

(There and plural  
+ primacy)

3/17/72

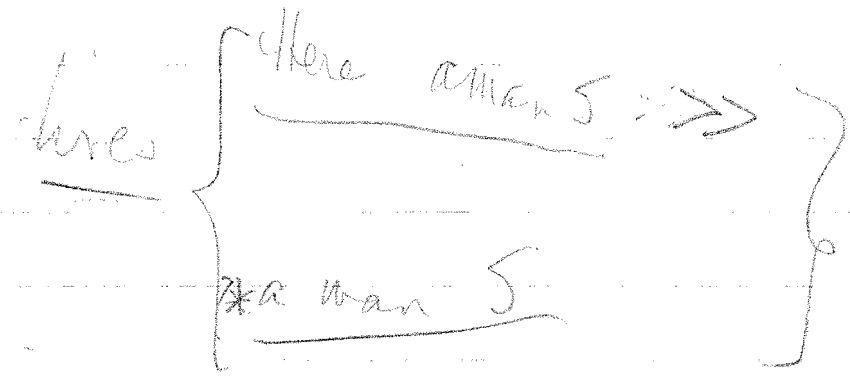
This rule is  
following primacy —

There first shows  
plurality in its own class  
then  
across classes.

Rule - have 2 weighting

3/16/72

Newy K  
Keras fact.



Dislocation and teach-anything

3/16/72

These two things are both out:

? My mother, they talked to her yesterday, the cps

\* The cps, my mother, they talked to her yesterday

{ Deletion } sites and contraction  
{ Insertion }

3/15/72

Deletion after:

1. \* than John's
2. \* the five's trial
3. \* Who did you talk to?
4. \* Of great merits' Tom's proposal.
5. \* Too big n apple
6. \* Could we've been mistaken?
7. \* Do you want sm?
8. \* Seldom's he been early.

Insertion after:

1. \* be's, I guess, sad.

Deletion before:

1. \* Who do you wanna beat you?
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \* The student who you may feel's  
learned the most

Insertion before:

1. \* Max I feel's OK.
2. \* "Max" said Tom, "n Ed n Dick"
3. \* I want, I guess, n apple

P and Reductions

3/14/72

Prt never reduces, but <sup>homophones</sup> on rely on  
\* tie on with will



look at/am } vs \*look at am  
[him]

Why?



# Polarity hierarchy

3/10/72

cf 4/30/72  
 too / that  
 until

facts from Larry:

not realize	not claim	if counterfact	if then	why V?

any more

yet  
 budge

ever

any

Shifting and the source of PRCs

3/10/72

Ed. told Ann; that the boy who we had, { ke  
\*oke } felt,  
"I"

paid too much money so was sick

3/12/72

Everybody bought the book that would, { ke  
\*we } felt,

be the most helpful for him;

These PRCs are  
maybe from it - theirs?

Incorporation

3/9/72

a 3-year (\*o) old child



Trigger hierarchy for any

3/9/72

\*I don't have sm #  
books

or OK w/ contrastive stress on parcels.

I didn't open some parcels\* (from Kansas)

\*I don't think that he has some #

?? That he has sm # has not believed

forwards any > backwards any

Few people told me that you had sm # <  
~~I told few people that you had sm #~~

Neg in subjects > neg in non-subjects

VP Del + Shifting

3/7/72.

We're doomed, I often feel, and my wife does too  
so does my wife

Raising

3/10/72

Back to 4/13/71:

How can Noam explain

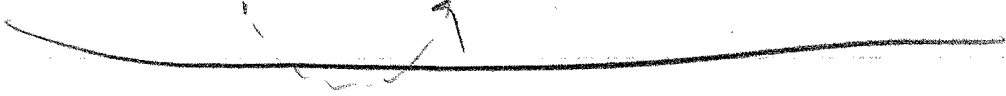
my expectation of Max to go w/o Raising

Raising

not to

obj Almost OBL RT more, but OK } 3/9/72  
of 3 long

Make John out to be a Red



Notice that out has zapped into a lower clause

( And one can't claim that make out is an NP 5 verb, because of

He made getting into college out to be harder than it is )

Heh heh.

There insertion

3/9/72

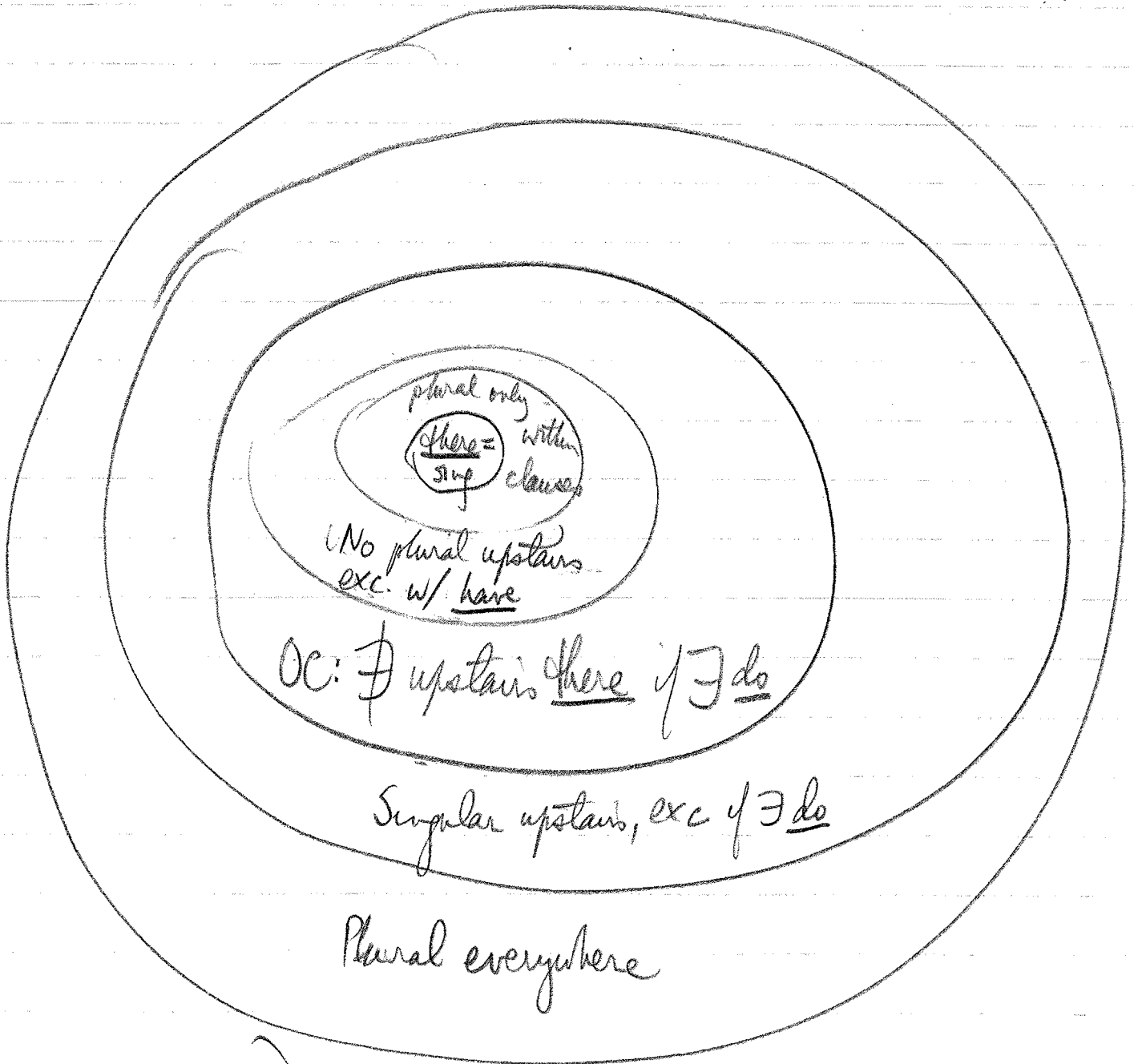
What stops this?

\* There is there believed to be no SC

---

# Plurals + there

3/9/72



## Plurality

$N+s > \text{many } N's > \text{a lot of } N's > \text{a large number of } N's$   
 $> \text{a } N \text{ and } N's > \text{a } N \text{ and a } N$

Mind-buster 5

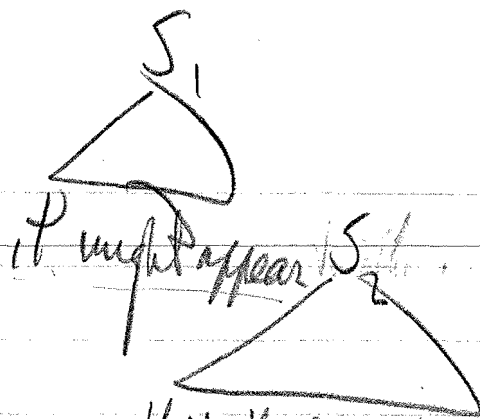
3/9/72

5 from Karen McAninch:

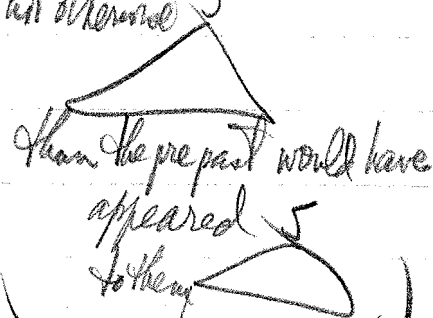
Never imagine yourself not to be otherwise than what it might appear to others that what you were or might have been was not otherwise than what you had been would have appeared to them to be otherwise

Lewis Carroll, Alice in Wonderland

from the Mock-turtle Story



that the Pook part was not otherwise S



you are otherwise <sup>than</sup> what it might appear to others that ~~that~~,  
~~that~~ [the possible or actual past was not

otherwise [than the pre-part would have  
 appeared to them to be otherwise



Adj which OBL raise

3/8/72

From Paul Bokal

apt  
bound

set (? There is set to be trouble)  
supposed

(about)

sure (for Paul Bokal)

Stem + Prefix Hierarchy

3/7/72

Latin Pref < Gk Pref < Eng pref

Latin Stem < Gk Stem < Eng stem

oscilloscope

{ mono } signal  
 { audio }

I bet I hierarchied here, too.

\* conoscope

Besides which

3/7/72

Where the fuck does this one come  
from?

Pronom  
through Prepossing

3/7/72

Fond of { Max<sub>i</sub>  
\* Max's sister<sub>i</sub> } though I know { he<sub>i</sub>'s sister  
\* he<sub>i</sub> } is  
1 1 1 1

I'm going to fire them both

// 's

though I know { his<sub>i</sub>'s sister  
\* he<sub>i</sub> } is fond of { Max<sub>i</sub>  
Max's sister<sub>i</sub> }  
1 1 1 1

I'm going to fire them both.

So Pronom is not in surface structure

# HIP and the source of RelCh

3/7/72

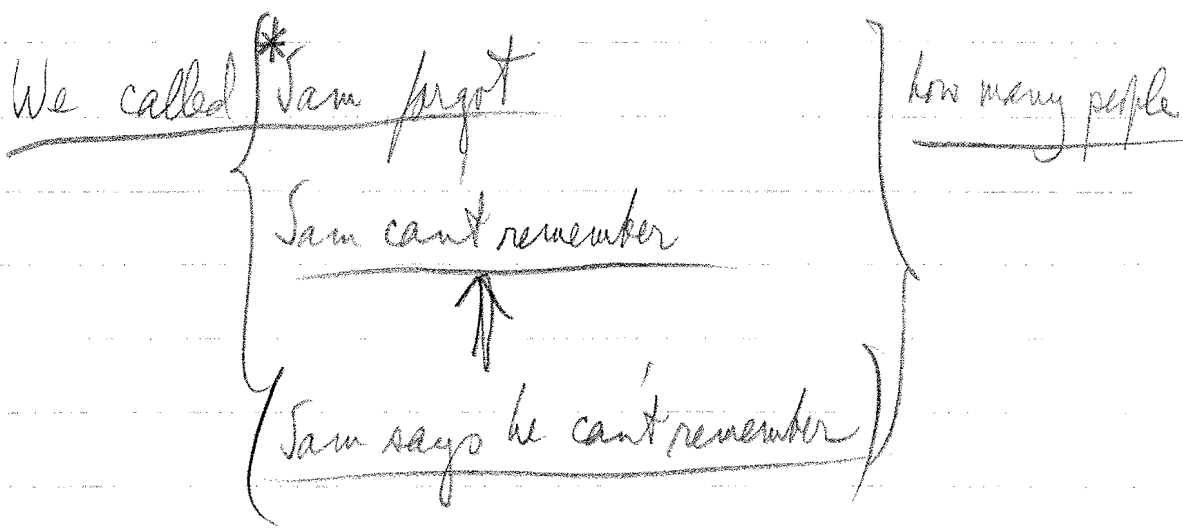
{ The politicians who said that the IRS the boys should learn  
\* The fact that back }

surprised no one

Avery's 5's

3/6/72

Are these any good exc. w/ I?



And isn't it rusty?

?? That he called I forget how many people saved us

For what it's worth:

who invited (\*\* I forget) how many people

# Frequency and CH

3/6/72

There are many relational V  
There are quite a few relational A  
There are very few relational N

There are fairly few one-place V  
There are quite a few one-place A  
There are a shitload of one-place N

So maybe the fact that N can lose so much through deletion is to be attributed to some kind of conspiracy which says: make this look like in the surface.

Note also: there are some 3-<sup>rd</sup> place V  
there are 1 or 2 3-<sup>rd</sup> place A (indicative  
suggestive)  
there are no (?) 3-<sup>rd</sup> place N (except derived)

Maybe this explains why § Max's perception of Jack  
is 90%

# Preposing and CH

3/4/72

Preposing (i.e., Modifier Shift and  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} Adv \leftarrow Adv \\ \text{Also: PPA Formation} \end{array} \right]$ ) appears to have these concomitants

- (1) The preposed thing is a word.
- (2) It has restricted meanings (or maybe new ones)
- (3) It loses aspectual components, becoming generic (cf. Dwight)
- (4) The narrower a construction is, the more likely it is to have preposing apply to it.
- (5) Various deletions are more likely to happen to it.

a. Very much  $\rightarrow$  much

b. much  $\rightarrow \emptyset$

(c. PPA Formation — is the loss of N part of the phenomenon?)

So,

and become non-recoverable 3/5/72

The narrower something gets,

(a) The more parts of P deleted

(b) The more idiomatic it gets

} These are the same fact! If parts of its meaning delete, it becomes idiomatic



Degrees of inaudibility

3/3/72

For Stephen:

unlike Max > not Max > Max doesn't > Max doesn't know  
> Max doesn't know it

Larry pointed out these 2 examples to me.

For priority:

Vill

Max didn't leave until 5, { unlike Tom > ? but Tom did > ?\* but Tom did leave.

Conversational postulates and Q-shifting  
+ the performative analyses

p.1

3/11/72

It seems to me that what can be done is  
something very simple: no one has ever said  
what the environment is for the conversational  
rules to operate

Suppose we say this: they operate after all V  
of saying

Because anyway, it's D that these 3  
be marked as synonymous

Max asked Susan Q =

~~Max told Susan that he wanted her to tell him Q =~~

Max asked Susan to tell him Q

etc

Conversational postulates and Q-shifting  
and the performative analysis

p. 2

3/1/72

Heh heh:

He asked me (to tell him) whether I  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{could} \\ * \text{was able to} \end{array} \right\}$  please  
help him

So all the strange modal shift is visible  
embedded too.

---

Is P right that answer only goes after  
(inferred) requests?

3/6/72 He doesn't know Q - can someone  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{help} \\ * \text{answer} \end{array} \right\}$  him?

vs. ? He wants to know Q - can someone  
answer him?

Q-shift;

2/29/72

only day Q's can shift:

\* when did Jack leave, [I've] determined  
(start)

Arvey's S's

2/29/72

1/2/72 NB also:

He called up { don't forget  
Thank God } no one knows exactly how many

people

There argues that this was request  
for underlying info

Seems to be possible only with (some?)

day info not with copy ones

He called up I { rest of  
am implied } how many people

Seems not to obey islands:

Arvey's pictures of I forget how many people were on display

$w \rightarrow \emptyset$

2/29/72

[kwen]

[kwēr]

/kwɛ̄/ → [kɛ̄w]

/kwɔ̄/ → [kɔ̄w]

There - family and usefulness

2/4/70

{  
There being no milk  
    >>>  
?\*There arising a problem  
} is likely

So if a lot of people are hit by the  
There - milk, even Peas → ~~or~~ won't save it.

Another example

?? There being kids given books bugs us

-ful

2/28/72

Usually, this suffix is preceded immediately  
by stress

Exceptions: beautiful, prayerful, wonderful



Indefinites and Q

2/27/72

Who invited one of them? >

? Who did one of them invite? >

?? When did one of them come back? >

?\* How long did one of them giggle? >

\* What is one of them for?

1/s facts w/ any

Flask!

2/29/72

1/s also the facts w/ negative exclusion

It was Max who I didn't invite me? >  
I didn't invite

? It was on Friday that he didn't eat.

\* It was for four minutes that he didn't hold his breath.

\*\* It's for slicing peaches that this knife isn't.

Case b for V

2/27/72

capture of capture



Must be from /kæptʊrə/

2/26/72

(Her) getting herself into college is too hard for me to imagine Sylvia even being willing to try (it)

This is true for Bob's example  
(Her) getting herself arrested  
proved that what John told Bill  
about Sally was true

Maybe the case of backwards Equi which appears to encompass the "controller commands" condition is really all cases of optional backwards deletion of a phrase. And all cases of OBL Equi are from Capl Def. (Her) getting up early when talking with

2/28/72

It would be great if in TM cases, deletion were still OBL, while in too-cases, it was OPT.

(3Her) getting herself into college is hard for me to imagine Sandra being willing to try

Too-Religion

p. 2

Yay! It is

2/27/72

(Her) getting herself into college would be too  
strange for Sandra to even consider trying (P)

Hurray!

2/29/72

Title for reply:

Eppur si muove

responsible

2/26/72

I am responsible for { his  
turn } being there on time

↑  
seems future, or  
subjunctive

Who is responsible? (for the fact) that Sandra wept

guy? What's the relationship between these

such as

2/26/72

This must be a shicer: cf.

\* It was Max that I gave her such things as a picture of

She didn't give me (any) such thing as a picture of { some } side  
{ ??any }

Seems to block Fact Relation:

Such things surprised him as <sup>??</sup>(the fact) that we were penniless

→ But:

He gave us such things as pictures of { himself }  
{ ? him }

He spoke about such things as { himself }  
{ \* him }

# Fact Relation

2/26/72

Two verbs which don't:

cite

? quote

# Long and short TM

2/25/72

What Max won't be is

easy to get along with

\*easy for me to imagine Jack getting along  
with

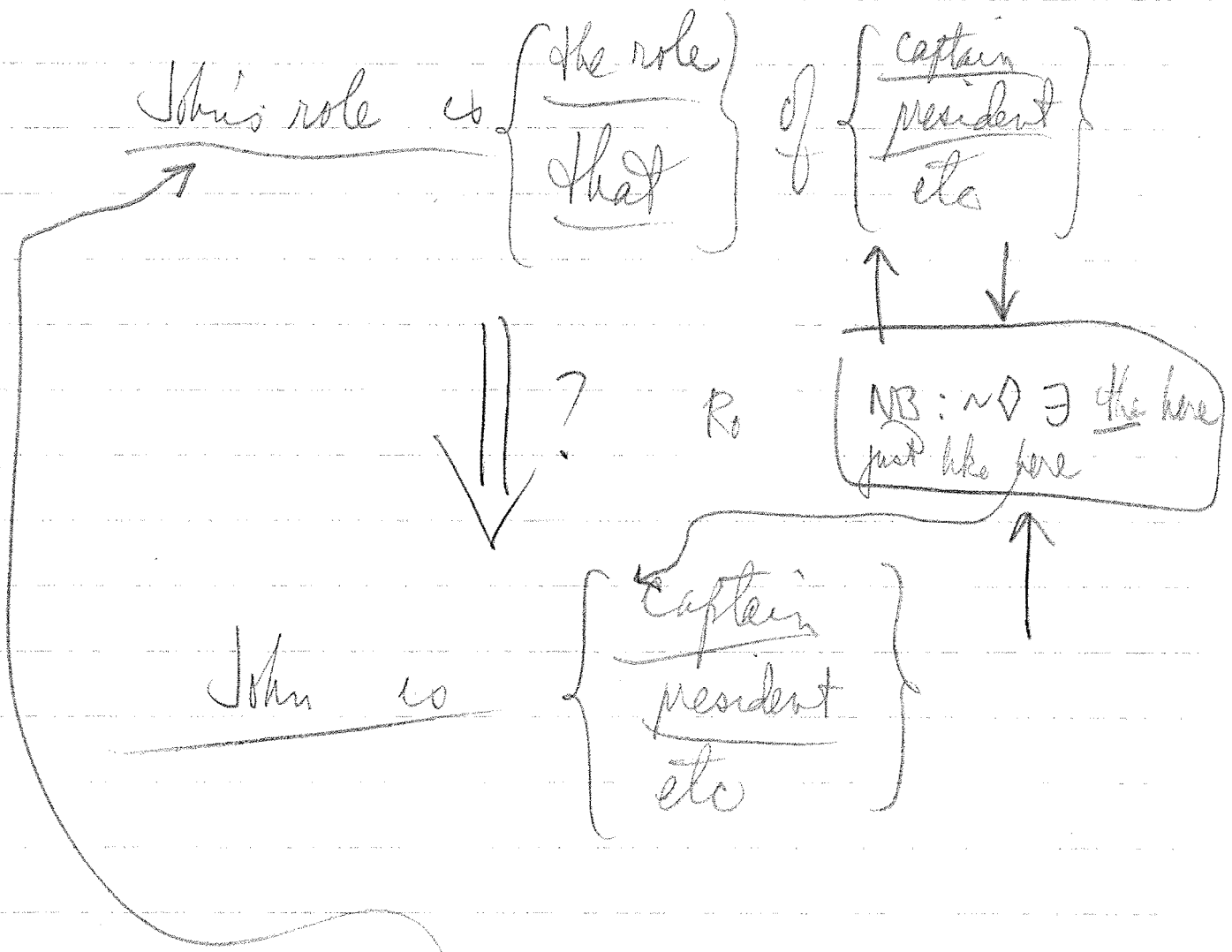
?? Easy for me to imagine Betty living with though I feel Max is, 5

So it looks as if long TM doesn't even  
have a constituent boundary after it.



Role Relation

2/25/72



Maybe this is a pseudo-cleft

\* What John roles is he roles {captain, president, etc}

Recapitulation

2/25/72

His (\*utter) sincerity exceeds Bill's

is  
The extent { to which he is (\*utterly) sincere  
of his (\*utter) sincerity }

exceeds the extent to which Bill is sincere.

# Agreement and nouniness

2/25/72

The nearer a C is, the better plural agreement from C and C is.

Larry's fact: even that 5 + that 5 is plural  
in NP\* cases;

that he left and that she cried point to the same thing

# Extraposition and NP Shift

2/25/72

Facts, suggested by Paul Postal's remark that

that S he claims to have proven is OK:

AB: This  
can't be basic  
because it's  
frozen.

I explained to Mary that S ←

This S wrecks Emonds, because his rule  
of "intraposition" would have to work into a prohibited  
place, non-rootly, to produce the source for this.

So even he will need the I<sup>2</sup>-SNPC

TM and Nom AAs

2/24/72

Easy to get along with, Max is always worked.

Whatever else this shows, it shows that this constituent must have been a sentence, otherwise TM couldn't have applied.

RCF > Top > QF

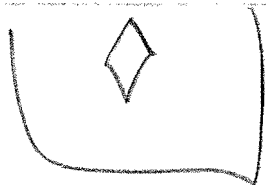
2/24/72

\* Who do you doubt is qualified? <

? Harry I doubt is qualified <

The man who I doubt has finished is over there





2/23/72

It is very possible that I

\* It was very possible for me to solve it

Why?

(Q. ? Going is very necessary for him)

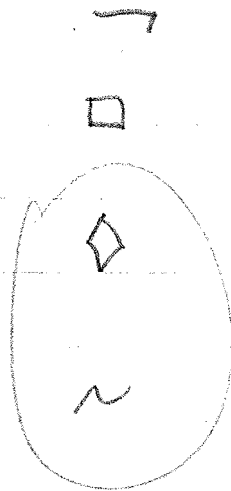


Modality + negation

2/22/72

Thoughts while talking w/ Larry:

Maybe it's not so weird that  $\diamond$  and  $\sim$  cluster. Viewed hierarchically, we have



← These two are closer together semantically than  $\square$  and  $\sim$ , so it's a sort of natural class.

Agreement + markedness

2/23/72

? If there is any problems, as there often are,

\* If there are any problems, as there often is,

Why?

$$V_{\text{think}} > V_{\text{say}}$$

2/22/72

Not Happily works only for these (in general)

# Never-Hopping

2/22/70

Facts from Larry

I never hope to meet him (cf. I don't hope  
to go)

Only works

a) Out of infinitives

b) When subject is gone

I never want (to/Max) to go there)

Metaphor of big

2/22/72

There were

- ~~high~~
- ~~great~~
- ~~big~~
- ? huge
- ? colossal
- ? enormous
- \* large

winds

These go with

expenses

costs

prices

meeting

problem

difficulty

force

desire

Why not with

wind

Rel. Cls and Cong  
+ thank god + slifting

2/24/72

much thank god I don't need

He has, thank god, been well



Thank god that he has been well

Cf. \*I 

don't
know
hope

 that thank god that he has left



Lately

2/22/72

1) This only goes initially + finally

Lately, I have been reading a lot of books to my kids

Recently goes where lately does, but also here

2) goes with perfects and w/ some "presently"

? Lately I have eaten very little

Actually, it seems to go best with perfect progressives

cf.

But it also goes with certain statives

Lately, I <sup>know</sup> find myself out gazing at stars



That → ~~is~~ and Shifting

2/22/72

Max says \* (that) you're sick, he fears

The \* here can only be explained on the assumption that something has happened.

Nicking

2/19/72

The fact that  $\Phi$  niche here P NP  
is explained by having NP Shift  
Nicking

because of the general fact that P always  
must ped pipe to the right.

P Del and CH

2/18/72

He began at playing chess  
↓  
⊗

no.

He is a beginner at playing chess  
↓  
⊗

ACD and the CSC

2/18/72

Drinking is bad for your health, so I suggest

you stop { smoking and  
and smoking

ing and category hierarchy

2/18/72

Edwin points out:

$\exists$  few N in up (starting X)

$\exists$  lots of A in ing (surprising)

Most V have ing forms

Incorporation and category hierarchy

2/18/72

He lion-hunts <

He is a lion-hunter

Self won't incorporate into V,

but will into A + N

self-contradictory

self-study

PP  $\rightarrow$   $\emptyset$  and Category Hierarchy

2/18/72

This rule works after Adj (and presumably after N) but not after V

I disagree with her, + Bill disagrees too

? I am disagreeing with her, + Bill is disagreeing too

I am hopeful that J, + Sam is hopeful too

\*I hope that J + Bill hopes too

Modifier Shift

2/18/72

Very much only goes w/ stature V  
Neg

Not quite true

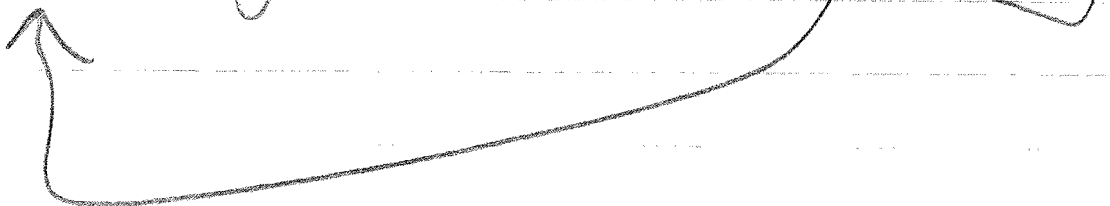
I very much disagree with you

>>

I am very much disagreeing with her

?? Disagree with her very much

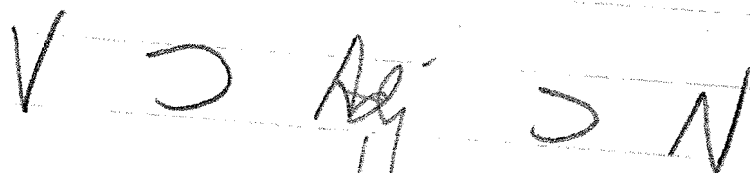
\*





Category hierarchy + frequency

2/18/72



monomorphic relational

Wayles points out:

If  $\nexists$  distinction between  $A \& V$   
in an  $L$ , we say "The  $L$  has  
no Adj", not "no  $V$ "

Then  $\rightarrow \emptyset$   
+ Pronom Hierarchy

2/18/72

But: How come  $\exists$  A never before identified species?

The then ruling monarch

\* The before ruling monarch

So Then  $\rightarrow \emptyset$  won't work

preadjectivally.

Same fact as

1873 was a bad year.

All the houses (which were) built collapsed

\* All the built houses

Mark's fact There  $\rightarrow \emptyset$

There's some wine in front

NB - this  
is a weak  
rule -

\* The kid I  
shot at  
died after

(Wont work  
backwards)

# Negative polarity hierarchy

2/18/72

any > 50 much

Edwin's paper points out that this won't go into  
Pass by, while this will

Will → ~~Ø~~

2/18/72

Fact from Lyle's "On English modals"

If I can hear your voice by tomorrow, S<sub>2</sub>

\* I will can hear your voice by tomorrow

Lyle of course takes a different tack, but -

This is a good RS

M and be going to

2/18/72

1. From "Double-ing", be = V

2. But be must always be tensed

(True? ? For him to be going to leave is tragic)

? I proved him to have been going to split)

3. So M don't require any <sup>unique</sup> special statement

2/22/72

Another case: used to - only in past tense.

But: can one say that this is past tense?

And what this is a V? [Yes. This used to be a saloon here]

Aha! Yes - There didn't use to be a saloon here

# Modifier shift

2/18/72

Preposing a constituent makes it more  
adjectival:

I am very (? much) depressed

A very (\*much) depressed man

# Epistemics and if-clauses

2/18/72

As Paul Kiparsky points out, <sup>epistemic</sup> have to  
stays out of if-clauses

1. So does likely to
2. Both also stay out of hope —,  
Assume — etc

Future idioms  
+ variable strength

2/18/72

From Lyle's paper "On English modals"

These 3 idioms require the future

Aha!  
2 > 1 > 3

1. I <sup>\*</sup>(ll) be right back

2. These <sup>\*</sup>(will) do

3. It <sup>\*</sup>(will) do you some good

This is OK  
↓  
be going to  
here, but not  
here

2/22/72  
Aha!  
This goes  
by VS  
possible for  
allows any,  
possible that  
doesn't.

{ Assume }  
{ I hope } that { ? he's right back }  
{ \*expect } { \*these do }  
{ \*anticipate } { this does you some good }

So: hope > { expect }  
{ anticipate }

I hope for { \*these to do }  
{ ? him to be right back }  
{ this to do you some good }



Equi Mysteries

2/17/72

\* I want to mean that there's no need for panic

Why?

Nouniness

2/17/72

Acc ing > Poss ing

(facts noted while reading Edwina's paper)

good with Acc ing, out w/ Poss ing

Result Clause Extraposition  
Extraposition from NP  
Extraposition

in this order

{ John } not killing her because he loved her  
John's

AMBIG - allows  
NOT Happening

MOWOG

Anyone (\*'s) seeing Tom would upset him



5 diam hierarchy

2/16/72

Least embeddable Like father, like son

(? I think that) Once an X, always an X

(only present tense?) A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush

(other tenses) A stretch in time { will often save  
often saves  
? had saved } mind

(Weak Raising) The jig is up

(? The jig seems to be up)

But:

\* It was a terrible shock for the  
jig to be up then

OK Raising The shit hit the fan

# What if

2/16/72

Paraphrase suggested by Arnold:

what { would  
would have } happened if S ?

Evidence (from us) for this

1. ?? What if S, I want to know
2. What if S is what we've been thinking about.
3. \* What if S is what amazed me

---

But what if S<sub>k</sub> isn't really a  $\phi$ : it's sort of like a rhetorical  $\phi$ , in presupposing (asserting)  
You don't realize that it's possible that S<sub>k</sub>

That-Deletion + category hierarchy

2/15/72

1. The rule obeys the CSC

\* He said he was tired and that he wouldn't go

\* He said that he was tired, and Tom was home, both of which were lies

2. The rule may obey the category hierarchy

1. It doesn't work after N, except after have the idea etc.

3. How about V vs. Adj?

I hope S > ? I am hopeful he'll come back

? I hope tomorrow he'll come → ? I am hopeful tomorrow he'll come

\* hold  
\* matter

V that → 0  
say, V, finite  
I saw someone

seem, appear  
? happen

Adj that → 0  
surprised, etc.  
attract  
confident  
hopeful  
certain

sure  
likely  
possible  
obvious

? \* false  
? aware  
? surprising  
etc.  
? doubtful

That-Deletion

2/15/72

3. The concept which seems to be to here is related to the one to for Nicking: clear to the next S up.

So: looking at a that S<sup>sense</sup>,

the that cannot go if the that-S is in an island.

NB: I believe he's such and know he's single

So it's OK to that-delete<sup>in S's</sup> in conjuncts, but not in conjoined that-S's

# Particles in French

2/15/72

Je suis tombé sur Marie,  
et Jean (\*sur) Georgette ←

But ?

Sur qui es-tu tombé ?

I think that this may be  
true of German too



# Slipiness and category hierarchy

2/15/72

77 Bills' claim that he was sick

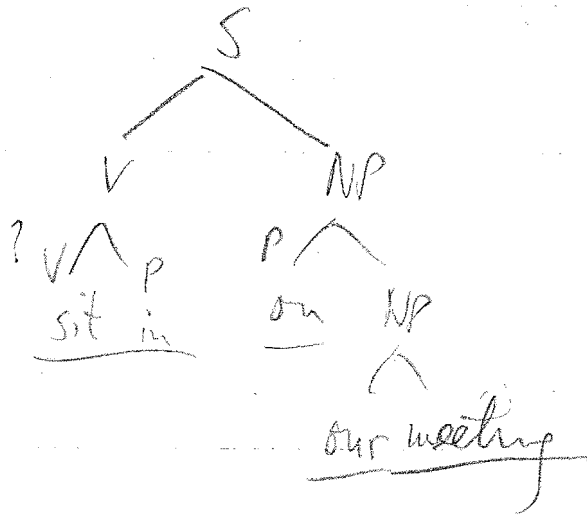
and Tom's are similar

# Particles

2/11/72

Maybe the right way to get the fact that sit in on  
do away with etc are V Prt P is to say  
that Prt = those P which can occur stem-finally.

for this structure must be



This is shown by gapping: He sat in on my classes,  
+ I (\*in) on his.

Endstation

2/11/72

Observations from Dick:

?? Of whom did you see a picture?

Nouniness

2/11/72

fact from PMP:

as I like to say >

{  
Sheila to say  
? if Sheila to say

# TM and Category Hierarchy

2/11/72

Why  $\Phi$  V which undergo TM?

Larry suggests take (time)

(also Larry)

And others in 23.754 suggested

that maybe ment, warrant, deserve, used

are OBL TMers

// [-Stat]

2/10(?) / 72

All active V which require a lower  
volitional predicate can undergo some kind of  
subject deletion: Equi or Group Deletion

NP Shift and Scorching

2/10/72

From talk with PMP:

?? who do you think elected president a hobo

>

\* what country do you think they elected  
president of a hobo

So NP Shift scorches —  
subjects less, objects more

# Downgrading and Strength

2/10/72

Motivated by PMP:

John was persuaded by Sally } that he should kiss her >  
} \* to kiss her

It's worse to downgrade, the  
poorer the content is



2BO and strength

2/10/72

Bill seems {

- ? (to be) hard to get along with
- ?\* (to be) hard for people to imagine
- Sally living with

(ing < to  
Necessity)

Fact from PMP: Raising is tougher w/ ing than w/ to 2/10/72

Bill ceased { coming  
to come }

There ceases { to be  
\*being } any reason to continue

Fact from Haj:

Ditts wrt TM

? She is tough getting along with

NP Shift  
+ Nounness

2/10/72

Talk w/ PMP:

Supposedly cyclic, because the reflexive condition  
is cycle-final.

But I talked about himself

a picture of himself

?? getting himself together

NB: Nounness

to fat X

can be explained by downgrading

There and 2BD

2/10/72

There are at least 7 environments in which a rule which gets rid of be won't work after there has been inserted

1. I consider there\*(to be) no cause for alarm. OPT
2. There\*(being) no grass, we smoked catnip. OPT
3. There\*(being) no grass was a disaster. OPT
4. I want there\*(to be) a lot of action. OPT
5. There\*(be(ing) with) no ice !?! OBL
6. There seems\*(to be) grounds for optimism. OPT
7. \* Noon found there a man working OBL

∃ suggestion within a footmaster  
is a funny one - white flag?

Impassiveness

2/9/72

- go → un{perturbed}ness W
- go → un{disturbed}ness W
- go → unprejudicedness W
- go → unadvancedness W
- ? go → (unconvincingness) W
- go → unenforcedness W
- go → unproducedness W
- go → unpermeatedness W
- go → uncommandedness W
- go → unextendedness W
- go → unadvisedness W
- go → unboundedness W
- go → uncompoundness W
- go → unrecordedness W
- go → uncloudedness W
- go → unacknowledgedness W
- go → untouchedness W
- go → unpunishedness W
- go → unequalledness W
- go → unverifiedness W

Check these out with go

go → underivedness W

Many (500+) more to look at -  
not all in V+ed+ness are listed here

RNR and NP\*

2/9/72

?\* The picture of and the photograph of Anthony  
contrast

OK in/ the picture and the photograph of Anthony  
were similar

Jo RNR doesn't like to yank stuff

out of NP\* Bye-bye stand in principle because this is OK:  
It was Anthony who I compared a photograph of and a portrait of.

Avery adds this:

2/10/72

There's the girl who I thought was tall but Sandra thought was short  
Can't come via RNR

## RNR and Islands

2/8/72

Facts arrived at w/ PMP:

RNR just may be the strongest known rule.

It will yank things out of rel cls.:

I photographed a policeman who definitely was, and

Tom photographed a policeman who may have been, stored

It obeys CSC:

\*\* Max is either drunk or, and Ted is just plain, mad

?\* Sally bought a vase and a photograph of, & I  
bought a lamp and an etching of, John

So CSC w/ conjuncts > CSC w/ parts of conjuncts.

$P \rightarrow \emptyset$

2/7/72

Paul Kiparsky suggests that  $\emptyset$  rule  $P \rightarrow \emptyset$  -  
instead, a rule would convert that for to  $\Rightarrow$  Passing  
after P.

Two problems:

(1) What's the source of this?

↓

The fact of his being there

(2) What happens to?

\* I hope for that he'll come  
to come

\* I'm doubtful of that he'll come



TDC on Modifier Shift

2/7/72

beer { a little  
somewhat } flat

→ { \*a little  
somewhat } flat beer

This is out because of \*a beer

This feels like this:

too long { \*sentences } to parse  
a sentence

# Privacy

2/6/72

Privacy gives an argument for universal rules: since only certain rules are privacy devices, it must be possible to talk about rules cross-linguistically.

in X's shoes

2/6/70

If I were in your shoes, S<sub>2</sub>

I wish I were in your shoes

I hope I'm in your shoes when promotion comes around.

Now that I'm in your shoes, S<sub>2</sub>

? I'm in Bill's shoes\* (and), + I don't know!

For Sally to have been in Tom's shoes would have  
been disastrous.

\* Sam will be in Tom's shoes

What's the restriction operative here?

Versions

2/4/72

What is the relation between

A and B in

A. In other words, B

Cf. also

2/6/72

To make a long story short

In brief  
In short

To sum up  
To sum up

Not to put too fine a point on it

To be blunt

Plot structure

2/4/72

Thoughts while watching Part II of Les Troyens, by Berlioz:

A. Just like there are center strings, there are center plots. Adjunct plots, excursions, diversions etc can all be omitted. Probably that's one of the ways to write things.

B. One way to achieve the effect of compression is to put a lot of events into a single sentence.  
As Paris, who had charged Hector around Troy, was killed by an arrow in the heel

C. Some ideas must be subordinate

\* While Achilles and Hector were long battles, Paris sketch

D. How do scenes change occur?  
How do a bunch of scenes an act?  
How in an act can we put in a tableau?  
Obviously script has a consistent structure.

E. Les Troyens ... how the house being made or brought in. These slow like important scenes can't be like that be ...

$\rho_F + \text{clefs}$

1/72

Who was  $\rho$  that he shot? <<

?\* How good was  $\rho$  that  $\rho$  tested?

Not Hopping + Sluicing

1/72

fact miswired by Jorge:

I don't think at Mary

This argues that there was an S here

2/6/72

I don't think until tomorrow

[Shuicing]

1/72

Jorge's fact: No unbounded deletion rule (ex. Shuicing)

has a variable between a vowel + deletion site

\* ... people know that we think vanilla



CSC

1/72

5 unearthed by Larry Horn:

The history is focused on the activities  
of Belisarius, to honor whom, and not the emperor, the  
work was undertaken

That → 0

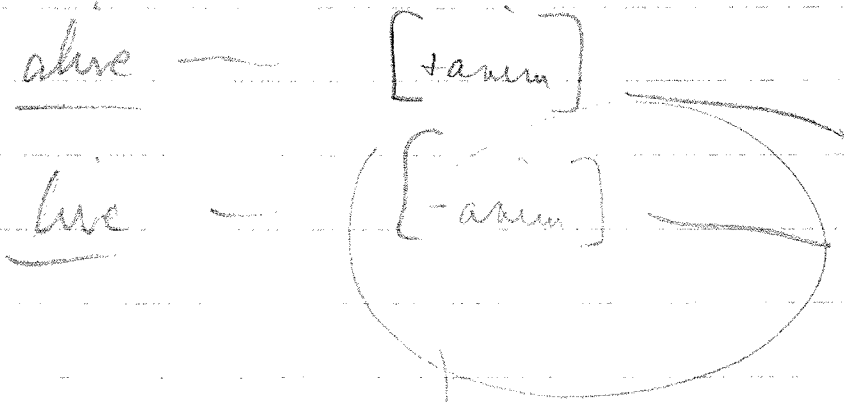
1/72

I only regret (that) there was a storm

I regret { only that } there was a storm  
\*only

(a) live

1/72



actually, it's much more restricted —

it's only performances, etc.

# Gapping and negation

2/3/22

Negatives w/ gapping are worse in subject of likely  
than in the subject of obvious

That Bill won't order fish + Tom soup is  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{likely} \\ \text{obvious} \end{array} \right\}$

What gives  
?

•

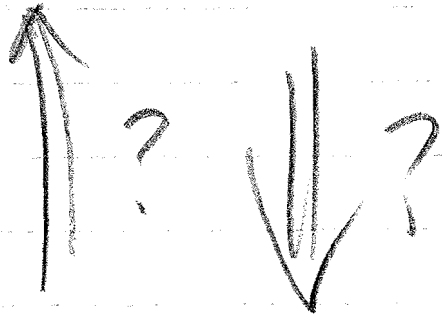
the more the merrier

2/3/72

the fatter he is (isn't), the more he dies

---

NB



{ \* He doesn't die }

He dies more + more, the fatter he is (isn't)

---

Example from Dolores McQueen

That  $\rightarrow \emptyset$  and Scorching

1/31/72

From Jessica Murray's final:

Adverb Preposing inside a relative clause  
blocks That  $\rightarrow \emptyset$

---

2/1/72

This is evidence that it's the same rule  
we're dealing with in relative clauses as in complements.

Hierarchy of post-verbal constituents

Tied to V closely

(Pro)  
(P<sub>obj</sub>)  
obj  
NP

Take your things  
Keep house

1/31/72

passingable PP

to IO

do it

DIR

for Ving O

for IO

for benefactive

do so

by Ving O

from Ving O

loosely

2/1/72

There must be a connection between this hierarchy and the OC on post-verbal constituents.

Note that just as you can topicalize a fatty easier, so you can NP Shift it easier.

Fronting and verb-initial structures  
and variable strength

2/11/72  
Beh! These are requests - ~~not~~ these did he read? 1/31/72

2/1/72  
This is  
presumably  
due to  
searching

[?\* These can you loan me? < Tomorrow can I see you?

//  
/o

? These take right now < Tomorrow come on time

So is that searching too?

2/1/72

?\* Her name would that I knew! < ? Tomorrow would that I could  
be in you



(in)justly

1/31/72

Sheila is justly { proud  
\*tall  
stubborn  
? foolish  
\*heavy

Sheila was unjustly { punished  
? happy  
\*tall  
? proud } ← ? in an unjust manner

Are these related to is just?

How?

Incorporation and Gapping

1/31/72

I'd bet anything that incorporated Ns can't be sluiced around

\* Bill kept house, + Sandra \*

\* Bill's a lion-hunter, and Sam a tiger

But Elke says J  
Hans will Karten spielen, und Max Schach

?? She likes ass, + he dick

Ford

1/31/72

?? Noon seems to have found her drunk

Maybe this crazy construction is limited to highest islands.

---

Another fact suggesting the same thing: 2/1/72

?? These days find we happy

↑

Plurals are out

Drawn idiom

1/31/72

It rained (cats + dogs)  
\*dogs + cats

# Fake NP Hierarchy

1/31/72

With P raining hard, we left >

? It raining, we left >

?\* It (\*\*'s) raining so hard angered us >

\* Raining less hard, P began to clear up

So the construction types interact with the type  
of fake NP

Generic + fr to

1/31/72

I'm going to continue 
\*to work
working

right
WRN

Only OK as a generic

1/31/72

Maybe whenever  $\exists$  equi subj V w/ lower V  $\neq$  be,  
 $P$  must be deleted? Or what?

Tom's here, (\*being) unfortunately

He decoupled (\*being) cleverly

Anyone (\*being) sick will be fined

(\*Being) heartbroken, Fred left, (\*being) smart

Then why  $\exists$ ?

I want him (to be)  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{happy} \\ \text{working} \end{array} \right.$

2/1/72

Great argument for the existence of the rule!

I want tabs kept on her

Maybe 230 is really basically OBL, then slow to OPT  
 (Is  $P$  ever blocked in the right class [whatever that is] of VS?)

Particles and government

1/30/72

run over - this is a wild one -

it only splits off with great reluctance

So maybe  $\exists$  V+Prt constructions w/o

Prt Movement

Another candidate:

come across

NB

\* Over what did you run?

\* Across what did you run?

On what did you chance  
happen  
stumble?

NB

? He came across a new disease, + he's inval (stumble) the cure

- Another: stumble (up) on,
- Another: happen (up) on
- Another: chance? (up) on



Gapping + P. Blomming

1/30/72

He let { the cats in, + (she) the dogs out }  
\*in the cats, + (she) out the dogs }

He solved the riddles cleverly, + { (?\* she) the anagrams stupidly }  
she stupidly }

He cleverly solved the riddles, + { she { the anagrams }  
\* stupidly }  
\*stupidly the anagrams }

TM

1/28/72

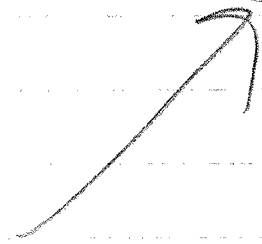
No case like Adams' exists except  
where the subject clause can have Equi  
applying to it anyway

Uh oh — maybe this (a counterexample) is good.  
↓  
? To have to defend himself is too <sup>un</sup>likely for Jack to have  
to worry about (it)

Crossover

1/28/72

Whose mother did you talk { to him about  
about to him } ?



How come this is bad?

(tend → ~~Ø~~)

1/27/72

I believe Mary to buy { \*a car  
cars  
a car every year }

Mary tends to buy { \*a car  
cars  
a car every year }

1/28/72

No analyses as  $\diamond$  which says

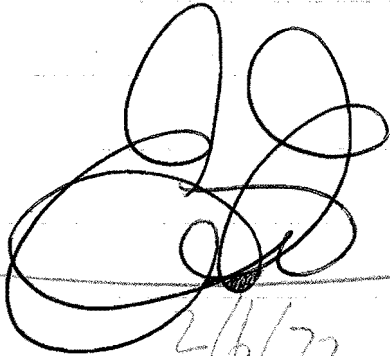
{ believe  
tend  
etc } phrase their objects

because of I believe him to { have bought  
be bought } a car

1/27/72

I consider { Sam (to be) incompetent  
 there\* (to be) no reason to proceed }

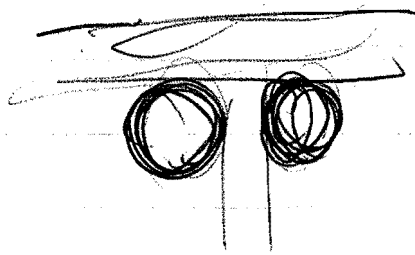
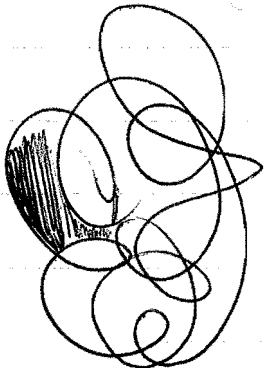
\* it to be raining



Ann! Parallels Being → restriction

{ Him (being) in the lobby  
 there\* (being) no milk }

is a disaster



Opt Equ

1/27/72

He practiced (his) singing

Suggestion from Mark: 2/2/72

This is a N

G. ?\* He practiced his singing the area

Tough Movement + Int fronting

1/26/72

Since  $\exists$

\* To go home will be tough to make Jack try

But  $\exists$

To find him there was surprising to me  
and To find him there would be considered impossible

So the fact that  $\exists$  \*To leave was preferred by Tim  
is due to the by-phrase constraint.

What the  
fact gives.  
To go home  
is too  
difficult  
for me to  
try it

Aha: Thus the constraint says:

Don't shove a subjectless int leftwards  
by a rule w/ teeth

NB  $\exists$  (in order) to please us, he enrolled

$\exists$ ?\* (in order) to please us, I think that he may enroll

Parent

1/26/72

This strange N only occurs in the singular in predicate position [No! non-referentially]

\* My parent lives on Hooba Boulevard

(out even when spoken by an orphan)

But

It's tough being a parent

\* My oldest parent

↓  
The older a parent is, the wiser he gets

A parent has to put up with a lot of noise

Humm - this suggests a derivation from predicate position!



# Lexicalizing

1/25/72

great word from Elke:

Did you pididdle that?

=

say "pididdle" for

Q + Adv Postposing (German)

1/25/72

Facts from Godhard Link:

weil sie zu strecken { \*alle scheuen  
scheuen alle }

So it's a post-cyclic rule

Q won't go after zu + Inf

die { wollen  
\*wünschen zu } strecken alle

heute ↓

Also: Q Postposing happens inside PP

Von ihnen allen erhalte ich Briefe

OK here under  
both circles

This is true  
of Q and of  
Wickup

[And inside picture N, though  $\exists$  determiner constraint // English on ripping.  
So these are language-particular constraints on this rule.]

gapping

Talk with Jorge:

1/25/72

attribute

?\* Max attributed the damage to the storm  
and Bill (the confusion) to the flood

~~give~~

talk to

<

case

V NP Adv

Max smoked in the lounge on Friday,  
& Bill (upstairs) on Saturday

V Adv Adv

Its easier and easier to leave  
2 constituents behind the gap,  
and also 1, as you go down the list

Argues for

(V → Ø)  
Purging



stiff

1/23/72

I'm sore in the joints of <sup>(\*Ed's)</sup> my legs from Xing



I'm joint-sore in <sup>(\*Ed's)</sup> my legs



stiff

//s

foot-sore

↑  
NB - semantic  
object antecedent

I'm sure there are lots of restrictions on what X can be:  
My legs are stiff from {  
? watching TV  
? cooking  
? reading}

NB: → { \* The }  
OBL  
possessor  
My throat is hoarse from yelling



\* I'm hoarse in my throat

Why bad?



I'm sore in my legs from exercising (\*them)

//s

My legs are sore from exercising (\*\*them)

Psych Movement, Equip + stuff

1/23/72

His legs were stiff from climbing (and were) bandaged

Unbounded rules in idioms

1/21/72

I have a bone to pick with you

I have { my  
\*Fred's } work cut out for me

Theo has a tough row to hoe

How to mean  
January 22, 1979. 1 AM  
First lecture on linguistics.

Thoughts learned from talking to Dave Perry about writing.  
[Dave said that I had helped him to grow - that writing the book for us was a step forward for him, one he would not have been able to take earlier.]

[He also told me a nice story about what I, passed out with Elke & the fidelhans, at the Frasers, had struggled to consciousness to say.

In answer to a question about how the Messiah had been compressed to fit onto three discs, about what parts had been omitted, I peeped into consciousness for a minute and said that they'd left out all the short notes - that they didn't play any note less than a half note.]

I. What do you say when people ask you what you do?

I tell them: I study the possible <sup>different</sup> ways of saying the same thing - how words can be rearranged in a sentence while preserving the main message constant, with only changes in emphases.

II. What does it mean to rewrite something?

Examples of poems, paragraphs, chapters, novels, sentences. What are the constants of meaning, the same, between two versions of the same poem? How are "When I was one and twenty" and "Nothing gold can stay" the same? What do they



That → ∅

1/20/72

This rule seems to only apply where ripping is possible (in general): more precisely - when there's a niche to the left of that.

CNPC

Thus NB I {made  
\*discussed} the claim we'd won

I believe (\*the claim) she's sick

CJC

I know \*(that) she's sick, that we'll have to move, and that I'll never find a job

Maybe OK w/ all that's gone

1/21/72

Hysteria

I bore \*(that) he had few choices in mind

Affix Restressing

1/20/72

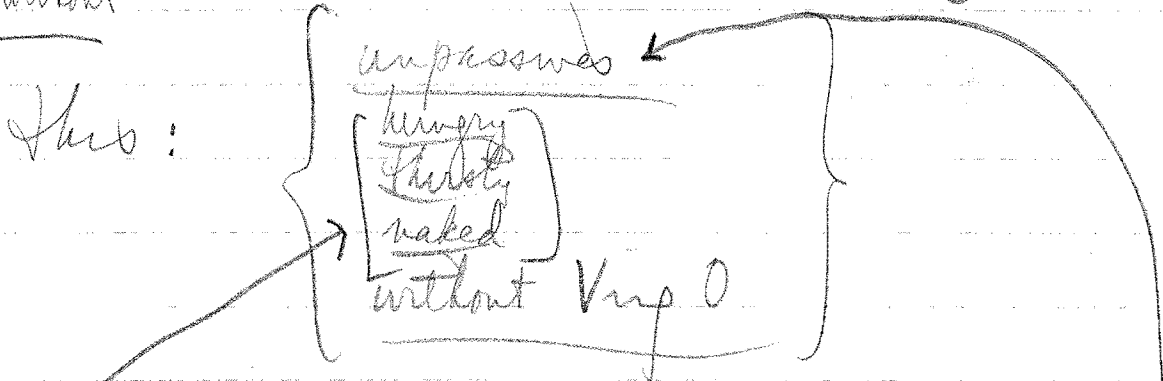
infantile

Unpasswas

1/20/72

NB also:  
we went without

Since go can be followed by



and since we need a <sup>negative</sup> source for these,  
 without saying that they derive from

without being Ven (P)

⇓ OPT

un

[Parenthetically, these should probably derive from without {<sup>eating</sup> drinking <sup>anything</sup> wearing}]

This means that this is unaccounted for must come from

\* This is without being accounted for

Yech



# Unpassives

p.3

1/20/72

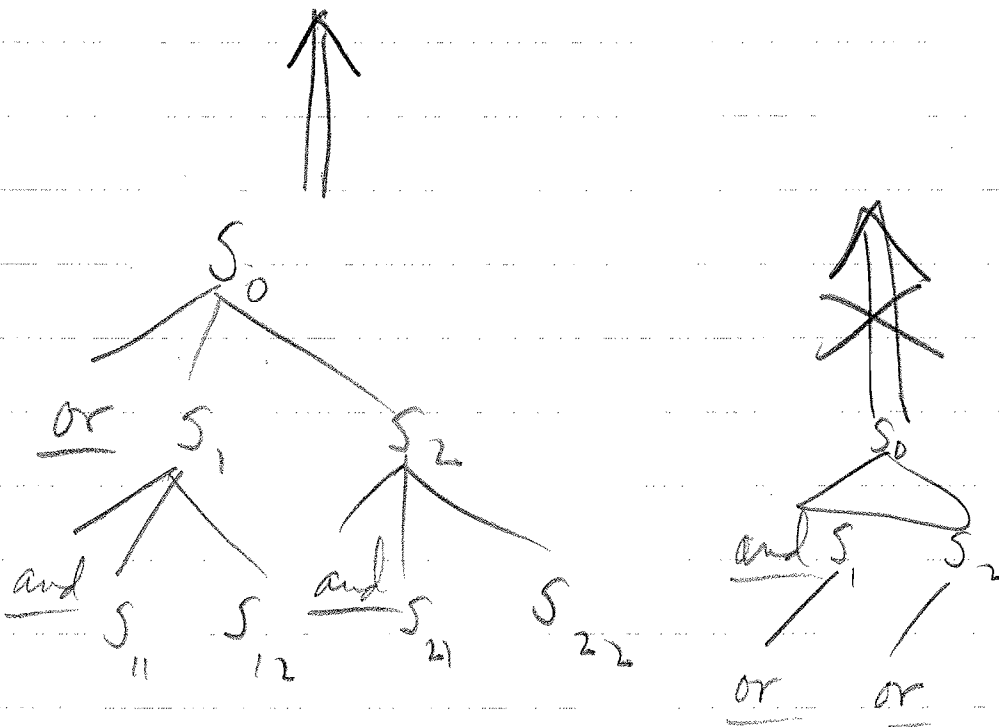
4. Both exclude (some) durative V like hope for,  
wait for
5. Both exclude negative V in des# -
6. This derivation would explain scope of negation phenomena like
  - a) Why unpassives take negative tags.
  - b) Why because-clauses aren't ambiguous.

CRed + Pred Crossing

1/19/72

The first obeys the 2nd:

either Bill or Tom kissed Sally and Ann



# Hierarchies

1/19/72

Other ones to remember:

1. Postal's pronominalization hierarchy (fn. 1 Ch 9 Crossover)
2. The Double-rip one

Hierarchy of relative pronouns

1/19/72

P wh-word >

who/which >

that >

~~Ø~~



Nouniness

1/19/72

QP is better in Acc ing than in Poss ing

{ The men } all having signed makes us feel better  
 { ? The men's }  
 { ?? their }

\*\* The men's all refusing of the offer

# Particles and valency

1/19/72

There are some particles that must split  
(eggon, put on, to), but none that can't.

[A test for a non-moving particle would be



but no \*SVOP]

So Particle Movement is OPT,

yet has no DNA cases.

Hum.

---

2/2/72

Probably come across no a case

X more than Y

V1872

Facts from talking with Mark

The Cambridge Trust is more opposed from the Corp

than beside it



It is more true apt fitting to say that X than it is to

say that Y is

This would explain why it is that we don't get \*sadder than desperate - or is globally constrained to only follow

Valency + Equi

1/18/72

Are there any cases of OPT object controlled Equi?

Sound OK I asked him for there to be little publicity

I promised (? Max) for there to be a speedy trial

To be  $\rightarrow \emptyset$

1/18/72

I want him

working  
in jail  
happy  
to  
etc  
\* owning a car

$\exists$  rule of ZFO

2/1/72

I want headway made on this by next week

great argument for the existence of ZFO

Baffle > boggle

1/18/72

Sentence arrived at w/ Bob Fiergo

Some basketball players are taller than many doors

if then → generic rels

1/18/72

Fact from Emily:

a disaster with any consequences is  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{tragic} \\ * \text{likely} \end{array} \right\}$

//

If a disaster has any consequences, it is  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{tragic} \\ * \text{likely} \end{array} \right\}$

Diff w/ regret vs predict

She points out that it's just // to the  
factive - non-factive split.

Preposing and the category hierarchy

1/18/72

fact from Mark

he was { adored more than appreciated }  
 { more adored " }

no  
 He was { ?\* sad more than desperate }  
 { more sad than desperate }

Mark's idea: the more adjectival, the more preposing is D.

My addendum: the same is true of nouniness: the further one goes down the hierarchy, the more preposing is D.



See

1/18/72

⊕ active of He was seen to be jumping { have fainted }

⊕ passive of I saw him { examined }  
{ being examined }

∃ difference in meaning between

I saw him examined (whole exam)

vs. I saw him being examined (not only all)

Rule valency

1/18/72

He is (?\* being) <sup>(?said)</sup> removed to have quit

Maybe it's the case that this optional rule has no lexically governed OBL's in object position.

# Rule valency

1/18/72

Maybe  $\exists$  only one kind of primary-conditional rule valency change:

DNA  $\rightarrow$  OPT  $\rightarrow$  OBL

1/19/72

I guess this predicts that an optional rule can have either DNA or OBL exceptions (e.g. Raising, w/ probable and tend), there will be no OBL rule w/ OPT exceptions.

For instance, Walbri + Swabili agreement is optional w/ plural inanimate objects, but OBL w/ all subjects.

It sort of suggests that the rule can't "wre and" non-subjects before subjects are nailed down.

# Rule valency + primacy

1/17/72

1. Special Equi (OBL): DNA<sup>w/obj</sup>  
controller
2. Hawaiian RCF (OBL): OPT obj  
(diff wrt Eng)
3. too + enough Del (OBL): OPT obj
4. Agreement (OBL): OPT obj
5. Repl (OBL): OPT cross-clause

1. QP (OPT): DNA obj
2. Raising (OPT): DNA obj
3. Fact Del (OPT): DNA obj  
OBL obj
4. Tris → ∅ (OPT): DNA obj

1. 4 out of 5 involve 2 = NP's

Possible reanalyses:

1. No reanalysis ◊
2. Reanalysis ◊, but not in line  
w/ our formulation of RCF, which is elsewhere OBL
3. Reanalysis ◊
4. Reanalysis ◊, I (grudgingly) grant
5. Reanalysis ◊

Possible reanalyses:

1. NP → N Q, Q Preposing (OBL)
2. No reanalysis ◊
3. Fact insertion (why before S/Eng,  
after S/Imp?)
4. No reanalysis ◊

# Rule valency

1/17/72

Expected historical development

1<sup>st</sup> stage: rule DNA

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} es \\ d \end{array} \right\}$  insertion

cross-clause Reflexivization

2<sup>nd</sup> stage: rule is OPT

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} es \\ d \end{array} \right\}$  insertion

cross-clause Reflexivization

3<sup>rd</sup> stage: rule is OBL

Privacy and ready

1/17/72

They're ready for { eating  
\*going to the woods  
? \*looking at  
? sitting on }

What the facts gives here?

# Modal V and Nouns

1/17/72

In general, these seem to fade by Action Nouns:

My  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *giving \\ *gift \end{array} \right\}$  of a part to the car

\* The making of progress

?\* The taking of a swoze

?? The making of a decision

(it S + category hierarchy)

1/17/72

This construction exists largely for V (  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{hate} \\ \text{like} \\ \text{love} \\ \text{prefer} \\ \text{see to} \\ \text{etc} \end{array} \right\}$  )

→ a little for Adj ( aware is the only one I can think of )

and is out for N.

NB

\* Her hatred (  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{of} \\ \text{for} \end{array} \right\}$  it ) that I sing

\* My love (  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{of} \\ \text{for} \end{array} \right\}$  it ) that she had left

→ \* Her awareness of it that Tom had left

Under Rosenbaum's analysis, this is the opposite of what lexicon would predict.



Raising + Bk  
+ Primacy

1/14/72

All cross-clause Reflexives are OPR.

Therefore, since

Max believes himself to be cool

is OPR

we deduce these are alternatives

Person > Ref

1/14/72

I gave a picture of Bell to {him  
\*himself}

Raising

1/14/72

Why can nothing go here

\* "I believe him," said Ed, "to be sick"

---

? "I persuaded him," said Ed, "to go home"

---

Here is much better

# Category hierarchy

1/14/72

Raising is OBLIG. for lead,  
OPT for tendency

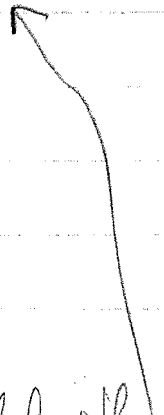
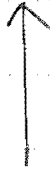
Maybe it's right to have Raising  
work inside NP — that would square w/  
the category hierarchy

Adverb classes?

1/14/72

... , with the conclusion that whenever X happens, Y happens,

(\*though not the converse)



This won't fit into an S like this

(Fact  $\rightarrow \emptyset$  +  
Category hierarchy)

1/14/72

his surprise\* (at the fact) that J

---

but

he was surprised (at the fact) that J

---

So Fact  $\rightarrow \emptyset$  is governed  
for N, not for Adj

Heh heh heh

to the effect

1/14/72

his {  
claim  
theory  
idea  
hypothesis  
\* insistence  
proposal  
? demand  
?\* denial  
\* doubt  
? command  
? admission  
\* knowledge

to the effect that J

\* the possibility to the effect that J

{  
fact  
probability

that → ∅

1/13/72

fact from Everett Leitch (Brown student):

That won't delete after a reduced  
postnominal modifier

\* Somebody proud of his country I met was in  
LA

1/19/72

I bet it won't work except /N\_

?? Somebody who was working I met yesterday said I was  
wrong



Primacy

1/13/72

$$\sim P_0 \rightarrow A_{nph} = (A_{nph} \rightarrow P_0) \vee (\$ \rightarrow \text{relationship})$$

So this is looser than this

$$A_{nph} \rightarrow P_0$$

Car → 0

1/12/72

Facts from Jorge:

I've got a dent in my fender

I'm parked on Elm St.

They put me in the garage

? They ticket me!

? I'm idling a little fast

I'm stalling a lot

\* I see { me / myself } over there

Larry: \* I'm going to be junked

Me: \* I'm longer than you (or)

No adjectival S's

Only (deep) subjects?

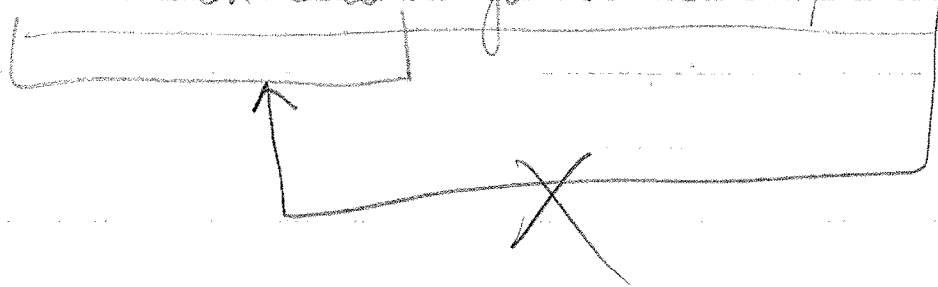
Only  $\Delta$  with tight selection? (Transderivational)

Only with locatives?

LBC

1/12/72

\* Of which cars do you think the pictures' signs were excessive?



Locative N

1/12/72

The place { that  
where } we stayed

\* The { room  
house  
street } that we stayed

---

No N w/ time N:

The { time  
day  
moment  
Christmas } that we cried

Being → ∅

1/12/72

John [being] a toastmaster is a funny sight  
\* — ]

Blocks — NP

# Stuff Deletion

1/12/72

From PMP: Deletion blocks possession/ignition

(\*That's tests, \*The poor's needs)

Therefore,  $\exists$  rule of Stuff Deletion:

\*The butler's taste

# Pseudo-cleft hierarchy

1/12/72

Facts from conversation with Roger:

Pseudo-cleft AP are very restricted  
(no SVI, no Q's, no complex bases,  
no Raising, etc.)

Fake NP

1/11/76

They can't be modified by rel. cls.

\* It, which rained yesterday, is raining again.

\* There, who<sup>o</sup> {rel} was a man working, was a man in bed.

But:

Significant headway, which is most difficult

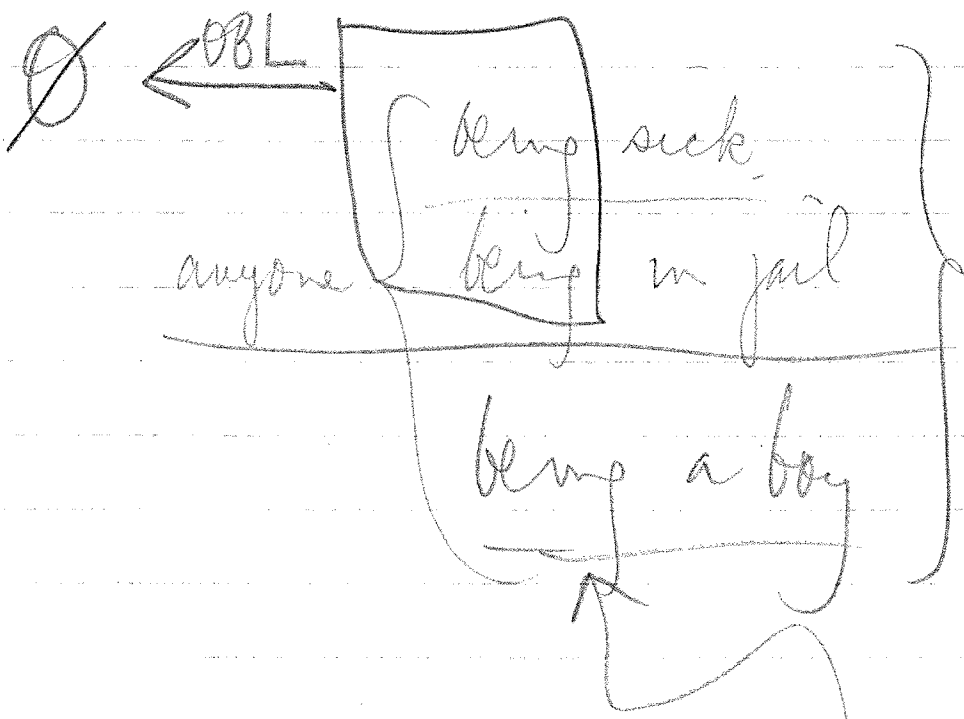
to make on short notice, was made today

Careful {track} {\*tabs}, which 5,



The → ing and N Doom

1/11/72



But what happens to this?

Heh heh heh — it becomes

any boy, of course

un-

1/11/72

\* unwarmth

untruth

vs

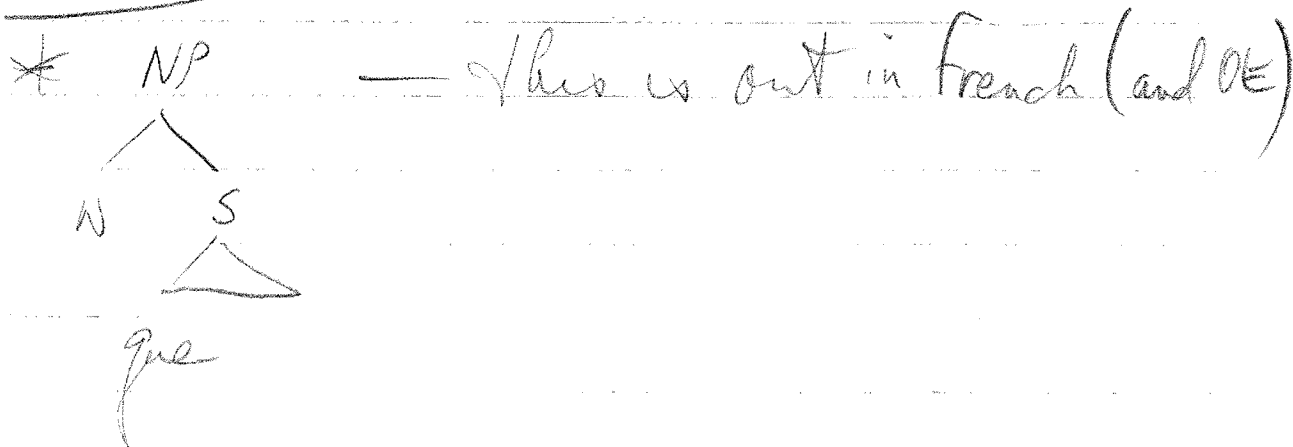
unkindness

⊕ \* unhappiness ⊕

Complex NP's in French  
& Nouniness

1/10/72

Arbore's fact:



But these are OK

son intention de s'en aller

l'impression de son intelligence

So non-nouny clauses are out  
as NP complements

Psych Movement

1/10/72

Hey — what's the source of?

That S is certain

And how is I related to?

Everybody is certain that S

5 Idioms

1/10/72

The ship hit the fan

The { pig } is up  
game

The fat is in the fire

Easy does it = Take it easy

Noaminess

1/7/72

Ann was told by Tom

? that she should kiss him

>

? \*to kiss him



# Passive family

1/6/72

A book was given to him >

He was given a book >

A book was given him

I have no proof yet - just hunching



Lexical decomposition

1/6/72

Lynn Terus's fact

this sweater was { \* made  
knitted  
//  
made by knitting }

cf. also

a { \* made  
knitted } sweater

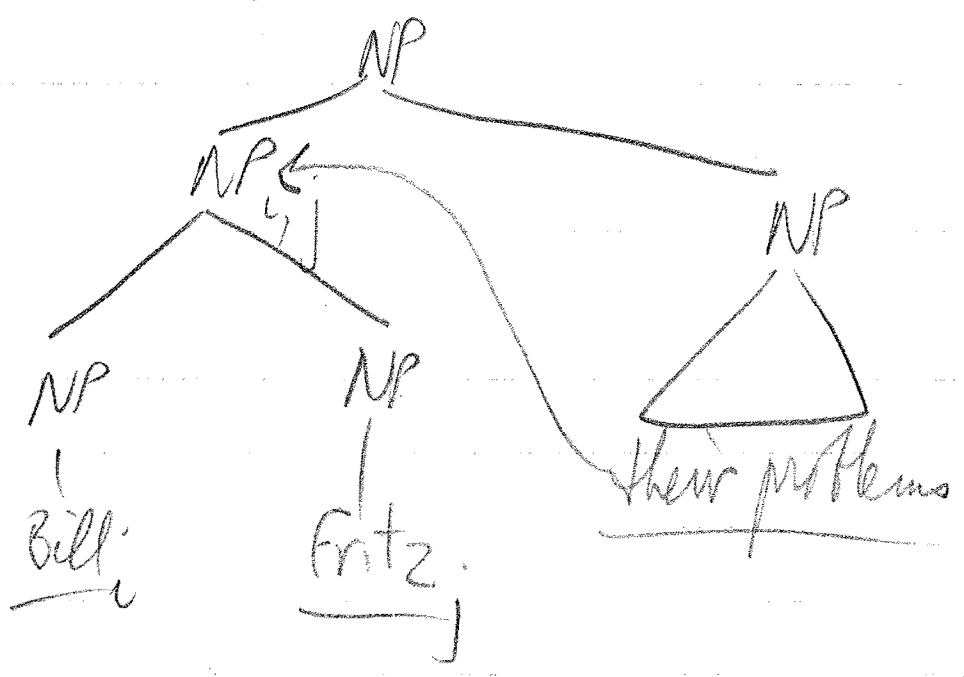
Split antecedents and islands

1/5/72

The report concerns Bill { and } Fritz, and their problems  
 { \* - }

So this shows that their can't refer to split antecedents which are conjuncts.

The good S comes from



CNPC

Bill believes { that Fritz is } aware of their obligations  
 { ?Fritz to be }  
 1/6/72

?? Bill believes the claim that Fritz is aware of their duties

Split antecedents and islands

1/6/72

<p>{</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>The fact</u></p> <p style="text-align: center;">—</p> <p>{</p> <p style="text-align: center;">?</p> <p style="text-align: center;">—</p> <p>}</p>	<p>that Sheila doesn't like their daughter wears Tom</p> <hr/>
--	--

? For Sheila, not to know where their car is wears Tom

---

# Themes

1/5/72

Suggested by an observation of Lise Meier's:

The answer to Q's containing non-instrumental with

What did you do with the book?

must have book as a theme. E.g.:

I sent it to Monton

I put it upstairs

It will appear in June

---

Why do happen with strange?

?? What happened with the cookies?

Freezing

1/4/72

\* I saddened this book by having the hero die

<

The sadness of this book is immense

There insertion and generics

1/4/72

It won't work with them:

\* There are lions found in Africa.

S Relation with Q and privacy

1/4/72

it refers to Q's only in subj position  
with know

[ \* Whether he left or not is irrelevant, but I'd like to know it ]

Won't work at all w/ surprise

1/6/72

this may be because conjunctive Q's  
are harder to get than disjunctive Q's anyway.

( maybe conj. Q's  $\supset$  disjunctive Q's ? )

# Category hierarchy

1/4/72

It seems to me that P dragging  
may be easier for V than for A:

? At whom did you look?

?

?? At whom were you mad?



Nouniness

1/4/72

1. The rounner, the tougher to rip  
(E.g., stuff comes out of him Vng  $\Omega$   
more easily than out of his Vng  $\Omega$ )

2. The pseudo-cleft question constraint may depend on nouniness

Is what's necessary { \*that I go  
\*for me to go } ?  
? \*my going  
? \*my departure

(Naah - they're equiv' rotten)

Lexical decomposition

1/3/72

{ bring  
put on }

these seem to contain her  
German

{ take (off)  
steal }

seem to contain him  
German

# French Review

1/3/72

Are these facts correct?

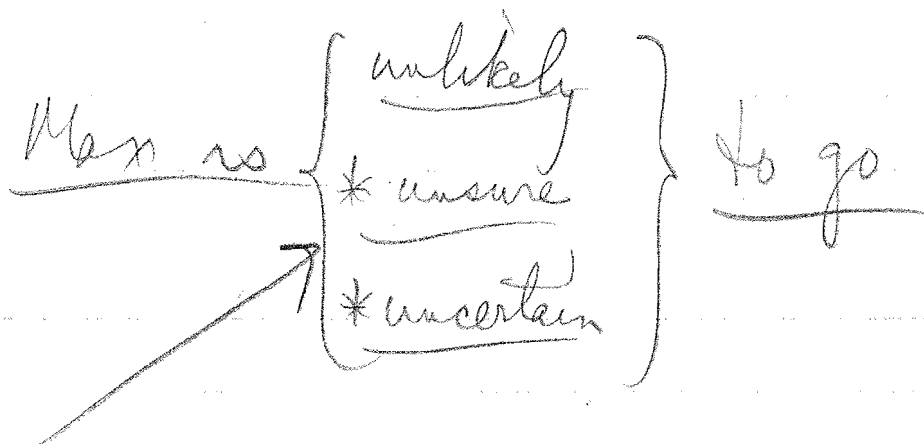
\* Je crois Pierre intelligent

Pierre, je le crois intelligent

Raising

1/3/72

Raising seems not to like negatives:  
the only plausible one is unlikely



Probably out because of

? that's is unsure

# Double Infinitive Constraint

1/3/72

He made there seem to be no problem

There was made to seem to be no problem ← Pretty damn good - why?

He made it seem to have raved

\* It was made to seem to have raved

He is difficult to imagine to have seemed (to be) trustworthy

# Quarantining and Node Raising

1/3/72

Maybe longer applications of NR  
quarantine worse than shorter ones:

I know that Sheila is, and I suspect that  
Sandra maybe, mad at Tony.

? It's Tony who I know that Sheila is, and I suspect  
that Sandra may be, pretty darn mad at.

# SVI and Sluicing

1/3/72

Maybe  $\exists$  constraint that throws out  
S's ending with (at least some) sluiced constituents

?? Do you think at Mort?

Did he give you anything nice? { \*a spatula?  
anything usable? }

Why  $\exists$  contrast?

But these are good:

1/30/72

Do you remember who?

Do you think that Tom remembers who?  
? < now

?? Did you say that Bill has figured out who?

Pronominalization w/ some N

1/3/72

\* Although she may invite somebody, he won't come  
I bought something, I may not fit

Since she seduced someone, let's get a statement from him

finding somebody sick made us want to help him

their suspecting somebody if made him uneasy

Why this difference? makes us want to go and confront him

If some body comes, we'll feed him



Nonverbal and double Raising

1/3/72

Her seeming { (to be) pretty >  
? to have been considered (to be) unintelligent }

Makes me wonder how she got hired

Phrases in compounds

1/3/72

<sup>2</sup> language <sup>1</sup> acquisition "NP"

<sup>2</sup> 2nd <sup>1</sup> language

<sup>2</sup> second <sup>2</sup> language <sup>1</sup> acquisition

Wild contour — I think there is no stress subordination

Privacy

1/3/72

Hierarchy arrived at with Tom Maxwell

Bulgarian 0. No infinitives

1. Equi w/ subject controller  
(where does Equi w/ obj controller fit in?)

Japanese 2. Raising into subject position

(3. Raising into derived subject position)

Spanish 4. Raising into object position

5. at(5)

6. Tough Movement

I know I've  
L that draws  
this distinction  
but it sounds  
likely.

Tom's suggestion is  
that these happen  
simultaneously

it and primacy

1/3/72

it (s) > it  
weather

a. German Ich finde es abscheulich, dass

Gott lässt (\*es) regnen

b. It (\*s) being possible that S surprised me

is.

\*It (s) raining surprised me

c. ? It begins to seem to be possible that S >

It begins to seem to have rained

I guess it's not a problem that  
in German, only es (s) can delete -  
it's just more advanced

Nomininess +  
primacy + derived nominals

1/3/12

It's not an accident that we find  
for it to rain OK

↳ it (\*s) raining OUT

especially  
\*\*\* sein regien

and \*\*\* Its rain on me caught me unprepared

where D  
OC on  
ESY p155

So what's really happening here is that  
fake NP's won't go as far along the hierarchy toward nomininess

cf. also \*the shirt's hit of the fan

Why D \*The shirt's tendency to hit the fan after a loss

cf. ? The shirt tends to hit the fan after a loss

The shirt is [likely] to hit the fan.

a little → unlikely  
weak, presumably because unlikely is the only negative  
polarity item that allows Raising

Not so bad! → the shirt's likelihood of hitting the fan is great

Nouniness, primacy  
and derived nominals

1/3/72

So the true generalization is that derived structures don't nominalize, but rather that the further you get from canonical semantic representation, the less far you go down the nouniness hierarchy.

This explains why

?? the boulder's roll down the hill

and \*the roll of the boulder down the hill

are crummy, while

the boulder's { weight  
transparency  
color  
etc. }

are fine -  
it's not that e.g. possessives must be animate.

Problem: how come  $\exists$  { this fame  
spaghetti's popularity } ?

Both of these are semantically distant.

# likelihood and Raising

1/3/72

Noone can claim that likelihood S's come like so

the likelihood of [John's going]



John's likelihood of going

because { probability  
possibility  
fact  
etc. } would work here

And surely noone will maintain that there are two rules, independent of each other, but that the same items undergo each

Maybe the fact that this exists, but not \*John's { certainty  
sureness  
surely  
etc. } to go is that ing-clauses are nominatives.

# Case hierarchy

1/3/72

Fact from Tom Maxwell:

In Georgian, I regular phenomenon of case shift  
in simple past

Present  
↓  
I (nom) am giving it (acc) to him (IO)

Erg
Nom
Acc
IO
Gen

↓  
I (erg) gave it (nom) to him (acc)

breaks tenses



CP and Nominatives

1/3/72

W

{ \*their  
them } all being there says me

out because all follows  
a non-tensed form of be

Q also

{ \* Their being all in jail } rehears me  
Their having all been here

(Aux Contraction)

1/2/72

Of which house do you think the picture  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ch} \\ *15 \end{array} \right]$  blurry?

Nouniness

1/3/72

H<sub>0</sub>' no accident that

NP's V<sub>ing</sub> Ω cb

more noun-like than

[ NP ] V<sub>ing</sub> Ω  
+acc

N require possessives

Gunk

1/2/72

This word presupposes uselessness

Thus this is ill-formed:

\* We've all out of gunk.

Double passives and Crossover

1/2/72

Extensive use was made { by John of himself } as an informer  
\* of John by himself }