

Nouniness and adverb hierarchy

Adverbs have the same hierarchy: this 12/31/71  
explains? \*John's criticisms of the book before I left

The hierarchy is:

Nominative absolutes  
 Although S

(for NP) to VO

P + NP Poss Vng O - despite

P + Vng O

P + Der Nom

P + N

1/19/72

This really suggests  
 that Action Nominals  
 are more restricted  
 than derived nominals

	in 1945	during the storm	after sneezing while burping on a movie in reading	despite her being sad	if you find	since	Nom Abs
	P+N	P+Der Nom	P+Vng O	P+NP Poss Vng O	but	although	
N <u>horses' heads</u>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Der Nom <u>the impudence</u>	✓	✓	✓	?	??	X	X
<u>Bello's trip to Mo.</u>	✓	✓	✓	?	?	X	X
Act Nom <u>the mixing up of the bees</u>	✓	✓	X	X	X	X	X
<u>Bills</u>	✓	✓	X	X	X	X	X
Vng O <u>having slept</u>	✓	✓	✓	?	✓	X	X
Poss NP Vng O <u>Bills having slept</u>	✓	✓	✓	?	✓	X	X
Acc Vng <u>him having slept</u>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	?	X

OK

to VI  
 for NP to VI  
 that S

Wh-word to

12/31/71

I don't know when {  
to go to Rome  
\* going to Rome  
\* to have left

1/19/72

Seems to require [-Stat]

5/23/73  
And disj Q [John Lawler's observation]

(Deantecedentization,  
Deletion + Q's + Cyn Q's)

This seems totally out, even w/o stopping <sup>12/30/71</sup>

Ed knows (what he ate), + Bob knows  $\left. \begin{array}{l} *it \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right\}$  too  
how long he slept  
where to sleep

I found out who he was with, and Sally found (\*it) out too

1/1/72

Who he invited is antedetic, but I wasn't unexpected

Wild! Cf. \* Who he invited wasn't unexpected

This it means That he invited who he invited

(Privacy and Reflexivization)

12/29/71

1. Maybe the reason  $\exists$  I told Max about himself  
{  
talked to  
spoke to

is because Max is a semantic subject. The approximate paraphrase is

I (tried to) cause [ Max { learn about  
hear about  
understand about } himself ]

I gave Max a picture of himself



I cause [ Max have a picture of himself ]

2. Maybe the reason for \*I talked about Max to himself

is

(a) Accordion constraint

(b) From scorching — object antecedent reflexivization will be a very weak rule anyway.

# Statives and progressives

12/29/71

fact from Dave Powty:

Historical present: He is realizing that he's been betrayed  
\*knowing that he's doomed

NB - even this is out:

? I was realizing that I'd have to quit  
\*(when he walked in and fired me)

nice-looking

12/29/71

Fact from Andy Rogers:

He looks (like he's) tired

She looks like she's nice  $\neq$  She looks nice

My fact: This is the only place where nice = beautiful

(same with { smells  
tastes  
sounds  
feels } nice)

nice { sounding  
looking  
tasting  
smelling  
feeling } { nice  
good } looker

Requests and generics

12/29/71

Bruce's fact:

smoke { the  
some  
\* — } grass, please

//s

would you smoke { the  
some  
\* — } grass

← This is out, because the only interpretation is one of requesting

Requests don't contain generics  
Hum

then what the fuck kind of S-type is  
Smoke grass (with anyone)!

An admonition? Advice?

Who knows

NB

Whiteness

12/29/71

When can you see me?

is more demanding than  
can you see me sometimes?

Why?



# Predicate crossing

12/29/71

This should be reformulated as follows:

If  $pred_i$  has primacy over  $pred_j$  in semantics,  
the same is true of shallow structure.

Possessive Deletion

12/28/71

a hat of { Bill's / \*Bill  
the man's / \*the man  
the man we were talking to (\*5) }

This can't be out for <sup>violating</sup> some OC, because  $\exists$

the man we were talking to's hat

Neg incorporation + primacy

12/28-29/71

This rule is OBLIG for subjects,  
weak for objects, blocked for that-clauses, reluctant  
for to-phrases

# Raising

12/28/71

All V which allow NP to  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} V \\ +Stat \end{array} \right]$  objects  
allow passives

[ except prevent etc don't w/ fake  
NP's (and I don't really think they allow  
statives - in I prevented him from knowing Tom  
it's really from an inchoative deletion)

Primacy + Pronoun Deletion

12/28/71

Presumably, this will float

is ho detts che stavo lavorando,

but not this:

\* ho detts che io stavo lavorando

Thus Pronoun Deletion can't  
apply below a case where I could have but didn't.

I bet the same is true in Japanese:

I told { him that I was stupid }  
{ \*I that he was stupid }

CSC

12/27/20

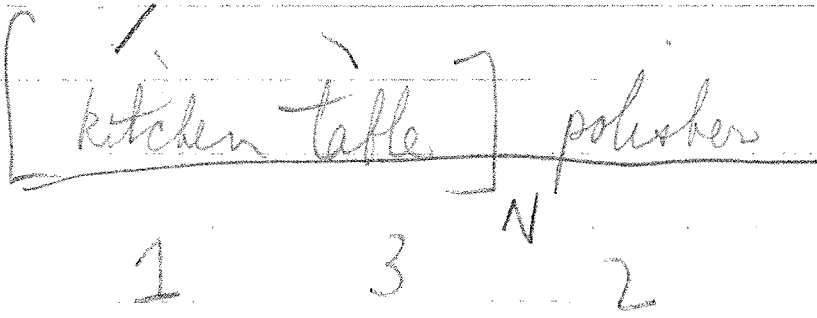
S from Fergy at Exec Comm meeting:

"... a linguistics and something program..."

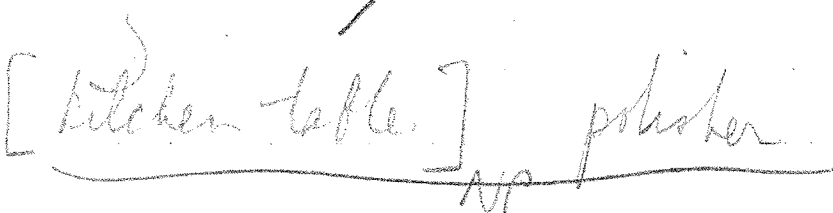
This should be a violation of the  
CSC, as far as I can see

Nuclear Stress in compounds

12/27/71



Not

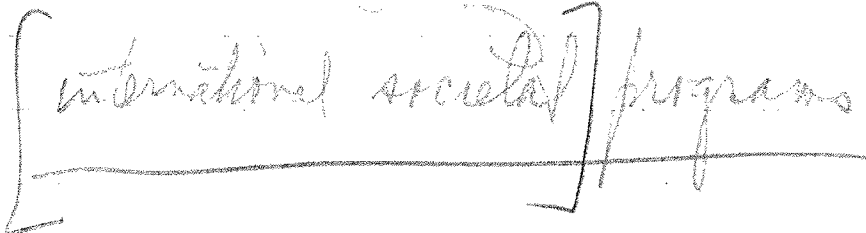


\* 3 1 2

This must be out for the same reason that this is:

\* interminable letter writer

Namely, only unmodified N can incorporate  
This is also why this is written



Pied piping and resources

12/24/77

this problem,

- ?? solving which I am attempting
- { ? his } solving which would be expensive for me
- { ?? him }
- { ? working at solving which } would be expensive for me
- { ?? trying to solve which }



Types of adjectives

1/24/71

Tired though { \* she was  
\* he was } happy, Max went home

I<sup>2</sup> JNPC

12/24/71

Did him being alone

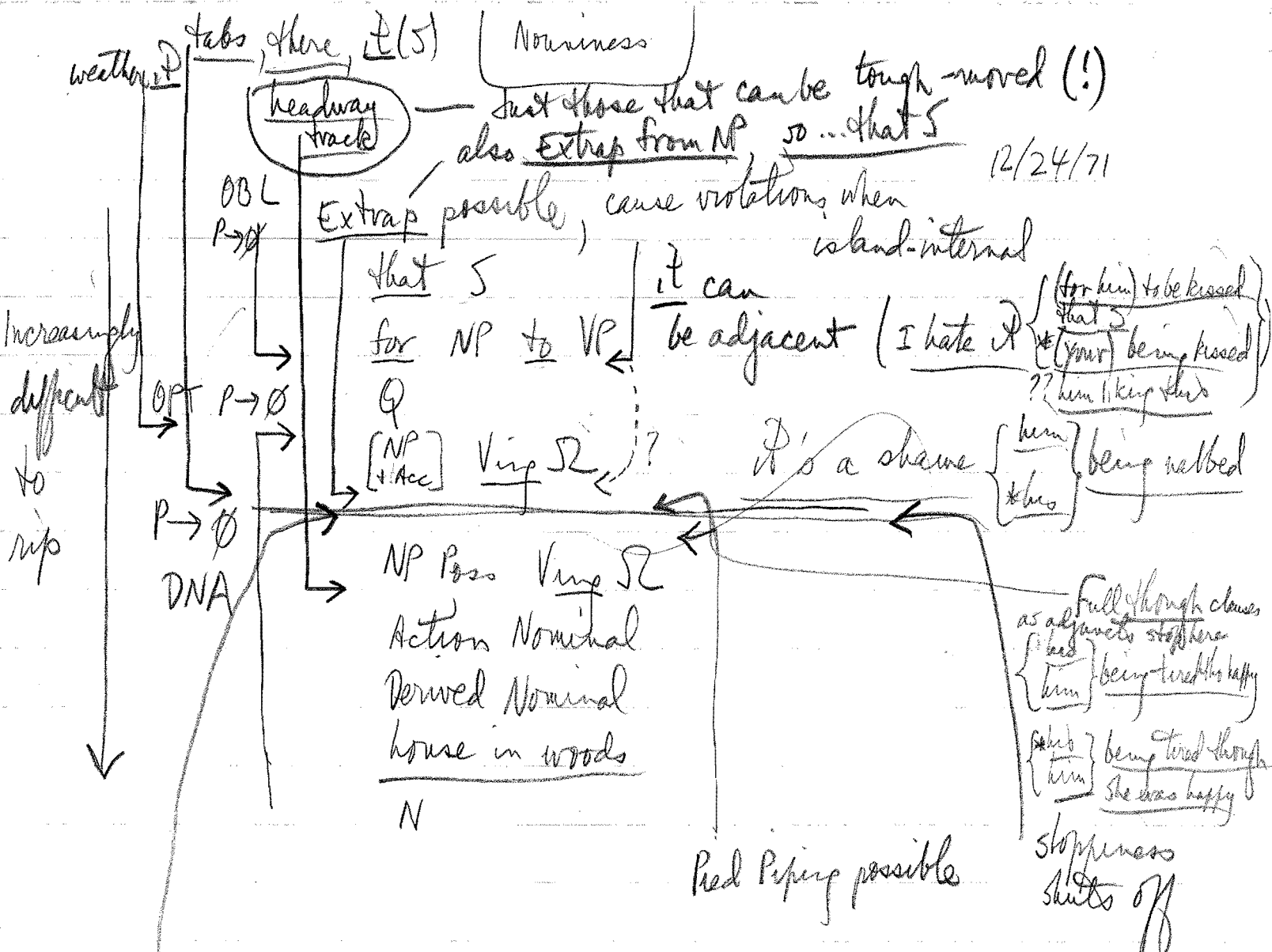
Did there being no milk

>

\* Did you hurry to read

bother you?

Maybe these facts are the same even w/o WI.



Stoppiness: I resent {his} tickling me, + so does she (on stoppy reading)

{him}

that he left (\*'s) not having been moved bugs me

Prediction: that (for to) > for to (that)

1/6/72

Borne out: ?that for him to leave would bug me is true >

?\*for that he left to be noticed would be unlikely

Answer to 10/7

12/21/11

I can't tell you now

but I might later

=? might can

of also the possibility of improvement

in your decision

# Locative Preposing

12/20/71

) There is a productive compound formation rule, which, however, produces compounds w/ phrasal stress.

kitchen bulletin board



bulletin board in the kitchen

I think that phrasal stress is (in general) associated with productivity

NB: Nouns have lefter stress than other categories, and they're the frozenst too.

Backwards any

12/20/71

\* I mentioned having any \$ to few people

Why?

# Pronominalization and privacy

12/20/71

A. Stress loss

B. No-form

C. Relation

1. Forward w/ command (everybody)

2. Forward w/o command (individuals)

any ← 3. Backward w/ command

Eng. pronoun ← 4. Backward w/o command

Japanese pronoun ← 5. Backward into conjuncts

So we expect Japanese pronominalization  
w/ have to be stronger than w/ deletion,  
never the converse.

# Primacy and complex subjects

12/20/11

3 places where subjects are more restricted.

1. or not deletion (maybe)

2. P tagging in QF

3. SSC



# Reflexivization hierarchy (9)

12/20/71

1. Clause-mate reflexivization, subj antecedent

2.

- a. Non-subject antecedent
- b. Across clauses



Japanese seems to do this first

# Syntactic Freedom

12/20/71

1. Inf w/ subj  $\supset$  inf w/o subj
2. Case hierarchy: ablative  $\supset$  dative  $\supset$   $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{genitive} \\ \text{accusative} \end{array} \right\} \supset$  nominative  
etc
3. Primacy
4. Variable strength (includes pied piping strength, and strength of island-makers)
5. Strength of scrambling
6. Color word hierarchy
7. Kinship word hierarchy
8. Kind of quantifier hierarchy
  1. Strength of fronting/negation

Also:

- a. reduced stress
- b. pro-form
- c. deletion

- a. Forward w/ command (everybody)
- b. Forward w/o command (somebody)
- c. Backward w/ command
- d. Backward into coordinate

10. Strength of across-the-board condition

- a. Nothing out of either  $S_1$  or  $S_2$
- b. Stuff out of left
- c. Across the board

11. Strength of incorporation rule

Mark: I car-washed the green

12. Hierarchy(?) of triggers and priority items

13. Nouniness

12/24/71

# Fronting and deletions

? You never said anything more stupid than that these facts <sup>12/19/71</sup> we can't handle

?? I said that Bill they should fire and

Tom that Ed they should keep

12/24/71

Fritz said that there'd been a fight, and

Tom that no criminals had <sup>(the police)</sup> <sub>(? they)</sub> surrounded

?? Pura said that his father they'd been bugging him, and

I that my mother, she'd be all right.

Crazy. So when you front, you block.

That deletion

Gapping above

Stuff from ripping out (Scorching and quarantining)

It's almost as if the lower S becomes detached from the tree.

Wild!

9:30 AM

Or never was attached, if direct disc → indirect disc

Other than Deletion

12/16/71

He claimed that I had stolen other cars  
than Tom's

Bounded downward

(Sluicing)

12/16/71

? the man who Bill and Sue talked to about  
war + peace, respectively

?? the stuff that Bill and Sue talked to George + Mike  
respectively about

Respectively won't go down into that-cl.

But Deletion

12/15/21

But Deletion is downward bounded -  
it won't cross that-clause boundaries

~~Max claimed that Sally ate pizza but~~

~~Max didn't claim that Sally ate a hero~~



Max claimed that Sally ate pizza but not  
a hero

But-Deletion

12/16/71

I think this rule will cross infinitive boundaries:

I tried to buy pizza but not grinders

= I tried to buy pizzas, but I didn't try to buy grinders

≠ " but I tried not to buy grinders

? Who did you try to buy pizzas but not grinders for?

# Primacy

12/15/71

1.  $(\exists)$  for conjunctions which don't allow anything out.

2.  $\exists$  some which allow only across-the-board rules to work.

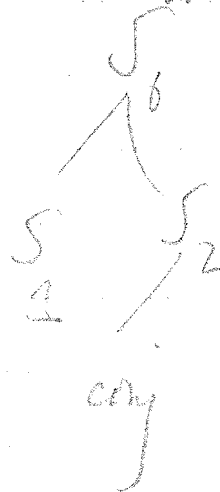
and, or, but

3.  $\exists$  some which allow stuff out of  $S_1$

or  $S_1$  and  $S_2$  in

but not out of  $S_2$

alone. than  
~~the Ker Xat Ber Y~~



4.  $\exists$  conjunctions which only allow stuff out of  $S_2$

This should be a fact about primacy.



If-clauses and epistemics

12/15/71

Fact from Paul Kiparsky:

It's not only epistemic modals that stay out of if-clauses — so does have to.

\* If he is to have gone, S

[ Why then is be possible OK? ]

Note also

It is possible that he { left / will leave }

It will be possible that he { will leave / \*left }

If it is possible that he { will leave / \*left }

Only OK in the "If you are right in saying X" reading

IF-clauses and epistemics

p. 2

12/16/71

? If the faster he runs, the more we'll have to pay,  
let's go

\* If the faster he had run, the more it would have  
cost us, I wouldn't have gone

# Will-Deletion

12/15/71

It is possible that he  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{will leave} \\ \text{left} \end{array} \right\}$

It will be possible that he  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{will leave} \\ * \text{left} \end{array} \right\}$

(NB:  $\exists$  They will think that he left — possible  
is the only V I know of which has this sequence of  
tense condition on future tenses.)

//s

If it is possible that he  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \text{left} \\ \text{will leave} \end{array} \right\}$  5

If you're so smart

12/15/71

The rule which deletes (?) as below

if you are right in saying X, S



if X, S

it's a clever little rule

q.

\* If there's Max, I'm going to hide

\* If who said anything about leaving, why is everybody putting on his coat?

\* order me to leave

If you { guarantee that we'll be back tomorrow }, why

did you cancel your reservations?

\* If like father... like son I'm not going to marry

So there's at least 3 <sup>other</sup> places where these guys show up.

- A. Only in shifted clauses
- B. Not in appositives
- C. Not combined with "you" declaratives.

NB:  
only  
certain  
kinds of  
performatives  
are OK

Appositives and sequence of actions

12/14/71

I made a pie, which <sup>(then)</sup> he ate

the pie, which <sup>(\*then)</sup> Tom ate, was made by me

Then is only possible in following  
appositive clauses whose time follows main clause  
time.

Thus: \*I kissed every girl who I then photographed.

Problem:

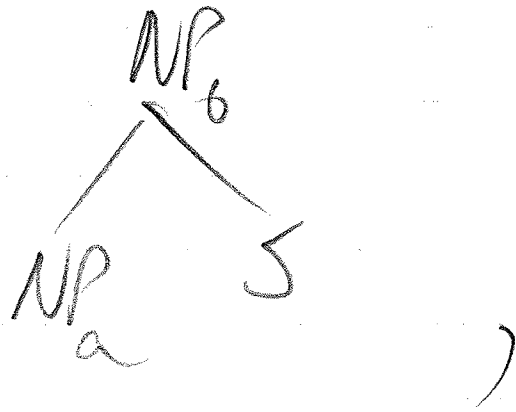
He lives in that house, which I built

but  $j < i$

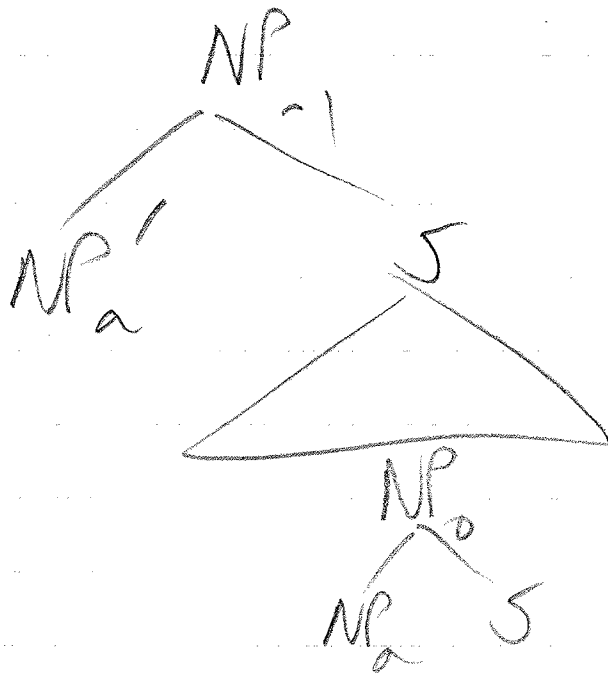
LBC and Rel Cls

12/14/71

Maybe the reason that the  
 sub of RCF wont relativize  $NP_a$  in



which QF can mess with, is just  
 that this structure is out



because  $NP'_a = NP_a$ ,  
 and  $NP_0 D = NP_a$ , so  $NP'_a$   
 $= [x NP_a y]$   
 which is out  
 independently (?)

( Flooding + Clitics  
and OC on Verb-followers

12/14/71

Nick pointed out that it's not an accident that it's object pronouns that allow floating — for this rule will allow them to smuggle up to the V.

deal { \*out { the men } hands }  
          { { us } out hands }  
          { { ?the men } } }

deal { us all out hands }  
          { all of us out hands }

How is this checked?  
Deal out Bill a hand

Hey! \*Deal us out them!

12/15/71

Since the ordering is Native Not More Passive  
this must be thrown out elsewhere

56%

12/14/71

Ruminations with Dick:

Maybe "slot" is a variable action  
too - of.

They { \* each { often  
seldom } } go there  
~~?? each~~  
each "independently"  
~~insertion~~  
? seldom }

So what goes in NP - T<sub>NP</sub>

depends on the identities and properties  
of the inserted morph.



Pseudo-passives and quarantining

12/14/71

NB also: ? There were a lot of beds slept in

This bed seems (\*to be) likely to be slept in

This bed seems (to be) likely to be photographed

\*This bed seem to have been tabs kept in here

So pseudo-passives really are different from real ones — presumably because the passivized NP has to travel farther.

He seems to be likely to be

written {to / \*for}  
talked {to / \*about}

## Fake NP's

12/14/71

These really are fakes — they always  
do only a subset, never a superset,  
of what real NP's can.

Of-phrase Preposing and variable strength

12/14/21

\* of my student, I'm surprised that Jack's the tallest

This hat I'm surprised that he wore

\* Tomorrow I remember that he will be in Cairo

Of my students, I remember that he was the tallest

So:

Adv Preposing < of-phrase Preposing < Topicalization

# QF and Clefts

12/13/71

Not all clefted things can be questioned:

\* How good is it that P testes?

But:

How long was it that he held his breath?

What the fuck gives?

the → 8

12/12/71

S from Josephine Widley:

He's going to university

To the rule is governed

Non-referentials

Arlene's dynamite fact

12/12/71

I            { looked for } as pretty a girl as Mary is  
          { found }

This construction is only good in non-referential environments.

# Sluicing and variable strength

p.1

12/12/21

Principle Sluicing around a constituent islandizes D.

Cases:

1. Pseudo clefts

\* Who was { what I gave to her } a picture of?  
          { my gift to her }

2. Sluicing after think, etc.

Who do you think of a portrait of?

3. In than-clauses (and other than-clauses, after-clauses <sup>and</sup> before-clauses)

\* Who would that vase be more expensive than a portrait of?

4. but (not) and except

\* It's Helen who I bought everything (today) but a picture of.

\* It's Max who I bought flowers (today) but not a picture of.

12/12/71

5. instead of

\* Who did you buy marbles (yesterday) instead of a present for?

These facts of course argue that but (not), except, instead of etc constructions are derived via deletion.

6. Equatives

\* It was Max who I found something wonderful - a picture of



Object nominals

12/12/71

\* who was your gift to her a picture of?

But  $\exists$

who was P a picture of?

so this isn't a  
general restriction  
on picture of X as  
a predicate



where this P isn't a pro-form for  
my gift to her

# Crazy pseudo-clefts

12/12/21

My desire is for tea

? My surprise was at Jeff

They are pseudo-clefts, because  
of slicing facts:

\* It's Max who my desire is for a picture of

# Islands

12/12/72

The following processes make islands:

1. Chomsky-adjunction
2. Scorching
3. Quarantining
4. Sluicing around

for the following types of rules

- A. Choppers
- B. Feature-changers
- C. Sluicers
- D. Fronters

Raising and N

12/12/71

His habit of being examined by Dr. O.

Dr. O's habit of examining him

≠

the frequency of his visits to us

his frequency of visiting us

\* our frequency of being visited by him

Primacy and Equi (s?)

12/12/71

through  
after  
in  
before  
etc?

These only allow their subjects  
to be deleted

while — allows subject and object deletion

Bad counter  
example:  
for Viny SL  
only deletes

↑ w/ deep  
object ↑

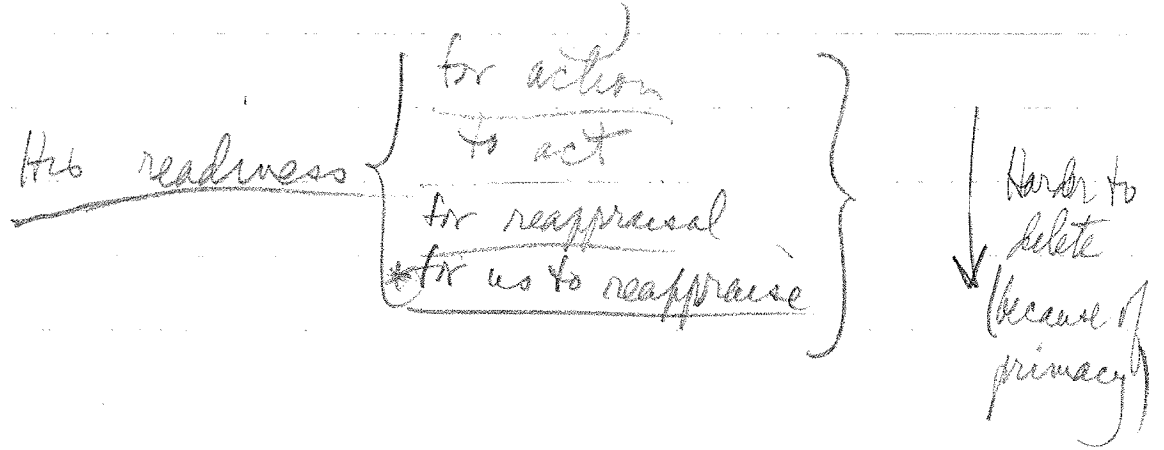
Prediction: no construction will allow  
only objects to delete.

This is stronger than the prediction  
(grammars of)  
about languages

Problem: what about? If a word has grasp  
{cluded has chitch  
etc}

# Category Hierarchy

12/12/71



So why should an increase in inertness  
enhance deletion possibilities?

That Deletion

12/12/71

Mark's idea:

When that has gone, nothing intervenes  
or rips out - the sequence V (IO) J  
is fixed.

Evidence for P:

To whom did P seem <sup>\*</sup>(that) he was tired?

(Weak) counter-evidence I was told he was tired

Super Raising

This would explain

Central's facts: real bitch is better than difficult.

12/11/71

1. Subject branch doesn't allow non-semantic NP's to double raise; object branch doesn't move them at all

2. Both branches improve if to drops, when its subject is being raised.   
 He's easy to want } \*to die  
} dead

3. (From Larry Horn) No predicate governs both

4. It was cheap for me for you to buy it

5. It seems to be considered easy to fix

6. \* These would be easy to judge difficult to play

( Obj Raising , Subj Raising , Obj Raising )

12/12/71

It seems to me that it is like this: the more nominal the predicate, the more likely it is to allow TM, while Subj Raising is characteristically a property of verb.

begin  
continue  
seem etc  
tend  
happen  
turn out

likely  
sure  
certain  
apt  
about  
speed

But if TM = Obj Raising, why oh why are there so many N that allow the former, but <sup>(almost)</sup> none that allow the latter.



# (0 Retacking)

12/11/71

them all is possible roughly where  
chunking is possible

I have { a picture of them all  
Eds }

Aha! A picture of them all would be nice

So the correct generalization is not exactly  
about chunking, but rather about repeatability

But { I picked them all up  
kept them all company }

Why?

# Primacy

12/11/71

1. Edwin's point:

How come Value and Prot Movement aren't counterexamples to the claim that no rules refer only to objects?

2. Will point. Take Agreement. It's not that Hungarian Definiteness Agreement is an impossible rule — it's just that its existence presupposes the existence of some SV Agreement rule

This is a trans-grammar rule or something.

3. Jerry's point:

French: acc → partitive /  $\left. \begin{array}{l} V \\ \{neg\} \end{array} \right\} -$

Not in subjects

Let NP Be

12/10/21

This idiom seems somewhat restricted

He {  
may let us be  
let them be  
wants to let them be

}

Why don't you let them be?

? Is he letting you be?

He seems to have let them be

Maybe it's fairly free though.

Expletives and primacy

this can be saved by Poss → ∅, this can't 12/10/71

it S > I weather

\* it raining depresses me

but I being possible that S depresses me

//s

Je (\*l') entend le pleuvon

vs. Je (le) crois possible que S

These seem to run counter to German, where we find es weather must always stay, while es(S) can drop non-initially (sometimes)

(Poss. Condition)

12/10/21

→ a man (s) being here who I love respects me

a cordial relationship (s) existing between us is □

Why this difference?

Because this is sent further?  
Or what?

NB: this can yank out

Who did cordial relationships exist between?

# Passives

12/10/71

Passive of Indirect Object < Passive of  
Direct Object

\* Who was there given an apple? <

?? What was there given to Bob?

# NP Shift

12/10/71

Fact from PMP:

∃ difference in shifting over stative infinitives,  
where P is roughly possible, and over  
future infinitives, where P is rotten.

\* I  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{wanted} \\ \text{expected} \\ \text{to do} \\ \text{etc} \end{array} \right\}$  to sleep NP

↵

? I proved to have slept NP

(Primary)

12/71

Dave tells me that Macedonian has no  
Raising.

I get Raising & Egru

---

12/10/71

Larry tells me that agreement is OBLIG in  
Swahili, except for inanimate objects,  
for which it's OPT



# Primacy and Emphatic Reflexives

12/10/71

I talk to him about it { myself  
\* himself }

?? by me

He was talked to about it, himself

So the rule only splits them off  
superficial subjects

# Strange Equi in Japanese

12/10/71

Tounoo Ono points out that  
this rule, which can also go backwards,  
and which only works with subject controllers,  
works also into NP's with toki (time)  
etc.

Primary and derived nominals  
+ recapitulation

what Max gave to Julia => Max's gift to Julia  
12/13/71

None are formed from lower clause elements

Presumably a primary fact

governed ->

hardest to find ->

what I believe => my belief

what remains => the remainder

the (happening) occurrence news

≠ paraphrases w/ abstract N heads

the manner in which he stored it =>

his manner of storing it  
the time at which he arrived => (the time of his arrival)

pretty regular

the extent to which he is sincere => (the extent of) his sincerity

the fact that the statement is false => (the fact of) the statement's falsity

?

the interval during which he was imprisoned => (the duration of) his imprisonment

the frequency with which he visited her => (the frequency of) his visits to us  
his imprisonment was long  
doubled

the path along which we traveled => (the path of) our travels

the place where he resides => (the place of) his residence

very rare only with subcategorized locatives

the place to which the train went  
from which the train came

the destination of the train  
the source of the train

Primacy and derived nominals

the question <sup>{of}</sup> as to whether or not the statement is {true} {false}

deletion only possible with truth <sup>12/11/71</sup>  
=> (the question <sup>{as to}</sup> {of}) a

the statements' {truth} {falsity}

(is indeterminate)

Syntactic inertness + primacy  
Category hierarchy

1. There is one By-phrase Postposing rule, but it's more restricted in N than in V. Ditt's work Obj Preposing 12/10/71
2. It's not only that Adj has less Raising than V — it's that the case of Raising that is missing is just what would be predicted by primacy — Raising into obj position

So whether a rule applies is a function of at least these 6 things

Context hierarchy

Strength of rule

Strength of variables in the language

Category of governing item

Speaker boldness

Distance from highest island (cf. \*of what it connects)  
I don't know)

v. of what does it connect  
I'd like to know?

Raising and Adj'

12/10/71

There are lots of V like teach, continue,  
may etc, which require Raising, but  
there are almost no A that do

apt  
about  
supposed

# Privacy + person

e.g. Refl,

12/10/71

If a process works for 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person then for 3<sup>rd</sup> also, but not the converse.

Interestingly, I bet that these 2 can't be separated by any process

Examples:

1. 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person reflexives  $\supset$  3<sup>rd</sup> person reflexives
2. svoi in Russian is OBLIG for 3<sup>rd</sup>, OPT for others
3. picture of X - Refl is OPT (for some) with 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup>, OBLIG (for most) for 3<sup>rd</sup>

# (Embedded idioms)

12/10/71

⇒ some idioms which can only  
embed in adverbial clauses and after V<sub>say</sub>

But are there any that occur only  
in that-clauses? I doubt it.

What can this mean?



# Chunking

12/10/71

Nothing in French goes here NP\_VO  
Nothing in English goes here SV\_NP

Except both constraints can be violated with commas.

# App Clause Formation > RRCF

12/10/71

1. Red piping of N is only possible w/  
ARCF

2. { ? Mary,  
?\*the girl } who Max resents our kissing

# Pied Piping and embedded Q's

fact from Arlene that P (and Home) 12/10/71  
P can only pied pipe in Q's  
Pied piping is limited in  
embedded Q's  
Q P can't be stranded

---

---

## Transderivational constraint - PMP

---

Also, pied piping is worse in subject 12/11/71  
clauses than in non-subjects

?? At whom she will throw it hasn't been determined

---

<

? It hasn't been determined at whom she will throw it

---

So subject clauses are just more restricted, period.

# Source for reflexives

12/10/71

Mark's hypotheses

1. All 1st/2nd person reflexives will be morphologically

my/your + N

2. No language will have such reflexives  
except via NP Copying

# Of-Insertion

12/10/71

No of's which follow V can  
be deleted in derived nominals

\* The son-in-law's approval by the mother-in-law

Non-semantic NP's

12/10/71

These are all out followed by Poss

Two verbs begin

12/10/71

1. don't only w/ transitive

2. close-finish

3. tons

4. \* it  
weather will begin

Privacy + Q-Chat

12/10/21

They are all of them working

\*I gave them all of them bags

Only off of subjects

But:

12/24/21

I bribed the workers - all of them - to strike

So I guess it's always OK w/ comms.



Ordering

12/9/71

Ordering must be

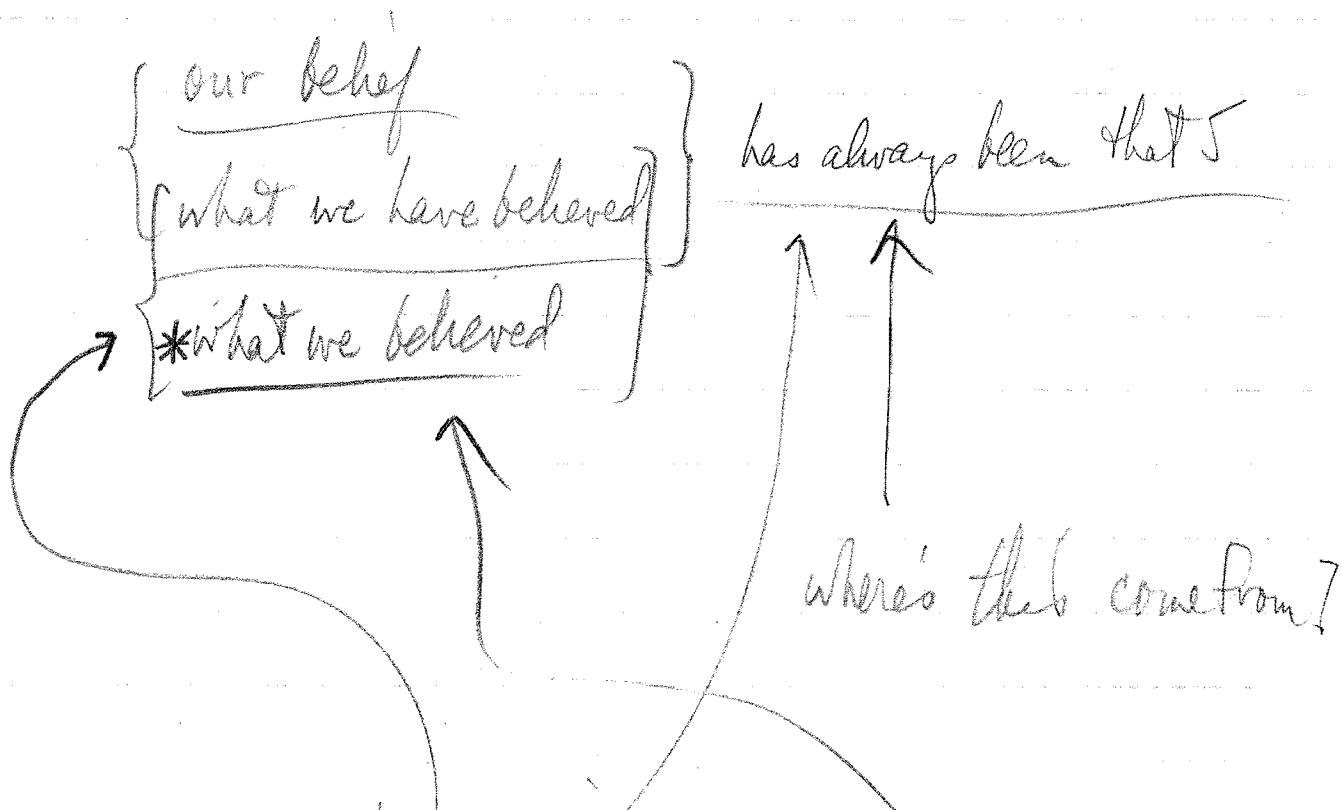
- Native
- Particle Movement
- Passive

← This  
to stop

\* he was handed a book  
over

Pseudo Cleft S's  
and sequence of tenses

12/9/71



Note this insanity — I suggest that  
the only tenses here are copies of here

what we believed { \*is } that S  
was

what we have believed { is } that S  
has been

what he may have believed { may } { be } that S  
could have been  
\*must  
\*was  
\*has been if

Pseudo-cleft S's and  
sequence of tenses

12/9/71

This phenomenon must be at the back  
of this

what I'm doing is singing  
~~\*to sing~~

what he may have known is was  
is may have been be that S

Note all these differences from  
the last S on p. 1.

# Tough Movement and Government

12/8/71

If Cantrell is right, TM has no variables in it, for it is merely a rule deleting person etc.

And White's Deletion also has no variables.

h → x / -y

12/7/71

This rule depends on preceding segments:

Easiest  
↓  
Outtest

- a- {the} huge girilla
- l- while Hugh was in
- r- poor Hubert
- m- from Hugh to me
- n- in Hubert's case
- [+sib, -strident] that Hugh won stop Hubert grab Hugh
- f- ? if Hugh shows up
- ʒ- ?\* wash Hubert
- θ- ? both Hugh and I
- {s, z}- that might piss Hubert off

? pay Hugh  
y- see Hugh 5?  
? empty Hubert

- rk- ?? park Hugh's car
- rc rn- ?? burn Hugh's house
- rt- ?? hurt Hugh's feelings

- rc < lc lt- melt Hugh's skates
- lp- ?? help Hugh park

And maybe on stress? of w/ humanity

# Pseudo-cleft constraint

12/7/71

1. \*Never was our belief that S

(so P is more general than just Q's)

2. \*was what you thought was possible that S?

\*was what was necessary to go home

is \*(P) your belief that S?

was what you ate a peach

All these argue that P is not merely some stupid perceptual strategy

Tous - Hopping

12/7/71

Facts from Jean Roger:

J'ai tous (voulu) les voir [+Aux]

---

? pu  
? Commence à  
? essayé de  
\* condescend de [-Aux]

It only allows transitive models -  
epistemic ones are out.

Furthermore, this sequence must be defined in  
part by the universal definition of Aux.

I bet I hierarchy, such that if  
for any one speaker, one V works, all V higher  
in the hierarchy also do.

# Primacy and returning pronouns

12/6/71

One man who { \*he doesn't know anything  
?I don't think he knows anything  
?\*I don't think you know him }

So returners are

- worse in top clause than in lower ones
- worse in non-subj of lower clause than in subj

i.e., the more returning pronouns are bad,  
the easier it is to relativize, etc.



# Double Raising + Non-semantic NP

12/4/71

There may seem to be problems

/'s

There seem (\*to be) likely to be problems

Double Raising is out of  $\exists$   
infinitive marker to in SS.

So modals etc aren't argued  
against by this phenomenon

Suppression of QF

12/7/71

Bill knows who he photographed,  
and Sam knows (?) too

# QF and Scorched earth

12/6/71

Aha! This provides (somehow?) an explanation for why  
it's easier to get stuff out of why  $Q_s >$  when  $Q_s >$  where  $Q_s >$  IO  $Q_s >$  TO  $Q_s$ .  
The first are being made by Ad-Prop - like rules.

Bill told me { that a picture of Ice we could send to Martha }  
what picture of Ice we could send to Martha }

(a) - It was Martha that Bill told me { that a picture of Ice we could send to }  
{ what picture of Ice we could send to }

(a)  $\ll$  (b)

Another proof that QF is weaker than Topic-  
allegation

(Scorched earth and blands)

12/6/71

what is scorched is everything  
dominated by the note the ripper is attached  
to.

This is the right formulation  
because of the facts with even.

Hum — what happens when even  
is moved rightward?

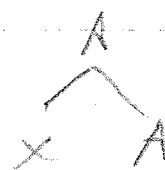
OK We speak of membership even these men

beautiful  
paradise

It was May who I talked to even about war  
It was war which I talked to May about

[Right rippers and scorching]

12/6/71

The reason why  makes only a weak island is because Node Raising and NP Shift are such weak rules.

How about "guaranteeing" for the sake of the principle that freezes up a ripper?

By the way: attaching even does scorching, so Postal must be wrong about

# Pink Piping and Fitness

12/6/71

a problem

\* what he solved which I never knew

?\* to avoid which I've always tried

? solving which I've never succeeded in

? to solve which won't be easy

solving which won't be easy

So whether or not it moves plays a role  
how the heck do I get this?

This will depend as it is a restriction on  
finding an analogue, not a restriction on solving.

NB: Topicalized S's are preferred over non-S's

It is often said in which Bell said that solving he would try

# Subject Formation

12/6/71

Fact from Mrs. Ariz:

Maybe the SSC is because the S is  
SD close to the beginning of the S

My thought: it's been moved there by Subject Formation

?

12/6/71

\* That's just { the right way to do it  
\* the best way to do it }



$$\text{RECF} < \text{ARCF}$$

12/4/71

the rules, of which there are many, >

~~2x~~ the rules of which there are many are hard to learn

Pseudo Clefts + Yes/No Qs  
+ Lexicalism

12/5/71

Was { what he ate a peach?  
\* what he said that I?  
\* his claim that I? }

my surprise  
[anger  
was at]  
his intranquility

This is an argument that this is  
a pseudo cleft, thus that  $\exists$  rule  
what he claims  $\rightarrow$  his claim

It's not the  $I^2$  SNPC constraint  
because of \*Was what you would have us \$?

So it's only pseudo clefts  
which are constrained  
NB: we found some  
would you come to { betray her?  
betraying her? }  
{ betraying her?  
betraying her? }  
This wouldn't be excluded by  
that  
{ betraying her?  
betraying her? }

nooky and have relations

12/3/77

I got  
wanted  
expected } some nooky

Some nooky would be nice right now

Aha — □ □ have here.

# Deantecedentizing

12/2/21

Weaker suffixes deantecedentize less than stronger ones.

\* The town I bought a picture of was ugly,  
but it's not for sale

The town I bought pictures of from Alice was lovely,  
but she has no more to sell

definite pronominalization

\* Boston I did buy a picture of, but its frame  
fell off

? Ken was fun to take pictures of, but they  
were out of focus

Boston they said we'd like, but my wife didn't think so  
\* didn't believe it

This process only seems to work for

Variable strength and sloppiness

12/1/71

As ripping strength increases, sloppiness gets harder

Max thinks he's hard to get along with, but Joe doesn't think so

- Max thinks he'll be hard for us to imagine Sam trying to defeat in debate, and Bill thinks so too

No sloppiness

? Max believes that these points he'll get, but Tom doesn't think so

Max believes that tomorrow he'll win, but they don't think so

? knows  
admits

? know it  
\*admit it

# Ideas and primary

12/7/11

Factors from Weyles

You get X = There is X

You get a lot of rain in Brazil

Maybe it's an idiom?

2. Z-closure

X looks like there would (at)

melt on X's tongue

- (d)er

12/7/1

reponder  
remainder ]

ergative suffix

Table Comparison

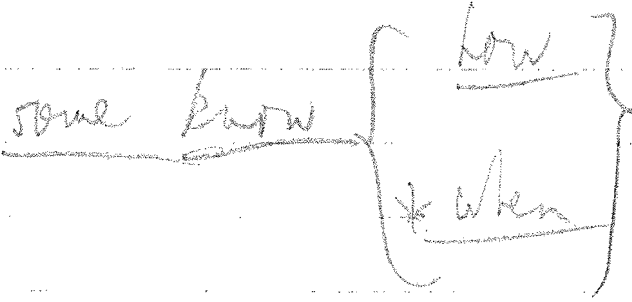
Fall 1971

More people smoke more Camels than animals smoke Luckies



Lexical insertion

4/71



Privacy and Fact → 0

11/21

No V governs the sub in subject position

cf. I judged considered the fact 5 }  
I felt ignored } ≠ 5 }

(the fact) 5 } was considered }  
I considered }

cf. I noticed that 5  
\* that 5 was fact

Mark's observation

How do you feel judge consider ?

I<sup>2</sup> SNP C

11/30/71

? \* Is your belief that J?

\* Is your plan { to go there alone  
going there alone } ?

Both bad, so it looks as if this  
may not be involved

# Variable strength

he is a bastard p. 1  
to work for  
that more would be  
11/30/71 beautiful, see

Not Hopping  
would go about being a good argument  
that it's a syntactic process

Cf. John was surprised { \*that he was sent to NY }  
and Ted to LA { ? to be sent to NY }  
[OK w/ Adv Prop]

There are two hierarchies, which must be given

universally:

Why should these environments  
be ranked this way? [semantics? (doubtful)]  
[primacy?]

Why should these processes  
be ranked in this way? [perception?]

- I. 1. Main clauses
- a. subjects
  - b. non-subjects
2. Lower non-tensed clauses
- a. w/o intervening NP
  - b. w/ intervening NP
- gapping* →

1. The Acc X the Ber
2. Tough Movement (and pals)
3. Adv. Preposing
4. QF
5. Topicalization
6. Rel. Cl Formation
7. Cleft S Formation
8. Pseudo Cleft Formation

3. That-clauses
- a. Objects of believe, think, etc
  - b. Objects of know
  - c. Objects of other non-factives
  - d. Object of non-sentential factives
  - e. Object of know
  - f. Object of sentential factives
  - g. Krispy Klause
  - h. Direct quotes
- How come Not Hopping reverses these?
- NB: Who do you know he heard?
- \*realize

Tenseless clauses  
? Tomorrow I must recommend that you study with me

embedded Q's? [Find out whether Dennis pays attention to Krispy Klause]

Also, the constraints must themselves be ranked:

1. CNPC
  - a. w/ sentential N
  - b. rel. cls.
2. CSC

Also pred piping:

1. No pred piping
2. Only 1 pred pipe
3. picture N pred pipe
4. subjectless { a. gerund } pred pipes  
                  { b. infinitive }

11/30/71

II. There are several types of universals:

A. If believe-clauses are islands for any rule, know-clauses will be.  
(Vitto for whole languages)

B. No language can have a stronger rule of QF than its rule of RCF

C. No language will allow Topicalization to penetrate to a place where wh movement could not.

III

~~How can I say that some languages are peer than others in their ripping strength~~

{ Danish  
{ English  
{ French  
{ German  
{ Russian  
{ Italian

Obviously, it would be crazy to say Danish has a differently formulated rule of RCF than English.

Maybe it would be sufficient to say that a language provides variables from strength a to strength b. Then it would be automatic that the highest strength ones would show up in the strongest rules.

11/30/71

The fact that QF can rip out the subject of a there-S, while RCF can't is probably to be handled by saying that the latter rule works only on definites.

---

Maybe the idea about variable a - variable b is not good enough - some language might have a range of variables, yet still supply QF and RCF with the same type.

[If this is really ever the case (let's hope it isn't), then we'll have no choice but to mark every rule in every L for its ripping strength.]

---

IV. So whether a particular rule can apply in any given case is a function of 3 things:

- a. The inherent strength of the rule
- b. The inherent freedom of the context
- c. The variable strength which is provided by the language

(Islands and There)

11/30/71

\* It was Max who there stood on the table a picture of

?

11/30/71

Sentence said by Gary:

~~a man (drunk) is a man (happy)~~

OPT

OPT



Ripping and Antecedency

4/30/71

George  
Williams

Strong rippings deantecedentize S's:

\* The hat which Bill said that Sally wore was cheap,  
but the clerk didn't believe it

Weak ones don't:

Tomorrow many of them think I'll be in Rome,  
but many don't believe it

She was tough to seduce, but he attempted it

PP Shift

11/30/71

Constantly amicable relations between nations existed

OPT

? The nations which amicable relations existed between

Seems OK - so PP Shift  
doesn't make islands

# Crazy long nuclei

11/30/71

The facts about oy, aw, and oo are

1. They can only occur finally or penultimately (and only if followed by  $\begin{matrix} [V] \\ \text{---} \\ [st] \end{matrix} C_0 \#$  in the latter case)

[cf. \*oozone etc]

2. They all alternate with an unrounded low V

[oy] ~ [ʌ]  
 [aw] ~ [ʌ]  
 [u] ~ [ā]

the: hoof [ʊ]  
 hooves [ū]  
path - paths

3. Q: Can oo be followed by [+gw] segments?

A: Yes.

Hum

Move-  
motion

Stoop  
 roof  
 brook  
 tomb  
 move  
 roof  
 brook  
 broom  
 room  
 broom  
 room  
 broom  
 room

smorch spook

porch

storge

\*ooq

(except Luger)

[maybe this is [yuv] anyway]

ouyat (how pronounced?)

only 2?

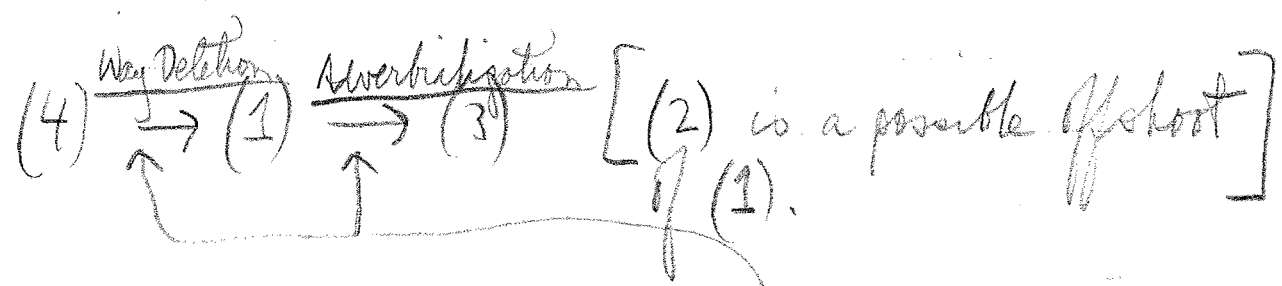
amicably and  $D_{MAN}$

11/29/71

As far as I know, this word only occurs as a  $D_{MAN}$  (or as an adjective modifying abstract N which derive from V which can have  $D_{MAN}$  - no other citations in W3))

- (1) ? Their resolution of the conflict was amicable.
- (2) An amicable resolution of the conflict.
- (3) They resolved the conflict amicably.
- (4) ?? The way they resolved the conflict was amicable.

If all these exist, the preferred route of derivation would be



Thus this helpful word would provide evidence for the correctness of these rules.

But wait -

- (5) \* The boulders rolled down the hill amicably

This word requires animacy, and probably NP\*

amicably and D<sub>MAN</sub>

p. 2

11/30/71

(6) { ? Jack  
The boys } left amicably

So this sort of suggests that the underlying form must be (7)

(7) They were amicable { in  
while } resolving the conflict

It seems to me that (7) is OK, but only  
when this phrase is there.

Wild fact

(8) ?? Their way of resolving the conflict was amicable

↑ This may not work with amicable, but it surely does with clever, etc. It suggests that way is transitive.

amicably and DOWN

p.3

u/30/71

{ Max's  
\* The boulder's } way of squashing the tulips

thus way itself requires a human subject. Hum

# Conjunctive Q's

11/29/71


Another proof that they are Q's, not free relatives:

What happened that we didn't expect was fantastic

but

?? I ate what she cooked that was nowshipping.

Hmm - maybe this is OK



even and NP\*

11/29/21

Fact noted by some UMass student  
(via Bruce):

<u>even Bill and Max</u>	}	<u>are similar</u>
		*are erudite
		<u>embraced (* Fritz)</u>

Thus NP<sub>a</sub> and NP<sub>t</sub> from Conj Red  
doesn't allow modification of NP<sub>a</sub> by even

My fact: \* Bill and even Max are similar

There's something here about first NP's.



# Inferred Answers

11/26/71

Q: Are you sick?

A: Does a grizzly bear shit in the woods?

Q: How long have you disliked the US?

A: How long has Nixon been president?

These "answers" presuppose that the hearer knows the answer to the second Q.

Inferred requests

Do you think you might want to tell me whether you think you might want to go please? 11/26/71

Do you think you might want to tell me when you think you might want to please leave?

→ Do you think you could leave? is more polite than

Why are only  
yes-no Q's  
interpretable  
as requests?

Could you leave?

Just as

I think you are wrong is more polite than

You are wrong

What shall I wear?

What do you think I <sup>should</sup> ~~shall~~ wear?

→ Why bad?

# Presuppositions

11/25/71

I believe all V's in presuppositions have to be possible V's in the language.

This will be a nut-cracker to prove, though.

# Families

11/25/77

1. There - constructions
2. Tough - constructions
3. Passives

- |                          |                            |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. Regular               | f. Un-passives             |
| b. German non-acc. cases | g. Double passives         |
| c. German intransitives  | h. NP was rained on (by P) |
| d. Japanese infinitives  | i. Volitional passive      |

4. Relative clauses
  - a. Restrictives
  - b. Appositives
  - c. The subject that S
  - d. A man came in and a woman left who were similar
  - e. Fake relatives from Q's
  - f. Relative clauses
5. AN

6. es - S's in German
  - a. weather V
  - b. es gibt X
  - c. es ist X
  - d. nicht/wahr
7. Imperatives

8. Reclaratives
9. Adverbs
10. Topicalizations
  - a. surprisingly
  - b. allegedly
  - c. admittedly
  - d. reluctantly

- a. tremendous fool
  - b. rapid departure
  - c. big house
  - d. an unusual couple
- All put adj before det

11. VSI
  - a. Q's
  - b. Neg's
  - c. If-then S's
  - d. than-clauses (cf. Emonds for discussion of differences)
  - e. May your life be long

12. A  $\left[ \begin{matrix} V \\ +Tns \end{matrix} \right]$  NP
  - a. DIR V NP
  - b. AP be NP
  - c. by NP be V NP

There S's

Facts discovered w/ Gary:

11/23/71

There are (at least) 6 constructions w/ there

1. There is NP (No double Raising)

2. There arose a problem no Raising, ?SVI, ?Tag Aggr OK  
embedding OK, ?Neg

3. There stood on the table a lamp from Calcutta  
embedding OK, Raising(?), No pl Aggr(?), Neg?

4. There is getting into college to think about

Tag OK  
No Neg, SVI, Aggr  
embedd. OK  
No Raising

5. There's the problem about citizenship ← maybe it's always following  
No Neg, complex aux(?), no embedding (or Raising), SVI, Aggr, No Tag

6. There's England (PP) ← This is all that can follow

- No embedding
- No Raising
- No SVI
- No Tag
- No Neg
- No Complex aux

There 5's

11/23/71

Fact discovered w/ Gary:

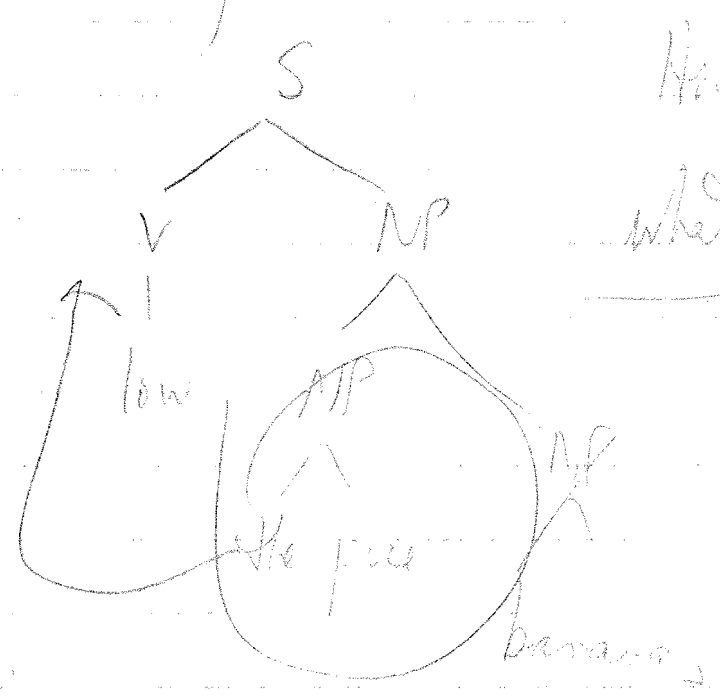
There's a man from Kansas { who wants to see you  
\* \_\_\_\_\_ }

# Predicate Raising and N

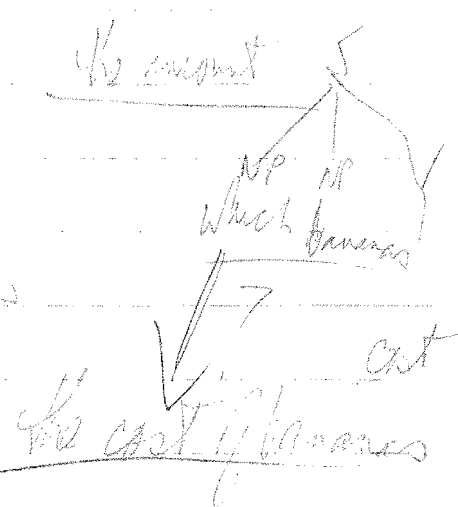
11/23/71

- (1) The price of bananas is low. =
- (2) Bananas are low in [price] =
- (3) Bananas are cheap <sup>cost</sup>

(1) → (3) might be a case of  
Predicate Raising



However, price / X =  
what X costs.



6

Veritas ~~is~~ MV

4/23/71

There is { Jack  
a guy } { works  
on the table  
\*drink }

Generalization : After deletion

F only PP. ∴ This is a PP



Modifier Shift

4/23/71

She is { more content a  
a more content } naturalist than Martha

\* a content naturalist

# Postnominal Modifiers

11/23/71

\* somebody tall interesting just came in

OK? ? Somebody tall from Kansas

\* examined by Dr. Petrocelli

Something red near the end of the shell caught my eye  
? cheap with a chrome handle

Adv Deletion

11/23/71

\* This house was built

But

The water of 1873 was terrible.

Few of the house which were built (then)

had plumbing

Heh heh heh.

-ates

11/23/71

2(3)      1  
design(\*at) ee

---

↑  
why?

11/23/71

# Final V

yūw - reactive all rare  
Mariton

p.1

ī - July  
ē - granite  
ēe - away

ā - Omaha

ū - voodoo  
ō - vets (Toronto)  
ō - Arkansas

oy - alloy

aw - Moscow

# Final V

ī - Kennedy  
ē - dropped

ēe - algebra

\* ā

\* ū

ō - Fiasco

\* ō

yū - value

yūw - Yukon, would

ī - ukon

ē - Esau

ēe - acorn

ōy - only in last 2 syllable

# Initial V

ā

ū - only in last 2 syllable

ō - oboe

ō - autumn, audacious  
automat

ōw - only in last 2 syllables

ī - interest

ē - ectoplasm

ēe - Atlantic

# Initial V

ā\*

ū - umpire

ō

ō - octopus

yū -

Medial V

Fuw - Petula

11/23/71

<sup>i</sup>impetigo  
ī - toneritis

ē - Monongahela

ēe - Koeler ā - Chicago

ū - Paloska

ō - Oklahoma

ō - Winnipisaukee

oy - Sheboygan

aw - Dowdy

(rowdy  
doughly are w/#)

Medial V

ī - ballistic

ē - manifesto

æ - Alaska

ǎ #

ū - bullet only in last 2 syllables

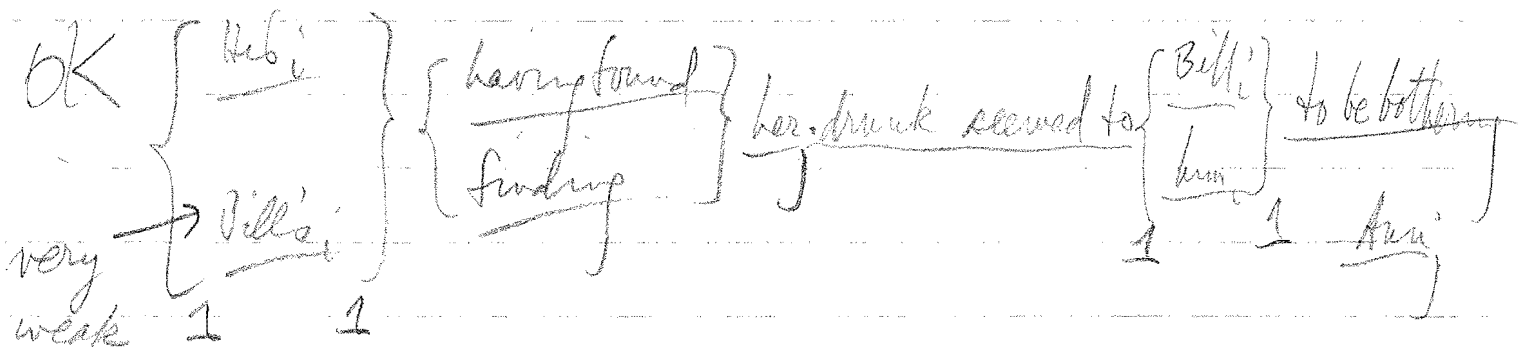
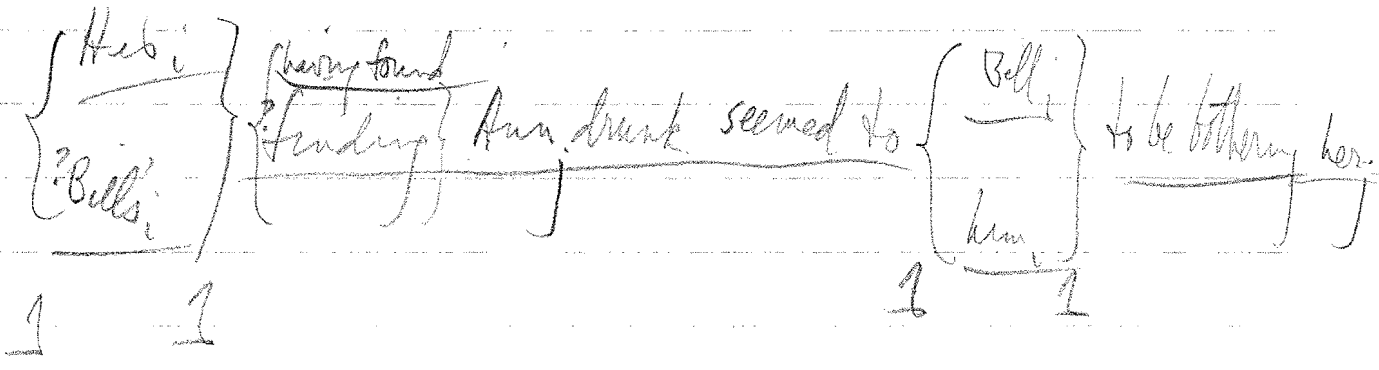
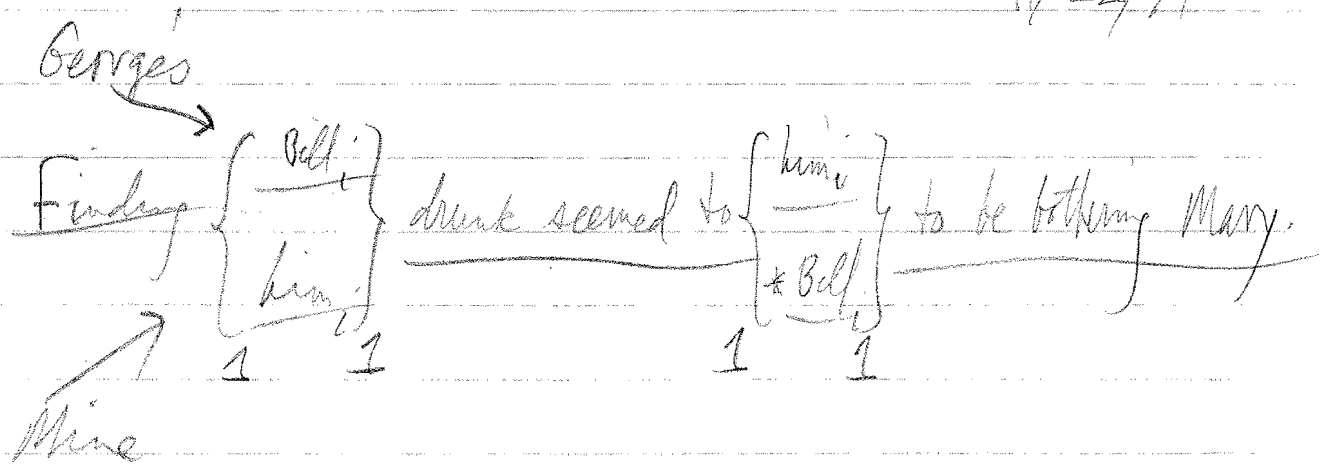
ō -

ō - harmonic

yo - scruple

George's Auto-cycle J

11/22/71



Pseudo Cleft S's

11/24/71

(\*Exactly) what I ate was a tomato

She cooks (exactly) what I wanted

---

(\*exactly) what I ate

her to cook

DF mk  
of 50el



Reppability

So reppability 11/19/71  
no substantive

The only interest  
where I think  
that during part of  
I was crazy