

Cool97.wri

- () *Whox did Jane believe tx to have told Mike to kiss pgx?
() a. Bob switched to Harvard.
b. *Harvard was switched to by Bob.
c. *Harvard is hard to switch to.
d. *It was Harvard that they never considered the possibility that he switched to.
- () a. They sang his praises/*them.
b. *His praises were sung/are hard to sing.
- () a. *Such salesmen have burned me before.
b. I have been burned by such salesmen before.
c. *I am hard for such salesmen to burn.
- () a. That movie starred Lulu Laboomboom.
b. *L. L. was starred by that movie/was hard for that movie to star.
c. *What actress did that film star?
- () a. The moon/Mike survived the solar explosion.
b. The solar explosion was survived by Mike/*the moon.
- () a. The king appeared sick on the Oprah show.
b. The king appeared often on the Oprah show.
c. The O. show was *appeared sick/often appeared on by the king.
- () a. Nobody denied/doubted/failed to prove that Mary knew anything/*squat.
- () a. He ate nothing, not even beans.
b. He ate squat, (*not even beans).
c. Many/Few people know anything/*squat.
- (70)a. It was Mike that she bought a picture of.
b. *It was Mike that your present was a picture of
c. *It was Mike that they turned that rock into a carving of.
d. It was Mike that they made a carving of out of my rock.

*Himself, Mike praised after I described pg to Mary/himself).

*HimselfX Mike praised tX after I described him/BarbaraX to pgX.

*It was himself that pictures of led Mike to talk about.

Note that:

() Pictures of himself led Mike to talk about himself

is good, so a pure 'feature matching' approach will not evidently suffice.

- () a. Under those conditions what do you think he should do?
b. In that bar, what do you think he should do?
c. *In that bar, what do you think he should put/place?
d. *In that barx, what do you think he said {I should do tx}?
e. Ok In that bar, what do you think he said {I should do} tx?

- () a. Nobody believes that Bob really bought pictures of anyone.
- b. *Nobody believes that pictures of anyone, Bob really bought.

() Properties of want + NPx + to VP

- a. no passive
- b. no o-raising, o-deletion, p-gap,
- c. inseparable from want by adverb
- d. permits want + NP + upstairs adverb
- e. no right extractions
- f. no extraction from selective islands
- g. ok NPx = anaphor
- h. no null AS *Joe won honestly, as I wanted to be obvious.
 But null parenthetical ok We will, I want to be clear, never agree....

i. no invisible NEX there

j. ok want it to seem/contrast *believe it to seem

k. no squat

l. *I want infinitive to be illegal like *I believe to sing to be illegal.

() signal to is like transitive appeal to,

() There are many colors to discuss/*paint your house.

() a. Who did you vow/swear/to to stop smoking?

 b. * Zeus was hard to vow/swear to to stop smoking.

() a. She appealed to the judge = (i) asked/(ii) was attractive to

 b. Which judge did they arrest everyone who appealed to? = (i)/*(ii)

 c. Which judge was Joan difficult to convince I appealed to? = (i)/*(ii)

() a. I can't believe it that she would do that. = distinct verb, meaning 'surprise'

 b. *It can't be believed that S/ c. *No matter how long you can't believe it that she stood on one foot,...

() PATH FACTS FOR HAJ

 a. I came back to Chicago from Denver.

 b. *I came to Chicago back from Denver

 c. Bob went from Chicago to Denver to LA.

 d. From Chicago, Bob went to Denver (*to La).

() a. PASSIVE--gapping

 a. Peter was believed to have played football and Mary (*was) to have played baseball.

 b.

() a. a woman who I would prefer it if under those C. was not hired.

 b. *a woman who I would resign if under those C. was not hired.

() a. It was Louise that Tom asked me why you wanted Greg to call ___.

 b. *It was Louise that Tom asked me why you wanted ___ to call Greg.

 c. ?It was Louise that Tom asked me why you believed ___ to have called Greg.

() a. It was Bob that they know who x she convinced x that I hated z.

 b. *It was Bob that they know who x it mattered to x that you hated z.

() a. It was Mike that Joex was hard to convince x that Greta had appealed to z.

- b. Joe was hard to convince Greta had appealed to Mike.
- () a. *How do you think that Joe, he fixed the car?
 b. *Nobody believes that Joe, he knows squat.
 c. *Who believes that Joe, he knows what?
- () a. *We discussed the year 1959 during it/itself?
 b. *We discussed Chicago in it/itself.
 c. *We discussed that brothel in it/itself.
- () *It was Bob that they arrested everyone who told __ to call me.
- () a. *Joe ate more apples than Bill wanted __ to be peeled.
 b. *No matter how many apples Bill wants to be peeled...
- () a. Nobody but himself wants Joe to win.
 b. Nobody but himself believes Joe to be clever.
 c. *Nobody but himself believes that Joe is clever.
- () a. It is that he is honest that I don't believe/*hold/*feel.
 b. They said he was honest, which I don't believe/*hold/*feel.
- () a. ?a woman who Mike convinced friends of __ that under certain circumstances
 ---- could be really beautiful
 b. *a woman who Mike convinced friends of (that) could be really beautiful
- () a. Mike should lose 50 pounds, which he is eager to.
 b. *You should find Mike/him, which he is easy to
 c. Mike should lose 50 pounds, which it is easy to.
- () *a woman whoX tXconvinced Mike that under certain circumstances tX could be really beautiful.
- () *a woman whoX under those conditions tX tried to convince Mike that under certain circumstances tX could be really beautiful
- () a. a man who assaulted a nurse criticized that nurse and so did *that nurse/*she.
 () one gorilla ate two others and so did one hyena.
- () a. It can rain without snowing.
 b. There can be riots without being floods.
 c. There can be riots without it raining/*without raining.
 d. *It can (not) rain without being clouds.
- () a. Nobody but himself screwed up Harry's health/*computer.
 b. eating paint screwed up Harry's health/*computer.
 c. Harry's health depends on not shooting himself/eating plutonium burgers.
 d. *My health depends on not shooting himself.
- () a. Who1 did they kill after pasting pictures of on him*1/ok2.
- () a. Who1 did they convince friends of t1 that I would call him1.
 b. *Who1 did they convince friends of t1 to call him1
 c. crucial example (barring Fiengo facts)
 ?Who1 did you convince [friends of t1]2 that they2 should call him1.
- () a. *Which man1 did friends of seem to hate him1?
 b. *Which man1 did friends of want to call him1?

(G) correlation between where extraction and subject extraction under adverb effect

(1) regret a. ok where (the place where I regret that I used to live/escape from
b. ok the woman who I regret that under those condition will lose her mind.

(2) too + infin a. ok where the place where they were too sceptical to believe he could escape from

b. the woman who Joe is too smart to believe that under those conditions could help us (but not highest subject)

(3) Lakoff A-scenario a. ok where the place where Joe went to the store, bought beer, got drunk and lost his wallet ____

b. the woman who Joe went to the store, bought beer and convinced that under the right circumstances could achieve amorous delights

(4) prefer it if a. the woman who I would prefer it if under those conditions were not rehired

b. the place where I would prefer it if she placed her foot

(5) cleft that S a. *who was it Thursday that under those conditions made a scene.

b. *Where was it Thursday that John made a scene.

(6) never fronting island

a. the guy who I am sure that never.....

b. ?the place where I am sure that never can he escape from

(7) Nom gerund

a. ?the guy who they discussed proving that under those conditions could have done it

b. ?the place where they discussed proving Joe had put the money/escaped from

(8) every-headed relative

a. *It was that woman who they arrested everyone who said that under those conditions could have done it.

b.* It was there that they arrested everyone who put their finger.

(9) annoys me that S factive

a. *the woman who it annoyed me that under those conditions lied

b. *the place where it annoyed me that she put her finger/left from

(10) whether clause

a. the woman who they asked me whether under those conditions might win

b. the place where they asked me whether she left from

(11) How Q

a. the woman who they asked me how under those Cs could give birth.....

b. the place where they asked me how she could have left from

(12) Nonfinite adjunct

a. *the woman who they screamed after claiming that under those conditions would die (but not highest subject)

b. *the place where they screamed after leaving from

(13)a. It was Edna/himself₁ that Joe₁ convinced that he₁ should praise.

b. *Who₁ did you convince ₁ that he₁ should say Bob abused ₁

c. *Who₁ did they convince ₁ that Joe believed ₁ liked me.

d.?? Who1 did they convince 1 that Joe believed that under those conditions 1 would like me

(14) a. your son is not, *as you bragged, a genius

b. *as was bragged by sidney

c. *as was complained

d.* as was gestured

e. *as was commented

f. as was cabled

g. as was broadcast

h. *as was replied/responded/answered

i. *as was sneered

j. *as you grunted/moaned/groaned

() Some random antipronominal contexts

a. color

b. names

c. there

4. PNs

5. which version did they tell you to review of Barriers?

6. borne in June/*it

7. mind

8. enter the army/*it

9. pay 500/*it

10. travel 500 miles/*them

11. discuss that brothel1 in *it1

12 a great deal/*it remains of his brain

13. bespeak/betray

14. weigh/cost

() a. Who did they ask you whether you mentioned

i. " that to

ii null to that S

iii it to that S

b. It was Myrna that they discussed the possibility that he never mentioned i/ii/iii

c. It was Bob that everyone who mention i/ii/iii hated

*Tom insulted more girls than pictures of pg annoyed.

*The more girls he invites the more girls (his) invitations to annoy.

What did his theory of pg make t famous?

*No matter what his theory of pg makes t famous

What a lovely woman he irritated!

*What a lovely woman his advances to/his inviting pg irritated!

*the tallest woman who his advances to/his inviting irritated

*What a lovely woman they convinced that Moriarity was in love with!

What woman did they convince that Moriarity was in love with?

- *How fat a woman did they convince that Moriarity was in love with?
- *Jerome tricked more woman than they convinced that Moriarity was in love with?

- What woman did he convince he loved?
- How young a woman did he convince he loved
- How young a woman did he convince that Bob loved Mary
- How young a woman did he convince Mary that he loved
- *How big a shipment did their seizing make famous?
- *How long a trip did everyone who took try to talk about?

vs.

What trip did everyone who took try to talk about?

- () a. It was that book that they asked me who I had convinced to read.
- b. It was that book that they asked me who I had convinced that you should read.

() query ..does pied piping yield strong crossover violations between minimal pipee and what is crossed?

a. Bobx, pictures of whomx I told himx to sell

if so, a. should be bad. Also:

b. Bobx, pictures of whomx hex was told to sell

c. They adore mex, pictures of whomx they said Ix should sell.

d. a carx, the hood of whichx made itx look funny

e. a carx, the hood of whichx it comes with

f. He was looking at a picturex, the painter/author of whichx one can compare itx to

(567)a. as I don't believe/guess/suppose/*say/*assert/*claim many people realize.

(568)a. If he were, as I don't believe anything to have proved, guilty of that crime,

 b. If he were, as I don't believe squat to have proved,

(660)a. *It was pictures of some guyx that I convinced himx you had stolen.

 b. *some guyx, pictures of whomx I convinced himx you had stolen

(670)a. I can prove that S and more than that.

 b. That S and only that was proved by Mike.

 c. I can prove that he is a fool and other equally interesting things.

 d. That he is a werewolf and other such things can easily be proved.

(671)a That he is a werewolf and something else/only that/nothing besides that are/*is bothering me.

 b. That S and only that was proved.

 c. *It was proved that S and only that.

- d. *It disturbs me that he is insane and only that.
- e. That S and only that disturbs me.
- f. Ted believes that S and only that.
- g. *Ted feels that S and only that.
- h. That you are dumb and only that matters to the committee.
- i. *It matters to the c. that you are dumb and only that.
- j. That he is incompetent and more than that, I am sure we can prove.
- k. *I am certain of that he is jewish and more than that/only that.
- l. Both that he is a werewolf and other embarassing things can be proved.

that and only that is/are bothering me
 john and only he is coming
 *only he and john is coming

some only = no more than
 some not even = less than

hypothesis...embedded contexts where infin and that clause are banned are the islands...

- (672)a. It appears that for you to kiss the beaver would bother the queen.
- b. *It sucks that for you to kiss the beaver would bother the queen.
- c. *That for you to kiss the beaver would bother the queen, no one doubts.
- d. I believe that for you to kiss the beaver would bother the queen.
- e. *The claim that for you to kiss the beaver would bother the queen has never been proven.
- f. *The possibility exists that for you to kiss the beaver would bother the queen.
- g. *whether for you to kiss the beaver would bother the queen is not known.
- h. *I would prefer it if for you to kiss the beaver would not bother her.

Thus, apparently, since topicalization is banned in these contexts, what is involved is that these suckers must topicalize when they appear as subjects.

but kuno case this something which for you to try to understand would be futile
 this is something which your trying to understand, i am not optimistic about.
 this is something which I believe that for y t t u would be futile
 this is something which I believe your trying to u he is not o about

*this is something which for you to smoke luckies would cause.
 *this is something which your smoking luckies would cause.

- (777)a. Wh infinitives do not extrapose:
 - b. How to skin beavers is unknown in china.
 - c. *It is unknown in china how to skin beavers.
 - d. *It was discussed where to meet the sluts.
- (778) hence in: I told Mike how to skin the beaver.

The How .. is NOT extraposed...e.g. it is a pure 32A demotion victim.,,this could follow from ban on threatening of dummy arc by type 1 successor.

(779) Rosenbaum allowed 'to remain silent was preferred by John'

(780) It was preferred by John to remain silent.

(781) a. Jane found out how to cook lamb/*how to cook lamb out.

Jane found out how to/*how to out.

(782) Jane looked up where to apply for passports/*where to apply for passports up.

c. Jane looked up where to. D. ***Jane looked where to up.

e. and I cabled Max the information back. F. ***and I cabled Max how to back/ok cabled Max back how to.

(1) My Guess:...clauses cannot be dative (but: I mentioned it (3) to Bob that S=island. maybe clausal 4 cannot be 3 quace...with mention, it is clausal 9.

Note too: Mike thought over (your) inviting Louise.

**Mike thought (your) inviting Louise over.

?*Marshall gave how to skin beavers a lot of thought.

*Marshall gave how to a lot of thought.

(1) *Mike never gave how to (cook lamb) any thought.

(2) My Guess:...wh infinitives designate knowledge:

(3) He *realized/said/*believed/learned/taught/discussed how to

Culicover manuscript Chapter 7, section 7, page 39

I asked whoi you had insulted ti without allowing yourself/*myself to apologize to ei.

Point is that there is no way 31 arc for p-gap could ever be neighbor of 31-arc for who.

I am wondering if you agree, that is, is there a real contrast between (5b)/(8).

In this case, that that is clause permits SAI. Contrast:

() a. I am asking if they agreed, that is, did they say.....

b. Mike is asking if they agreed, that is, did they say

c. *Mike said they agreed, that is, did they

d. I am asking something, namely, whether you are/namely, are you

e. I am asking you flatly did you kill her?

Further verbs manifesting the indefinite connectivity effect:

() a. Hours/days/weeks/years/much time/*something elapsed/passed/went by before he saw Hilda again.

b. It took hours/days/centuries/*something for the glacier to melt.

Freezing due to Complex NP Shift

- (1) Nobody believed that the man who...knew squat.
 (2) *Nobody believed that knew squat ..the man who...
 (3) Who believed that Bob kissed who
 (4) *Who believed that kissed who the man who.....
 (5) *Who believes to have kissed who –the man who.
 *Gloria believes to be innocent except Mike and Sandra believes to be innocent except Fred everyone who the police arrested at the discoteque.

Except for Mike, Gloria believes to be guilty.. everyone who the police...>
 Everyone who the police ..> Gloria believes to be guilty except for Mike

?I gave to everyone yesterday except Barbara the gifts that they wanted.
 ??I gave to everyone yesterday the gifts that they wanted except Barbara.

When did Claude give a diamond to Marie and when a pearl to Louise

To Louise Claude [gave a diamond on Thursday and [to Marie a pearl on Friday]

To Louise was given a diamond on Thursday and to Marie a pearl on Friday

To Louise seems to have been given a d. on Th. and to Marie a p. on F.

To Louise seems to me to have been given a d. on Th and to Marie (*to Bob) a p. on

- () a. Cows give milk.
 b. *Milk is given by cows.
 c. *Milk is impossible for dinosaurs to give.
 d. *Milk is too sticky for snakes to give.
 e. What cows give is milk./As for milk, those snakes don't give any....
 f. ANALYSIS; 4
 g. COWS GIVE BOTH OF THOSE KINDS OF MILK.
 h. ??COWS GIVE THOSE KINDS OF MILK BOTH AT THE SAME TIME.
 i. THE GIVING OF PRESENTS/*MILK BY COWS (OK ONLY ON GIFT READING)
 j. *What kind of milk did those cows drink after giving?
 k. *What kind of milk did every cow which gave refuse to drink?
 l. *What kind of milk did every cow which drank give?
 m. *the kind of milk I bought a cow to give/okprovide
 n. ok the kind of milk I bought a slave to provide
- () a. Bob believes Mike to know Turkish and Joan believes Sally to
 b.*Bob believes to know Turkish the tall..... but Joan doesn't believe to
- () a. Herman holds a degree from Yale.
 b. *A degree from Yale is held by Herman.

- c. *A degree from Yale is impossible for a gorilla to hold.
 - d. *A Yale degree, everyone who discussed wanted to hold.
 - e. *such a degree is unholdable.
 - f. *the holding of a degree from Yale
 - g. *degree holding
 - h. What kind of degree does Mike hold?
- () a. French chooses the former option.
- b. *The former option is chosen by French.
 - c. *The former option is impossible for any polysynthetic language to choose.
- () Lively debates sprinkle/pepper the volume with incisive remarks.
- b. The volume was sprinkled/peppered with incisive remarks by lively debates.
- () a. Jerome said that himself Barbara would never marry.
- b. That himx,*himself Barbara would never marry, Jeromex never said.
- () a. Hisx own mother, Joex may respect.
- b. Joex's (*own) mother, hex may respect.
- () Although I criticized himx, Joex didn't criticize himselfx.
- () Although I criticized himx, Joex didn't [*=criticize himself].
- () *Joe questioned and answered Sally.
- () a. Louisex, the Lone Ranger gave that picture of herself/*herx to.
- () *Which papers did you think were lost before reading?
- () Which papers did you think before reading were lost?
- () *This is the student that we consider sure that we can help.
- () *June is easy to imagine Mike discussing there being snow in.
- () *Snow is not easy to imagine there being in June.
- () I believe *there likely to be riots.
- () *He made there be riots.
- () *He saw there be riots.
- () Harry baked a cake and the aforementioned/previously/just mentioned cake/said cake/this/that cake/the cake that he baked/the cake/the same cake
- () *It was you who I convinced students of to call you.
- () It was you who I convinced students of that they should call you.
- () *It is p-gaps that there emerged a new theory of.
- () went right to the bar/went right home.
- () gave the book right to Bob.
- () *gave right Bob the book.
- () Hex is, Bobx hopes to prove,
- () He is, Bob wishes to claim,
- () *He is, wishes to claim Bob,
- () He is, said publicly Bob

- () I showed John those books three times (*each).
- () I showed those houses three times (each).
- () That, said those men three times (*each)
- () That, those men said three times (each),
- () a. How soon did Mike/*those facts/that situation demand that we send aid to Bananastan?
 - b. That situation doesn't require that we do anything/??squat.
 - c. This book doesn't claim that he knows ?squat.
- () As for your friends, that proves many to be guilty.
- () As for your friends, it proves many to be guilty that S.
- () That doesn't prove squat to have happened there.
- () *It doesn't prove squat to have happened there that S.
- () a. Bob took the bull by the horns.
 - b. Bob burned his bridges (behind him).
- () When Mike hit town/hit puberty/hit high school/*it;
- () Joe is too stubborn to get Bill to talk to (J)
- () Joe said Thursday and Bob said Friday.....
- () * Joe said Thursday and said Bob Friday
- () With John fond of Mary and [Bob of Lucille]
- () a. ?Bob, that shows us to be guilty.
 - b. *Bob, it shows us to be guilty that S.
- () Drinking paint ruined Bob's life/health/*Porsche.
- () *Drinking herself unconscious ruined Bob's mother's life.
- () a. I gave my word to Bill [that I would come soon].
 - b. *My word was given (to) Bill that S.
 - c. *How soon did you give your word to Bill that we would come?
 - d. *I gave your word to Bill that S.
- () a. goose is cooked/jig is up/the shit hit the fan/a little bird told me
- () verbs with middles: placate/sell/out wit/...
- () a. *as was null reported he was
 - b. as it was reported he was
 - c. as null was thought was null reported
 - d. as null was thought it was reported
 - e. as it was thought was reported
 - f. as it was thought it was reported
 - g. *as null was then thought null was the case
 - h. ok as it was then thought null was the case
 - i. *as null was then thought it was the case
 - j. *as it was then thought it was the case
 - k. as he didn't believe/?*say many people realized
- () a. We will, Bob promised us, have pizza for dinner.
 - b. *We will, promised Bob (*us)/(*us) Bob, have Pizza for dinner.

- () Pullum relevant argument for loc inversion involving aux contraction
- On the table would seem to have been placed.....
 - *On the table'd seem to have been placed
 - On the table is likely to have been placed
 - On the table's likely to be a good place
- () Pollard/Sag 'leaning' phenomenon
- a man who they considered stories about easy to listen to
 - a man who they consider stories about too foolish to read
 - a man who they believe enemies of to have been hired to kill
 - a man who they believe to have been hired to kill him several enemies of
 - I believe to have been hired to kill him several enemies of Bob('s).
- () That Ed pointed out to Louise and Mary to Joan
- () That, pointed out Ed to Louise and Mary to Joan
- () That, Mike should point out and
- () *That, should point out Mike and
- () Lively debates pepper/characterize the volume. No passive no object raising, etc.
- () *The volume was impossible for even lively debates to pepper.
- () a. French chooses the former option.
- *The former option was chosen by French.
 - *That option was impossible for French to choose.
- () Haj loc verbs reach, headed, live, reside dwell, leave
- () a. The cop spoke to Bob while frisking him.
- The cop spoke to himx while frisking Bobx.
 - *It was Bobx whox the cop spoke to himx while frisking tx
 - *The cop spoke to himx while frisking everyonex.
 - The cop spoke to each girl while frisking her.
 - *It was Bobx whox the cop spoke to everyone but himx while frisking tx.
 - *It was Bob whox the cop spoke to hisx mother while frisking tx.
 - *It was Bob whox the cop, while frisking, spoke to hisx mother.
 - *Whosex mother did the cop speak to himx while frisking?
 - *Whox did the cop speak to hisx mother while frisking?
- (1)a. He painted his car green/that color/*it.**
- the color which he painted his car**
 - *that color, which he painted his car,**
- (2)a. They called him a fool/*it.**
- the pejorative which they called him**
 - *a fool, which they called him,**
- (3)a. They made a/that kind of shortstop/*it out of Mike.**
- the kind of shortstop which they made out of Mike**
 - *a shortstop, which they made out of Mike**
- (4)a. His remarks bespeak that attitude/*it.**
- the kind of attitude his remarks bespeak**

- c. *that kind of attitude, which your remarks bespeak,
- (5)a. He was born in Argentina/*it.
 b. He was born in that house/it.
 c. the country/house which he was born in
 d. *Argentina/okthat house, which he was born in,
- (6)a. He stayed a week/*it in Majorca.
 b. the week he stayed in Majorca
 c. *that week, which he stayed in Majorca,
- (7)a. Harry jumped off (of) that bridge.
 b. Harry jumped off *(of) it.
 c. the bridge which Harry jumped off (of)
 d. that bridge, which Harry jumped off *(of),
- (8) a. a woman/*she screamed who had red hair.
 b. The woman who screamed who had red hair was Irish.
 c. Jane, who screamed (*who had red hair), was Irish.
- (9)a. Jane spoke (in) Mongolian.
 b. Jane spoke (*in) it.
 c. the language Jane spoke (in)
 d. that language, which Jane spoke (*in),
- (10)a. Mike entered the Turkish army/*it.
 b. the army Mike entered
 c. *the Turkish army, which I entered,
- (11)a. Jane expressed a wish/*it to Mike to retire
 b. the wish which Jane expressed to Mike to retire
 c. *that wish, which Jane expressed to Mike to retire,
- (12)a. Herschel went to Detroit/*it.
 b. the city Herschel went to
 c. *Detroit, which Herschel went to,
- (13)a. The rocket climbed at a steep angle/*it.
 b. the angle the rocket climbed at
 c. *that angle, which no rocket can climb at,
- (14)a. You can tell a lot/*it about a person from...
 b. the things which you can tell about a person from...
 c. *those things, which you can tell about a person from,
- (15)a. Ted grunted something/*it (to Linda).
 b. the things Ted grunted (to Linda)
 c. *those things, which Ted grunted (to Linda),
- (16)a. He gave the car a coat of paint/*it.
 b. the coat of paint which he gave the car

- c. *the second coat of paint, which he will give the car tomorrow,
- (17)a. He lived a horrible life/*it.
 b. the life which he lived
 c. *that horrible life, which no one should have lived,
- (18)a. He minds that but I don't mind that/*it.
 b. the things which he really minds
 c. *those things, which he really minds,
- (19)a. The dinner didn't consist of seaweed but he said it did consist of that/*it.
 b. the stuff that the dinner consisted of
 c. *seaweed, which the dinner consisted of,
- (20)a. The talks yielded a good result/*it.
 b. the results that the talks yielded
 c. *those results, which the talks yielded,

- (42)a. Laura burst into tears <without regretting <that she criticized Ed>>.
 b. Laura regretted <that she burst into tears <without criticizing Ed>>.
 c. Who₁ did Laura burst into tears without regretting that she criticized t₁ ?
 d. *Who₁ did Laura regret that she burst into tears without criticizing t₁ ?

New relational probe:

combination with between them

- (1)a. Mike and Joe kissed seven nurses between them.
 b. *Seven nurses were kissed by Mike and Joe between them.
 c. Chomsky and Schutzenberger proved 5 theorems between them.
 d. *Syntactic Structures and Barriers proved 5 theorems between them
 e. Jack and Jill spoke/*mattered to seven children between them..
 f. Jack and Jill proved three things (*to be true) between them.
 g. June and July found seven countries at war (*between them).
 h. Chomsky and Halle tried to accomplish three things between them.
 i. *Syntactic Structures and Barriers tried to accomplish three things between them.
 j. Mike and Joe punched three people back (*between them).
 k. Mike and Joe punched three people between them.
 l. Mike and Joe touched eleven marbles between them.
 m. The typewriter and the box touched eleven marbles between them.
 n. Jack and Jill know three things between them.
 o. Helga and Greta looked three names up between them.
 p. Helga and Greta looked up three names between them.
 q.

- () a. *That operation gives the integer 98 but he denies that it gives it.

- b. *That integer, no operations on zero give.
 - c. *78, which dividing 896 by 7 gives,
 - d. *Zero is impossible for any division to give.
- () a. Herman holds a degree from Yale.
- b. *A degree from Yale is held by Herman.
 - c. *A degree from Yale is impossible for a gorilla to hold.
 - d. *A Yale degree, everyone who discussed wanted to hold.
 - e. *such a degree is unholdable.
 - f. *the holding of a degree from Yale
 - g. *degree holding
 - h. What kind of degree does Mike hold?
- () a. French chooses the former option.
- b. *The former option is chosen by French.
 - c. *The former option is impossible for any polysynthetic language to choose.
- () a. *WhoX did Mary go to the store, meet himX and marry tX?
- b. WhoX did Mary go to the store, meet tX and marry himX?

From: David Adger adger@cogsci.edinburgh.ac.uk

Subject: Measure Phrases and agreement

I amoking for languages which display overt object agreement andwhich also have verbs that take measure complements (examples like English "last", "weigh", "cost" etc). The complements of these verbs share a number of properties such as accepting only weak determiners:

(1) Anson weighs most/every/many/several kilos and having degraded extraction from weak islands such as factives

etc (a la Rizzi, Cinque etc):

(2) How many kilos did you regret that Anson weighed?

Another correlation seems to be that they do not show agreement in phrases from past participles in French cannot have agreement,

which is usually optional for canonical NP complements.

I'd like to know if anyone who speaks or knows a language with object this last generalisation.

If you reply directly to me I'll post a summary to the list if there's sufficient interest.

Many thanks,

David

- () a. How long are you *proud/*afraid/capable of standing on one foot?

- () a. That Ted was fired was discussed by Sally and *stinks/*sucks.
- b. That $2 + 2$ is 8 was conjectured by Mike and follows from Axiom B.

- () a. It was Michelle that the dean let pictures of hang in the library.
- b. *It was Michelle that the dean's decision let pictures of hang in the library.

See Kayne 1984: 33-9.

- () a. Who did the dean let sit in the library?
- b. *Who did the dean's decision let sit in the library.
- c. The dean's decision allowed Mable to remain in school.
- d. Who did the dean's decision allow to remain in school.

- () a. I know a thing or two about cats.
- b. *I don't know a thing or two about cats.
- c. a thing or two happened.
- d. a thing or two was discussed.
- e. *a thing or two pissed Mike off.
- f. *a thing or two proves that he is a jerk.
- g. *a thing or two is important to me.
- h. I am proud of a thing or two.
- i. *No one knows a thing or two about cats.
- j. Jon allowed a thing or two to happen.
- k. Jon allowed a thing or two to piss Mike off.
- l. Jon let a thing or two happen.
- m. Jon let a thing or two piss Mike off.

Seems like a positive polarity item with some kind of accus condition.

- n. *He gave a thing or two a lot of consideration.
- o. *I derived this conclusion from a thing or two.
- p. The furious loser punched a thing or two (*back).
- q. *Your knowledge of a thing or two is valuable.
- r. We are approaching a thing or two.
- s. *The train is approaching a thing or two.
- t. *The pipe was dripping/oozing a thing or two.
- u. *1937 found a thing or two in disrepair.
- v. There might be a thing or two in the refrigerator.
- w. *There might emerge a thing or two from our meeting.

() As for that angle, no human-piloted aircraft has ever been able to climb at it.

- () a. Who did you hear from that S?
- b. *Who did you hear that S from?
- c. Ok I heard that s from Mike.

- () a. Mike was cruel to criticize Louise.
- b. *Who was Mike cruel to criticize.
- c. the boys who Mike is proud of the sisters of

- d. *the boys who that was cruel of the sisters of
- () a. The shit looks like it is going to hit the fan.
b. The jig looks like it is up.
c. The party looks like it is over.
d. The good times look like they are about to roll.
e. *a little birdie sounds like it told you.
f. They said the shit would hit the fan and it did.
g. *They said the shit would hit the fan and the shit did hit it.
h. *The fan looks like the shit is going to hit it.
i. The ice looks like it is going to be hard to break at this party.
ii. The worm sounds like it is going to turn.
iii. The tide sounds like it is turning/*rotating.
iv. The cat sounds like it is out of the bag.
v. The truth sounds like it will out.
vi. All the ducks sound like they are in line.
vii. The wind sounds like it has gone out of his sails.
viii. *The fox sounds like it is in the chicken coup.
ix. *The cat seems like it has his tongue.
x. The wolf sounds like it is at the door.
xi. *The door sounds like the wolf is at it/there.
xii. The buck sounds/looks like it stops here.
xiii. All hell sounds like it is breaking loose.
xiv. The chickens look like they are coming home to roost.
- () a. What color does Joe sound like he is going to dye his hair.
b. *What color does Joe sound like Marsha is going to dye his hair.
c. Joe sounds like Marsha is going to dye his hair green.
- () a. He could <not read all the readings>

(1). From Richard S. Kayne (at meeting about Delilkan proposal)

OK John is a pre- and Mary is a post- doctoral student.

(2) From Paul M. Postal

a. *I believe a pre- to be coming for dinner and Jack believes a post- to be coming for lunch –doctoral student.

b. *I spoke to a pre- and John spoke to a post - doctoral student.

c. *John interviewed a pre- and Mary interviewed a post -doctoral student.

d. Jack made a pre out of Lorraine and Bob made a post out of Glenda -doctoral student.

e. *Joe sent a pre to Mark and Laura sent a post to Richie -doctoral student.

f *Joe turned into a pre and Mary turned into a post -doctoral student.

g. *Joe took a pre- out to lunch and Mike took a post- out to dinner doctoral student.

CONCLUSION: IF (1) IS A CASE OF RIGHT NODE RAISING, IT IS SUPER, HIGHLY CONSTRAINED.