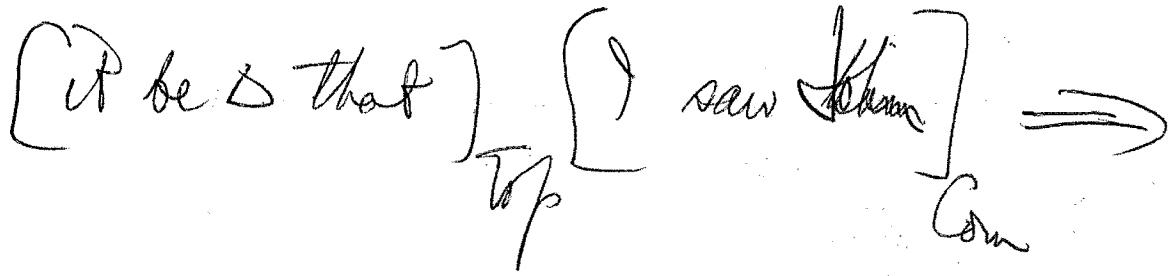
∃ It was for this reason that we came.
\$* why we came was for that reason.

But NB ∃ it was because it rained that we left
∃ why we left was because it rained.
?? ∃ Because it rained was why we left

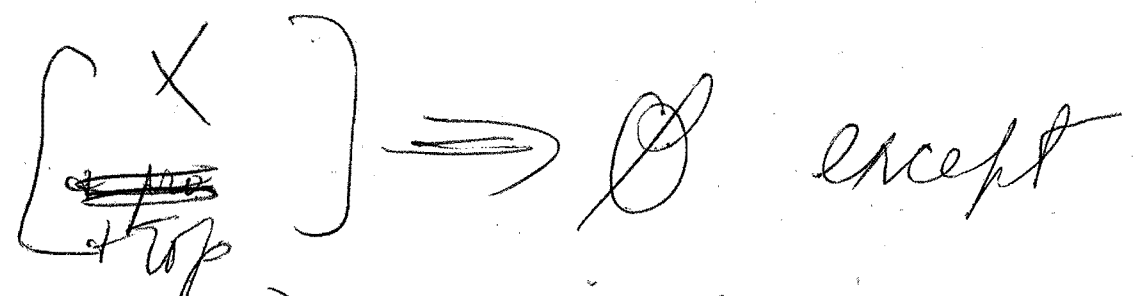
∃ Why we left was only because it rained.
?∃ Only because it rained was why we left.

Maybe topicalization works like this

- 1. Some prepositional const is duplicated under Top and the feature +pro is left behind



Then \exists rule



in certain environments

It was that man $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{that} \\ \text{who} \end{array} \right\}$ the box was too heavy for
him to carry.

It was that brown suit that he killed her when he was wearing it
 OVER

Topicalization

5/11/65 p.1

Can topics stop halfway to the top in English?

Yes, sometimes

It was the problem that I preferred to try to solve

I would prefer it to be this problem that I tried to solve

I could prove it was cyclical in English if I could show that you never got topicalization 2 S's up when you don't get it 1 S up.

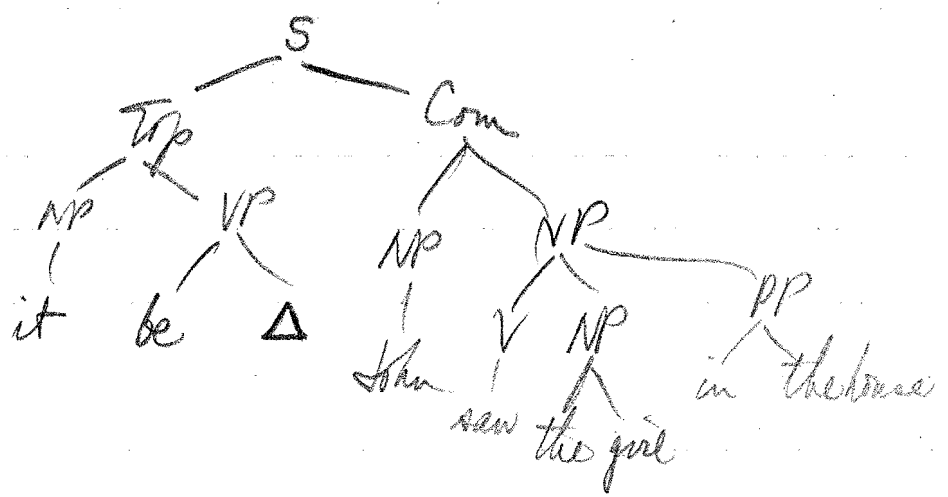
How about the rules

S → (Top) Com

Com → NP VP

Top → NP VP

then filter out everything here except I'm [be Δ] VP



Topicalization

Why so good?

10. THE MMR

? Tom tried for it to be at 6 that he arrived 5/11/65

3 Tps It was at 4 o'clock that I asked Mary to persuade Tom to go

2 Tps I asked Mary for it to be at 4 o'clock that she persuaded (d?) Tom to go

1 Tps I asked Mary to persuade Tom for it to be 4 o'clock that he went (go?)

*I kept it being at 6 that I left

?? We began for it to be at 6 that we left

NB

Fantastic insight!

∅ * I asked Mary for Tom to go
∅ " " " for it to be Tom that she visited
∅ " " " " " " " " Dad visited

∅ * I asked Mary for it to be the book that burnt up

? I asked Mary for it to be {her} who went

I'm going to ask you for it to be you who goes

Topicalization

5/11/65

4 Tops It was this problem that I wanted to watch you try (ing) to solve

3 Tops I wanted it to be this problem that I watched you try (ing) to solve

2 Tops * I wanted to watch it be (ing) this problem that you tried to solve,

? * n " " " " this problem be (ing) what you tried to solve

1 Top ? I wanted to watch you try (ing) for it to be this problem that you solve

2 Tops It was this problem that I watched him solve }
ing }

1 Top ? * I watched (it be (ing) this problem that he solved
{ this problem be (ing) what " " }

No good - watch requires doing something ✓

* I watched him { be (ing) tall
existing
know the answer }

YAY!

Rosenbaum's Principle

5/11/65

Example from Bierwisch (via Klima):

ich bitte Sie, gehen zu { dürfen → ich gehe
wollen ← Sie gehen

Bitte in English -

ask
beg
request
?enjoin
??beseech

(of) you { to be { ^{kept} restrained, excused } from going ← I go
permitted }
allowed to go } ← I go
to go { ^{?enabled} }
^{made} } ← you go
^{?assisted, helped} }
^{aided} }

to be { forced } to go ← you go ?
≡ { persuaded }

to be compelled to go ← I go
maybe ambiguous?

I beg of you { to be interested in going } ← you go

WH

capture croox

croox escape

the croox whose { capture / escape } I planned

4/27/65

"last NP" won't do:

∃ some mud which I got to make { mud pies / pies out of }
(in order)

but ? ∃ a man who I called up to tell that I was leaving

?? ∃ a college which I moved to Brookline for you to be able to go to.

than

** The bus which he walks to school more often than he takes

?? ∃ They hired a pitcher who I can hit better than

? ∃ there's nobody on the team who I can't hit better than.

? # The cheese which I want John to go more than I want you to buy

Thought

How about having the rule

NP \rightarrow (es) S in the PS

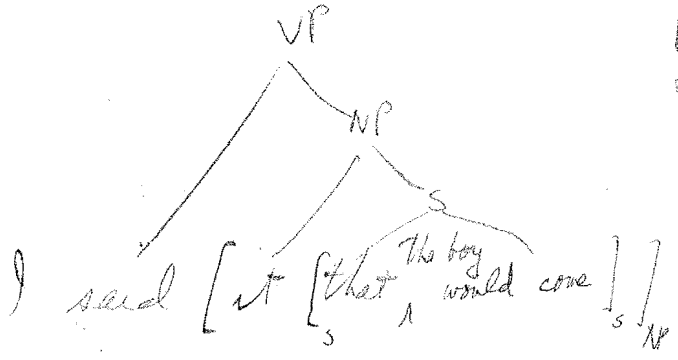
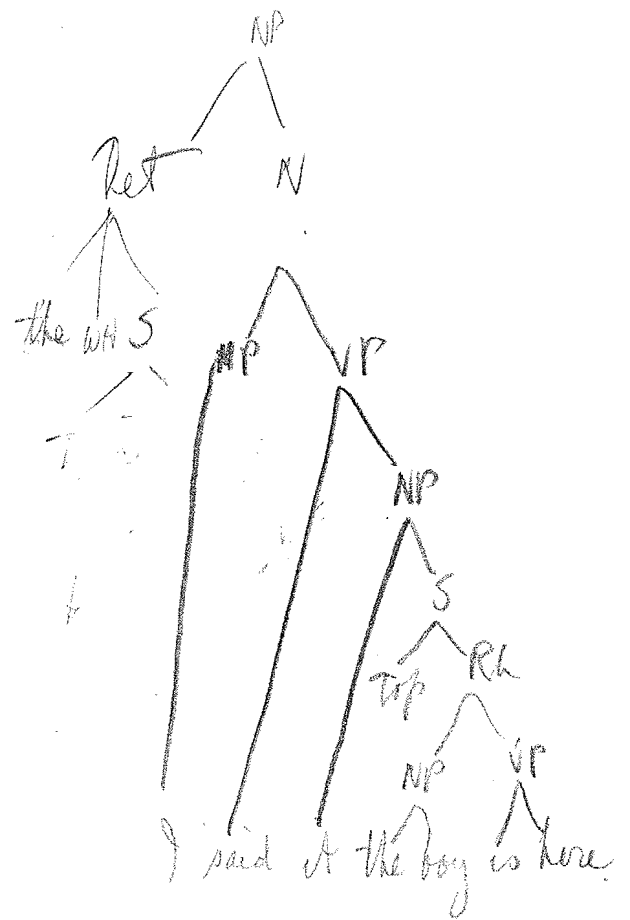
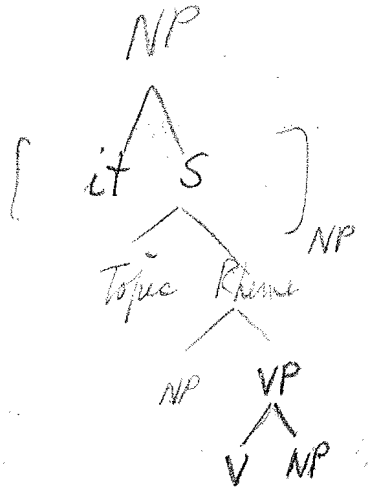
and getting rid of es-deletion?

[This would make Extrap oblig, thus getting
rid of the BLOCKS] condition in the rule.

NO ich habe vers, das zu tun

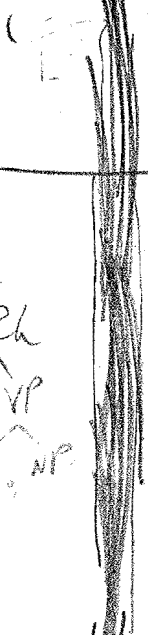
T5 would be OBLIG

✓



ich habe ihn (vergessen) zu tun sein.

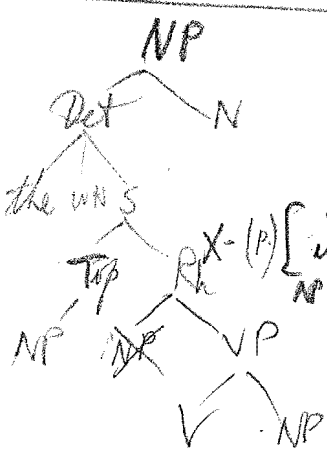
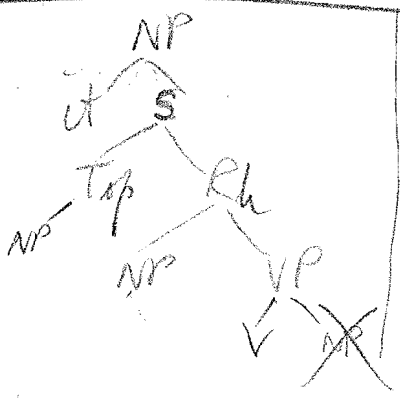
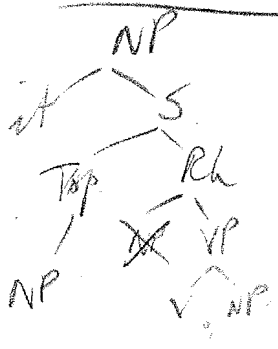
⊘



⊘

⊘

The work Top is to avoid A lower A



Topic Shift

[_s Top - Rh] - Y
 1 2 3 4 5 ⇒
 1-4-2-3-0-5
 where VP > 3+5

WHY?

ich habe es angefangen, das Haus zu bauen (2E)

4/30/65 (p. 2a)

1st 2nd

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1. DNA | 1. \emptyset |
| 2. \emptyset | 2. \emptyset |
| 3. $\Sigma \rightarrow \emptyset$ | 3. $\Sigma \rightarrow \emptyset$ |
| 4. DNA | 4. \exists OBLIG [das ... bauen] \rightarrow |

not OBL, but if not

NP
 $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{es} \\ \text{3} \end{array} \right\}$ won't prepose

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} A \\ B \end{array} \right\}$ (3E) top

das Haus zu bauen habe ich angefangen (2 derivs)

- (A)
- | | | | |
|------------|----------------------------|------------|------------------------------------|
| <u>1st</u> | 1. DNA | <u>2nd</u> | 1. \exists OBLIG |
| | 2. \leftarrow [das Haus] | | 2. \leftarrow [das ... zu bauen] |
| | 3. \emptyset | | 3. \emptyset |
| | 4. DNA | | 4. \emptyset |

- (B)
- | | | | |
|------------|-----------------------------------|------------|--------------------------------------|
| <u>1st</u> | 1. DNA | <u>2nd</u> | 1. $\text{es} \rightarrow \emptyset$ |
| | 2. \emptyset | | 2. \leftarrow [das ... bauen] |
| | 3. $\Sigma \rightarrow \emptyset$ | | 3. \emptyset |
| | 4. DNA | | 4. \emptyset |

* das Haus zu bauen habe ich es angefangen

Won't be derived, because if \exists es, then [das Haus zu bauen]₅ won't be a NP, although it is an S. The Prepose rule
blox if NP = es S

HURRAY!

Sentence 9 Das Haus zu bauen anzufangen habe ich versucht

Presumably, this should be stressable in 4 distinct ways

ASK PAUL The rules produce 4 distinct derivations:

	A	B	C	D
1st	3. ← [das Haus]	same	3. Ⓟ	3. Ⓟ
2nd	1. OPT 2. C/I 3. ← [[das Haus] zu bauen] _ε 4. Ⓟ	1. OPT 2. C/I 3. Ⓟ 4. Ⓟ	1. OPT 2. C/I 3. ← [das Haus zu bauen] _{VP} 4. Ⓟ	1. OPT 2. C/I 3. Ⓟ 4. Ⓟ
3rd	1. OPT 2. C/I 3. ← [[[das Haus] zu bauen] anfangen] _ε 4. Ⓟ	1. OPT 2. C/I 3. ← [] _ε 4. Ⓟ	1. OPT 2. C/I 3. ← [[das Haus zu bauen] anfangen] _{VP} 4. Ⓟ	1. OPT 2. C/I 3. ← [] _{VP} 4. Ⓟ
	Top-Top-Top	Top-~ -Top	~ -Top-Top	~ - ~ -Top

Sentence 10 Das Haus anzufangen zu bauen habe ich versucht

I provide only one derivation - is there more than one stress possibility

ASK PAUL

1st	3. ← [das Haus]	2nd	1. OPT 2. C/I 3. ← [das Haus] 4. [zu bauen] →	3rd	1. OPT 2. C/I 3. ← [[das Haus] anfangen [zu bauen]] _ε 4. Ⓟ
Top-Top Ex-Top					

Sentence 13

Ich habe das Haus zu bauen anzufangen versucht.

Again, \exists 4 distinct derivations, and there should be 4 distinct stresses

ASK Paul

	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>
<u>1st</u>	3. ← [das Haus]	same	3. ⌀	3. ⌀
<u>2nd</u>	1. OPT 2. C/1 3. ← [[das Haus] zub.] 4. ⌀	1. OPT 2. C/1 3. ⌀ 4. ⌀	1. OPT 2. C/1 3. ← [das Haus zub.] 4. ⌀	1. OPT 2. C/1 3. ⌀ 4. ⌀
<u>3rd</u>	1. OPT 2. C/1 3. ⌀ 4. ⌀	same	same	same
	Top-Top-~	Top-~-~	~-Top-~	~-~-~

Sentence 14

Ich habe das Haus versucht zu bauen anzufangen

Only one derivation

<u>1st</u>	3. ← [das Haus]	<u>2nd</u>	1. OPT 2. C/1 3. ← [das Haus] _ε 4. ⌀	<u>3rd</u>	1. ↑ [das Haus] _ε 2. DNA 3. ⌀ 4. [zu bauen anzufangen] →
	Top-Top-TS Ex				

E

Sentences which Rules E will generate

4/30/65

(p. 5)

Sentence 15 | Ich habe das Haus versucht anzufangen zu bauen

One deriv

1st 3. \leftarrow [das Haus]

2nd

1. OPT

2. C/1

3. \leftarrow [das Haus]_E

4. [zu bauen] \rightarrow

3rd

1. \uparrow [das Haus]_E

2. DNA

3. Φ

4. [anzufangen zu bauen] \rightarrow

Top-Top Ex - TS Ex

Sentence 16 | A Ich habe { das Haus zu bauen } versucht anzufangen
B { das Haus zu bauen }

Two derivations

A

1st 3. \leftarrow [das Haus]

B

3. Φ

2nd 1. OPT

2. C/1

3. \leftarrow [[das Haus]_E zu bauen]

4. Φ

1. OPT

2. C/1

3. \leftarrow [das Haus zu bauen]_{VP}

4. Φ

3rd 1. \uparrow [[das Haus]_E zu bauen]_E

2. DNA

3. Φ

4. [anzufangen] \rightarrow

1. \uparrow [[_{VP} das Haus zu bauen]_{VP}]_E

2. DNA

3. Φ

4. [anzufangen] \rightarrow

Top-Top-TS Ex

~ - Top - TS Ex