

(language  $\leftrightarrow$  words)

12/27/74

Maybe the word / language ... is ...

how to specify ...

c/

I know

that I

Q

the

name

the

location

to page

etc

the ...

...

Incorporation

12/18/74

1. Helped by generic od: depth of (#the) water indicator  
 [NB: an indicator of { the depth of (#the) water }  
 depth of (#the) water ]
2. Less incorporates pre-nominally than elsewhere

love {  
 ? people  
 ? children  
 ? alumni  
 ?\* mice  
 \*\* boys } - watching >

I'm a {  
 ?? people  
 \* children  
 ?\* alumni  
 \*\* mice/boys } - watching lover

3. I'm a {  
 ? cup of (??hot) tea  
 ?? bottle of (\*German) wine } - lover  
 \* smell of food

4. a surfing (\*without clothes) lover  
 ? a without clothes surfing lover

1/10/75  
 11% an easy to bake pie  
 >> ?? an easy to bake prester man

a {  
 Shark-fishing } enthusiast  
 [?\* fishing for shark]

1/10/75  
 a { ?? fishing on weekends } lover  
 [?\* weekend fishing]

{ Nobody (imperatives)  
Somebody }

12/13/74

These seem to be  $\neq$  to regular  
imperatives - of

\* Nobody kiss off

of also \* Somebody kiss off

→ This might be bad because  
of negation: \* Don't kiss off

Kiss off + Perf Del

12/13/74

I { \*tell you } to kiss off  
          { old Jack }

Why?



German Copula Switch and  
Article Deletion

12/6/74

Kern dieser Methode ist die Anwendung von X

Die Anwendung von X ist <sup>\*</sup>(der) Kern dieser Methode

So, I would assume that  $\exists$  either  
1. miss

- A. Copula Switch
- B. Article Deletion (w/ global order)

or 1 missy one

Nicking and amalgams

12/5/74

Liz Cowper's fact

Thank god only will go into factive  
complements

We { realize  
\* hope } that there are, thank god, no Martians.

Works w/ I { suppose  
guess  
assume }

# Completives and ethical datives

12/2/74

You ate the bread\*<sup>up</sup> on me

He wolfed down { all  
? some  
\* much } of the beer on me

# Garden paths

12 - 4

I adapted from one in Mike Cole's general's paper.

The generalization of the data used involved considerations  
extraneous to the ability of the derived concepts.

The procedure used involved logical concepts.

Echo Qo + pro V's

12/1/74

He is WHAT\*(TING) Jack ?! ? (= biting)

He WHAT(\*TED) Jack ?! ? (= hit  
= punched)

He has WHAT ( { \*TED  
\*\*TEN } ) Jack ?! ? (= written)

12/2/74

He is WHAT (\*\*TING) to Jack ?! ? (= interesting)

He is WHAT Jack ?! ? (= { on  
under  
near  
etc. } )

Three S's and reliability

11/22/74

Thought in Gary's talk

There were several ships believed to have been lost

there were believed to have been several ships lost

\* I wonder how many ships there were believed to have  
been lost in the storm

↑  
This seems busy from either source ←

Why?

happen and seem

11/21/74

Happen has the global filter.

In SS, its subject cannot be realized as an <sup>(overly sentential)</sup> clause  
^

Seem has the opposite restriction

12/31/74

Paul Postal suggests:

seem must meet the cycle-final

condition: I V (II) Chomew  
I

German passives of datives

11/21/74

Ihm wurde geholfen

can't come from an es-impersonal

because of

\* Es wurde ihm geholfen

This being so, how come double object V have no dative passives?

C. Ihm wurde

*e
en

Bücher geschickt

12/74 I'm wrong - that is OK.



deem - find - feel

11/21/74

That he was brilliant was { ~~to deem~~  
\* found  
? felt }

What was { ~~to deem~~  
? found  
felt } was that he was brilliant

it  $V_{pass}$  S

11/22/74

Maybe S's like

It was felt by Tom that S

arent from Passive, but rather from  
the  $I \rightarrow \underline{it}$  rule of Sinhalese.

\* It was kicked Tom by Jerry

It was fined to help her

plenty + polarity

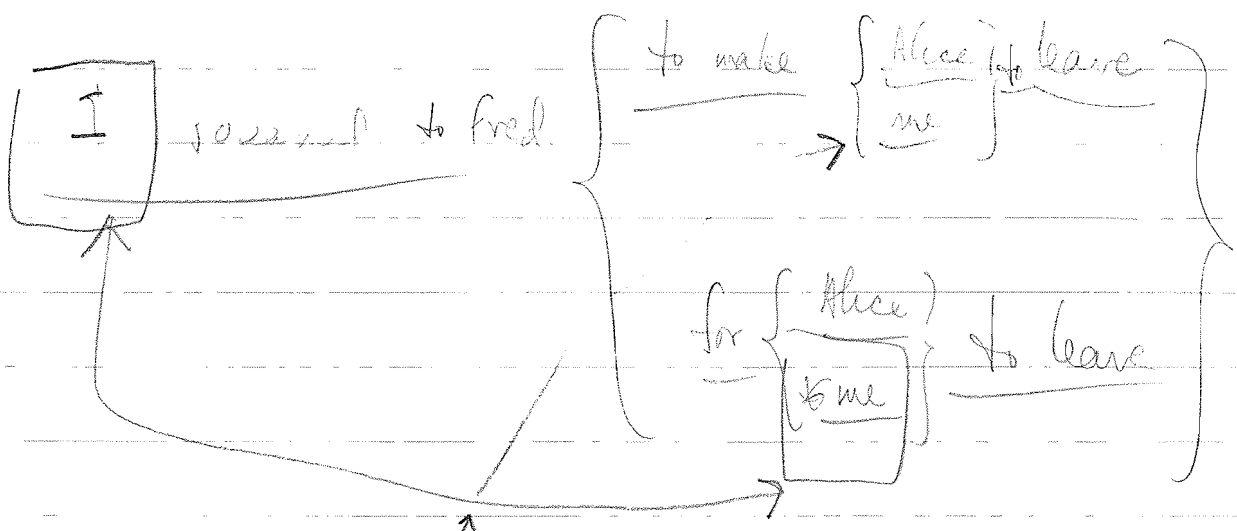
11/20/74

plenty + polarity

(a part)

[- Equi Subject]  
and causatives

11/18/74



How can this difference be arranged for in the process of deleting make?

Obligations

11/16-4

Je t'ai recommandé à toi

(104) Je t'ai recommandé à toi

(t'ou te) \* Je { te vous / vous te' } ai recom<sup>mandé</sup> à t<sup>ou</sup>

But he can also be

(111) \*Je me rappelle vous and

(117) Je me rappelle

There is possibly some DO-obligation as so OEC that it is not judged even if there is a violation.

Predictions: (114) Je t'ai recommandé as t.

(Garden paths and obligatoriness)

11/13/74

Fact discovered while talking with Bill Cooper

I consider that S } to be sad >>  
                                  } is sad

Raising is more OBL  
than that deletion

OBL } Welche Frau liest die Mutter >>  
O:4 } Die Frau

DF is OBL, Typicalization is not

Slippy #

u/u/74

{  
 ? assumed that Sally knew  
 Bill { ~~to promise~~  
       warned  
 }  
 Bill told Sally  
 Sally heard from Bill  
 Bill (explained) to Sally  
       {  
       hunted  
       yelled  
       }  
 Bill intimidated to Sally  
 }

that he was fond of her

and Sam told Gretchen

( Theme + S/O )

Thought while reading Terry K's theme: <sup>11/10/24</sup>

1.  $\exists V_{tr}$  in which only the object is thematic:

know

2.  $\exists V_{tr}$  in which both subject and object are thematic: carry, bring

3.  $\exists V_{tr}$  in which only the subject is thematic. (? - have?)

If so, how do we state it?



Verbs of adverse affect

11/7/24

do to - V C    happen to V

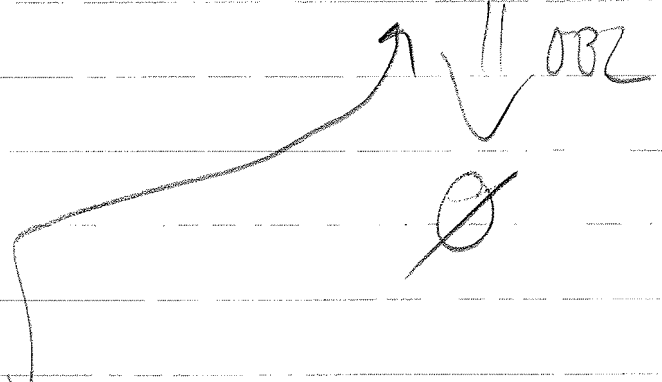
C/.

What happened to Mike is that he stumbled

drive at and presentational analysis

4/5/74

What I'm driving at is I'm driving at that S



If this really has to be postulated,  
then what's the condition on drive at?

A note on Pee Retention

11/3/24

I'm going

He went

? He has gone

obviously (no - maybe)

related to semen retention

He came

He { ? may  
? will  
? must  
should } go

\* go (into the ash tray)

I wonder if go = urinate only when go pee could occur

Thus: \* He went pee but Did he go pee?

// fails

He went

Did he go?

It's a low-falsh word: ?d { It is mandatory } that you go  
I recommend

Take P that I

11/2/74

Do I take P that you've read Das Kapital?

great lil distribution

(Q) First person say pres non-veg non piglets.

Yuck.

# Idiom environments

10/31/74

- 3 idioms that are restricted to
- than-clauses (meet the eye, shake a stick at)
  - unless-clauses (miss one's guess)
  - if-clauses (if were not for)
  - Q-clauses (drive at)

But I have found no idiom that only occurs in relative clause.

Anti-generic oil

10/30/74

John is claimed

~~to bite sophomores <~~  
~~to have bitten a sophomore~~

the // one  
you

10/30/74

{ one's cats } love one  
\* you

{ \* I } mates with the owl  
The grebe

But NB:

He hunts the owl

I admire the beaver

Why good?

Begunability and plurality

10/30/74

The plural NP must not be in an island

\*John began to find that the girl that people  
liked was eating a hot dog

John began to find that people were credulous



(The great Chain of Being  
+ Alex as MV)

10/29/74

Maybe this explains why  $\neq$

\* He has been talking

i.e., why  $\exists$  Prog Pass but  $\neq$  Pass Prog

or  $\neq$  might be whatever blocks V  
like keep from being passivized

\* Running was kept by Harry

[ A is constraint? ]

have  $\Rightarrow$  Past

10/29/74

?? He is known to have used to be a witch

---

q.  
\* He has used to go riding

---

# Idioms

10/26/74

From Jim McCawley:

X knows what the score is

---

This idiom violates the otherwise general law that no idiom contains as a complement a fixed [i.e., variable-less] clause.

Andy Anderson can say What's the score?

in the appropriate sense, but that's not very good for me.

Q Crossing + Neg

10/20/74

Jim Simpson, NBC Sports commentator:

None of these scores may hold up.

This has the intended reading:  $\diamond \neq$ .

Why can't it have another reading:  $\neq \diamond$  ?

# Presupposition testing

10/19/74

One rather interesting fact is that the number of presuppositions a sentence can have is finite. That is, if there are detachment rules for presuppositions, they are not recursive.

If presuppositions start out in logical representation, and can have various effects on derivations, as GS assumes, this fact is explained.

However, if there are detachment rules, there is no logical reason why they shouldn't be recursive. Of course, various formal constraints can be imposed on them which would have that effect, but I see no natural explanation of the finiteness of the set of presuppositions.

Category Squish v 230

10/18/74

∑ only works (is even) after V:

He seems (to be) sick

He is likely\* (to be) sick

kt

10/18/74

I <sup>will</sup> am going to fool you yet  
| <sup>may</sup> expect to }  
\* <sup>must</sup> should

Q requiring idiom:  
I drive at

p.1

10/18/74

NB \* He's driving at what?

what (?else) are you driving at?

Also:  
What are you trying to prove?

What do you think he's driving at?

I { wonder } what he's driving at  
\* am surprised at

\* I forget what to drive at

What is he driving at, do you think?

NB

{ '?' = wonder who's driving at what.  
→ I never know when he's driving at what



drive at

p. 2  
10/18/74

NB: what did he drive at?

What I'm driving at is his sullenness.

It's his sullenness that I'm driving at

Why? → \* His sullenness you can't be driving at

I'm driving at, and Tom too is quite concerned with, Beth's sullenness.

RNR and anaphora

2/16/74

Tom was, & Bill was proud of {  
himself  
+ themselves  
}

not from Piche Kayne

The Tom and that Bill may be proud

s. {  
? themselves  
\* himself  
}

When-Relation

10/16/24

Fact from Richie Layne

They all died { to Communists  
+ a Communist }



They were as { Communists  
+ a Communist } when they died



6.11.13

4.1



3.1.13

6.11.13

P deletion, Structure Preservation  
& Criticization

10/9/74

I'll bring { It  
her  
him  
them  
ya  
? you  
\*Sandy } Tuesday

So on →  $\phi$  depends on whether  
object has criticized

Preposition Deletion and  
the category squish

10/9/74

I { knew it } \* (for) weeks  
was mad  
His Bible-Study

All this, by the way, was spurred by synchronicity: talking to Ken Berman after reading <sup>in his</sup> papers about P-X in Indonesia, I came upon the facts in the other P-X squad from 10/9,

So no adverbial prepositions delete with structure V,

A, or N

while reading my Endstation which had happened to come in the mail on Kritikon.

Too strong:

I { knew it } Friday  
was mad  
His departure Friday

AB

This must be the same fact as

It { surprised (\*to) me }  
was surprising\* (to) me

Preposition Deletion, Str. preservation  
and degree of advancement

10/9/74

I drove (\*the olds) weeks.

The Olds was driven weeks.

Thus the rule  
is stupid -  
it looks at  
the surface

\* Weeks were driven ←

Compare with Tiberius data, from Sandy  
Chung, via Len Berman:

X sleep in bed ⇒

X sleep the bed ⇒

The bed was slept

Maybe the reason that for-IO's won't  
passive is so that they're not quite full I's - MB  
that they're further from V than Ho-IO's: I sent it for your looking  
- The book...



Squash of Right Popping strength in German

10/2/74

Facts unearthed with Jürgen

This is slightly different from what happens when an Inf is specialized. Check out

Stronger rippers

	<u>Extrap</u> <u>VP Split</u> [ich habe das vers. zu tun]	<u>NP Shift</u>	<u>Extrap from NP</u>
BP Part-	✓	✓	✓
Inf ] - Subcl	x	✓	✓
Sentential Subj VP-	x	x	? ✓
Internal Inf	x	x	x
✓ [ich habe Inf-vermocht]			

Strength of restriction

BP Part-  
Inf  
] -  
Subcl  
Sentential  
Subj VP-  
Internal  
Inf  
✓ [ich habe  
Inf-vermocht]

gapping? sluicing?

10/2/74

I have no desire to write. Except { (\* to Jack) about The Center }  
about The Center (\*\* to Jack)

He did nothing. Except { ~~to~~ go home }  
\* go home  
\* went home

He has done nothing. Except { (\* to) go home }  
\*\* go home  
\* gone home

//s

He has done nothing. { but } { (\* to) go home }  
except { \*\* go home }  
gone home

So lets assume this comes from this by rapping or sluicing  
Where's this come from? Maybe from

I have no desire to write. Except that I have a desire to write about The Center

Raising with claim +  
to be

10/1/74

(p.18) I from Len Berman's paper (on dates etc in Russian):

"One could handle this date by claiming all kinds of highly restricted orderings to be necessary."

We are claiming { Tax to be wide  
these truths to be self-evident  
some difficulties to be unavoidable }

What is going on?

(B-Raising w/ to be)

10/1/74

Ich halte ihn für { dumm  
\*gegessen zu haben }

Same in French and Russian and I think  
~~Russian~~ Italian

So be is an easier V to obliterate  
than ~~than~~ contestier ones. Maybe always true?

Whenever V ≠ be debts, be can too?

VP Del + may NP X

9/26/74

If you want P to be sunny,  

---

may P\*(be sunny).  

---

↑  
Why?

Everything... IP

9/23/74

fact noticed in Mike Cohen's talk

Everything was dispersing even faster  
than { <sup>IP</sup> they } had before

Everybody... {  
he  
they}

9/23/74

If {  
\*he  
they} protested, every {  
body  
\*student} was jailed

If {  
\*he  
??they} protested, the sheriff jailed every {  
body  
student}

almost V+5

9/23/74

I almost believe that { Tex did it  
whales are mammal  
? Betty is always late }

Help help:

{ I almost know { who did it  
whether he left? (or not)  
that he's sick }  
They }

{ I (\*almost) realize } when he was there  
They (?? almost) realize  
I'm (almost) surprised



Productive competitive particles:  
out

9/21/74

tried  
work  
checked  
kissed  
dreamt  
fucked

I'm all run out

\*examined  
whipped

be ramp

1/12/74

\* Tom rared to go

only after be ramp

People ramp to help should pick up



If good,  $\exists$  Stuffing

Обратке Vowel

9/5/14

i →	ai	āi →	æ(ə)
e →	ae	īy →	ey
æ →	æy	ēy →	æy ?

[i] →	i	uw →	æ i
[^] →	ɪ	vw →	ɪw ?
[ɔ] →	ɔw	ow →	ew
ɔ̄ →	?		

Chances are + Slifting

9/4/74

He will, chances are, kick us out.

Since this is rooty,  $\exists$  Slifting

Imperatives + Qs

8/8/24

If you don't mind, { \* John is a bore please  
stand up, please  
↓ What is your name, please }

Clearly, this is from mind telling me,

Squibs

8/10/74

Hawai

Breece

Jesus Christ

Jimi Tapp  
Zen

Bertrand Russell

Arrange by theme (down strand)

2. to be a Panel

long

less

and paper

... education ... everybody ...

Cummings

Biology (etc)

... ..

Thank you's

"What's this all about?" } many people ...  
[\* the book ... ]

... .. {too} further

$$C_p = V$$

8/10/74

Because otherwise, why don't we

find

$$\begin{bmatrix} V & 0 \\ 0 & C_p \end{bmatrix}$$

or

$$\begin{bmatrix} 0 & V \\ C_p & 0 \end{bmatrix}$$

↳ ?

# Types of Idioms

8/16/73

Determiners show up as idioms:

one or another

many a



By Coreferential NP Deletion

8/16/24

I spent  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{my} \\ * \text{your} \end{array} \right\}$  time

My time has been spent in lifting pianos

Thus this must have arisen via some rule which deleted by me

Note that it's ~~not~~ performative related.

Max's time was spent (?\*by him) <sup>NB</sup> [in running]

But and If-Inversion

8/16/74

→ { Had we but known  
\* If we but had known }

This this structure is selectable by an idiom.

Article Deletion

8/11/74

{ the  
my (?) } → ∅ / — N count

only if this describes an event

at / in / to { bed  
church  
school  
university  
temple }

Not right, but something like that.

8/13/74 They have in hospital in Canada (and England?)

of / the { \* the pillow } is on bed

\* This road goes to church

But why ∃ My books are at school

when ∃ My books are in church

NB { Church } { starts at 5 }  
{ school } { \* is on 10th St. }  
\* Bed

~~This needs looking at~~  
~~Nominating + Adj Nom + Feb/04~~  
~~Proposition - Dangling~~ Cf. 20. I. MM. II. p. 1  
~~+ Person 98~~

7/30/74

~~\*\* is necessary~~ ← Why?

This ~~requires~~ needs a good looking at.  
~~deserves~~  
~~merits~~

\* Its careful looking at is long overdue.

This needs your ~~approval (# of)~~  
~~approval (# of)~~  
~~approval of~~

Why this?

\* This fund needs contributing (to money) to.

This needs talking (to ~~? people~~) about  
~~\* advice~~

This needs looking at  
+ Nounness, Fakeness Passive etc  
+ plurality

7/30/74

1. The subject is [fake]  
\* This fact needs repeated taking

2. The number the C in V+C+P

the worse things are

This needs <sup>looking in on</sup>  
?? letting go of  
?? making sure of  
?? paying (\*also) attention to  
\*making no bones about

3. This needs { a  
some  
much  
? little  
a lot of  
?? a bunch of } looking at

4. These need several washings (\*off)  
NB

This needs look at  
+ Plural Nominative (to)  
& pluralizability

p.3

7/30/75

So the verbier the ing-form, the  
less pluralizable things are.

(cf. p. 2 #4)

2/10/74

5. Negatives aren't too cool:

This doesn't need { \* a good looking at  
... even a cursory looking at }

Independence(?) of Topic-Comment and  
Focus-Presupposition

7/30/74

①  $T=F$ , C unique, P unique

②  $T=F$ ,  $C=P$

③  $T=P$ , C unique, F unique

④  $T=P$ ,  $C=F$

As for birds, they sing!

⑤ T unique, C unique, P unique, F unique

⑥ T unique, F unique,  $C=P$

⑦ T unique, P unique,  $C=F$

As for Tom, who likes him!

[α Appropriate for Meaning ]  
+ Edginess  
☆

7/24/74

On { \*reading  
reading the letter K }, I fell into a trance

In { reading  
\*reading the letters K }, I tend to dream

Thus On // Within // By = End

In // For // Since = Begin

His reading (\*the letter K) began outside

His reading { the letter K  
Ø ← NB  
\*some novels } ended at 5

Die

I turned the page > I turned seven > I turned  
pages pages

Yearn For

I'm passing into > I'm taking  
a Swamp for Marge a pass for  
Marge



Colorless upper auxo

7/19/74

Facts from Donna

continuare

For Donna

cominciare

us:

votare

potere

desire

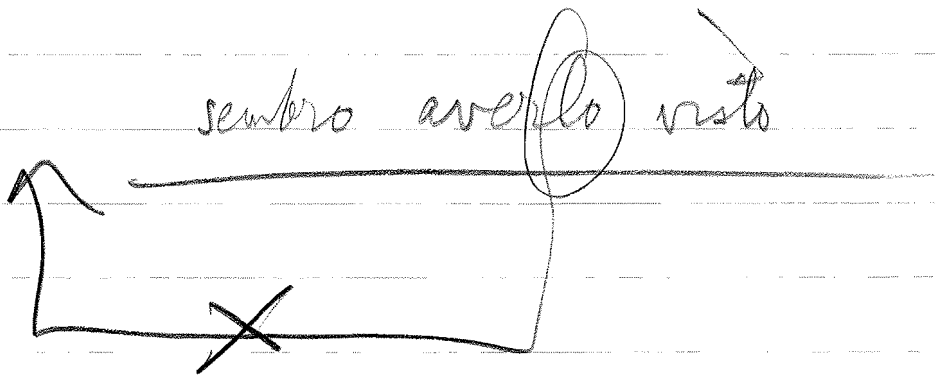
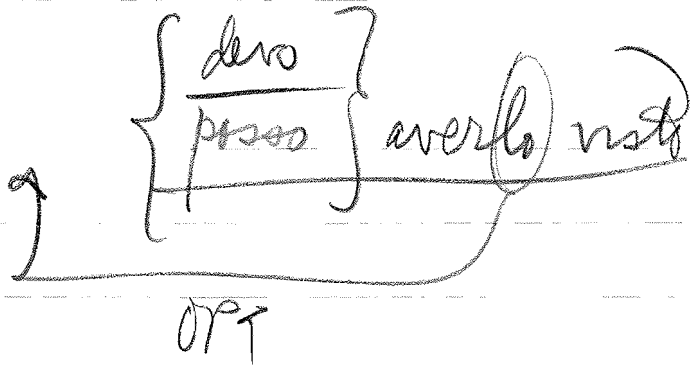


These allow

essere  $\frac{V}{1}$  to (do)  $\left[ \frac{V}{2} \text{ re} \right]$   
+ Essere

Climbing in Italian

7/19/74



# Aux in Italian

7/19/74

Q: Vuoi farlo?  
A: Si - voglio

Facts from  
Donna

Q: Hai dormito?

A: \*Si ho

Q: Stai dormendo?

A: \*Si - sto

Q: Hai fatto tagliare un abito?

A: \*Si - ho fatto

cut suit

No V NP a S  
 allows climbing  
 even if this is cliticized

Clitic Climbing in Italian  
 + Clause boundaries

7/19/74

Facts from Poona

dimENTICARE di  
 Noone can climb

fare (OBL)

All dialects allow climbing:

volere / sentire  
 (uscire)  
 (cappelli)  
 a (fatti)  
 volere  
 ↑ some kfp OBL w/ (uscire)

osare (di) fare (fancy)  
sapere know how to  
soler (di) be accustomed to (fancy)

stare per be about to  
stare Volo

cercare\* (di)  
riputare\* (di)

usare (di) used to (only past)  
ardire (di) desire (fancy)

continuare a  
cominciare a  
andare a - be on the way to  
provare a - (try) (most allow)

permettere a NP di S [will climb upper one to cliticized]  
proibire a NP di S  
comandare dire

Dialect variation

Southerners do more than Northerners

guarare\* (di) shear  
godere\* (di) enjoy  
tentare\* (di) try  
smettere\* (di) quit

preferire (di)  
desiderare (di)  
odiare (di) hate  
amare (di) love  
degnare (di) dign  
dubitare (di) hesitate  
detestare (di)

Raffinures are:  
Non-climbers  
preoccuparsi\* (di)  
 take care of  
storzarsi\* (di) strive  
vantarsi\* (di) boast  
contentarsi\* (di) about content  
perdersi\* (di) w/ get

Clause matrices

7/12/74

Old French

veut manger le

1 Verb

← What happened here?

New French

veut manger le

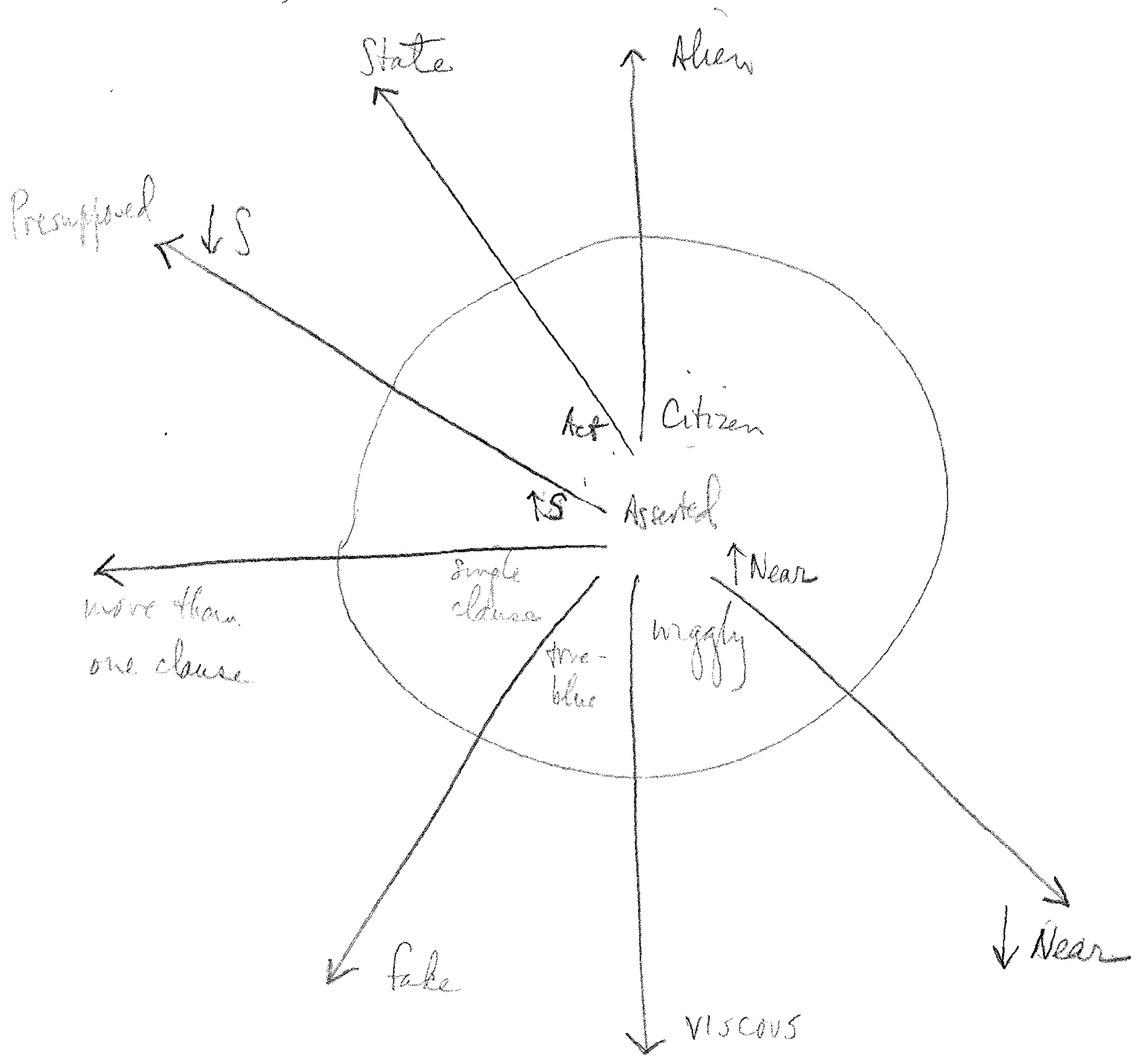
2 Verbs

The Center

7/17/74

Connections:

- 1. Aliens will express states
- 2. ↑ Fake → { ↑ Near ↑ S }  
                  { ↑ Act ↑ Prot }  
                  { }
- 3. ↓ Treetop → { ↑ Near }  
                  { ↓ Fake }



keep tabs on

7/16/74

Heard at Paul's Mall, from our waitress

Do you want to keep a tab?

7/18/74

Also:

Put that on my tab

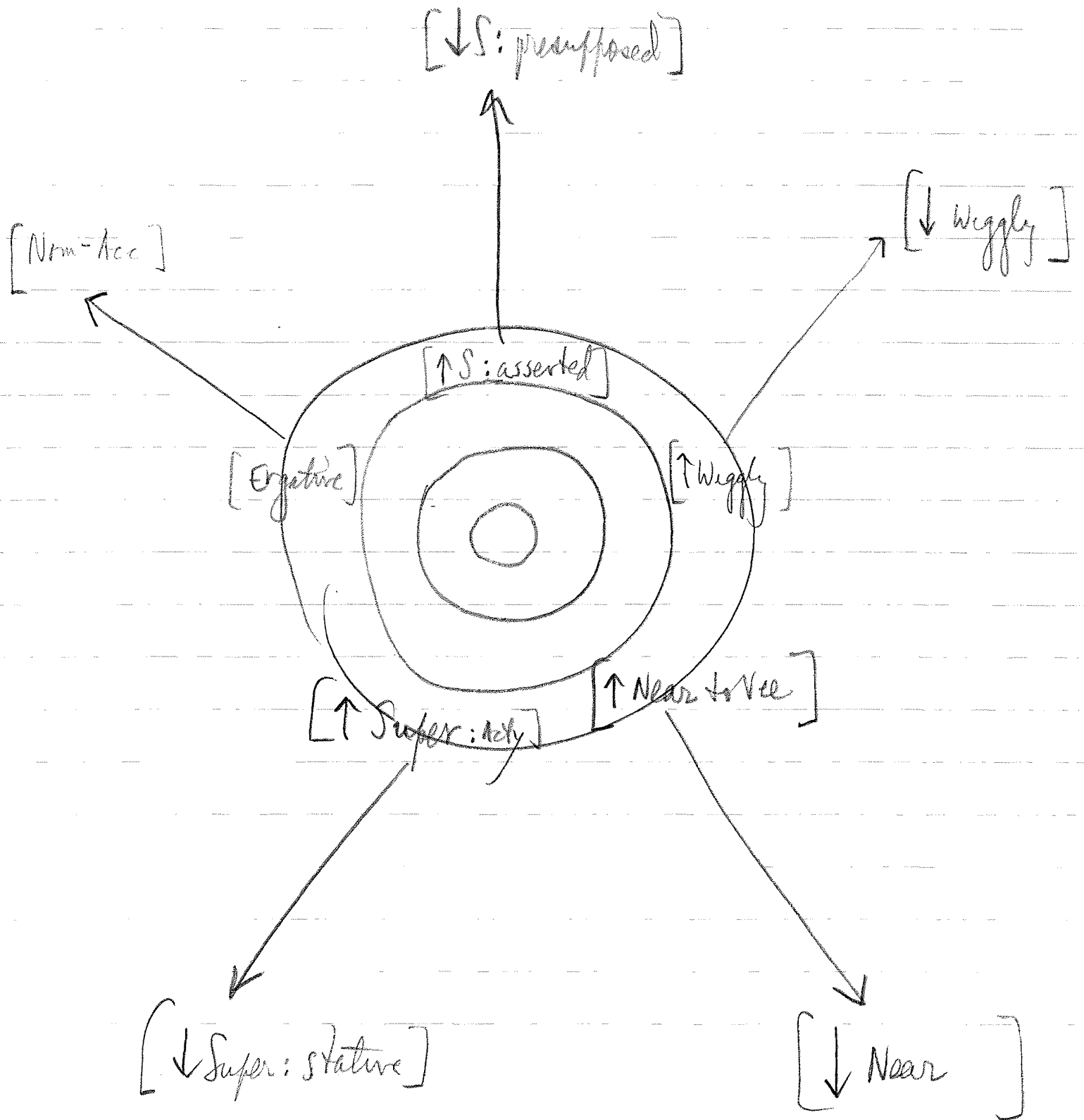
So keep tabs on is really just

Keep records on

where tab = bill → tab = track

The Center

7/13/74





# Insularity

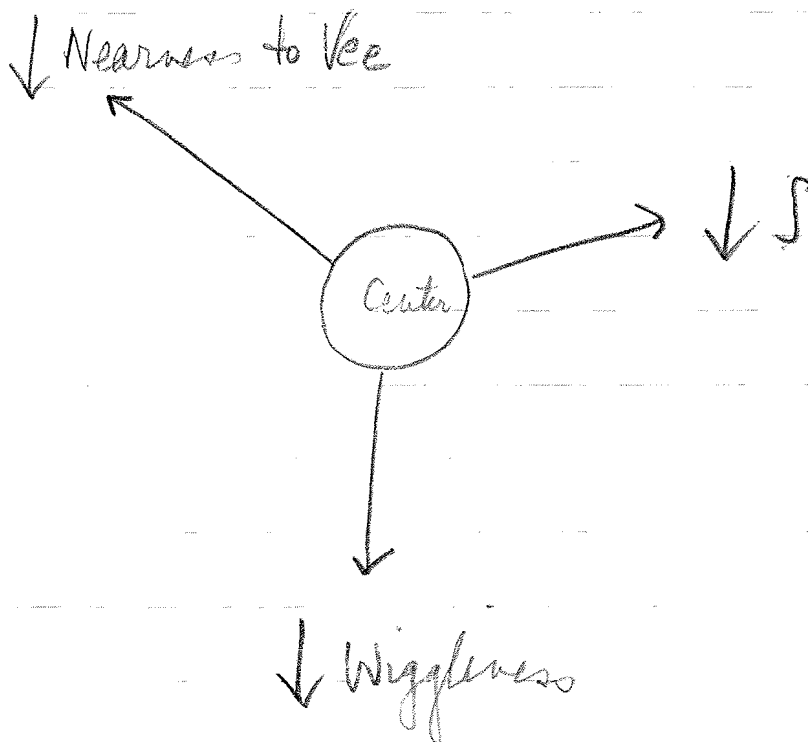
2/13/74

Insularity is a function of  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{out-of-body} \\ \text{nearness to Vee} \\ \text{asserting process} \\ \text{[wigginess]} \end{array} \right\}$

[ $\uparrow S_{\text{components}}$  &  $\downarrow \text{Clos}(S_{\text{matrix}})$  &  $\uparrow \text{Dependency}$ ]  $\Rightarrow$

[ $\uparrow \text{Reppability}$ ]

Centrality  $\Rightarrow$  Reppability



Structure Presentation

2/13/24

I

?\*slept months  
could { sleep } months  
          { \*eat }  
could { \*sleep } Thursday  
          { eat }

1/5

He { laughed (\*a sinister laugh) his heart out }  
          { drank (\*beer) his ass off }

# Source of prepositions

7/12/74

Fact is Ed Keenan: prepositions come from verbs

John take bike give Bill

John take bike kill pig

My addition:

Note we have a sequence of V + NP's

→ \* John take bike go (? right judgement)

ride roughshod over

7/12/74

Here's one of the form

V+C+P

where the C looks adverbial in source,

Semantics of [αS]

7/11/74

S ——— assertion

N ——— presupposition

Events + Equiv

7/11/74

Fact from Evelyn Rawson:

before Viny ← requires eventhood

Before {
   
 \*being surprised at me }
   
 } fall
   
 } being taken by surprise
   
 } reddening

John was pestered

Nearer to Vee

7/9/74

	100	do so -	VP ready to	VP Del -
IO	✓	X	✓	X
DO	✓	X	✓	X
DIR	?	70% 10	✓	??
Man	✓	✓	✓	??
Frey	✓	✓	✓	✓
Place	?	✓	✓	✓
Time	X	✓	? ring of at 5 to del	✓
Reason	X	✓	?? loose bec the ring at 20%	✓
Concessive	X	✓	?*	✓
	7/2	2 1/2	8 1/2	8 1/2 3 1/2

This squish is a double-ender 7/11/74

	Paravise	Nitidy the	VP Front, VP Del, do so, do of, cover, clip to do	Left behind after VP front	Follow VP del	Follow do so	Follow do of
IO	✓	✓	✓	*	*	*	*
DO	✓	✓	✓	??	?	*	*
DIR	?	✓	✓	✓	?	?	*
Man	*	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Frey	*	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Place	?	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Time	*	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Reason	*	?	?	✓	✓	✓	✓
Concessive	*	*	*	✓	✓	✓	✓





Clause - witness  
+ ~~Not Happening~~

7/5/74

It's no accident that there are no V  
like bribe + force that allow Not Happening —

they also make islands for some rules.

thing

6/30/74

to be a human being - to be a human being

to be a human being - to be a human being

to be a human being - to be a human being

to be a human being - to be a human being

have passports

6/20/74

we've never had company kept on us

? we've had fools made out of us

Backwards pronoun, make, Capital Age,  
IO switch, etc.

6/28/74

They made fools out of  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{us} \\ \text{bws} \end{array} \right\}$

Obviously must have a capital source.

? I've never had a fool made out of me.

? I've never had company before me.

Phonological identity for  
deletions (?)

6/28/04

Does he	like her or she like him?
to you	

Am I	crazy or you are?
Was	

Fake NP formation + exactly → exact  
presently → present

6/26/74

Tell me the exact chair that you sat in



exactly which chair you sat in

q.

\*The exact chair that you sat in { \*weighed 300 pounds  
has not been determined }

So exact is only a possible modifier of chair in cases where chair is the head NP of an NP that is occurring where a  $\phi$  could.

Hey!

Here { exact  
present  
presumed  
\*known  
\*removed } whereabouts Source, please?

We know independently that whereabouts only occurs where  $\phi$  can, so this fits in well with this.

# Idioms + Semantics

6/25/74

— Hey — do synonymous idioms ever behave differently? IF NOT, this is a clear case of semantics calling the shots.

\*\* The bucket was kicked

\* The dust was bitten

\*\* Muses are being pushed up

\* One was [stopped] by Ted

[caught]

\* Ted's last was breathed (by him)

But:

The cat was let out of the bag by Sally >

?\* The beans were spilled by Sally

So maybe idioms do have their own syntactic properties.

There is / I have every N

6/20/74

I have every { intention  
hope  
\* doubt  
\* plan } // 1/2

There is every { indication  
reason  
\* proof  
\* demonstration } to X



headway  $S_i$ , headless rel cls, + there - Insertion

6/20/74

There was a lot of headway (that was) made

This argues against a WHZ - Deletion source



6/13/74

He left so that I could write  
↓  
∅

I was so pissed off that I took a taxi  
↓  
∅

So hypotaxis → parataxis

Are there cases of the reverse?

Note also He is taller than Pete is,  
↓

This → is Pete  
inverted order is rooty, and I predict (1:56 PM)  
that these Sb won't embed where rooty types want.

That he is taller than { Pete is }  
\* is Pete } is too bad.

Yay! Prediction confirmed.

(Resubordinating  
and tree-tops)

p. 2

6/15/74

This means that the conversion of than NP Aux  
to than Aux NP is a step towards  
the tree-top for the than-clause

I don't know why, but this seems to  
go along with this increased rootness:

Nobody<sub>i</sub> is taller than { his<sub>i</sub> mother is  
\*his<sub>i</sub> mother }

And remember Paul Postal's S:

That he erased is more incriminating than

{ that he erased is  
\* is that he erased }

→

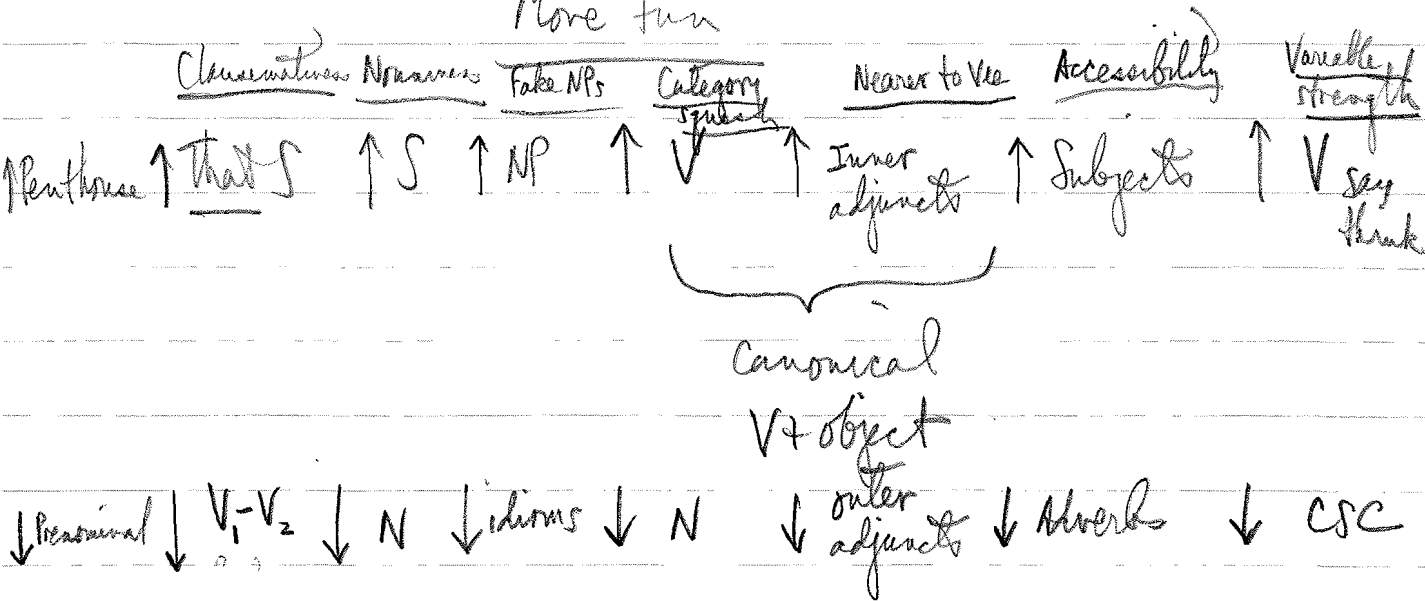
This may be out for the same reason that this is:

\* I consider reprehensible that he might keep his pension

# Squashes of syntactic fun

6/10/74

More fun



Less fun

denizen

6/9/74

Sandra is a denizen\* (of 14th St.)

Denizen requires an object

Too S + These Insertion

6/9/74

Hum.

This problem is too trivial for there to be people working on\*(it)

What's this?

It reminds me of

His readiness { to go  
to for us to look at }

He is ready for there to be an investigation of\*(him)

So when Object Deletion applies, the complement  
must be agently?  
underived?

(begin + by-phrases)

From a letter to Rowan:

6/8/74

I began<sup>in</sup> the letter by describing the coincidences



\* My describing the coincidences began the letter

Aha — here, begin is an existential causative —

That's why  $\exists$   $\nabla$  ity of a by-phrase with it.



# Idioms

6/7/74

What kind of constituents can idiomatic expressions stand for?

V - { eke out      hem + haw  
       { let go of    keep company }

Adv - at large, bananas

VP - take gas, screw around

NP - hit dog  
       NP's ass  
 Probably a wrong example - not idiomatic

S - Like father, like son

Tenseless S - Il y a voir du monde au balcon (does this raise?)

Adverbs:

- Direction - to and fro
- Manner - cats + dogs, bit by bit, like a bit of hell
- Degree - X's ass off (w/ work, laugh, dance)
- Duration - for hours + hours run, sleep etc. (?)
- Comparatives - by far
- Time - today, tonight, after all, ago?

to-phrases ( enough ... to choke a horse )

as-clauses

unless-clauses ( unless I miss my guess )

if-clauses ( if you please, if not for you )

than-clauses ( shake a stick at, meet the eye )

(Two V begin)

6/6/74

Certainly D anyway, because of

S<sub>1</sub> move S<sub>2</sub>

I move S<sub>2</sub> to Jack

but

There proved (~~to~~ to me) to be no milk

He also threaten

He threatened that S

He threatened me with jail

There threatened to be a walkout

But also writ sure

I'm sure of that  
there is sure to be a storm

agonize

6/6/74

We agonized over { \* that S  
Q  
Pass Imp  
Act Nom  
Der Nom }

{ ? Q  
Pass Imp  
Act Nom  
Der Nom } { was agonizing (to us)  
\* agonized (us) }

Why is agonize like surprise?

5/30/74

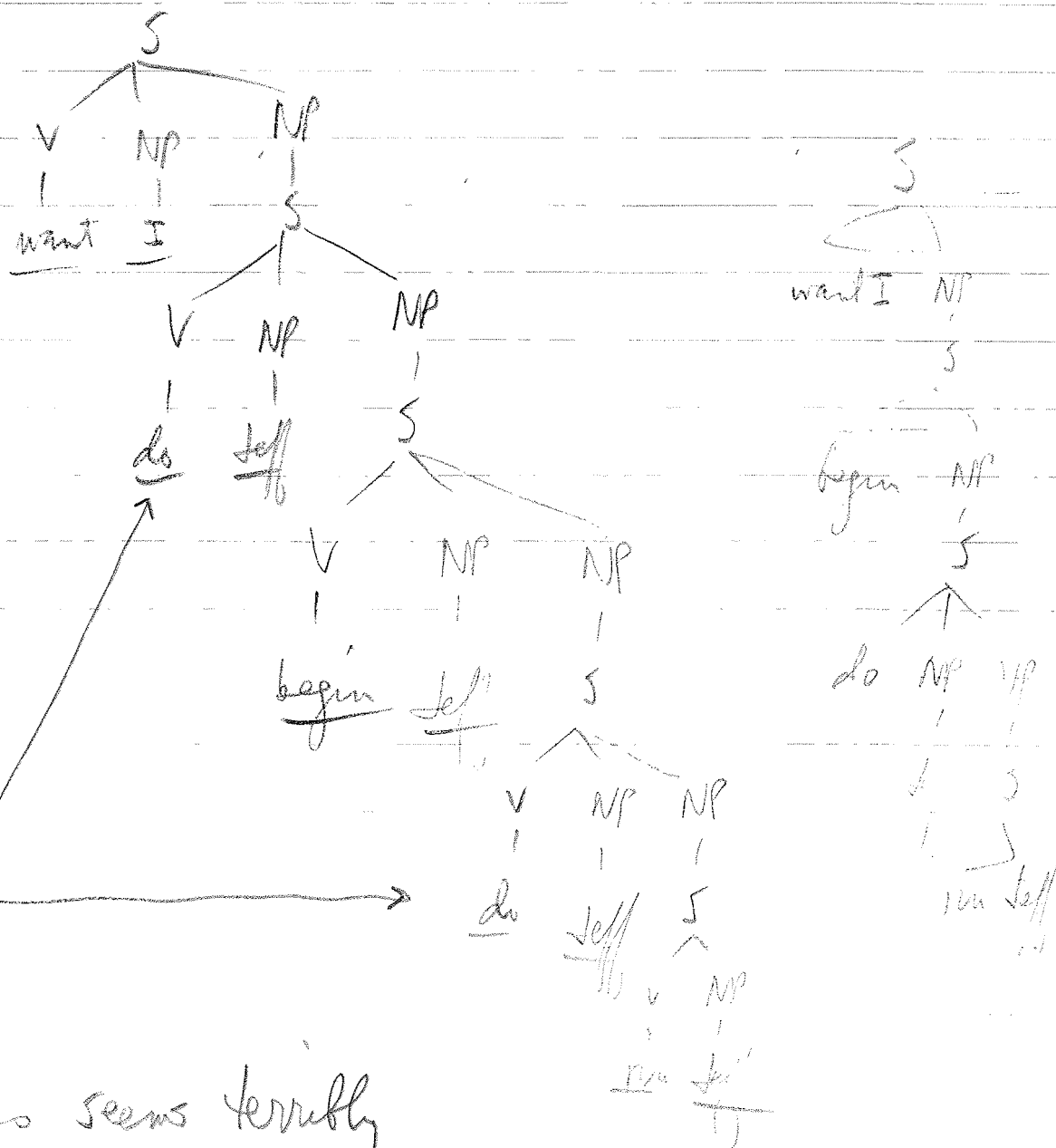
(A) I want Jeff to begin to run, and I want you to

do so too.

begin to do so too <sup>some</sup>

(B) \*I want headway to begin to be made on this, but Sam wants a lot of headway to do so.

Zdr's  
□



This seems terribly wrong

The 2 V begin

p. 2

5/30/74

We can't maintain that make headway always  
occurs under do, because what would stop

(B)? So what is said?

make headway requires the 1st V up  
to be either be or do? Yeeccccch.

CAUSE = DO  
and [-Equi Subj]

5/30/74

Note that if CAUSE can ever have  
agentive subjects at all (dubious) then  
they can't be coreferential with the agentive  
subject of the object of CAUSE

What Jack<sub>i</sub> caused was that he<sub>i</sub> <sup>\*ran</sup> was nominated

And DO is equi-subject.

Very suspicious.

And if CAUSE  $\neq$  DO, we'll have to  
postulate a feature [-Equi Subj], which is  
otherwise  $\sim$  D.

Idioms + as-clauses

5/30/74

As luck would have it, S

This one only occurs in as-clauses.

Never Happening + Being  $\rightarrow \emptyset$

5/29/74

I never remember { a } sprung like this  
\*the

This argues for there being  
↓ 1.  
↓ 2. ?  
↓  
~~∅~~



5/24/74

→ D = 1 - 1

A. 2-2-1

B. 3-way -  $m \times n$   $\begin{matrix} 1 \\ 2-3 \end{matrix}$  (all complex, related to V)

$m \times n$   $\in N$

C. 2-2-2  $\begin{matrix} 1 \\ 2-3 \end{matrix}$   $\begin{matrix} 1 \\ 2 \\ 3 \end{matrix}$  A  
" " " " " " " " " " " "

D. 2-2-2  $\begin{matrix} 1 \\ 2-3 \end{matrix}$  V  
" " " " " " A  
" " " " " " N

5/24/74

A. ... ..

91%

C. ... ..

... ..

...

A L

B. ... ..

Some state ... ..

...

... ..

h ... ..

l  
cw ...

Wording up

5/24/74

{ This }  
{ & Bill }

was indicative to me of that.

↑  
NB: of inserted

# Theory of agreement

5/24/74

Why do we never say that subjects agree with verbs? Or objects, etc.?

# Vomitory idioms

5/24/74

throw up  
upchuck  
puke  
barf  
york  
flash

blow (one's) { lunch  
chow  
cookies }

flip { (one's) { lunch  
chow  
cookies } }  
hash

toss { (one's) lunch  
one's cookies }

cast one's ballot

Degree of predicate + Adj

5/24/74

MB: when a 3-ary is mapped onto  
an adjective,  $n \rightarrow \exists$  agent

{ This } is indicative to me of that.  
{ \*Bill }

# Directionality of agreement

5/24/74

Why don't we say that subjects agree  
with their verbs?

Idioms and canonical VPs

5/24/74

When <sup>new</sup> words for acts (or events, even) are coined, they are primarily transitive V

- puke
- barf
- flash
- vote
- york

- cast one's ballot
- chuck one's lunch
- toss one's cookies
- flip hash
- blow one's lunch

fade

hid the rack

red out

{grab  
get  
it} some Z's

pass out



dawn on

came { to  
over  
upon } me like the dawn. 5/23/74

\* That S dawned on me

\* He dawned on me to have seen Ted

There can't be a verb to dawn  
which is unrelated to the noun dawn

Thus this must be part of some patterns

\* That S V P NP  
S experimenter

\* Subj V<sub>S</sub> P NP to Predicate  
exp

Why should seem + appear work here,  
but not this derived V to dawn?  
Ans: basic V have more fun.

# Working Up

5/23/74

The reason Leech's structure-dependent way of saying "derived ~~sentences~~ don't nominalize" is that

This explains why prefixes impose more constraints than does #1 if that's

1. a. V w/ derived senses don't undergo all T-roles that the source V could undergo:

\* He belt out the hands and read.

b. Idiomatic V don't acquire new senses

c. Idiomatic V don't undergo all T-roles.

2. Idiomatic V can't undergo productive processes: [presumably, the less productive, the more canonicality is]

\* Pres hold your breath!

3. New V don't either: \*Restreak Noah's class!

So it's true that intransitive transitive verbs with hard core NP objects have more fun.

4. Prediction: when new V arise, they are predominantly of the canonical form: waste, zap, blow (the  $\phi$ ), bugle, gawk  
V: fade, pass, kick, york

5. FANTASTIC FACT: THIS MEANS THAT IDIOMATIC FOREIGN FORMS SHARE SOMETHING W/ NOTICE FORMS!

have yet to

Facts from rap w/ Bob May

5/23/74

V<sub>intransitive</sub> - There has yet to be a good party

\* Neg  
\* Q

{ \* John hasn't yet to arrive  
\* Has J  
? Who has }

\* M

John must have yet to pay

? Neg Q

{ ? Hasnt John  
\* Has John not } yet to have?

Not embedded:

\* That John has yet to pay is unlikely

offhand

5/22/74

item (This is a fairly weak polarity generalization made by Dave Perlmutter)

I\*(don't) know P offhand

Original bad S was due to Elke.

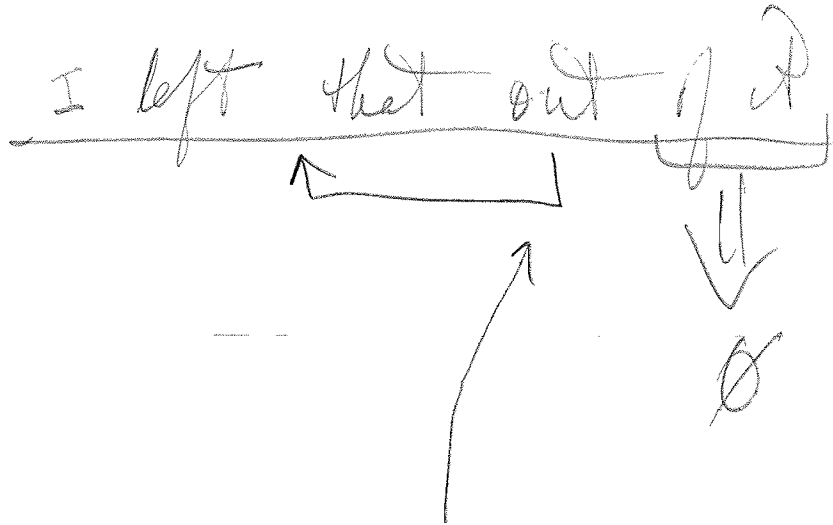
No wonder and That Edition

5/22/74

No wonder (\*that) he left

Reduced DIR

5/22/74



How come this moves? It  
isn't really a directional.

For Native

5/21/74

I bought Tom { a car  
the car  
\*your car }

at all

5/20/74

To get these at all,

we'll have to change

we ~~could~~  
~~ought to~~  
~~might~~ (have to)

\*we changed

the rules



Left Dislocation

5/20/74

{to Him  
Jackson}, I told that bastard where to get off.

?\* That bastard, I told Jackson to be on time.

\*\* Jackson, you told who to be on time?

S - not + frag + negness

5/19/74

He { doesn't write  
never  
seldom } writes — not on Thursdays  
hardly  
?? infrequently

{ Nobody  
Not many  
Few } arrived — not on time.

He gave books to none — { not to friends? (anyway)  
not friends? (?? anyway)  
\* not novels  
?? not Ted }

I { don't believe } that he'll go — not willingly  
?? don't

? It's unimportant that you eat these — not the chocolate ones





Lexical primacy of N

5/12/74

$\exists$  V that presuppose the existence of N:

excommunicate  $\longrightarrow$  church

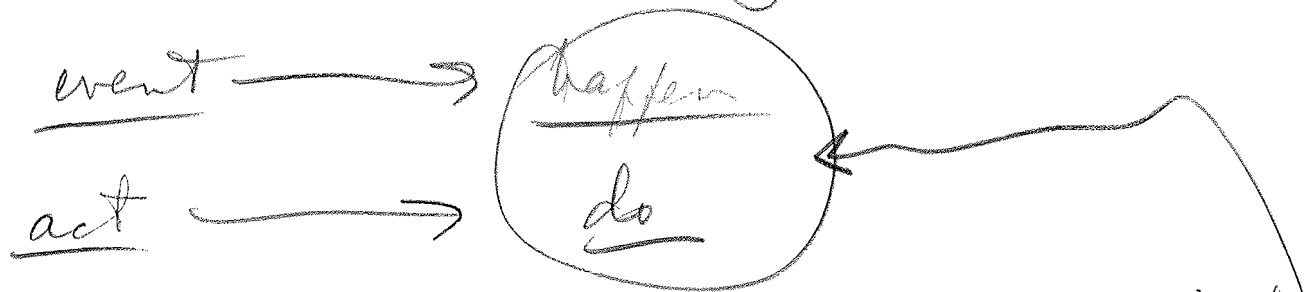
play hooky  $\longrightarrow$  school

castle  $\longrightarrow$  chess

fan, whiff  $\longrightarrow$  baseball

fence  $\longrightarrow$  sword

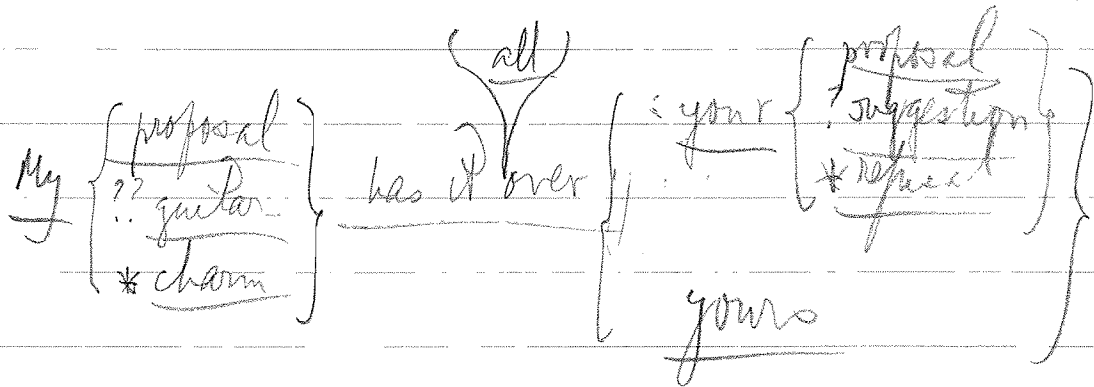
But are there any reverse cases?



might be, but I know of no L w/o these

X's N have it over Y's (N)

5/4/24



Wishing it has it all over knowing them

Ana's wishing it has it all over yours { \*for your them  
wishing }

# Fake Rel Cl Formations

5/9(?) / 74

Facts from Edwin's thesis:

tell (IO) {<sup>Q</sup>a story}

Maybe tell Q is  
only OK w/ conj Q's?

tell \*(IO) that S

---

Now NB:

I told \*(him) the way to do it

This argues that this clause is not deeply  
a NP, but has rather arisen via FRCF.  
NP S

Gapping and nominees

5/8/74

Gapping require Siness  
from that I to Acc Imp - it  
woud work w/ Poss Imp

No \* For. Bill to go to NYC +  
for Ann to LA is to bal

{ Ann } going to NYC +  
{ \*my }  
{ Pandra } to LA depresses me  
{ \*your }



its

5/8/74

Since  $\mathcal{P}$  can't be a possessive noun

its having been shot



This must be pretty wrong

# Prepositional

5/8/74

How about this neighborhood rule

NP  $\rightarrow$  [+gen] / N

where this becomes 's or of

There Insertion w/ correspond

5/8/24

Barbara

... to each such syntactic rule there must

correspond a semantic rule

There must correspond

{ to each such syntactic rule

\* a syntactic rule to each such

syntactic rule

a semantic rule

Stress loss ~ frozen sense  
Freezing up + basic variant

5/7/74

For Paul:

These adjectives are not comparable

\*1 0

It's not an accident that this is  
the one you get, not this one.

This suggests that there's one  
basic rule for -able words, and then an  
optional fancy pants one.

The Split - ☆

5/7/74

I'm 36.

A fundamental difference stems from different beliefs about the answers to the question:

"Is the world messy or neat?"

I tend not to believe that it's very neat.  
Noam, I think, believes the opposite.

P → ⊗

5/6/74

on account of he don't talk so good

Comparatives of Verbs  
+ the Category Hierarchy

5/6/74

tireder (of that)

?? boreder (\* with my job)

?? pissedder off >> ?\* pissed off

So: The more constituents, the weaker, and the less morphologically comparable

?\* turneder on

5/7/74

?? fuckeder up

burner { ?\*eder } up  
          { \*ter }

\*? hopeder for

\*? showerer off

## Fake Relative Clause Formation

5/2/24

I'll give you a dime for every quarter you can stand on its  
edge

In the non-standard interpretation, this  
really means

for every time [you stand every quarter on its edge at]

When does this rule work?



Agreement, Fake Pl Cl. Formation & The Cycle

5/4/24

Thoughts on PMP's talk:

1. If any rule that feeds agreement is cyclic, then QF is

The people that went haven't been determined

- 
2. QF, etc feed PP Agreement in French.

How  $\diamond$ ?

yet

5/1/74

? \* He will yet solve it

It is { possible  
conceivable  
thinkable  
imaginable  
\* true  
\* doubtful  
\* certain } that he will yet solve it





have (got) + hasta

5/2/74

Hasta behaves just like a true V.

got must be deleted / [ V ]  
[ -fin ]

or inserted before Neg Pl, USI etc

to got

He hasn't got eggs

Has he got eggs

Subjectivizing +  
stativity

4/30/74

Be ready { to go  
to be looked at  
for me to look at\*(you) }

Don't be too stubborn { to go  
to be nominated  
for us to nominate\*(you) }

Richard and the interpretation  
of derived subjects

4/26/74

That they are being exploited is what they want to say.

It looks like

"

That [they are being exploited] looks like it's what they want to say



Somehow, this one is "about" the content of this proposition, not about its wording.

Superior?

4/26/74

The impetus I has to come from within themselves

(for them) to do

What rule gets me out of bed?



Richard + gork

4/26/74

S from John Lawler (at CLS X)

It gorks (to me) like S

There gorks to me like there are a lot of  
good vibes happening

Jaffery and You  $\rightarrow \emptyset$

4/20(?) / 74

give \$10 to Mike, and you to Sam

---

So  $\exists$  you here.

Hooray! Finally an argument!

Prenom < S

4/17/24

Hans Hock suggests that prenominal modifiers in German may be adverbially more restricted than they would be in full clauses.

ein trotzdem?\*(noch) betrunkener Herr.

Passivability and  
Stativity

4/16/74

Are there any non-idiomatic activity  
V that won't passivize?

Yes {have} NP S  
{let}

But by and large, the only exceptions  
to Passive are stative V.



# Transitivity

4/16/74

fly  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{on} \\ \text{with} \end{array} \right\}$  BOAC

↓  
∅

ski Mt. Venus

walked for 10  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{miles} \\ \text{hours} \end{array} \right\}$

↓  
∅

go into the house

↓  
enters

Are there ever reverse cases?

It seems that V+NP is the  
Vr combination, so processes shoot at it,  
but not at the reverse [i.e. V NP → V P NP]

NB enters into an agreement  
[so it looks like go → enters / into NP]

# Idioms and CH

4/16/74

∃ many V+NP idioms:

Keep tabs on etc

∄ no (I don't think) Adj+PP  
idioms, nor N+PP idioms.

Prefixes and stativity

4/16/74

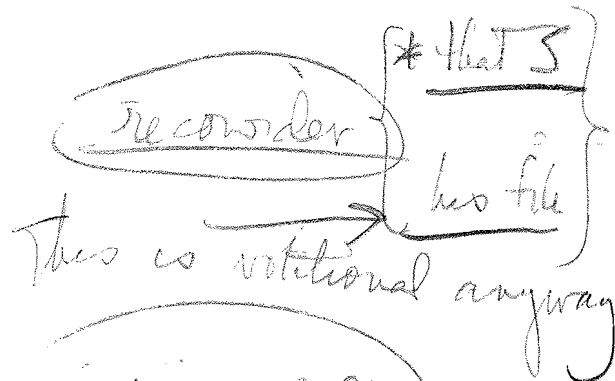
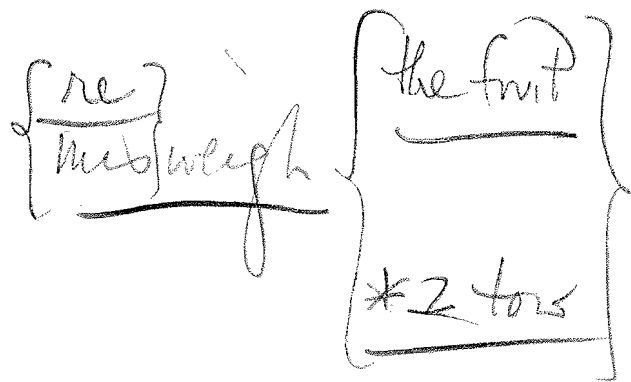
No (?) stativ V take prefixes

out know

\* re love

\* over don't

\* mis resemble



disbelieve<sup>34</sup>(v)

Exceptions: misunderstand  
mishear



Scrapsiness, -able  
and nominalizations

Cf. 10/4/73

and especially 3/1/73

4/16/74

\* Its accountability for us wild

\* writability down

\* clear expressibility

\* Simpler wordability

Scraplessness +  
wording up

4/16/74

a 3 foot/\*feet long couch

a 3 way ?\*(?) ambiguous S

a 3-way ambiguity

This drive toward stemhood, while incorporating, is the same as the drive toward scraplessness.

Subcategorizations and  
stativity

4/15/74

V  
stat

- 1. \_\_\_\_\_ elapse, hold, obtain
- 2. NP subtend
- 3. MP weigh
- 4. PP swack
- 5. NP  
|  
S doubt, deem

6. NP NP - envy only case

NB

⊕  
Rt (PP)  
PP PP  
P(NP) S  
(NP) DIR

(Standing in German)

S from Klaus:

4/14/74

da könnt ihr kein Bild von machen

Also:

da könnt du mir mit machen

There is every N<sub>S</sub>  
TIE-50

4/12/74

<p>{ *There isn't There is *Is there</p>	}	every	{	? possibility	{ *for NP to VX }
				expectation	that S
				Reason to go	
				indications	that S
				? hope of progress	
				*fear	that S
				*idea	that S
				*proposal	that he leave
				*** <u>horse</u>	

?? There seems to be every reason to go on

There must	{	* be	}	every reason to go on
		? have been		

I { think  
know  
\*am surprised  
\*doubt } that there is every reason to VX

I am sorry \*(to report) that TIE

Naming

4/12/74

Rosenbluth called the President "Dr. Werner"  
in replying to a hostile Q from Bob Shannon,  
where he had previously been letting us in by  
using his nickname "Jerry"

# Quarantining and relational grammar

4/11/74

1. No cyclic rule moves things rightwards (in L's u/s. 0)  
(There Insertion just summarizes the subject (but why does the old subject end up where it does?))
2. Thus all cyclic rules move things up the hierarchy
3. Maybe why rightward something freezes it (i.e., moving something down the hierarchy freezing it)

chauncing  $\cong$  freezing

## Problem: Conject Movement

$\Rightarrow$  Is there an ascension rule? If so, how come the moved conjunct can passivize?  $\int$

She was  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{argued} \\ \text{discussed} \\ \text{sung} \\ \text{for sat.} \end{array} \right\}$  with

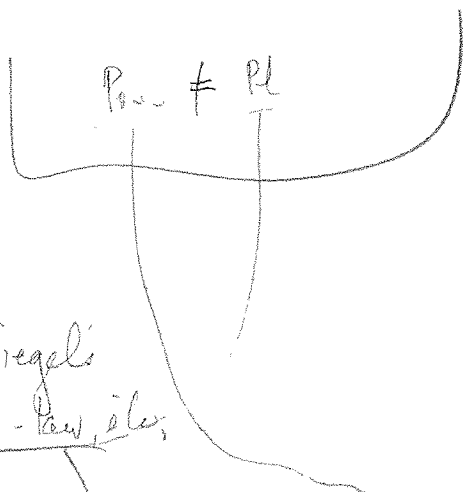
None no and one

4/11/74

Jack's pattern\* (6') I mystified me, but Ann's didn't

---





4/11/24

Like Dorothy Siegel's  
example w/ father-in-law, etc.

? ~~two~~ points of view's similarity was noticed in 1586.

Stuff  $\rightarrow \emptyset$

Why bad? Cf. The red wine and the white  $\emptyset$  <sup>4/10/74</sup>

Has striking resemblance to a cookie +

{ \*her partial (one) } to a grape nut got to me  
hers

Has knowledge that  $S_1$  + hers that  $S_2$

$\exists$  Stuff deletion, because otherwise  
we can't relate this to this

Has striking claim that  $S_1$ , and her fascinating

\* (one) that  $S$

he → they

4/10/74

\* Nobody<sub>i</sub> said that they<sub>i</sub> had each eaten two apples

Suggests that this comes from he

one

4/9/74

If one calls, Tom shifts on  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{one} \\ * \text{me} \\ \text{Mary} \end{array} \right\}$

\* Bill doubts that one has a chance

Here  $\frac{\text{shifts on Bill}}{4/9/74} \ll \frac{\text{shifts on Mary}}{4/9/74}$

Why?

Degree of OV binding in German  
idioms

gestern fing er ein Fisch seine Schwester

4/8/74

gestern ? { spielte Schach seine Schwester }  
?? { fuhr Rad seine Schwester }

?

?\* gestern wachte auf seine Schwester

Do vs and Active vs. Passive

4/8/74

The floor will be polished by the woman who always does so

The woman who it has always been done by wants to  
keep polishing the floor

97 The maid will polish the floor on every day when the sink is

"Mention" direct quote

4/1/74

For that right-out-of-my-oven freshness,  
use grease-o.

NB - not speaker

I deplore that "get off my lawn" attitude

# The Great Chain of Being

4/1/74

The be's of be to and be going to  
are also charmed to their objects

\* There are pumpkins to stay under water

\* There are pumpkins going to explode



Wissen <sup>?</sup> = kennen

4/1/74

Mein Bruder weiß, wo Hans wohnt, und

meine Schwester, die Anschrift seiner Familie

weil mein Bruder weiß, wo Hans wohnt,

und meine Schwester die Anschrift seiner Familie,

plötzlich die Sonne morgen.

weil

Contrastive Stress + be

3/29/74

There may **be** oxen ? there may **be** oxen.

He may **be** similar to you

He may **be** similar to you

? He may **resemble** you

He may **resemble** you

They said that there may be a storm, and

there { may be } a storm  
{ may be }

What  
diff?

The Quest for Being

4/1/74

\* Has being a part and his being by me

Here, the only thing that Be Shift can  
say is that  $\emptyset$  is a w/ presence.  
But the shift is still a shift.

so we'd expect

\* Has being a part and his  $\emptyset$  by me.

# The Great Chain of Being

3/30/74

The more auxiliary a verb like be is, the less I like to have anything come between it and its object  
avoid > attempt > try > begin > keep > be

\* There are being guys tickled

\* Polite he is being

9/17/74  
Why, then, is this so good?  
There have been guys tickled

Tom was being rude, and Fred was (being) too  
has been rude and Fred has (been) too

Tom is being nice is it be (\*being)?

Shane is polite, and I'm going to try { to be }  
{ \*being }

NB //

Sheila lost weight, and I'm going to try { to begin? (to) }  
{ beginning? (to) }

{ began }  
He kept in car, working on things  
{ was }

# The Great Chain of Being

p 2

3/30/24

He must { have been  
\*be being }, consequently, examined by Ted.

He began reluctantly, { to write  
?? writing } things down



were it not for X

p.1

3/27/74

If I were\* (not) for X, Y

If not for you

R. Zimmermann

⇓  
Were I\* (not) for X, Y

This idiom only occurs in counterfactual conditionals, maybe not even in past ones, in this form

If it hadn't been for you, we would have won

?? Had it not been for you

NB:  $\$$  in wish-clauses or in other subjunctive environments

\* I wish that I were (not) for you

\* Supposing that I were (not) for you, Y

Thus this idiom provides evidence for the existence of a T-rule which performs this inversion.

Were I not for X

p. 2

3/27/74

Anni's father { is tall  
left  
picked up the bat  
? knows that we are sick }

Were I not for her, X

? Bill and Anni's father are tall. Were I not for her, X

No SSC

That you know Anni's father is likely. Were I not for her, X

There seem to be few, if any, constraints on the antecedent of the object of for.



1. No. of ...

3/1/1-

... ..

also ... 3/13/14

Plurality + among + Neds

C. 5/16/73

(surprisingly)

3/26/74

Among { a (large) number of  
a mass of  
\*an amorphous mass of } cookies

Five of a { collection  
group  
number  
bunch } of pills were red

- pile
- heap
- ? dose
- ? bundle
- ?? cluster

? Many of my dose of pills

??? bag

?\* box

\* receptacle / \* container

Doesn't require much plurality

Requires more

? We counted a cluster of spiders



Picture, of float + ~~material~~ non-II

3/25/74

I gave John them all (out because of OC)

3/26/74

?? John was given them all

← Indicates this  
has probably become  
a chameleon.

?? These pills were given them all

pay

3/25/74

? Swimming nude pays (?? for me).

\* To swim nude pays

It pays for me to swim nude

What pays for me as to swim nude:

$\emptyset \rightarrow \underline{of}$

3/20/74

I heard from Mark L:

It's not too important of a point.

---

MB

There V + Neg

Sibron Susan Martin:

There arose no problems

3/18/74  
There stood there nothing  
from. ~~didn't ever stand~~

There never stood  
on the table any bags

//s

There never arose any problems

? didn't ever arise any problems

Dan Kahn:

Problems { never arose >  
? didn't ever arise }

Serious problems couldn't arise >

? There couldn't arise serious problems

There be the N

S from Susan Martin:

3/18/74

You remember that there's the train to Chicago  
forgot

From Erich:

Do you remember { that } there's the train to Chicago  
whether

Is there\* (still) the train to Chicago?



Freezing in there "55"

3/18/74

Fact from Mark Liberman:

\* It was this table that there stood on — a rose

1/2

\* It was this table that there was on — a picture of Fred

So both are out because of NP Shift

It was that table that there 

was
*lay

 a picture of Jack on

(not much)

No worse than

?? There lay a picture of Jack on the table

devil

3/18/74

S from Susan Martin

there'd be the devil to pay

Idioms & variables

3/18/74

Fact from Nick Clements:

where does he think (?? that) he gets off?

Objects of action nouns

C. also 12/12/73  
repetition that 5

3/17/74

1. Excludes highly sentential objects:

His constant mentioning

of this  
\* (the fact) that he knows de Gaulle

His rash attempting {  
? of it  
of the club  
\* to climb

2. Excludes highly sentential stuff in the object

Her driving of them {  
\* mad  
?? into bankruptcy  
\* to drink

My clever proving of her \* (?? to be) untrustworthy

3. Tolerates, barely, PP

? His furtive glancing at his watch

from conversation with Paul Postal:

3/25/74

4. \$ (Poss) Ing's \* His constant mentioning of Bill (P's) having paid  
\* His rash attempting of going out alone

for → ~~for~~ / except - P

3/17/74

He drinks { <sup>? except Tuesdays</sup>  
except for Tuesdays  
except on Tuesdays  
\* except on Tuesdays }

He ate everything { except (? for) the peas  
except ?? (for) the peas }

We talked a lot { <sup>\* except for about sex</sup>  
except about sex  
<sup>\* except for</sup> sex }

He did away with everyone except { for (\*\* with) Sandy  
\* with  
Sandy }

He stays home except { for} during storms  
\* storms }

data<sub>pl count</sub> → data<sub>mass</sub>

3/15/74

Presumably, this also happened with

news

Does the reverse ever happen? If not, why?

# Fact Relation

3/15/74

We should not forget that  $\mathcal{F}_2$ .

{  
And (the fact) that  $\mathcal{F}_2$   
Or<sup>?</sup> (the fact) that  $\mathcal{F}_2$   
}

Parallelism in RC's

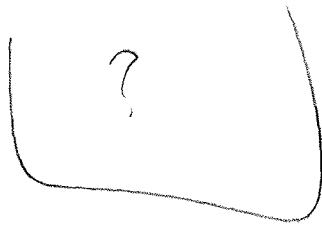
3/14/74

\* A man came in and I shot a woman who were similar

//s

\* A man who I know and likes me burped





3/13/74

It sounds as if that is so



That sounds (to be) so

Monowordness

3/13, 74

? weil du das hast in Erfahrung bringen können

Also 1/27/74

Functional annihilation

Henk cited this fact from Nicholas Ruzet: 3/11/74

A qui as tu fait donner les valises à Jean (old I)

Only true latives move - III-seemers don't

Source of "be NP S"

3/11/74

There's you to play tennis with

... this can't be from a RC

The fact that  $\exists$  S's like  
There are papers to grade

shows that papers must have been the  
subject once (because of the plural agreement).

Thus the source must be



by an ascension  
into subject position

? It's greed which there's  
not really to talk about.

(RQ's + source of tags)

3/10/74

The fact that  $\exists$  RQ's for Jay  
shows the need for a <sup>present</sup> essential source

\* Who left, didn't he?

# Reference Q's and antecedents

Cf. also (27) + Col which shows these facts not to hold for incredulity. Q.e. fact noticed from \*(26c) of Ch. 3 of Peter

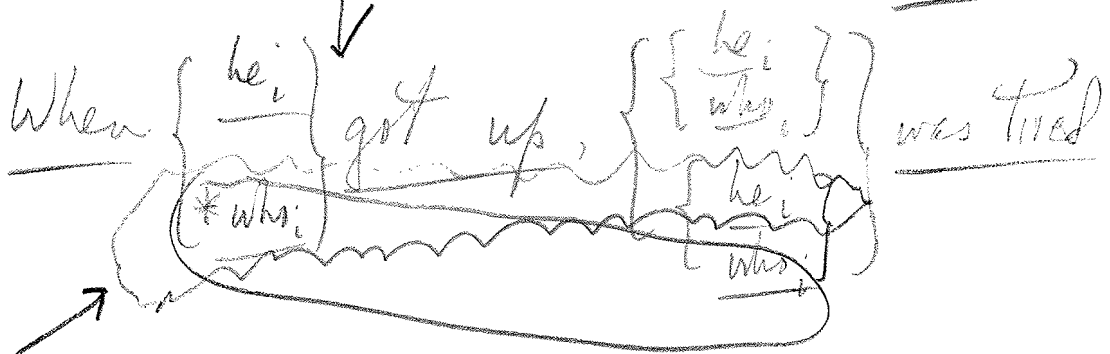
3/9/74  
Revised Williams (1971)  
Coles thesis (p.66):

In a field of coreferential pronouns,

only the one that is the antecedent

can be wh-ed.

Realizing that who<sub>i</sub> was unpopular  
worried him<sub>i</sub>?



NB: only the antecedent can be wh-ed

∅ multiple wh-word reference Q's.

\* Who<sub>i</sub> said that who<sub>i</sub> was tired?

?? His who<sub>i</sub> is whose  
castle?

? They're talking to his  
sister about whose taxes?

This means that in certain cases,

e.g., optional pronominalization, there will be no reference questioning possible.

John<sub>i</sub> will enter and John<sub>i</sub> will win.

Who<sub>i</sub> will enter and {\*\* John<sub>i</sub> / \* who<sub>i</sub>} will win?

NB IT can't be claimed that who is just a further specified NP, for otherwise, this linkage should be fine.



Reference Q's and antecedents

3/10/74

∃ n-ary ref Q's

(A) You shouldn't have told him about it then because shield laws

(B) I shouldn't have told who about what when  
(?? because of the shield laws)?

Note also that RQ's seem bad in a number of coordinate str's. (and coordinoid ones)

\* She doesn't like WHO, does she?

\* WHO's sick but the game will be played

\* LA, where WHO lives, is smoggy?

You want to go now? } so that WHO can get some sleep?  
\* for WHO's tired? }

? WHO left. you don't doubt?

AR: He goes there more often than WHO stays here?





RP's and antecedency

p. 5

3/10/74

But LOK

$\left\{ \frac{\text{WHOSE}_i}{\text{He}_i} \right\}$  reticence suggests  $\left\{ \frac{\text{he}_i}{\text{WHOSE}_i} \right\}$  complexity?

$\left\{ \frac{\text{WHOSE}_i}{*\text{He}_i} \right\}$  complexity is suggested by  $\left\{ \frac{\text{he}_i}{\text{WHOSE}_i} \right\}$  reticence?

Extrinsic Ordering  
+ BPC in Q's

3/9/24

Facts from Cole's Thesis, p.109

Wen; hätte der gedanke überrascht,  
daß er; gestern Abend geheiratet hat?

vs.

\* Wen; hätte der gedanke, daß er; gestern Abend  
geheiratet hat, überrascht?

This would appear to necessitate  
the following extrinsic ordering

- Extrapolation from NP
- Pronominalization Check
- QF

Help help

Viciously,  
this is  
language-  
particular,  
because  
parallel 5's in  
Hebrew are still out,  
(cf. fn. 6 of Ch. 4 in Cole)

Indefiniteness and  
wh-words in pseudo-clefts  
+ Rel Cls

3/9/74

Fact from Lokosky (1972) SLU Univ Ill  
quoted in Cole's thesis

There's { \*a } president himself  
          { the }

The man { that } himself was sick left

\* Who himself is sick?

{ She cooks } what itself needs sterilizing  
                  { \*I know }

He told me the house { \*that } itself was falling down.  
                                  { \*which }

What itself needed sterilizing was the pimplscope.

So it looks as if this is from an RC.

# Deletion analysis of that-clauses

3/9/74

as (A)

How can such  $S_i$  be made via the deletion analysis?

(A) There's the book that the cover of, I designed

NB that \*(B) shows that Topicalization is in general barred from RC's

\* There's the guy that the cover of the book I will send to tomorrow

Thus this must be being fronted by the rule forming RC's, which is impossible under the deletion analysis



$I \cong \text{Agent}$

3/9/74

1.  $\nexists$  tnaw — a verb for which Equi is  
OBL only w/ non-agents

2. prevent — makes only agentive raises  
into derived subjects via Passive.

Obviously, there will be no rule which  
passivizes only non-agentive derived objects.

3. Note that the top of the fake NP hierarchy  
has agentive NP's — and no rule  
works only on the fake NP's.

4. TM is blocked for intervening agent subjects,  
but no rule will be blocked only for intervening  
non-agents. (cf. 3/8/74)





# (Non-Terms)

3/9/74

## Non-Terms

- A. Don't control deletions
- B. Don't antecede reflexives
- C. Don't agree V's
- D. Don't host ascensions
- E. Don't get replaced by dummies

(Non-terms aren't controllers)

3/9/24

But some get

(A) Sophia Loren was seen by them while shaving themselves

Prediction: all defects which get these will also get (B) [and hopefully (C)?]

(B) They saw Sophia Loren while shaving themselves

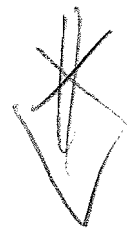
(C) They saw Sophia Loren while shaving herself.

Subject perseverance

3/9/74

Prediction:  $\nexists$  L which, when causalizing a non-nominative subject, will up it to nominativity. Well enough will be left alone (\*)

Gott läßt [mir friert]



Gott läßt mich frieren

# Tail-ending

3/9/74

There should be no rule which would climb things into I but not into a I that is derived from II.

(A) They decreased IBM in price.

(B) IBM was decreased in price.

Any rule which will do (A) should also be able to do (B).

Problem:  $\oint$  A-Raising in Japanese.

Rejoinders. Well, if -nasii-S's really aren't doing Raising, then maybe S's just can't occur in subject position.

Weak Functional Annotation of I

3/9/74

Note that  $\exists$  dialects in which  $\exists$  5's  
like

(A) These were given John

i.e., in which Native produces a double I

But: I bet it will be showable that

even in those dialects that get (A), 5's like (B)

(B) John was given these

are more numerous and stronger, and

there will be no dialect which gets only (A).

want has OBL  
Equi only for agents  
no V will have OBL  
Asymmetries at I  
Equi only for non-agents.

Better: for agents.

3/9/74

- generalization: Subjects are unique:
1. Subjects preserve
  2. Subjects aren't doubled in causative groups
  3. Subject functions is really annihilated
  4. There is a unique case for subjects, but I can show up in a variety of cases.  
would be a demonstration that ga-less NP (if such things exist) can't be used.
  5. I is more accessible + prominent

Not true -  
mich Bengert  
But, any L of these  
will also have multiple  
workings,  
and these  
will be weaker.  
won't undergo  
Equi, etc.

Proof that  
Japanese  
really has  
{ga}

⇒ wa

6. Cf. 4E of outline of relational grammar  
of 3/8/74 -

when a non-subject ascends, it  
goes into subject position

7. TM is blocked for a specified agentive subject  
I bet counter-examples will exist, but  
they will be primary-blocked - that is, any L  
which includes a rule in which non-subjects  
climb to non-subj position will also need a  
rule in which non-subjects climb into subject position,  
but not the converse.

The result of seeing Paul Postal  
Only terms for a day.

# Relational Grammar

agree

- 0. Cyclicity: ignoring deletions (like Equi), Refl 3/8/74 + agreement, a rule is cyclic iff it's sensitive to gram. rels.
- 1. Subject Persistence: all through the cycle on  $V_x$ ,  $V_x$  has I

2. Insertions - dummies can be inserted only for terms (or by doubling one, e.g. in Richard There looks like there's enough milk)

Promotions

- 3. Advancements -
  - A. Only up the hierarchy - Reranking Law
  - B. Derived Subject Principle: derived subjects can't be replaced by 'an' before use next

maybe strengthening to all terms?

\*Bob was found in France by 1939

- 4. Ascensions
  - A. Host is a term
  - B. Climber takes over the function of the host
  - C. Functional Annihilation
  - D. Tail End Law -
  - E. If a non-subj. starts, P goes to subj. position

(Freezing reflexive antecedents)

Reflexivization is a clause-locator - bearing  
 a refl, you expect that the antecedent will stay within the clause. 3/8/74  
 Fact from PMP:

\* To whom I talked about himself. <

Melvin I talked to about himself

3/9/74: NB: When you move a subject where ambiguity can arise,  
 it's harder. Who did you believe { had shaved himself } >>>  
 Who did you {?want allow} >>> } to have shaved himself?

3/9/74 Paul's idea: non-subject antecedents  
 Reason: If reflu don't move  
 when subjects move, you know they've gone - best if a tensed V follow the  
 deletion site, but even if a non-tensed one does.

It was Bob who I believed } raped his mother  
 } to have raped his mother

NB: To whom; do you think we should talk to  
 about { about himself; } PMP: This is OK  
 { ? his taxes } because he won't  
 the work he's been talking } : 10/11/74



Tail End Law

3/8/74

Would explain why bisentential V  
never raise into subject position

Functional Annotation

Old higher-functioning terms decay  
more than lower-functioning ones. 3/8/74

?? Which knee is he weak in? <<

? Which knee did you punch him on?

~~He~~ He is weak on them both <<

I kicked him on them all.

(Sparked subject of TM)

3/8/74

?\* This case would be expensive for it to rain on

---

?? He would be expensive for accurate info to be kept on

---

? This would be expensive for this taken on

---

So it's agents that block TM

A little something and Eat → ∅

3/7/74

A little something (would be) nice  
{ \* was } ← 3/9/74

To eat ⇒ ∅ here

[or maybe it's by Have Relation  
cf. I want a little something]

what be up

.3/4/74

what's up? >> ?\*What is up?

what isn't up?

What { ? 's been up?  
?\*has been up?  
will  
may  
must  
can } be up?

What's gonna be up?  
{ ?? is }

?\*Anything could  
have been up

What { seems  
{ ?\* is } believed  
{ ? is } } to be } up?

{ Something } is up  
{ \* Everything }  
{ ?? Nothing }

? Nothing's been up  
Something { may  
must  
? will } be up

(- wise and loosening)

3/4/74

wine and beer wise

? either wine or beer wise

?? swimming wise

?\* swimming underwater wise

\* To swim wise

- I. Grammaticalization by rule loss (or "source loss")  
 (→ ∅ / # leads to reanalysis of Maori passive)
- II. "Spontaneous" grammaticalization. In Uto-Aztecan *doo* means from, then it splits off and can serve as a coordinating conj. which is linked phonologically to the previous word (ing. 'and'). After CV, it can cliticize, still, making preceding clause subordinate.
- III. Grammaticalization of a variable rule (i.e. stuff can exit from following clause)
- IV. Grammaticalization of a Harrisian transformational relation
- V. Grammaticalization of implicata
- VI. Grammaticalization of phonological victims

Sources for conjunctions

1. Subordinators - *doo* in Navajo  
 - *nig* in Hopi, which was the obviative conjunction
2. Preposition Sansan Xhosa  
wa na
3. Number my  $\checkmark$   $\checkmark$  zenoj I + my wife  
 Walker: ~~me not a man~~ = man 2 women - where "2" is an old number

Subordinate → Coordinate

3/4/74

He left { because } he was tired  
cuz }

But

?? Cuz he was tired, he left



by you ⇒ ∅

She should be taken

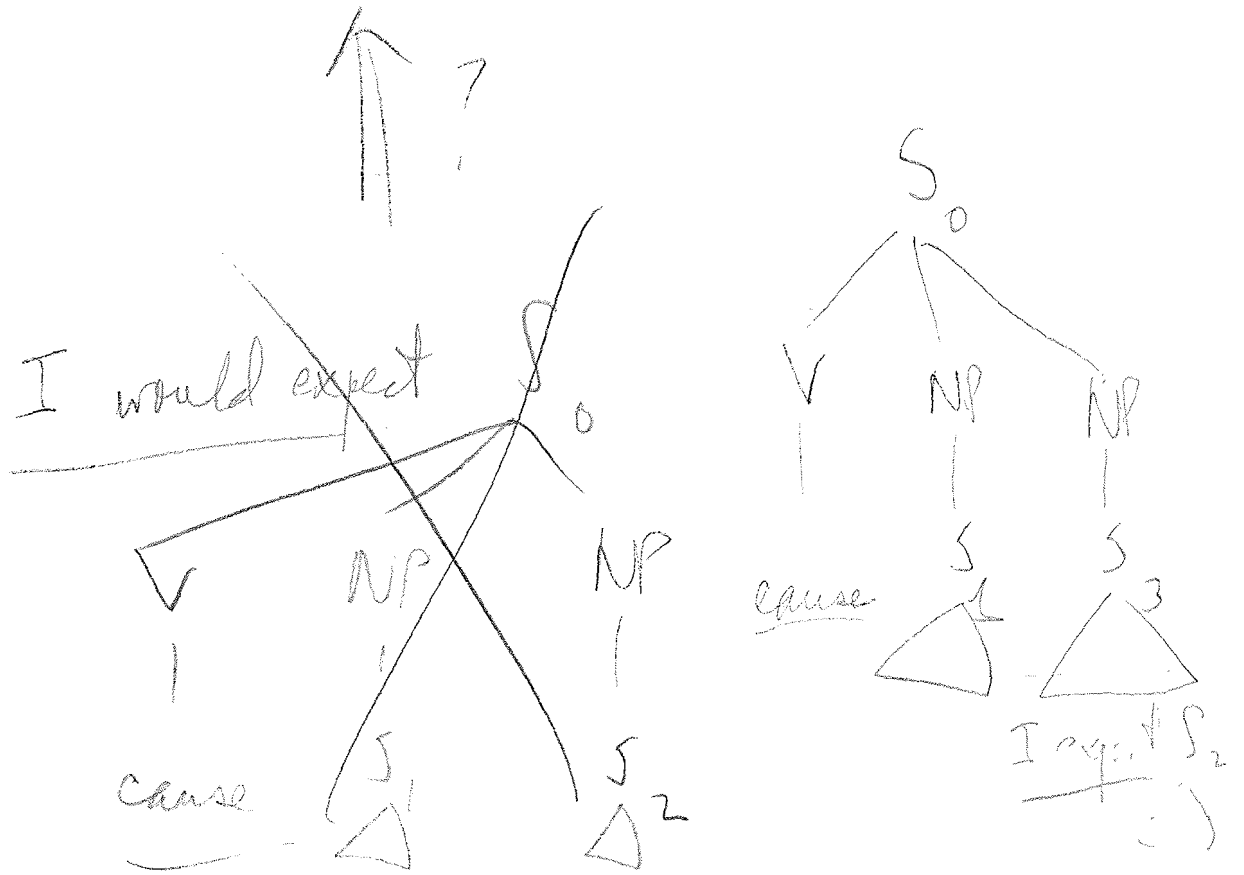
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?? under Ted's wing 3/3/74  
under your wing (?? by you)  
\* by you under your wing

RStr. of expect, know

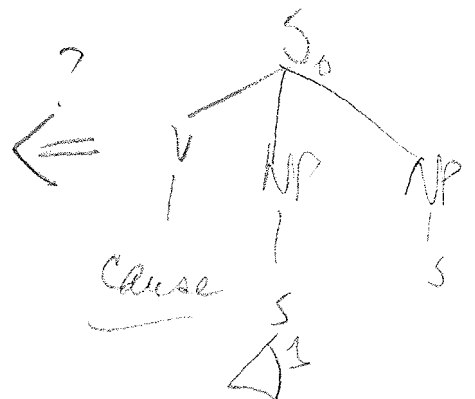
3/3/74

From  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} S_1 \\ N_{\text{fact}} \end{array} \right\}$ , I would expect that  $S_2$



With (?) wrt know

From  $S_1$ , we know  $S_2$



Why  $\nabla$  From X, I ~~don't~~ <sup>think</sup> ~~lie~~

IF  $S_i, S_i$

2/28/74

IF he comes, he comes

IF he's coming, { he's coming  
\*he comes }

IF they win tomorrow, they win tomorrow

[ Cf. \* They win tomorrow ]

IF he must have known  $P$ , { he <sup>must</sup> have known it  
?? may  
he knew it }

\* IF he knew  $P$ , he may have known  $P$

NB: identity  $\sim \square$ : IF he comes, he's here



CSC + single acts

2/25/74

It was this six-pack that he ran into  
the liquor store and his flunkys ran off with

Ward RC-ords

2/24/74

All of these types of RC-ords share the inner island features:

- (1) a. He's not the doctor that he was.
- b. He doesn't have the legs I had.

(2) The longest that we had to wait was 3 hours

(3) He stayed God knows how long

Why  
but

(4) A man { wake up / ?didn't wake up } and a woman cried who were similar.

(5) The headway that we made was fabulous.

(6) He tooked what seems to have been ruthless advantage of me.

any more

2/24/74

Quote from guy sitting between us in the  
Jazz Workshop:

[Boston] is basically a student town anymore.

---

Other words that have gone the any more  
route

anyway  
anyhow

Why do  
I Pb  
here?

at any rate  
in any {case}  
{event}

There's  $\Leftarrow$  Whig

2/23/74

?? There has been frequent advantage taken of Betsy

?\* There were careful tabs kept on Nader



✓ Nasalization

2/22(?) / 74

klink

↓  
Ø

klin k

\* klink

↓

\* kliñk

↓

kliñk

← Why is this good?

Shifting point of view, and open sentences

2/18/74

S's from Tanya.

only  
contradictory

→ His mother was not his mother, but his friend

//

Dick is taller than he is, Tom thinks

The same is true of  
Nobody doubts that Mary loves } me  
him

Mary loves } me  
\*him, nobody doubts.



# Idioms + Poss Plural Agreement

2/14/73

Their heart { <sup>?</sup> — } bled  
                  5 —

His heart { — } bled  
                  \*5 —

So this rule works with this idiom

(be#  
w/ st. +)

2/12/77

Can't (such) things be?

if (such) things cannot be

if there are such things!

if one can see

Key into the world of  
if (maybe) there's  
+10

2/12/74

If he is helpful,  
as he can<sup>3</sup>(be)

The AN graveyard- chief

This crazy adjective only occurs  
in this weird 5 type

2/11/24

Chief among X is Y

?\* Y is chief among X

$N > V$  wrt borrowability

2/11/74

Fact misquipped by Bob Sacks:

$N$  are more easily borrowed than  $V$  because

$\exists$   $L$ 's which infect only  $V$ , but none which infect only  $N$ , so borrowing  $N$ 's will make fewer waves.



$\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Pro} \\ + \text{room} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \underline{\text{the}} + \underline{\text{Eggs}}$

2/8/74

The demonstration that  $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{\text{kei}} \\ * \underline{\text{tho}} \end{array} \right\}$  was willing was

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{\text{John}} \\ \underline{\text{ken}} \end{array} \right\}$

Therefore the must have been produced  
by Eggs

There insertion and copying  
and that ≠ there

2/8/74

Thought while reading Gary, Ch. 1

The only locative pronoun that appears in  
copies is the distant one, there

Cf. Boston he often } goes { there  
                                  }    { \*here }

NB also: this N only takes appositives, but  
that N takes both

Same in German.

This would explain why there is a Sante  
isn't an existential S, given Kuro's copying  
analysis.

I bet this is related to the fact  
that there who S- but \*there who S-  
and that which but \*there which



These Insertion and  
be going to (and bet?)

2/8/74

Maybe the reason for the badness of  
\* There are guys (group) to be in jail

↳ because BBZ results interruption

NB Bill is, said Mike, "going to leave now"  
"to become a vacuum cleaner"

But Bill is { hardly  
not (ever)  
never  
often  
etc. } going to visit

NB also that BBZ has its W/112,  
exc in general, (as to whether though)

\* I know a man going to resemble a snowflake

Also D going to ski she going to fish  
\$ dollars in them etc.

\* I'm going to catch more birds than she is to get for me go  
I am to receive more horses on Santa. She to be 100% on Saturday

Source of Qs  
+ conj. Qs

2/7/74

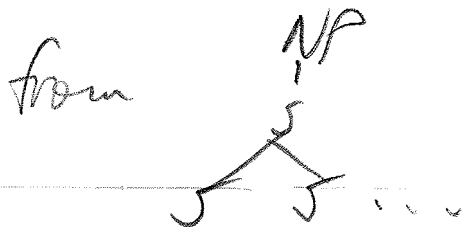
Sam asked

? whether Bill or Tom had left, either of  
which could have happened

whether Bill had left, or (whether)  
Tom had left, either of which...

?? who had left - Bill or Tom -  
either of which could have happened.

\* We were surprised at who he had shot at - Bill and Tom -  
both of which had seemed unlikely

So it seems that any Qs should be  
from 

Sentential be

2/7/14

It is as though he were sick

// 's (?) NB: ↑

It is not as though he is sick

2/8/14

It couldn't be as though she <sup>'is</sup> <sub>'were</sub> sick

11/11/13



Leadert To see X

2/2/74

{ I'm { <u>glad</u> } { <u>sorry</u> } }	to see	{ you leaving Bill sick }
{ <u>We regretted</u> }		{ <u>such a shithead about grade</u> }

\* I saw { there be a sellout }  
 { him be a stickler }

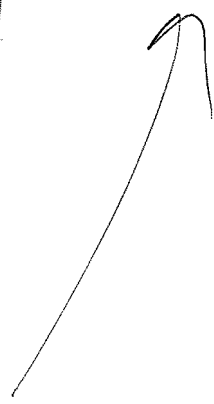
? = ' sorry to see (it) <sup>\*\*</sup> necessary to turn the hood down



Idiom - X in subj

2/1/74

{ X's protest  
The protest (by X) } fell on deaf ears



Hum this one means

"was ignored"

Are there X's in subjects of idioms  
which have no passive paraphrase?

German compound V and word order

1/29/74

weil er oft (hat) Karten spielen müssen

weil er oft Karten (hat) zahlen müssen

Set phrases

1/27/24

What the hell are these? How do they relate to idioms?

Some examples:

To say I may concern

For all we know

Adv

And X lived happily ever after

Once upon a time

Adv

Thank you in advance for your consideration.

S

NB - 2 clauses

→ I think that I may safely say X

Container

The more the merrier

The [first] [next] thing X knew

S  
Adv

As soon as possible

Adv

As far as I know

Adv

I commend to your attention X

?

Idiom?

With an eye to X

Adv

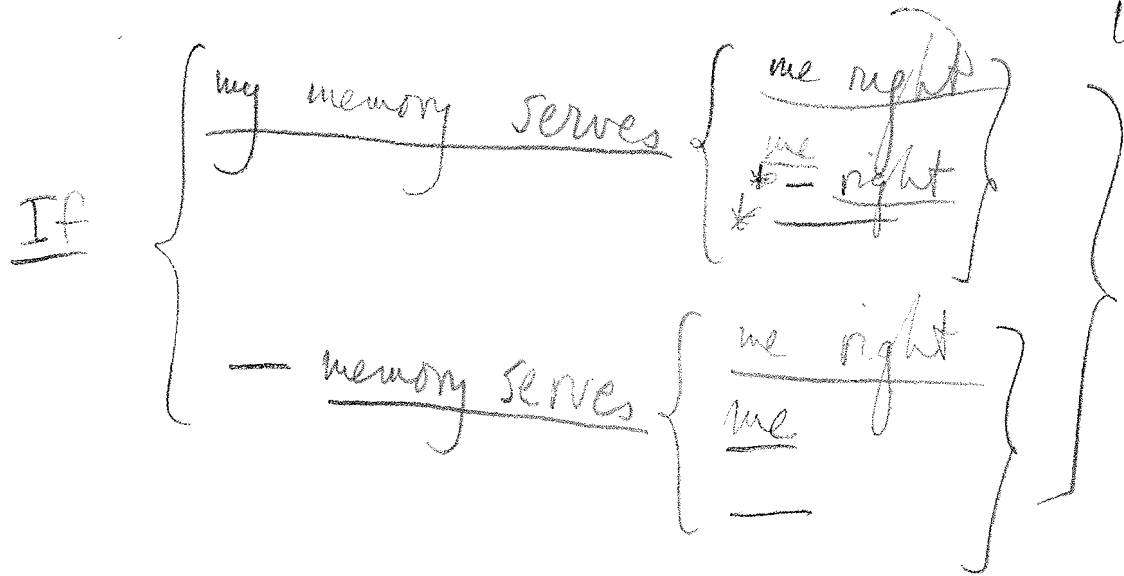
Idiom?

At first sight

Adv

If-clause idioms

1/26/24



\* I (wonder) if memory serves  
don't know

\* Unless memory { does not serve  
serves }

\*\*\* Hah! Memory is serving again!



initiates int  
source of Rel Cls

(he calls it "The Resumption solution" 1/25/14)  
Paraphrase by Jean-Louis: ch.1

↓ anaphora between head of NP and  
rest [i.e., when  $F_{NP}$  anaphora, this one must be  
newest]

\* a picture of one by Ken Brandt

\* a petition for us to initiate one

But LR is right only  
for N Comps — w/ rel cls, it's OK:

The boss told — sent to the boy seeking one

Then

↓ The fact that he's always tried to skip over some

arguments with the unit in the first place.

used to  
+ Clause not used

1/10/74

Why don't you love me like you used to do?

He loves me, but he didn't use to (\*do)

He will go, but I won't (\*\*to do)

(Abbreviations)

Elevated (subway) →  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{Elev} \\ * \underline{Els} \\ * \underline{Elev} \end{array} \right\}$

1/8/74

Chevrolet → Cher / \* Chevr  
Chery / \* Cherry  
Cherelle / \* Chervelle

Why? Cher isn't really a possible English word [ɹ words in [... ev#]]

Note:

Cadillac → Cad / Caddy

Pontiac → \* Pont

Jaguar → Jag / \* Jaggy

Rolls Royce → Rolls / \* Royce

Aston Martin → Aston / \* Martin

NB: Alex (a'ndler)



So it seems to take the the 1st [1 stress] syllable (or word)

Volvo → Volv      But cf also Per

This chipping has to take place very late — after some segmental rules have applied. Thus cf. Har and Car w/ [... ɔr#], which is an impossible final sequence.

NB Amelia → \* Amel  
Edith → Edy \* Ed

Sandra → \* Sand  
Sandy  
 when Alex?



Abbreviations

Horton → Hort (?y)  
 Pamela → Pam (ny)  
 Daniel → Dan (ny)  
 Samuel → Sam (ny)  
 Stanley → Stan (\*ny)  
 Moses → Mose (\*y) ↑ why?  
 Ursula → Urs (i)

1/8/74

Jocelyn → Joss  
 Jessica → Jess (ie)

Alice No short form - why?

Elizabeth → (\*E) Liz

Elyse → (\*E) Liz\* (a)  
 Olivia → Livia  
 Elyah → Lij

why? Minimal pair

Reuben → Rube (\*y)  
Rudolph → Rud (\*y)

Ezekiel → Zeke

Bryan → Bry (\*ny)

Virginia → Jim\* (ny)

Patricia → Tric (ia)  
 Trish (\*y)

=y never follows a V?  
 False - Joey

Columbia ~~\*Lumb~~ (\*y) Davy Petey

NB Renee → Ren

Yaley  
 Partie

\* Peany (\* Harrie  
 \* Brownie \* Conny  
 \* Texie

Abbreviations

Mathilda → Til(lie)  
Amanda → Mand\*(y) ←

1/8/74

Philip → Phil\*(ly)

Thomas → Tom(my)

Silas → Si\*(l(y))

Honus → Hon

Jerry → Jer

Dorothy → Dor\*(y)

Vanille → \*Pan(my)

Jeffrey → Jeff(?\*(y))

Charles → Charhe

Neaton → Heats

Whittlesby → Whit

McJames → Jim\*(y)

Hedging

S from Bruce's "Hedged performatives" paper (p.17) <sup>1/5/74</sup>

"Occurring with nearly as many performatives verbs  
(all classes except that of Requesting) is the modal  
can"

NB. \* Can is occurring with X

? Seeing that S were X+Y

? \* Knowing that S was X

Blends

4/5/74

Key Lamer

Ice Capettes ← \* Capadettes



Why is this bad?

Cf. OK Hurricaneettes -

Cyclonettes

Is it because -ade is felt to be a morpheme?



Leaders and embedded faces

Then since can you  $X \cong X$ ,  
we expect

Can you believe  $X \cong$  I assert  $X$

Thus:  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Can you} \\ \text{Are you able to} \end{array} \right\}$  please leave now?

//?

- Fred said  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Can you} \\ \text{Are you able to} \end{array} \right\}$  believe that 5? which

was a lie

↑  
↓

Would you believe  $X \cong$  (?? please)  $X \cong$  (very weak...) please  $X$

SD

Would you be willing to believe  $X \cong$  I tell you  $X$

Leaders and embedded forces

p. 3

1/5/74

Maybe the way to get all this is

I want [I ask you [you X]]



Ask Below

I want ~~Ø~~ you to X

---

I tell you - you believe me

I order you - you obey me

I request you - you ply with my request

Boy AIR: Can you obey when I order you to X

≠ X

Why?

Negativity, n- and  
universal  $\phi$ 's

12/28/73

never > seldom  
no > few

↑  
contain  
universals —  
hum.



graph  
+ phonematization

12/27/73

Lesson of San Diego Sheraton:

12/27/73

salad tizer [ NB: [d+] cluster only possible across #, so

$\emptyset \rightarrow \#$

Same w/  
burgle # ar

(do we have any cases of  
 $+ \rightarrow \#$ ? I can't think  
of any of - band)

mistle # d

No. [no # [t d+d]] \*  $\#ed$

appetizer

$\Rightarrow \#tizer$

This is an impossible one

hotel

$\Rightarrow \#tel$  (but: bailed)

hamburger

$\Rightarrow \#burger$

panorama

$\Rightarrow \#rama$  [NB deli-#rama] \*2

Note that

it's 1

word.

$C_1 \vee C_0 \vee C_0$

where  $C_i$  is the normal

cl. 1/2 syllable that starts

congruently

So  $V \rightarrow \bar{V} / \_ \#$  is

working. cf. delicat 1

\* chocolaterica? caffèica

? quacama (cf. quacamaole)

(grafting)

p. 2

NB: this C<sub>g</sub> dodge is really trying to say: 12/29/73

Wordize the primary stressed syllable, and  
an optional following unstressed syllable.

Negyness and something

fact from Jean-Roger:

12/26/73

?? Few men, who I knew, were invited by the Committee. ←

\* The Committee invited few men, who I knew.

//s

? Few came, did they? >

He invited few, did he?

//s

\* He was pissed off at me when Jackie got back <

?? I pissed him off when Jackie got back

Coordination and squishy identity  
of piase type, of conformed nodes

12/26/73

□  $C_1$  as well as  $C_2$   $\supset$

□  $C_1$  and  $C_2$

? \*He is likely to be as well as certain to support us

Will ~~to~~? and when do

12/19/73

two members of a depress

The Harrisons, when dying they were to die

were to die only a minute apart.

Why is there no  $\square$  tenses here?

Prefixes and Nouniness

C/ also 3/17/74 - # Act Nom w/ non-nouny 12/12/73  
w/ objects

I reattempted

{ ?to steal something  
? stealing something  
a theft }

I mentioned

{ #that Tom was right  
? having been there  
my doubts }

NB: reaffirm that I do

12/22/73

OK, probably because I no longer felt  
to be so noney as these.

? Has constant mentioning of having been there.

Squishy restructuring

12/10/73

Why shouldn't such a thing exist?

With w.o.t. squishy restructuring

Fake NP's

12/8/73

It was taken (?frequent) advantage of

//s

It was made (?frequent) sure of



# Case Marking

Consider:

12/7/73

ein schwer zu lösendes Problem

How is loesen found by CM? Problem wasn't  
its cyclic subject, was it?

# English stress

12/6/73

The reason that  $e \rightarrow \bar{e}$  in Elizabethan  
is that otherwise we'd get either Elizabethan<sup>1</sup>  
(out because # (00)) or \*Elizabethan, which  
is too different (maybe?)

---

12/7...73

Hamilton (in Hamilton)

Or Hamilton - there's another piece of evidence  
that  $\square \# X$  in left env of  
MSR

# Reduction and modification

Fact emerging from conversation w/ Nick Clements, who tells me that in Ewe, these facts also hold: 12.4.73

{ (\* Only) } I'm sick  
-----  
{ (? Even) }

Double Top S's

12/3/73

S from Avery

Bill gave guess what to me

This is a Q

S from us:

Bill gave guess what to I forget how many

kids

Embroidery shop

12/1/73

He asked if he should leave

? He'd be a monkey's uncle, Tod said!



$N \rightarrow \underline{\text{one}}$   
 $\underline{\text{the one}} \rightarrow \underline{\text{that}}$

11/30/73

? The trip from X to Y and that from Y to Z

The conversion of X to Y, and that of Y to Z

The plan for us to leave, and that for us to stay

The claim that I know and <sup>\*</sup>that that I don't

The picture of me swimming, and that of me sinking

An argument that  $\exists$  a rule:

$\exists$  \*  $\left[ \text{that NP X} \right]_{NP}$ , only  $\left[ \text{that of NP X} \right]_{NP}$

Thus of Insertion has to have applied

Another: ??that fact of there being no milk //  $\frac{1}{2}$   
that of there being no milk

Much of and Nouniness

11/30/73

Much of

- \* that he left early
- \* for him to leave early
- ?\* how early he left (why he left)
- ? him leaving early
- his leaving early
- his bribing of the guards
- his early departure

can be attributed to drunkenness

? a lot of

Much of > { some of }  
                                  { none of }







Crusoe ... double wh-question  
and TM and scoring

11/2

It's war that Bill is fun to read. } is about  
\*about to

It's Bill that war is fun to talk. } is about  
Obj<sub>1</sub>      Obj<sub>2</sub>      NB about to

\* It's Bob that snowballs are fun to throw. it

\*\* It's snowballs that Bob is fun to throw. it  
DO      DIR

How is it to Bob that books are fun to give

1/1/73  
 = 12 076

otherwise

[Actually,  $\neg S \Rightarrow \text{otherwise}$ ]

11/24/73

There is a pos-if S, as we see below.

Otherwise, he would have won ← There is a counterfactual clause here, which must have been triggered by something

Q. 200

Otherwise, { I { find } } { realize } } that he would have won  
 \*if is mistaken

So otherwise will fail to migrate under the same conditions as given below.

NE 140:

otherwise he <sup>might win</sup> <sup>lose</sup> <sup>?win</sup> } ← ...

dire + Modifier Shift

11/15/73

What can be dire?

Consequences, predictions, ? forecasts, ? warnings  
? \*expectations

(They always have to do with the future)

And dire never occurs in predicate position.

Why?

11/17/73

NB: consequences so dire that I peed in my pants

This means that just generating dire pronominally won't save the day - what's  $\square$  is that dire be marked [+SD (WH. 2)]

# The World

4/18/73

What happens when one magnetizes  
a Möbius strip?

(Non-specific only NPs)

11/18/73

These types of NPs have the same (?)  
distribution

1. Akene's cases. As Adj a N as S-

(with or more Adj Adj enough etc.)

2. A parent

3. A man to VX

He is the man to do it

The man to do it must VX

If a man to do it should apply, 5

Extent phrases w/ by

11/12/73

John is heavier than Alice

---

by more than Sandra is overweight (\*by)

---

He had a bigger headstart than Jack by more than I outran Harry (\*by)

---

Obviously, I'm a process swallowing up some by's (though not for most people I asked this I do in the workshop).

Why are only some by's deletable?



(Adj + DIR)

11/11/73

If -able Adj were basic, we couldn't  
keep the generalization that Adj + DIR is \*.

cf. translatable into German

cf. 11/8/73

Directionals and CH

11/10/73

What could explain the fact that Adj can't have directionals is a theory in which all directionals are derived from causatives.

Since adjectives don't lexicalize acts, there are no causative adjectives, and thus none with directionals.



Is this true, I wonder? How about

- maddening
- corrosive
- efficient

Num — NB  $\nexists$  It is corrosive  $\left. \begin{matrix} \text{Prof} \\ \text{to} \end{matrix} \right\}$  verbs

This doesn't seem like a real theme, because only generics are OK

Ing-ed ~~be~~ Pass Restriction

Formulation of the constraint arrived at with <sup>11/9/73</sup> Tim Austin:

He is being examined, (and she is (\*being) too)  
} which I am not (\*being) }

He has been examined, { and she has (been) too }  
} which I have not (been) }

He { wants to be examined, but she does not want to (be) }  
} \*likes being examined, but she does not like being }

Restriction: the object of ing-ed ~~be~~ Pass cannot be deleted.

{LRland Contrastive Stress  
{V-lessness}

11/9/73

John thinks that Mary didn't kiss the boy she  
kissed, but they were\* (the same?? (boys))

// s

They wanted\* (to have) a bagel

but they did have one already

So inaudible V in surface str.  
can't be the antecedent for contrastive stress

Particles and stativity  
Directionals + CH

11/8/73

Non-statives don't take {particles.  
directionals}

Also, as Judy Keel, a Brown student in Linguistics 131,  
points out, there are no directionals with be

Also, \$ DIR / Adj —

\$ Pt / Adj —

Amn

C. now 11/11/73

not-have ⇒ without

11/8/73

without { any clothes on  
him to play with  
a top to it  
getting into college to worry about }

↑  
all typical objects of have

give  $\Leftarrow$  cause have

11/7/73

I'll give it to you to read

---

That must come from  
the embedded have - 5

(Ergativity)

u/5/73

Maybe this is a squishy property

Verbal is really ergative  
and does CRed on absolutes



Thank God clauses

Facts w/ Avery

10/31/73

1. Neg D: He ate I\*(don't) know how many peanuts

2. No Q's or Imperatives exc. don't forget

3. Thank God OK

4. Only  $P_{NEG}$  meanings - //s the bravery of Tom?

11/5/73

Non-words + S 'ee S 'resolution'

11/2/75

Resistance to Y is { to give up Y  
? giving up Y  
the repetition of Y  
? the repetition of Y  
the repetition of Y  
the repetition of Y }

To access Y is { to give up Y  
giving up Y  
? the repetition of Y }

Embedded will

10/23/73

?? Bill would rather leave now, + I think that Sam might  
too

But if this is from <sup>4/16/74</sup> might will rather  
th. when D + Sam { must  
should  
could }

then I look as if this is good  
because ?? Sam did rather / lay down.

# Sensation hierarchy

Facts emerging in talk with Bill Cooper:

10/15/73

see > feel > hear >  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{taste} \\ \text{smell} \end{array} \right\}$  in terms of syntactic activity

1. I  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{see} \\ \text{feel} \\ \text{hear} \\ \text{? smell} \\ \text{* taste} \end{array} \right\}$  that S

2. It was  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{seen} \\ \text{felt} \\ \text{* heard} \\ \text{~~smelled~~} \\ \text{~~tasted~~} \end{array} \right\}$  that S

3. I  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{saw John drunk} \\ \text{* felt John scared} \\ \text{* heard John groggy} \end{array} \right\}$

4. Mike was  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{seen to like cheese} \\ \text{felt to have shown it} \\ \text{* heard to have left} \end{array} \right\}$  (but: ... to be painting)

5. Sam was  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{seen writing} \\ \text{* felt breathing} \\ \text{? heard singing} \end{array} \right\}$

counterexamples

He looks to me (to be) sick

He feels to me (to be) feverish

He sounds to me (to be) interesting

The cabbage (smells) to me (to be) sour  
tastes

favorite and Lexical Insertion

10/13/73

to be selected by (any) <sup>23</sup> students

of all the people at URPs

since Sr. Godgella

until Dr. Francisus

up to Jeff

\*that ever drank

My favorite teacher

Except for this and a favorite teacher

favorite looks like an unincorporated superlative

NB He orders \*(the) { best-liked / favorite } wine(s)

Better for both  
in plural

Primacy

10/2/73

Counterexample:

Negative prefixes only affect lower clause some's.

Syllables // Clauses  
and primacy

10/7/73

Are there any processes that work only  
across syllable boundaries?

Yes — Mom's point out things  
like antepenultimate stress

And he thinks words // clauses

So maybe we're dealing with variables, here

In phonology, variables can be constrained to stay  
within #'s, but not to start outside #'s.

And maybe in rapid speech rules,  
syllable's // clauses.

Syllabication

10/9/73

reading Dave's thesis the 2nd time, p. 54.

hə.ʒeɪ  
hə.ʒeɪ

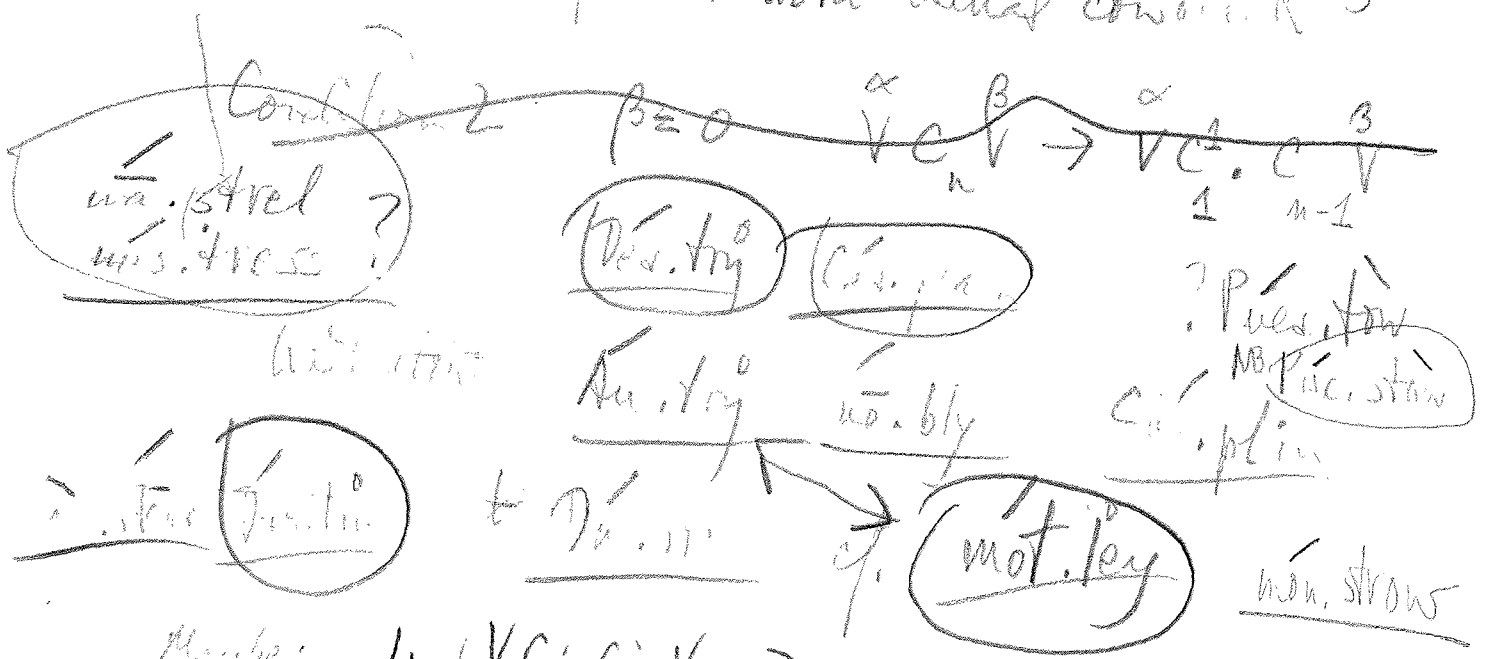
vs

na.stʌr.tʃən  
ho.stɪl.ɪ.ti  
a.stʌt  
en.stæ.tʃən  
de.stʌk.tʃə  
di.spleɪ

But \*ʃæ.tlæn.tʃə

Condition 1:  $V C_i C_j V, \alpha < \beta \xrightarrow{OOL} V C_i C_j V$

where  $C_j$  is the maximal string of possible word-initial consonants



- Maybe:
- $V C_i C_j V \rightarrow V C_i C_j V$ , where  $C_j =$  maximum initial cluster
  - $V_1 [+obs] [+obs] C_1 V$   
1 2 3 4  $\Rightarrow$  1324 where  $\alpha \geq \beta$



# Syllabication

10/7/73

2. If  $\alpha \geq \beta$  in  $V C V$ , the following segments move leftward across the syllable boundary:

a. s / -t      Lésite ? Picistaw

b. [tseq] / V-V (OBL of  $\beta=0$ , possible? if  $\beta=3$ ? vet. ð)  
 c.  $\left\{ \begin{matrix} t \\ d \\ ?n \end{matrix} \right\} / \left\{ \begin{matrix} v \\ m \\ ?l \end{matrix} \right\}$       ?? Bic. eps

?  
mercenary

\* 15.0  
 ? fan. cal

sid = ? h. ar

# Nicking at extremes

10/6/73

? "I'll pick him", said Rex, "\*right up."

Why?

? isn't NP-shiftable, so the  
NP-complement on nicking must be  
that the pro-initial can only be  
inserted before a final or after an initial  
constituent of that constituent as stress etc  
(contrastively? But right isn't. (100))

cf. 4/16/74 (2X) 3/1/73

10/4/73

The following constructions can't leave out:

Why? { av-verb loc of the verb }  
\* body-verb "with but ...

N-Verb (by OK) over-look (to look) sh... to be in the club ...

Pre#V relooked at Bill overtrasted { Bill }  
\* to luck

\* incomparable  
with Tom ... (\*by)

... talkable over

[N-Verb] Ady best-served (\* into clubs) death-defying (\* to be in ...)

non-V<sub>N</sub> \* his non-election to the club But: his  
rejection to  
the club

un... (by weak) N-Verb ... ...

Preson by ... But: a screwed up answer → nothing over  
answer

Ady-by ... a frequently made  
\*\* by ... ... ... ...  
\*\* unexpectedly by anyone ... ... ...

Scrapplessness

10/4/73

loosen the strap

\* loose-make the strap

Put: ◊ ⊃

the loose-making of the strap

the (dull) fastening of the web  
[? \* nail]

to my right

NE

\* un talkative { to / with } people about food

unhappy about rice

Aba!

? \* unpopular to the natives  
\* unfamiliar among the natives

Why ⊃?  
unfortunate  
for me

Put ⊃

unpopular with the natives

unexpressing (\* to left)

11/1/73

11/1/73

Imperatives

9/29/73

\* Fido just sicced the mailman

the/a warmth + Lexicalism

9/28/13

fact

his anger at Bill returned us

AMBIG

type

?fact

his anger at nobody who led us

MONOG

\*degree

The reason is that

\* his anger is one of nobody

is out for the/a warmth reasons.

to the/a warmth these reasons pertain only  
to the/a warmth

Bill Duke & Jack are now supposed to be sent to  
It will be said that the/a warmth is only out LA & NY, 10/13

Committee

9/23/75

Hey kids! Join Pumpkin Donuts  
Birthday Club

and get as many  
donuts as you are old  
on your birthday

(Limited to kids under 12)

AA and Action Nominals

9/20/73

Also masterful finding of a solution independently

This kind (? are there others) of adverb doesn't seem to have to undergo AA, or even to be able to, in action nominals.



(Amnesties + equities)

9/16/73

?? He wants something quite impossible:

---

that Sheila be followed all night

---

Not Hopping a distance

9/15/73

What I didn't { say  
\*know  
\*realize } was that anybody was  
following me.

Maybe the only V's that are good here  
are V which in some language  
allow Not Hopping.

That would be eine saftige Tatrache.

Neggers

9/10/73

Neggerliness

Neggers

neither says I don't think P's say

<u>few / v</u>	?*	*	
<u>few / -v</u>	?	*	
<u>no / v</u>	✓	?*	*
<u>rarely set down</u>	?	*	?*
<u>hardly LV</u>	✓	✓	??
<u>✓ no / -v</u>	✓	✓	✓
<u>no Y</u>	✓	✓	✓

the thing was came,  
and neither did many women

? Few men come, and neither  
did many women

the one bit few men,

Negatives

7/7, '73

few / -v > few / v -  
Neg

?? Few men know, do they? >>

?\* He saw few trains, did he?

Few were invited at all >

? He invited few at all

Nobody ate either >>

?? He ate nothing either >

?\* I gave milk to none either >

\* I will force you to marry none either

Primary

[ Disj Q and precisely ]

8/31/73

It is ?? (not) clear precisely when he left

{ ?? wondered about }  
knew  
He told me precisely the length of the board

{ ?? estimated }  
\* regretted

Precisely who shot { Bill } is unclear  
\* whom

German Verb Hopping

8/27/73

Sie ~~will~~ werden ihn <sup>wacht</sup> haben sehen können

actually uttered by Haj

?? sehen gekommt haben

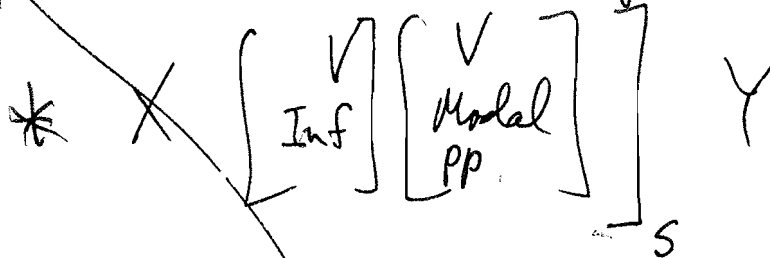
Manfred's judgements

weil sie ihn <sup>wacht</sup> ? sehen gekommt haben werden

\* sehen können haben werden

\* werden sehen können haben

Manfred's suggestion:  $\exists$  OC which rejects this:



Mine: when haben moves ~~past~~ left of [V Modal], by whatever rule, this is unpriced. But why is this bad?

$P \rightarrow Q$  and  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Typicalization} \\ \text{as} \end{array} \right\}$

8/23/73

as you hinted (?? at)

as I had hoped (?? for)

as we planned (? on)

W's (?)

that he would lose they may well have hinted (at) to us

that you would write some more I had always hoped ?? (for)

I don't see any <sup>easy</sup> way of accounting for the fact that these types of SS<sup>^</sup> show 2 variants which are both pretty good.

Certainly, it would seem that only a global rule has a chance of working.

---

Better examples: thought (?? of),  
as was  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{hinted (at)} \\ \text{hoped (for)} \end{array} \right\}$

8/24/73

3/18/75

(\*com) presence

-line ...

on stem (1.2.6) [ ]

c/ line

General  
presence  
No E part

met  
at adventure

3/18/75

departure

3/19/75  
E part

(E part) E part



Is → ~~∅~~ + The PP

8/19/73

"... and even though out of sight would not necessarily be out of mind the absence of that mutilated body could hardly fail to improve morale."

Alastair MacLean, Bear Island p. 188 Fawcett, Greenwich Conn (1971)

---

? Out of sight seems to have been out of mind

So ∃ rule of Is Deletion

Maybe it's responsible for other senseless idioms like

Easy come, easy go  
Like father, like son.

Nothing ventured, nothing gained.

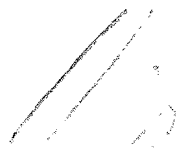
NB that this rule obeys the Penthouse Principle

I think that out of sight<sup>is</sup> (is) out of mind

NOT Happening and PR

8/2, 73

I { doubt } that he left at midnight.  
{ finding }



I { say } that he left at midnight.  
{ + say }

Then pos. to evidence for

believe  $\Rightarrow$  doubt

and say not believe

(NOT Hopping, VSI, S Neg)

7/31/73

How is the inversion triggered in fac 5?

I don't think that under any circumstances

It was as simple this must have been no,  
and that the Neg must have hopped upstairs  
directly from this position.

To do this, we need a global unit of  
NOT Hopping, whose environment would be met  
early, and which would subsequently help the Neg  
from within position of bed stored out.

Normalizations and  
accumulation

6/28/73

The fact that he departed



The fact of his departure

This resembles  
progressive assimilation



The whole process is sort of like

$$VNC \Rightarrow \tilde{V}NC \rightarrow \tilde{V}C$$

Determiner and Base Eng

6/23/73

This raining on game days has got to stop

Can't come from

\* This raining { of P(s)  
on the part of P  
by P }

Hum — NB:

↓ ?\* This being possible that we're being duped  
as a down

For [stabs] being kept on everybody is terrible  
\* —

Lexicalism and the nominalization of derived structures

6/23/73

Q. Does Nature admit nominalizations?

A: Not all N which do not correspond to sentences (are [not] nominalizations) [S<sup>2</sup> G<sup>2</sup> p. 159]

[E.g. his message of hope to the prisoners]

If the rule applied to them, then it's motivated for no independently of nominalizations, so it should apply to nominalizations too.

Actually, we have a counterexample, with Racing, because it never

operates in N that are not morphologically complex will exhibit syntactic behavior that is different from that of morphologically simple N. So lexicalism is claiming that there will be

But it obviously provides no explanation for the fact that Equi does "generalize" [cf. his efforts to defend himself, his habit of shaving himself

where  $\#$  \*He efforts to X, \*the habit of V-ing X]

but Object Relation does not

That is, why should there exist, but not this: \*the habit of man's looking at it?

Syntactic impairment

6/23/73

Since 1957, many S's that were called ill-formed have become "syntactically well-formed, but semantically deviant."

[Example: Chomsky  $S^2 O^2$  p.157 fn.]

Any beaver with teeth is building a dam.

Have there been any cases which went in the other direction?

Contrastive Access in  
discourse

6/16/73

Conversation with Dan:

Dan: (Fred Flintstone was a Scoutmaster, and was trying to show the kids how to light a fire by rubbing sticks, but couldn't. Then the kid started one with a cigarette lighter.)

Me: They outsmarted him



Sorta

6/16/73

to know about sorta



It's sort of like cheese  
[as if]

Arguments for

1. Sort of → sorta <sup>elsewhere</sup> only in some dial. —  
the same ones will 'git [a] here as elsewhere.  
[Crazy argument]
2. P stranding
3. ? Nobody likes cheese, sorta

6/17/73

there are {  
 ? several  
 ? many  
 ? no  
 ? ten  
 } problems, sorta

there are {  
 ? several  
 ? many  
 ? no  
 ? ten  
 } problems

Weird

# What and how to

Set up a...

$$1 > \frac{1}{1000} \quad \text{Y}$$

is really 1 > ...  
- that ... is ...

$$\frac{1}{1000} \approx 0.001 \quad \text{with } \frac{1}{1000} = 0.001$$

... - a ... reasonable ...

$$\text{... } \frac{1}{1000} \approx 0.001$$

... ..

... ..

The Penthouse

6/10/73

I guess the only way to  
do both

- a) Stopping V fronting
- b) Stopping leaking

is by an OC, no?  
The 2 seem only functionally  
related.

Syntactic connectedness:  
-self vs. any in pseudo-clefts

6/8/73

A. His genius was to be about himself. >

His doubt was <sup>whether</sup> ~~that~~ anyone would come.

B. There's something you've got to do, and it is wash yourself

✓

?? There's something I don't believe, and it's that he  
has any #

Pre- and post-nominal  
modifiers + nounness

Probably should be  
73  
6/5/72

No(?) L has full clauses pre-nominally  
and reduced clauses post-nominally, unless it  
also has full clauses post-nominally

Then: Reduced post-nominal clause → full post-  
nominal clause

But Reduced pre-nominal clause \*→ full pre-  
nominal  
clause

---

Thus reducing a clause =  
going towards nounness

Probably no L has compounding w/ more  
than 2 elements - why?

This is why it's hard to get things like  
\*lady-killer with axes \*ax lady killer

Q-Neg + same

5/29/73

\* The same thing doesn't apply here

Exercises 1 & 2

5/29/73

What I know is that  $S_1$  and what I regret

What I know is that  $S_1$  and what I regret is that  $S_2$

\* What I regret is that  $S_1$  and what I know is that  $S_2$

(his → him / - self)

5/28/73

Observation from Ken:

Sam + Jane want compromising pictures of

his or herself



This shows that  $\exists$  rule like this



Not Hopping

5/23/73

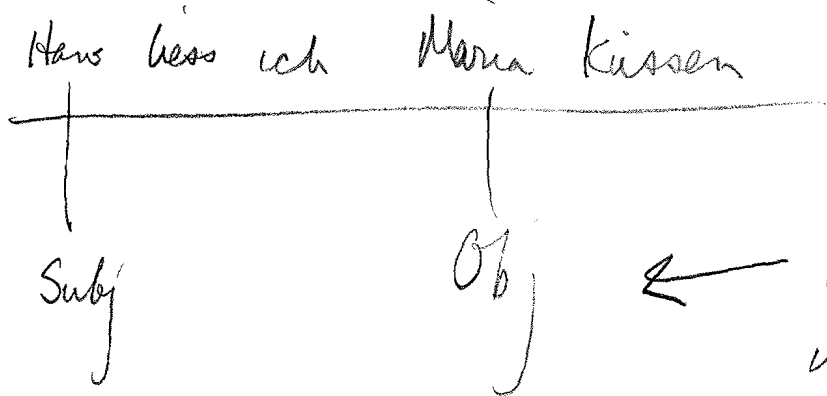
John Lawler's crazy 5's show that there is such a rule.

Not and stay sane { ? I think he can't  
I don't think he can }

Topicalization + ~Dativity

5 emerging in Judy Hossen's talk

5/22/73



← only possible interpretation

Van Kuhn

Handouts

Copyright

Horrible fact -

Topicalization is OK if the Top isn't interpreted as lower on the case hierarchy than something you pass on the way to its detection etc.

(NP Shift? and movement)

5/21/73

Maybe the badness of Postal's (1)

↳ due to the same badness of (2)

(1) Important is {\*(the fact) that he wonced  
his having wonced}

(2) I consider important { (the fact) that he wonced  
his having wonced }

There would be a global constraint  
forbidding that-clauses from moving rightward.

But what about Right Dislocation?

Hum — maybe it's only clause-internal moves  
that are outed.

Idioms

5/17/73

Keep mum

Little Lulu: "Black Munday"  
title

Classifier squish

- lot of >
- heap of >
- branch of >
- number of >

5/16/73

Cf. 3/26/74

- 3 tests: a) plurality  
 b)  $\exists$  count restriction

c) modifiability

	$V$ agrees w/ $N_2$	$\diamond V$ Agrees w/ $N_1$	$N_{mess} =$ $N_2$	$N_1$ is modifiable
<u>lot of</u> $N_2$	$\square$	X	✓	great?
<u>heap of</u> $N_2$	✓	✓	?	✓
<u>branch of</u> $N_2$	6/10	✓	?*	✓
<u>number of</u> $N_2$	✓	✓	*	✓

NB: only modifiable if  $N_2$  is N count

or > and / vice versa

5/16/73

John left + Susan stayed { and / or } vice versa

ACD w/ test  
+ Performativity

5/15/73

\* Tom said

A: { Did you hear  
I { I know  
I regret  
I forget  
I doubt  
I promise  
} that S<sub>i</sub>

S: I wonder if you want to take the risk

O: You'd best hold me

B: Can't hold me that S<sub>i</sub>



He's her. — You'd best

\* I { promise S<sub>i</sub>  
I know S<sub>i</sub>  
I regret S<sub>i</sub>  
I forget S<sub>i</sub>  
I doubt S<sub>i</sub>  
I promise sentence you'd best hold

So there is a test for performatives — the thing must have declarative force.

for - Very (?)

5/10/23

It's your fault for being so sure of yourself

{ One } going too late is your fault

NB:

\* The disaster was your fault for being early



Un-typicalizable constituents in German

5/14/73

\* Nicht sehe ich dich.

[g. Nie sehe ich dich]

Maybe it's V which don't go w/ fun that  
won't topicalize.

out by Elke [ \* Gewesen ist er schön, aber nicht mehr  
\* gehabt hat er ein Auto

OK, says Elke → [ Gähzelt hat er seinen Vater  
Gewusst hat er, das er krank war

Nounness and NP Shift

5/13/73

Only nouny complements can shift:

- I consider fantastic
- \* that he left
  - \* for him to have won
  - \* who flew who
  - ? \* him winning the race
  - ? his having won
  - ? his handling of the details

I wonder if that is because Extraposition would work with these

10/11/73

5/11/73

Jorge's S: we must topicalize first

The boys, ... I think that the boys ...  
expect, ...

The boys, <sup>which</sup> ... of I think that the boys ...

they ... that ... you ...

are naturally

SSA <sup>500</sup>  
+ Case Marking

5/11/73

So Y, that's follow down

I see from X that

So the SSA doesn't mind 2 S's on

the one side of her have a little

hand cases

From Y X follows. >>

?? Y X follows from

Bisentential V  
+ SSF + TM

5/10/73

1. Maybe the Same Side Filter is what makes  
bi-sentential V  
Japanese impossible.

2. How is that? according to Elke

Wenn die Tatsache, dass  $S_1$  (\*es) beweise, dass  $S_2$ ,

würde ich meine Schuld zu geben

5/22/73

Die Tatsache, dass  $S_1$ , hat (\*es) bewiesen, dass  $S_2$

Both OK w/ Hans here.

3. The SSF seems to be sensitive to verbiness

It { \*indicates ←  
(?) is indicative ? ←  
is an indication } of the fact that  $S_2$  that  $S_1$

4. It's a SS linked filter

OK: ... which that he left proves

5. This S \*that  $S_2$  is tough for me to imagine you believing the  
fact that  $S_1$  to prove  
provides evidence for TM, not TD. Because I can't say this

Bivalent V, 55F + IV

5/10/73

That  $S_2$  is the controller, and by baton-passing triggers the 55F, because otherwise this would be bad

though not indicating that  $S_2$ , that  $S_1$  is suspicious

Why don't they trigger the 55F?

5/13/73

And because which the fact that  $S$  proves

is OK, we can't say anyway that corresponding nodes trigger the violation.

TM vs TD

5/10/73

? That she is guilty is too unlikely for me to  
be able to imagine the fact that her knife was  
best demonstrating conclusively





that  $\xrightarrow{OBL}$  ~~Ø~~

5/7/73

Who do you think (\*that) who invited?

whereabouts and Day Q

5/5/73

I ?(don't) know Tom's whereabouts

\* Tom's whereabouts are wild

\* I criticized Tom for his whereabouts

## Definition of islands

Facts developed by Carol Rinnert, Karen Gordon, + Mike Kilburn 5/2/73

What seems to be necessary to the following

Strip

Branch

Forbidden node

Affected element - that element which is moved or influenced

Island

The source of a changing or influencing rule =  
the island of the affected element

No rule proceeding from the affected element  
may cross the island boundary of that element.

(Gordon) (Rinnert) (Kilburn)  
What Karen, Carol + Mike worked out is that the  
Ingg. can cross its island boundary (downward) in getting  
to the node it's going to influence.

Stativity

5/1/73

1. Fact discovered with Bob Fringo + Dick:

Spatial count N [aperture, driveway, path etc]

can't be massaged: \* 5m aperture

But: This curve seems to have sum {catena, parabola, spiral, \*circle, \*ellipse} in D.

2. Statues don't have perfectives

3. Statues don't take directionals (?)

//s

Mass N don't have spatial orientation

But: Its alignment towards Moscow makes it unsafe

? \* His descent into madness is eternal

? His attribution of the fresco to Pinter is misguided

tell and Nature  
+ Strange NP formation

4/30/73

I told { the story to the boy  
? the length of the canoe to the boy  
\* how long the canoe was }

This contrast suggests that this is not  
basic

$[ \dots ]_v \xrightarrow{\text{nova}} v$

4/30 '3

The moon may nova

\* Migod! Saturn is novainp

Preterminal VO clause

4/28/73

a <sup>{home going}</sup>  
{going home} type of song

! a song of the going home type

an I told you that I would talk to you (1/2 1/2) look

?? a look of the I told you that I would talk to you type

Worked to and comparisons

4/27/13

\* Bill was better to go than { Shark was  
to stay }

///

\* It was better { if Bill than if Shark to go  
if Bill to go than to stay }

II { ? was <  
and to go } kind of Bill { to go than if Bill  
was  
would have been  
1 to 1  
\* to go than if Bill



(to the effect)

4/27/3

to show the correct generalization?

N to the effect that  $S_i$   $\equiv$  unachieved a goal

There here and?

4/24/73

\* I want to talk to you about a matter,



There is a matter that I want to talk to  
you about.

1000000

1-1-13

I'd like { to go, if I might } { have one }  
 to have a cigar, if I might { }  
 a cigar, if I might { } { \* }

9.

I'd like to { eat an apple, if I might } { eat one }  
 to have a cigar, if I might { } { }  
 { } { } { } { } { }  
 { } { } { } { } { }  
 { } { } { } { } { }  
 { } { } { } { } { }

Factivity squish

4/13/73

knew > realize > be surprised

Putting these in quotes

suspends factivity here, maybe here,  
but not here

Answers to Qs+?

4/8/73

Why is this funny?

Q: What king wore the biggest shoes?

A: The King with the longest feet.

(from Alice in Wonderland)

This would seem to give more info.  
But I guess it doesn't. Why not?

1/21/74  
Because the world where foot length ~ shoe size is 50 hundred?

Derived subjects + stativity

4/4/73

The key is opening the door

So instrumentals will work.

2. { Understand me.  
Be understood by people }

3. Take 5 minutes { to eat lunch  
\* for Bill to sit on me }

Nicking and Nearer to Vee

4/4/73

He looked <sup>^</sup> up the number  
\*\*

He gave Sally photos  
<sup>^</sup>  
\*

He gave <sup>^</sup> photos to Sally  
?\*

Tensing / - ian

3/73

Newton + ian → ...  $\bar{o}$  ...

McCawley + ian ✗ → ...  $\bar{o}$  ...

Kelly + ian ✗ → ...  $\bar{e}$  ...

So maybe we have to specify that  $\bar{e}$  + here?

No - won't do: remedial

So maybe we have to say of names (weird)  
that /+ian/ never lengthens anything  
Yuck



Determiners and Posing

3/31/73

"In my work in both France and Italy  
much looking, much simple being there preceeded any  
photography"

Paul Strand in US Camera, 1955, quoted in

the New Yorker 3/17/73

only + NP - ?

3/30/73

Only that you are lying is obvious

But ?? It is obvious only that you are lying

Why?

(gapping of lower V's)

3/28/73

I from Mike Kilburn of JUNYAR

? That he ordered beans is obvious

---

and that Tom hesh is even more so

---

But

~~I~~ I know that Tom ordered beans, and

---

I also know that Fred hesh

---

Why?

(Subject-making and stability)  
+ Middle

3/23/73

Can V which require animate objects  
ever middleize?

Yeah, I guess so, half-heartedly

? He doesn't teach (\*geek) easily

? They don't deceive/fool/cheat easily

\* Bill doesn't confuse easily

So passive is the only rule that  
can convert into a derived subject an NP that  
was selectionally restricted to be human.



Nearer to Vee and  
agencies

3/20/13

? good baker of cookies <

good hitter to left-field <

big spenders on weekends

3/19/73

Str. representation is just a TDC.

1.  $\exists$  other TDC's - Nimble's Circuit, Bulgarian letters, Morgan's rule of  $\ast$  (because)  $h_1$  is as tall as  $h_2$  is

2. Suppose things are aimed at that aren't in DS? [e.g.,  $mbatn$ ]  
The empty word theory predicts that all target str. will be arguably deep structures

Postal  
Emonds  
Harris

Lakoff + Hankamer

Some Y and W-Wee

So Emonds's theory is Aspect dependent

Such's source

3/17/73

He made one claim { about X  
that S }, and I

made another such claim.

\* He made an attempt to leave - another such attempt was made last week

He gave a <sup>4-step</sup> proof (to the effect) that God exists.

But I know of such a proof in 2 steps

His refusal to surrender was met with gunfire,

which makes me fear that such requests will

be rare in the future

3/18/73

{ \* They  
the Armenians } built a house. I hate such houses.



do and pseudo-clefts and complementizers

3/17/73

We did more than { <sup>? to help him</sup>  
help him  
<sub>?? helping him</sub> }

We have done more than { <sup>?\* to help him</sup>  
help him  
<sub>\* helped him</sub>  
<sub>?? helping him</sub> }

We are doing more than { <sup>?\* to help him</sup>  
help him  
helping him }

This is exactly the array of facts we find in pseudo-clefts which start with what we { <sup>did</sup> have done } etc.  
are doing

Hum

Epithets and command

3/15/73

From the globe:

Dr. Cheng Y Ting came to the United States from Taiwan in 1970. He began lecturing on acupuncture, a subject cross-country

on which the Chinese doctor is well versed

↑  
NB

\* ... He felt that the Chinese doctor's opportunities for advancement were limited in his own country

↑  
Why is this so?

Determiners and Poss Ing

3/14/73

? This coming home late of Janet's has to stop

? This being hard to seduce of yours has to stop



3/15/73

No more telling people lies on the part of officials  
\* you  
\* your (aguardia)

\* I can't imagine any more believing this on  
the part of savvy citizens

?? The belief on the part of the officials that S

Variables + penetration + Jorge's  
universal

3/12/73

Jorge:

Rules which delete variables are treestoppy.

Me: (a) Rules w/ long variables are treestoppy.

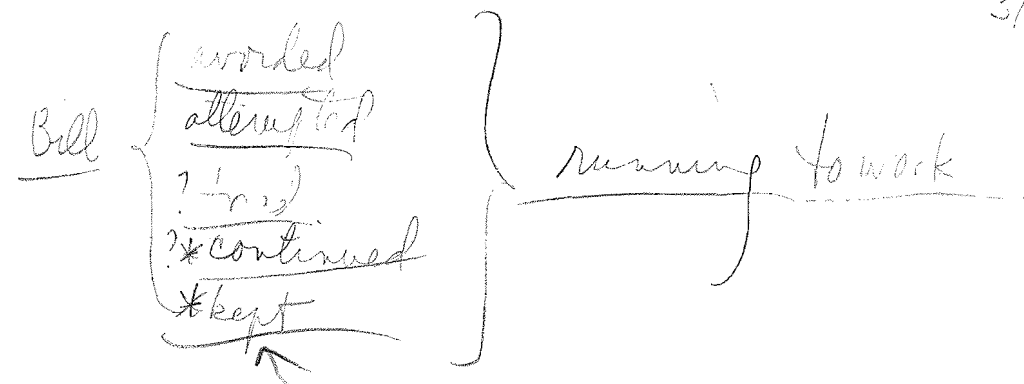
(b) In general, if you scramble, you have weak variables.

(c) In general, if you case mark a lot, you have weak variables.

Generalization: Don't mess up your head  
too much

Post-gap nonphraseness

3/12/73



+ Susan staying home

How come that is pretty good?

Tom's running  
is better than that  
[at least, better than that]

So we seem to be saying that:

Certain V don't like to let anything happen to their complements

1. Pronominalization: \*Tom kept it
2. Passivization: \*Running was kept by Tom
3. It's in: \*What Tom kept was running
4. Topicalization: \*Running Tom kept
5. ACD: \*Tom did keep

# Comparative idioms

3/12/73

There's more here than meets the eye

\* Hey! A counterexample just met my eye

NB — meet the eye can only occur  
when its subject has been pied piped

cf. also shake a stick at

---

Nounness, determiners and  
Poss. Ing complements

3/10/73

↓  
This { having to defend himself  
being sold rotten pictures of himself  
wanting to free himself } has begun

to offend Melvin

So DE Egum here, to get rid of  
the embedded subject.

cf. also

This being easy to reduce has got to stop.

happen by ⇒ do

3/10/73

What { happened to me was that I lost }  
          { \*happened by me was <sup>??</sup>(that) I left }  
                  ↓?  
          I did



The → 0

3/9/73

I'm going to temple

Josephine Willing. My son goes to university

Us: I was late for group

Determiners and nouniness

3/9/73

	{ NP's this that }	{ no little etc }	{ <sup>more</sup> occasional frequent etc. }	{ careful etc }	good	{ other mere }
that S	X	X	X	X	X	X
for to	X	X	X	X	X	X
Q	X	X	X	X	X	X
Are by	○	○	○	○	○	○
Pass	with Aux	✓	?	X	X	X
Eng	w/o Aux	✓	✓	?	X	X
1st Nom	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	X
Nom	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X
N	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

6/14/73

{ Bills  
this } > { being thought asked }

Determiners and Poss by  
and Nouniness

3/9/73

- Further proof that these are Poss Ings, not  
Act Nom

{  
This having been followed for years  
This being waked up early is terrible  
? This having paid early to avoid fines  
}

By the way, since {<sup>no</sup>  
little  
etc} seem much  
weaker here, it seems that

{  
the  
that  
}  
>  
{  
<sup>no</sup>  
little  
etc.  
}

VP - Deletion

3/9/73

Beans I like, but tacos I don't

Beans I eat, but today I won't eat



So you have to know where a VP-

came from before you know whether it can be deleted.

Topicalization, gapping +  
Nearer to Vee

3/9/73

Basically, the more closely bound the topicalizee was to the  
V, the worse post-topicalization gapping is

?? Beans I ate and tacos\* Tom

?? These points I'll cover, and those points he

?\* Him I send money to, and then she

tomorrow, I'm going, and the next day, Harry

«? To him I send money, and to them, she

//s

I send money to him, and she?\* (them)

?? Him, I looked at, + them, she

?\* A martini I don't need, nor a 14<sup>th</sup> beer Peter

Types of rules which only occur downstairs

3/9/73

- 1. Complementizer placement
- 2. Subordinate forms of V
  - a. subjunctives
  - b. relative clause marker
  - c. nominalization

German participles only occur pre-nominally

In Walbrvi, Ken tells me that the relativizer occurs "unembedded" in decthe 5's.

3. Participles

губбуагак - Smiling, Jack went home  
 occurs nowhere else  
 губбуубаа - having laughed - also not

Query:

We find "unembedded" subjunctives in Latin, etc.

We find "unembedded" that-clauses in German, etc.

We find "unembedded" gerunds + infinitives in English, etc.

We find "unembedded" nominalizations in English (etc.?)

Are there any of these downstairs-only rules which no fooling really never show up in main clauses?

Nouniness and determiners

NB: NP'  $\circ$  C { no  
title  
etc.  
this } C { prior  
etc. } C the

3/8/73

No participating in the meeting will be allowed



This is a { Poss } Ing complement, as ↓  
{ Acc }

shown by

{ ? No sucking thumbs  
No looking names up } will be permitted  
No giving people handjobs

The determiners that work like no are:

little  
not much  
much  
? some  
any  
this

{ ? subsequent  
? prior  
?? frequent  
?? occasional } looking at answers  
?\* careful

Keep and Prod Norm

3/8/73

X keeps them

happy  
w/ w/ w/ w/

? slave,

\* doctors

So why is this bad?

This may tie in with the reality of

\* There are men slave.



Evidence for a difference between  
con conversationally implying and  
deriving from RS

3/8/73

Prude: It's cold in here.

Butler: \*When do you want me to (do P)?

So conversationally implicated stuff can't  
antecede in anaphoric processes.

Contact this with

They say that he meets a drucke,

which he { is  
is's word  
does not to { is  
is's }

So some stuff in RS can't  
contact, restrictions.

Equi + One-Deletion

3/8/73

When confronted by such data, the only way to X is to Y

What is the controller here?

Note that such S's as

When drunk, going home is fun.

argue strongly (see examples like this)

that there was a for one after fun

which has been deleted, for otherwise, how could the general rule for deleting this be applied?

( Idiom invasion )

3/6/73

My bon mot to Avery (on a brave attempt  
to demonstrate quasi-clausehood via the  
Right Roof Constraint)

The theoretical spirit is willing but  
the intuitive flesh is weak.

---

Make it snappy + imperatives

3/5/73

\* He made it snappy

(I told him to) make it snappy  
\*forced

Will → ~~Ø~~ and similar rules

3/4/73

$S_1$ : I hope that he  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{comes} \\ \text{show up} \\ \text{knows it} \end{array} \right\}$

$S_2$ : He  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{will} \\ ? \text{ do} \\ * \text{ does} \end{array} \right\} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{will} \\ * \text{ do} \\ * \text{ does} \end{array} \right\} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{will} \\ \text{does} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$

Sentence idioms

3/1/73

All hell { broke  
seems to have broken } loose

Idioms with non-subject  
variables

3/11/73

Time (seems to have) hung heavy on L's hands



so I will split up

Subject-forming rules and  
optional predicates

Y also 2/2/73  
3/1/73

1. NB that Raising only requires ~~activity~~ activity  
when making new subjects:

\* Be likely to go      vs

Claim him { <sup>to be</sup> / <sub>as</sub> } your friend.

2. Most subject formation rules only work  
on active inputs

cf. passives & manner adverb

Middle won't operate on statives (Pigs resemble  
well)

Locative subjects only are made from  
activity predicates (swarm) Hubel is sleeping for now

Instrumental subject predicates can only arise  
from predicates which take instrumentals, i.e. activities





believe and  $\Phi$ 's

3/1/73

Just where believe can take  $\Phi$  that  $\mathcal{S}$   
 $\mathcal{P}$  is factive and  $\mathcal{P}$  takes conj.  $\Phi$ 's

I\*(can't) believe (it) { that  $\mathcal{S}$   
who left when }

V-Modal

2/28/73

They are confident that he { will  
? \* must } win  
\* may

They are hopeful that he { will  
\* must } win  
may

I expect that he { will  
\* must } leave  
→ may

sort of British

4/6/73

I regret that you { will  
must  
may \* (have to) } struggle

Why?

(Raising Squash)

2/28/73

?? There deserves to be a fair trial of this group

NOT total salad

easy - comp Deletion  
+ Lexicalism

2/26/72

fact from Donna Farrow:

The book is { impossible  
\*possible } (to read)

3/1/73

Hey! This provides the argument that was needed that  $\exists$  rule which deletes infinitives after easy etc.

Thus I now have an argument which I can use in the demonstration that the bad version of the words impossibility (\*to spell) is out only because of some OC.

# Stress + umlaut

2/24/73

Paul Kiparsky's suggestion: über = /'ybr/

and only stem vowels can be umlauted

Problems: 1. Why is Tüte OK, but not Tetü?

2. Why is europäisch OK, but not

Europä ?

Nomininess: how  
the items are distinct

2/23/73

1. that S > for NP to VX

a. That for >> for that wrt the SMC

b. ? That tactful is what he will become >> ?? for tactful to be what he becomes

2. for NP to VX >  $\emptyset$

a. it S

b. P Deletion

3.  $\emptyset$  > Acc Ing

a. Extraposition

b. P Rel

c. SMC - small difference

d. Some fake NPs won't go  $\rightarrow$  Acc Ing

e. NOT  $\emptyset$  in subject position is weak with Acc Ing

for NP to VX >  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Acc} \\ \text{Pos} \end{array} \right\}$  Ing

a. Repping

b. Raising

c. TR

d. Promotion is

◇ only for

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Pos} \\ \text{Acc} \end{array} \right\}$  Ing

or lower.

4. Acc Ing > Pos Ing

a. SMC

b. Fewer failures occur in subj of Pos Ing complements

c. Extraposition from NP

Nomininess: how the items are  
distinct

p. 2

2/23/73

5. Pos. Ing > Act Nom

a. SSC

b. Plural agreement

c. Preverbal not

d.  $\nexists$  Act Noms w/ fake NP objects

e. No X as subjects becomes impossible

6. Act Nom > Per Nom

a. Pre-verbal not

b. Seldom

c. 's



# Negation and Nouniness

2/22/73

of 6/22/72

never/VP

	VP	not index	never /-V	no in subj	not Q in subj	few in subj
that S	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
for to	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Q	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Acc Inp	✓	✓	✓	✓	?	?x
Poss Inp	✓	✓	✓	?	x	x
Act Nom <sup>?</sup>	??	??	x	x	x	x
Der Nom <sup>3x</sup>	x	x	x	x	x	x

his visits to NYC

{ \*seldom }  
 { \*never }  
 his preparedness { seldom }  
 { \*never }

?\* his handling of the snakes: never >>

\* his never handling of the snakes

out by JMC  
and double for

Nouniness and fake NP  
subjects of copula switched  
pseudo-cleft 5%

2/22/73

cf. 1/18/73

Facts that emerged in class (Ling 524 - SUNYAB)

yesterday subject providers	N		Poss Ing	Acc Ing	for NP to VX	that S	to VX	PP	AP
	Det Nom	Act Nom							
that S	✓	✓	✓	✓	?✓	?✓	?✓	✓	?
for to	✓	✓	✓	✓	?*	?*	?✓	✓	?*
Q	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	?✓	?✓	✓	?*
Acc Ing	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	?✓	?*	?	*
Poss Ing	✓	?	??	*	*	*	*	*	**

Would be fine but  
for the constraint  
on possessives

out by JMC

Maybe: For that you left  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{into surprise Tom} \\ \text{to be what they object} \end{array} \right.$

no puzzling

Subject creation + stativity

of also 3/1/73

2/22/73

All rules which make new subjects  
leave behind a stativized V (e.g., \$ progressive form):

Passive

Flip

Middle

The key opens that door

The room swarmed with flies

1943 found Adolf in Eva

This warehouse accommodates 500 marines/hr.

(5 from Postal)

Bill bored me with his sassiness

Raising

[4/15/74 - Yes it does, when A-Raising]

TM

[Doesn't really make a new I]

4/16/74  
Yes it does

\* Take Bill 5 minutes to photograph

2/28/73

Note also  
that these  
(by and large)  
require  
active  
verbs to  
operate.

These  
don't,  
however

← exc. here

←

(Nounness +  
the theory of conditions)

2/21/73

Is the following too strong a structure?

In a squish, no restriction may be stated which does not include the entire range from one end of the squish to the threshold point.

That is, we couldn't say

"Rule X works only for Poss by complements"

Instead, we'd have to say either

"Rule X works from that's - Poss Ing"

or

"Rule X works from N to Poss Ing"

If this is true, it strikes me as being a very good argument for the existence of the squish.

Counter-evidence (TM)

ACD?

6/19/73

Like phrases and Predicate Lowering

2/18/73

They eat like { birds  
? \* a bird }

He eats like { \* birds  
a bird }



He is like a bird when he eats

which  
one?

→ { in the way  
that }

Subject-filled idioms

2/17/73

Jack thinks the world's his oyster

? The world's Jack's oyster

(Actually heard: .... Linda ... . The world's her oyster)

NB: \$ \*The world seems to be her oyster

?\* Linda's oyster I doubt that (she thinks)

the world will ever be

?\* What she thinks the world is is her oyster

wicked to

2/16/33

1. He would prove it  
\* It proved me right to give us a test
2. \* He Mod be wicked to VP
3. I They know that he was wicked to VP  
~~admitt~~  
~~like~~
4. ? Bill seems to have been wicked to VP  
But Bill might seem to be wicked to VP
5. \* He bought a house that he was wicked to sell
6. \* He was good to see and wicked to see
7. \* He was wicked to go to LA

What the hell is going on?

8. ? From me from me from me

(Double Whup)

2/16/73

First noticed by Robert Sacks,  
next by Avery

2. The reports, which the covers of, the lettering on,

the height of, the government prescribes,

are dull

A crime which the perpetrator of a complete  
description of we will furnish you later

was known



Nouniness and all of them

2/15/73

They all of them like it

\* I drove them all of them crazy

\* For them all of them to go

\* Them all of them being sick is too bad

? Their all of them showing up was too bad

These are out because the rule won't work

from oblique antecedents -  
George's observation  
2/21/73

But:

(Williams)

⊕ \* Their all of them handling (s) of I was wretched

\*\* Their all of them sincerity was touching

4/26/73

{ He + I }  
{ ? Him + me }

have both of us worked on this.

Cities second?

2/14/73

John Schumann said something like this:

What's ever good for you

But NB (I bet)

→ ?? What's ever fallen onto the ground

\* whatere's might good for you

?\* what'll ever be good for you

\*\* What's ever be cooking on the stove

(?) \* who's ever ready, we're going

These  
are  
predictions  
I'm  
going  
to  
check  
them  
out

George, who speaks a little of this dialect, agrees, except that he would rank this one as good as, or better than, this one.

wicked to etc

2/13/73

These mothers are out with

1. Negatives
  - a. not >
  - b. no >
  - c. few

2. Questions - though<sup>a</sup> weaker restriction<sub>1</sub>

3. If — — \* If Tom were wicked to leave, ...

Also,

He is fortunate in his { ability to think  
\* height  
?? oranges  
\* his refusal to leave

Universal category hierarchy  
+ CS

4/12/73

$$A \rightarrow N \rightarrow V$$

A. Why not? I see that before?

B. And, that fucks the CS, doesn't it?

## ( Syntactic evidence )

2/11/73

Bombshell question from Terry Halverson (asked innocently):

Who introduced the notion of syntactic evidence?

In my wrecked state, this caused a brain-snap.

The answer is not far to seek: I think it was Noam.

Though what about Harris's morpheme-to-utterance stuff? What traditionally counted as syntactic sameness were items which were intersubstitutable in the same frames.

Tense agreement with happen

2/9/73

What is happening is that people  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{are} \\ * \text{may be} \end{array} \right\}$  smoking

What may be happening  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{is} \\ \text{may be} \end{array} \right\}$  that people  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{are} \\ \text{may be} \end{array} \right\}$  smoking

What will happen is that they  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{will} \\ * \text{---} \\ * \text{may} \\ * \text{can} \\ ? * \text{must} \end{array} \right\}$  write  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \text{are flying to Texas} \end{array} \right\}$

What may happen  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{will be} \\ * \text{may be} \end{array} \right\}$  that they  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{will be} \\ \text{is} \end{array} \right\}$   $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{may} \\ * \text{can} \\ \text{will} \end{array} \right\}$  write  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \text{are flying to Texas} \end{array} \right\}$

What is going to happen  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{is} \\ ? \text{will be} \\ ? * \text{may be} \end{array} \right\}$  that they  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{are going to} \\ \text{will} \\ ? \text{are flying to Texas} \end{array} \right\}$

What's happening  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{is} \\ * \text{will be} \end{array} \right\}$  that they  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \text{will} \\ \text{are going to} \\ \text{are flying to Texas} \end{array} \right\}$  fly to Texas

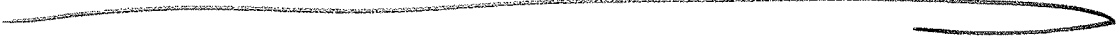
Incorporation and -like

2/8/73

of SUNYAB

Mike Kelburn pointed out how productive N-like

words are.



Now note:

He is child-like in { her } simplicity  
  { \*my }

// 's

He is like a child in { her } simplicity  
  { \*my }

# French Auxiliary Verbs

2/7/73

(graduate student)

Facts from a French woman at Rochester:

? Elle t'a vu & donné un livre

\* Elle t'a vu & parlé

elle t'a vu & entendue

Elle t'a parlé & donné un livre

? Elle t'a vu & parlé de son accident

Elle est blonde et lui aussi <sup>il est brun</sup>

Elle est intelligent et elle aussi <sup>elle est aussi</sup>

Il n'est pas bête, et elle non plus <sup>elle n'est pas non plus</sup>

que crois-tu que Jean a vu

\* <sup>penses-tu</sup> sais-tu  
qui est ce que tu crois qu'il a vu  
tu penses

? tu sais

? Il a mangé et bu de la bière

Il a mangé des pommes et bu  
de la bière

Il a mangé et bu.





Freezing:  
Extended senses and the CS

2/7/73

Fact from Raina Dolapchieva (Buffalo graduate student):

The harp { sounds good >  
          { ? is good sounding }

But

That idea { sounds good >>  
              { ?\* is good sounding }

That { chick  
          { approach } looks good

That { chick  
          { \*approach } is a good-looker

So: For metaphorical senses, only volatile categories are used.

Idioms + tense

2/4/73

He let things slide

\* Things { will } slide  
           { way }  
           { etc }  
           { have slid }  
           { slid }

confess - say guilty  
argue - find innocent  
convict - find guilty

say + PR  
apologize - say sorry  
accuse - say someone is guilty  
criticize - say bad

2/3/73

A. He bragged about his your accomplishments

Why this one?

a little weird... he's your boss

B. He said that his your accomplishments were good

His ridicule about my belly of gretchen  
was hard to take

C. He criticized praised ridiculed our his efforts

bad good  
ridiculous

D. He said that our his efforts were ridiculous

9. investigation:  
B > A  
D > C

Spelled out forms are freer  
damn say rotten

When our ropes to rutabagas

Why so stative?

say + PR

2/4/73

He suspected us of lying



He suspected that we were lying

Why is it { criticize  
apologize  
praise } for

but { brag  
boast } about ?

pooh-pooh = say "pooh" to



Consonants and Vowels

1/30/73

$$V(\text{life}) > N(\text{death})$$

//o

Treed, full many- > treeless, deformed (like with up or to, etc)  
option upstairs limited downstairs S.

So maybe if a language has vocalizing processes  
(e.g. Japanese (though it does have a few)), it will have  
strong vowels (why should this be?)

1/31/73

Uch - Danish and German have about the  
same no. of gear equipment for int'l. I guess do, yet

$$\text{Danish} > \text{English} > \text{German}$$

∴ won't get clearly see what I want to say.

think > believe

( 33 / 73

"I'm cured!" fact { thought  
\* believed }



[θs]

1/29/73

Don says [pæθəz]

He's right — somehow, [θs] is a tough cluster — tougher than [fs].

How do I know that? How is that fact reflected in English grammar.

\*thick th → thickness

sixths → [sɪksɪz]

months → [mʌnz]

Force rules and primacy

1/29/73

Force rules upstairs > force rules downstairs

Do you think you could (please) close the door? >

Bill asked Ann whether she thought she could (?#please)

close the door

---

NB also:  $\exists$  Pert Del after say etc, because

of

Bill said that he [would go], which promise he broke  
{\*had gone}

? Bill said how big all the stars were <

How big all the stars are!

CH and its mass of scope

1/28/73

prospecture  
 Here's a thought which is trying to emerge:

hard-working > ?hard-worked

fast-driving >> ??fast-driven

NB: Maybe predicate position requires more nounness than the verb

Gullshit - this should have

a { hard working }  
 { hard worked }  
 → Jack is <sup>plenty</sup> hard { ?-working }  
 { ?\*-worked }

Both are far better than fast-driving <sup>ing</sup> <sub>ox</sub>

But NB: \$ diff  
 between  
beer-<sup>drinking</sup>  
<sub>waked</sub>

Why in this?

1. working > worked

2. ∴ working can incorporate more stuff.

3. hard<sub>adv</sub> > beer<sub>N</sub>, ∴ only a more volatile element can incorporate <sub>P</sub>

Perf Del, Force rules + treeops  
+ Proj Del

1/27/73

It's not an accident that upstairs is where all the rules that make speech acts have to sort out happen.

If the rules which give extra forces and which account for hereby chosen occurring only in treeops are regular T's, we have a ready-made explanation of why these processes are all limited to treeops.

If they're all some kind of other beast, extra stuff has to be said.

Affected passives and Audy's Rule

1/27/73

The bed looks like Fred (slept) it  
[\*thought]

So is this a general property of  
rules which subjectivize things? Or what?

---

1/28/73

?? Under the bed looks like he read some books there.

PP Subjects

S from Howard Lashik:

1/26/73

Under the bed is a nice place { to be }  
—

So these undergo even TM.

PP = NP and Passive

1/26/73

Fact from Tony Kroch:

\*\* The bed is believed under \_ to be where he slept

---

Paul Postal pointed out that 2/73

this is no problem - we also don't find this

\* She was believed advantage of \_ to have been taken

The reason is that the raised constituent becomes a derived object, which is what passivizes

Tough Movement

1/26/73

Long T<sub>1/2</sub> S<sub>1/2</sub> ——— much faster N<sub>1/2</sub>  
to smooth

Revol. account beds ——— best to ———

{ ? how old to be kept  
anyone been in is kept  
anyone kept up } on ———



1/25/73

It's not only Exposition that won't work on  $S_1$  in

$$S_1 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{proco} \\ \text{C.T.W.} \\ \text{F.C.} \end{array} \right\} S_2$$

\* I figured to use  $S_2$   $S_1$ .

That is my fingerprint being entangled } didn't prove (it)

\* It was  $S_2$   $S_1$

So there's an OC (unstable, but ...)

Bivalent V can't be in SS w/ both complements on the same side of the ...

Bisentential V and movement rules

1/28/73

Actually, the condition seems to be this:

With bisentential V, the arguments can't cross each other

Q. [That he's guilty],  $P_i$  proves  $P_j$ , [that there were some fingerprints on his snake];

Q: Is this part of a more general condition?

Red green clashes with ?? (?.iP)

\* It clashes with red, green

\* Red  $P_j$ ,  $P_i$  clashes with  $iP_i$ , green

Prel

1/25/93

That they might lose was never dreamed of

We never dreamed of that they might lose

With it  
meant so

Even clean case, I'd say

But why is P so <sup>likely</sup> to stand  
P in typicalized S's than in pseudo  
clefts?

NB

Hum - wild case

That Jack is sick was talked about in whispers

\* They talked about that Jack is sick in whispers

50 vs it

1/25/73

I told {  
P to them  
\* them P  
\* 50 to them  
from 50

What goes on?

Case bi and pyramidal

1/24/33

pyramidal  
Tibetan [ Seems wrong facts -  
Marr's showed us pyramidal  
in K<sup>2</sup> ]

I don't think I ever Case f syllable.  
which can count as the W in Case bi.

So. How do we do this?

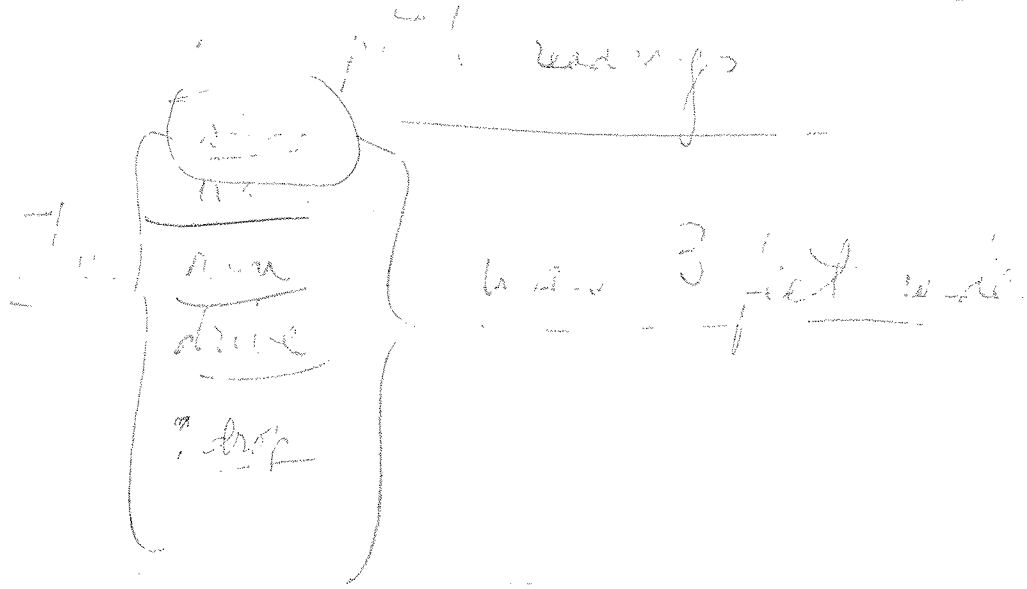
Tiber + an  
1 1

Or what?

Path - nominal

1. 24/73

Current nominalizations of  $\sqrt{D}$



by diff. in

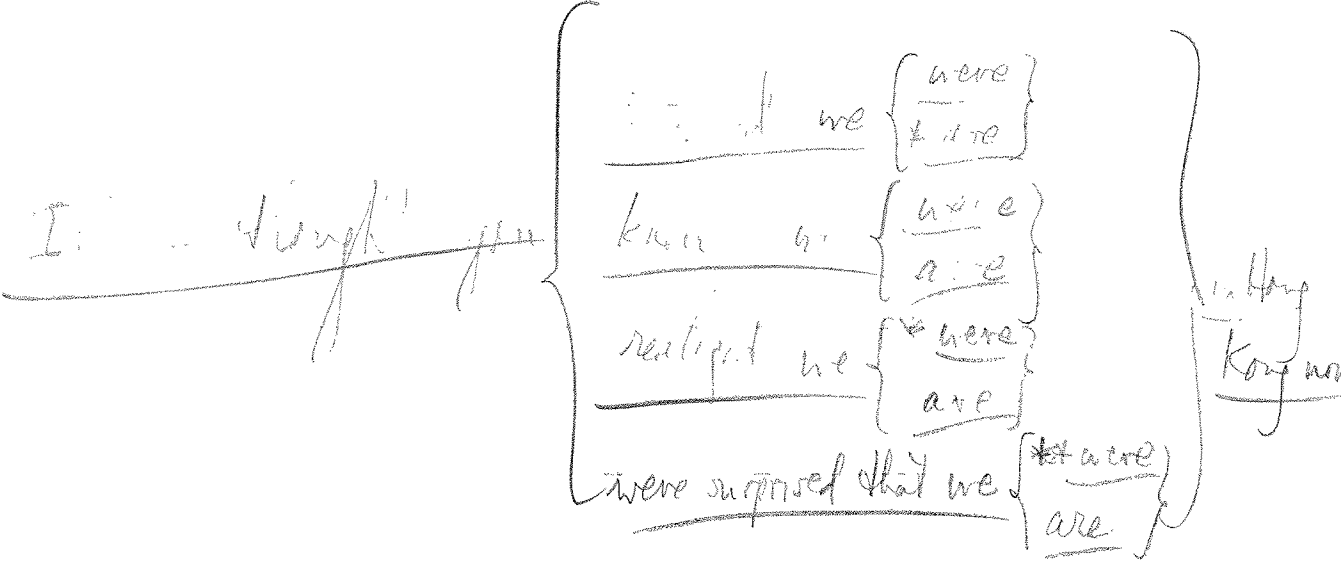
- \*fall
- to
- to
- to
- to

Primacy

1/24/73

What about SOT? There are places where  $\Phi$  stops one clause down.

BUT  $\Phi$  SOT', which only starts changing  
jumps 2 clauses down



# The Island

1/23/73

Thoughts while ~~st~~-listening to Les Noces:

Start the revised version of my book with a parable about the ecological self-sufficiency of islands: the same as two of the syntactic theories.

Also have footnotes, meta-footnotes (with greek letter superscripts)

Metameta footnotes: some underlines

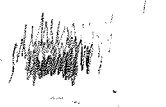
If island ecology = island system

what corresponds to the hierarchy or syntactic islands?

Could psycholinguistic evidence be found for island boundaries

Design covers for books

Draw no ble this:  
Apt' under l. e. to a detail get





would be + Agents

1/23/73

a would-be {  
assassin  
charmer  
thief  
butcher  
\*boy  
\*cat

? Is under the bed where you left it?

1/11/13

Uncertainty { was } has been  
                  {    } to have been

as if

So: PP's do these NP-y things

1. Cleft + Pseudo Cleft
2. Opinion Switch
3. Raising
4. Passive
5. Tag Formation
6. VSI (weakly)

Verbal pictures and phrases

1/2/73

All verbal phrases require V+NP

re-

re-

de-

pre-

un-

co-

to-

out-

[bit of preposition -  $\nabla$  obj - ]

condition

over- can also be with infinitives

VP Deletion and than-clauses

1/20/73

\* going home was necessary, but he ran home  
faster than was.

Nouniness and PP subjects  
+ fake NP's

1/18/73

I know that under the bed is where he keeps it.

?\* I like P for under the bed to be where he keeps it.

Why →  
no worse?

?? I know under the bed is where he keeps it

?\* we all tried to imagine under the bed being where he keeps it.

\* Under the bed's being where he keeps it is distressing

Uh oh: Under the bed is known to be  
where he keeps it

Why?

2/21/73  
Same is true of Tactful as what the  
N > that S > for to > PP > AP

Promotion

1/18/73

Max surprised me with

- his refusal to return
- his sourliness
- ? his height
- \* his execution by the Russians

What's going on here?

German <sup>scheinen</sup> Raump + tense

1/18/73

\* Die Bücher haben ihm zu gefallen geschehen.

Why?

2/16/73  
Facts unearthed with Marga:  
dass er [sie zu kennen schien  
\* schien, sie zu kennen }

For opans, here's why.

Why?

\* Es hat geschehen, dass

Maybe thinkable

Wenn es geschehen hätte, dass

Or pluperfect? Elke scants out very quickly.

re-V and Nearer to V

1/18/73

I reread } for my boss >  
                  } ?? to my boss

? I recontributed to the fund.

This parallels (somewhat)

\* I relooked at my watch.



$$\underline{TM = Raising + 230}$$

1/15/73

I want you<sup>??</sup> (to be) easy to talk to

Since  $\exists$  global condition on 230  
after want to the effect that this rule  
won't delete a to be that has been  
raised across, this badness suggests  
that TM = Raising

cf. I want it<sup>?</sup> (to be) easy to talk to you

But howcome it's not as bad as this?

I want him<sup>\*</sup> (to be) certain to finish

Sh.P.

# Privacy and Acc-Ing

1/15/73

Everybody likes them better in object position.

Help help



Action Nominal  $\neq$  Derived Nominal

1/12/73

has good { solution to } the problem  
          { \*solving of }

well and good can't appear in action  
nominals



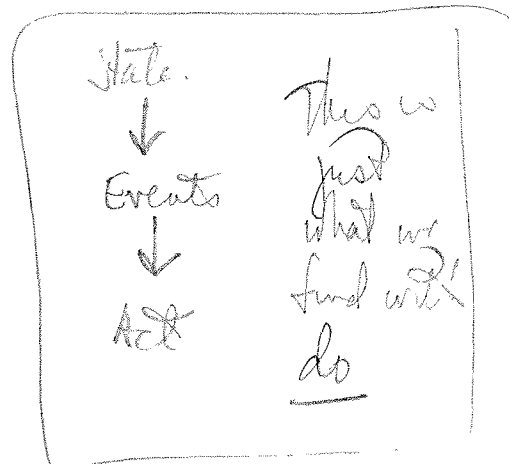
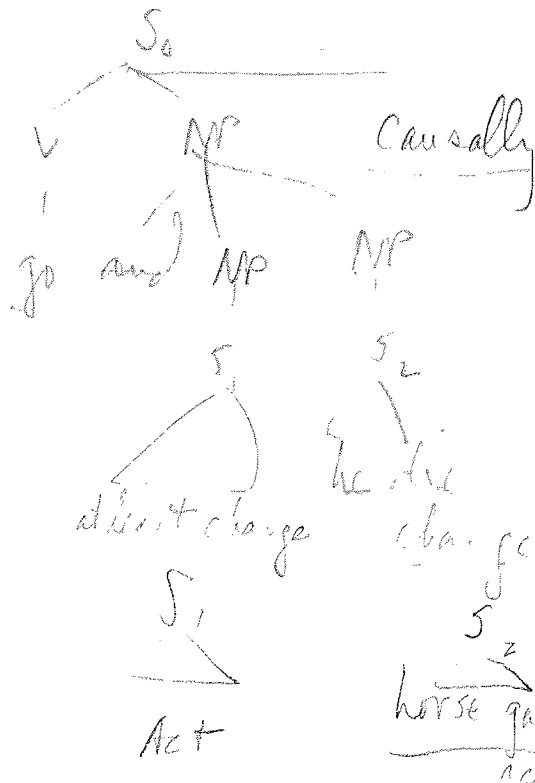
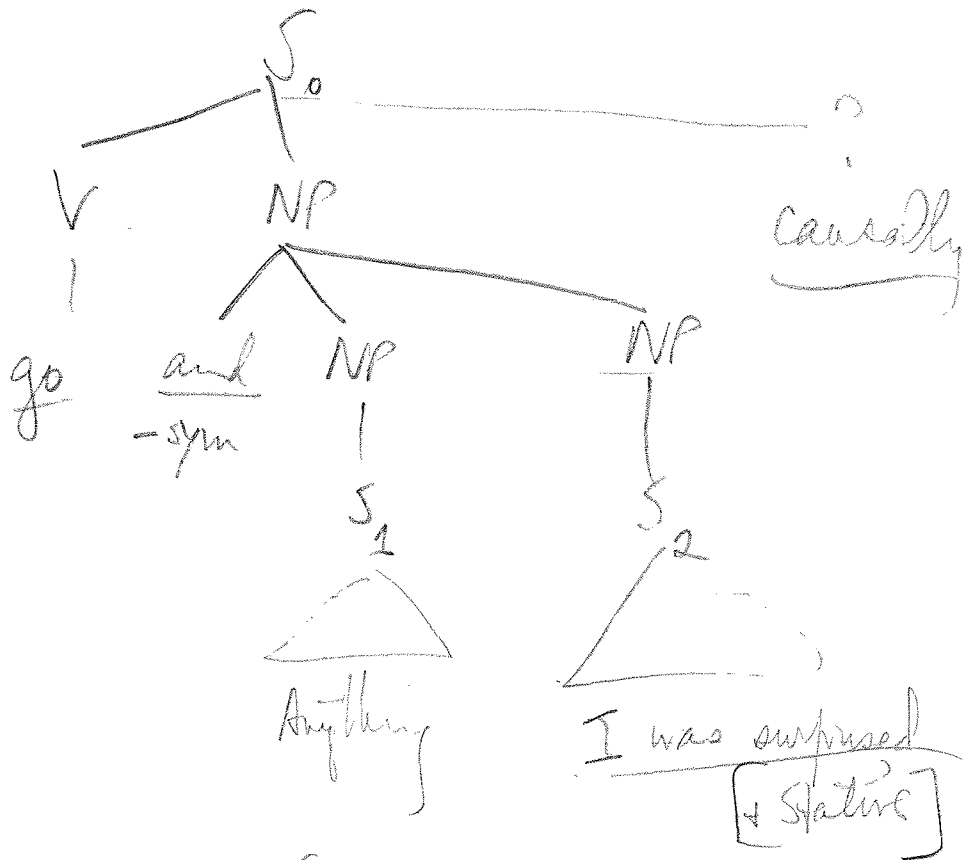
Same with bad

2/21/73

# Causality and the activity hierarchy

1/11/73

Suppose cause has the following analysis:



Causativity and fake NP's

1/10/73

— emprise

that S  
for NP to V X  
 Acc hyp < Q  
 Poss hyp  
 Act Nom  
 Der Nom  
 NP

NP: { Agents  
 Concrete  
 Events: some ?'s  
 Abstracts: ?? John's unwillingness surprised us by being readily condensed }

?\* hack  
 ?\* headway

? IP (be woggy)

feels like it = Poss hyp, not that S

\* IP (S)

?? it (rain)

They knew that I had crashed into the houses, and that it had killed Jack

— kill

\* that S ← IP OK?

\* for to  
 ?? Acc hyp \*Q

? Poss hyp  
 ? Act Nom ? His unconsiderate pouring of the lye into the aquarium killed  
 ? Der Nom ? Tom's hatred killed Mike

Agent  
 ? Concrete Merock killed Tom by <sup>the rise in</sup> stalling him  
 \* Event \* The performance killed Max by lasting too long  
 \* Abstract  
 \* Fake NP's

my girlfriend

melt

\* that S

They knew that I had put the candles 1/10/73  
on the stove and that I had melted them.

\* for to

\* ice

if OK

\* Poss Np

\* Act Nom

\* Heat placing of the candles near the flame melted them

? Der Nom

Agent

The room's high temperature melted the wax

? Concrete

\* Event

The rock melted the ice by pressing down with a force of 200 lbs/in<sup>2</sup>.

\* Abstract

\* Fakes

fasten

\* that S

\* for to

\* Acc Np

\* Poss Np

\* Act Nom

\* Der Nom

Agent

? if

\* Concrete

\* The high temperature fastened the rocks together

\* Event

\* Abstract

\* Fakes

German TM, acc + Case Spreading

1/9/73

How the hell does the case spread to the embedded V in

ein schwer zu lesendes Buch



Long  $\phi$  binding

1/7/23

Who remembered where Jack bought which books?  $\Rightarrow$

?? Who remembered where which books were bought by Jack

doubtful and Flip

1/8/73

I'm doubtful that we'll win.

That we'll win is doubtful <sup>[\*to]</sup> <sub>[\*for]</sub> we.

So what rule relates these?

It's like the Serbo-Croatian passive —  
no experiencers are possible.

Fake NP's

1/8/73

How modifiable are NP<sub>2</sub>'s?

There are many more modifiers possible for headway than for head.

# Clause markers and causatives

1/4/73

The reason that lexical causatives don't show their own time adv. etc. is that they've lost their clause

Clausehood = indis...

## Possible N's

1/3/73

Are there any N's which are synonymous to NP's with relative clauses in which the relativized NP couldn't have been the derived subject?

So

\* Tuesday house = house people are surprised that women frequently

?? framer = man who people attribute frescoes to

So words may have the relative clause structure of Malayay, effectively.

# Directional Preposing

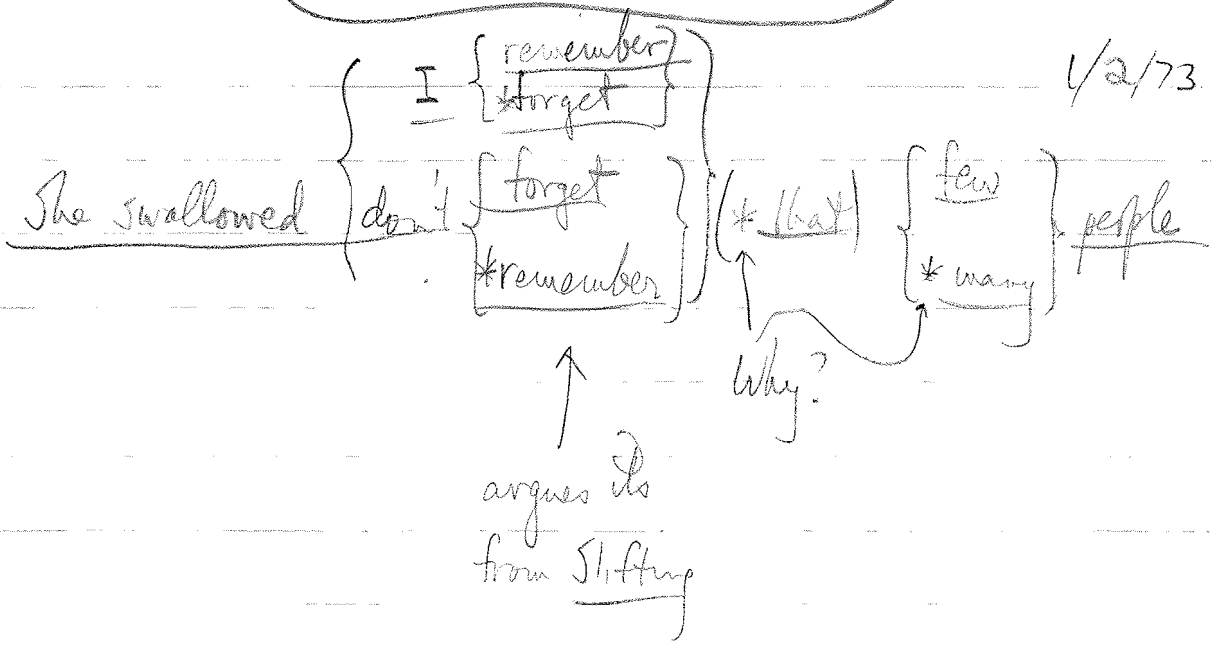
1/3/73

It seems that suddenness is criterial

off { dashed  
? slunk  
\* drifted } the cops

Slifting and Avery's S's

4/2/73



Know how many goldfish before she was stopped.