

Double Factoring

11/19/71

More men smoke Camels than women smoke Luckies.



the number of men who smoke Camels exceeds the number of women who smoke Luckies

? More men smoke more Camel than women smoke Luckies

i.e.

$$15 \text{ men} \times 2\frac{1}{2} \text{ packs of Camel/day} > 10 \text{ women} \times \frac{1}{2} \text{ pack of Luckies/day}$$

Is this conceptually OK?

(Whiz Def
Modifier Shift)

11/19/71

* any industrious Chinese

in Appl sense

Explained by Whiz Def
and Modifier Shift

Nram's conditions

4/18/71

I think this paper says that the only place where \exists variables is through the action of the cycle.

What about Slippy = ? Some-ray?

goffing

11/27/71

Furthermore, what about L's like Japanese, where \exists complementizers, so that the whole absurd calculus will fail?

(Sifting)

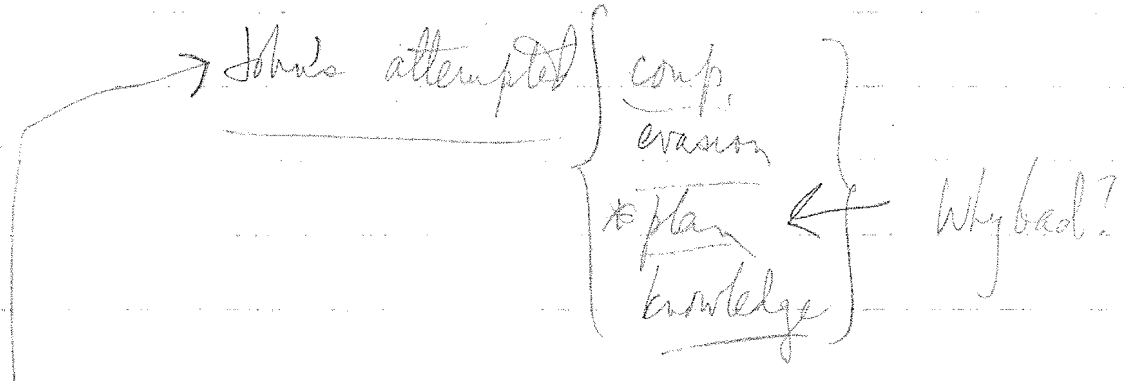
4/18/71

Wasn't he here, [don't] you think?
[*do]

Was he here, [do] you think?
[*don't]

attempted

11/18/21



* the comp, which was attempted,

? the attempted comp by the guards

Maybe this arises by a rule of
by - phrase passivization

?

11/18/71

what do you think you're doing?

where do you think you're going?

= Why are you doing that stupid thing?

Why are you going to that stupid place

Cf. also

what do you think I meant?

= Of course I meant what I said

There arose + Raising

11/18/21

1. * There was arising a cloud

I think this probably disposed of Emunds - I'll have to check

// 's

* These were being students arrested

Generalization: old baby follows highest
there business ✓

2.

There seems { to have arisen a dispute
to exist no dispute }

Pointed out by Alexa

// 's

I believe there { to have arisen a dispute
to exist no dispute }

So I Raising

V creation

11/16/76

somebody built this * (in 1773)

//s

this was built (by somebody) * (1773)

//s

* a built house

V-V constraint

11/18/71

This exists in German too

NB

Group(n) ordering



This n is there just for

stop [əV] sequences from arising

Retraction rule

11/77

Dick's fact:

In syllable N, retraction pays attention to whether preceding syllable is strong or not.

And - before -ate

creat	mate
vigate	cate
	ritate

(not before other affixes - cf. lithed / anode)

This shows that there is one RR.

and that, since retraction from non-affixes as well as from -ate, goes by the ASR, it will be sufficient to say:

$$V \rightarrow [-ASR] / \#C_{\sigma} [V] C' - C_{\sigma} \#$$

Perfect Deletion

11/17/71

?? I was here since Christmas ← worse

I { ate it } already
 { have eaten it }

but

I { saw him } yesterday
 { *have seen him }

The asymmetry of these facts would be accounted for
by a rule of Perfect Deletion

?

11/16/71

Dick's Act:

(From To Tech.)

(own)

Lithium was a 'shrink', in an

{ words }
{ *word }

Because here, he said here
part "I was a shrink"

But what was worse?

Lithium should, in his own words

{
"Bill"
"Fact"
"Bullshit!"
}

Much better

This may be a proof that this refers
to multiple utterances. This would argue
for driving indirect discourse from direct discourse.
Maybe

Epistemics and Not Hopping
+ Aux as MV

11/16/71

Fact from Gary Milsark:

Epistemic modals don't allow Not Hopping:

It may be broken AMBIG

I don't think I may be broken MONOG

↑
only root sense

This parallels this fact:

* It might not be that he'll leave until tomorrow

NB: He might not leave until tomorrow

The OKness here suggests that not hasn't
been moved up.

(accordion constraint)

11/15/71

Crossover is a subcase

Shallow structure

11/15/71

Maybe this level is just the output
of the last cycle.

Agreement

11/15/71

No language has SV Agreement
before any rule which forms cyclical
subjects

Can this be used to
prove that "WTT" isn't cyclic?

cf.

important are the claim S_1 and the claim S_2

↑
This can't be embedded

11/17/71

→ Backward agreement is never in evidence
except as a result of non-cyclic rules

Privacy and es in German

11/15/71

Weather es never deletes: *gestern hat geregnet

Object es sometimes is

OBLIG - bestehen darauf

OPT - wissen, sagen

OUT - meinen

Non-initial subject es is

NB

→ Always possible

Rarely OPT möglich

Largely OBLIG wahr

There seem to be no idioms like bein AS in need

gott läßt regnen - out

Ich fand* (es) unwahrscheinlich

← suggests that the

es deletion facts are cyclic

Major Imperatives

U/15/71

The horse be killed !

Kill the horse !

This can obviously only be done by splitting the rule of You → Ø

SD You Deletion

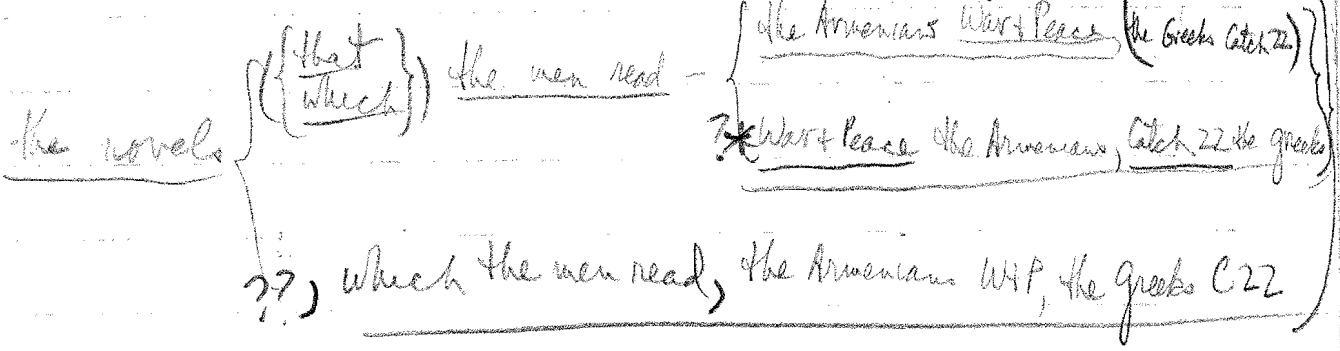
Passive

SC You Deletion

Specification

11/13/71

NB: 2 conjuncts



Factivity and Disjunction

11/13/71

There seem to be only 2 kinds of or that can show up in a factive environment

a) With either, conditioned by modals

The fact that { either boy
either Max or Fritz } could be the villain
is disturbing

b) From and / Neg.

The fact that he doesn't like peas or carrots is
disturbing

But not:

* The fact that either Maximilian or we can hire a maid
is disturbing

The fact that he lives either in Rome or in Paris
is disturbing
} of importance ← This works — why?

Specification 5's

11/13/71

The 1st S of S:5 allows ripping out of - not
the 2nd

* It was Max who Aunt bought me something nice: a picture of

no.

It was Aunt who bought me something nice: a picture of Max

I bet S:5 obeys the constraints: Aha - sometimes yes ^{NB}

Fred and someone silly (my sister) would make a good couple

* We're going to buy Aunt a dog and something for the baby: ^(would make a good couple)

we're going to buy her ^{one} a dog and a rattle

? The minister compared Aunt and someone from Kansas - T.J. Kelly

? * I have Aunt's picture of someone from Kansas: I have her picture of T.J. Kelly

Specification 5's

p. 2

11/13/71

Beautiful feet pointed out by Allan Prince after class yesterday:

The specification clauses must be swooping in, because if they were swooping out, they'd be violating the Right Roof Constraint.

Who slept where is fantastic: Max upstairs and Ted downstairs

(Primacy)

11/11/21

picture - N reflexivization is OBL w/ clause-
mate antecedents, optional across clauses

as to

11/11/71

Why can as to occur here

Would you be so kind as to X?

NB: But not here

* Was he so kind as to X?

* I may be so kind as to X

etc.

Normally, as to is only after
disjunctive Q's

Requests

11/11/71

Have some run (* or else)

↑
This V is only good in requests

Primacy and acquisition

11/10/71

1. Dan now has clause-mate reflexivization, w/o having by X + myself (actually, he has NP like we)
2. I bet kids have who VP clauses before they have who NP V O
3. I'm sure they have subject I's before non-subject I's.
4. I'm sure they have Equi w/ subject controllers before Equi w/ object controllers!
5. Ditto wrt Raising
6. Also, I bet NP Copying from subjects precedes the same rule from non-subjects

Lexicalism + Tough Movement

4/3/21

Fun diagrams for NP_i to NP_j are difficult

This can't be a deep subject,

diag. I V NP_i NP_j

Clefts and V-V selection

11/9/11

Much worse with condescend and manage. Why?

I'm trying for P to be on Tuesdays

that I swim

I'm trying for P to be Howard that I ? photograph
*resemble

The ones where a non-adverbial constituent are clefted seem much worse, for some reason.

?? I forced P to be on Tuesdays that we go out
(brubed)

?? I bribed Max for P to be with the Maxwells
that we start a daisy chain

Best: I'm going to make P be tomorrow that he cuts my hair

Tough Movement

11/9/71

Paris is an $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{easy} \\ \text{idiotic} \end{array} \right\}$ city $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{in which to live} \\ \text{for living in} \end{array} \right\}$

NB
(of Central's S's)
So the problem isn't unique to Tough Movement,
at least.

Note also that here, \exists only an abbreviatory
variable

Paris is an idiotic city to try (* to imagine Sue consenting)

to live in

Neg + Q

11/9/71

All (or maybe only (some) disjunctive) Q's
exclude some kinds of negatives:

? who did nobody find

who nobody saw esp? wild
* a mystery }

Non-semantic NP's

11/9/71

NP's like tabs, advantage, weather it and there
don't undergo

nice little
natural
class

- Tough Movement (why don't raised subjects?)
- Left or Right Dislocation
- Topicalization
- Pseudo-cleft formation
- Double raising (fact from George)
- By phrase formation - *There surprised me by being a girl
- Passive by complementation
- Passivization of objects of prevent

11/27/71

NB: a little something

can sometimes be pseudo-clefted

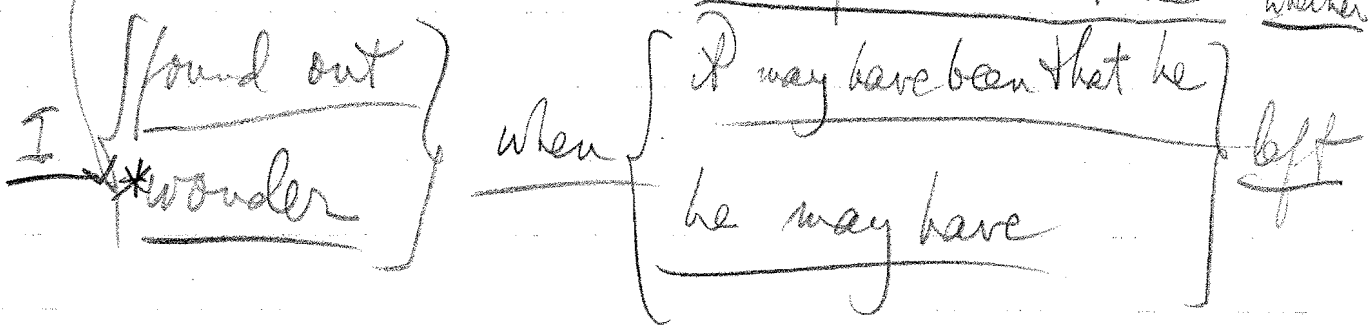
What I want to buy is a little something * [on drugs]
[for Sally]
[from NY]

NB

Aux as MV

11/9/71

NB: This restriction must be stated on rules which rip things out of objects of \diamond and \square predicates, because these are \diamond is possible that he ^{fine with} whether



Nice little parallelism:
 \diamond seems to obtain also
 for
 { it is necessary }
 { \diamond must be }

NB: with good, there appear to be no restrictions

- should he have gone?
- would it be good for him to have gone?
- should it be that he left?

Compound rule

11/8/77

Nouns allow up to 2 syllables

monosyllable
meta # language

vs

un#end

But affixes have to be monosyllabic

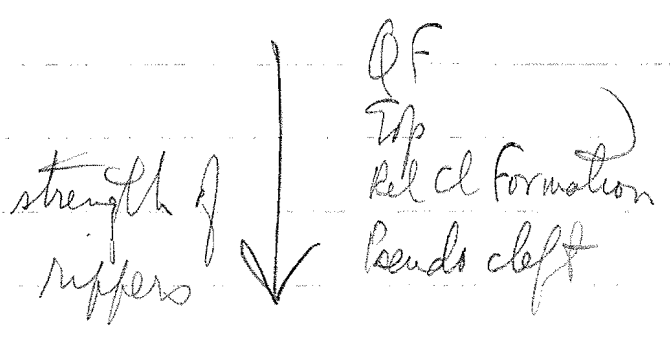
characterize vs characterization

Pred piping + rippability

11/8/71

Observation of Ken:

The fact that this hierarchy obtains



should explain why

a picture of whom is only

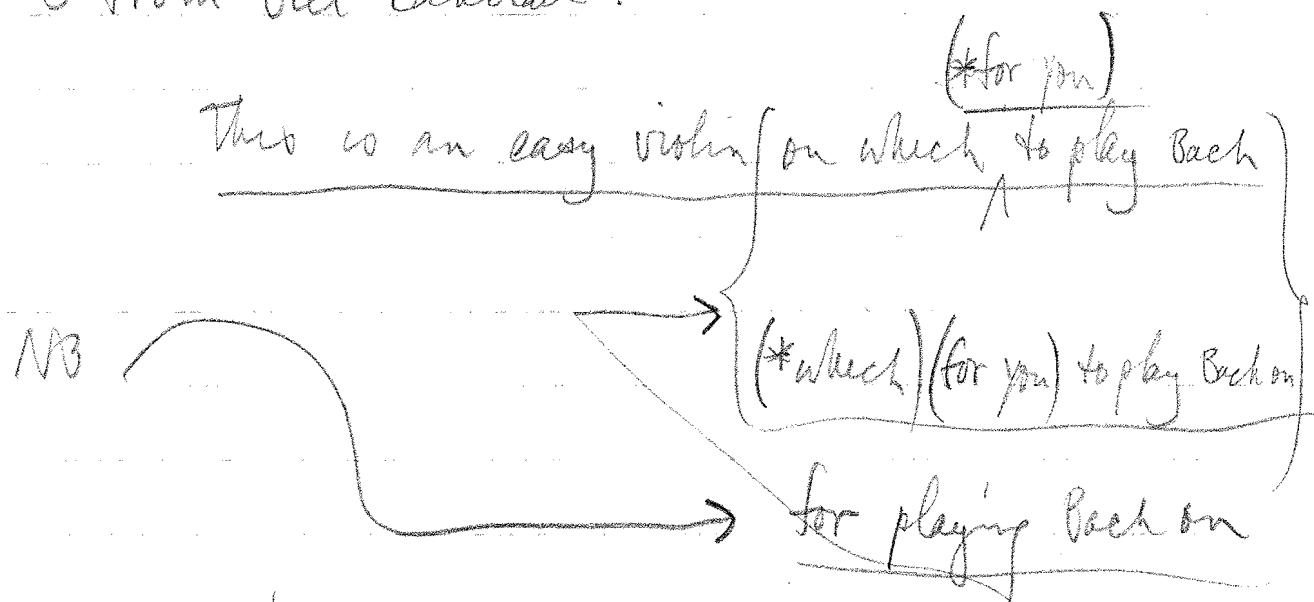
good in rel cls.

And in general, the more one pred pipes, the worse things are.

Tough Movement.
+ lexicalism + flip

11/8/71

S from Bill Cantrell:

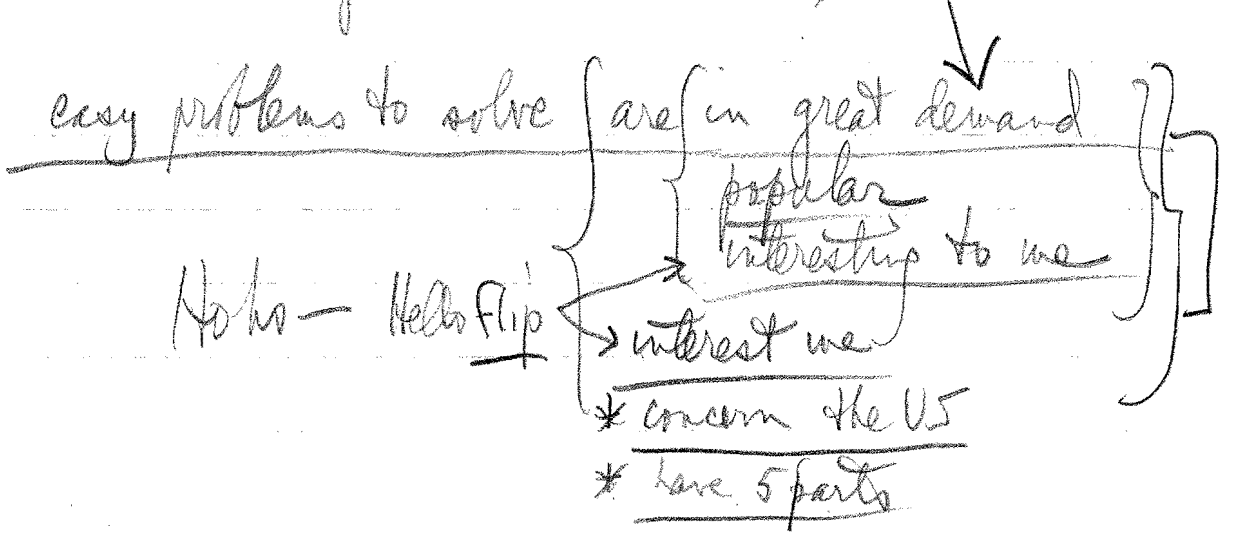


Intuitively, easy is coming out of this clause.

But how can it?

Fact from George: Such NP's never occur in subject position

11/9/71 [except as derived subjects: too bad for lexicalism



Tough Movement +
Lexicalism + Flip

11/8/71

There is a difference between being easy
5's and plain ones — only the letter ones
allow infinite ripping:

→ Max is being hard (*for me to imagine Sarah trying) to get
along with

Arlene notes:

Only the being easy - type embeds after
try, etc — so Dave's contention is OK.

Max tried to be hard (*for me to imagine Sarah trying) to get along
with

NB: If Cantrell is right as to the source of these,
then there is a beautiful global condition
on WH it is Deletion: the WH-word
can't have crossed more than one S boundary.

imposed requests
+ models

4/2/71

Facts from phone call w/ Bruce:

Same facts in French,
German

Systematically,

Will you please go?
May I have some cheese?
Can you leave?

How the fuck
is this possible?

are all better as requests than

more fully spelled out facts

Are you willing to hand me that?

Do you want to hand me that?

Are you going to go?

Am I permitted to have some cheese?

These
are
down

Are you able to leave?

Is it possible for you to leave?

These
is better
than this

Under would, all are better

Can't be request

* would you be going to go

Would I be permitted to have some

would you be able to leave?

would it be possible for you to leave?

Inferred requests and models

11/7/71

The question as to which V please precedes
is non-topical

Could the bars please stay open till 8 tonight?

(please)
? I want the bars to please stay open till Tuesday
^

Note that these also sneak by: 11/4/71

Are you too inconsiderate ^(please) to bring me a chair?

Are you nice enough to please bring me a chair?

(cf. Would you be so kind as to please bring me a chair?)

Why do Are you so kind { *as to bring
that you would bring }
me a chair hopeless as a request?

OC on any

11/7/71

From 5/28/68 discussion w/ Paul Postal

* The hats any of which I doubt that he wore

11/9/71

Hmm — even when conditioned by Q it's rotten

* I wonder { any of what milk he drank
any of which hats he wore }

And why is this wretched?

* Who wore any of which hats?

NB

I didn't find any wine { which I'd be willing to serve
any of to my guests }
Why? → *any of which I'd be willing
to serve to my guests

OC on any

p. 2

11/9/21

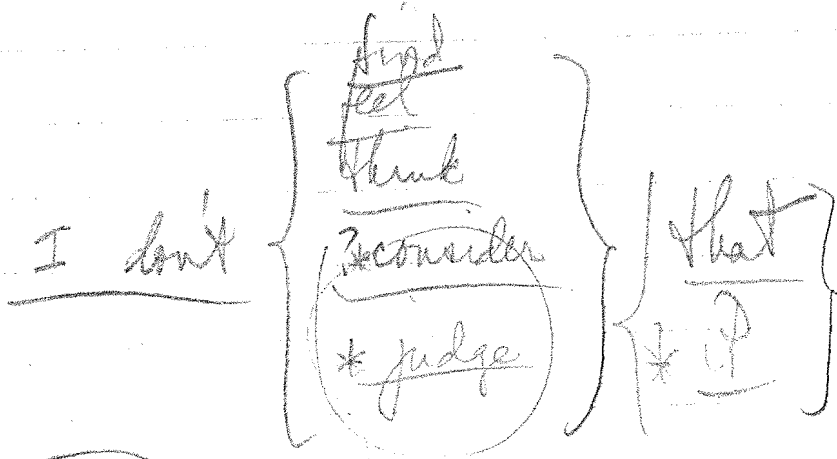
the problems, any of which { $\frac{I}{*nobody}$ } could solve
 $\frac{I}{*doubt}$ { know } that you could (*n't) solve

Fuck — this means that the check

has to be done pre-QF.

That - Pronom

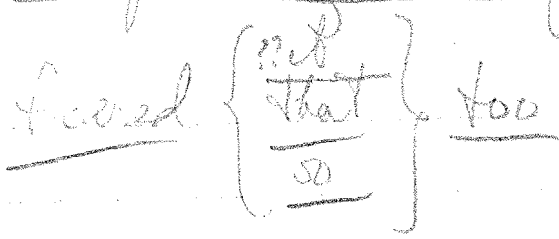
4/7/21



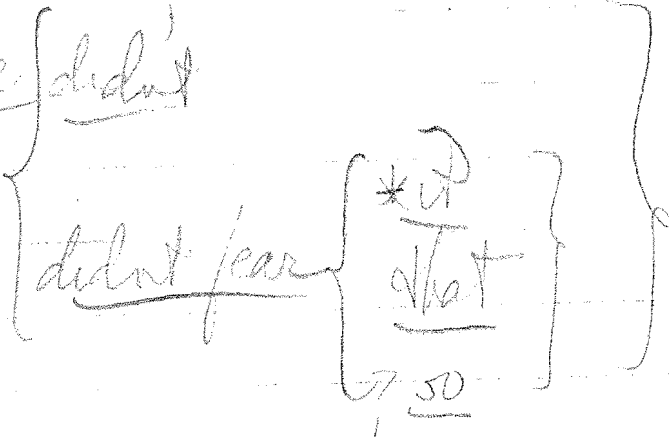
Maybe I
some argument
here that that →
it

These take so

Bob feared that he might lose and his wife



... but his wife didn't



Tough Movement

4/7/71

4/17/67 S: Max is being easy to get along with
* It is being easy to get along with Max

So this is probably from Cantrell's source

? Max is being one who is easy to get along with

Problem: are there 2 sources for easy S's?

(cf. Paul's my getting himself into a college is tough etc)

It will be easy to talk to Sheila about guys' like to Bermuda
with her

Guys to take to Bermuda with her (will be) easy to talk to Sheila about
* are being

Not Hopping
+ Think D.O.

11/7/71

* I don't want to believe that I could agree with you more

I don't ^{*say} think I could agree more
*key

* I didn't realize that I could agree more

Flask! This suggests 2 things:

1. ∃ Not Hopping
2. I think → ∅

But: * Tom said he thought he couldn't agree more

Why bad?

tendency and lexicalism

11/7/21

The fact that #
(cf 9/13/67)

- * its tendency to be muggy
- * there's tendency to be fierce
- * advantage's tendency to be taken / Max
- * headway's tendency to be made on easy problems

poses no problems, because these take NP's just can't possessing

it (?s) being muggy depresses me

no headway (?s) being made depresses me

advantage (?s) having been taken / Frits argue

Idioms and pluralization

11/7/71

We flew { our chance(s) } ← different wing
 { our mind*(s) }

They have { ? a screw loose }
 { ? screws loose }

We talked turkey. (*s)

Please

11/7/71

*Do you want to please wash up.

(*please)

I { want } { you } to please help me
 { would like } { *Fred }

So the rule must say: please modifies the verb of the request, not just "the verb in a S interpreted as a request"

{ Would }
{ Could } you please go home?
{ *Are you able to }

?* Would you mind please coming back later?

?* How about please leaving your name?

?* Would you have a chance of please reading this?

?* Is there a way that you could please read this?

?* Would you be willing to please sign this?

Why are these out?

(Idioms
+ Imperatives)

4/7/71

Let's let bygones be bygones

Let's is an embedded S which can't occur alone

Also:

{
 We've let
 ? I'm letting
 ?*Don't let
 Try to let
} bygones be bygones

let bygones be bygones (or else)

(So it's out below command)

Thorne's condition

4/6/71

go home and I promise X

must be from PS, then S, because
of Thorne's condition

How can I use this fact

(Primacy)

11/6/71

He reads even LIFE → He even reads LIFE

more easily than

Even Ted went → Ted even went

And how do we get

* Max read not even LIFE

⇓ OBL ←

Max didn't read even LIFE

⇓

Max didn't even read LIFE

And is it still good here? Not even he did ⇒ even he didn't
Uh oh - here it's OPT, but here OBL helps help.

Pluperfects +
counterfactuals

11/6/71

I { ~~had~~ } { ~~anticipated~~ } a nice party

presupposes failure

Same with
look forward to

NB:

I anticipated a nice party

This doesn't presuppose so strongly that
the party was a bust.

A little something

11/5/21

My wine and a little something* (for you) are on the table

but

a little something for you is on the table

(Q Floating + each other)

11/5/71

I talked to the boys about each other

This can't come via normal floating,
because

- a) each only comes off of subjects
- b) Nothing comes off non-subject
non-pronouns.

Primacy

11/5/71

Reflexivization down with clauses →

ditto within clauses

NB: this says that picture N
Refl owes its existence to regular
Refl

Hum

11/7/71

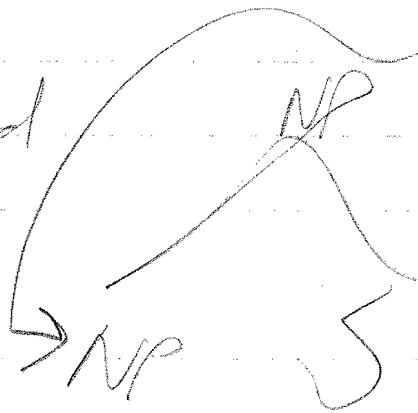
Ditto w/ own

Complex NP Constraint

11/5/71

* Who did you give pictures of which you had taken in France to Max

This shows that that is also
an island



Pragmatic analysis

Steve Davis's fact (via Bruce) 11/5/11

probably 5 \Rightarrow not a promise

//
b

* Max promised that he would probably leave

Performatives as highest So
(and declaratives) + superhyper-sentences

11/5/71

What I hereby do is pledge myself to the continuing
development of an ABM

This, if a rel. cl. at all, is certainly
restrictive.

John said that what *I hereby ^{do} ~~did~~ was X
he thereby did

Sentences and forces

4/5/71

Steve Davis's fact:

2 sentences, same force

I promise to meet you at the Empire State Building
the highest building
in NYC

(Threat & promises)

11/5/71

X promise Y Z

X threatens Y with Z

i) Z is future act of X

Ditto

ii) Y wants Z
(X believes Y wants Z)

Y doesn't want Z
(X believes Y doesn't want Z)

iii) not obvious X will do Z

Ditto

iv) X intends to do Z

Ditto

v) X places himself under obligation to do Z

Ditto

Maybe syntactic: 12/29/71

What I	promise you	that he will do	for	you is	examine you
	warn you		to		*cook
	1		1		1

cook for you

The reason that promises can be taken as threats is a consequence of the semantic rule which lets the positive end of the scale be used as the unmarked term (cf. How tall is he? / How short is he?)

Thorne's Condition

4/5/77

< I confess > S₁ and < I promise > S₂

But NB:

I will help Max, who (I confess) I can't stand.

Thus Jimmy's condition must be an OC.

Cyclical subject

4/3/71

A man who there was a picture of on the table
* given to Jack

again, that suggests a 2-cycle
passive.

of 11/1/71

hope for + Phyperfect

11/3/71

I { * hoped } ← OK as description of
 had hoped } past duration
 for a raise

For Max to have hoped for a raise

before Christmas would (have) upset Fred

~~* Ø~~

Why?

?

11/3/71

Frankly get out of here * ↗

//
o

Please — I'm sick * ↗

What the fuck is going on?

CNPC + Lexicon

4/3/71

*S from Elke:

*I'm a bland eater

(cf. *foreign } speller
[polyphonic])

*jigsaw solver

[\exists crossword solver just because
 \exists crossword NP in isolation]

This means that the CNPC has
to look up to surface str.

English vowels

11/2/71

artistic



/ɜ:/

Chipping from hands
& across the board

4/2/71

It is Max who a picture of (*Sally)
would be cheaper than a portrait of

* It is Max who I believe more strongly
that she dislikes than that she is fond of

get

* There was gotten to be an investigation = 11/2/71
= get₃

Why $\$$ passive? He was gotten to sign

This must be related to the fact that
get is some kind of flip.

That Rel and Extrap from NP

11/2/71

the man (that) I saw came home
* (that) saw me

//
o

? the man came home (I saw)
* saw me

That Rel
Extrap

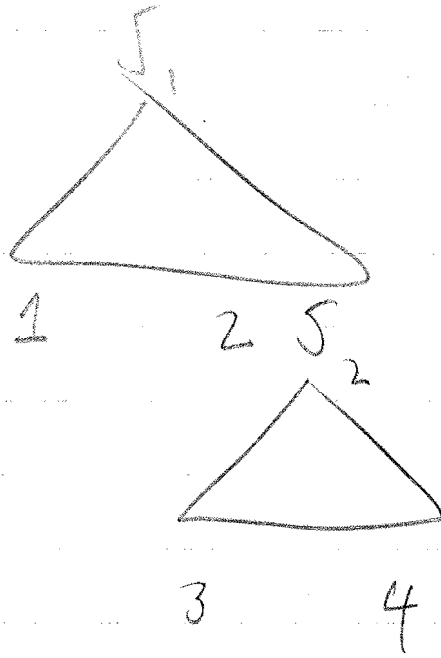
Can't be done semantically, because rel cls aren't constituents of NP's there -

only Can't be done syntactically, because of
* evidence will be presented he remembered
* cl on * evidence will be presented he remembered
sentential appositive read up

Primacy

4/1/71

The accordion constraint says that in a schematic tree like this



no anaphor can be shifted down the hierarchy

* Bill was convinced by me to examine me (1 → 2)

?? I told Jack that we could be examined by him

(3 → 4)

Cyclical subject + SSC

11/1/71

That's what could be said:

Nothing can be said out of anything
which was a cyclical subject

The man who I believe { * a picture of to be here }
{ there to be a picture of here }

This context show - the SSC not to
be an any other rule.

So the notion of cyclical subject
is always crucial

11/3/71
A man who there was a picture of { on the table }
{ * given to Hart }

So 2 cycle passage is crucial

Conjunct doubling
& Transderivational constraint

10/31/71

Facts gotten with Dave:

~~* The bank swindled John; he was swindled by the bank~~

↑
noobank

This fucking thing seems to 221P to be
transderivational

Raising and To Be Deletion

10/31/72

Closer tabs got (*to be) kept on Fritz

1/s I'll get closer tabs (*to be) kept on Fritz

Thus, if \exists one rule of Raising,

we have a unified statement:

get (Raising \supset To Be Del)

W/o Raising, \exists disjunction

NB ~~A phenomenon argued against Emswiler: (too bad)~~

There got to be, a lot of people there



That is, To Be Del

DNA — NP

cf. also they got (*to be) doctors

get

10.26.2009
1971 (almost 38 years later)
Why ~~is~~ *shit got to hit the fan
10/31/71

This wild fucking V occurs in 4 RS's!

[AD]

I a. There got to be a lot of people in my course (Raising)

[B]

b. The doctor got to examine Max ≠ (Equip)

Max got (to be) examined by the doctor ← This feels like the [A] reading
[* —] ← on the succeeded in reading

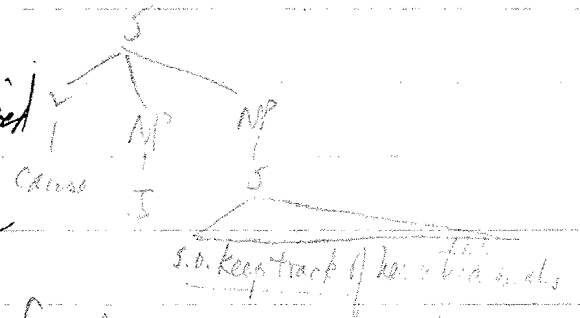
II a. I got track kept of her withdrawals (Raising)
[C] > (to be) Why *? PI got the shit to hit the fan

[D]

b. I got the doctor to examine Max ≠ (Equip)

I got Max (to be) examined by the doctor

Feels like [A] I got myself (to be) examined by the doctor = the doctor to examine me



Beautiful pair: how the fuck can we explain the non-synonymy w/o assuming \neq RS's?

get

10/31/71

FLASH!
8:15 EST

The difference lies precisely in whether the next V down is do or not!

Cf. I got John to come home

This can be a positive or not

Seems stucker up by weak non-apert body. OK w I got it to rain headway made starts as aperture

C seems bad if draws starts as aperture

Thus the natural thing to say is this

force requires that the next lower V is do

believe requires that the next lower V be [+stative]

get doesn't give a shit

Flash 2! 8:25 AM Holy shit!

There is some weird kind of transparency here

Hypothesis 1: All V which require lower do's require higher do's too!

get

10/31/71

Thus NB the following contrast

= (?) very weakly a sensed
John to ~~be~~ allow ~~it~~ to ~~control~~
sent line

I got John to come home - AMBIG

get John to come home! - MONOG (I think)

But: what if

? get some headway made in this!

only means agentive

? there to be a consensus

Butter: there to seem to have been a fair trial

That's: this would explain why I 2 expect,

and why the // no one takes of NP or from NP

(cf. I expect ^(*Agentive) obedience from Max)

Namely, from is agentive, and what's happened is that the subject of the lower do has been raised (or something), keeping its reputation, somehow.

[get]

p. 4

10/31/71

Q. what I expect from Hans is that [he] will have quality.
[?Why]

Ans: This is all connected somehow with the facts of Equi with want - namely, its OBLIG to lower agents.

This must be the same as the fact that:

Equi subj > OBLIG Equi (absolute exception)

for all V.

That is, if some V requires // DO, then of course Equi must apply.

Hypothesis 2: Equi only deletes the subject of DO!

(Same for clausal, and for further, but those are optional subs.)

get

p. 5

10/31/21

the₆: The animacy requirement is done
by requiring a lower do - its
subjects are animate.

Hum - what about clause-mate
stuff?

No problem w/ inclusion stuff - it
is exactly the facts w/ want.

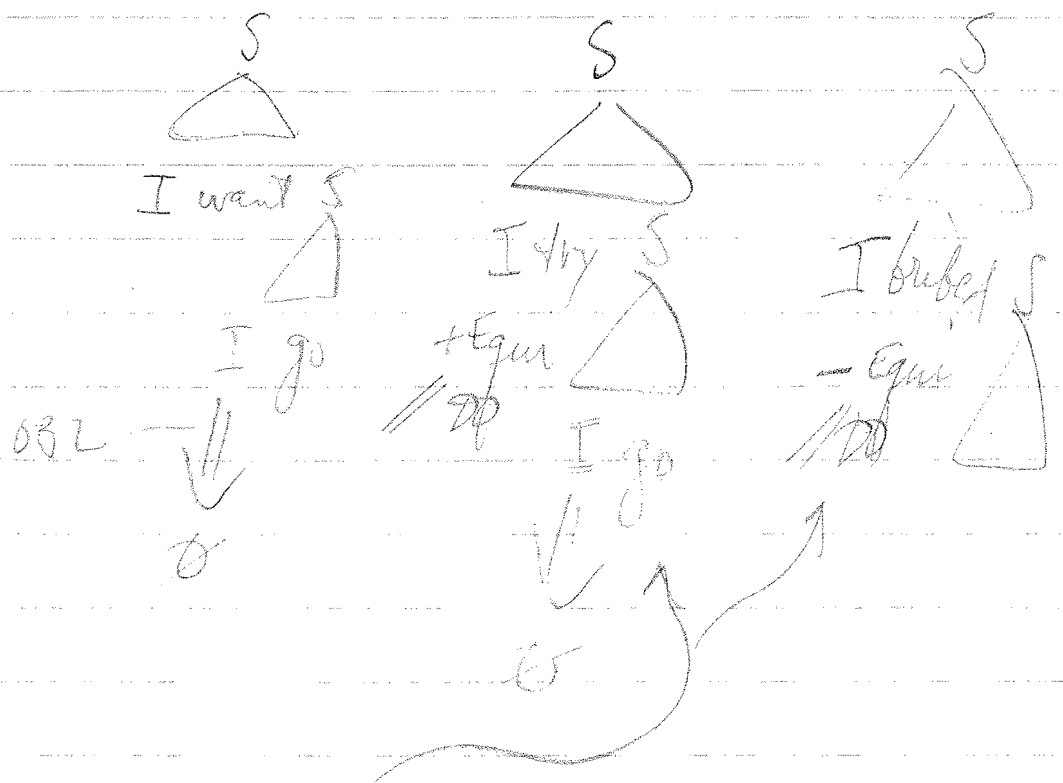
Uh do - what about the difference between

I [forced* (myself)]
[expected (*myself)] to go

~~Juste~~ - This must delete, as do myself

get

10/3/71



This will do: just say that NP S V
are [-Equiv].

Now - what do I say about get? That there's get [+Equiv]
and get [-Equiv]?

Also: get really is always // ~~DP~~ - of

I got { DP, main
 { DP, main DP, main
 { DP, main DP, main DP, main
 { DP, main DP, main DP, main DP, main
 * 1.2.2.9. for standard }

get

p.7

0.31/21

get is crucial here - H: base was 2 get,
then

I got John to go would be 1/2 B/B

11/1/21

Why # 5 Del?

known fact

the - is this all connected w/ the fact that
resent etc seem to exclude DO?

I resent { being nominated
which is a
* cost of the process

- No - resent is
a semantic fact
about resent
because resent is true

Blocking environments for that-cl and derivational constraints

10/30/71

?? He thinks tomorrow it may rain >
*knows

?* He thinks this problem we won't get to >
*knows

* He thinks under no circumstances should we go

Facts for Home:

it was *(that) he was sick that I had forgotten.

Is what Jack said *(that) he was hungry?

for what we claim to be *(that) we were raped would be silly.

He said S_1 and I*(that) S_2

*(That) Max left { I didn't realize
is easy to figure out }

I believe that S_1 more strongly than *(that) S_2

Shows that
it must be
global:

He has *(that) we can see through him to keep in mind

clauses w/o that must immediately follow their V

Double clause initiators

10/30/71

Suzanne's idea:

This is out

? Who expects ~~(that)~~ who will run

Because no clause can have 2 introducers, essentially.

This might also explain why Φ
a razor with which ~~(for you)~~ to shave

and

a razor which to shave with

I feel strongly that this is related
to the constraint that subjects can't move unless
clause-initial

Subject lifting
& Nicking

10/30/71

1. Thinking

We should elect president a man who is fair

we will order steak, and they fish

2. Wanna

? "Sugar", said Carla, "may be, and Sandra definitely is, intelligent."

Gapping

10/30/21

Why these differences?

I wonder (who drank beer and who rum

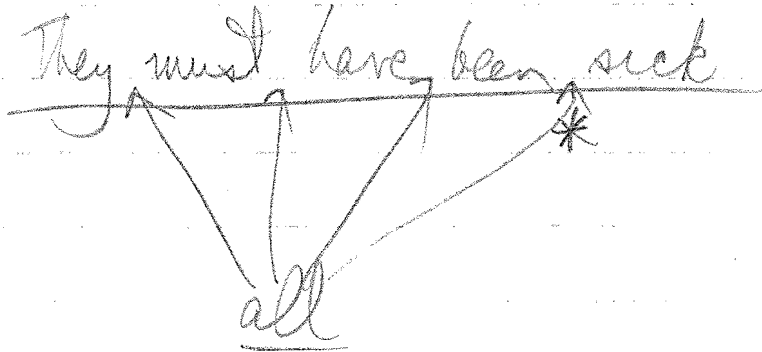
whose father drank beer and ^{? whose mother rum}
~~who rum~~

the man whose father drank beer and

whose father rum

All Hopping
& Aux as MV

10/29/71



This is automatically done by
Q Floating, under Aux as MV,

coupled w/ OC:

* be
-Tns

- Ving
- Adj
- NP?
- PP?
- Past Participle

* They have been all working
OK, I think

They must ^{have been} be all doctors
 They may have been all ^{in jail} be

* They may have been all examined
by Fritz.

Necessary anyway: cf.
They are all likely to go
 * They seem (to be) all likely to go

Why: They want to ^{can} all go
 available to ← NB

Embeddable Performatives
+ double forces

10/29/77

Larry's (passed on) fact:

We regret to inform you that your policy is
hereby cancelled

Requests

10/29/71

help yourself (*or else)

* ... and Tom obeyed me

Inversions in Highest 5

10/29/71

Away ^{to 15 minutes} ran Max

U/s

By Leibniz was discovered X
It was being

Wild!

Be discovered as a surface!

(Shifting)

10/29/21

?? Max will be here, as is possible, Tim hopes

Max will, Tim hopes, be here, as is possible

Maybe \exists argument for Shifting

its ando+bulb

10/29/77

^{*really}
I don't think
I doubt }
* I'm surprised that there were any IABs

Strong neg polarity item

(a little something)

10/28/21

This must be an NP, because

it undergoes

Dative -

BT Move

NP Shift

I cooked her a little something

I'll whip a little something up

I baked for her a little something

(?)

10/27/71

Is there or is there not any

* Is there or not any

* Is or not there any

Has he given, or (hasn't he given), books to Paul?

has he not given

?

10/27/71

that's a by $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{if} \\ \text{whether} \\ \text{provided} \\ \text{you can} \end{array} \right\}$

I don't think this embeds well:

? the proposition which was a by if
later proved true

Thinking

10/27/71

I have a portrait of Δ Max

explained, because NP Shift
has to drag prep's along with it.

Modifier Prepping

10/26/21

a[?] (much) talked about man

↑
this must be a V in dcs

?? an^{*} (often) made use of excuse

?? a^{*} (frequently) homed in on beacon
tuned in on program

↑
these too must become V.

7 a^{*} (much) taken advantage of loophole

a little something

10/25/71

Facts from a phone call w/ Bruce:

1. More than food, drink + presents:

I need a little something { for my cough
to put in my stocking }

I { read
said
wrote } a little something after the trip

Why are these out? *I { photographed
examined
polished } a little something

My god — I polished a little something to give to Henry

2. No rule can make it clause-initial:

There is	Typicalization	There was a little something who bowl
Why important	Passive	
It shows that	Tough Movement	*There was a little something given to her
It's some DC	Middle	
forbidding movement	Psych Movement	

to [] 3. Because of * I know a little something to be in the bridge we can't say * [] also - Henry

a little something

p. 2

10/25/77

Paul Postal suggests:

Typicalization is out for other reasons — namely indefinite (of some mysterious kind) don't typicalize.

* Each problem he studied with care
Every

* All the
* Any problems he didn't look at
* Just

* Many
Several problems he didn't look at
Five

* a problem he didn't consider
Five problems studied

A little something

p.3

10/26/71

☆ A hat I don't need

☆ Somebody from home you should marry

NB: any = just any works.

Any problems he { would have told
told } us about
* is telling

Good test for this kind of any

Sentences Idioms

10/25/71

As far as I know, all ^{unembeddable} 5 idioms are either
1

declaratives

frankatives

descripts

exclamations (I'll be hornswoggled!)

That is, there are no questions, imperatives
optatives

Exc. Off with his head!
Down with the king!

Maybe
not an
idiom

→ With friends like him, who needs enemies?

So what?

Raising

10/23/33

Double Raising of Stone 46 1/2

* This appears to have seemed to be suitable

1/0

* I believe there to have seemed to be suitable

↑
in this has to have undergone
Raising

Idioms + Perf Anal

10/22/71

I don't think there are any idioms which occur only embedded though the converse is true.

This argues for the generative analysis, for only in such an analysis would this be possible to achieve (in a natural way) for everything that occurs embedded. I don't see how chance to lose it' not by 2/9d.

Fact learned while talking with Bruce: 10/24/71

The fact that \exists unembeddable S's like like father, like son does not argue that $\square \exists$ connection between such phrases and some glitch making Perf Del OBLIG - for \exists Jerry Morgan's S's: Like father, like son { I fear / I guess Max believes } these just have an OC that they can't be superficially embedded.

Lexical factoring

10/23/11

introduce. \leftarrow cause to ~~be~~ acquainted with

This would explain absence of refl.
here

I introduced myself to her.

but

*I introduced her to myself.

And this

*I introduced her to (her
herself).

to reflexive
to presumably not to be acquainted with

Anaphora + Islands

10/22/71

John realizes that Ann's finding him drunk

+ Billy's seducing {him} & Pete

are connected

* When he came in, I hit Mary + John

OK { John + his sister }

Sort of like nobody he

John read the book { ? } which I gave him

John { had } an opportunity to visit his sister
{ ? discussed }

But OK: John said that he was tired and that we should leave

Why? John pushed { Ann's } picture of his sister
{ a }

(Fake Relative Formations)

10/22/71

The shambles that the boat was in!



(from 6/8/67)

what a shambles the boat was in!

because shambles occurs nowhere else.

Particle Movement and Pronouns

10/21/71

fact mirrored by Henry Kucera:

When she got back, I called $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Mary up} \\ \text{up Mary} \end{array} \right\}$

So the position of particles really does have to do with stress, somehow.

Dative: Let's see if the same facts hold about

No - they don't

When she comes in, I'm going to give $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Mary some books} \\ \text{some books to Mary} \end{array} \right\}$

→ Weaker, maybe, but OK.

Invertability

10/27/71

Nobody bought a picture of her father

L4 p. 40

* Of which will you make use?

From
Bruce

but

you must make use of all of these

(Reel)

10/20/71

Unless I miss my guess, 5

//o

Jack said that unless he missed his guess, 5

No matter wh

10/20/71

from
Emily

No matter
regardless

whether he comes* (or not)

But (also from Emily)

it doesn't matter whether you leave, I'm going

Shifting and Pronominalization
of non-specifics

10/20/71

Why is this bad?

* Ann was, everybody felt, being unfair to him.
And this good?

The food was, everybody felt, worse than his.

And I think relative clauses are ok.

The proposal would, everybody felt, influence the results
of the experiments, which they had been doing

NB: it's dancing in part at least to the
same tune.

Invertibility

10/20/71

fast ^ kühn / sehr ^ kühn

Fact from Dave:

I slept in, said Jack,

{that bef}*
*Boston

Joe
w/
passing ability

Some of the best orchestras have played in this hall

Many people have laughed in this hall

I have { a } picture ^ of Frits ← From Dave
*Mike's

I did away with ^ Max

I { had } an opportunity to go ^ to Rome
*discussed

so it's
only
possible
before
movable
NP. —
we can't
say that
it just
goes anywhere in the island, because it doesn't split combs, etc.

Invertability

10/20/71

Nobody will bitch because he's tired

Why?

Jack will buy a car, because he's tired

?

How come we get this:

When did Tom give to you a picture of Max

OK OK OK

And this, ungood!

Alex as MV

10/20/21

You need (him) to go
*not him (to) go

dictated by universal definition of any

(Decl)

10/20/71

I {
 feel
 think
 suppose
 tell you
 ? affirmed
 * denied
 * hoped

that unless I miss my guess, S

Seems to be V {say} {think}

Bill felt that unless he missed his guess, S



Bill said that he felt that unless he missed his guess, S

Deal

10/20/71

Your guess is as good as mine

//s

He told her that her guess was as good as his

think

double

~~denied~~

OK?

(Adv Prep and Islands)

Originally from PMP (and Howard Casnik?) ^{10/19/71}:

It's these patients that I think that

{ you should talk to everyday }
* everyday you should talk to

It's Max that I think that { he always } talks to
* always he

Affix Derivation

10/21

A further proof of the correctness of the rule is the fact that it extends in

British to -ory and -ary

(cf classificatory)

Thinking

10/20/71

Why OK?

he was proud of his home, we realized,

^ ^ ^
? *

My father was, we realized, proud of his home

WHY?

^
*

^

Q: Who did you see?

A: My father. / A man

Can we argue that thinking happens before success?

Yes!

Q: What did he say?

A: He would be late.

← This can only be out because this came from thinking success

Deletion after -ing

10/20/71

He was examined, and she was too

He will be examined, and she [will be] too
[will]

He has been examined, and she [has been] too
[has]

He is being examined, and she [*is being] too
[is]

He may have been examined, and [she may [have been] too
[have]

*she may too

He may be being examined, and she may [*be being] too
[be]

Generalization: Things after -ing don't delete

Rhetorical Q's & why else

12/71

why else is only in rhetorical Q's

(I think)

Sentence type hierarchy

10/16/71

There is a hierarchy

1. Decl + Q is OK
* Q + Decl

2. Imp + {Decl}
 {Q}

* {Decl}
 {Q} + Imp

3. Q and Q

∃ connection

He will be here, and how can we get him to leave
* her

has to be my home, otherwise take love
go home and I want you to bring a knife
would you bring a knife

where is he, and

?? I want to know how he got there
how, I want to know, did he get there?

So conj Q's must both look like Q_h.

Multiple speech acts

10/15/71

Terry's fact (?):

I promise you that I and $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{I ask you to} \\ * \text{---} \end{array} \right\}$ please buy it

O's exactly

which $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{I ask you to} \\ * \text{---} \end{array} \right\}$ please buy

Thus: form check (only things that look like declaratives can be conjoined with them)
Swooping

(5 Type Check)

10/15/71

~~There seems to be a hierarchy of types~~

1. If one S looks like a declarative, all must

2. Where was he and (tell us) how did he look.

If one is a Q,
all must be

* have a chain

Jimmy Thorne's fact: It's only possible to delete
one performative if all delete.

→ NB: one can't conjoin real + rhetorical Qs.

3. If one is an imperative, all must be
No (Henry): Come here, and will you bring a glass

4. { Kiss M } and don't come back
* Ram it

5. If one is a fuckative, all must be

{ Fuck you } with belittling
* Ram it and her off

Per/Rel and across the board
+ shifting

10/15/71

I will, I confess, be there, and I promise that I'll be quiet
??

He is, I promise, qualified, and I swear that I will
obey him

Jimmy Thorsen's fact provides an
argument that Shifting has happened here

inertability

10/15/77

"I talked to Tom", said Jack, "and Bill (*yesterday)"

Fred sent to Fred a picture of Ted

Why good?

NB: one can't argue that it can mindlessly
be stuffed in before the last constituent

"I'll keep Mary", said Tom, "company"

"I'll bear that", said Tom, "in mind"

Not Rapping

10/15/71

I didn't have to like the impression idea that he ^{anybody} would leave until tomorrow

Why not?

I didn't make the claim that he ^{anybody} would leave until tomorrow

Maybe it's just where any go?

German Raising with Object Position

p.1

10/12/21

1. Fact 1: $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mir} \\ \text{+ich} \end{array} \right\}$ wurde geschmeichelt

2. Fact 2: * Ich wünschte, geschmeichelt zu werden.

(for whatever reason [maybe this has no subject],

EQUI won't delete a dative subject)

3. Fact 3: Ich fülle $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mich} \\ \text{+mir} \end{array} \right\}$ (von ihr) geschmeichelt.

This must be raised, because EQUI couldn't have applied

[NB: Case marking is not deep, because of Mir schien geschmeichelt worden zu sein]

So there must be a rule that takes this to this

German Raising into Object Position

p. 2

10/12/71

The preceding is very suspect, because of the following fact

* Ich fühlte dich krank (fühlen is a reflexive V)

And V which allow other objects don't allow the construction

Ich hielt ihn für besoffen
} ich für geschmeichelt
* ich

Ich fand dich *geschmeichelt
} ? gelobt

have + VP Del + Aux as MV

10/12/71

He has left, but we haven't
*cats

He doesn't have cats, but we have
*has no

Why?

Aha — it's not superficial

We have cats, but I doubt that they ^{have} do
I'm surprised that they ^{have} do
and I imagine that they ^{have} do

Ballparks

10/9/71

Questions

Imperatives

- Requests
- Negatives (rhetoricals)
- Suggestions
- Counterfactuals (Had I but known)
- Optatives

- If-then
- Commands
- Requests
- Permissions
- Shillings on
- Suggestions (also Let's)
- Advice

Declaratives

- Confessions
- Admissions
- Promises
- Vows
- Concessions
- Deictics
- Sentencing
- Bets
- Requests (if you would aid me
for a moment, ...)

Asyntactic constructions

- Up yours
- Up with his head!
- To the arsenal!

[Like father, like son]

Asyntactic way of asking questions



Imperatives

10/8/21

Fact from

Steve

smoke anything you like

Davis

I permit you [you smoke anything you like]

→ How suggestion:

imperative S = S whose deepest V

is semantically close to command

(e.g. request, permit, advise, suggest, rule,
decree, proclaim etc.)

and whose surface S is "in the ballpark"

Invertability of Parentheticals

p. 1

Analysis arrived at with Dorothy Siegel

10/8/71

In English, these things control invertability

1. Parentheticals can't split constituents

* very, said Jack, much

* on, said Jack, the bed

* think, said Jack, up a counterexample

* for Tom, said Jack to come home would be terrible for me

2. But they can, if before an S

everybody, said Jack, who I slept with,

I slept, said Jack, that S

[NB interaction of punning:

I found a boot, said Jack* (where was)
about cattle]

3. Thus they only intervene between constituents directly dominated by S.

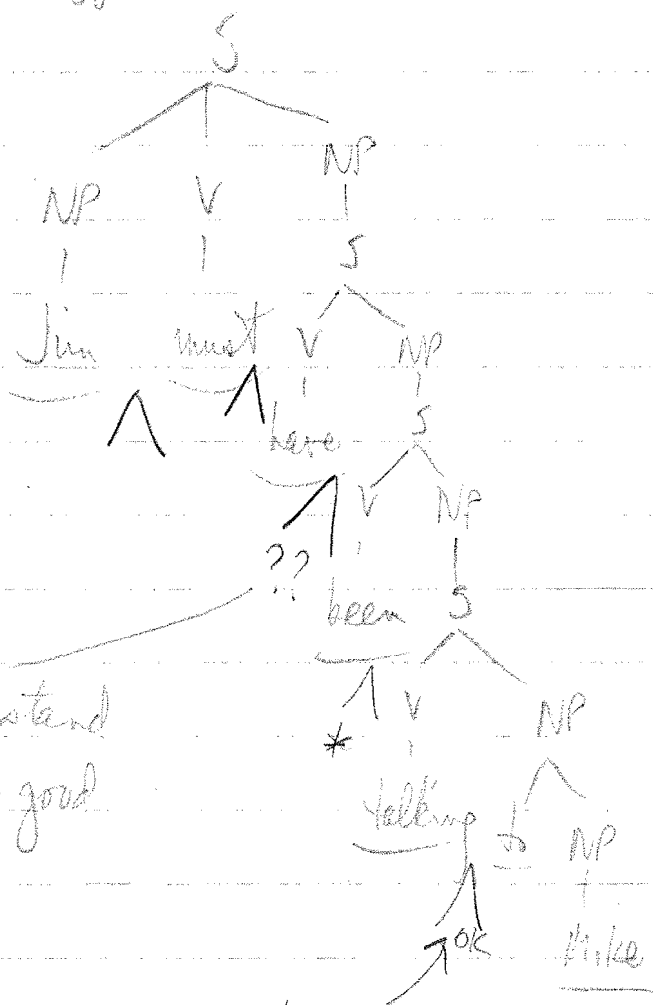
Insertability

10/8/71

Now NB the insertability in

John must have been talking to Mike
 ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^
 said Tom ?? *

This suggests a structure like this:



I don't understand why this is so good

This is OK only because of NP Shift

cf. I gave a picture of my father to Max
 I gave a picture * to Max * of my father

Invertibility

10/8/71

There is a difference between Aux and infinitives

I want to try to begin to fry the eggs

↑ ↑ ↑ ↑

All OK.

I want to try beginning to fry the eggs

↑

*

NB: \exists difference between infinitives and gerunds

This may be what explains the difference between Aux and V.

There is a difference in structure between

S₁, which S₂ and S₁ { because
 although } S₂
 etc }

She was talking, said Jack, to Mike { because she liked him }
 { which is too bad }

Or not Zapping

10/7/71

NP Aux Del (produces or not)

Whether Deletion

Or Not Zapping (only to whether)

keep and Predicate Raising

10/7/71

he has her with about him

//s

he kept her with about him

keep ← have-continue

Slurring + blends

10/6/71

He bought something - I think a picture of Max

* it's Max that I think a picture of

So Slurring around a term seems to have
it an island

This would also explain

he said something fantastic: *beans that Bill likes

allow deletion

10/6/7

I begged John to go — John was begged to go

I begged John to be allowed to go — *John was begged (of) to be allowed to go

I promised John to go — *John was promised by us to go

I promised John to be allowed to go — John was promised by us to be allowed to go

I { *begged / demanded } of John to { see her / visit her }

what v here

what v here?

NB I begged (* of John) to go

Rules? { Crazy Resume / if NP Del / allow Del }

go to the john

10/6/71

I went to { the } john
 *Fred's

I went to the john into the bucket.

Negative Parentheticals

10/5/71

The fact that I don't think, etc. can only follow /n-/ (except hardly ever) from a semantically highest negative gives a great test for what these are.

He (*probably) never reads his mail, I don't think
(probably is higher than never)

He (*cleverly) didn't go, I don't think

Bad problem: ? He doesn't feel that Tom should leave
until tomorrow, I don't think
If this is good not better than the first

Why is there a difference here? He { didn't read anything } I don't think
{ read nothing }

How come this is OK? He almost never reads, I don't think
Because almost is higher than never

how come + Day Q's

10/4/21

Facts pointed out by Dorothy:

how come / John's here
*to John

AB: how come is only in day Q's:

I { couldn't
*was able to } determine how come he left

happen to X +
Free relatives

10/4/71

Edwin's fact: only \diamond subject is thing
(nothing / everything / something strange)
this that it

My \therefore what you describe happened to me too
conclusion

\uparrow
this is from the thing that I

Deal

10/1/76

Has to be a performative V

26.X, 2009

*hope for you in
*eat this

{
 {
 I
 we
 }
 *They
}

regret to inform you that S

Why? *I regret to promise you

OK I regret to warn you

aha! Better:

I regret to have to promise
you that your car will be trashed.

John said that he regretted to inform us that S

So what?

Is there a clause here? I guess so

$\Phi_0 + \text{Pay Anal}$

9/30/21

The fact that just those speech
acts which can't be embedded (direct
shillings or, ...?) can't be questioned
means that questions must come from
embedded structures.

a little something

10/1/71

Original observations: only stuff to eat, drink, or presents

due to
Mary Louise

Generalization: can't ever be subject at the end of a cycle.

10/26/71

Sigh —

can't be topicalized, either.

So why I global rule forbidding it from being moved to clause-initial position

I think that's right — of

There was a little something [in the fridge] *given to Mel

NB →

Imp and Perf

10/1/71

Frankly, { John's sick }
*go home

//
o

I { tell you frankly }
*command you frankly

(Prog Deletion)

Fall 1971

I promise you 5

* I am promising you 5

but

They realize that I promise you 5
I am promising you 5

some // or

10/1/77

fact from Avery:

* If he comes in, I'll hit Max or Tom

5/30/73

Max or Tom said that he was sick

So he can pronounce a disjunct.

Non-specific anaphors + privacy

9/30/71

1. Nobody said that delousing him had upset

*Ann
his wife

So it's privacy

2. It stays out of true factives
Nobody mentioned (*the fact) that he felt oppressed

3. \$ presupposition in this type of relative clauses
Nobody kissed the girl he was with

Sleeping

9/19/71

The food was, everybody felt, worse than what
he would have gotten at home.

but

* Everybody's behavior was, to all, weird.

9:00 a.m. in sleeping

(Jeffery and Pronominalization
of nonspecifics)

9/29/71

* Nobody slept, in his bed



* Nobody slept and he slept in his bed

That is, supposing we
say that all pronominal impossible
we conjoined at one time

* Nobody gave nuts (to Ann, and raisins to his sister,
to his brother, and raisins to his sister)

Bill's
Nobody's paper was,

Nonspecific indefinites & pronouns

he told me, treated unfairly

9/29/71

What about: The food, everybody said, was worse than what he would have made

Any stuff set off by commas can't have a pronoun in it

Everybody ate (*) in his room because he was polite the girl (*) who he liked

And what is the content of the presupposed fact in ?

Everybody realized that he had problems

(He god!)