

Pseudo Clefts

3/19/70

Lovely fact from Bob

What it was that Bill ate was a grape

argues that this is an embedded Q.
↑

Q. * I ate what it was that you cooked

Crazy Adjectives

3/18/70

1. There was a man

drunk
messing
high
gone
* round
* fat
* wavy

//

2. What's he doing

drunk
high
gone
messing
* fat
* round
* wavy

3. him drunk is funny
* fat

"Unspecified" Object Relation

3/16/70

Thoughts while reading ACLS applications:

We should award

Only good w/ presupposition that there is a known

award — like

Jack smokes

before

3/15/70

Why is the 5 (from Santana) ambiguous?

Before I stop loving you

respectively

3/10/70

Sentence from George Williams, who heard it
on the radio

Since 1960, Harvard has placed 1st, 2nd,
3rd ... and 8th, resp

Tag Q's

3/12/70

? Mary ordered fish, and Bill steak, didn't they?

Gasps

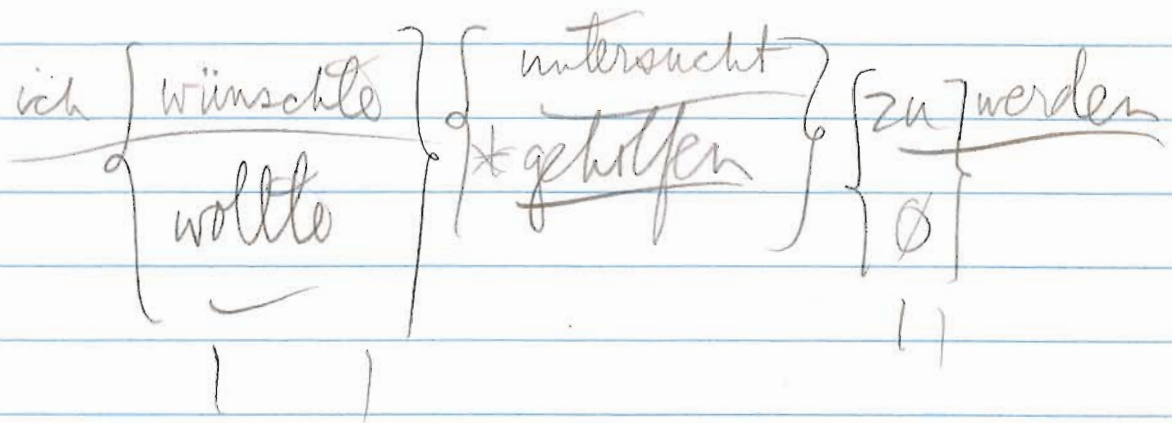
Declaratives

3/9/70

Only w/ 10 can you get mass forms
desn

Aux as MV

3/9/70



wünschen = will

Rel Cl Reduction + Pied Piping

3/6/70

Pied piping conventions block

* The man that Ed hired whom I didn't know

They also block

* The man who was how fat did you kiss?

If this is the source of

how fat a man did you kiss?

then we must have the order

Rel Cl Formation
Rel Cl Reduction
Q Formation

vice versa + inner islands

3/7/70

* John didn't kiss Sue + vice versa

John was [willing] to meet Sue, and vice versa
[? surprised]

John thought that Sue loved Ed, and vice versa
[* was surprised]

Lexical rules

3/5/70

Consider

North { east
west
* south }

South { east
west
* north }

{ East
North
* West
* South } { North } east

{ West
South
* East
* North } South west

Contrastive Stress

3/5/70

Contrastive stress can't be in DS: it must be transformationally introduced.

He chased her then
she chased him

↳
He chased her
then he was chased by her (or he was chased by her
+ then he chased her)

Sometimes he was surprised at her
sometimes he was surprising to her

I talked to her about him and to him about her

? * I talked about him to her and then to him about her

do and non-acts

2/25/70

* Rolling down the hill just isn't done by barrels

This suggests that
the do in ... and the barrel did so too
is an intransitive

Also

?? Falling asleep at the wheel just isn't done by
good drivers

Typicalization in German

2/17/70

one more beer

2/21/70

IP

NB

one more beer] and If think? [I'll leave]
*realize

IF I get one more beer

Shows that is an if clause

* Ich habe Bücher gepflügt zu lesen

NB

Performatives

2/16/70

∅ restrictions between speech act & V
that don't show up as selectional constraints
below the corresponding V.

Thus if peek e.g. can't occur
in warnings, it can't occur below warn.

if that

2/10/70

Fact with Dave:

if that obeys movement constraints

SSC that ^{only} 500 people came is likely, if that
it's likely that ^{only} 500 people came, if that

CSC He wrote (*many books ^{and}) 3 plays if that

CNPC They reported (?? the claim) that he had raped 2 bears,
if that

Out with Neg, etc

he will be willing to go to 3 cities, if that
*surprised

Dirty Relation

1/29/70

1. thing, one eat mine

2. do her, do it, make it, do the thing

3. do so into the sink

4. it can be dirty, not they

When a rabbit shits on a hill,

{ ? it
* they } may roll every which way

5. Presupposition of nastiness

? She was crying, & { it got into the soup
it streaked her makeup }

?* When I burped, several chunks of Spam came up with it

Performatives + pronouns

1/28/70

I think this is an argument for deriving all persons from underlying 3rds (and thus for performatives?)

Grammatical used as Semantic

3rd (your majesty)

2nd

3rd (yours truly)

1st

* 2nd

{ 1st
3rd }

* 1st

Floog am sick = { 2nd
3rd } The butcher
is sick

Anaphoric Islands + Stress

1/27/70

* I talked to the milkman, not the snowman

OK with

not the meatman

Parallel productive formations work OK, just
like pronominalization.

Pseudo Cleft + Aux Contraction

1/24/70

Milton's the one who did it

* The one who did it's Milton

(cf. The one who did it's at home by now)

? * In the back's where I left it

* Where I left it's in the back

Hum

Relative Clause Deletion

1/15/70

Q: How did the headway you've been making on it please him?

A: ? The headway pleased him quite a bit.

Better, maybe:

Q: Did the headway ⁵ or the prospect of more days at home please him?

A: The headway did, but the prospect * of more days at home } didn't

NP*_S + Pronom

1/12/70

Bill discussed { *Sue + his } resemblance
 * his + Sue's

How can this even be stated?

Questions & Performatives

January 1970

Bill { wondered
wanted to know
asked
* said
?? knew
? * found out } but I didn't know

If this turns out in some nice way,

[more evidence for performatives, because of
I don't know

No you schlepp — don't know can
occur after & can be answered

Neg + OC

1/9/70

If all polarity violations are OC's, then
what about?

I didn't { believe } that Jack would leave until tomorrow
 { *say }

Conversation w/ George:

These facts must be done like so:

if arrive until 5 occurs in surface str,

it must have

[out X]_v

1/3/70

Argument that these V come from comparatives:

* John outran himself

Performatives

1/3/70

The fact that \exists (almost) restrictions involving just 1st person, w/o also being sub-subj constraints, is a great argument for perfs. with w/o 2nd pers.

cleft S's

1/5/70

It was John { with Mary
in the hammock
* happy
* a student } ← facts from Russ
Andrews

What is the rule that makes these? They're not
rel. cls?

It was John in the hammock that { I heard
disturbed me }
John containing baron

Modal Deletion

12/69

I insist that any action (not) be taken immediately

This any is enabled by the missing modal.

50
10(?)

12/28/69

This guy only goes w/ performatives (?)

I do

I do

{ name
christen } P

? enjoin you
move

? promise

pledge

row

* command

? demand

** build

* ask

? enquire

require

Will-Relation + any

12/28/69

I demand that any action be taken immediately

* Any action { would
will
must
should
? could
* can } be { taken immediately

* is }

though Peopling + inner Islands

12/28/69

fitly though I was { willing } to be
 surprised

VP Deletion

12/17/69

If he wants to speak, let him
we won't have to make him

* I know he can speak for I've seen heard him

Why?

make

12/15/69

Fact from Bill Leben

There seem to have been enough
this makes { tabs seem to have been kept on me
* tabs be kept on me }

Does this mean that make has an
it 5 object only if seem, appear, etc
are the next lower V? Gasp

Progressives

11/14/69

What ^{is} was the pillow doing at our house?

S by Elke: * What is the pillow supposed to do at our house?

It must be present or past tense of the progressive

* What ^{must} will it be doing here

OK with can
could
might

What could it have been doing?
Has it been

(watch + look at)

11/29/69

watch = for some time look at

∴ We're going to watch the slides implies
they're going to do something, or that something
is going to happen to them

(respective = respectively)

11/25/69

* They didn't kiss their respective wives

* They were { eager
*surprised } to see their respective wives

Derived Nouns + Derived Fr.

4/25/69

* John's belief of Tom to like cheese
 { expectation
 { knowledge

This can be explained by

John's persuasion of Bill to go
 { motivation
 { compulsion

[NB that this can't be an OC
the decision of Max to go - it must
come before the rule by → of]

NB: of is relevant John's reliance on Max to leave

But maybe this is more general: NB ϕ

* Joseph is eager of Max to go

Poss ing + Deletion

11/14/69

Probably the same fact:

(a) John tried { to jump, and I tried (to) too
* jumping and I tried too }

* John { avoided
kept
etc. } jumping and I { avoided
kept } too

Maybe a problem: John was working, and I was too

(b) Gapping is also out

?* John kept running and Bill swimming

NB, however, that you can gap through:

John keeps writing plays and Tom poems

(Gapping + Neg)

11/14/69

Negatives are out, not only in highest 5:

* John tried not to drop glasses, + Bill dishes.

Particles

11/12/69

Fact from Pat Brogan:

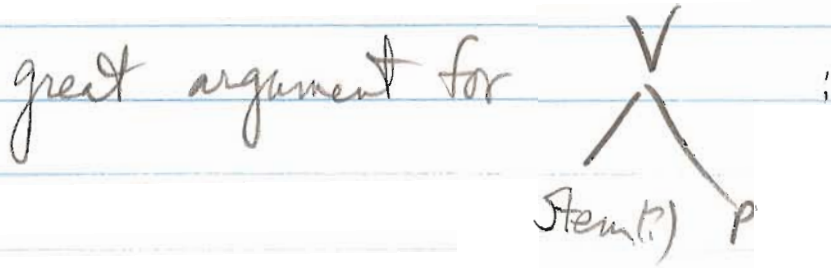
The prepositions that can undergo Preposition Attachment (let out, elbow off, etc.) are just exactly the subset that can undergo Particle Movement.

Ditto w/ the P's that can have their objects deleted after intransitive V (e.g. come in, dash out, etc.)

How the hell do we state this fact?

Verb Particle

11/3/69



Datives don't work with disyllables,
 nor do they work with V-PrT

i.e. *obtain me a book //s

*bring up me a book

7 3.2.1

But of for-datives

Why
 He'll fix us up some ~~ex~~ choc milk
 Please take ^{me} ~~up~~ up a layer cake
 She cooked them up some dinner

Output condition vs OBL16 Extrap

11/22/67

all would be handled exc H Rel
if parsing had applied
against OC

For OC

1. Bad S's aren't hash — only unacceptable
2. The OC will be \square anyway, for verbs like move, follow from, etc. which can't extrapose
3. Ordering paradox: if \exists condition on Extrap, the ordering must be

{ Rel cl
 { Q
 { SVI
 { Extrap

But because of SSC, ordering must be

{ Extrap
 { Rel cl
 { Q
 SVI (OVER)

1. Poss Ing S's don't extrapose, they also don't cause unacceptability
 \nexists exception to H Rel NP
 \nexists H Rel.
2. For him to say that S would be bad

The OC must be:

1. X NP Y, where X+Y are in the same S as NP, and where complementizers are better than lexical items
 (Also quibble about coordinate str)
2. \exists hierarchy of complementizers
that > for to > Poss by
3. Subject is worse than object

Derivational Constraints in Phonology

10/23/69

study - student

10 humiliate - mutilate - refuse

The rule is:

"Don't apply the tensing rule to what will end up as the phonetic result of a verb."

Causatives and islands

10/22/69

John hardened the metal }
? *galloped the horse }
**killed Mary }

but it took him 10 minutes to bring it about

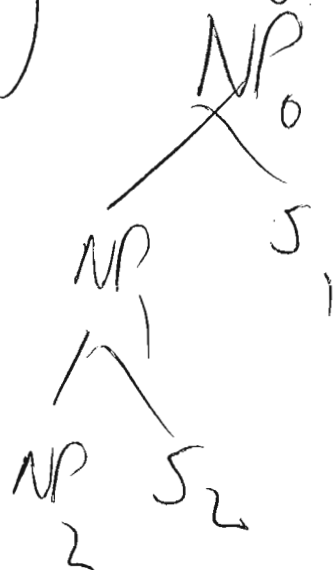
These facts are like

Even { ? flautists } think it sounds rotten
*flautists }

Extrap from NP

10/17/69

It's wrong to say that in



either S_1 or S_2 can extrapose

first. In fact, NP_1 is an island, as can be seen from

~~* a review which I've been working on is coming out soon~~

10/22/69 - No, you jerk, this can't starved - (of SPE)
Notice that it can come from a review S of SPE is coming out

VP Relation

10/14/69

I want you to be polite,

and Ed also wants you to
}
} "to be"

I want the driveway to be long

and Ed also wants it to
}
} "to be"

This can be analyzed if this is ← act

and the rule order

VP Rel
act → be / - Adj

one

10/6/69

1. * I hate one can't be out by virtue of an OC,
because of

(a) * one's father often hates one, and so do I

2. Therefore, the relative clause on one in (b)
doesn't have an underlying one as object

(b) one who I hate often has trouble passing

3. This seems to argue that rel cls are
formed on variables.

4. Incidentally, it also destroys Mike Brame's analysis

(Presuppositions in Trees)

10/2/69

Only higher presuppositions can influence lexical insertion - this is the same as the fact that only elements in the island of a node can influence it.

Tense as MV

9/30/69

Fact from Paul:

John ate at midnight ambig

At midnight John ate monog

∴ Tense is a verb

Idioms

9/26/69

fact from Ken

John broke } the window
 } the treaty

* The window broke
* The treaty broke

Can these be the same fact as?

* John read up

NP*

9/21/69

Isn't it so that all symmetric predicates
can "delete" each other?

cf. John + Bill { kissed
 * hit }

This would be explained by NP* analysis
(I think?)

Pseudo-passives

9/20/69

How about getting

The car is paid for (NB * paid \$ for)

from The car has been paid for ?

Stan's counterexample.

The door is open \neq The door has been opened
(it could now be closed here)

Idioms

9/22/69

they were at { ? own
each other's } throats

This idiom seems to require
a reciprocal

Auxiliaries as Verbs

9/20/69

Fact from Bruce: at midnight can't prepose in

(A) John has eaten at midnight

My idea: this is the same fact as the fact that preposing the adverb disambiguates

(B) John promised to leave at midnight

under the assumption that (A) has the structure has [eat] at midnight

Stan points out that (C) is ambig just like (B),

(C) John had eaten at midnight a. had had the exp.
b. by midnight

Preposing, however, gives only sense b, exactly paralleling what happens in (B).

Stan also observes that at midnight, I plays chess ≠ John plays chess at midnight - they differ in the order of implication.

H-lessness

8/25/69

as was { *doubted / noticed }

as seems { likely / to have been { *doubted / noticed } }

* as seems out of the question

I guess these facts just show that

P can be deleted after ^(this) as ...

Oh oh - it's the same rule that gets rid of P in than-clauses

than { was noticed / seems to have been noticed }

Verb-crossing and coordinate conjunctions

8/15/69

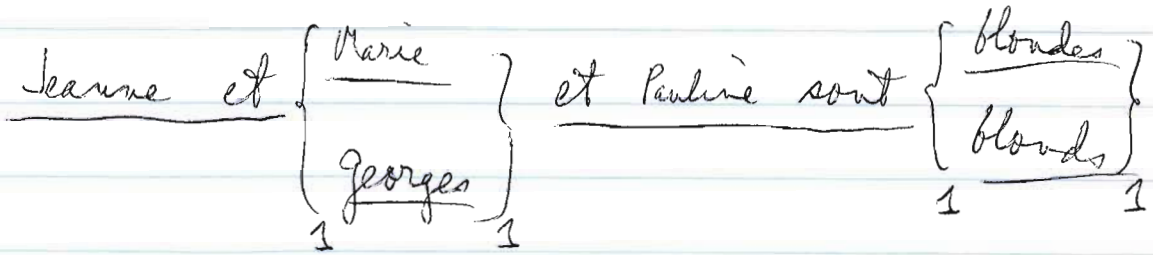
Either J or B baked the cookies and brownies = $[Jb \& Jb \text{ br}] \vee [Bb \& Bb \text{ br}]$
 \neq

The cookies and brownies were baked by either J or B

= $[(Jb \ c) \vee (Bb \ c)] \& [(Jb \ \text{br}) \vee (Bb \ \text{br})]$

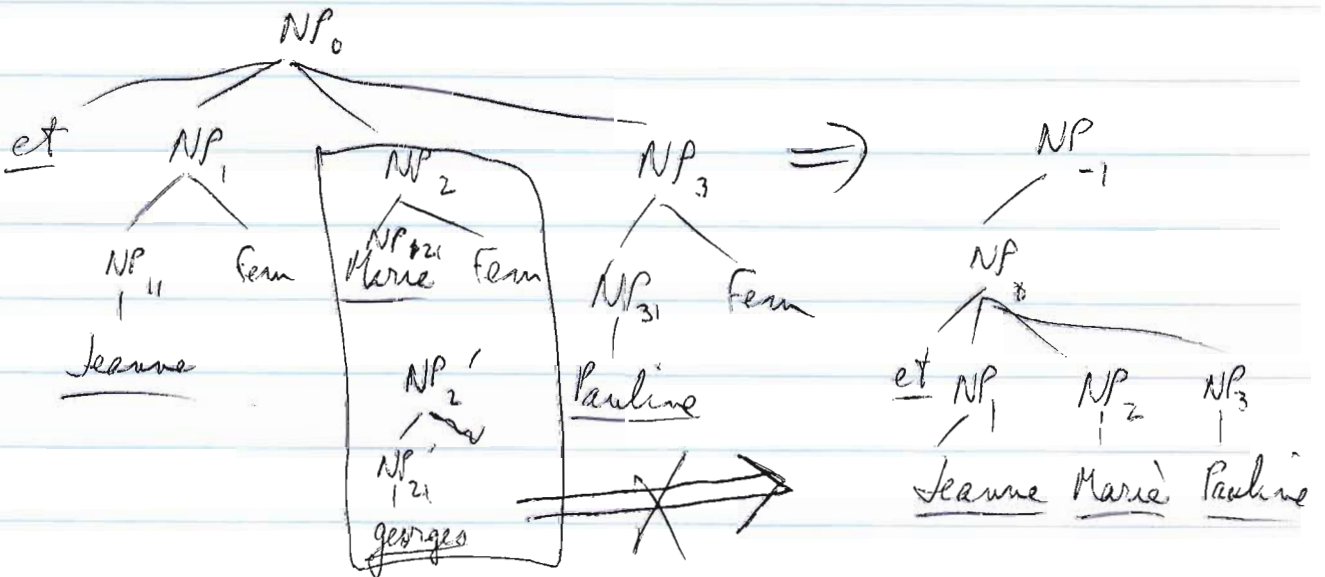
French Copula Agreement

8/12/69



Explicable w/o special convention for feature raising

if feminine is a morpheme, like FB :



That masculine is the unmarked form is also argued for by the fact that les acteurs can denote a mixed group, but not les actrices.

Present tense + performatives

8/9/69

Palmer via
fact from Jim:
^

Simple presents can be used like so:

Walker winds up. Morgan swings. The runners go.

?* considers bunting
?* knows he needs a hit

But this is not like progressives + performatives because of

this

Walker winds up
guarantees 5

right now

Note also that these historical presents are strange with statives - cf.

Cleft 5

8/10/69

SUPER-Fact from Jim (the most important fact about cleft 5's, I think.):

It was $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \text{my leg} \\ \text{my leg} \end{array} \right\}$ that Jack pulled

NB: \$ good deleted pseudo cleft

The one whose leg Jack pulled was $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ? \text{ he pulled my leg} \\ ? * \text{ mine} \\ ? * \text{ me} \end{array} \right\}$

Jim points out that this is only possible if the my is semantically a direct ~~of~~ object

* It was my throat that I cleared

Verb Crossing

8/9/69

Fact from Traugott & Scheibe:

Verb Crossing is a derivational constraint linking semantics and shallow structure, but not all intermediate stages

=

→ Alle Lehrer luden einen Studenten ein $(\forall x)(\exists y)[x \text{ inv } y]$
 $x = \text{teacher}, y = \text{Student}$

\neq

Ein Student wurde von allen Lehrern eingeladen $(\exists y)(\forall x)[x \text{ inv } y]$

\neq

→ Von allen Lehrern wurde ein Student eingeladen $(\forall x)(\exists y)[x \text{ inv } y]$

Have Deletion

8/7(?) / 69

Argument from Traugott Schiebe

Ike wants ham or beef is ambig

a. Either Ike wants ham or ~~he~~ wants beef \Leftarrow or above want

b. Ike wants either to have ham or to have beef \Leftarrow embedded or

But Ike eats either ham or beef is not similarly ambiguous - it has only an a reading

Östen Dahl added that while Ike wanted a unicorn is ambig, Ike ate a unicorn is not.

Same fact, obviously

whether and Japping

8/4(?) / 69

Sluicing = Japping because of

* I don't know whether paralleling

* I don't know whether John went to Rome or whether to Paris

The Theory of Deletion

7/18/69

I. Types of rules

A. Gapping

B. Stranding - extended to cases with so-verbs

C. Deletion in than-clauses He kept track of her - I think

Point out that the rule that deletes careful track the tensed Aux is a different rule
John is taller than (*I think) Max

II. Identification of rules

A. Gapping = Deletion in than-clauses

1. He looks at girls more often than she {at} men

2. I was {eager} to eat pizza, and he {*surprised} back

B. Gapping = Stranding

I don't know when Mary {will} kiss John, and when she {*won't} does

C. Stranding = Deletion in than-clauses

D. Prepositions can't be stranded when pied piping (he looks at more girls
and must be when stranding (he looks at her more than I look (*at)
than she {at} him)

III. Directionality of deletion

A. Never upward: for {me} to shave {myself} was expensive
{*him} {*himself}

B. Never backward: backwards "gapping"

C. Uncapturable generalization about deletion and the output condition on pronominalization

The Theory of Deletion

p. 2

7/18/69

IV. Deletion obeys constraints on variables:

Jack eats ham(*and eggs) more often than I bacon

Pronominalization in Japanese

He looks at(*my) pictures of her more often than she of him

good point - bring (*and cost) up at meeting

Gapping

7/18/69

~~Adjectives in middle sentences can be left behind, but not verbs~~

~~John seems to be eager to go, and Jane (to be) reluctant~~

~~* John seems to like to go, and Bill to hate~~

~~Wrongly put, you dolt~~

~~But this is just because complements can be deleted after Adv~~

I is eager to go and Bill is reluctant

John was proud of me, and Bill was } disgusted
afraid
jealous
mad

WHY?

(gapping)

7/19/69

The reason this is bad

? I was surprised to see John, and he me.

is because no X can be chosen - the theory of variables won't let the inner island be broken up

But for

I have $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} a \\ *Fred's \end{array} \right\}$ pictures of Ann, and she of me

and

The girls $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{try} \\ *sing \end{array} \right\}$ and play chess and the boys checkers

P.S., you dodo: This is great proof that in fact it is variables which are being deleted.

For him to go to NY and $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{for her to go} \\ - \end{array} \right\} \text{to LA}$
 $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{her to go} \\ - \end{array} \right\}$ Why?

Related to?

I counted on her to drink wine and $\left. \begin{array}{l} *on \\ - \end{array} \right\}$ him beer

?? He planned for me to go to NY, and she to LA

Fine w/o for me here

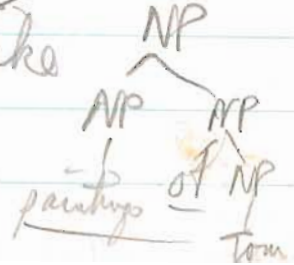
Can't be general, because of Im 1. Stock wird geschlafen
To Harry was given a pick and to John a shovel and im 2. gepickt

The pictures of Jack are here, and the paintings (are) there

Some of the beer is here and the rest (is) there

He bought photos of Jack and I $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{of Tom} \\ \text{paintings} \end{array} \right\}$

NB → This suggests a structure like
 *believed the claim
 Tom said I was a Republican and she a Democrat



Sluicing?

Neg from upstairs?

7/16/69

p.1

I know when he smiles and when not

NB

I know what he said I planted and what not

unambig -

I means only

what he didn't say I planted

I know during what months he fucks her frequently

and during what months infrequently

Stuicing

p. 2

{ * — } either he often writes, & mail ^{presumably} ~~presumably~~, or seldom, I get it all ^{7/16/69}
it he often writes you, fart, if seldom, pub.

Obviously, it's the same rule

I wonder when he cooks (indoors) and when outdoors
back in the pit) and when in the oven

I wonder when he gives marbles to Jane and

when bagels to Sapphire

* who he'll try to give books to and who novels to
to whom he'll try to give books, and to whom novels

(Slurcing)

p. 3

7/16/69

I wonder when he'll go to Rome and when (*Sarah) to Paris

I wonder how he forced Paul to go to Rome and how Peter to Paris
to Paris

7/17/69

I wonder when Irene married, and when Bess

I forget when Irene wanted (*Ann) to marry John and

when Celestine

Hugh

Japping constraints

I forget whether Mike married Lisa, or whether David Lisa

I think Mary loves John, but I don't think
think not John Mary

Sluicing

7/17/69

I {
 said
 thought
 *admitted

John loved Mary, and Tom

{
 said
 thought
 *admitted

(? that) Mary John

* I know that John doesn't love Mary, and Bill thinks (that) Mary John

Wild!

July 17, 1969
1:09 PM

Gapping and Sluicing are the
same rule!

great argument for performatives

Either John left or Bill left - {
 I forget which (? of them)

FANTASTIC!

{
 I think maybe even both

Gapping

7/10/69

Backwards gapping must be raising:

NB

weil der Mann (der schläft) morgen, und der Mann 5 heute kommt

weil der Mann 5 morgen, und der Mann 5 heute kommt

NB weil er Montags, und sie Dienstag Fisch isst

VP Raising

Performatives and higher V

7/18/69

Who do you ^{?(hereby)} promise to kill?

NB that here, promise does not have a habitual meaning - this is asking for a promise.

But it is clearly embedded, because

questions come from I request [you tell me 5]

Now note:

I [is telling me] that	*he eats this turkey right now
[is thinking about the fact]	he promises to kill Jill
	right now he challenges me to a farting match
	also not habitual

So this provides: 1) further motivation for [+Perf]

NB

~~I admit I challenge you to a dual~~
~~challenge you to a dual, I admit~~

2) a hope for as for myself, I apologize

I guess all V can be embedded inside performatives, except not in surface structure.

Performatives and answers

7/8/69

Note Maurice's fact:

Q: Who is sick? or Who do you think is sick?

A: ([I] ^{* deny} ^{know} think) Bell's sick.
 (* They) hope regret
 * doubt fear

think and hope and know
aren't performatives

And:

Q: What do you say we should eat?

A: (I say) you should eat hash

Note, however, that this is not in general possible

Q: What does Ted say we should eat?

A: Ted say you should eat hash

* You should eat hash

Performatives and answers

p. 2

7/8/69

Q: What do you order $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{me} \\ * \text{Ted} \end{array} \right\}$ & get?
(I order you to)

A: get a dingleberry.

Q: What do you promise & stamp out?

A: (I promise that) I'll stamp out corruption.

NB: Q: What do you hope that he forgot?

A: I hope that he forgot his pipe

* He forgot his pipe

Performatives and answers

7/8/69

Q: What { are you requesting / do you request } that I buy?

A: {
 { Would
 { Could you buy a stove?
 { Will
 { * Must
 { * Should

Buy a stove, { would / could / etc. / * must } you?

* You (goddamn well) buy a stove

be with \Rightarrow have

7/7/09

1. Him with a crewcut!

2. With $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{my} \\ * \text{his} \end{array} \right\}$ reasons to suspect foul play, I'm staying here.

3. A man with a cold

4. with your cooperation, I'll win
*my

5. with my pride, I'll win
*your

Deletion

+ Performatives

7/7/69

Can deletion ever take place except under command or precedence?

The putative counterexample with expensive etc isn't one:

To shave myself would be expensive for me

For me to shave myself would be expensive ○

↑
This NP goes under identity with the subject of the performative

When we say

For John to shave himself would be expensive ○

It need not cost John anything, so it's not John that's deleting here.

Deletion + Informatives

7/7/69

However, what about

Also the picture of himself that I got
(supports a Braine analysis)

?? To enroll himself in night school would increase
the chances that John will be promoted

This is not cool, but maybe such S's
are possible

If, however, deletions can be constrained to
work downward or forward only, then S's like
it will be expensive to shave myself

are great evidence for performatives.

NB: this says that backwards gapping must be by raising

Perfect + Statives

7/7/69

By and large, statives have no perfect tense:

- * This soup has smacked of Rice Crispies
- * John has meant that he's sick

Maybe the perfect gets deleted here, so that these show up as

This soup { smacked } of RC's (which)
 { smacks }

John { meant } that he is sick
 { means }

Why, then, is there a contrast between

John was sick ≠ John is sick ≠ I has been sick
John meant X : John means X : ???

Illocutionary Force

7/7/69

Sometimes one performative can double as another:

I promise you that there will be an investigation

↑
This can be a warning

But

I warn you that whatever you say may be used
as evidence

↑
This is not a promise

What the fuck is going on?
And aren't we in bad trouble?

Stress Inversion
+ Nicking

7/4/69

Dee is right: (but you need some stress on both sides of the insert)

"Jack, said Ma, gets beans, and Ed hash."

* "Jack gets, said Ma, beans, and Ed hash"

NB: * "I buy cars and wash, said Ma, them"

"Tom, said Ma, and Dick are similar"

? * "Tom and Dick, said Ma, and Ed are similar."

Whoh - why can we get? "Nobody, said Ma, goes out."

"I gave a book to Paul, said Ma, who really needed it,

→ (*which was fun to do)."

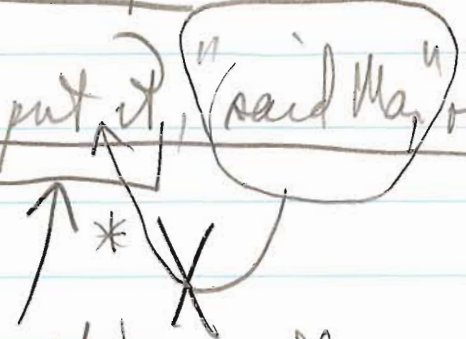
Why? Can we find some argument about VP stress ≠ NP? stress

Stress Inversion

7/5/69

* "Shut the, said Ma, fuck up."

get that gun, and put it, (said Ma) on the dresser"



NB - this counts as a word

"Let the cats, said Ma, out"

* "Burn the house, said Ma, down"

Contrast between Reduced Dir + Prt

NB → OK with right here - Fuck"

* "Some, said Ma, wine is in the fridge"

"He gave me { *a } , said Ma, 'sausage'
 [one]

WHY?

* "That it's likely that Bill, said Ma, will leave depresses me"

"That Bill, said Ma, will leave depresses me"

It seems to only go down 1 clause. (Gabb)

Declaratives + Appositive Cls

7/5/69

Why can we get?

It seems that Bill left, which I can't get Mike to believe

Bad news — this can't be an NP

Imperatives

7/4/19

{ Don't }
{ * } be a jerk

// 0

I { requested } Jack { not } to be a jerk
{ ordered }
{ advised } { * - }

~~X~~ 5

I expected John (not) to be a jerk
wanted

other and comparatives

7/1/69

He { will have
* never had
* didn't have } pictures of { more
taller
other } people

than I ever had pictures of

OK w/o ever here

as-50

6/27/69

it { turns out
* happens
seems
appears
is { believed
thought
 hoped } }

50

as it { happens
turns out
seems
appears
is { believed
 hoped
thought }
* likely }

Stancing

6/27/69

They are keeping track of him —

I think careful track

happen

6/23/69

John { happens
happened } to like beer

→ * has happened

→ * will happen

For John to have happened to like beer was a miracle

Two arguments that have = Is :

① NB

②

It was a miracle that John { ?happens
*happened } to like beer

Bad problem: If John happens to like beer, we're in

Cf.

Gapping

6/22/69

One NP different:

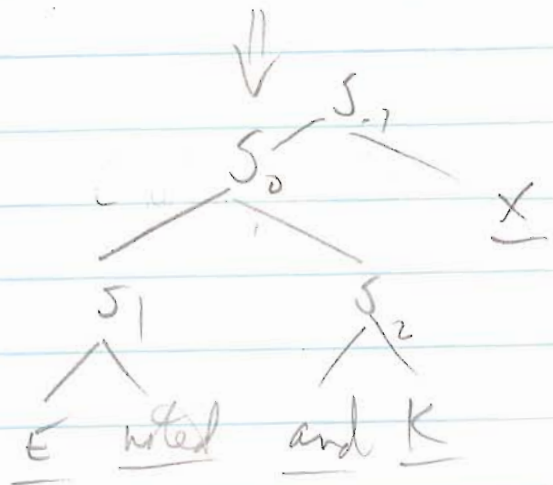
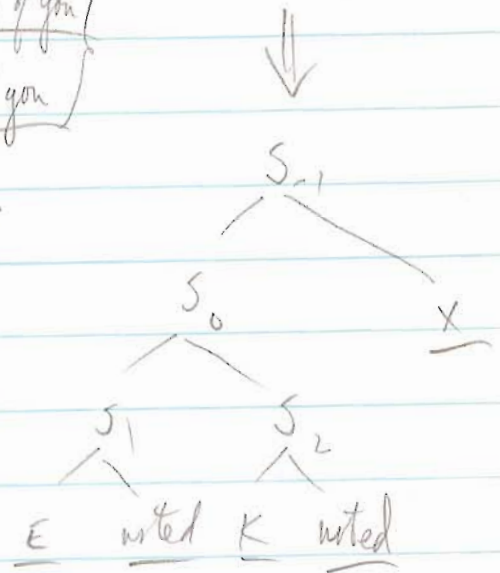
Emonds noted, and Kiparsky, that X

1. Emonds noted X, and Kiparsky.

Emonds noted X, and Y.



2. A picture of me was on the table, and { a picture of you / of you }
*you



6/21/69

∃ 2 //s so far

1. In than-clauses, NP's beginning with P don't delete:

I look at more pix than you look $\left. \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{at}} \\ * - \end{array} \right\}$

Similarly with to VP:

I wanted to eat more chicks than Bob wanted $\left. \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{to}} \\ * - \end{array} \right\}$

2. Neither to VP nor PP prepose:

* Into the garage I think he's going to back the trailer

* To eat even 1 more blintz I don't want

(However, NB? * eat even 1 more I don't want to)

PP & Infinitives

6/22/69

3. gapping also treats these the same

I looked at girls and she { at boys }
{ *boys }

I tried to dance and Mary { to sing }
{ *sing }

other than

p-1

6/21/69

1. The following facts about negation follow if this rule is right

no [N] other than NP
- [+Pr]



only NP

{ on no other days than } days when I (never) called him did I ever come
only on

2. Sentences with other than are just like comparatives such as

Mike has pictures of { more
taller
other } people than { Mike
*our house }

other than

3. Fred Piping is identical for other than :

Mike will want to have pictures of { more taller } people than
NB → { other different }

{ (I think) Fred will (want* [to (have (pictures* [of]))]) }
{ (*I think) Fred }

4. So the problem of the source of

I have no other house than a log cabin

is identical to the problem as to the source of

I have no bigger house than a log cabin

other than

6/21/69 p.4

7. The crazy fact that other shows up on either side of integers is paralleled by comparatives

the 2 { other / taller } boys - the { other / taller } two boys

Imperatives

6/20/69

beware occurs only in semantic things
that are addressed to listeners and intend
to elicit behavior from him,

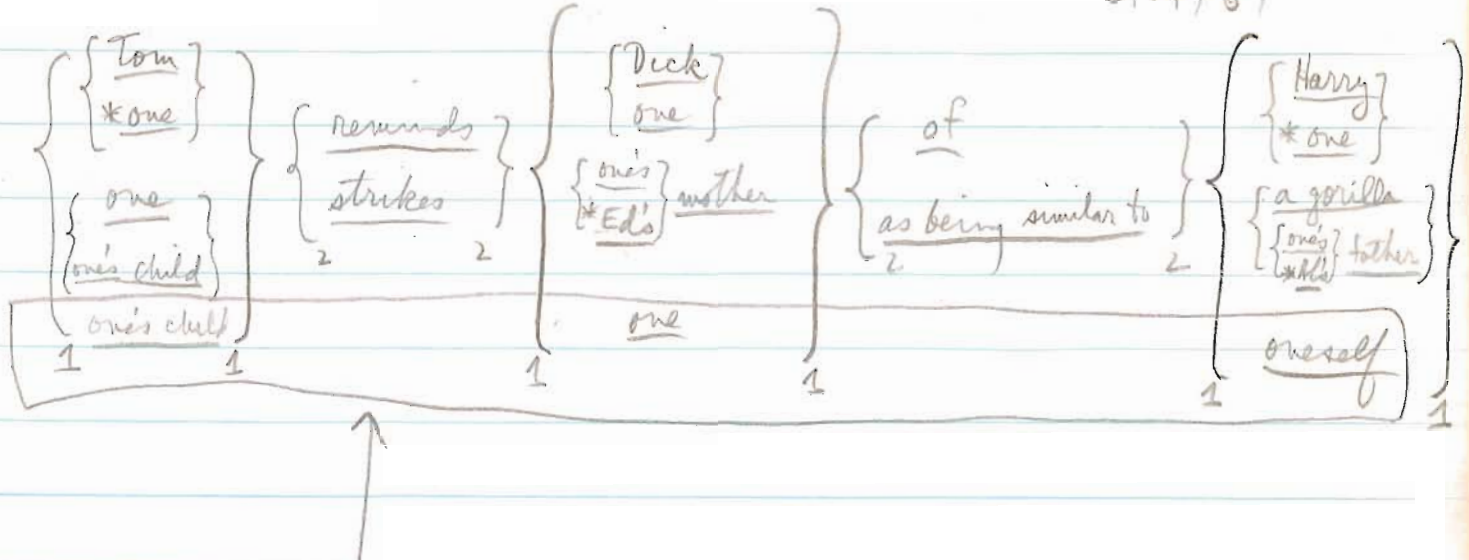
Beware of March!
I {told him} {warned him} beware of X

You'd better beware of X
I {suggest that you} {advise you to} beware of X

* I {desire} {require} {insist} that you beware of X

Remind

6/19/69



NB: exactly the same exception to the IO ≠ O constraint as is found in regular cases

My child reminds me of myself
? Ed's strikes

(Title)

6/21/69

The title of the next book after

Abstract Syntax :

Adverbs, Ellipsis, and the Theory of Grammar

It will have chapters on

1. Inner Islands
2. Comparatives + other (and only)
3. Superlatives
4. All other degree adverbs
5. Sources of adverbs - Adverb Lowering
6. Theory of ellipsis
 - A. Stranding
 - B. Pied Piping and gapping and ellipsis in than-clauses.
7. Sloppy identity and propositional functions

(Japping and Inner Islands)

6/27/69

* I didn't like steak, and Bill fish

// 's

I was { eager
*surprised } to meet Brigitte,

and Aristotle Jacqueline

Semantics of comparison

6/19/69

It's wrong to say that big, often, many + fast share a feature of constant ratios.

For compare

NB

Also good

He ran the mile fast

$$\frac{\text{His time} = 3 \text{ min } 55 \text{ sec}}{\text{Average time} = 4 \text{ min } 10 \text{ sec}} = \frac{225}{250}$$

and

He drove to New Haven fast

$$\frac{\text{His time} = 2 \text{ hrs}}{\text{Average} = 2 \frac{1}{2} \text{ hrs}} = \frac{4}{5}$$

What all these words presuppose is not only an observed instance and an average instance — they presuppose a knowledge of the curve, and they assert that the observed case is more than 1 S.D. out. (in the positive direction)

Prepositions

6/19/69

The difference between verbs + adjectives and prepositions is that prepositions can never delete unspecified objects.

Aux as MV + VP Del

Probably the same things will have to be stated for App Cl Formation

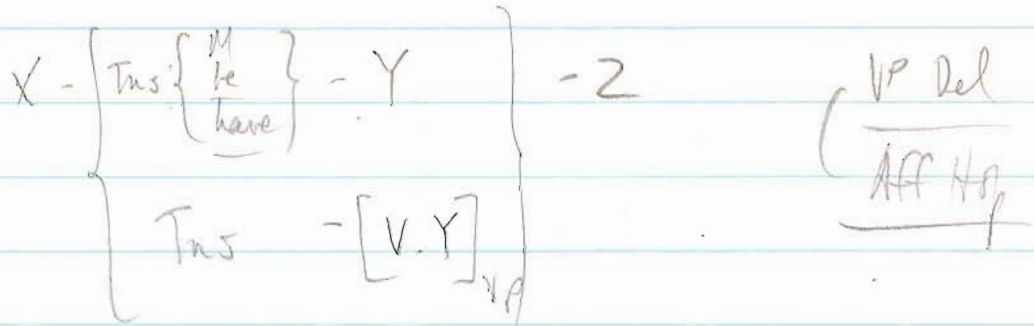
6/15/69

1. \exists VP Del because of King's facts

2. \square VP Del precedes AFF Hop, because of and he did

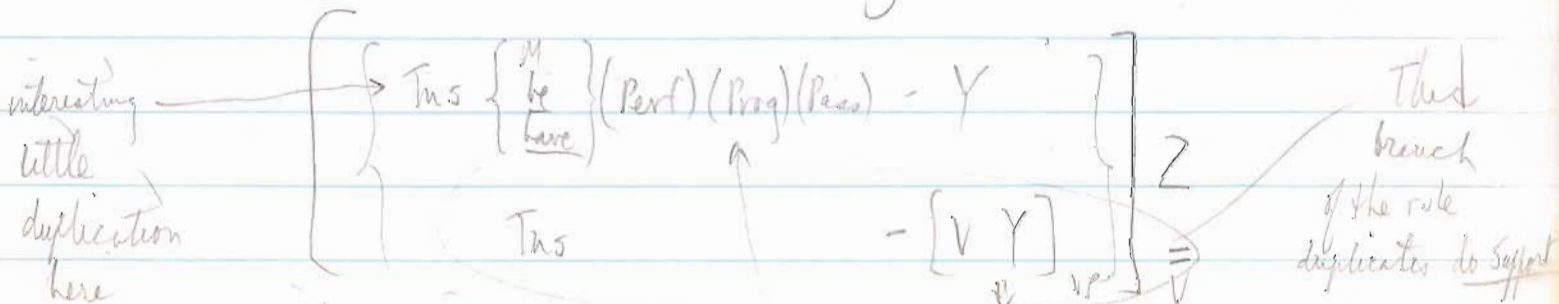
3. But because of I do too, Noam can't say it's VP that's deleted

4. \therefore The rule must look like so:



5. But this will only get a): and she $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} a. \text{ may} \\ b. \text{ may have} \\ c. \text{ may have been} \end{array} \right\}$ too.

To get the others, he'd have to say



with an interesting ad hoc condition on parentheses here - you don't have to fill them if you don't want to

VP Del

6/15/69

What's the Russian form for this:

I think that Bill ¹⁵ was sick and

You think that Tom was

15

??

Cleverly, the Russians don't have
VP Deletion, Dave tells me

Aux as MV

6/15/69

I insist that Bill leave, and that Tom do too

Bill be quiet, and also that Tom

be
*do

Maybe this do is the do of do so.

Why

6/15/69

1. From Joe Emonds

* I don't know why to read [out, surely]

2. \neq rel from why

3. No matter why you left, you're in trouble
↓

* Whyever you left