

Pobarity

7/22/70

Who  
\* I spared him a dime  
Nobody

# Lexicon

7/21/70

∃ <sup>phonologically</sup> ill-formed words (yoicks)

∃ syntactically ill-formed idioms (by + large)

There should also be morphologically ill-formed words.

(e.g. ? snooperoscope  
speedometer)

Rel Cl  $\neq$  Q

7/16/70

John's I read  
whose did you read?

\*the man whose I read

(Semi-Idioms)

7/18/70

That one is peeing up:

He thinks the world owes him a living

? The world owes me a living

V containing Prog

7/18/76

He kept at it

Here is another aspectual type V that  
takes ing but apparently can delete  
the preposition.

But why? what he kept at  
is at  
began at

is a mystery

7/18/70

These are the same fact

That  
also has  
to do with  
command

1. The fact that  $\exists$  3, not 4, readings of  
John said he had found his wallet, + Ed said so too  
(i.e.  $\exists$  reading ... Ed said that John had found his)

2. who thought who had attacked Sue  
\* who thought who had been attacked by Sue

3. Tom + I said { that Bill + Sue respectively, had left  
that Ed + Bob, respectively, had raped Sue  
\* that Susan had been raped by Ed + Bob, resp }  
Tom + I said that  
being recognized had married Ann + Ethel, resp

4. I won't give \* something to anyone  
? anyone something

Joe Fischgrund's  
fact,  
will anyone have  
\* someone

5. swaj - in Russian - of Dave's sheet

6. Multiple relatives

Domino Theory

p. 2

05 04 70

SUBTREES

So far, there are two phenomena that look like they might come under the heading of Subtrees:

- 1) Multiple Relatives [the ~~xx~~ scope of deletion must be defined in terms of Subtrees].
- 2) SOME/ANY phenomena. Subtrees intuitively seems ~~x~~ better than ~~xxx~~ trying to use Immediate Primacy for this.

Russian svoj may provide another area in grammar where we need ~~x~~ SUBtrees.

Sasha pointed out:

- (1) Ja dovolen analizom moix ošibok.
- (2) Ja dovolen analizom svoix ošibok.

Diffce in who's the agent who did the analysis.

Now consider:

- (3) Ja dovolen moim analizom moix ošibok.  
svoim

Both sound ok to me.

But now consider

- (4) Ja dovolen svoim analizom svoix ošibok.
- (5) Ja dovolen moim analizom svoix ošibok.

(5) sounds a bit funny to me, but I can't tell. OJO. Meaning is definitely involved here.

NB: Since svoj is only possible when the svoj and its antecedent are clause mates, all examples for testing must involve infinitival comptatn.

NB if (5) is bad, we could be dealing with Subtrees.

NOW - Maybe Subtrees must be defined in terms of Immediate Primacy. In this case, for example, what does it mean to define a subtree? IT MEANS THAT THERE IS NO INTERVENING NP BETWEEN THE ANTECEDENT AND THE SVOJ. Go into this ~~xx~~ further, to show that if 'intervening' is correctly defined, it includes Command as well as Precede, and ~~xxxx~~ in fact IS Immediate Primacy. Because to say this is to say: The NP<sub>i</sub> ~~xxxxxxx~~ that has Primacy over the SVOJ such that this NP has Primacy over SVOJ and there is no other NP<sub>j</sub> such that NP<sub>j</sub> has Primacy over SVOJ and ~~xx~~ NP<sub>i</sub> has Primacy over NP<sub>j</sub>.

DOMINO PHENOMENA

I. some/any

*I dislike anyone telling any jokes / I dislike anyone saying that someone is sick*  
*\*some* *of some*

II. Sloppy Identity

*had*

(1) John said that he found his wallet, and so did Max.

Three meanings. The one that is excluded is:  
Max said J found M's wallet.

III. respectively

John and I said that Tom and Bill, respectively, had kissed Susan.

\*Susan had been kissed by Tom and Bill, respily.

XXX IV. Who said that who had kissed Susan?

\*Susan had been raped by whom?

The above ~~K&M~~ four things by Haj.

Now, note that we're dealing with TERRITORIALITY. Same phenomenon is also found in:

V. The Controller Prob for Super Equi-NP Dletion

VI. Multiple Relatives

VII. svoj in Russian

VIII. LeRoy Baker's stuff on question movement. The WH moves to the Q which IMMEDIATELY COMMANDS IT.

IX. Hungarian object Agreement.

This is a very important example, which makes ~~K&M~~ it necessary to extend the notion from Immediate Command to Immediate Primacy,

e.g. János látta az embert és egy kislányt.

János látott egy kislányt és az embert.

And same thing with an embedded sent below with a verb of Perception in the top S.

The Hungarian case also shows that we need this to be a symmetrical relation if the rule is stated in terms of a verb agreeing with something. It remains to be seen whether or not ~~kk~~ this is needed elsewhere. If this does not need to be a symmetrical relation for any other cases, that is a strong argument for treating agreement as clitic movement rather than stating which ~~x~~ verb 'agrees with' what.

X. Some stuff formerly accounted for by Crossover.



Stuff~~X~~ formerly done by Crossover:

the girl who Joe annoyed by tickling (her)

\*the girl who Joe annoyed her by tickling

The constraint is: Immediate Command.

This one seems to have to be symmetrical too.

Note that this is distinct from the subtree hypoth, I think, in connection with multiple relatives.

This is Langacker's PRINCIPLE OF ~~X~~ CONTROL.

# "Mirror Image" Rules

7/18/70

In strong — the only cases  
where it is around V.

die happy

7/18/70

От утраха ~~с~~ срачаубоу...

Отм расстанау гыз дур.

He {

- \* lived
- ! died
- woke up
- went to sleep
- \* slept
- arrived
- went home
- \* for 10 miles

} to Bills house  
\* some house or other

{

- drunk
- happy
- sick
- hungry
- waked
- ? tall
- a Catholic
- \* reluctant
- \* missing
- \* gone

} afraid



They parted friends,  
\* a friend.

Has to be a  
change to a definite final state

in unison.  
in agreement  
in disagreement

Of He {

- (for the day)
- quit work
- happy
- (\* for a brother)

}

She woke up pregnant.  
\* He

WAF - Movement

7/18/70

?\* what did who eat

But

what did he buy where ~

where did he buy what

Source of Q's?

7/16/70

whether Bill left or whether Tom left is unclear

whether Bill left or Tom left is unclear

whether Bill or Tom left is unclear

who - whether Bill or Tom - left is unclear

who - Bill or Tom - left is unclear

who left - (whether) Bill or Tom - is unclear

Attempt at proof:  $\exists$  difference between  
goodness of

(\* - Bill or Tom -) NB

{ ? who ate anything }  
{ \* when anybody ate } is unclear

← Hmm - NB

So: ? whether Bill ate anything or (whether) Tom ate anything  
is unclear

is \* whether anybody ate on Friday or whether anybody ate on Tuesday is unclear

Source of  $Q_s$

p. 2

7/16/70

But notice there's never any problem  
with any's in yes-no  $Q$ 's (whether anyone left (or not))  
so the previous  $I$ 's can't just be "regular  
whether-clauses".

Focus

7/16/70

The head of the Chemistry Dept + I have the same name

≠ The head of CD has the same name as me

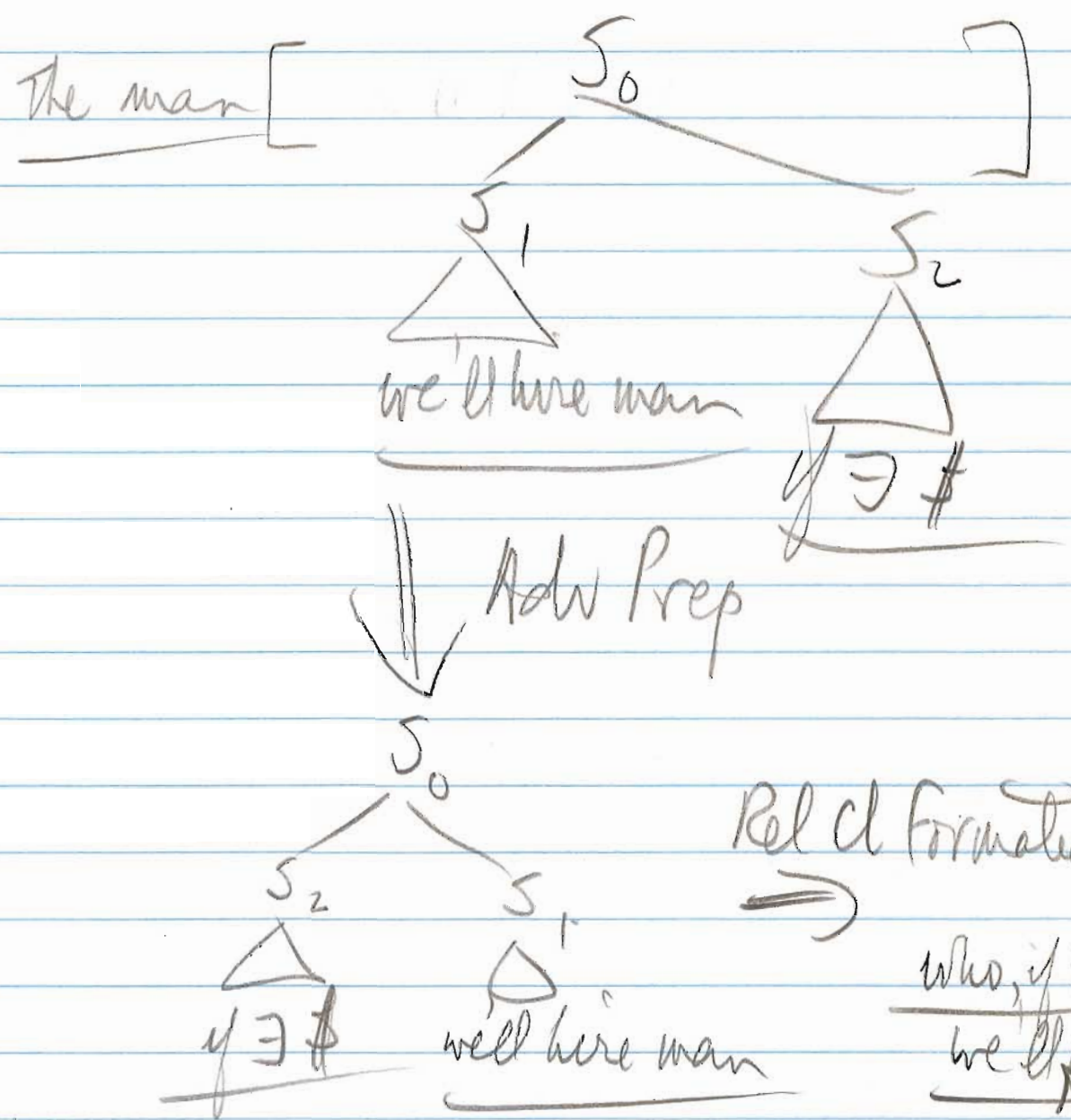
≠ I have the same name as the head of the CD

# Adv Preposing vs Topicalization

7/15/70

The former rules probably sister-adjoin

So we get



Naah — junk this page, except for this



Des of QF

7/15/70

Jack you took how many pictures of? Legal Q  
(∴ how many pix of J isnt an island)

But NB

It was [ Jack ] that I wonder how many  
\* of Jack

Maybe  
somewhere  
in this  
work there's  
evidence for

[ pictures of ]  
[ pictures ] you took

Chomsky's  
adjunction

This could be from how many pix did you take  
of Jack

how many stories did you read about pix of Wash DC

\*\* It was Wash. DC which I wonder how many stories you read about  
pix of

Gapping + Slippy Identity

7/13/70

Forwards gapping allows slippy TD

I washed my fence on Friday, & Bill on Sat

but not (I bet) backwards gapping

i.e., is this ambiguous

weil Hans Freitag, ~~und~~ und

Max Dienstags seine Hände wäscht

Islands + 15P

7/10/70

Why are extraposed clauses not islands?

Maybe because they haven't been formed by a rule w/ a real variable.

THEOREM: DELETION RULES ALLOW SLOPPY IDENTITY; MOVEMENT (CHOPPING)  
RULES DON'T.

- (1) Bill<sub>i</sub> thinks that his<sub>i</sub> mother is sick, which Sam doesn't believe.  
[Can't be Sam's mother. Here we have Movement, and no Sloppy Identity.]
- (2) Bill<sub>i</sub> thinks that his<sub>i</sub> mother is sick, and Sam does too.  
[Ambiguous. Deletion, and Sloppy Identity.]

THIS THEN IS A GENERAL TEST FOR WHEN WE HAVE MOVEMENT AND WHEN DELETION.

Considered the extra NPs that go in Multiple Relatives.

- (3) We discussed being unpopular, which Bill described before allowing Ed to experience.

[Ed experience Ed being unpopular.]

The other reading is out because of \*Ed experienced Sam's being ~~x~~ unpopular.]

This reading that we get would not come through unless Sloppy Identity was going on. Hence, ~~XXXX~~ this is further evidence for ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

Sympathetic Deletion, i.e. it isn't Relzation.

And it's nice furthre evidence for the Theorem above.

Use this now also to distinguish forwards from bakwards Gapping.

- (5) because Bill on Friday and Tom~~x~~ on Wednesday his knife sharpens.

- (6) Bill sharpens his knife on Friday and Tom on Wednesday.

I think that (5) is unambiguous, and (6) ambiguous. Thus (6) would come about by Deletion, and (5) by Movement [Node Raising].

Presuppositions

7/11/70

Consider those of recurrence

# Sloppy Identity + Deletion

7/10/70

Thoughts on Ed Witten's observation:

\* Bill bought + Sal framed a picture of himself  
(namely, Node Raising doesn't allow sloppy identity)

Theorem: only deletions admit sloppy identity  
chopping rules don't:

A. RelCl Formation - Bill has a picture of his mother  
which Luke wants

Ghostly problem: Tom began, + I stopped, singing } <sup>Unambiguous</sup> why is this OK?

B. Explains why they say he can sing, which he can \*I

C. Predicts: forwards gapping will have sloppy identities,  
backwards (=Node Raising) none

D. Shows Node Raising is a chopping rule.

Problem: why is cars un-coref here? He sells + I buy cars

# Sloppy Identity

7/10/70

What Bill bought was a picture of his ma,  
+ what Tom bought was too

Shows the old commanded by  
antecedent theory is FOS

Source of it

7/10/70

Facts w/ Dave:

Je (\*estime) difficile d'y aller

↑  
Must come by Extrap

but

il est estimé difficile d'y aller

So:  $\exists$  empty NP, which gets passivized,  
but only shows up as il before a  
tensed V



[Laxing]

7/8/70

Elizabethan

Presumably necessary because of ~  $\frac{1}{2}$

\* \* Elizabethan

One more beer

7/8/70

Peter's S's must be derived by a deletion rule!

cf. idioms

One more crack like that + I'll bust you one

Any more headway on this + we'll have to ask for more  
funds

etc.

The "alternative" is to say:

- 1) Any NP goes here (false anyway - cf. \*John + S)
- 2) certain V can be "interpreted in"

(then it's an accident that make is one such verb)

Conj Q's + factives

7/8/70

In It doesn't <sup>feel</sup> say who left

These ✓ are factives

So maybe conj Q's only go with factives?  
They'd better or I have no explanation of why  
Q's ~~is~~ that's

Conj Q's are also exhaustive:

\* It's funny who's been dating whom,  
but I don't know whether Max  
has been dating Mike or not

Neg as higher V

7/7/70

Fact  
from  
Kaki

Bill realized that Tom was sick, as you know - AMBIG  
as you know MONOG

Also a  
fact  
from  
Kaki

Tom was not sick, as I had suspected - AMBIG  
Tom was not, as I had suspected, sick - MONOG

My fact: These are the same fact(s)

Middle V

7/2/70

This car corners well

This feels like a middle,  
but from what source?

Obviously parallel to:

This pen writes well

any + Command

7/1/70

The constraint on backwards influence  
will make unnecessary the left-most  
constraint on Neg Incorp

(i.e. \*He gave anything to nobody)  
\*Anyone didn't show up)

Conj Q's

6/30/70

Another text for conj Q's:

what he cooked, which was tasty, is { well known }  
{ \*unknown }

And another: conj Q's are referential

what he cooked is (un)clear, but nobody liked it.

Why both OK? Cf.

what he cooked is (\*un)known. It was delicious.

(Comp Qs)

6/29/70

how long he stayed is unbelievable

I { \*believe (it)  
don't believe (it) } how long he stayed

? Sam doesn't believe (it) how long he stayed



# Vowels

6/29/70

How about these for the back V?

$\bar{u}$  -  $[y\bar{u}w]$  /  $[+r\bar{u}r]$   
 $u$  -  $[\bar{u}w]$  /  $[-r\bar{u}r]$

$\bar{u}$  -  $[y\bar{a}]$   
 $\bar{u}$  -  $[\bar{u}]$   
 $\bar{o}$  -  $[\bar{a}]$

$\bar{o}$  -  $[\bar{o}w]$

$\bar{u}$  -  $[\bar{u}]$

$\bar{u}$

not  $\bar{u}$ , as far as I know

( Cong Q's + Indef )

6/28/70

I'm surprised that anybody came  
when

Why are any out in cong Q's?

Conj Q

6/26/70

? Who said that you left with whom? // Is Tom + Bill said

that I had left  
with Betty +  
Ann, resp

who he said left with whom is fantastic  
\* with whom he said who left

→ who + who are similar  
\* + Tom \* erudite

This must be OK because of pied piping? Or across the board piping?  
But then why is this bad?

Why is this bad?

\* the fact (that) who left with whom is amazing

Obviously, \* with whom did who leave? must be out because of Crossover (which is maybe Pred Crossing)

( Cong Q's )

6/26/70

who did he think had left with whom?

\* who " " " who had left with?

Only the leftmost moves

Harmon

Suzie  
Yuki

UNTUG 14

Conj  $\Phi$

6/26/70

Why can one not say

\* Bill (acknowledged) who slept with whom  
liked  
approved of

# Statives

6/26/70

1.  $\nexists$  V requiring statives in DS
2.  $\nexists$  Adj which are only volitional
3. be<sub>Pass</sub> is transparent:

He seems to know it

It seems to be known by him

But \*He seems to eat it

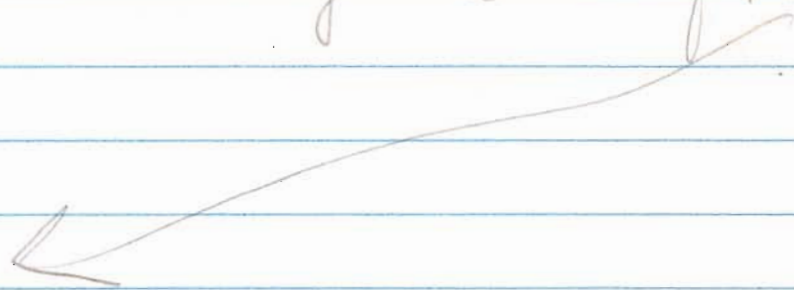
\*It seems to be eaten by him

only except as general.

(Conj Q's + Variables)

6/26/70

NB that noone can get the \*ress of this  
by saying



\* who ate rice + what?

by saying that "WH can't attach inside an  
island" or some shit, because

NB that is OK

He ate rice + what?

Gapping + Pronom

6/25/70

I have a picture of Fred,  
 Fred a picture of Sally,  
 + Sally of me

\* I have a picture of Fred  
 Fred of Sally, ←  
 + Sally a picture of me

Reminds me of the paradox of specificity

Intuitively this must be out because of backward's pronom.



# Conjuncture $\mathbb{Q}$

6/25/78

Why  $\exists$  main  $\mathbb{S}$  correspondent of  
a  $\mathbb{C}\mathbb{Q}$ ?

Hah! Maybe there is

what people are wearing these days!

how tall he is!

# Chopping + Multiple Q's

6/25/70

What throws this out?

\* Who drank what and soda?

Pete's w/rt \* Who drank what + soda is wild

This suggest  
delusions  
are at work

Note left-to-rightness necessary in multiple Q's  
(Who gave [what] to Bill?)  
[Bill what] ? \* Pete gave what to whom?

\* Who gave a pistol to whom?

is found even more strongly in conjunctive Q's:

\* That Pete gave what to whom is wild

Only factives take conjunctive Q's,

only the negative of factives - weak's factives -  
take conjunctive Q's.

Conjunctive Questions

6/24/70

who's been dancing with whom - Max with Sarah  
and Tom with Sally -

is fantastic

↑  
This S must come from

that Max has been dancing with Sarah and  
that Tom has been dancing with Sally

is fantastic by some rule that forms variable slots

who said that who was sick } is fantastic  
} who had been arrested  
} ?? I had arrested whom

# Conjunctive Questions

p. 2

Then who's been dancing with whom is fantastic  
must come from

that x had w y & that w had z ... is fantastic

So the source for when did he go - on Tuesday?  
must be

he went on Tuesday or he went on y or ...

What - lox or bagels or cheese - did he eat?  
he ate what - lox or bagels or cheese?  
he ate lox or he ate bagels or he ate cheese

# Questions + Pseudo-Cleft

From Adrian:

6/24/70

Arguments against embedded Q analysis:

1. else - \* What else I ate was a tomato

2. ever, any - \* What I ever ate was a tomato

3. whether, how long, etc have no pseudo-clefts  
which NP

5. No double wh-word Q's

6. No preposed PP's

7. \* The thing that it was that I bought was a box

out, for  
Adrian

8. What I ate was a steak

↑  
This has reference, but embedded Q's  
don't.

Fake Q's

6/24/70

The fake Q's that go in the subject of  
odd etc. aren't disjunctions —  
they're conjunctions

Who he's been going out with — Marcia<sup>{\*v}</sup> + Amy<sup>{\*v}</sup> + Sally<sup>{\*v}</sup> —  
is fantastic

The class of V which takes these  
conjunction Q's (e.g. odd, amazing, etc.)  
is the same as the class that excludes whether  
in object position I { will try to determine } whether he left  
                          I { \*determined }  
Cf. It isn't odd who's been sleeping with whom

Questions & any

6/23/70

Some any's anyway seem to go by  
speaker request:

I want (: Sue) to know when anybody leaves

but = it when

I want (\*Sue) to know what anyone eats

= it if

Whoever

6/23/70

I want (?Bob) to know whoever you see



Polite requests + complex Q's

6/22/70

Please come back = leave

Call before you come back on presupposition of another

When can you call before coming back

The police don't know S 1 Presup

Why don't the police know S 2

The police don't know S for what reason 3

[ ? ]

6/23/70

\* where is what?

One

6/9/70

I know

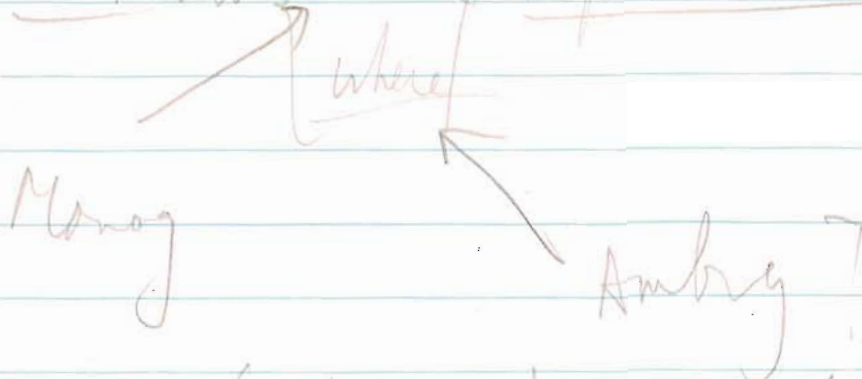
{ that one often feels lonely  
\*one often to feel lonely }

how to

6/9/70

1. know how to requires [-Stat]

2. I know [how] to persuade Max to eat



3. Maybe (Bob Ware's suggestion)

He knows how to insinuate X



how one should insinuate X

This would require, for S to like

He knows how to protect himself

a rule oneself <sup>00L</sup> → he

Supported, he knows how (he) should insinuate that (he) VP  
to " (he) " " (he) "

# Modified Progressives

6/8/70

Flash in talk with George:

What's abnormal is the lack of modification  
in John <sup>[was]</sup> sleeping

We can allow for this to occur if we  
postulate a rule of Now + then Deletion

So the reason that this is bad

~~They tried to be working then~~  
\* ←

is that the rule has misapplied

This means that be is + Adv is  
always active - maybe be is transparent?  
Why then is he seems to be sleeping (now)

OK?

(the Xer the Yer

6/5/70

anyone who hasn't drunk is the power for it

# Pronominalization

6/4/70

S from Emmon

\* his<sub>i</sub> saying that Mary who John<sub>i</sub> had never kissed  
was in NYC proved that he<sub>i</sub> was an idiot

Adv. Pronoun Deletion

6/1/70

He ate before Ø

Obvious deletion

He's (?) then  
↓

He left Ø



# Performatives + Imperatives

6/2/70

The \*ness of \*Werde untersucht!

can't be called a semantic one, because  
that's good in English. It must  
be bad because of a syntactic fact about  
German.

some → any

5/29/70



\* writing anything inflammatory will be easy for me to avoid

Shows  
Extrap

chromsky-adjoint

fills for

R Dial +  
L Dial

Dials  
for

Typicalization

Typicalization

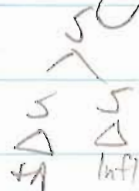
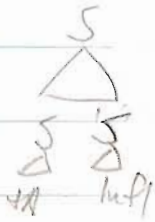
→ everybody got enough who I (\*ever) talked to

→ I regret it, that he (\*ever) showed up

→ that he (\*ever) left, I regret it

\* that he ever left is what I didn't say

\* that he left anything I didn't say



But how come

[ that he ever showed up is doubted by many  
that he ever left is surprising ] are OK?



What's the difference between these rules?

Can this output fact be what's relevant?

Also out

I will say to nobody who has access to a phone that there is anything bad

\* 1 2  
2 1

Nominals & tend

5/23/70

1. \* Bill begins to come home at 5  
[tends to begin]

2. commence is // [-Stat]

It also excludes nomic readings  
for its complements

3. Verbs w/ be ing (exc for  
he is beginning to like me  
[eat turkey] etc)

Nomic + begin

5/27/70

\* He begins to leave at noon

He is beginning

NB - it is OK  
in past tense

Why is progressive aspect necessary  
for nomicity here?

NB - this is only true when I  
adv in the embedded S.

He begins to cry

What's the difference in mg between

He began to get home by 5  
was beginning

(Performatives?)

5/27/20

Do I take it that 5  
? they  
\*gather

Why?

Extraction for Pseudo-clefts

5/21/70

what I { realized  
\*thought } was that he is insane

\* what were falling?

\* I ate what were on the table

But

what were considered to be good plays were in fact trash

what were thought to be counterexamples have since proved to be  
\* good cases

( Neg Attraction )

5/7/70

Anybody could have gone

\* Anybody couldn't have gone

Doesn't this contrast argue for NegIncorp?

the/a warmth

5/10/70

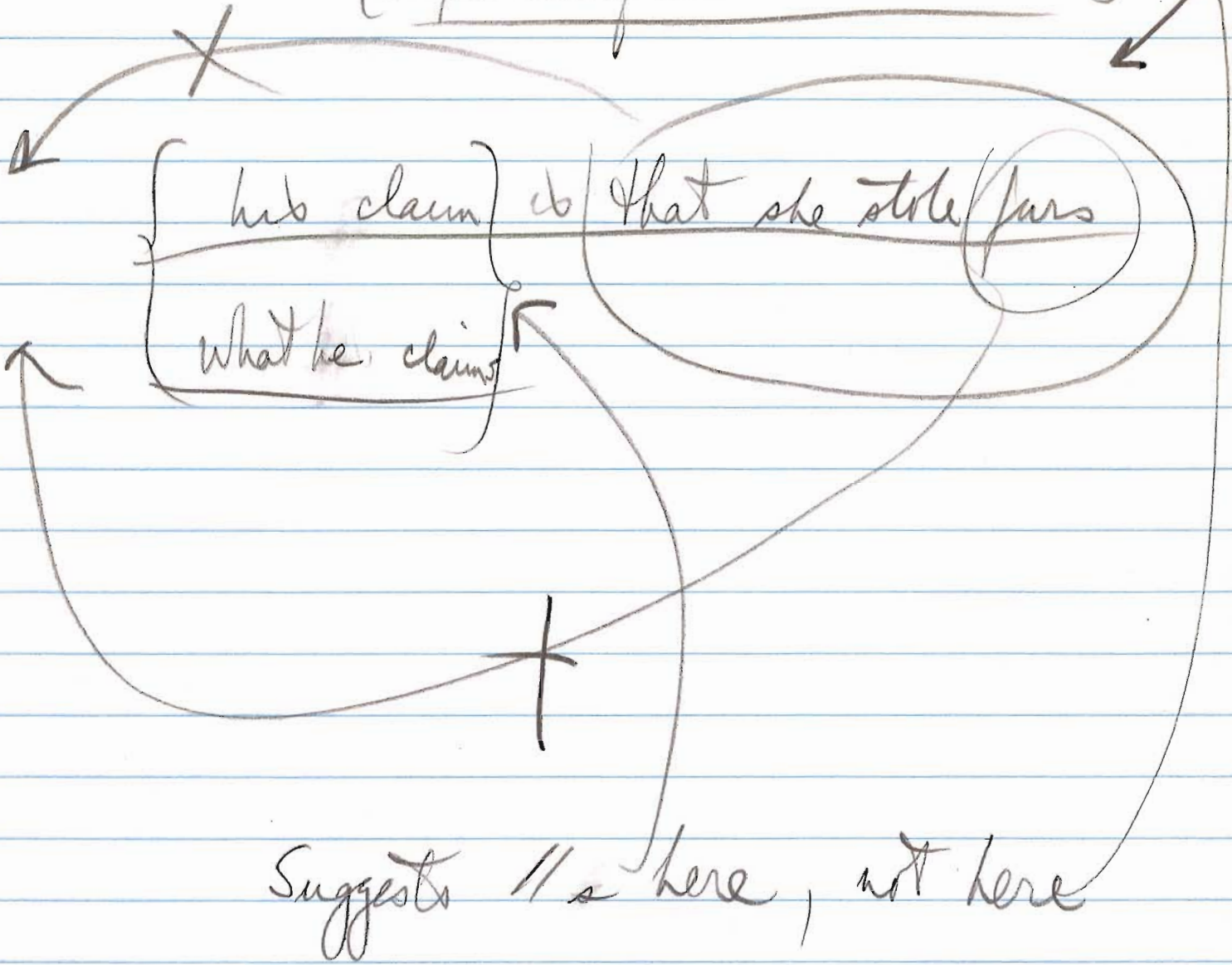
half the doctor that { they (\*dont) think  
\*they deny } I was (\*at)



be and chopping Rules

5/4/70

$\frac{A \text{ is } B}{A \text{ is } C}$ 
}
Paris that this is a picture of
  
\*
a picture of Paris that this is



Another plus for No Deletion

5/3/70

\* Max avoided swimming + Bill to go

↑  
The lexical item must be reconstructed

(But what of

I like drinking + she { smoking }  
{ \*to smoke }

Notice that though  $\exists$  paraphrased like le tron dans le mur qui admet la lumiere, one couldn't refer to window / it **Everything**

i.e., it's only good because the NP, in its natural form in a // deriv, one that would express the same 4/29/70 prop, has the syntactic feature feminine.

Note that j'en cherche une, the en refers to the set of windows. Now, tho. How can one refer back to window w/o. having mentioned it previously?

Thoughts with Paul  
 How can elle (la fenetre) est grande be gotten? One must refer trans down to the natural realization of the concept. \*The plan made us want to meet the man who approved

related to the permanence of N \*the boy who dispersed

3. murdered and raped

Deletion of anaphoric obj obey epithet command constraints. has to be in same town left and inserted - no good if one object remains Maurice's idea about the one I mentioned - maybe right

5b. How to make 1. the same fact as John + Paul's stuff about VP Deletion? That seems to be the same fact.

5a. You can't! } Ma femme est assise dans la fenetre dans l'autre chambre. j'en cherche une ici  
 I think this is at least weak

6. Paul's proof that not all pronoun facts can be stated at one place:

- a. who; did he; say was coming? } ← OUT FOR ALL
- b. who; say was coming? } ← IN FOR JANE + OTHERS

Paul says a must be out because he; said who; was coming so bad, ∴ one constraint before wh Move.

But since  $\exists$  which of the men who Balsam said he she was we need a check after, too. QED.

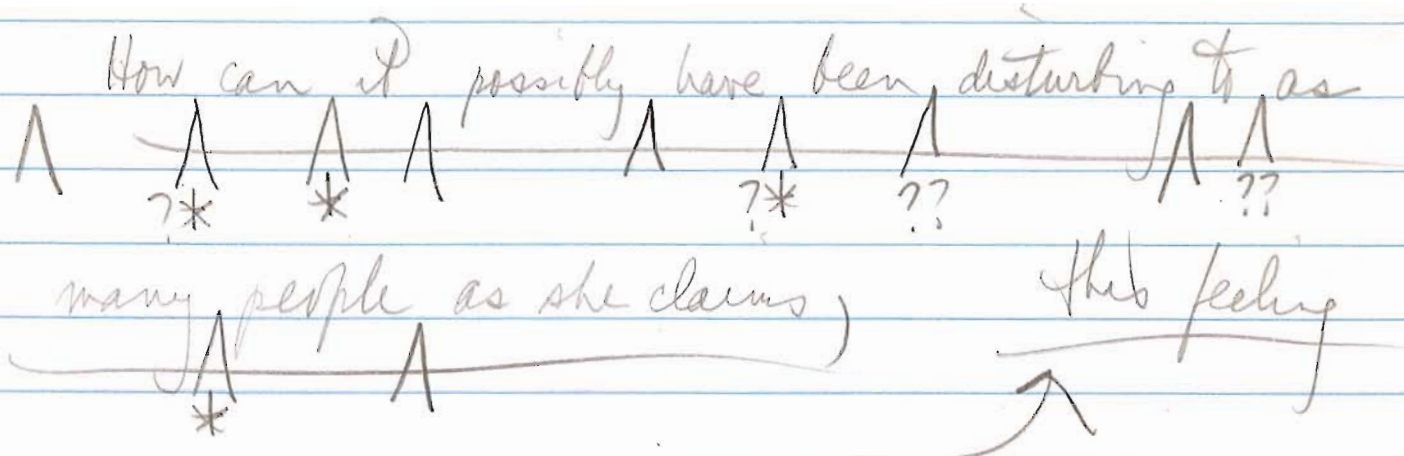
VP Del

4/24/70

The putatively  
reportedly  
supposedly  
allegedly tall man really wasn't

Dislocation and Scrambling  
and Nicking

4/22/70



This constituent can now be reordered  
to any of these places

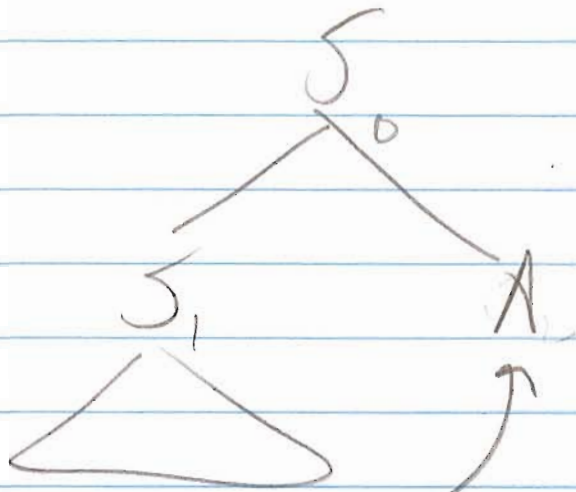
So maybe there is only one rule  
of Dislocation

(What about pronoun differences, though?  
Why can't a pronoun follow,  
while it can precede?)

Transportability

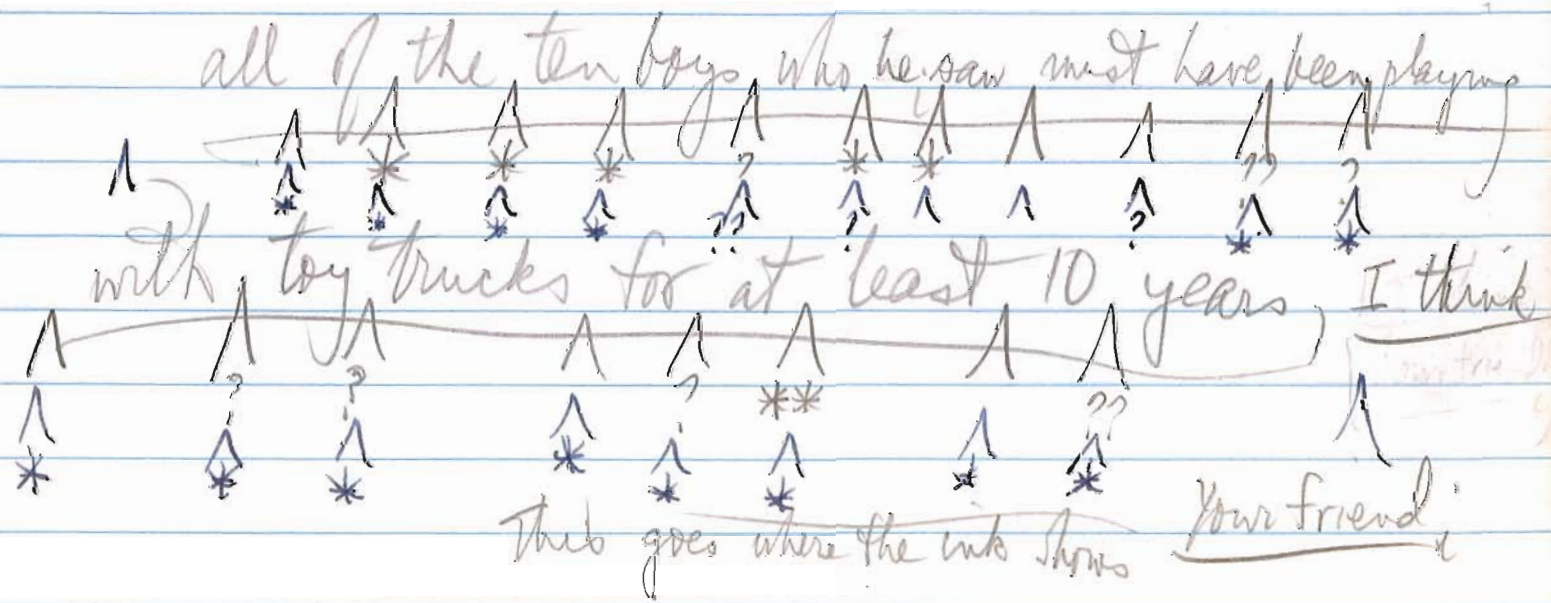
4/22/70

Maybe Jay is roughly right —  
that in a  $\Delta$  like



the top clause

this constituent can go anywhere in  
of  $S_1$  (what about into nominally complex NP?)



Is Cross-over an OC?

4/21/70

? Mary is believed to have been examined by Max,  
but he isn't  
though for Max, to examine

Yes - this is much better than

it would be if there were believed to have been examined by himself

This seems to ruin Ray

A - he agrees  $\exists$  VP Del

Then he has to say  
 $\exists$  DC to the effect that  
his semantic rule of  
refl. antecedence is  
dependent on later  
deletions

B - he says  $\nexists$  VP Del

Then he has to do his  
rule of refl. antecedence  
on the output of VP reconstruction  
which must yield syntactic  
forms, not semantic ones.

"Root T's"

4/19/70

An outstanding counterexample to the claim that all T's which attach things to S can only be in the highest S is JC Child's Placement

Cf in particular da mi je čita

where even Emonds may be reluctant to claim

that the structure is





# Semantics vs Syntax

4/19/70

Paul used to characterize semantic violations as those involving modifiers

Since there aren't any, semantically, how about saying that semantics is all + only violations of the form

$p \& \sim p$

where either or both can be presupposed

(Not Hopping)

4/19/70

SR provides a terrific argument for  
this rule, because negative  
parentheticals are in general  
impossible!

(Why did I never see this before?)

Declaratives and Slippy Identity

4/19/70

AMBIG { I'm } slippy, and Bill thinks so too

\*They're

Can this conceivably mean Bill thinks he's slippy?

This surely can't

give + Vn

4/19/70

What class of V takes this model?

give {

- a yell
- a shout
- a cry
- ? a yawn
- ? a sneeze
- ? a cough

need to

- push slap
- shove boost
- heave hand
- bang

Take double objects

Questions & Performatives  
Commands

4/19/70

great argument for Questions

Is he there { I want (\*Bill) to know  
 { I  
 { \*they } wonder  
 // tell me }

Is he there

What's the env for SVI?

obviously, object of a request by speaker  
for info from hearer

Ditto w/it commands

go home { I (\*will) tell you // go home  
 { \*they }

# Cognate Objects

4/19/70

Maybe they don't all perfective

Make steady progress

take frequent walks

Halt - maybe these mean  
(presuppose?) a sequence of perfective  
actions ??

5/27/70 -  
Also - \*fake 3\$ bill  
(fact from George)

Real World

4/15/70

Do you have change for  $\left\{ \begin{matrix} 50 \\ *10 \end{matrix} \right\}$  cents?

Real worldly(?) out 5:

Yah, but what is  
the status of this  
entailment?

Is this out because \*He has change for \$1.15 but not for \$1.00  
our concept of dollar  
includes the concepts  
of dimes, quarters etc  
and the notion of  
addition? Or is it  
not out linguistically?  
How can we tell?

I don't know, but I'd say it's out because  
(1) if he has change for \$1.<sup>15</sup> it is entailed  
then he has change for \$1.<sup>00</sup>. So the  
"out sentence" expresses a contradiction,  
one of form  $p \wedge \neg q$ , where  
p entails the contradictory of  $\neg q$  (ie q).

\*for elementary  
economics

whether mathematics\* is a part of grammar, I  
have no idea. Paul Ziff, eg, thinks it isn't.  
He gives examples (I think in "What a Grammar  
Can't Do") such as

The person who used to be John & has since  
changed ~~to~~ sex  $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{once} \\ \text{twice} \\ 3 \times \\ 4 \times \\ 5 \times \\ \vdots \end{matrix} \right\}$  is  $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{female} \\ \text{male} \\ \text{♀} \\ \text{♂} \\ \text{♀} \\ \vdots \end{matrix} \right\}$

Mitchell  
Ginsberg →

Nor is elementary biology & surgical theory  
part of grammar. ; Very strange. I don't  
know how to deal w/ these ie on which grounds  
to hold them "unacceptable".

# Contraction + Deletion (?)

4/14/70

\* he's, I think, unsure



Perfectivity and Unspecified NP Del

Fact noticed with Dave on reading Mittwoch's squib: <sup>4/70</sup>

It took her 25 days to write

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{up} \\ * \end{array} \right\}$

As-clauses

4/12/70

as is possible

This clause can follow

- a) if-clauses
- b) either-clauses
- c) objects of hope, doubt, claim, maintain

Why can't it follow may/might?

Can't follow factive clauses  
or say, ~~maintain~~, promise

Seems to have a speaker uncertainty presup

Problem: as I had hoped (\*for)

WHY?

as you are aware  
which you are aware of

which I had hoped \* (for)  
cf. also as

# Cognate Objects

4/13/70

Arguments for a manner adv source:

1. \* He died a death

2. \* He died a valid death / \* in a valid manner

3. \* He grinned an engaging grin, and she grinned  
(an encouraging) one too

4. Only mannerable V-take cognate objects

5/28/70

5. Argument for them being derived:

\* his sleep of the sleep of the damned

\* his death of 1000 deaths

etc.

(gossiping)

4/11/70

\* Hans fährt nicht nach Rom, und Peter nicht nach Paris  
but

OK weil Hans nicht nach Rom, und Peter nicht nach Paris fährt

Backwards  $\neq$  forwards

Uh oh — how come at least 2 differences  
are  $\square$ ?

\* Weil Hans Wein, und [Peter Wein] trank  
[Hans Bier]

This looks like real gossiping

Flip

4/10/70

Cf Akatsuka

In Japanese, backwards Refl is only  $\diamond$  from old Flip subjects. Also, otherwise Refl only comes from subjects.

Neg in Than Clauses  
+ Being Deletion

4/7/70

half a loaf is better than none

Look like an exception,  
but it disappears when you add  
having here + here

Argument that Poss ing 5's are 5's

I'm more afraid of going than I am

of not winning

↑  
doesn't command compared  
elem only if Poss ing guys are 5's

Another  
argument  
is that  
SSC  
obtains  
for Poss  
ing  
clauses

Gapping

4/7/70

Japanese gaps NPs forwards:

John ham on Saturdays to

Bill on Fridays eats

but V only backwards

(and the V's from top down, as in English)

[facts from Nakan]

[l]

3/28/70

[l] must be a palatal in English

push  
bush futch

[ʊ]

pull  
bull  
full

mush [ɪ]

mull [ʌ]

Note 3 contrast - dentals

pus - puss  
putt - put  
puɪ - pudding



Linked Q's

3/26/70

What did you eat - { a bagel  
 { only } a bagel  
 { \*even }  
 nothing  
 all the hot dogs } ?

Why?

What didn't you eat - { \*a bagel  
 the bagel  
 my sandwich  
 \*nothing  
 only the bread  
 \*a bagel  
 \*even the bread } ?

Can these derive from?

What did you eat - did you eat a bagel

What did you buy a picture of - { Paris?  
of Paris?  
\*a picture of Paris. }

Who are you counting on - { gail  
on gail }

To whom did you give it - { gail  
to gail }

# Double Passives

3/23/70

{ We } have been made fools of by this  
\* I }

This shows at least some productivity  
for this construction

But NB:

fools of us have been made

Specificity and Success V

3/23/70

No success V makes an opaque context:

Jack [succeeded in finding] Max  
[forced Bill to find  
managed]

Also, why is this bad?

\* Max succeeded in [looking for] a pencil  
[trying to find]

(Argument (weak) that there is a derivation from bottom to top)

NP "Negation"

3/23/70

If

they were arguing about nothing  
is really to be interpreted as synon. with  
nothing which was not

then the latter must be mapped onto  
something with a radically diff str from

... nothing which was { wrong  
heavy  
exposure  
etc }

What justifies this asymmetry?

(Bounding)

3/23/70

If QF really worked clause-by-clause,  
how come NP shift doesn't?

This suggests that QF isn't clause-by-clause.

Double O's

3/23/70

Why no thro bad

\* I asked when it was who that was fat?