

Aux as MV

9/29/71

The fact that

* Had John the valet polish his shoes

is out is explained w/ unid.
def of [Aux] and have as

MV, accident by Noan

Predicate Crossing

9/29/71

Will point out that

~~* buying anything will be easy to avoid~~

can be thrown out by a branch of
George's rule, ^{only} if we make this
and this predicates of the right kind.

Ving → ~~⊗~~

9/29/71

Max is working and Tom

15 TB

seems to be too

*believes Janet to be

terry as highest J

9/71

→ { I } regret to inform you that J
*they

//

John said that { he } regretted to inform us that J
*him

Seems to suggest the existence
of a higher J here

Hum.

Equi, Inclusion + Subj

9/27/71

What I { want
insist on
desire } so that I { be elected
be stubborn }

Generalization:

Agentive subjects of tenseless clauses
can't overlap with their controllers.

What I demanded of Tom was that ^{#I leave}
~~#he leave~~

U12, 101, 20

9/20/73

Entscheidungsbaum über das Buch zu 9/20/73

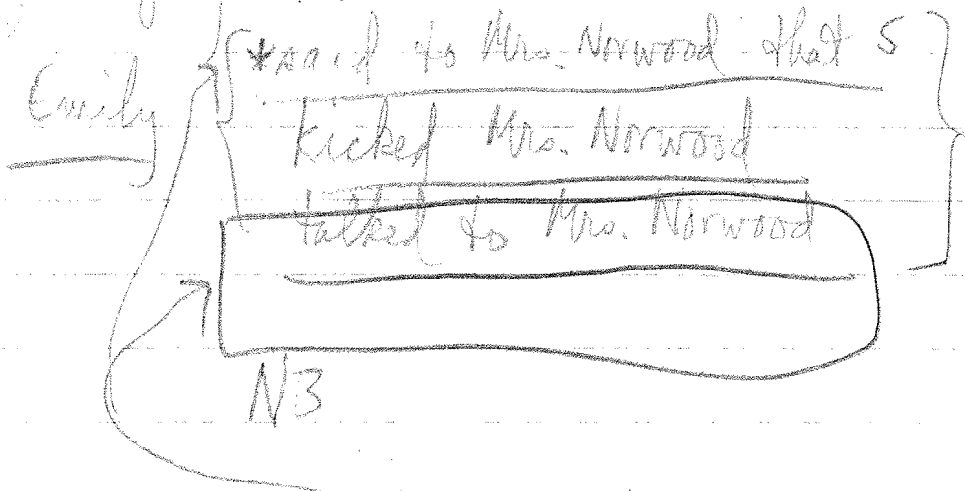
1. Können wir das Buch zu 9/20/73 geben

* Können wir das Buch zu 9/20/73 geben

9/24/71

Facts arising in a discussion w/ Ellen Kaufman:

1. The relevant circle is defined by the next highest verb of saying

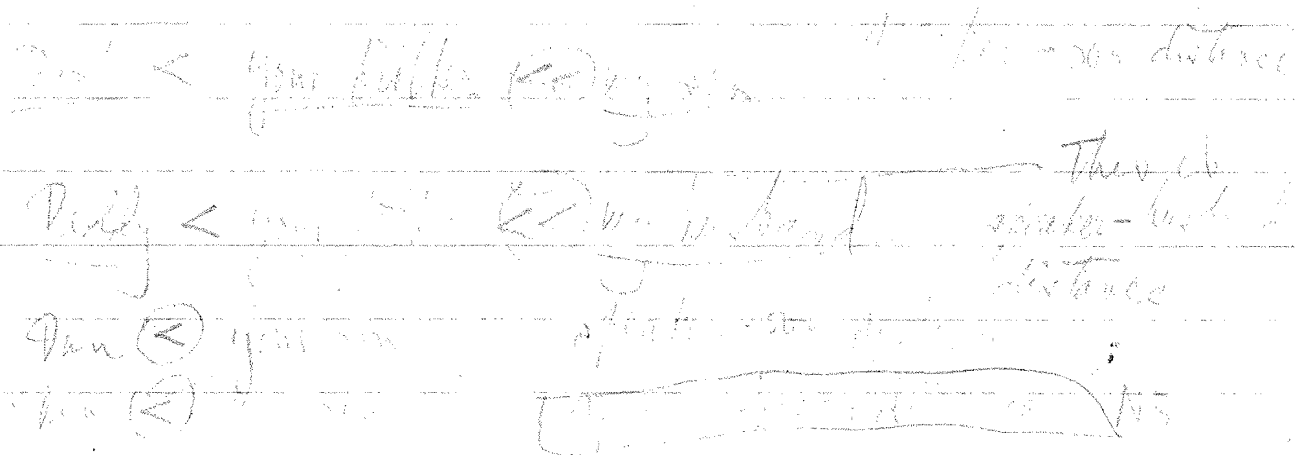


The difference here is that the IO must understand with say, it with talk

2.

$\text{I} \leftarrow \text{said to } \text{N} \leftarrow \text{said to } \text{N} \leftarrow \text{said to } \text{N}$
 $\text{I} \leftarrow \text{said to } \text{N} \leftarrow \text{said to } \text{N} \leftarrow \text{said to } \text{N}$
 $\text{I} \leftarrow \text{said to } \text{N} \leftarrow \text{said to } \text{N} \leftarrow \text{said to } \text{N}$
 $\text{I} \leftarrow \text{said to } \text{N} \leftarrow \text{said to } \text{N} \leftarrow \text{said to } \text{N}$

3.



4. Morris to Ellen (about her friend): "Ann" ^{9/20/77}

Ellen to Morris (about Jay): "Professor Keyser"

Calling Prof. Eden "Murray" in speaking to Morris, would be like calling him Morris

future telehon
& probable

9/24/71

probable can't be in future

* It { will
could
might
~~may~~
should } be probable that S

q.

I { *hope
*pray
expect } that he will probably die
↑
Why OK? * it will be probable
that he will die

I expect { that it ^{is} will be } probable that S Uh oh
it to be probable that S
that he will probably go
? him to probably go

Promise

9/23/71

I was promised by Jack that he would leave
* to leave

Why?

Comparatives and epistemics

9/21/71

Bob
Frango's
fact
(squirrel)

Bill could win more games than

Jack - AMB16

Jack could - only Root

Bill may have had cancer longer than Tom

had
*may (have)

Thus there are no epistemics in

than - clauses - they must come
from upstairs

9/22/71 Flash

The extent to which he ^{*may have}
overdrawn his account exceeded X
had

Thus w/ this source
for compar, we explain this

Particles

9/21/71

↳ Post Move
Passive

Arbore's
Dorothy's → argument
Judy Messers.

because of

I picked out { a tie for John
* John a tie }

Can't be surface - cf.

* Which tie did you pick out John?

For Vmp

9/21/71

This goes on logical objects :

Max is {
 popular
 famous
 notorious
 * tall
 * proud
 NB * surprised

for {
 * his defense by Tom
 [his speeches
 * Ann's]
 being elected
 drunk

NB: Derived subjects
 go

Max {
 * awarded
 got a medal for farting

Are any of these good?
 He was famous because of {
 ? his daughters
 * Ann's
 [his] having lost 100 lbs
 [??]
 [his] having been elected

see

9/21/71

What I saw was { been riding
*him (to) ride }

I saw there { being a riot
there to have been a riot }

↑
Why doesn't this delete?

Rel Cls and Speech Acts

9/21/77

Almost every kind of speech act

[except] deixis: cf. *Maxine, who there's a picture of
 [dumping on: cf. *Maxine, who the hell with
 of fuck
 etc.]

can be in appositive clauses.

Therefore, if these come from presupposition space, that space also has speech acts

in IP [NB: there seem to be performatives in RRCs too - cf. everything which I am (hereby) promising to build
 This is normally rotten will be punched]

Flash: this is just the kind of speech act that can be requested in Q's

Key and IO

9/2/71

\exists speech acts $\exists \rightsquigarrow \exists$ IO:

* I move that your son be empowered to speak

If $\rightsquigarrow \exists$ you in S , there can't be
any higher IO

(first-person force)

9/2/21

Some NP has 1st person force just
in case I can't appear in the S;

The court hereby proclaims that

all decisions reached by {some}
{it}

will be published

2nd Person Force

9/21/21

1.

A NP has 2nd person force just in case
~ \exists you in 5

~~All~~ those present are warned that
you will be fined

2. Just those NP which can't be vocatives
can't have 1st or 2nd person force

[This] court finds
~~That~~
~~Some~~

~~Some~~ of those present are warned

Across the board

9/20/71

Facts discovered with PMP:

1. Mel, who I like and a picture of whom I bought

↑
This shows that the chopping goes on
transboardedly

2. But apparent double chopping must arise

by (NP Shift)
Node Raising
(Single) chopping

because of

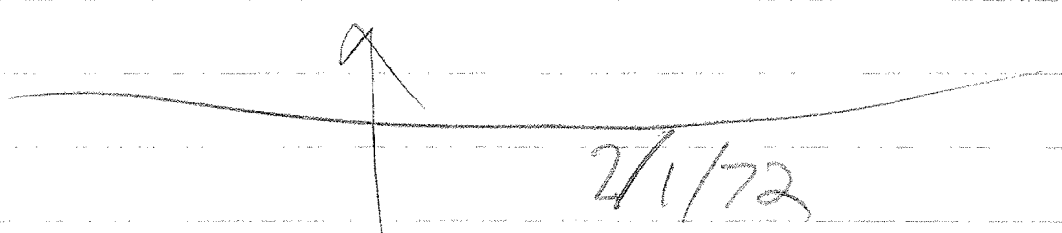
Mel, who I like and who I think is fat,

This is explained by the fact that this can't be
shifted over.

Across the board

9/20/71

* Mel, who I bought from Tom + sold to Mel
a picture of and Sheila dislikes



2/1/72

Why is this out?

NB also:

?? This car, which I bought from Tom and Bill sold to
Terry, and Ted worked on, is a beaut.

Adv Shift

9/20/77

* I carefully walked along the rail

and Max carelessly walked along it

OK w/o Adv M Shift

so contractive stress might
freeze stuff up

I invited Joan, and Sheila was unwillingly kind

[Hum - not for all rails
that S₂ scrap me, but it's not that that S₂

9/20/71

Facts conquered with Paul Postel:

1. Only left-mover shift makes islands

which villages did you give to Max

* (finely detailed and reproducible) picture of?

That is, NP Shift doesn't make islands,
unless the shifter is short.

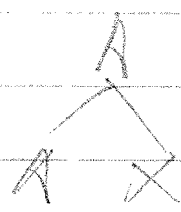
2. Verb with Node Raising

I know by which villages you brought from Tom

and take out to Sally * (finely detailed and
indefinitely reproducible) picture of.

9/26/17

Thus it would seem that only A is an island.



But this S shows that what is really involved is (unbounded?) left chopping:

* Which pictures do you think $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{there is} \\ \text{meshes} \end{array} \right\}$ getting with

to worry about?

[This shows, incidentally, that these S 's involve \mathbb{N} a chopping rule]

~~So maybe it's~~

Maybe it has to do with how far the chop is.

Of which cars do you think that the words would be easy $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{to dent?} \\ \text{to imagine Sam from's dent?} \end{array} \right\}$

Strips

9/18/71

It is not the case that all clauses
must move to the front of a higher clause —

cf. There is getting himself together for you to
try to get Ted to start thinking about

There is, I believe, contrary to what
Noam's conditions will allow

Performative Utterances

9/8/21

Facts from Bruce (my inference):

1. Don't come over { * I promise that I'll leave
 I'll leave }

can only be threat -
promise interpretation, which
should exist, doesn't

Which is explained if this can optionally
delete

2. If you will do P, { I ^{promise you} that I will kiss you
 *warn you
 I'll kiss you }

Similarly, there is out with warning interpretation,
also predicted by Per/Del

Explicit performatives and truth value

8/71

He's here vs I hereby declare that he's here
has TV has none (?)

// (?)

I'll be in Rome (used as promise) vs I hereby promise that I'll be in Rome

may have some TV has no TV

Generalization: audibility of performative lessens TV potentiality

Concave

7/27/71

This word seems to have built into it
some notion of the line of vision from observer
to observed object

E.g.

The wall is concave, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{from where I sit} \\ \text{[looking]} \text{ from the north} \\ \text{[seen]} \end{array} \right.$

Aux as MV

7/27/71

Facts triggered by reading Billarden's paper:

They say that he went, which he

- * must
- must have
- * is
- * must be
- * must have been

Hypothesis: This rule is only \diamond when the
 modified S and the modifier agree in
 tense (or aspect?)

8/4/71

Is this the same fact as

I went home, { which [was difficult for me]
 * will be difficult for you }

I decided to go home, which will be difficult for me
 etc. ?

Q subclasses

7/16/71

What is the relationship between the class
Qs which allows anti-cyclic any

- every
- no
- the only
- the last
- first
- *second
- the biggest
- any

man who I ever met

and the class which figures in domains

I didn't tell

- many people
- anybody
- ten people
- *several people
- *everybody
- *all my friends

that anyone was sick

Accidental or inherent properties

7/7/1

What kind of horse — a {fat} one
{fast}

What kind of milk — {chocolate} milk
{not}

↑
This seems to ask for only
inherent properties

Primacy and the category hierarchy

7/21

Are there rules which could refer both to V and to N but which only affect N?

I know of none.

The fact that by-phrases are only agentives for N, but are extended for V, is probably a primacy fact.

How is Emmons' fact that only agentive by-phrases are possible w/ weak passives related here? (Cf. The mountain was rolled down by the man / the pebble)

Maybe this is some kind of freezing up phenomenon.

Max was fallen on by a rock

Performatives Deletion

7/21

He said { "I will help" } but that
that he would help ←

promise was soon forgotten

So this makes it appear that this comes from

He said that he thereby promised that he would help

AAA! The rule of Per Del is just like the rule of Adv Del - both get deleted when contemporaneous with the next higher V.

Object Incorporation and the LBC

7/21

peel the banana



how is this obliterated?

Maybe it's only stuffed in

skin-remove (*of) the banana by a very late rule.



incorporation

remove the skin of the banana

How come this is possible? Maybe it's because notations of the LBC are made totally grammatical by inaudibility.

What is wild is that $\exists V$ which would take N_2 out of $V[N_1 \text{ of } N_c]$, which is what we would expect.

Abu
What about? eg. First I sparkplugged the car, then I doored it
de-sparkplug = I removed the sparkplugs of the car

Swooping

7/26/21

The fact that promises, etc. can make it into appositive cl is a great argument for Swooping, because otherwise there's no good general characterization of where performatives occur.

Hey! Both of these convey two speech acts

Max, who { I promise to visit }
I will visit } , sincerely

Legal Q's

7/6/71

John wanted to hear that you were where
where you were

to find out what you were where
where you were

NB — only good not to move it
next V up can express certainty

1 dime

7/6/71

A 3-placer:

X brought Y home to Z

Gapping

7/5/71

It must be gapping which gets

I talked to Bob yesterday, and $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{to Fred} \\ \text{Fred} \end{array} \right\}$

because the preposition must stay

7/4/71

Maybe I'm only imagining Jim's refusal to go -
but maybe he did

BUT

* Jim's election is likely, but maybe he won't be

? Maybe I'm only imagining Jim's election to the Senate, but I really think he may have been

↑
LSD is OK

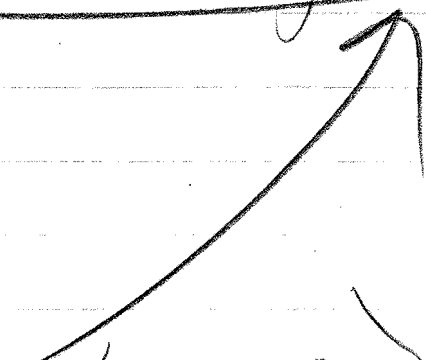
Node Raising

7/11/71

? I guess that Tom, and I know that Mike, were there

I know that Tom was,
and I think that Harry is, dressing ~~himself~~ ^{themselves}

Thus it's audibility
linked



of Floating + Agreement

6/29/77

Sentence discovered while phoning Terry: ^L
JA

I discovered that Tom that Harry that

Dick all were drunk

What can all be keeping
off of? It must be the agreement NP.

Noam's "idea": that NP is

a) a constituent

b) a PP (P = that)

I prefer for Tom and for Harry and for Dick all to be watched

~~But NB I looked for Tom~~

Shifting

6/29/71

* Hopefully, he $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{may} \\ \text{will} \\ \text{must} \\ \text{should} \end{array} \right\}$ have left $\leftarrow \sim \nabla \exists$
epistemic

//s

* I hope $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{will} \\ \text{must} \\ \text{may} \\ \text{should} \end{array} \right\}$ that he have left
(am hopeful)

Primacy

6/29/71

Fact noted in conversation with Paul Postal:

{ They / The gorillas } all left

I agree with { them / *the gorillas } all

Thus Q floaty is restricted only in object position.

Declaratives

6/29/71

I agree with you
agree with Ted

to

Max told Ann that S + she agreed with him
said #I

Slytng + Swooping

6/28/71

He's sick, I^{*} (who have no interest in the outcome) am afraid that
they will say

So what gives?

Is this because parentheticals are only presupposed,
and app. cls. asserted? Or what?

Swooping

6/28/7:

I don't think Swooping can be pre-cyclic, because
app. cls. can't modify me (in some dialects)

→ He shot at me, who was his best friend.

Raising + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{high movement} \\ \text{the deletion} \end{array} \right\}$

6/23/71

This argues that I rule of raising

Harry is too honest *to believe to be dishonest
to force to apply to MIT

Wo — could be said not to take lower clause elements
Avery points out:

" *to be believed to have won

Help help — if an NP is raised into derived object position, no go.

He is difficult to plan (for Mike) to shoot at

V. PPA + principles

6/24/21

our proposed solution



Proof?

the by us proposed solution

his + self

and → or

6/24/71

If he or she { reproaches { *her or himself }
 { him or herself } }
 //s { holds { his or her } breath too long }
 { *her or his }

Note that this is a respectively-
 construction with or (which is usually
 forbidden - cf. *Tom or Joan live in Topeka or Wichita)
resp.
 Thus this or comes from and

Hereby - Thereby

6/24/71

Facts
from
Bruce

I claim that P is interesting (*to me) that S
*interestingly,

Possible source

NB

But
why is
Snd ≠?

I claimed that P was interesting (to me) that S
*interestingly,

c/ * I found
P interesting
to Ann
me that S

NB: He thereby claimed that P was interesting (*to him)

So hereby to put the present case of thereby.

(Aux as MV)

6/24/71

If Dave is right about \emptyset deletion rules unless \exists pro-forms in SS for the deleted thingy, then "VP" Del must really be a form of S Del (or NP Del)

(Polite request)

6/24/71

~~Can you think of a way of slicing these eggs?~~

Why is this a request?

Theory(?) of Squids

6/15/71

The reason Mysteries are so important is the same as the reason that negative experimental results are important. The theory predicts X we find not X.

E.g., some construction fails to pass where it should.

Or a plausible DS falls down.

6/15/71

I maintain both that Tom and that Mike {are spies}
{*is a spy}

? I maintain ^(*both) that Tom and that Mike are twins
MIGOD!

At the very least, this would appear to shoot down the claim that Cred must precede Agreement

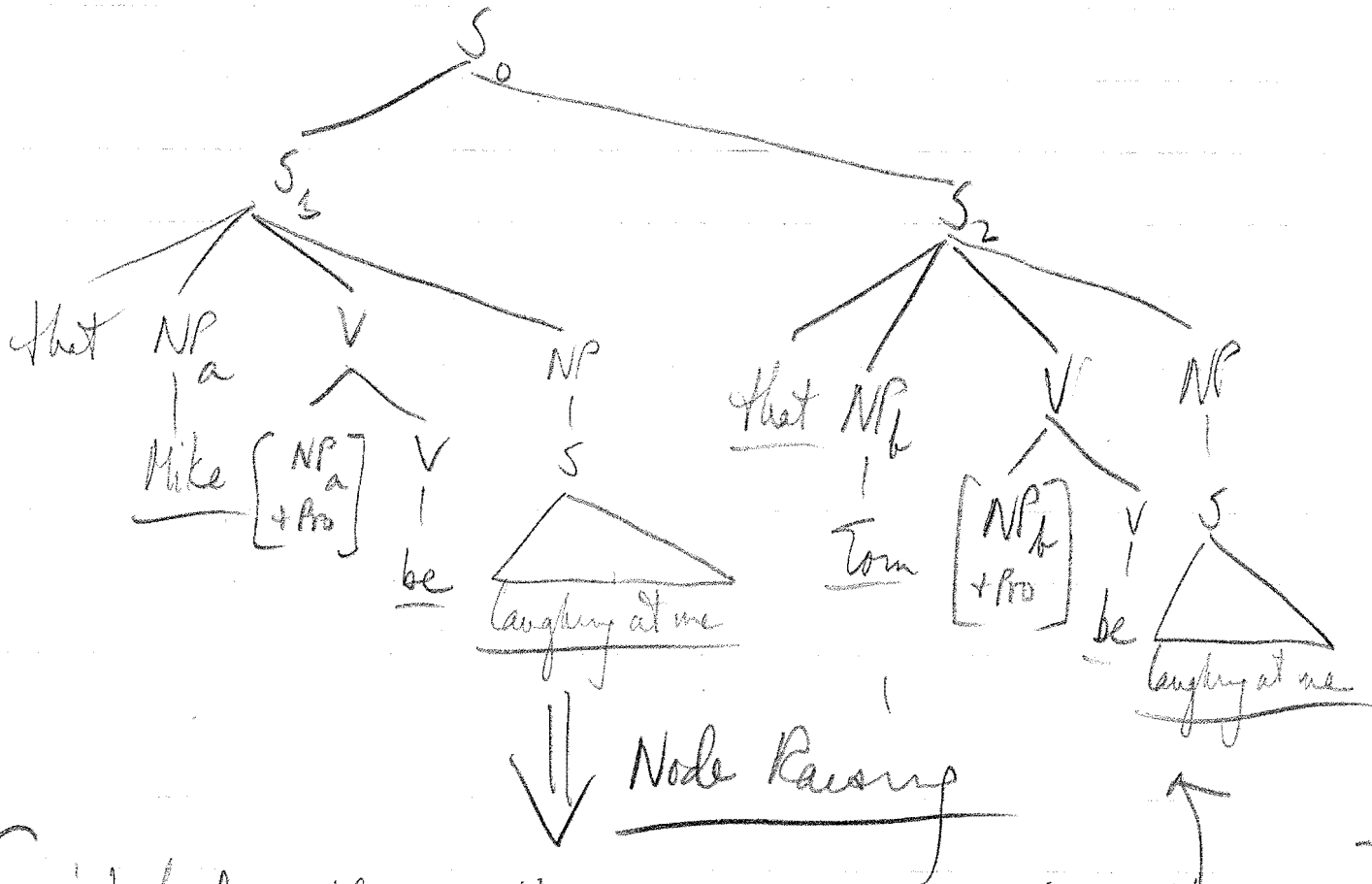
* It is Annette who I maintain both that Tom and that Mike are proud of

Another case for the ISP

- NB: ... that Tom and that Mike seem to have been believed to have been spies
- This must be working like Greek Case Agreement, which means \exists plural ~~NP~~
somewhere in the S.

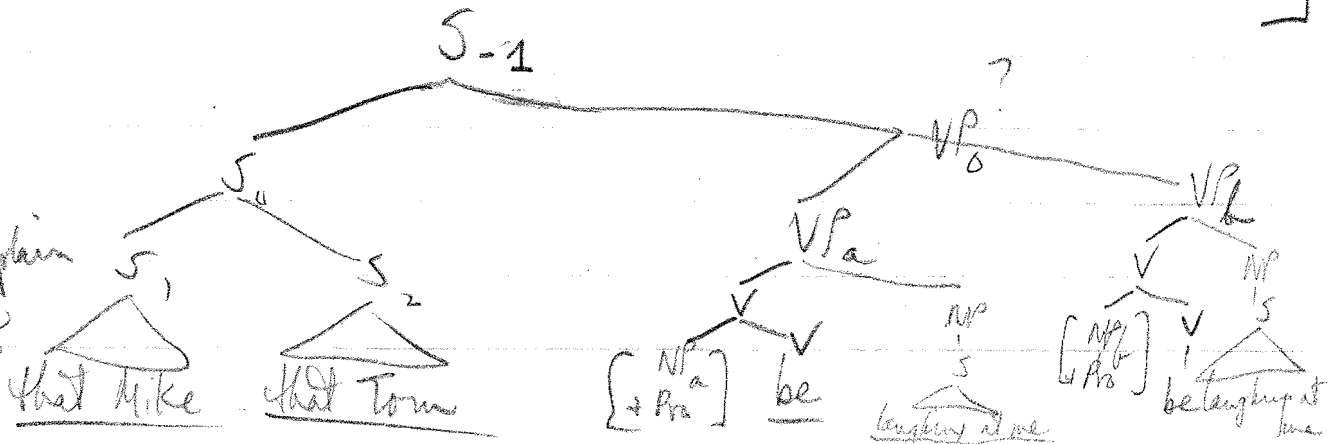
6/15/71

Maybe there is a way to explain all this.
 If Agreement is by Pronoun-Copying, then we
 could have a derivation like so



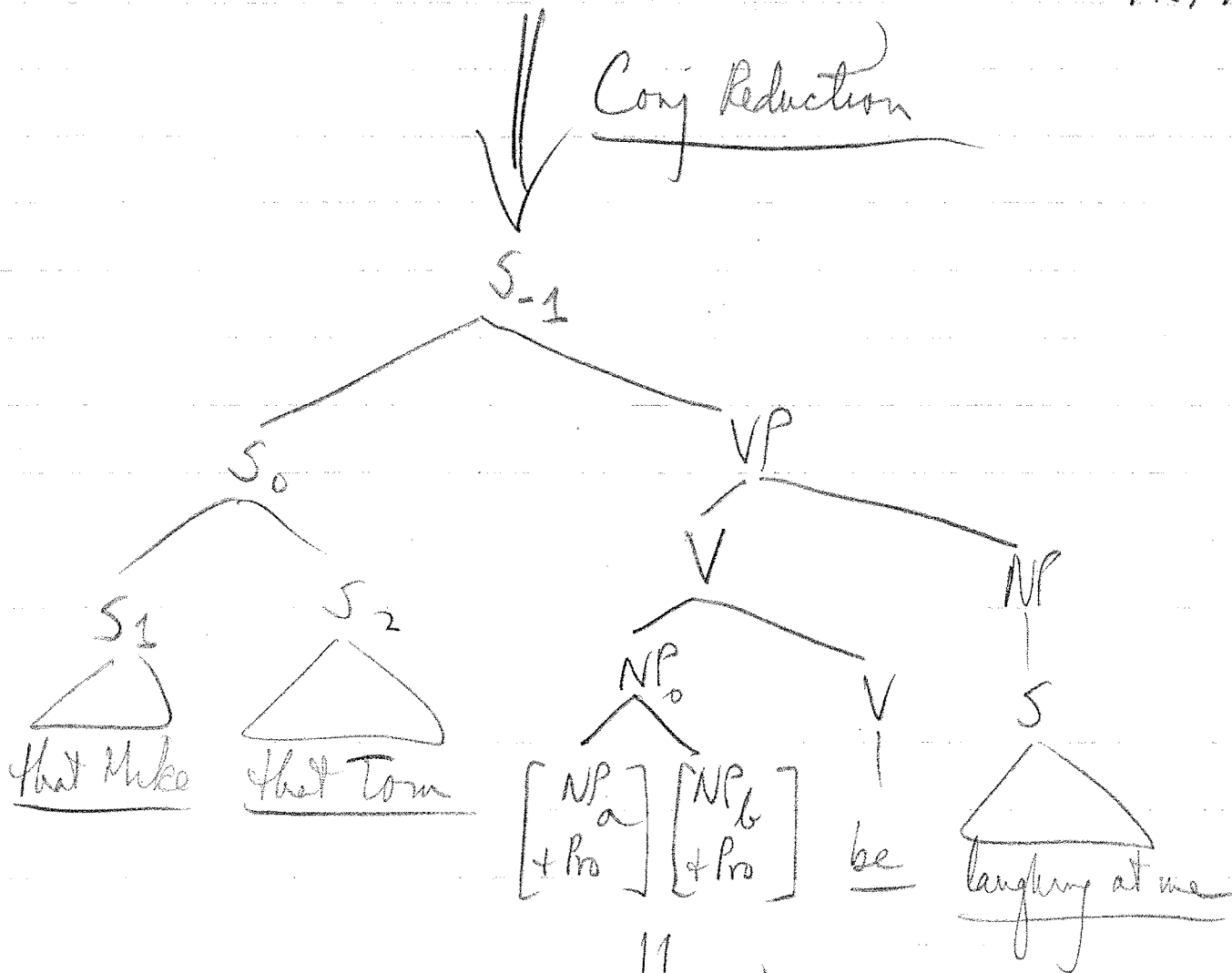
Big bad problem: How can NR work on this str
 This really looks like an argument
 for VP

Hum
 maybe
 this is
 really
 respectively
 formation
 [This might explain
 why himself etc
 are out

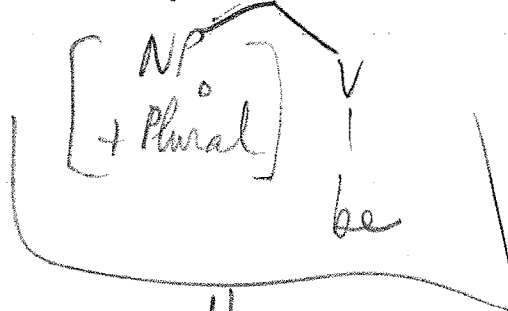


6/15/71

Conj Reduction



Squishing



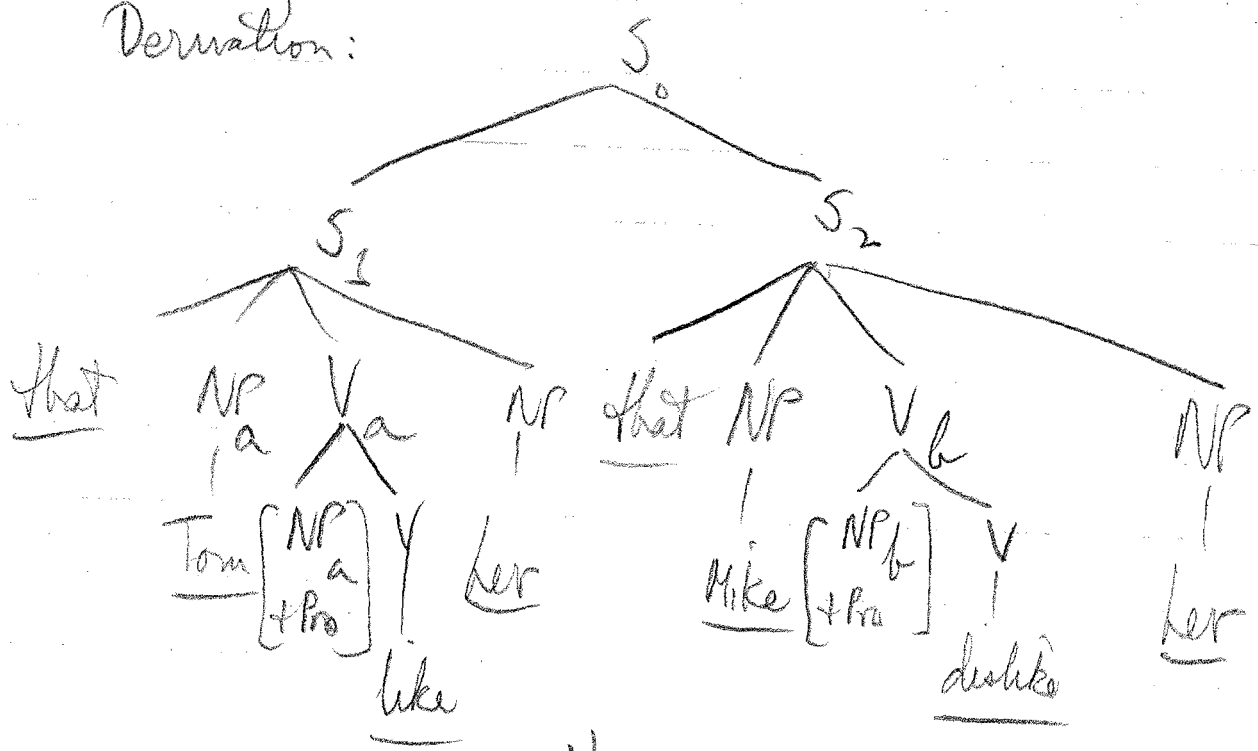
plural agreement

6/16/71

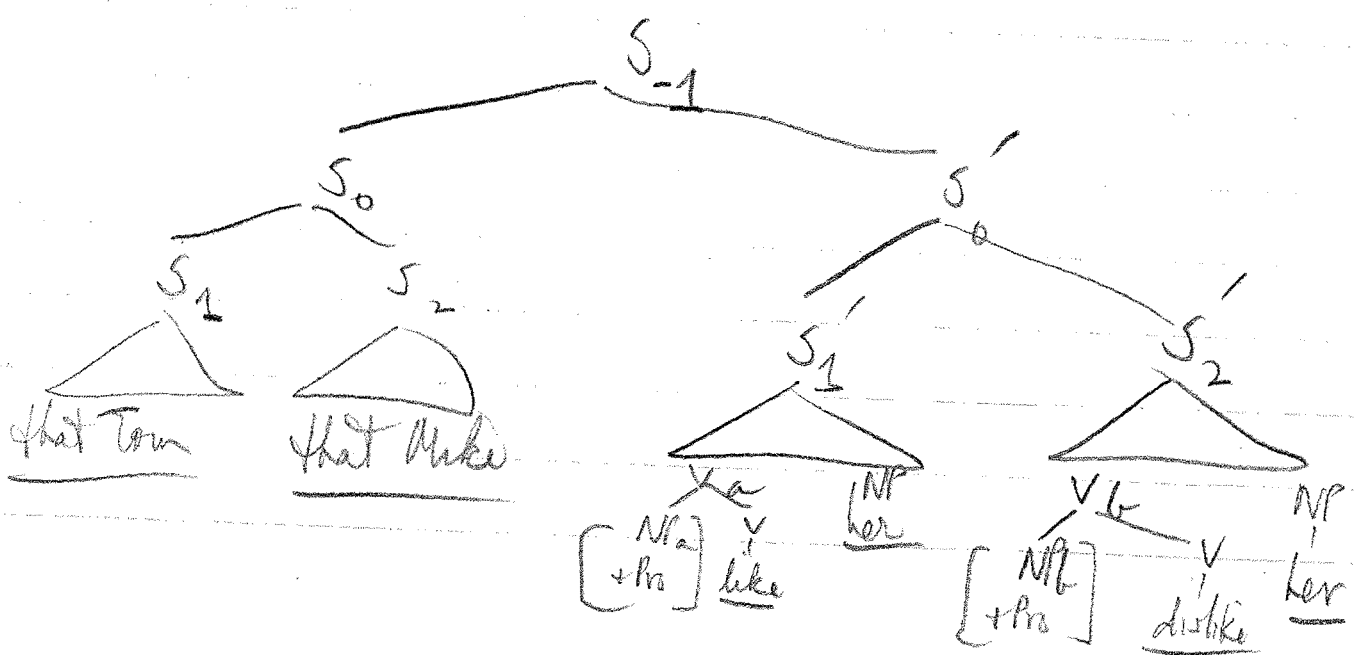
This probably //s Respectively Formation:

cf. I know that Tom and that Mike like her and dislike her

Derivation:



Respectively Formation



6/16/71

Aha — I'm fucked — this won't lead automatically to me getting a conjoined pronoun on V_a and V_b . It looks like some convention will still be necessary.

Aha — there's a proof that $\exists [NP]_{+plural}$ in the str — cf.

Tom and Mike are believed to be

a funk and a hero, resp
funks and heroes, resp

Proof failed

will → 0

6/9/71

To the extent that you (*will) support, we will succeed

By the way we (*will) solve this, you may judge our ability.

At the time that we (*will) arrive, no one will be there

any \int modifying an adverbial N. To deletion seems to be ^{done} in the ₁

CSC

6/9/21

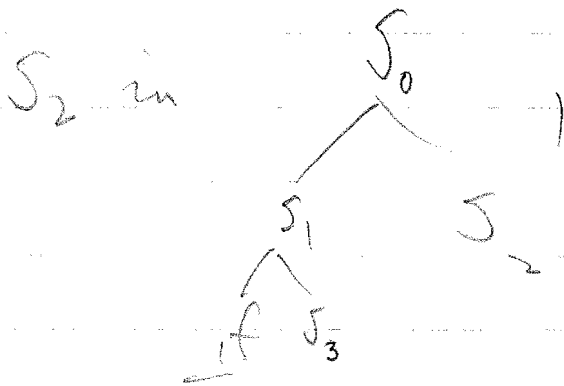
The following constructions also count as coordinates

$S_1 : S_2$

sometimes S_1 , sometimes S_2

the Wer X, the Yer Z

This means that in order to get stuff out of



either

(a) CSC mentions subord clause (yeah)

(b) S_2 was in S_2 (better - they were subject + object of some higher V)

HIP

6/6/71

Caspar, and him I'm sure you'll like, has a 10" dick

Hum — either Swooping is late,
or Highest Islands have to be defined derivationally.

like? What does this say about Jerry's 5's

what I { believed
*was surprised at } was that Bill she hated

Nothing — I'm still fucked here.

Politeness

6/2/71

hr seems to come from

du + X

rather than from Sie + X, where speaker
dugt X

(although this is often used as a first
step to dusing)

global constraint on deletion of subjects

5/21/71

than I thought (~~that~~) was necessary

Exclamations + There insertion

5/18/71

* There { be
being } no beer in the fridge?!?

How is this out?

Also:

IP { ? be
? being } muggy in Cleveland?!?

{ ? It } possible } that she loves me?!?
? — ← ** seem } Hey — maybe this is evidence
that the I is only inserted around tense.

Exclamations + Modals + Aux = V

5/18/71

∅ exclamation for he may be here

∅ OC ∅
because modals require tense in SS

This follows naturally with Terry's
analysis of Can't Yanking.

Actually, it shows that this OC is
independently O.

Declaratives
+ CNPC + Scrambling

5/17/71

Unless { I miss my guess
Ted misses his guess } we're safe

*doubted
*was surprised // So

Bill said that unless { he missed his guess }
I thought { I missed my guess }

we'd win

Ho hum.

This has to
swoop down into
a CNP.

NB, though:

The fact that Bill will, unless I miss my guess, marry Clara
horrores led

That Cel and Kel Cl Formation

5/17/71

They have to be ordered like that
because of

* The man who I ascertained was bald is a crook

CNPC

5/12/71

I had an oppy to VP
OK //o

~~There was an oppy to VP~~
OK

← Somebody at UMass pointed this out.

and

I gave him an oppy to VP (Dave Vetter noticed this)
OK

and vs or + Quantifiers

5/71

Only and

and & or

Only or

all students, M or F,

}	<u>any</u>	student, male	or	female
	<u>no</u>		and	
	<u>every</u>			
	?	<u>each</u>		

the workers, M & F, decided

*V

several

?

Able → ∅

5/71

Maybe the source for middles is able 5's.
Reasons:

1. Able → ∅ exists independently - in Hungarian and Turkish
 2. This play is translatable for sophomores
*fritz
- //s

This play translates readily for sophomores
*Box

3. Bill is photographable
*paintable //s Bill photographs well
*paints

4. Bill is readily
Why? → easily
*well *red
*important
photographable - right kind
of Adv.

easily
*readily six feet tall
Hum

clear + flip + conj Q

5/12/71

Why he left is not clear to me
I'm not clear as to why he left

Whether or not he likes you will be clear
? You will be clear as to whether or not he likes you

That he left is clear to me
* I am clear that he left

? I am clear how long a sentence he'll get - either 20 or 30 years

? I am clear who he murdered - Bobby Tom

Thus clear must flip with that-clauses,

and is a little odd with unflipped conj Qs.

This is a great argument for Flip -
whether or not a V undergoes it depends on
higher info.

OK
flipped

Downsides and structure of memory

4/4/71

When going to OSU, I remembered that 3 people had given me messages for Arnold.

First, I remembered who they were, then what I had to tell Arnold. The opposite seems to me to be unlikely.

Is this a fact which is deducible from the structure of

X says Y

Is this related to this?

Somebody ^[mentioned] said something - I forget ^[who] _[what]

but Paul ^[mentioned] said something - I forget what

Something was mentioned by someone - I forget ^[what] _{*(by whom)}

Neg N + Specificity

5/6/71

Not a thing was eaten (by { anyone from Kankakee }
*Fritz }

What the fuck.

Recalls

No one was seen (*at shortly after 4)

Acquisition of phonology

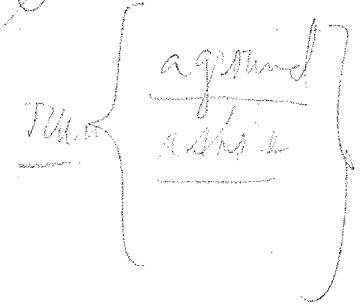
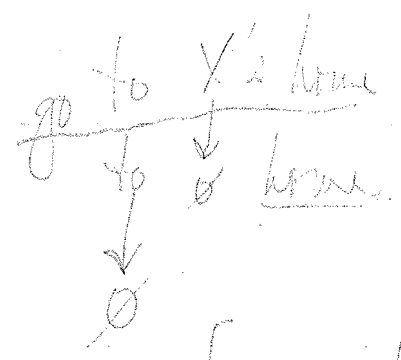
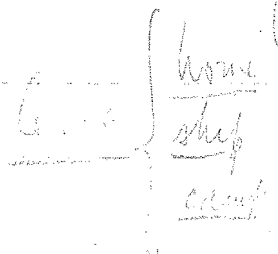
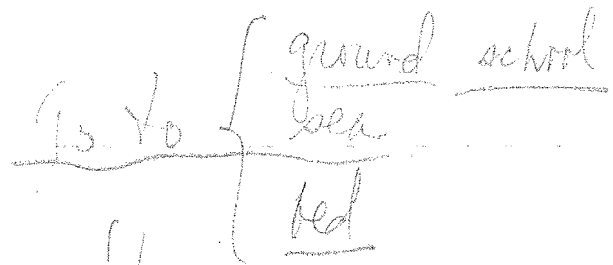
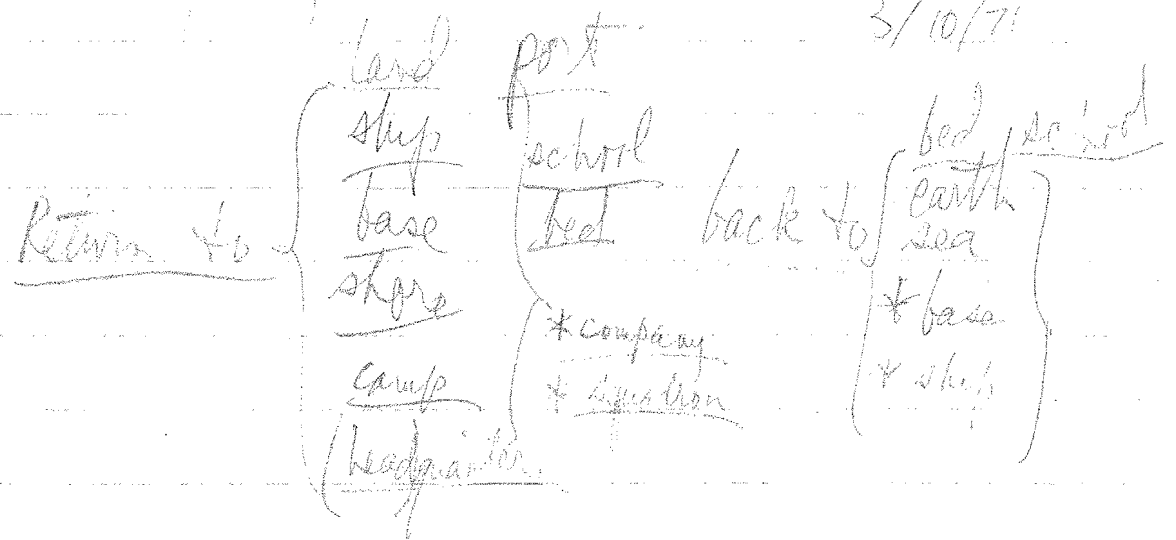
5/12/71

Where does the [p] in yes and
nope come from?

Ask Dave

Return to

5/10/71



penetration on (1/1/71)

Heb bed — ship pen...

This rule must apply before
incorporation, and it is used in
idioms

on: ward
base
* camp

Camp - pen...

in position base face heart
on edge heart-breaking faith/hope
on line

Arguments for V2 target

5/3/21

1. V Scrambling blocked
2. Topicalization (maybe universal)
3. es Insertion
4. The ordering (Top
0 → es)

(otherwise, we'd get Im Walke schleifen es die Kinder)

Stages in Subject Development

From John Haiman's thesis:

5/3/71

DHG,
OFr → 0. V Scrambling ceases.

German → 1. Target areas — fake subject pronouns appear, only in initial position.

2. Since true subjects often follow V, the fake pronouns get reanalyzed as subjects, and they start appearing post-verbally, only being deleted optionally.

French → 3. No pronouns can delete

4. Subject Formation splits off from Topicalization

subjects get formed first, then topicalized constituents precede them. Bill I like

English → 5. Some subjects get formed cyclically and get number (there insertion)

and \rightarrow or

4/22/71

Sentence from Bruce:

You are not allowed to kiss Doris, Babs or Sandra, and vice

versa

?? You are allowed to kiss Doris, Babs, or Sandra, and vice versa

Pronominalization and Propositional Functions

4/24/71

Nobody is taller than

he thinks he is

? he thinks Sarah is

Sarah thinks he is

My god — what's happening here?

5 Blotting

4/24/71

than seems necessary

than I may begin to seem

These show that this rule has to happen
after Raising. Yet I remains sensitive to
the lower verb.

Ta daaa!

Derivational constraint

(or, I could be handled by making cyclical.

Extrap OBL for seem

No - that would yield than (???) was necessary

Hey - how about if whatever rule does seem is not
Extrap? That would solve a lot of problems.

No matter whether S

4/16/77

Whether he eats cheese* (or pizza), I like him.
[not]

Verb Freedom

4/13/71

Facts noted at OSU Seminars:

Verbs are syntactically peer than N and A.

So:

1. P Deletion is major for V, minor for others.

2. V can take NP NP
NP S

Obj raising

(N and Adj can't)

Derived Nouns and Derived Structures

4/13/71

Examples from Noam:

Our election of John* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(to be) president} \\ \text{to the presidency} \end{array} \right\}$

This follows the same general patterns noted about how everything must have a certain degree of nouniness.

But this one is really puzzling. Presumably the undeleted form is out like

My $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{expectation} \\ \text{persuasion} \end{array} \right\}$ of John to leave

But then this is a constraint not improved by audibility.

4/13/71

? John's weakness in his legs

but

* John's back's weakness

(in the sense of John's back is weak from the climb)

Thus this is basic.