

(or and Q)

10/18/70

\* when did [anybody] [John or Bob] leave?

when did she ever kiss John or Bob?

N Incorporation

10/18/70

\* blätterlos // o \* grünblätlos

and suggests a) that plural is a constituent

b) that blätlos is formed by incorporation

10/20/70

Notice what happens when we further compound compounds

1 2  
slave state  $\neq$  2 1  
slave labor

But 1 3 2 slave state worship = 1 3 2 slave labor worship

$[[ [S_1 S_2] ]_W]$   
1 2 1  
1 3 2

$[[ [S_1 L] ]_W]$   
2 1 1  
3 1 2

or 1 2 3 ?

The fact that this exists shows that it would be wrong to say that this is an NP: full NP's don't incorporate - only bare N's.

Substantivization and Qo

10/19/70

invigoration, if it exists at all, can only  
be a causative:

\* John's invigoration was achieved electrically

Therefore, we predict \*

\* Her doubts as to John's invigoration were justified.

# Gemination in English

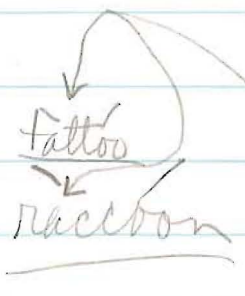
10/70

Three arguments for this:

(1)  $\nexists$ \* Agatha

(2)  $\nexists$ \* [æ...]

(3)  $\nexists$ \* ræθʊn, paralleling ræθʊn



Not too strong because maybe this is from a /æ/

All this can be explained by saying \*/θθ/.  
A solution which did not use geminate would need two statements.



Derivational Segments

10/70

# palatals /  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \_ \\ \text{+Rim} \end{array} \right]$

exc arch rival  
enemy

but archiphoneme

10/23/70  
Notice that #  
stops this regularly:  
hash / gestional  
= =

# palatals /  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \_ \\ \text{+Rim} \end{array} \right] \text{V}$

exc  $\overset{\text{V}}{\text{ʃ}} \text{u} -$  assure  
etc

$\overset{\text{V}}{\text{tʃ}} \text{e} / \text{a}$  charge  
champ

$\overset{\text{V}}{\text{j}} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{-back} \\ \text{-low} \end{array} \right]$   
agility  
allege etc

chastly  
change  
charity

Exc  
cherish

Output condition on any

10/23/70

NB:  $\nexists$  "fake" negation for  
anyone would have helped

(\* anyone would not have helped)

This means that the OC is a stupid  
one — there doesn't have to be a connection  
between the Neg and the any.

Why then is this bad?

That anyone had left is what I didn't say

How about this?

\* That anyone was here isn't what I said  
doubted

It's not that stupid after all.

"fake" negatives and polarity

10/23/70

what I don't claim is (not) that she kissed anyone

If this is just "fake", how come this?

10/24/70

Maybe what happens is this:

Cyclically, any are let through

(cyclically because of Paul's Ss that anyone had left seemed to me to be doubtful)

Ss

Then a stupid OC throws out some more

Which and?

10/70

For some insane reason, rhetorical Q's w/ which are out:

\* Which do you do about that?

Aw let him go - { what did he do wrong?  
\* which }

10/24/70

But there is one rhetorical-feeling type of Q with which:

Which do you think I took?  
\* }

Why why why?



OC on this/that

10/70

These guys never occur in the possessive:

Thus A. \*  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{this's} \\ \text{that's} \end{array} \right]$  destruction

B. \* We talked about this's being the case

C. \* A defect of these's

Since  $\exists$  at least 3 distinct sources of Poss, an OC is  $\square$ .



# Backward gapping

10/15/70

Since getting rid of  $\neq$ -clause-mates is  
OBL in forward gapping, the fact that  $\exists$  both

Er schriel die Namen und ich <sup>(schriel)</sup> die Adressen auf  
—

shows that backwards gapping  $\neq$  forwards gapping

Conj Qs

10/9/70

fact from George's class, relayed by Paul

Newbauer:

I don't know { what  
which } Sam ate - (whether) apples or pears

I have no idea { which  
\*what } Sam ate - apples or pears



Inner Islands

10/70

the man that he has (\*it) become



headway

10/5/70

The (amount of) headway that I <sup>[expected</sup> ~~\*doubled~~ <sub>\*was surprised]</sub>

that you would make

//s

The way in which I <sup>[\*didn't]</sup> solve the  
problem



# Alphabet Soups + Names

10/5/70

Facts from Richie Carter:

1. You're a good city, { Boston  
\*(the) Hague  
?(the) Bronx }

2. The name of that is { Mars  
\*(the) Moon }

3. Its name is { IBM  
\*(the) FBI }





Alphabet soups and The

9/21/70

- (11) Cars are the - the <sup>c.f. (3)</sup> VW/BMW/DKW
- (12) Machines are the - the TFX/SST/PDP/LTD
- (13) Stations are  $\emptyset$  <sup>+ networks</sup> - CBS/WJZ/NBC etc  
But - the BBC
- (14) Courses + majors are  $\emptyset$  - (I'm taking) <sup>c.f. (5)</sup> ROTC/OS/PE
- (15) Degrees are the - the Ph.D./MA/BA/LLD
- (16) Chemicals are  $\emptyset$  - DDT/H2O/LSD/STP/TNT
- (17) Sports (?) are the - the ERA/RBI
- (18) Count 'N' (VW, BLT, RBI, Ph.D., SST, etc) are the, mass N (Bo, TNT, etc) are  $\emptyset$  (but why the EMF?)  
<sup>PCV/UFO</sup>
- (19) D(em) A(ction) G(roup) - I think it would mean different things w/ and w/o the
- (20) Books are  $\emptyset$  - SPE/CILT/RIPL/LST
- (21) Odd the's - the GNP/BLT/G&T/ECG/SOS/SOB/EMF  
odd  $\emptyset$ 's - EST/DST/ANOL <sup>PX</sup>
- (22) Initials are  $\emptyset$  - LBJ/FDR/HHH/FAS/HST

Alphabet Soups and the

9/21/70

(23) Armies etc are the - the USMC/USAF/USN

(24) Ships are the - the HMSP (napere)  
(count N)

(25) Cities are  $\emptyset$  - LA/NY(C)



Alphabet Soup + The

9/21/70

The - goes with grandfalloons?  
big deals?

O

why aren't  
there big  
deals?

- ~~Cars~~
- ~~Machines~~
- Count N
- Countries
- Organizations
- Agencies
- (Newspapers)
- Armies

- Businesses
- Stations + networks
- Courses + majors
- Colleges
- groups
- Magazines
- Small (political?) groups
- initials
- Cities

small  
non-mat

Minimal pairs: GWHS ← help  
 { PA / UCLA } but the PDS  
NBC but the FCC / The BBC ← WHY?  
NYC but the VAR / DC

Chemicals

Either

DAG — I'm working at (the) ELI  
 ELI — ? (The) ELI isn't hiring anyone



N Down

9/17/78

The fact that transparent readings  
are possible only if  $\exists$  N or rel cl again  
argues that N are from rel. cls.

I.e., this is not ambiguous (exc wrt LA)

John believes that it was raining (in LA)

whereas this is 4 ways ambig.

John believes that the rain was falling in LA

# Opacity

9/16/70  
on Moen, in  
Truck

Musing with Jim

(1) Bill believes it's raining —  $\exists$  opacity reading

$\square \exists$  NP for there to be 2 readings

(2)  $\exists$  V with only transparent reading —  
Hasegawa couldn't stop this — can we?

9/16/70 - evening

Ans: yes, glorious yes — the way we keep manage etc

from having opaque readings is by saying that and  
can't be the next V down.

We can't however ever stop a transparent reading,  
because Swooping, having variables, is an ungoverned rule!



Vocatives

9/12/70

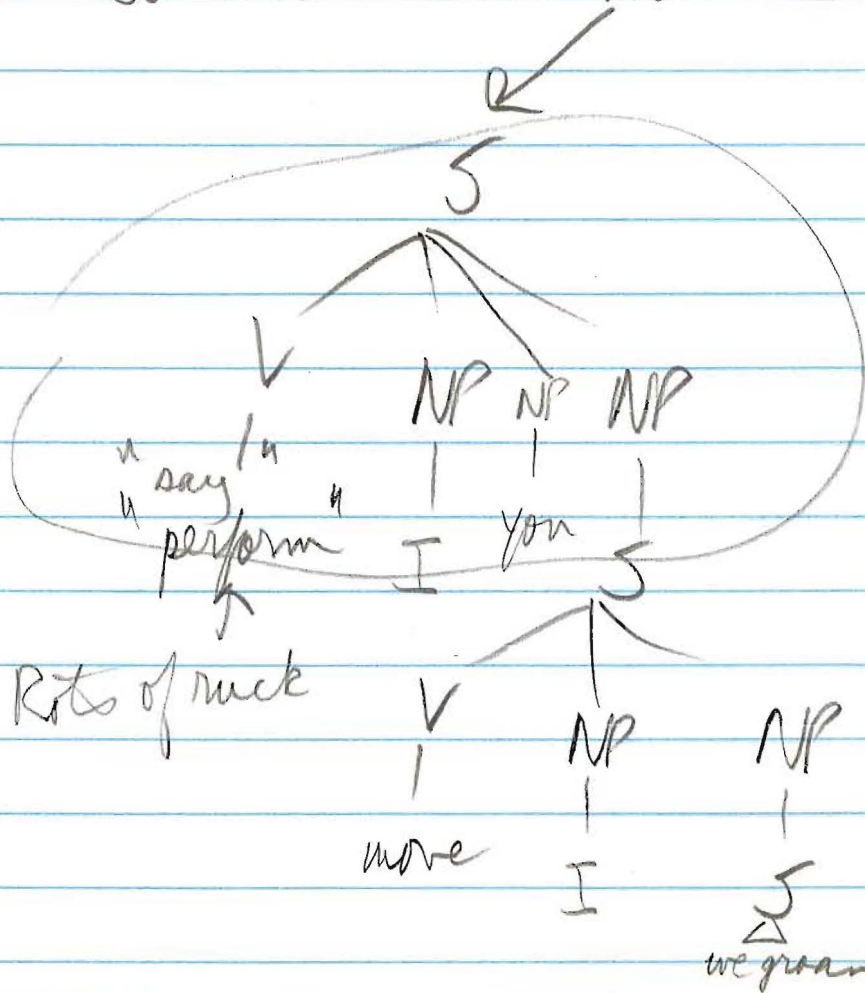
If these are copies of the IO of a performative then we shouldn't get them in I's w/ no IO.

But we do

Your Majesty, I christen this ship the HMS Junk

Mr. Chairman, I move that we groan

So that means this str. for this



Groan. How can all this be motivated?

Rites of ruck



(Qs - as Imperatives)

Fact from Fin:

9/11/70

Open the door!

Yes I will

Generalization: yes + no follow V<sub>imper</sub>

False:

Jack's tall —

Yes, he's a great basketball player



Rel of Formation

9/10/70

RCF must be an across-the-board rule -

cf.

the play

- a. which pleased me but (which) displeased Ed
- b. which I was pleased by but \*(which) displeased Ed
- c. which I liked but (which) Ed disliked
- d. which I liked but \*(which) displeased Ed

Therefore, the versions of a. and c. which have only one which must derive from 2-which I's via Conj Red.





# Islands + DC's


9/9/70

Shen points out that we can't have the order

Specialization  
Reattaching  
Gapping

to account for the have/mention oppy 5  
contrast, because in

I had an oppy to visit Rome

both these   
and Rome can rip.

So lowbait saying that the constraint must be that you can't rip anything out of something which remains an ISP node in the SS  
This would be good for the SSC.

Counterexample: Extrapolated rel cls.



Non-specificity and islands

9/8/70

Shin Harada suggested, in effect, that they were the same phenomenon.

My sentences:

1. Jack wants { a / Aun's } picture of a man  
 ← AMBIG (pointing to 'a')  
 ← MONOG, if at all (pointing to 'Aun's')
  
2. I { had / mentioned } an opportunity to visit a man  
 ← AMBIG (pointing to 'had')  
 ← MONOG (pointing to 'mentioned')  
 MONOG (pointing to 'an opportunity to visit a man')
  
3. I want { to respect Marge's wishes and date a girl from LA / to go downtown and pick up a girl from LA }  
 MONOG (pointing to 'to respect Marge's wishes and date a girl from LA')  
 AMBIG (pointing to 'to go downtown and pick up a girl from LA')

## Anaphoric Islands

9/8/20

I bet the fact that  $\Phi \neq \bar{\Phi}$  editing devices  
and the fact that  $\Phi \neq$  a long-text editing device  
are the same.

In other words, I wouldn't surprise me  
for Mohawk incorporated full NPs not to be islands.

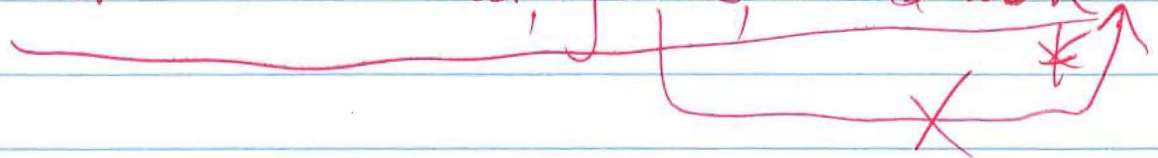
Argument against Extraction Analysis

9/8/70

All rules, even copiers, which move things to the right are upward bounded.

Thus

That he was arrested, my father, shocked Sarah



Thus nothing like Noam's analysis will work.



# Chopping in Japanese

9/8/70

Biru ga sakana o tabe, Tomu ga teriyaki o tabeta.  
NP<sub>1</sub> NP<sub>2</sub>

The rule of pseudo-cleft formation can take NP<sub>2</sub> but not NP<sub>1</sub>.  
gasp.

But the CSC is operative in Japanese, because of

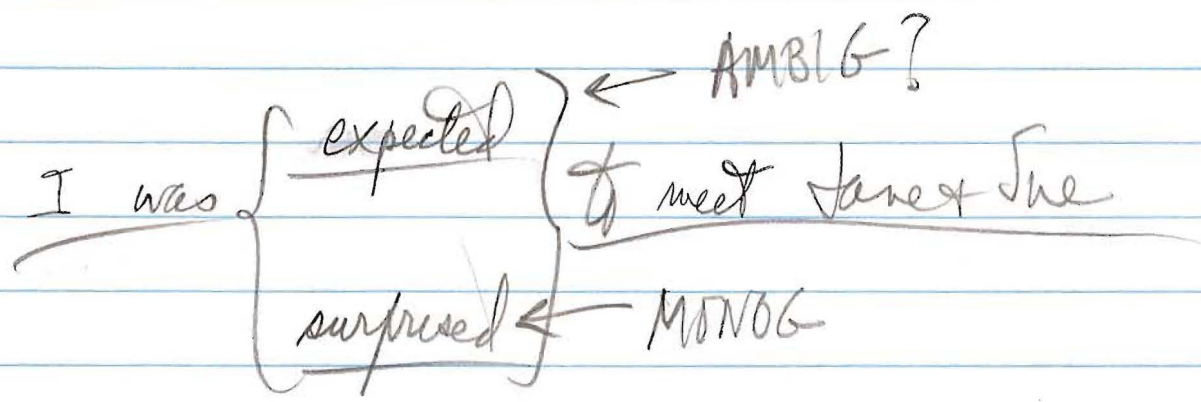
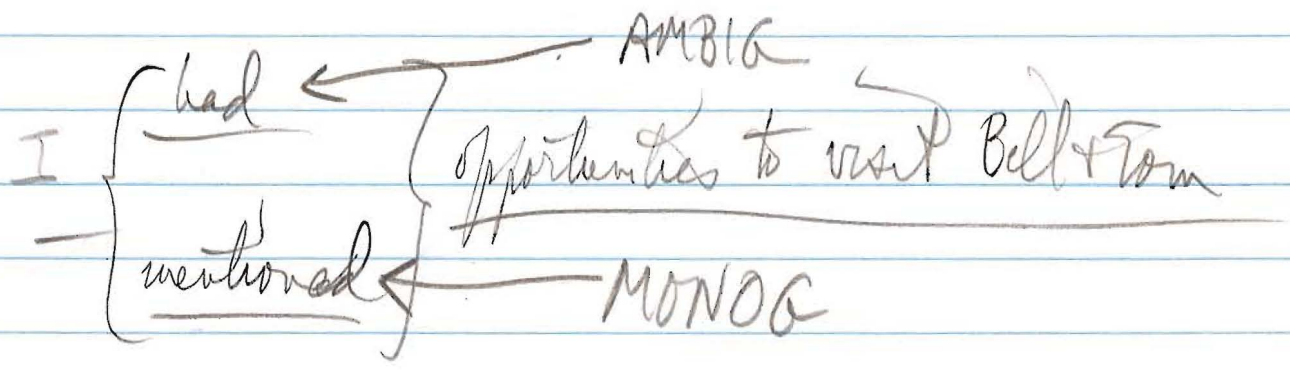
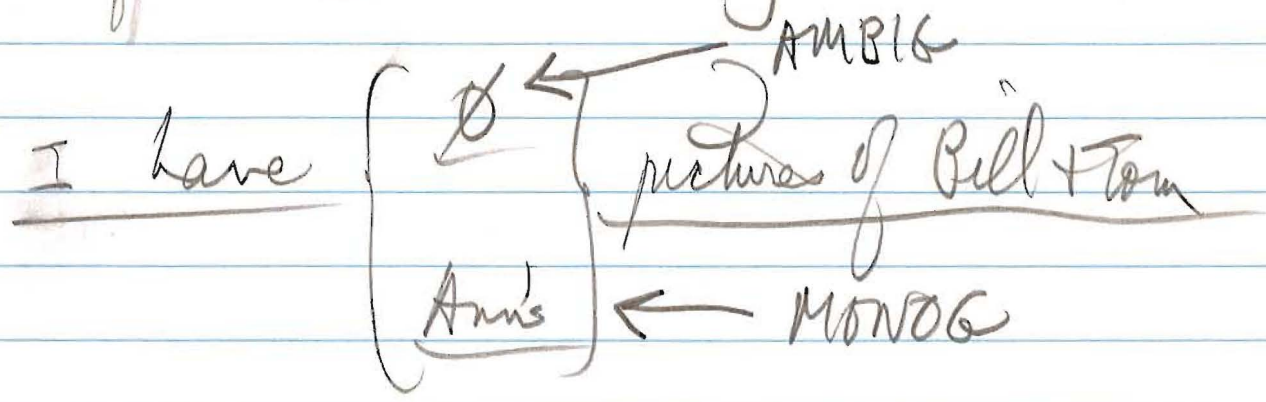
watakushi ga [yooku o kiru koto] to [boosi o kaburu koto ga]  
suki da

Neither of these can rip out, even for PC formation

Conj Reduction

9/4/70

Terrific! CRed does obey ~~the~~ island constraints



( N Deletion )

9/1/70

I bet it's das Picasso Bild

but der Ford Wagen

etc — great rules of time.

---

Paul tells me I'm wrong — it's <sup>9/3/70</sup>

der Picasso  
\* die Kollwitz



Conj Red + Islands

9/1/70

If CP obeys island constraints,  
what does that say about how it's ordered?

---

9/4/70

I.e., I believe the claim that you ate pears & peaches  
must come from I believe the claim S+5

This predicts that there should be 2 sources  
for some conj NP, one for others.

I denied that  $S_1$  and that  $S_2$  - ambig

I denied the report that  $S_1$  and that  $S_2$  - only embedded  
~~conj~~ <sup>from</sup> conj.

\*I+you and Decl

8/20

The fact that  $\Phi$  // between

\*I+you are friends

and

Tom told Ann that he & she were friends

is OK because

(a) Only I+you is out - me & NP is OK  
(fact from Bruce)

(b) Embedded I+NP is also out

Neg in than-clauses

8/31/70

it's better to have friends than not  
\*go home



But why?

To have friends is better than not

to have friends is better than not to have friends is

(Another proof that the rule that deletes is is different from the general deletion in than-cls:

~~it is better to have friends than not~~  
\*I think not

But why is \*friends is good ?



(want + Event + will-Relation)

8/31/70

I want to know that you are OK tomorrow

\* You are OK tomorrow

\* I (will) know [that you are OK tomorrow]

I'd like you to be OK tomorrow

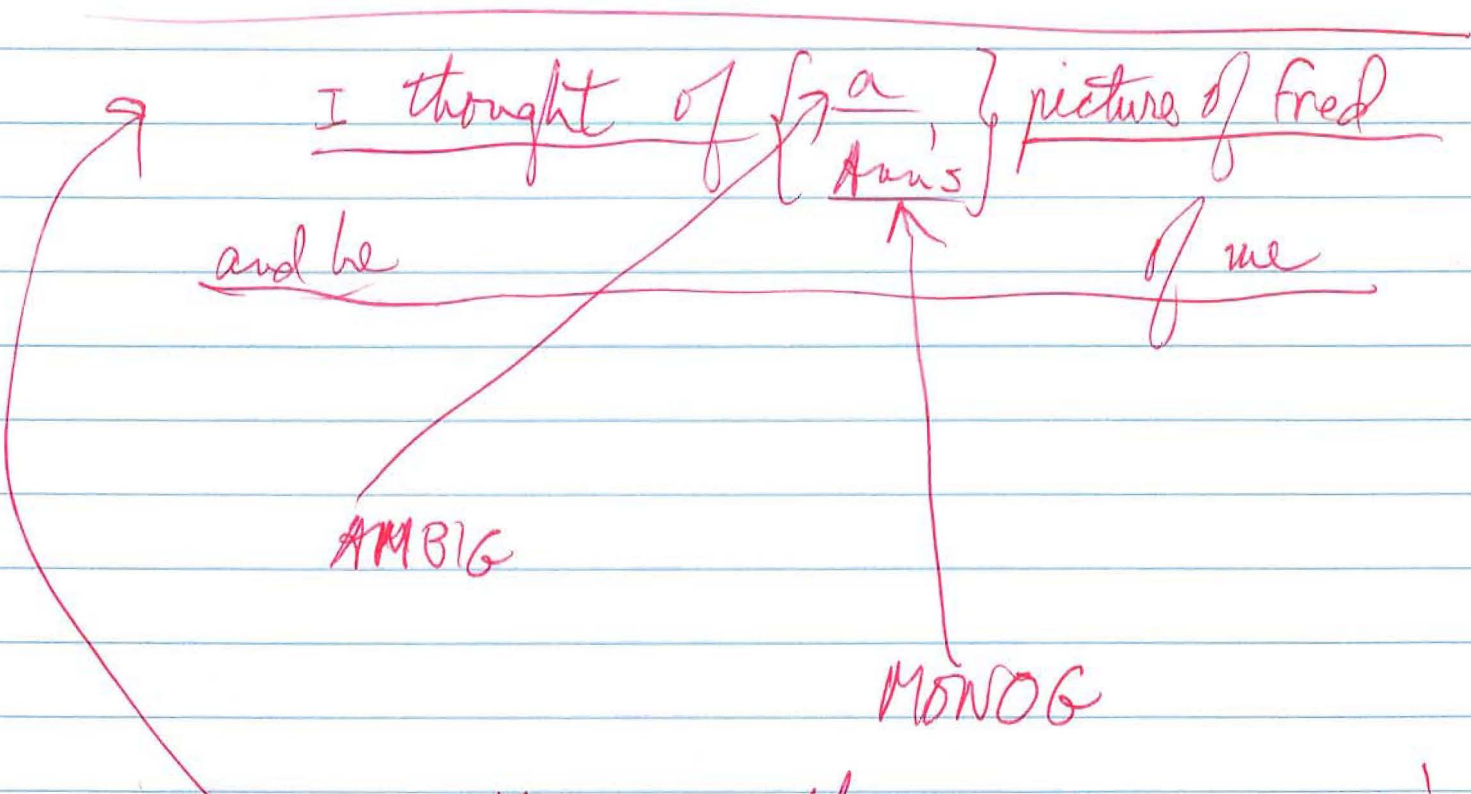
I must know [that you are OK tomorrow]

Semantics = Syntax

8/29/70

I ~~thought~~ bought <sup>a</sup> picture of Fred  
+ he of me

Here, the CSC throws out a string



Here, the CSC throws out a reading

If rules which throw out readings are semantic rules and rules which throw out strings are syntactic rules, then the CSC ~~throws out~~ spans the gap.



Not Hopping

8/29/70

If there is a difference between these

I don't  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{* claim} \\ \text{? believe} \end{array} \right\}$  that buying anything would be easy for him

Holy Shit! I think there is!

I don't  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{think} \\ \text{* claim} \end{array} \right\}$  that for you to eat anything just yet  
would be a good idea



# Variables vs Constants

8/29/70

3. ~~rules take things~~ out of sentential subjects

1. Not Hopping

2. Subject Raising

3. Predicate Raising

And, as Kinoshita points out, Neg goes in  
in that he ever left is not true

But Neg from upstairs doesn't go in:

\* I don't claim that buying anything would be easy for him

So it looks like we really must have a distinction between variable + constant rules.

# Disjunctive Questions

p. 1

8/28/70

Another test for disj Q's:

where  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{the } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{hell} \\ \text{fuck} \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{in the world} \end{array} \right\}$  he left it  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{I couldn't determine} \\ * \text{I determined} \end{array} \right\}$

---

Also, namely is only possible w/ conj Q's.

thus

who he buried where - namely Mort here  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} + \text{Dottie there} \\ * \end{array} \right\}$

is  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{wild} \\ * \text{unknown} \end{array} \right\}$   
(            )

---

Hum. Why is it OK to say? what he ordered - something from LA  
is wild

Aba what he's planning - whether anything big or not  
is unknown / \* wild

(Conj to King's)

8/29/70 p. 2

Who he wants to appoint - either Max or Bart - is { wild }  
\*unknown



more and islands

8/28/70

Last year, more tourists had } opportunities to visit more towns  
\*mentioned

\* More men ate rice and more ham last year

# Monkeywrench NP

8/28/70

The two conditions are:  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \text{ NP NP NP} \\ \text{all must be w/o preps.} \end{array} \right.$

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{PP} \end{array} \right\} (\text{P}) \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{V} \\ \text{X} \end{array} \right] \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$

This is  $\perp$  because of

I talked to Mary about war

and she to me about sex  
and he about sex

But

I talked to Mary about prettying herself up  
\* and Bill (to Susan) about getting herself a job

Reattaching

8/28/70

This order is □:

Pointed out by Kajita

Typicalization  
Reattaching  
Gapping

← This is □ to get  
an ipy 5 I never had

← This is □ to  
get

\* Bill had an ipy 5<sub>1</sub>  
and Tom - an ipy 5<sub>2</sub>



Lopping

8/28/70

I am eager to go, but Bill (is) reluctant (to go)

Bill is difficult to please, but Tom (is) easy (to please)

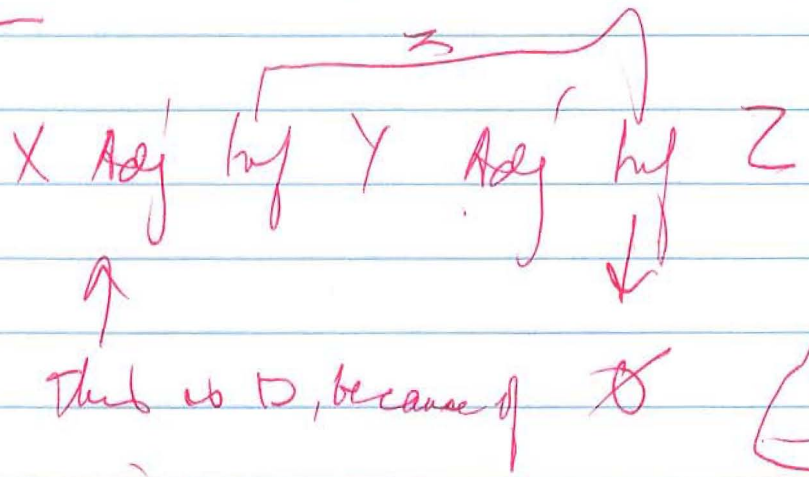
John is likely to win, and Bill is certain (to win)

Lopping is not gapping,  
because negatives don't bother it.  
cf. ... I but Bill is not eager

But not!

Therefore) some insane [ Bill is likely\* (to win) and Tom certain ]

DC is D  
which says  
that Lopping  
is only 1  
of the 2  
adjectives  
are of the  
same D  
type.



I think it has  
to be by -  
I was afraid to go  
[that's]  
but Bill wasn't afraid

I liked to swim, but Bill disliked to swim

\* I am fond of swimming  
but Tom is  
not fond

\* ↓

# Clause-mates

8/28/20

Tests for clause-mates:

1. Refl
2. Unlocking
3. Nobody ~~was~~ help ... [actually checks for command]

usual + Islands

8/28/70

The usual men had opportunities to visit the usual women  
[mentioned]



Q's + Islands

8/26/70

Bad, bad news:

Why can Japanese have Q's like

Anna to dare to happy couple denka?

each other + inner hands

8/27/70

John and Bill were { willing to kiss each other  
? surprised to have kissed each other }

(-gapping)

8/26/70

It was difficult to get along with Bill, and  
with Fred easy

Migod!

? To get along with Bill was difficult, but  
with ~~Bill~~ Fred easy

Monkey-wrench NP  
but  
\* It would bore me to go to Paris  
\* (for Ann) to go to Paris would bore me  
to Rome (\*would) please me

This term, if the facts are right,  
fucks up everything I've thought.



( Gapping and the NP ~~Interpretation Constraint~~  
(~~is~~ Fly on the Overt Constraint)  
Monkey Wrench NP

p. 1

8/26/70

The reason we don't get

\* I said that it had rained on Bill and Bill on me

should be the same as this

{ \* I want it to rain on Bill and he on me  
\* I forced Ann to share Bill and he me }

Hypothesis: If the subject of the that-clause has been WH-ripped out, we should get S's parallel to:

which girls do you want to give books to and

which girls

records?

Test (8/26/70 10:02 AM)

which girls did you think had gone to Paris and  
which girls to Rome? Yay!!

8/26/70

Prediction: in languages like Spanish, where  
no NP subject of that-clauses is  $\square$ , it might  
be possible to get S's like

Bill thinks that am sick and  
she lazy

(depending, of course, on how late the rule  
which deletes these unstressed NPs <sup>is</sup>)







# Gapping and clause-mates

p. 2  
8/26/70

This restriction shows something interesting about Aux — namely that Noam was right about the structure of the Aux, at least from some point in the derivation on.

~~This finally explains~~ Thus

I will write him and he (\*write) me

I am writing him and he (\*writing) me

I have written him and he (\*written) me

The general rule for gapping is:

- 1) All of the highest V must go, and all other ~~the~~ identical clause-mates of this V, with the constraint that it is the V which "unlocks" the other deletions  
(i.e., \*I sliced the shawarma with a knife and he fried in a pan.)



# Gapping and clause-mates

8/26/70

2) then the V and all of its clause-mates of the next lower clause <sup>can</sup> go.

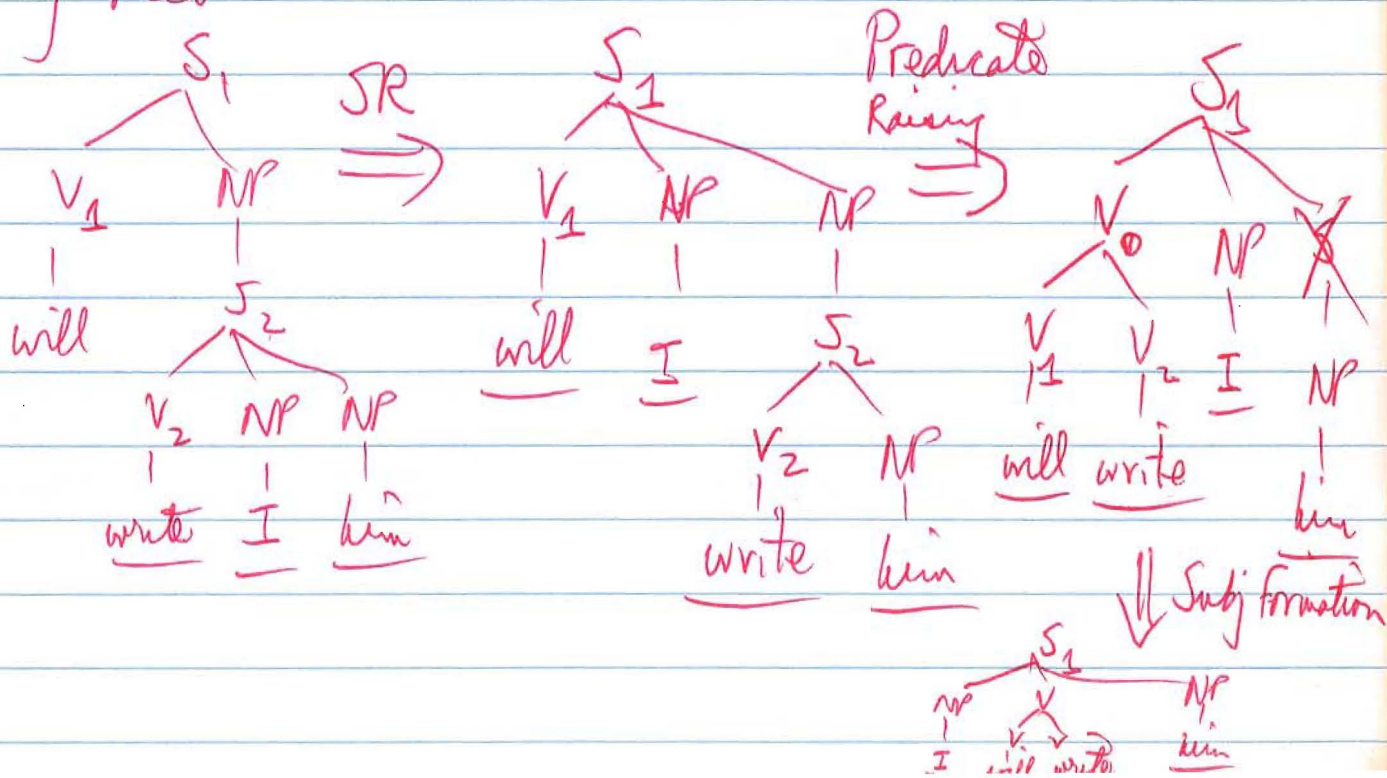
~~That~~ Thus the fact that

for me:  
\* be ing  
good: will

\* I <sup>[I am writing]</sup> [will write] him and Bill <sup>[?telegraphing]</sup> [telegraph] him etc.

are out is to be explained by saying that we have not "unlocked" the rule of gapping — the whole V has not been deleted.

This could all be explained if we were to say this



Gapping + clause-mates

8/26/70

Note that it is not ad hoc for us to use Presd Raising here, because we'll need it ~~too~~ outside the Aux, for "aspectual" V like keep, stop, begin. G.

?\* I kept writing + Bill telegraphing

?\* I continued writing him and he writing me

\* Ted stopped moaning and Carlota groaning

NB - This is ok if moaning is from <sup>an</sup> other guys moan

other guys moan