

1986 example collection

A sequel to my 1985 compilation of linguistic examples scribbled in my address book and various pieces of paper; I offer no guarantee that, if asked, I could say what the significance of any particular example was.
-- James D. McCawley

Anaphora

"We remind me a lot of the French Army on the eve of the first world war" (WW, Dec 28 85; we refers to the company that WW works for)

"... competing claimants today often understand very well what each other is doing..." (Dell Hymes and John Fought, *American Structuralism*, p. 24)

"Her mother is the only person who knows the truth about little Rachel ... the only person alive" (advertisement for TV movie *The Bad Seed*, 1985; backwards anaphora first mention)
"Her eyes are what a man first notices about a woman. So declared Havelock Ellis." (L. M. Boyd, SF Chronicle, 11 May 85; backwards anaphora, indefinite antecedent)

"When he stood on the battlefield near Gettysburg and made his most memorable speech, every word had been carefully crafted by Abraham Lincoln" (Royko, 12 June 86)

"...all of its small vanilla crop went to France. All, that is, except the few beans brought back by tourists and the occasional shipment sent from his parents' home on the island to a man in Los Angeles named Marc Jones" (NYT Magazine, 28 Sept 86)

"Their many friends are hoping that U.S. Appeals Judge Joel Flaum and his wife Thea... can patch it up". (Kup's Column, 17 Oct 86)

"The Trial of Lucullus-- Bertolt Brecht... His victims judge a Roman general." LP News, Aut 86
"The stress of hosting her own late night talk show is affecting Joan Rivers" (SNL, Nov 8 86)

"If you were your aunt, and you knew the sort of chap you were, would you let a fellow you knew to be your best pal tutor your son?" (Wodehouse, "Jeeves and the impending doom", 13)

"Only the previous summer, for instance, it having been drawn to his attention that the letter; had reported him for smoking, he had marooned a Cabinet Minister; on an island in the lake..." (Wodehouse, "The love that purifies", 166)

A: Did we hang an innocent man?

B: I hope not. I pray to God not. ("Execution", Twilight Zone, 1 Apr 60)

"That gun is Sam's gun. He shot him with his own gun" (Suspense, "Circumstantial terror")

"Ironically, it is easier to get out of shape than into it" (NYT supplement, 28 Sept 86)

"She was the first woman to win a governorship who did not succeed her husband" (Tribune Nov 5)

"Burke, allegedly slandered McLain in order to further the 10th ward alderman's political goals" (WFMT, Nov. 86)

reflexives

"It will turn out later... that this solution has much to recommend itself" (van Riemsdijk & Williams, *Introduction to the theory of grammar*, p. 125)

"He claims that Previn was Giulini's first choice to succeed himself" (NYT Magazine May 4 86)

"... his wife Fatima, who concocted a fantastic scheme to get themselves out of debt" (WFMT, Feb

86; either split antecedent of reflexive or split controller)

"It distorted the world outside itself" (John Yarley, *Blue Champagne*, 48)

precyclic VP-deletion

"A lot of this material can be presented in a fairly informal and accessible fashion, and I often do" (Noam Chomsky, *The generative enterprise*, p. 41)

"Your seatbelt should be fastened at this time. To do so, ..." (Midway Airlines, 4 Dec 86)

Anaphoric islands

"Mr. Condon, having worked for many years as a film publicity man before becoming a novelist ('The Manchurian Candidate', 'An Infinity of Mirrors', among others)..." (NYTimes July 85)

"Arthur, you're our editorial writer. Why haven't you written one for this issue?" (Miss Peach, 3 Apr 86)

"If Bud calls for another date with Tommie, tell him she's unavailable -- but I am Ø" (Apt. 3G, 24 Aug 86)

"This coupon is non-transferable nor replaceable" (mailing from Field Museum, Aug. 86)

"It was that more than anything else that made Artur Rodzinski's name a household one" (WFMT, 10 Sept. 86)

"Tisch will be the third head of the Postal Service in as many (= three) years" (WFMT, 6 Aug 86)

"If you are a chow suey or chow mein fan, you can get them with vegetables, ..." (Pat Bruno, Sun-Times, 13 Dec 86)

"I don't want to upset her any more than she already is" (Tales from the Darkside)

Islands

"I got to do things in that film that, if you did Ø on the street they'd send you away" (Lee Marvin, quoted in *Parade*, Apr 17 86)

"For example, you got the definition of variable as case-marked trace as a theorem, which I don't see how to get Ø from the simpler formulation" (Noam Chomsky, *The generative enterprise*, p. 90)

We have more money₁ than we know what₂ to do Ø₂ with Ø₁.

Which politicians₁ did Smith ask which relatives₂ of Ø₁ the FBI was investigating Ø₂?

Coordinate structure constraint

"The ABA defines 'American' very loosely -- 'any place we think it would be fun to travel to Ø and take the whole thing off our taxes'" (Roger Simon, Oct 20 86)

"I believe in a lot of analysis early in the game, which I then consciously abandon Ø and run wild" (Ellen Teaffe Zwilich, quoted in NY Times Magazine, July 14, 85)

"It's probably been there all along and I just haven't noticed it" (both conjuncts in scope of probably)

"The receptionist said to sit over here and someone would call me" (infinitive conjoined with that clause)

"...a fur coat is for looking at Ø and going "Wow!" (William Safire, NYT, 86)

Surface constraints

Order of VP elements

"Come on, honey, let's stop and pick up the kids a fun meal" (Mother Goose and Grimm, Apr 14 86)

"Then I'm outs here -- if I can get the job done before I pass out, or the guppie couple shows back up" (Dick Tracy, 23 May 86; original boldface)

"I'd have to give it back up" (July 86)

"He won't give us it back" (Fred Bassett, 14 Aug 86)

"Him we give a bulk rate" ("Newton I", *Twilight Zone* 86)

Comp-trace

"Who was it \emptyset persuaded that Farino guy to give himself up?" (Nightfall: The Willoughby

Obsession") cf: ??It was Smith persuaded ...

??I want to meet the person who it was persuaded ...

Control

"To avoid exceeding the limits, two aging Poseidon submarines will be scrapped" (WFMT 27 May)

"It costs YOU over \$1,000,000 a year to clean up \emptyset " (CTA message about graffiti)

"This happens especially frequently when \emptyset trying to reach numbers in New York" (Tribune)

"You'll always be certain to pour your guests a wine you feel confident \emptyset tastes just as you like it". (Dee Coutele, Sun-Times, Aug 86)

Parasitic gap

It's the only law that ignorance of \emptyset excuses violations of \emptyset .

Agreement

"Up to this point the examples and terminology have been non-controversial". (ms for review)

"The audience was laughing themselves sick" (Good Morning America movie review)

"None of the deputies were ever brought to trial" (Stephen King, *IT*, 503)

"You're the kind of person who drives yourself to the limit".

I broke two legs last year. (uttered by Mafia enforcer)

I broke a leg twice last year. (uttered by accident-prone person)

Identity

"But he didn't knock me out. Just down". (quote in Royko column, 3 Jan 86)

[The blastoff was aborted when] "computers detected a malfunction that turned out to be a false alarm" (WFMT, 6 Jan 86)

JR: "Have you got anything for it?" (= for next issue of working papers)

JMcC: "I probably will". (*I probably will have got something)

"Better keep a civil tongue in your head or we'll have to cut it out" (SNL skit: Randy Quaid as sedistic naval captain)

"...if you go up to someone much smaller than you in a bar and give him lip, you must accept the risk that it might be split" (Mike Royko on Billy Martin, May 5 86)

"You used to speak a language I couldn't understand \emptyset ", Anthony said. "Now I can \emptyset " (NYT Magazine, 1 June 86, p 42)

"There were no women included in the faculty, and it was to be some time before there were \emptyset ". D. Tannen, 25 June 85.

"Stocks fall 86 -- biggest ever" (Sun-Times headline, 12 Sept 86; *fall \emptyset* deleted under identity with *fall \emptyset*)

"If you don't indulge yourself, nobody will \emptyset " (\emptyset = indulge you; Garfield, 10 Nov. 86)

Soldier: "Lt. Flap calls you 'man'!"

Lieutenant: "Lt. Flap is an officer. 'Man' from him implies no disrespect! Yours does \emptyset !" (\emptyset = 'imply some disrespect'; Beetle Bailey, 9 Jan 86)

"If they're satisfied with the arrangements for his protection, then so am I. And so should you". (Twilight Zone)

"The word hasn't been used, but it must" (Tribune, 5 Nov 86)

"It might be objected, as I think Jerry Katz has \emptyset , ..." (J. Higginbotham, 25 July 86)

Adverbs

"Internationally, again, ..." (WFMT news, 13 May 86)

"The font can then easily be changed" (MacUser, July 86, p 17)

"That was the call I should have never answered" (Suspense, 5 March 49)

Smith nowhere cites Brown's monograph.

??Smith nowhere feels safe. (OK only when it conveys 'never'?)

"If there's ever a fire in our home, ..." (Drabble, Oct. 12 86)

"I can't believe that he'd now be interested in anyone else" (Rex Morgan M.D., 12 Oct 86)

Conjoining

RNR

"[It was] something the administrators who selected and the teachers who used it were incapable of doing or unwilling to do" (RNR of *it*; R. Damerell, *Education's smoking gun*, 135)

Is the title *Il Turco or Un Turco in Italia*?

?Is the title *Il* or *Un Turco in Italia*? (RNR sensitive to constituent structure of quoted 'foreign material'?)

"...an investigation of security procedures at Chicago's O'Hare and New York's Kennedy airports" (WFMT news, 13 May 86)

In addition to the mechanics of what knobs to twist and switches to flip that controlled the microphone, ..." (R. Damerell, *Education's smoking gun*, 154)

John was so angry and Mary ((was) so) depressed that I couldn't talk to either of them. (NB possibility of omitting *so*; in addition, split antecedent)

"Even when they put bums on the field, they draw enough fans and make enough from television to pay the bills" (Royko, 7 July 86)

"That was Ellen Taaffe Zwilich's *Celebration*, written for, and performed by, on that recording, the Indianapolis Symphony Orchestra" (WFMT, 12 Sept 86; PP from second conjunct moved into 'gap' of RNR construction)

Category identity of conjuncts

"And those who are named as the recipients of his goodness will be expected ... to produce some evidence that they really received it and how they spent it". (Mike Royko, May 6 86)

"I'll let you out and play on the stairs" (cf. ... go out and ...)

"... the Communist government has promised him and his wife screen careers and to put their eldest daughter in ballet school" (Tribune, 12 Apr 84)

"Terry's crime was that he was engaged in political actions that required [a gun and other people to turn money over to him]" (Sun-Times)

"These things [could have and had] been discussed" (Stephen King, *It*, 845)

"To our enormous surprise, but not (??to) Ayn's, it all came true" (Branden, *The Passion of Ayn Rand*, 181)

"If a girl had sex out of wedlock, she got pregnant or hit by a truck or both" (Roger Simon, 15 Dec 86)

Extractions are possible neither from S_1 nor from S_2 .

??Extractions neither from S_1 nor from S_2 are possible.

Misc.

"New but not existing meters would be required to provide receipts to customers" (WFMT news, 24 June 86; ambiguity w.r.t. locus of conjoining)

The Yankees have finished first and the Red Sox second on several occasions. (Gapping in complement of auxiliary Y)

Complements

He fulfilled their requests as fast as was possible (*to).

He fulfilled their requests as fast as it was possible to/*Ø.

There's a good chance (that) it will be out by September. (COMP-del)

I couldn't make up my mind which way I wanted to go. (P-del)

He wants to know what women want that men don't. (is this Extraposition from *what*?)

"Last time everyone in the Academy of Music was singing except one music critic. I saw him not

singing" (Leopold Stowkowski, recorded in Philadelphia Orch. pension fund concert, mid 30's)

"I seemed to feel that something was going to go wrong with it... something that would not be able to be put right again for at least a couple of hours" (Wodehouse, *Carry on, Jeeves*, 226; Raising with *able*)

"He did not rule out that allies would disapprove" (WFMT, Dec 86)

"... my Aunt Agatha...sent me over to America to try to stop young Gussie, my cousin, marrying a girl on the vaudeville stage" (Wodehouse, *Carry on, Jeeves*, 33; NB no *from*)

"Corky's uncle was a robust sort of cove, who looked like living forever" (Wodehouse, *Carry on, Jeeves*, 34)

"But that was not to say he couldn't have hired it done". (King & Straub, *The Talisman*, p. 602)
"Do rich people write their own Christmas cards or do they hire them done?" (Sally Forth, 12 Dec 86)

Complementizer selection

"I have known men call upon Mr. Todd with the express intention of horsewhipping him..." (Wodehouse, *Carry on, Jeeves*, 230; no *to*)

"He said he could stand to be scared, but he hated being dirty" (Stephen King, *It*, 501)

Comparative

It was just as stupid for John to marry Mary as for Mary to marry John.

It was just as stupid of John to marry Mary as it was of Mary to marry John.

*
of Mary to marry John.

"I particularly wish you to be as little of an imbecile as you can manage" (Wodehouse, "Jeeves and the Yule-tide Spirit", 52; *He is little of an imbecile)

"Listen, Bertie", said Aunt Dahlia earnestly, "I'm an older woman than you are - well, you know what I mean" (Wodehouse, "The spot of art", 115)

Interrogative

A: [What about] you guys?

B: Who guys? (overheard, May 24 86)

Jon Lovitz: You bastard.

Dudley Moore: I what? (SNL, 1986)

I want to know the reason why.	*the person who.
*the thing which.	*the place where.
?the way how.	*the time when.

BS: You aren't supposed to.

JS: What aren't you supposed to? (26 Sept 86)

There-assertion

On Thursday there will be the following events: ...

Theseus: ...there need none to be blam'd. (Midsummer Night's Dream, V.i.)

Passive

"They've been set fire to *B*".

"Addison had scored a brief triumph with his poetic tragedy 'Cato', which had the distinction of being acted in as a boy by the future King George III" (NYT Arts, 14 Sept 86)

Tough-like constructions

"Lally suggested the current brand of terrorism may be beyond the ability of airlines to handle" (Chicago Tribune, Apr 86)

"That's unforgivable to do" (CMcC, 19 Dec 85)

"It's an easy job to do badly and a thankless one to do well" (Paul Helmos, *I want to be a mathematician*, 356)

PP as object of P

"They'll be here until June, but they don't know about after that" (B. Tamulynas, Apr 14 86)

Relative clause constructions**Infinitival relative**

That's something not even to joke about.

??That's something about which not even to joke.

Rudolf is a good person whose brains to pick. (non-PP in COMP position)

"Freudians aren't my idea of people whose word to take"

"I can think of worse people whose work to redo"

Nonrestrictive

"Stock market prices are down, caused by concern over..." (WFMT, Nov 86)

"The last words of the opera are Kabanicha's, who says...." (WFMT, Nov 86; NB genitive antecedent)

[Long speech by Jeeves]. Having got which off the old diaphragm, Jeeves fell silent. (Wodehouse, *Carry on, Jeeves*, 98: Y'piedpiping?)

Reduced nonrestrictive

"The Illinois Supreme Court throws out the death penalty for a man who killed his sleeping wife and baby" (Chicago Tribune, 13 May 86)

Free relative

That's not how I think. (W. Safire column, Feb 9 86)

*You think how I think.

Extraposition

"It's a colleague's question that I was sitting with at the concert" (R Shapey, 12 June 85) (violation of subadjacency)

"Consecutive" relative

"...a French patrol boat fired on two Spanish trawlers that it then captured and charged with illegal fishing" (Tribune, 8 March 84; NB *that*)

"...a list of suggestions which were gratefully incorporated into the work" (George Stone, 20 Nov 86)

Omission of *that*

the person who/*that*/*B* we recently visited.

the person who/*that*/??*B* recently we visited. (argues that omission depends not just on retention of subject but on its being initial)

Pseudocleft

"Why we quote people is to pin them down" (J. Sadock, May 12 86)

"Who I compared him to was Samuel Beckett" (Philip Roth in NYT Book Review, May 18 86)

Miscellaneous constructions

"What's a light doing on up there?" (Nightfall: Hands off)

"What's a piano doing up here?" (Twilight Zone, 11 Dec 86)

"It's my favorite station in the whole world, let alone Chicago" (Michael Palin, WXRT commercial; cf. "... in Chicago")

"You know who he should talk to is Gordon" (SNL, 13 Dec 86)

Misc. ellipsis

"Windows are for lookin' through, Dolly, not at!" (Family Circus, Apr 86; original boldface)

"*B*_i Ready to take a chance again? *B*_i Tired of empty relatinshps? *B*_j Lkng for a woman of beauty [...] *B*_j Want a best frnd, a part to build a life and poss. family." (Chi. Tribune ed, May 86)

"Whose name always heads the list? George Will's name, that's whose" (Russell Baker, NYT Magazine, 29 June 86)

"I can't seem to change this typewriter ribbon" (Beetle Bailey, 8 Oct. 86)

Syntactic metonymy (telescoping, etc.)

"...there were engineers on the ground who feared precisely what finally happened" (= ...that precisely what finally happened would happen; Mike Royko, Feb 21 86)

"He doesn't know what happened, but he suspects *B*" (M. Winters, 12 Aug 86)

John likes tennis, began the article yesterday, etc.

animate subjects, human objects, etc.

"Illness... had skinned down her face and aged her a quick twenty years. (King & Straub, *The Talisman*, p. 535)

"Daniel Webster had spoken at fiery, inspired length" (King & Straub, *The Talisman*, p. 5)

"Never-married women in their 20s have had sexual intercourse, on average, with 4.5 men, half of the time with serious, long-term boyfriends and half in more casual relationships". (Chicago Tribune. Does this mean half of the time, half of the times, or half of the partners?)

"The third American in 2 weeks has been kidnapped in Lebanon" (WFMT, 12 Sept. 86)

Interpretation of operators

"I was surprised to find that it was still summery, though the tree in Central Park had begun to turn" (F. Pohl, *The Merchants' War*, 252; no prior mention that in that world there is only one tree in Central Park)

"How many flights are all scheduled to depart at 5 P.M.?" (Ellen Goodman, Tribune, 3 Oct 86)

"... fifteen minutes later you can't remember what the dream was even about" (Stephen King, //, 876)

"...they see this as some sort of attack. Maybe it even is." (Stephen King, //, 125)

"He spent the rest of the morning with it stuffed forgotten into his back pocket" (Stephen King, //, 293; blend?)

"The Harris poll found teens who had comprehensive sex-education courses are more likely to use birth-control devices all of the time, compared with only 25 percent of those who had no classes" (Sun-Times, 17 Dec 86)

Scope

"A cook is wanted for the family of the President of the United States. No one need apply who is not perfect in the business, and can bring indubitable testimonials of sobriety, honesty, and attention to the duties of the station" (1789 newspaper ad placed by George Washington, quoted by Louis Szathmary, Chicago Sun-times, Feb. 20, 86; as worded, "Indubitable testimonials of sobriety, ..." is not a requirement for the job but an impediment; the successful applicant seems to have interpreted the ad literally, since he was fired for drunkenness)

"The governor has yet to release 1/3 of the funds for this project". (WFMT, Feb 27; ambiguity)

"Judge Parsons upheld the constitutionality of a law requiring that petitions for independent candidates be filed by last December" (WFMT, May 86)

"She brushed each dog until the coats shone" (Varley, *Blue Champagne*, 99)

"I loved a lot of people there, and vice versa, but I didn't love everybody, and vice versa" (Halmos, *I want to be a mathematician*, 239)

He left without paying us a red cent.

Without saying a word, he walked out the door.

*did he walk out the door. (*without S* is negative w.r.t. internal but not external syntax)

"[Mark Twain] didn't finish an enormous number of things" (Tribune, 6 Nov 86; clear intention is with narrow scope for negation)

Tom and Dick (?only) asked Mary (*only) to (*only) write to each other.

"... a language which can be only understood by fellow specialists" (Edward Levi, 1 Nov 86)

"We're gonna try to do the same thing as last time" (scope ambiguity)

"...but they couldn't seem to save up enough money" (Talman commercial, 18 Dec 86)

"But she couldn't seem to do anything about it" (John Varley, *Blue Champagne*, 89)

Mental-space phenomena

"Ariel himself, Prospero's agent of magic (and also another moon of Uranus), would have stood aghast" (Stephen Jay Gould, *Natural History*, June 86, p. 12)

"Edward Knoblock... suggested me for the part because he thought I resembled an old engraving of the French monarch" (Adolphe Menjou, *It took nine tailors*)

Tense, time reference

(in preface of book) As I state/*stated in chapter 1, ... As I have stated in chapter 1, ... When I wrote chapter 1, ...

(upon being told or shown something) I see/*notice.
I've noticed/*seen.

"If the ball hit the bone, it'd been shattered" (Dennis Rasmussen, quoted in July 24 86 NYT)

Constituent structure

At least 100 students ate the same food that day as the two students who got sick.

"What does she want ... my lips to fall off?!" (For better or for worse, Apr 4 86)

What I think we should do is tell Smith his bid is too high. Then we should make an appointment with Brown, ... [Interpreted as if the focus of the pseudo-cleft is not just *tell Smith his bid is too high*, but that plus the next couple of S's]

It's only possible for me to see you after 4PM. (evidence for surface constituent structure with extraposed S adjoined to the YP?)

Categories

"Tickets are available at all Rose Records locations or by calling 831-4260" (WFMT, Nov 86)

Structure of NP's

Last week there were/?was three straight days of rain.

Last week there was/*were three days straight of rain.

"Earl Wild's first of three all-Liszt recitals received a standing ovation" (WFMT, Feb 24; genitive should be on lower NP)

such interesting sculptures ([such interesting] sculptures? such [interesting sculptures]?)
*[so interesting] sculptures
such an interesting sculpture
so interesting a sculpture

The theory of gravitation that/B I told you about has been superseded.

The theory I told you about that/*B Smith denounced is not widely accepted. (if omissibility of

that depends on 'government' and that on adjacency, these S's pose a problem; cf Weisler 79)

"As secretary, editor, and writer, she's been through six of what she calls 'incarnations' of the gossip column in a little more than four years" (Chicago Reader, Jan 31 86, p 4)
She's been through six (*of) incarnations of the gossip column.

"All 25 people aboard the plane and helicopter were killed" (Chicago Tribune, 20 June 86)

"Flukey's blinding diamond jewelry, three luxury automobiles, and flashy wardrobe were admired by his poorer neighbors" (HPHerald, Dec. 3 86; numeral inside N)

They were wearing the same color of/%0 hat.

You've had one beer too many.

I thank you on (*the) behalf of my colleagues.
I thank you on the/*B posthumous behalf of Frédéric Bastiat.

??his responses' accuracy the accuracy of his responses
their accuracy ?the accuracy of them
He gave responses whose accuracy is doubtful.

??The health of John concerns me. Only the health of John concerns me.

"... every bleeding heart in this town is going to be screaming for you guys's blood" (Stephen King, *It*, 24)

"One of the nurses' father had a heart attack" (CMcC, 19 Dec 86)

I don't want to waste a lot of our time. *both of us's time.
 *both of our time. *us both's time.

a carefully worked out proposal
*a going up reputation
*looked up information
(Ptcl OK in modifier only if participial Y-Ptcl is lexicalized as A)

Prenominal modifier

a larger than usual honorarium (head is not final in"A)

Implicature

"She was a quiet, saintlike child of about thirteen - in fact, seeing that this was her birthday, exactly thirteen..." (Wodehouse, "Jeeves and the kid Clementine", 143)

"She had obviously spent a lot of time in flat water" (Varley, *Blue Champagne*, 19; set on a satellite resort in which surface tension and low gravity give water a non-flat surface)

"For this offense, the state demands the penalty of permanent death" (Varley, *The Ophiuchi Hotline*, 1; on world where cloning and memory recordings make death usually temporary)

"Fly to London on British Airways and win a trip for two on the Concorde" (ad in Globe and Mail, March 1; doesn't mean 'If you fly to London..., then...')

"Mention WFMT and get two tickets for the price of one" (cf. preceding example)

Indirect, semi-direct discourse

"The exception was Edinburgh: in reply to mine of the 7th ult., if I would transmit a postal order for two shillings, the catalogue would be sent" (Halmos, *I want to be a mathematician*, 25)

Patches, mimicry

Thank you both. *Thank both of you.

Reanalysis

"He ultimately split with, sometimes treacherously, just about everyone who helped him develop his empire" (Robert Sherrill, Sun-Times, 13 July 86)

Misc. syntactic/semantic

"There's more beer than people" (Gail S, Mar 13 86)

"He wearily picked up the blanket, which, Jack saw, was of rubber and therefore not a blanket at all" (King & Straub, *The Talisman*, p. 645)

"Chopin returned home a celebrity, knowing that Poland had grown too small for him" (WFMT, March 18; it's Chopin who had grown, not Poland)

He threw his dinner right up.
*He threw right up.

"Mart breaks 1800. Took only 3 weeks" (headline in Chicago Sun-Times, Mar 21 86; means: took 3 weeks after reaching previous landmark, i.e. 1700)

I'd love to drive a car like that. (Ambig: is *like that* a modifier of *car* or of *drive*?)

Where/How/When you/we/*I/*she gonna find a man like him? (Only *are* can be deleted; is this originally phonological absorption by *where*, then extended to other interrogative words?)

"So I made him the boat and he thanked me..." (Stephen King, *It*, 133)

"...reserve me a room and say me a prayer" (Stephen King, *It*, 106)

"Lower budgets make you be (*B) more creative" (WFMT, Nov 12 86)

"Van Gogh is one of the most famous artists today" (*...artists today)

Morphology

"Say, how about if you be the chairperson again this year?" (Sally Forth, 15 Dec 86)

Finally he's his old productive self again. (argument for *himself* = *his* + *self*?)

betted (Wodehouse, "The ordeal of young Tuppy", 231)

Lexicon

"The blast tore a gaping hole in the plane's fuselage, hurtling four passengers 15,000 feet to their deaths". (Chicago Tribune, Apr 3 86)

"...an estate that abutted those of neighbors like the tycoon Paul Mellon..." (NYT Mag, Apr 6? 86)

"...a special area in which people of your kind have been congregated" (Twilight Zone, 1 Nov 60)

"Adrift sailor won't give up the ship" (Chicago Tribune headline, Feb 86)

"Money from these machines is emptied daily"

antelope/antlers

"For many months, the American Public argued among itself whether Patty Hearst should be praised or blamed for her 'involvement' with terrorists" (D. S. Kaufer, 'Understanding ironic communciation', Journal of Pragmatics #.507)

"Our sister planet, although closer to us than any other, had remained shrouded (literally) in mystery by its dense cover of clouds" (Stephen Jay Gould, *Natural History*, June 86. p. 16)

"Battling hooky: 2 approaches" (NYT, 25 May 86; deals with school truancy)

"Every new magazine tries to imitate Vanity Fair" (Roger Simon, 18 Aug. 86). Why is *every* taken as an exaggeration, while *all* would be taken literally in:
All new magazines try to imitate Vanity Fair.

"a pair of screwdrivers" (used with clear reference to one screwdriver)

"I shoved the parcel into a drawer, locked it, trousered the key, and felt better" (Wodehouse, *Carry on, Jeeves*, 21)

"They were surveilling the house kitty-corner from us" (J Cox, 27 Nov 86)

"There were also deaths among those too injured to have a transplant..." (NYT Magazine, 13 July 86)

"You!" said Sir Roderick finally. And in this connexion, I want to state that it's all rot to say you can't hiss a word that hasn't an 's' in it." (Wodehouse, "Jeeves and the Yule-tide Spirit", 63)

Fuck off! (cf Zwicky 86)

*Sam fucked off when I told him to.

(?)When I told Sam to fuck off, he did.

Fuck off, or I'll kick your ass!

*Sam fucks off whenever Ed tells him to.

"Or perhaps it would be truer to say that they had *thought* him dead, but *believed* him alive" (Stephen King, *It*, 1059)

last place (in sports standings) = cellar, * basement

first place = attic, roof, penthouse

"Third person dies in Va. shooting spree" (Sun-Times headline, 6 Nov 86; story actually refers to death of a person who had been shot a day earlier)

Washington is in the District of Columbia. (the territory occupied by the city of Washington is identical to that occupied by D.C.; moreover, Washington in the loose sense takes in a lot of MD and VA, and 'District of Columbia' doesn't have any such loose sense)

Selectional restrictions

Cut it/that/*them out.

*Cut those stupid jokes out.

"International Congresses of Mathematicians used to occur on leap years" (Holmes, *I want to be a mathematician*, 162)

Word formation

maldistribution (Jack Fuller, UC/AAAS symposium, 1 Nov 86)

They out-/*over-voted us.

"I re-looked at that". (W. Fisher, 5 Dec 86)

"the petition, brought by mayoral allies" (= allies of the mayor; WFMT, 1 Oct 86)

"But the trickle has turned into a torrent as smugglers run dangerously overloaded boatloads of aliens across Mona Passage..." ([dangerously overloaded boat] + load?)

Infixation

unbe-fuckin-lievable (Sam Konkin, Feb 15)

They're gonna eat the third world a-fuckin-live. (Bob Johnson, Feb 15)

Parts of speech

"Earl Ubell with oxygen tank and mask by LIFEAIR -- helps vs, smoke, fumes" (Parade, Oct 12 86; new preposition?)

Idioms

"After staying there for half an hour to give the coast time to clear, ..." (Wodehouse, *Carry on, Jeeves*, 159)

That way they won't be in very many people's ??way/*ways.

Hedges

[Opus the penguin takes up hang-gliding and becomes very good at it; both the following are then true:] Opus is a regular bird.

Technically, Opus is a bird.

Valence

"What would I put in place of the SAT? I don't think we *need* to put anything." (David Owen, *None of the Above*, p. 272)

Negative polarity items

"Why do you ever ask him to fix anything?" (Belvedere, Sun-Times, 3 Apr 86)

"...it is possible that some people called mathematicians nowadays (or ever) do not (or did not) love mathematics all that much" (Holmes, 401)

Sam isn't any genius. (* not (Sam is some genius))

"...the caregiver need do progressively less to orient the child as the child becomes increasingly aware of... discourse structure" (thesis proposal)

"The class of 1986, most of whom could give a fig about international affairs..." (A. Whitney Brown, SNL)

Speech errors, screwups

"What he's talking is sometimes about the sentence and sometimes about the utterance" (J. Sedock, 16 Jan 86)

"Earl Wild's first of three all-Liszt recitals received a standing ovation" (WFMT, Feb. 24)

"Pan-Am flies to more places in Europe than all US airlines combined" (March 13 ad; taken literally, would imply Pan-Am isn't a US airline)

"It'll come all out in the wash" (John R, Mar 86)

"1933. The height of the depression" (caption in film "The emperor of the north")

"...it's a little bit as if Edison had never lived, would somebody have invented the light bulb?" (hapology; Christie Hefner, interviewed in Reason, June 86, p 36)

"Thus Mehta was in the highly unusual situation of being guest conductor for a soloist who was as well known to the CSO as a conductor as a pianist" (hapology; Sun-Times, 2 Dec 86)

(Mickey Mouse x Donald Duck >) Minkle...

A: ...a show snovel. B: A what snovel?

"Je ne laisserai Pierre pas partir" (N. Ruwet, report of own error)

"Neither concert has been shown on TV and never will be" (Chicago Tribune, 19 June 86)

"... the composition was asked to have a title..." (C. Wuorinen, WFMT, 26 June 86)

"... the sometimes-called Funeral March Sonata" (WFMT, 15 Sept 86)

"The movie lays it a little on thick" (Gene Siskel, TV show with Ebert, 1 Nov 86)

"prior chairmens of that company" (Elmer Johnson, 1 Nov 86)

"What do you think actions should we take...?" (D. Roy, 20 Oct. 86)

"What is it for something to ought to follow by a rule like modus ponens?" (T.J. Smiley, lecture at Univ. of Chicago, 7 Nov 86)

"Case theory stands things on its head... on their heads" (J Goldsmith, 8 Dec 86)

"That bank statement has not been returned to us as of yet" (clerk in the euphemistically named Customer Service Dept., Hyde Park Bank, 9 Dec 86)

Repair

Bottom: ...and he himself must speak through, saying thus, or to the same defect: "Ladies" - or "Fair ladies - I would wish you" - or "I would request you" - or "I would entreat you" ... (Midsummer Night's Dream III.I)

Orthography

A: This is [the biographer of Lenin]'s signature.

B: It's the biographer of who's/'whose signature?

skis_{Npl}/*skies

skied_{Ypast}/*skid

Japanese

"Watesi no koto o sukoi oboete kurete imasu ka?" (Heru no Heto, episode 38; evidence that benefactive Y's are transparent to aspect)

"3-meetoru no patto o sizumeta" (NNN Nguusu, 24 Aug 86; calque on English 'sink')

Ryoosin ni mudan de ryokoo ni iku. 'Go on a trip without informing one's parents' (Kenkyusha Dictionary; semantically, *ryoosin ni mudan* is a constituent)

SPANISH

(examples taken mainly from telenovelas and Spanish news shows on Chicago TV stations; includes my 1985 compilation plus a lot of new stuff)

morphology

Gender ignored

M.T.: Eres injusto, José Antonio.

J.A.: No, María Teresa, la injusta eres tu.

Yo no soy inseguro. La insegura eres tu.

(doctor to Claribel) Usted es una muchacha sana, y su marido también. (Coralito, 1984)

(mother to Alfonso) Es una buena chica, y tu lo eres también. (1983)

Armando: "Estás tan asustada como yo, Mariela, ¿verdad?" (*Atrévete*, 6 Aug 86)

Amanda to Esteban: Yo también estoy sola como tu. (*Atrévete*, 22 Sept 86)

Agreement

Armando to Marcos: Ni tu ni Federico van a convencerme. (*Atrévete*, 8 Oct 86)

... con una precisión y maestra increíbles. (Marti, *Instrumentos musicales precortesianos* 58)

Recuerde que ni tu ni yo la tenemos. (Maximo to Diego, Jugando a vivir, May 8 84)

Juan y Pedro son amigos, y Pablo y Gerardo lo son también.

"La escuela Du Sable es 97% negro" (Ayuda, 5 June 86)

"¿Sabes lo que necesitas? Enamorarse" (*Atrévete*, June 86)

"Si lo echan fuera, echelo a la cárcel" (NYC subway poster; English original is "If they throw you out, throw them in jail"; why not echelos?)

Marcos to Armando: [Roberto] estaba jugando a que fuera/*fuera tu. (*Atrévete*, 8 Dec 86)

El ganador voy/*va a ser yo.

El ganador parezco/*parece ser yo.

El ganador parece/*parezco que ser yo.

Accusative *a*

"A la única que no pudo reconocer fue a Raquel" (27 Jan.)

"¿A quién hay que meter en la cárcel?" (Carmín, May 20 86)

"¿Como se llama el hombre que atropelló la señorita?" (*Tu o nadie*; unambiguously: ... who the lady ran over)

¿Estas reconociendo que escribiste el libro con la sola intención de separarnos, a Eva y a mí?
(Gabriel to Homar Chavez, La Verdadera Eva, 84)

Ella me ama con locura, igual que yo a ella. (NB comparative reduction)

La única que ama es a mí. (Yanessa, March 2, 83)

Los voy a destruir a todos. (NB separation of quantifier from NP)

Lo que tienes que convencer es a Javier. (*Marta y Javier*)

Es a ti que yo quiero.

de = possessive

Pierre: Esa niña no es de Luciano sino mía. (Yanessa, Apr 26, 83)

Yo me llevo un lindo recuerdo tuyo. ... a lovely memory of you'

a pesar tuyo 'in spite of you'

"Hay un retrato tuyo y de Raquel" (= a picture of you and Raquel; *Tu o nadie*, 9 Jan.; how do you say "two pictures of you and R"?)

con = *tener*

'Tengo derechos'. 'Tu te sientes con derechos'

X: ¿Y tu hermana?

Marta: Con problemas, como siempre. (*Tu o nadie*, Feb. 24)

Subjunctive

No importa la opinión que tu tengas.

clitics

Dios (**lo*) hizo llover. (dummy subject of *llover* doesn't surface as a clitic when it becomes object)

Inanimitate dative

"Dice la gente que si uno le da tres vueltas al árbol, se casa dentro del año" Américas 38.1.13

Climbing

"No te quiero obligar" (Carmín, May 19 86)

"Lo sigo vigilando" (Carmín, 30 June 86)

Leonor: ¡No me mandes a callar! (*Atrévete*, 1 Dec 86)

with existential *haber*

A: ¿Que relación hay entre ese señor y yo?

B: Todavía ninguna. Pero te aseguro que la habrá.

be-deletion

Yo no te pago, por sinvergüenza y por pecador. (Estefanía, April 85)

Aspect

Tatiana: Siempre lo supe.

Gabriel: ¿Lo sabías? (La Verdadera Eva, Feb. 13, 85)

¡Estoy viendo! (Regina, as she regains her sight)

A pesar del corto tiempo que estoy conociendo a Eva, ...

part of speech

Adv vs. adj.

Ese error puede costarte caro. (caramente? with *esa locura* is it still *caro*?)

"Yes a pagar muy caro" (*Atrévete*, 2 Oct 86; why Adj and not Adv?)

Ese tipo juega sucio.

PP as AP

Tu te sientes con sueño. 'You feel tired'
"...muy apesar de..." (*Atrévete*, 13 Oct 86)

PP as object of P

"Mi esposo no tiene secretos para conmigo" (*Atrévete*, 3 Nov 86)

hasta as cross-category modifier

Hoy hasta [lo besó]. 'Today she even kissed him'

sin as negation + subordination

Sigo sin entender. 'I still don't understand'

YP as N'

El [estar sentido todo el día] es malo para mis hemorroides. (commercial, 1983)

various syntactic constructions

Negative polarity

Aquí estaremos tranquilos, sin que nadie nos moleste. (1983)
No puede ser que nada es mas importante que tu familia. (Coralito Sept 25 84)
... sin que nadie se entere.

"Yo tampoco me arrepiento de nada" (Carmín, May 16 86)

"Ni nada ni nadie puede separarnos" (*Atrévete*, Aug 29 86)

"No te pongas así". "No me pongo nada". (Carmín, Apr 10 86)

"No está mal-- no está nada mal" (Carmín, 7 July 86; which is head: *nada* or *mal*?)

Pseudo-comparative

Prefiero aceptar su ayuda que la tuya. (1983)

Passive

X y Y fueron negados fianzas. (= were denied bail; IO as passive subject)

Cleft

Quien se la merece realmente soy yo. (Ortiz to Contreras; Marta y Javier, Feb 21 84)
"Con la unica con que contamos es con la ayuda de dios" (*Atrévete*, 18 Nov 86)

Perception predicates

Yo la veo cada vez peor. 'She keeps looking worse to me'

Extraction of subordinate subject

... Alfonso, que sabes que *B*, ama tu hijo, ... (1983)

Other extraction from subordinate S

¿Como crees que me puedo sentir yo? 'How do you think I feel?' (Hola.. Pelusa, Sept. 27 85)
Yenessa: ¿Con quién dicen que (*B* = Pierre) va a casarse? (1983)

Context bringing out normally disfavored interpretation:

"¡Cinco camisas sin botones!" (Daniel complaining to maid about shirts each missing one or more buttons; Hola... Pelusa, Oct 7 85)

coordination

"Se limpian ropas y se planchan" (sign on shop, 1134 Belmont)

"Entonces los declaro marido y mujer" (Carmín, May 12 86)

"... sin poder leer ni poder escribir". (ad for literacy program, channel 44, Dec 30 85)

"Y no lo he obligado ni nada" (= "... or anything")

"...sin peligros ni violencias" (Américas, 38.4.27)

"[Esta traducción] hizo maz... que ninguna otra, antes ni después" (Américas, 38.4.36)

lexicon

Idioms with *tener*

¿Que tienes, Enrique? 'Miedo'

Lo que tienes es miedo.

"Agustin Lara cumplió 50 años de muerte" (24 Horas, Nov 8 85; ifelicitaciones, Augustini)

"... y VISA y MASTERCARGE son bienvenidos" (commercial, 28 Oct 86; is this a colque?)

"Estás hablando dormida" (*Atrévete*, 21 Oct 86)

Barbara to Desiree: Me gusta mas José para ser pareja contigo. (*Atrévete*, 2 Dec 86)

"Entonces soy toda oídos" (Carmín, 29 May 86 and 3 June; why *ser* and not *estar*?)

"Advertencia de cirujano general: Fumar durante el embarazo puede causar... y reducir el peso del recién nacido" (English original is "...and low birth weight")

Word order

"No le prometo nada sin antes hablar con él" (*Atrévete*, June 86; cf without first/*beforehand talking with him)

"Yo mañana voy a la oficina" (Antonio in *Tu o nadie*, 15 Jan.; *tomorrow* couldn't occupy that position in English)

Armando: Yo contigo puedo hablar. (*Atrévete*, Aug 25, 86)

"Yo con quién quería hablar era contigo" (*Atrévete*, Aug 26 86)

"Lo está usted logrando" (*Atrévete*, 1 Sept 86)

Armando: ¿También con ella tenía relaciones Juan Carlos? (*Atrévete*, 15 Oct 86)

"Ustedes para mi son muy importantes" (*Atrévete*, 13 Oct 86)

Ellipsis

"¿Quieres ir a la cárcel? ¿Quieres que yo y mi papá tambien?" (*Tu o nadie*, Jan. 7)

Yo sé que tu estas sufriendo, y tu sabes que yo tambien.
¿Como te sientes? Creio que un poco mejor.

Armando: No tenía con que pagarme.
Federico: Es cierto, no tenía con que. (*Atrévete*, 14 Oct. 86)

Jose Antonio: He venido para hacerte un favor.
X: ¿Tu a mí un favor? (Gapping with 3-part residue?) (Luisana, 1983)

"... desde muy niña..." (*Atrévete*, June 86)
Leonor: Armando y Marcos han estado amigos desde niños. (*Atrévete*, 16 Dec 86)

Anaphora

Spanish pronoun - English gap

"...el aeropuerto de Sucre... es famoso entre los pilotos por ser difícil de aterrizar en él..."
Américas 38.1.8
"Sucre sigue siendo una ciudad para caminar por ella" Américas 38.1.10.

Backwards anaphora

Llena teatros en toda América y las mujeres se enloquecen cuando B_1 se contorcione sensualmente en el escenario, pero José Luis Rodríguez, tiene objetivos que van mucho mas allá de su éxito...
(Américas 38.3.60)

Miscellaneous

"...con tu ayuda o sin ella" (Carmín, Apr 30 86)

Control

"Cuentas los pollos; antes de B_1 nacer" (*Atrévete*, June 86)

"Parece qu ha llegado una mujer que dice ser la viuda de Antonio" (*Tu o Nadie*; Equi with *decir*)

"... el 3 de Septiembre que no se trabaja por ser Labor Day" (commercial for Viajes Palenche, 84)

Double passive?

"...el convento y la iglesia de San Felipe Neri, mandado a construir en 1775..." "Esta obra de arte, mandada a hacer en 1679..." Américas 38.1.13

Infinitival relative

Meriano: "Ya conseguí un lugar donde vivir" (Carmín, May 19 86)

Cleft

Claudia: "Me voy a ir muy lejos, adonde nadie me encuentre mas" (Carmín, 20 June 86; NB *donde* matches *adonde*)

Exclamative, echo

"No sabes lo feliz que me haces" (Carmín, 12 May 86)

"¿Es que tienes miedo?" "¿Miedo yo?" (Carmín, 3 June 86)

"¿Y tu me llamaste delincuente? ¿A mí delincuente?" (Carmín, Rodrigo to Francisco, 1 July 86)

Armando: ¡Papá, que falta me haces! (*Atrévete*, 16 Oct 86)

¡Pobrecito mi hijo!

"¡Pobrecito, y pobre tu papá!" (*Atrévete*, 7 Aug 86; cf. *poor your father)

Armando: No te pido, te exigo.

Federico: ¿Que? ¿Exegirme, tu a mí? (*Atrévete*, 14 Oct 86)

Valence

"...diga la razon o la calles por siempre" (Carmín, May 12 86)

Amalgams, patches

"Andres los vio en el jardín parece que besando" (*Tu o nadie*)

Scope

Roberto: Tu no vas a volver porque yo lloro. (*Atrévete*, 29 Oct 86; subjunctive makes scope of negation unambiguously wide)

Constituency

Marcos: ¿Estás seguro que esa mujer mató a tu hermano?

Armando: Sí, lo estoy.

Hypercorrection

municipal_ (Ayuda, 30 Oct. 86; Puerto Rican speaker)

Phenology

[sinxer] (manufacturer of sewing machines)

Miscellaneous

"Yo nunca te hablé de matrimonio. ¿O sí?"

"Cuidado con darle entender que estoy aqui" (Rodrigo to Meura, *Tu o nadie*, 22 March)

"Mas que vivir, vegetaba hasta ahora" (Carmín, Apr 30 86)

"... toma todo" (Carmín, Apr 86)

Leonor: Desiree desapareció y Juan Carlos que no llega. (*Atrévete*, 17 Sept 86)

Carmela to Leonor: ... su hijo, que en paz descanse (*Atrévete*, 9 Oct 86; cf. *your son, who (may) B rest in peace)

1987 example collection

(consisting, as in previous compilations, of miscellaneous things that I have heard, read, or thought up that at least at the time seemed to be of some linguistic interest. I distribute them more for my friends' amusement than anything else, but I am delighted if anyone can put any of these examples and observations to use in his research. —James D. McCawley)

Anaphora

"My brother Charlie and I... did not believe in this marvel, but some of the younger children apparently did so" (H. L. Mencken, quoted in Bode, *Mencken*, 15; stative antecedent)

A: I thought you were asleep. B: That's what I thought you were. (Night Gallery: Since Aunt Ada came to stay)

You and I think we can succeed. *We_{i,j} think you_j and I_i can succeed. (argues that conjunction of two pronouns isn't itself a pronoun)

backwards

"A romance in the boardroom could cost him almost \$1 million, a former official of one of the country's largest debt-rating firms is charging" (Sun-Times, Feb 6 87; first mention)

"The New York Times called his Ø one of the most glorious voices of the century" (WFMT Feb 7 87)

"Call them racists and some white editors cringe" (Royko, 22 May 87; is the acceptability of this increased by the conditional interpretation of the first conjunct?)

"Her formative years are recalled by basketball star Bill Russell's daughter" (NYT Magazine, 14 June 87)

"It is still cheaper than other downtown parking facilities, but the city of Chicago is raising prices at the Grant Park Garage" (WFMT, 1987)

"There is a story his professors tell about Jesse Jackson that he tells about himself" (NYT Magazine, 29 Nov 87; opening sentence)

"Her C-level grade won't sink student" (Sun-Times headline, 17 Nov 87)

missing antecedent

Diet Smith: How much do you know about biotech research and genetic tampering?

Dick Tracy: Not much.

Diet Smith: Well, somebody does Ø. (Dick Tracy, Feb 16 87; Ø = know much about biotech...)

reciprocal

"They don't mince words and they don't make exceptions—everyone, including each other, feels the bite of their tongue" (Sun-Times TV Prevue, 5 Jul 87)

reflexive

"John Bruce Yeh was on stage alone, but tapes of himself were a strong accompaniment in Reich's 'New York Counterpoint'" (Sun-Times, April 26 87)

"I can tell you about the one lesson that threw myself and a lot of other motorcyclists into a state of shock when we learned it" (Sun-Times, 1 Apr 87)

"...when a taxpayer under criminal investigation sought disclosure of all information concerning himself and his associates, the IRS refused to comply" (*Reason*, June 87, 40)

"If I_j were one_j of them, I_j'd dislike myself_j" (*Goodbye, Mr. Chips*, remake)

"A patient in a sanitarium has recurring dreams about a house that mysteriously draws her toward itself". (TV listings, Sun-Times, July 87)

"... imitating good things from abroad is very beneficial to oneself" (Mao Zedong, quoted in de Francis, *The Chinese Language: Fact and Fantasy*, 263)

split antecedent

For me, the advantages_i are smaller and the disadvantages_j are greater than they_j are for most people.

VP-deletion

"Some of my letters have received answers, but many of them probably never will."

... but many of them probably will never receive answers.

*... but many of them probably will never.

His speeches didn't sound as confused as they're supposed to have been Ø. (does only the deleted A' have to be a Y' to delete by Y'-deletion? Or does a Y' underlie the antecedent Y'?)

Sam looks stupid, but he isn't. Sam is stupid, but he doesn't look it/*Ø.

"Asked if any evidence of arson had been found, Allison said that there had not Ø (= been any evidence of arson found)". (Stephen King, *The Tommyknockers*, 276)

Anaphoric islands

"He [Gidon Kremer] claims to hate recording, but has made more than 50 Ø" (NYT Arts, 10 May 87)

"No hawking except with a permit endorsed with permission to do so" (sign in Hong Kong)

I like watching an expert make pizza. (expert = expert at making pizza)

repair bicycles. (expert = expert at repairing bicycles)

wash windows. (expert = expert at washing windows)

Islands

coordinate structure constraint

"How did my pet parakeet get invited to Veranda's party and I didn't?" (Kudzu, Oct 17 86)

"The one thing that people come up to me and say is that this is another case of prototypes" (Nancy D., 4 Mar 87)

"E's the sort o' man women dream about, Doris—an' wake up screamin'" (Andy Capp, Feb 87)

"The 8 million dollars that God told him to raise by the end of the month or else" (SNL, 21 Mar 87)

"It's only an old eyesore that they're going to tear down pretty soon and put up a 20-story bank building..." (Night Gallery, "They're tearing down Tim Riley's Bar")

"Tewksbury is a guy that we're going to bring here and see if he can pitch" (Dallas Green, quoted in Chicago Tribune, 13 July 87)

"She unzipped her skirt and pushed it, her rayon half-slip, and her cotton panties, both bought at the discount store in Derry, down". (Stephen King, *The Tommyknockers*, 271; are the last two conjuncts the antecedent of *both*?)

WH-island

"He gave me an example that I've just found out what to do with Ø". (Jeff H., 20 Mar 87)

other

"I wonder how he left feeling Ø" (Karen L., 12 Mar 87)

Surface constraints

Order of VP elements

"Why am I all the time scared? I'm all the time scared." (Twilight Zone: "Nervous man in a four dollar room")

"Fortunately this time the department is able to put the fire quickly under control"

"Why do all of a sudden I fear for my life?" (Eight is Enough)

Control

"This is not the place, nor am I the person, to undertake such a confrontation" (B. Comrie, *Linguistics* 24.783)

"These clothes are good enough to drink in Ø" (Twelfth Night, I.iii.11)

"Smoking is only permitted while Ø seated in a smoking area" (Cathay Pacific Airlines)

"For the time being his_i head hurt too badly Ø_i to even try reconstructing the last unknown period of time". (Stephen King, *The Tommyknockers*, 87)

Agreement

"It isn't known what the condition of the injured are" (WFMT, 30 Jan 87)
"There are no food, no soft lights, or conversation to provide distraction" (Chicago Tribune Food, 12 Mar 87)

The flavor and texture of asparagus are??is something like that/*those of fresh bamboo shoot.

Identity

"The trouble is that once you learn how to tell time, you have to be on it" (Dennis the Menace, 18 Mar 87)

"You ain't lost your marbles yet, and I mean to see that you keep em" (Twilight Zone: "Nervous man in a four dollar room")

"Neither book is free of errors, but they are inconsequential" (Robert Marsh, Sun-Times, 7 June 87)

"The learning theory that they cite is Brian MacWhinney's, who is one of our invited speakers" (R. Corrigan, 10 April 87)

Dennis: I hardly see him any more.

Mrs. Cunningham: Neither do we \emptyset . ("Christine")

"I don't want to upset her any more than she already is \emptyset " (Tales from the Darkside: Florence Bravo)

"If they're satisfied with the arrangements for his protection, then so am I and should you \emptyset " (Twilight Zone, "Back there")

"Mr. Hynes humiliated himself far more thoroughly than a weak showing tonight could have done \emptyset " (Sun-Times, 7 Apr 87)

A: Flipside's car is here.

B: and probably nobody else will be. (Dick Tracy, Aug. 6 87; use of *else* in B's utterance depends on inference from A's utterance that Flipside is here)

"Look at that thing". "I have been \emptyset (= looking at that thing)" (King, *Tommyknockers*, 141)

"Mr. Harris didn't live to be 105, but his values have" (newspaper ad, Nov 87; \emptyset = lived to be 105)

"...she was no one's carpenter, nor ever would be \emptyset (= anyone's carpenter)". (Stephen King, *The Tommyknockers*, 18)

Conjoining

How many cathedrals are there in Hartford or opera houses in Detroit? (evidence for *cathedrals* ... in Hartford as a discontinuous constituent?) cf.:

?How many linguists live on Lake Shore Drive or anthropologists on Sheridan Road?

A constituent can be a subject without being a topic or a topic without being a subject.

"If you don't get off that bed and out of here by the time I count to five, I'll call them" (Twilight Zone, "Person or persons unknown")

"In some theaters, it is standard to have the three female roles and the four malevolent male roles sung by the same soprano and the same baritone" (WNIB, 24 May 87)

"... as Air Canada whisks you 7 miles above and thousands of miles across the world's surface" (Commercial, WNIB, June 87)

"The only problem is that Ken's work keeps him on the west coast and mine here in New York" (Apt. 3G, 17 Nov 87; violation of sloppy identity constraint)

RNR

8 1/2 by 11 inches. (Is this RNR?)

Category identity of conjuncts

"The weather in Chicago is overcast and with a temperature of 54^o F." (AA stewardess)

Misc.

"Willie 'the Wimp' Stokes pushed drugs and his luck" (Lynda Gorov, Sun-Times, 3 Mar 87)

Complements

Complement as NP or not

I take it that S. *What I take is that S. (cf. take for granted)

Complementizer selection

"Chances are slim it will actually get off the ground" (\emptyset in extraposed S, WFMT)

Secretary of State Shultz expressed confidence today he would make progress [in negotiations with Soviet officials]. (WFMT, 21 Oct)

"It is not enough for them to be powerful. They need it whispered in their ears." (Roger Simon, 11 May 87)

"She instructs the others how to disguise themselves" (SF Opera broadcast, Nov 87; missing P)

"I never noticed him go to a stranger before" (Suspense, "The bride vanishes", 1 Dec. 42)

"She hates when I do this" (Mother Goose and Grimm, 2 July 87)

"I hate when you start curling up with a good book" (Mother Goose and Grimm, 15 July 87)

"Peter Brook dislikes outsiders to watch rehearsals" (NYT Magazine, 4 Oct 87)

P with complement

"A third reason, in addition to that it's fun, is ..."

"... after listening to our film comedy become a radio play..." (Screen Directors' Playhouse, 1 Feb 51)

Relative clauses and congeners

"He managed to get out of Berlin by pulling strings that no other reporter seemed able to pull" (Bode, *Mencken*, 115; counterexample to Brame analysis of RC's)

"...a vintage program that you would like to have \emptyset but \emptyset is not available on commercial recordings" (Chuck Schaden, WNIB, 21 Feb 87; conjuncts have non-subject gap, subject gap)

"She took it upon herself to borrow mine [shoes], which I haven't worn \emptyset yet and \emptyset cost a fortune" (Apartment 3-G, 12 July 87)

"The NAACP must oppose Douglas Ginsburg with the same intensity that it opposed Robert Bork" (Oct 87) WFMT; deleted P in RC)

"Consecutive"

"Orton was found battered to death by his companion, who then killed himself" (NYT, Apr 87; leaves unclear whether the suicide followed the murder or the discovery)

Free

"Because I'm working with guys like Redford, I'm not working with who's going to be the next Bill Murray or John Belushi" (Reitman, quoted in NYT Magazine, 1985)

"I'm not who you all seem to think I am" (Twilight Zone: "A world of difference")

"All anyone knows is what - if anything - you read in the paper" (sign at Midway Travel, Nov 87)

"Have it how you like it, Garroty". (Stephen King, *The Long Walk*, 363)

Pied-piping

"Marvin David Levy, the complete version of whose 'Masada' had its world premiere by the Chicago Symphony Orchestra and Chorus Thursday..." (Tribune, 16 Oct 87)

Pseudo-cleft

"What else I found amazing was that ..." (K. Landahl, 15 Apr 87)

"A man did the right thing, and all it got him was killed" (NYT Magazine, May 87)

Pseudo-relative

Sam has a father who was born in 1910. (NB a) *... who died in 1975.

There are several students in this class who can speak Swahili. (is this a problem for my analysis of pseudo-relatives?)

With odd extra stuff

"She was assassinated in Berlin in 1919, on exactly whose orders remains hazy" (Tribune, 11 June 87; Sluicing)

Various constructions

Adverbs

"Chicago has grown a lot since then, and Talman has grown right with it" (WFMT commercial)

"Grow the hell up". (William Shatner, SNL sketch)

"He is shown a portrait of Pamina, with whom he falls instantly in love" (WFMT, 14 Oct 87)

"We're going right back out".

*We're going back right out

"I could go crazy, Garraty thought. I could go right the fuck off my rocker" (Stephen King, *The Long Walk*, 257; what else besides WH-words and *right* allows *the fuck*?)

He successively suffered many setbacks. *He in {a row } suffered many setbacks.
(succession)

Appositive

"Sauter is... living with his lawyer-wife, Kathleen - the daughter of Pat Brown and sister of Jerry Brown, both former governors of California" (split antecedent; Parade, 10 May 87)

Comparative

She was more at home there than here.

?? as as

"I'll bet there are as many coffee cans with pennies in them as coffee" (Roger Simon, 6 Oct 86)

"Austin was younger than me when he gave the James Lectures" (is a person's present age part of an atemporal stereotype of him?)

"He gets angrier when they're directed at someone else than at him".

"White people say they feel more stressed than black people" (Ann Landers, 17 Aug 87;

ambiguous: 'White people say their stress exceeds that of blacks', 'The amount of stress reported by white people exceeds the amount reported by blacks'; Landers apparently meant the latter)

John got more and more angry. John got angrier and angrier.

*John got more angry and more angry.

(is the underlying form *-er and -er*, with copying of whatever the *-er* attaches to?)

Few composers have written more [humorous music] than Beethoven.

Few composers have written [more humorous] music than Beethoven.

Few composers have written more [music that is humorous] than Beethoven.

?? Few composers have written music [that is more humorous] than Beethoven.

"[a long list of candidates] who espouse the same conservative philosophy as Ginsburg and as Robert Bork" (WFMT, 7 Nov 87)

"More of us shop on Sundays than we did in 1984" (Parade, 25 Oct 87)

Comparative-conditional

The more customers (that) we get, the happier we are.

The more customers that/??ø buy from us, the happier we are.

The better a book you write, the more money you'll make.

*The better books you write, " "

"The more time that/ø lapses, the fonder the memory grows" (Sun-Times, 30 July 87, p 55; ø is actually OK, but with *more* an adverb rather than a determiner)

His happiness increases, the more attention he gets.

*The more attention he gets, his happiness increases. ("notional comparatives" are allowed in the main clause only when it comes first and thus can have normal word order)

Echoes

A: The children may not leave. (scope ambiguity)

B: In a pig's eye they may! (unambiguous narrow-scope negation)

John played the piano why??

*Why John played the piano?? (why can only S-final modifier be echo-questioned?)

John played the piano to annoy who??

*To annoy who, John played the piano??

Elliptical answer

Me/??You/??Sam neither.

Generic

"Solving the mystery of that tantalizing condiment, the caper" (Tribune Food, 21 May 87, headline); "By description, capers (always plural) are small, gray-green buds..." (same article); NB conflict between usual plural number and singular demanded by definite generic construction, here resolved in favor of latter; no resolution is possible in such cases as **the trouser*, **the scissor*, *??the eyeglass*.

Inversion

"A disproportionately large part of the work that translators can expect to be given will be from periodicals, as will be a disproportionately large part of what those pursuing Japanese for commercial purposes will be expected to read." (report on University of X Japanese program 87)

"This should have been spelled out explicitly for the benefit of readers..., as should have been C's reasons for regarding this approach as superior to the one in which ..." (JMcC, review of Chomsky, *Knowledge of Language*).

I have been bewildered by these statements, as have (*all) been my friends. (i.e. inversion involving an auxiliary verb that is preceded by a floated quantifier is apparently blocked)

"I hope that will convince folks that here's a real buy" (Suspense, "Ghost hunt")

Middle

"Let's see how that rag walks" (dress designer to model, "Tales of the Unexpected"; note that subject is not a direct object of related S's)

Negation

Did you [not want to see him or just not have time to see him]?

Won't he sell you his car, or have you changed your mind?

Did you just not have the time? (= Q + you just didn't have the time; Past higher than *not*)

*Didn't you just have the time?

negative raising

I don't suppose/doubt you know what happened either. (*either* has different interpretations: 'X likewise doesn't know' vs. 'X likewise doesn't doubt that you know')

I don't suppose/*doubt that you know either that Sam has already left.

Passive

"It's already been sent away for" (Creepshow)

"The universe is lived in by things that kill" (Edward Bond, *The Sea*)

"... the most mugged-on bus route" (D. Croft, 27 Feb 87)

"All that it is wished to show is that ..." (Wallace Rimington, *Colour-Music*, p. 20? 76?)

Raising

"Do you see there as being any tie between X and Y?" (Milwaukee conference, 10 Apr 87)

Topicalization

"His back had gone reddish, although with exertion or incipient sunburn she couldn't tell" (Stephen King, *The Stand*, 211) *She couldn't tell with exertion or incipient sunburn.

Tough-like constructions

"Some things are not susceptible to thinking about Ø" (M. Liberman, 23 Apr 87)

"There's too many *It's* to look at all of Ø" (Haj Ross, 23 Apr 87)

That point doesn't need/require dwelling on Ø.

"these may now be illegal to manufacture" (*Reason*, June 87, 10)

"By the time the movie is over, the crime is still brutal, but it is possible to comprehend" (Roger Ebert, Sun-Times, 8 May 87)

"It seemed such an improbable thing to happen" ("International Call", 13 June 87)

Misc.

"Jack's asking for a fat lip, Jack is" (Andy Capp, 6 Feb 87)

Constituent structure

I'll get it to you by early next week. (what is the head? I conjecture that *next week* is object of a zero P)

?Lend me, I beg you, a dollar.

?Open, I beg you, the window. (evidence that Y + pronoun is constituent?)

Out of which house did he run? *Out of which commitments did he chicken?

"A few months later, my husband moved out, and in with her" (letter to Dear Abby, 13 Oct 87)

Categories

...the real_A poor_N?... the truly_{Adv} poor_A... (Sun-Times, 26 Dec 86)

"Harry Caray may be back behind the microphone for the Chicago Cubs opener on April 7 versus St. Louis" (WFMT, 16 Mar 87; *versus* as P)

"If you're not pro_N enough to cut the mustard, ..." (SCTY)

You're insane/nuts. An insane/*nuts person.

from early on (Is this a NP? What is its head?)

complex prepositions

He lives either at the edge or in the middle of the yuppie neighborhood.

?neither in spite nor in virtue of his qualifications

PP as object of P

"... return all carry-on items to either the overhead rack or beneath your seat" (AA, 12 Mar 87)

"Instead of in G, I had to play it in D" (Gerald Moore, *The Unabashed Accompanist*)

"Lead paint still dangerous -- including while removing it" (Tribune headline, 11 Apr 86)

"... including in the elections" (Royko, 3 Dec 87)

"[He] probably won't get here till in the morning" (Tales from the Darkside: "The moth")

zero P

Kant lived in Königsberg all/*Ø his life.

Kant lived in Königsberg most of his life. (NB: *life* isn't the head of the NP)

Structure of NP's

"...a Scandinavian ship whose captain and captain's wife overflowed with information..." (Bode, *Mencken*, 51)

"...his brother Julio and cousin Manuel..." (NYT Arts, Feb 87)

"Two of the three Semitic sibilants have fallen together in Hebrew, and a different two have fallen together in Arabic".

"I'm a/*Ø mere 10 years older than you".

He bought a lotta apples. (NB: pronounced without [v] even though vowel follows; does this argue for reanalysis of *(s) lotta* as a unit?)

"The courageous life and cruel murder of Father Jerzy Popieluszko" (book subtitle; P is subject of one conjunct, object of other)

Did you get the color car you wanted?

Did you get the exact color of/?Ø car you wanted?

What voltage shaver do you have?

*What [maximum voltage] transformer do you have? (no modifiers of the 'property N' in this construction?)

*Can I sit on [one of you]'s lap?

"eager to please service" (1987 Zagat Chicago Restaurant Survey, p. 59)

"an eager-to-please congressional aide" (Chicago Tribune TY Week, 8 Mar 87)

"her living-in-the-past mother" (Chicago Sun-Times TY Prevue, 8 Mar 87)

"If your dad is one of those hard-to-buy-for guys,..." (Chuck Schaden, WYIB, 20 June 87)

"We carry fresh flown in Norwegian salmon" (Hyde Park Coop add, 6 May 87)

"...more than one in four rural high school boys in Illinois use/*uses chewing tobacco or snuff" (*Reader*, 4 Dec 87, 50) cf. More than one rural high school boy in four in Illinois uses/*use...

"US Congressional fears about [military aid to Pakistan]" (WFMT, 19 Oct 87)

Quantifier-pronoun flip

I want to thank all of them who helped me.

I want to thank them all (*who helped me).

Pick them all up. He turned them all completely into triumphs.

* up all. * completely all

(evidence that Q-Pronoun Flip leaves the Q within the NP)

Extrapolation of PP

"Huneker gave Mencken the manuscript to read of what proved to be his best book..." (Bode, *Mencken*, 95).

"Again, photos went coast to coast of Bennett, a folk hero, defeating Oak Park" (Sun-Times, 18 Mar 87)

Interpretation of operators

Scope

"Mencken and Nathan contributed, in fact, to every issue as well as editing it" (Bode, *Mencken*, 76)

It (only) got him (*only) KILLED. (Even though *killed* is the focus, *only* can't immediately precede it, because that would give the wrong scope; why can't *only* in the second position be interpreted as having the main S as its scope?)

Anything offends some people. (scope ambiguity)

Anything offends somebody. (*some* has only narrow scope)

"Only cigarette smoking is permitted, and only while you are seated" (Cathay Pacific Airlines)

"Nothing was still happening". (Stephen King, *The Tommyknockers*, 201)

"None_i of the other wives had complained about his_j habit_i! They_j had sooner or later got tired of each other, sure. You had to expect that". (Frederik Pohl, *Midas World*, 204; split antecedent includes a quantified expression in an earlier sentence)

Mental space phenomena

(with reference to a room in Frick Collection, New York) The women in the two Gainsborough paintings both have their heads turned towards the entranceway.

"Above Ways in the Herald's hierarchy stood a managing editor. When Mencken arrived he was a florid nonentity, Colonel A. B. Cunningham, ..." (Bode, *Mencken*, 32)

"She was even out of place in 'On Golden Pond' playing Henry Fonda's prickly daughter—and she was Henry Fonda's prickly daughter, after all" (Janet Maslin in NYT Arts/Leisure, 4 Jan 87)

Tense, time reference

"At this writing, he is not married to Demi Moore, but their marriage is expected momentarily and may already have occurred" (*Parade*, 15 Mar 87; noncoreferential present tenses: time of writing, time of publication)

Miscellaneous

"99 out of 100 fathers would disapprove of their 16-year-old daughter dating a 25-year-old man" (Dear Diane, SunT, 29 July 87; doesn't imply 99% of fathers have 16-year-old daughters)

Every/Each/*Any person wants a different thing.

All persons want different things.

Which linguists admire which philosophers? (*philosophers*, but not *linguists*, can take in dead individuals, irrespective of which Q has higher scope)

Speech acts

A: I'll believe that when Reagan joins Amnesty International.

B: and James Watt the Sierra Club. (suggested by G. Nathan, 30 Dec 86; is B coprincipal?)

Queclaratives

[The Labeque sisters] "could have been Vogue fashion models—except for the fact that whoever [sic] heard of fashion models who could synchronize 176 keys with such ferocious intensity..."

(Tribune, 9 Apr 87)

Implicature

Do you live with your parents?

Yes/*No, I live with my mother.

Indirect, semi-direct discourse

"He had broken promises in his life, God knew". (Stephen King, *The Tommyknockers*, 88; also

272) "He was still feeling defensive, God knew why". (King, *The Long Walk*, 204, also 343)

Patches, mimicry

"I can barbecue as tender a steak as anybody" (Belvedere, 22 May 87)

"He made several what were called rambling demands" (WFMT, Oct 87)

Syntactic metonymy (telescoping, etc.)

"In the first game, [Babe Ruth] drove the longest ball we ever saw over the right field fence" (Grantland Rice, *The Tumult and the Shouting*)

"Justice Antonin Scalia took scorching exception to the ruling..." (Joan Beck, Tribune, 30 Mar 87)

Misc. syntactic/semantic

"The audience is clearing its collective throat" (WFMT, 2 Dec 86)

"... explore different points of musical view" (Don Tait, WFMT, 28 July 87)

I love you just the way you are. (song title)

I hate you (??just) the way you are.

Which is John's book?

*Which \emptyset_i fell on John's book_i? (evidence for inversion with *be*?)

"Michele Pritzi is happy she's even alive, much less the center of attention this week in Warrenville" (Sun-Times, 13 Oct 87)

"... never before has Diane had more good reason to crave peace and quiet, let alone a lot more understanding, than now" (Michael Sneed, Sun-Times, 18 Nov 87)

Morphology

Macintoshes. (Chicago Maroon, Jan 87; spelled that way both times the word occurred in the article in question)

"There've been a few blow-to-the-heads tonight" (Dallas/Vikings football broadcast, 26 Nov 87)

"Asked why he obeyed [nɔrBlɪz] (= North's) order, ..." (WFMT, July 87)

Joan: I may have a soldier's dress, mayn't I, squire? (Shaw, *Saint Joan*)

"It's natural for elderly's blood sugar to rise" (Sun-Times, 14 Apr 87)

"The Commerce Dept. said that Americans' income rose by [?]%" (WFMT, 26 Oct 87)

"Behind every man, there is a commander in chiefless" (Royko, 4 Mar 87; suggests *chieft-an*)
claymation (suggests *ani-motion*)

prolificacy (Dave Kehr, Tribune, 27 Feb 87)

feelings of misgender (Tribune, 6 Apr 87; article on counseling for sex-change surgery)

a further diminishment of intimacy (NYT Magazine 7 June 87, 20)

"Then he saw she was just so deeply, movelessly asleep that she gave a good impression of being dead". (Stephen King, *The Tommyknockers*, 111)

"Neville begins obsessing on the films that will put him back on top" (Sun-Times, 12 June 87)

"Curated imaginatively by Sue Taylor, ... the exhibit features work by local artists" (Tribune, 29 May 87)

Contraction

He's as tall a man as any's in Illyria. (Twelfth Night I.iii.20)

What's (= What does) that have to do with anything? (Nancy, 15 July 87)

Lexicon

"No sanitary facilities" (sign on highway in MA; ?Excuse me, where are the sanitary facilities?)

"Campers and recreational vehicles use manual lane only" (Waukegan toll plaza; means lane in which drivers give money to an attendant rather than drop it into a machine)

Count/mass

"Large hail" (WFMT, 11 May 87)

"a 2-hour program of short, familiar classical music" (WNIB)

Idioms

"The bullet we have to bite is that the rule has more exceptions than [things that conform to it]"
(E. Kaisse, 23 Apr 87)

Lexical semantics

[Why does everyone think of Nevada as east of California rather than north of it? It's probably irrelevant that the easternmost point in Nevada is slightly further east than the easternmost point in California]

The bank and the post office are very close. (= to us, to each other)
The bank and the post office are very near. (= to us, *to each other)

I'm going to be in New York longer/*shorter than I was in Boston.
I'm not/*Ø going to be in New York (very) long.
Are you going to be here long?

"...music composed at the turn of the 19th century" (WFMT, 2 Dec 87; referred to 1800. Is "the turn of the century" the turn of one of the two abutting centuries, or is it like "the changing of the guard"?)

Negative polarity items

We made an appointment and he {never showed up.
(*didn't ever show up.

Word-formation

Pottery was made before AD200 by simple shell fishermen. (Brooklyn Museum; [[[shell fish] er]men]?)

"... every one of them drive-home-able" (commercial for O'Connor Ford)
"...the assessed value of your home less your [first mortgage] balance" (WFMT, Talman ad).
*mortgage [current balance]. (evidence that in compound only adjunct but not head can be phrasal)
birdseed vs. grass seed

Speech errors, screwups

"There is more attention to law and language being paid." (J. Levi, 15 Jan 87)

"I haven't figured this quite out yet" (MC, UC Folk Festival, 31 Jan 87)

"She drove through three red lights, and the second two were on the back of a truck" (Blondie, 30 Mar 87)

"A first draft of the first [book], tentatively titled *Poetics*, has been finished, and is to be published next spring" (Sun-Times, 9 Apr 87)

"Depending how one defines consciousness affects how [one interprets what the child does]"
(Annette K.-S., 10 June 87)

"Therese said her former husband... 'went to bed fine, with my children in the apartment, and woke up dead'". (Tribune, 6 Aug. 87)

"Julian salad" (wall menu, Mama de Leo's, Taylor St.)

"The Kenturkey... Kentucky Derby" (WFMT, 2 May 87)

"...music composed to honor the 70th birthday of Ralph Vaughn Williams" (WFMT, 9 May 87)

"I'm fairly certain that even if that's the case, that I come out ahead"

"Do well in sanitation, build up socialist civilization" (sign in Hangzhou)

"Here you are" (marking location of a map in Shanghai Zoo).

[æskənæzɪk] (D Zubin, 10 Apr 87)

"Some female voice... was humming softly to itself". (Frederik Pohl, *Midas World*, 231)

Orthography

"...unescourted ladies..." (sign at bar, Van Buren St.; evidence that writer relates *escort*, *court*?)

Japanese

nie'misu 'near miss'

"Wakatte imasu wa. Binboo ga iya na dake yo" 'I understand. You just don't like being poor'
(Kurosawa, *Hokuchi*, p 30; 'be' = Ø)

1989 linguistic flea circus,

consisting, as in previous compilations, of miscellaneous things that I have heard, read, or thought up that at least at the time seemed to be of some linguistic interest. I distribute them more for my friends' amusement than anything else, but I am delighted if anyone can put any of these examples and observations to use in his research.
—James D. McCawley

Anaphora

backwards

"Quitting puts Bloom in spotlight" (Sun-Times headline, 16 Feb 89)
"His doctor recalls Reagan shooting" (Tampa Tribune, 20 Feb 89)
"Jaruzelski sits next to his erstwhile nemesis, as Walesa, makes a point" (Time caption, 1 May 89)
"But his, eventual opposition to the Reign of Terror led to Danton's execution" (Time, 1 May 89)
"But even if she has never taken a letter or fetched coffee for a boss, nearly every adult woman has at some point held some job outside the home" (Tribune, 6 Oct 89)

"binding" conditions

"Of course I drink a lot. If you were married to you, you'd drink a lot too" (The Lockhorns, 12 Feb 89)
"What's worth more—a sister's chastity or her brother's life?" (Reader, 19 May 89)
"Bride, moons groom; as Don Johnson, weds pregnant Melanie Griffith;" (headline, Star, 11 July 89)

reciprocal

"We were in love; at least, I was"
We were in love with each other; *at least, I was.

reflexive

"He saw, sitting on the bed, a man of about the same age as himself" (Satanic Verses)
"Millions of Oprah Winfrey fans were thoroughly confused last week when when, during her show, she emotionally denied and denounced a vile rumor about herself" (Royko, 22 May 89)
"For all they knew I had picked up this wallet and was trying to pass myself off as me" (NYT letter, 11 Dec 83; noncoreferential 1sg's)
"Weiss, knew exactly how to keep the focus on himself;" (Tom Wolfe, *Bonfire of the Vanities*, 503)
"The test is when you can create a character who is totally different from yourself..." "I have simply found things that work better for myself" (Sigmund Nimsgern, quoted in 6 Oct 89 Sun-Times)
"... few believed the superstar would agree to play a character a decade older than himself" (Sun-Times, 15 Oct 89)
"Get help and advice for you and your baby" (ad in CTA, 1989). Get help for yourself/*you.
"... within him- or herself" (S. Toulmin lecture, 1 Dec 89); ??my- or himself
"All of us want to be known for what we are, for what makes us stand out, for what makes ourselves special" (Studs Terkel Show? 27 Nov 89)

"Once it infects a computer, the virus, instructs the machine to make copies of itself;" (Sun-Times, 4 Nov 88; in context must be interpreted as indicated, notwithstanding availability of *the machine* as a possible antecedent)

"There was a dark brown Plymouth behind him... It rarely allowed another car to come between itself and Thad's Suburban" (Stephen King, *The Dark Half*, 270)

split antecedent

"... Hall led Carson one night each in Los Angeles and Chicago and several nights in New York — the three top markets" (NYT Magazine, 1 Oct 89)

VP-deletion

"But whereas the collegiate may resort to Cliff's Notes, the autodidact need never \emptyset " (NYT Education Supplement, 8 Jan 89)
"How can I respect someone nobody else does \emptyset ?" (Miss Peach, 1 Oct 89; antecedent-contained)
"He was able to concentrate on what an editor should \emptyset " (Bode, *Mancken*, 235; antecedent-contained, with a free relative rather than an ordinary NP)
"She had certain calculated phrasings that if you wanted to \emptyset you could read \emptyset the wrong way" (Reader, 24 Feb 89; pronoun counts as identical to trace)

misc.

She was stabbed by José, with his, own knife. *She was stabbed with his, own knife by José.

Control

"In addition to revoking all logging concessions beginning next week, all cut timber still in the forests will revert to the government..." (Sun-Times, 12 Jan 89)
"... now available to WFMT listeners by calling State 2-3000" (WFMT, 16 Feb 89)
"The Macintosh SE/30 has to be used next to a Mac Plus or a regular SE to appreciate just how fast it is" (Don Crabb, Sun-Times, 29 Jan 89)
"To comply with the Clean Indoor Air Ordinance of the City of Chicago, smoking is not allowed in the auditorium..." (sign at Court Theater, 1989)
"The rest of the time they're moving too fast to get a good look at \emptyset " (Hi and Lois, Nov 27 89)

"And word is Letterman, requested a Ferrari to be at his disposal while \emptyset , in town" (Sneed, Sun-Times, 4 May 89)

"I was not raised to expect that a breakthrough moment in male/female relationships could possibly occur while \emptyset sitting around a pool in a pricey neighborhood just south of Beverly Hills" (Judy Markey, Sun -Times, 15 June 89)

Parasitic gap

"...a book which if you don't know about \emptyset , I recommend \emptyset very highly" (Seth K, 16 May 89)

Anaphoric islands

"The Ythrian is carnivorous, aside from various sweet fruits" (Paul Anderson, *Homeward and Beyond*, 17; treats 'carnivorous' as = 'eats (only) meat')
"Two years ago I remarried, and she calls this man her daddy" (letter to Dear Diane, 13 Dec 89; this man = the writer's second husband)

Islands

complex NP constraint

"Illinois' disputed abortion regulations are so stringent that clinics that now perform one-third of the nation's abortions would be unable to comply with them" (Tribune, 17 Nov 89; means for one third of the nation's abortions, the clinics that perform them would be unable to comply)

coordinate structure constraint

"Brad Alexander was arrested and pleaded guilty to disturbing the peace" (NO Times-Picayune, 28 Dec. 88; apparent meaning: "...was arrested for disturbing the peace and pleaded guilty")
"They know what they can step on and not fall down" (Lila G, 13 Apr 89)
"I'm the kind of guy who loses his credit card and Imelda Marcos finds it" (Crock, Oct 18 89)
What's the soup that I get to choose between { * \emptyset } and a salad?
{ ?a bowl of \emptyset }

"An innocent young coed has psychic powers but has to prove it, or die, to a witch who thinks she's better" (Tribune TY Week, Apr 5 87; Heavy Constituent Shift over second conjunct?)

Sentential subject constraint

"...a precedent which not to read \emptyset would show the Britons cold" (*Cymbeline* II.i.75)

WH-island

"There's another class of cases which I don't see how you could handle" (D. Perlmutter, 29 Dec 88)
"If anything happens to me, there are 4 cases of empties only I know where to return" (Willy 'n Ethel, 31 Jan 89)
"Today she has more offers than animal control officials know what to do with" (WMAQ News, 30 Jan 89)

"...a contrast that I never knew what to do with between [...] and [...]" (Larry Horn, 29 Dec 88)

other

Lois: Chip, don't sit around and wait for your father to ask you to help him cut the grass.
Chip: Okay—I won't. Who should I sit around and wait for \emptyset to ask me, then? (Hi and Lois, May 30, 85)

Surface constraints

Order of VP elements

"Are you gonna get me some of those down?" (overheard in shop, 31 Dec 88)
"We think we'll take off that" (TMCC, 18 Feb 89)
"I cleaned up all that". "Better take off this".

Otro circo de pulgas lingüístico

(Spanish examples taken mainly from telenovelas and news shows on Chicago TV stations. This takes in all my compilations of Spanish examples up to 1993; the number of spelling and transcription errors in earlier compilations has been greatly reduced thanks to help from Elisa Steinberg, Eddy Gaytan, and Josep M. Fontana) James D. McCawley, Dept. of Linguistics, University of Chicago, 1010 E. 59th St., Chicago IL 60637

Anaphora

A: ¿Qué relación hay entre ese señor y yo? B: Todavía ninguna. Pero te aseguro que la habrá.
"Entre Estrella y yo no hay nada, y no lo habrá nunca" (*La Intrusa*, 4 Jan 88)
"Usted no tiene la culpa de nada. Nadie la tiene" (*La Intrusa*, 9 Feb 88)
Iris: Tengo la conciencia limpia. Mariela: Yo la tengo también. (*Al filo de la muerte*, 3 Dec 91; cf. I have *it/??one too)
"Joaquín pudo retener entre las suyas la diestra de la muchacha por más de un minuto (exacto: su cabeza de árbitro lo cronometró)" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 349; not clear which of the zero instances of *mano* should be considered the antecedent of the other)
"Yo quería verte sana, como tú siempre lo fuiste" (*La Intrusa*, 23 Dec 87)
"Un día de estos voy a estar ahí" (*El Nuevo Día*, 21 June 89 translation of remarks by Dwight Gooden; English: one of these days, *one day of these)
"...con tu ayuda o sin ella" (*Carmin*, 30 Apr 86)

Backwards

" \emptyset_i Llena teatros en toda América y las mujeres se enloquecen cuando \emptyset_j se contorsiona sensualmente en el escenario, pero José Luis Rodríguez tiene objetivos que van mucho más allá de su éxito..." (Américas 38.3.60)
"Políticos no lo oyen, si usted no vota" (sign in CTA buses; violates some versions of anaphora constraint)
"No lo haría nunca más porque Fonchito, aunque lo fuera en edad, no era un niño, sino alguien con más mañas y retorcimientos que todos los viejos que ella conocía" (Vargas Llosa, *Elogio a la madrastra*, 195)
"Al mismo tiempo que a hablar, aprendió a pedir limosna a los transeúntes de la avenida Abancay..." (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 294)

Choice of pronoun

"Me cuesta medio millón de pesos. ¿De dónde los saco? Aparte de dónde los saco, ¿cuándo los recupero?" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 147)
—Prendieron tu casa, Salustiano —dice una mujer.
—Y la de João Abade —añade éste. (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 513; refers to Salustiano; you couldn't say 'the latter' in English)

Reflexive

"Casarse sin amor es faltarse el respeto a sí mismo" (*La Intrusa*, 28 Nov 87)
"... si lo viste besándose con Mariela" (*Al Filo de la Muerte*, 3 Jan 92)

Spanish pronoun = English gap

"... el aeropuerto de Sucre... es famoso entre los pilotos por ser difícil de aterrizar en él..." (Américas 38.1.8)
"Sucre sigue siendo una ciudad para caminar por ella" (Américas 38.1.10)
"Allí está el pavo para llenar lo" (*Atrévete*, 5 Jan 87)

Control

"Cuentas los pollos; antes de \emptyset_j nacer" (*Atrévete*, June 86)
"Parece que ha llegado una mujer que dice ser la viuda de Antonio" (*Tú o Nadie*, Equi with *decir*)
"Antes que caigas en una de estas situaciones, llámanos para ayudarte" (ad in NYC; *nosotros* appears to be the intended understood subject of *ayudar*)
Ana Julia: Antes las cosas eran diferentes. Luis Antonio: ¿Antes de qué?
Ana Julia: Antes de \emptyset casarte con Estrella. (*La Intrusa*, 1 May 87)
"Lucharé hasta vencer" (*La Intrusa*, Aug. 87)
"Yo no me voy de aquí hasta \emptyset aclarar quién es X" (*La Intrusa*, 22 Dec 87)
"Don Federico; ahora, no se hacía ilusiones. Sabía que, una vez \emptyset_j muerto o invalidado por los años, Ricardo y Federico-hijo se apartarían de la senda que les había trazado..." (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 178)
"... y voy a luchar por él hasta conseguir que me corresponda" (*Guadalupe*, Mar 93)

Olivia: ... tan insignificante para gustarle a un hombre como Alfredo. (*Guadalupe*, 28 July 93)

"Por ser Día de las Madres, pónganme una musiquita que me gusta" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 292)
"Pese a ser de día y estar en pleno centro, al alcance de los ojos incontables de parientes y amigos de la familia, la tía Julia y yo íbamos de la mano, y yo la besaba todo el tiempo" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 197)

"... el 3 de Septiembre que no se trabaja por ser Labor Day" (commercial for Viajes Palenche, 84)

Ellipsis

"¿Quieres ir a la cárcel? ¿Quieres que yo y mi papá también?" (*Tú o nadie*, 7 Jan)
"Yo sé que tú estás sufriendo, y tú sabes que yo también"
"... hasta el día que María sufra lo que yo" (*Rosa Salvaje*, Apr 88)
"Si ella se va, yo también" (*La Intrusa*, 22 June 87)
X: ¿Cómo te sientes? Y: Creo que un poco mejor.
Alfredo: Por supuesto hablo francés. No me digas que tú también. (*La Intrusa*, 8 Jan 88)
"¿Todos los diablos cojean? Parece que sí. Dicen que Kientibakori también" (Vargas Llosa, *El hablador*, 190)
"... los Schneil me preguntaron si no me sentía bien. Respondí que perfectamente, aunque algo cansado, pues había dormido poco" (Vargas Llosa, *El hablador*, 178)
A: ¿Te recuerdas a Diego Alvarez?
B: La verdad es que muy vagamente. (*Yo compro esa mujer*, 2 Oct 90)
Teresa: No lo creo. Rosa: La verdad es que ni yo tampoco. (*Dos Vidas*, 6 June 88)
"La verdad es que yo tampoco" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 186)
Wife: ¿Te da mucha ilusión tener un hijo? Husband: ¿A quién no? (*Amar de Nadie*, 12 Apr 91)
"Si yo no tengo nada, ni tú tampoco" (*Amar de Nadie*, 9 Apr 91)
"¿[Crees que otras personas están felices] en la misma forma en que tú?" (*Amar de Nadie*, 11 June 91)
"... y nadie, entre ellos el doctor Quinteros, podía explicarse por qué se casaba tan pronto y, sobre todo, con quién" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 34; *nadie* as universal + neg; sluicing)
"Porque la hija de su hermano Roberto era en mujer lo que Richard en hombre..." (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 33)
"Le dije que encantado" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 58)
"Con la lengua entorpecida por el sueño, João Grande le explica que a ellos tampoco" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 403)
Alina: ¿Para mí? Francisco: Claro que para ti. (*Al filo de la muerte*, 9 Dec 91)
"¿Cómo decir que me rezarán en todas las lenguas y que mi nombre cruzará los siglos como los astros el cielo?" (Vargas Llosa, *Elogio a la madrastra*, 186)
Rodrigo: ¿Malas noticias? Juan: No, sólo que inesperadas. (*Al Filo de la Muerte*, 20 Jan 92)
"¿Pienensas que con él va a pasar lo mismo que con Rodrigo?" (*Al Filo de la Muerte*, 22 Jan 92)
"¿Qué hay que hacer para no perder la serenidad, Tasurínchi?" "Comer lo debido y respetar las prohibiciones, hablador." Si no, a cualquiera puede pasarle lo que a Tasurínchi, aquella vez" (Vargas Llosa, *El hablador*, 185; deletion of V)
"El bienestar material es producto de un proceso callado, casi imperceptible — la mayoría de los observadores ven lo contrario — pero yo creo que fatal" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 141)
"Además de bien escrito está bien ilustrado" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 105)
"¿Quién quiere imitarlos? Yo creo que nadie" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 34)
"Después de leída la proposición presidencial, ..." (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 36)
"Será mejor que no" (*Guadalupe*, 8 Nov 93)
Daniela: Ella nos vio y pensó que otra cosa. (*Guadalupe*, 15 Dec)
"Te digo que después" (*Guadalupe*, 26 Apr 93)

Esteban: Yo sé que tu no estás enamorada de mí, pero yo estoy de ti, Marielena. (*Marielena*, 24 Dec 92)

"Hoy es la boda del joven Jorge Luis con la señorita María Mercedes, y pronto será la suya conmigo" (*María Mercedes*, 25 Nov 92; = 'yours with me')

"Olfateando el papel (como un sabueso la mesa)..." (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 85)

A: No es tiempo de recriminaciones. B: No, ni tiempo de pretextos. (*Al Filo de la Muerte*, 25 Oct 91)

"Soñaba con ir a España (como yo con ir a Francia)..." (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 200)

"Si yo no lo quiero, él tampoco" (*Guadalupe*, 23 Feb 93)

"Quizás tú no tienes nada que decirme, pero yo a ti sí" (*Marielena*, 26 Jan 93)

Daniela: Henry me hablaba mucho de ti. Perla: Y a mí de ti. (*Guadalupe*, 20 Aug 93)

Luis Antonio: Yo te amo. Virginia: Yo también a ti. (*La Intrusa*, 1 Jan 87)

"No habrá próxima vez. Conmigo sólo se falla una" (*Guadalupe*, 10 Nov 93)

Ana Julia: ¿A quién te refieres? Fidelia: ¿A quién crees? (*La Intrusa*, 3 Mar 88; Sluicing)

"Fonchito ni siquiera se da cuenta que hace mal. Palabra que no se da" (Vargas Llosa, *Elogio a la madrastra*, 59)

"Ahora es cuando" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 60)

"Yo nunca te hablé de matrimonio. ¿O sí?"

Irene: En esta ciudad que ellas no se recuerdan, pero yo sí, ... (*Diana Salazar*, 2 Dec 88)

"¿Adonde vas?" "Adonde me da la gana" (*Diana Salazar*, 20 Oct 88)

Virginia: Yo no me puedo ir—no puedo. (*La Intrusa*, Feb 88; argues for an underlying structure with the clitic in the lower V' for ellipsis to apply to)

"Una canción puede o no gustar" (*Das Vidas*, 9 June 88)

"... buscan tecnerías... que les informarán si lo escrito tiene el derecho o no de agradecerles" (Borges, *Discusión*, 39)

"No permite que se cambie ni una coma. Si no, le dan unos colerones terribles" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 283)

"Y necesita un hombre para que la proteja" (*Yesenia*, 1 Dec 89; is this Equi into a finite S? hard to verify, since a non-zero subject *él* is possible in some Ss, though marginal here:

??Necesita un hombre para que él la proteja.

Necesita a su hermano para que él la proteja (examples from Eθ))

Islands

"Al Enano que no sabía si acercarse, le señaló la canasta" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 420; WH- island)

"... esas heridas abiertas, que no hay con qué vendar ni desinfectar ni suturar..." (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 463; WH- island violation with infinitival relative)

"Los teléfonos, desde los de manija hasta los más modernos que no sabe uno cómo agarrar, tienen varias funciones" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 207)

"Me lo imaginaba apretando tornillos toda la noche y yo estorbándole su única diversión" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 83)

"Después presento el dilema que me interesa y que no sé cómo resolver \emptyset " (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 115)

Victoria: ... una mujer que no sabemos ni siquiera quién \emptyset es. (*Marielena*, 29 Dec 92)

"... algo muy grave que no sé lo que \emptyset es" (*Guadalupe*, 1 Apr 93)

"... escondiéndome de alguien que no sé quién \emptyset es" (*Guadalupe*, 16 Dec 93)

Diana: Es que mi madre descubrió algo que no sé qué es \emptyset . (*Diana Salazar*, 4 Nov 88)

"Hay un libro que cada vez que leo \emptyset , me hace pensar que la vida es ancha, está llena de mentiras y que todas se pueden decir por carta" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 195)

"Hay algo que no sé si tu sabes \emptyset " (*Guadalupe*, 27 Sept 93)

"Pero lo que nos cuesta trabajo entender \emptyset es que no existen problemas esencialmente insolubles" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 137)

Pied-piping

"Es la vía por medio de la cual podemos ejercer nuestra influencia sobre las decisiones gubernamentales" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 117)

Identity

Alicia: Afortunadamente, no pasó nada. Rita: Pero puede pasar. (*Guadalupe*, 3 Sept 93; nada = algo)

Gender ignored

"Entonces, ¿fui tú la que rompió con él?" (*Al filo de la muerte*, 30 Jan 92)

M.T.: Eres injusto, José Antonio. J.A.: No, María Teresa, la injusta eres tú.

Mariela: Estás equivocado. Armando: La equivocada eres tú, Mariela. (*Atrévete*, 9 Jan 87)

"Yo no soy inseguro. La insegura eres tú."

Armando: Estás tan asustada como yo, Mariela, ¿verdad? (*Atrévete*, 6 Aug 86)

"Tú no te das tan fácilmente por vencida, ni yo tampoco" (*Diana Salazar*, 18 July 88; male speaker)

Amanda to Esteban: Yo también estoy soja como tú. (*Atrévete*, 22 Sept 86)

"Es la mas pequeña de los tres" (*Guadalupe*, 19 Aug 93; 'los tres' are one man and two women)

"Soy yo la que manda" (*Guadalupe*, Mar 93; 'the one/*woman who gives the orders')

Harry: Luisa Zambrano es la primera sospechosa. (*Guadalupe*, 14 Dec 93)

(man to woman) "Eres un ser humano, no un muñeco" (*Das Vidas*, 14 June 88)

Doctor: Usted es una muchacha sana, y su marido también. (*Coralita*, 1984)

Mother (to Alfonso): Es una buena chica, y tú lo eres también. (1983)

Rosana: Que buen hijo eres. Rodrigo: Mejor que tú. (*Tal como somos*, 26 May 88; hijo = hija)

"Después del daño que le ha hecho su hijo a la mía" (*Guadalupe*, 27 Aug 93)

René: Me recibió porque soy su amigo. Purita: Pero yo lo soy también. (*Marielena*, 14 Dec 92; amigo = amiga)

"Los tíos Jorge y Gaby" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 240; 'Uncle Jorge and Aunt Gaby'; tío = tía)

Diana: Yo también creo que Jordana no es la asesina. (*Diana Salazar*, 4 Nov. 88; no presupposition that the culprit is a woman, and *el asesino* isn't even acceptable here. Cf.:

Yo también creo que Jordana no es la asesina sino que otra persona debe ser el asesino.)

"Es la principal sospechosa" (*Diana Salazar*, 4 Nov 88; means 'principal suspect', not 'principal female suspect')

"Yo no vi ninguna carta ni tarjeta que me pruebe que ella fue la que llevó la guitarra al Puesto" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 147; no presupposition that it was a woman who brought the guitar to the police station)

Renato: Es un hombre muy peligroso. Sofía: Más peligrosa voy a ser yo. (*Amar de Nadie*, 29 Aug 91) **number ignored**

"Nunca lamentó alguno de mis amantes haber lo sido" (Vargas Llosa, *Elogio a la madrastra*, 124)

stolpy identity

X: Ya no eres el Rufino que eras. Rufino: Tú tampoco. (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 265)

"Ellos no me conocen, pero yo sí" (*Mi pequeña Soledad*, 1 Oct 90; = yo los conozco)

Leonor: Tengo mis dudas y supongo que tu las tienes también. (*Atrévete*, 20 Apr 87; cf. ??... I suppose you have them too; '... I suppose you do too' is OK, since stolpy identity is OK for V'-del).

use of morphological forms

Agreement

Armando to Marcos: Ni tú ni Federico van a convencerme. (*Atrévete*, 8 Oct 86)

Leonor: No quiero que ni Armando ni Roberto sufran. (*Atrévete*, 17 Mar 87)

Máximo to Diego: Recuerda que ni tú ni yo la tenemos. (*Jugando a vivir*, 8 May 84)

"Ni Ricardo, ni siquiera mi papá, son tan educados como era él" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 123)

Diana: Dijo que Mario yo íbamos a morir. (*El extraño retorno de Diana Salazar*, 30 Nov 88)

"... ni la mujer, ni los hijos, ni el muchacho que estaba viviendo allí cerca porque quería casarse

con la hija mayor de Tasurinchí, se quejaron" (Vargas Llosa, *El hablador*, 216)
 [Plural agreement obligatory in all the preceding; with conjoined subject after the verb there is the option of agreement with just the closest conjunct: No me agradaba/agradaban ni el lugar, ni la hora, ni los concurrentes. (ES) On this option, see now Judith Aissen and Jeffrey Runner, "Spanish left conjunct agreement", read at 1989 LSA meeting.]
 But: "Ni nada ni nadie puede separarnos" (*Atrévete*, 29 Aug 86; *puede* preferred to *pueden*)
 "Francisco hace siempre lo que quiere, y ni Alina ni nadie tienen gran influencia sobre él" (*Al filo de la muerte*, 22 Nov 91)
 Marielena: Ni mi hijo ni yo volveremos jamás. (*Marielena*, 17 Dec 92)

"El Partido Demócrata Nacional nos prometieron muchas cosas" (interview, Noticiero, 5 July 93)
 "El campo está preparado, el mundo espera ansiosos los productos salidos de manos mexicanas" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 181)

"«Mira la gente en el jardín» Lo menos que parecen es delincuentes" (*Guadalupe*, 27 July 93)
 "Pudo ser usted" (*Guadalupe*, 22 June 93; response to "one of us was going to die"; ES also accepts *Pudiste/Pudo ser tú*)
 "Lo único que necesito son tus besos" (*Marielena*, 30 Dec 92)
 "Ahora lo que quiero eres tú" (*Marielena*, 6 Jan 93)
 "Su punto débil son las mujeres" (*Diana Salazar*, 28 July 88; *es)
 "Era otra persona: lleno de formas y de solemnidad" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 364)
 Daniela: Uno de los tres — tú o Henry o yo — es el hijo de Antonio. (*Guadalupe*, 19 July 93)

"Tú eres la única que puedes ayudar a ella" (*Guadalupe*, 16 Dec 93)
 "Eres tú que te comportas en una manera muy extraña" (*Marielena*, 5 Jan 93)
 "Lo que importa ahora somos tú y yo" (*Das Yidas*, 9 June 88; *es)
 "Los únicos culpables son nosotros" (*La Intrusa*, Feb 88)
 "Los que se van, han vuelto. Están aquí. Son nosotros" (Vargas Llosa, *El hablador*, 39)
 Marcos to Armando: [Roberto] estaba jugando a que fuera/*fuera tú. (*Atrévete*, 8 Dec 86)

"El problema fueron ellos, no fui yo" (Cristina, 17 Oct 91; woman discussing ex-husbands)
 El ganador voy/*va a ser yo. El ganador parece/*parece ser yo.
 El ganador parece/*parece que soy yo. [Does this argue that in "El ganador soy yo", *el ganador* is the subject, but agreement is with the predicate NP?]
 Ni Bush ni Clinton serán los ganadores.
 *Ni Bush ni Clinton será el ganador. (disc. with ES, Apr 92)

"Virginia, acompañada por otros tipos, me descubrieron" (*La Intrusa*, 6 Nov 87)

"Los hombres y las mujeres tenemos los mismos derechos" (*La Intrusa*, 7 July 87; *tienen* also possible-ES)
 "...quienes no creemos que ese debe ser el futuro de Puerto Rico, tendremos que unirnos en un movimiento para detener la República" (*El Nuevo Día*, 19 June 89; = we who do not believe...")
 "Aquí, los únicos que se friegan siempre somos los pobres" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 179)
 "Hacíamos La Torre de Babel cuatro personas: Luis Llosa; ... Moshé dan Furgang...; el camarógrafo Alejandro Pérez y yo" (Vargas Llosa, *El hablador*, 141)
 "... para los que trabajamos" ('for us who are working'; *Amor de Nadie*, 26 July 91)
 "Los dos corremos peligro de muerte" (*Al filo de la muerte*, 5 Feb 92)
 "Acaso presentía que, aquella noche, quienes gozábamos en esa habitación enrojecida por la candelita y el deseo no éramos dos sino tres" (Vargas Llosa, *Elogio a la madrastra*, 36)
 "Ha decidido gastarse sus dineros secando esas publicaciones con el propósito de defender el nombre de quienes servimos al Emperador, del villipendio a que nos someten" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 363)
 Carlos: Ni Luisa ni yo somos padres ejemplares. (*Guadalupe*, 29 June 93)
 "Para los profanos, los que no entendemos el trámite y estamos fuera del aguinaldo, ..."
 (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 175)

"Yo creo que una de las causas más poderosas de la indiferencia y apatía que sentimos muchos mexicanos por las cosas políticas..." (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 153)
 "Para los mexicanos que no tenemos ambiciones políticas ni esperanzas burocráticas..."
 (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 144)
 "...esta revista se hunde y todos los imbéciles que trabajamos aquí nos hundimos con ella" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 439)
 Diana (to her mother): Para ti tu familia somos una propiedad. (*Guadalupe*, 13 Dec 93)
 "El carterero mío es mejor. Sabe leer, y distinguir entre las cinco familias que compartimos la misma dirección..." (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 198)

"... con una precisión y maestría increíbles" (Marti, *Instrumentos musicales precortesianos* 58)
 "...disparando la flecha sin apuntar, daba unos pasos por el monte y pronto se tropezaba con una pavita, una perdiz o un trompetero flechados" (Vargas Llosa, *El hablador*, 38; one bird each time)
 "No he conocido a nadie que diera de entrada, como él, esa impresión de persona tan abierta, sin repliegues, desprendida de buenos instintos, nadie que mostrara una sencillez y un corazón semejantes en cualquier circunstancia" (Vargas Llosa, *El hablador*, 11; no a before 2nd *nadie*)
 "... pues ahora sólo hablaban del Consejero, de Dios o del lugar de donde venían con una convicción y un orgullo contagiosos" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 92)

"La tercera alternativa consiste en seguir investigando hasta encontrar una exégesis del suceso, escrita por un hombre muy enterado, que afirma en primer lugar que tanto Sánchez Pérez como Pérez López son una maravilla" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 145)

Juan y Pedro son amigos, y Pablo y Gerardo lo son también. (gender and number are irrelevant to pronominalization of predicate NP)

"los malos entendidos" (*Al Filo de la Muerte*, 15 Jan 92)
 "... para aclarar ciertos malos entendidos" (news, 4 Dec 92)

"La escuela Du Sable es 97% negro" (Ayuda, 5 June 86)
 Estrella to Rosa: Eres mi antiguo perro fiel. (*La Intrusa*, Feb 88; an idiom: if *perro* were replaced by *perro*, it would be literal and mean 'bitch')

"Los reyes de Castilla y el de Portugal..." 'The king and queen of Castile and the king of Portugal' (film *Cristóbal Colón*)
 los reyes de Castilla y la de Inglaterra 'the king and queen of Castile and the queen of England'
 la reina de Inglaterra y los de Castilla 'the queen of England and the king and queen of Spain'
 (shows that *reyes* is a plural of *reina* as much as of *rey*)

"La hambrienta y flaca loba del primer canto de la Divina Comedia no es un emblema o letra de la avaricia" (Borges, *Discusión*, 139; "una letra o emblema" also OK acc. to ES)

"Nuestro conocimiento recíproco es total. Tú eres yo y tú, y tú soy yo y tú" (Vargas Llosa, *Elogio a la madrastra*, 160)

"El círculo que rodea al Coronel se desgrana a medida que, obedeciendo sus instrucciones, cada uno de los oficiales, luego de chocar los tacones, se aleja en direcciones distintas" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 148)

"Chef Boyardee... la número uno en pastas enlatadas" (commercial, 1991, noted by ES)

(the following examples are from ES in response to my query as to why *yema* in *la yema de los dedos* is singular)

Me duele la yema de los dedos. 'My fingertips hurt'
 Me duelen las yemas de los dedos.
 Me quema la planta de los pies. *...el dedo...
 Me queman las plantas de los pies. ...los dedos...

Me arde la palma de las manos. *...la uña...
Me arden las palmas de las manos. ...las uñas...
Me duele la raíz de los dientes.
?Me duelen las raíces de los dientes.
Me enfríe el lóbulo de las orejas. ...la raíz de los cabellos.
Me enfríe los lóbulos de las orejas. ?...las raíces de los cabellos.

Accusative a

"Era incapaz de pronunciar palabra, miraba todo y a todos con letárgica inexpressividad de tortuga,
..." (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 265; conjoining of NPs with and without a)

"¿Cómo se llama el hombre que atropelló la señorita?" (*Tú o nadie*, unambiguously: ... who the lady ran over, because of absence of a)

Gabriel to Homar Chavez: ¿Estás reconociendo que escribiste el libro con la sola intención de separarnos, a Eva y a mí? (*La Verdadera Eva*, 84)

Alina: Los vi hablando. Laura: ¿A quiénes? Alina: A Francisco y a Mariela. (*Al filo de la muerte*, 25 Dec 91)

"Ella me ama con locura, igual que yo a ella" (NB comparative reduction)

"A la única que ama es a mí" (Vanessa, 2 Mar 83)

"A la única que no pudo reconocer fue a Raquel" (27 Jan 86)

"Los voy a destruir a todos" (NB separation of quantifier from NP)

"Lo que tienes que convencer es a Javier" (*Marta y Javier*)

"Es a tí que yo quiero"

"Lo que esa niña necesita es a su padre" (*Marielena*, 15 Jan 93)

"Prefiero dejar hablar a mi corazón" (*Al filo de la muerte*, 27 Feb 92)

"El gobierno decide hacer un esfuerzo espectacular y gracias a él, colocar el país a la cabeza de las naciones en determinado campo" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 191)

"¿Quién mató (o va a matar) a la Universidad?" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, subtitle, 277)

Mariela: No la condenas como a mí. (*Atrévete*, 18 Mar 87)

Omar: Quiero a Mario Villareal muerto. (*Diana Salazar*, 1 Sept 88)

"¿Estás jugando a detective?" (*Diana Salazar*, 14 Oct 88; a also possible)

contraction

"Cartagena no tardó en convertirse en punto de recolección de oro, esmeraldas y perlas procedentes del virreinato de Nueva Granada, y a menudo del oro y la plata del Perú..." (*Américas* 39.3, 13; de fuses with article of only the first conjunct)

"Puerto Rico... había salido victorioso del mal tiempo, la posible turbulencia política y las dificultades logísticas" (*Américas* 39.63)

"Así andaba Lucho Abril Marroquín, al año del accidente: abandonado de su mujercita y del sueño y la tranquilidad, ..." (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 216)

"Es idéntico a de Irene" (*Diana Salazar*, 18 Oct 88; = al retrato)

"Su boca ancha está fruncida con firmeza y las ventanillas de su nariz, muy abiertas, parecen aspirar más aire de que necesitan" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 19)

"Mis padres vivían en Estados Unidos y mi padre era un hombre severo al que yo le tenía mucho miedo" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 278)

"Los cumpleaños tienen dos defectos: son inevitables y acumulativos y además, van deformando la personalidad del que los festeja" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 51)

de = possessive

Pierre: Esa niña no es de Luciano sino mía. (Vanessa, 26 Apr, 83)

"Yo me llevo un lindo recuerdo tuyo" ... a lovely memory of you'

"Hay un retrato tuyo y de Raquel" (= a picture of you and Raquel; *Tú o nadie*, 9 Jan; "two pictures

of you and R" = dos retratos tuyos y de Raquel)

"... el fruto del amor de Luis Felipe y mío" (*Marielena*, 2 Dec 92)

a pesar tuyo 'in spite of you'

"¿Era muy fea su nariz? Dependía del cristal a cuyo través se le miraba" (Vargas Llosa, *Elogio a la madrastra*, 129)

"... sólo había sentido repugnancia por esas bestias que templeaban encima suyo como atacados del mal de San Vito..." (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 50)

"Yo no tengo nada en contra tuyo" (*Marielena*, 7 Jan 93)

"Cualquier mujer sería feliz al lado tuyo" (*Marielena*, 7 Jan 93)

"Eso es asunto de él y mío" (*Marielena*, 11 Jan 93)

Perla: ¿Qué quieres — que yo lo vea a espaldas tuyas? (*Guadalupe*, 5 Aug 93)

Arango: María es más hija mía que de él. (*Guadalupe*, 5 Jan 94)

= possessive in "¡Pobre Armando! ¡Pobre de tí!" (*Pobre tuyo) or in (ES examples) "El malo/traidor de mi hermano" (cf. "My traitor of a brother"); ES notes that evaluatively positive words become ironic in this construction: El vivo de mi hijo.

La inteligente de tu mujer regaló mi libro favorito.

La belleza de silla que compró arruina toda la decoración.

Subjunctive

"No importa la opinión que tú tengas"

"Esto lo hago, no porque exista una ley, ni escrita ni aceptada, sino porque no quiero entrar en una discusión en donde el enemigo va a esgrimir un argumento tan contundente como el derecho que el pobre tiene a divertirse: (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 62; = '... not because there's any law...')

clitics

Dios (*lo) hizo llover. (dummy subject of llover doesn't surface as a clitic when it becomes object)

"Déjate de falsas bromas y explícanoslo de una vez" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 272)

"... cada fotografía, simultáneamente, de la vida y se la quita a sus objetos" (*Américas* 40.6.13; a sus objetos evidently goes with both conjuncts; ... les de la vida... is also possible)

Virginia to Manuel: Luis Antonio nos encontró a los dos juntas. (*La Intrusa*, 29 Oct 87)

"Estoy muy contenta, y tú vas a estar lo también" (*Marielena*, 3 Dec 92)

"... esa fusión que sólo puede expresarse adecuadamente traumatizando la sintaxis: yo te me entrego, me te masturbas, chupateménonos" (Vargas Llosa, *Elogio a la madrastra*, 161)

Inanimate dative

"Dice la gente que si uno le da tres vueltas al arbol, se casa dentro del año" (*Américas* 38.1.13)

"... poner le aceite al coche"

"Difícil que lleguen arriba. Pero, si llegan, pueden inutilizarlo. Es fácil. Quebrar le la espoleta o volar le el cargador" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 410; refers to a cannon)

"En cambio ahora Bush y Gorbachev se reúnen en Londres, y a los dos minutos todo el mundo sabe de qué hablaron y qué marca de ketchup le puso el americano al caviar ruso" (*Américas* 43.4.64)

"Yo no le tengo miedo, sino le tengo respeto" (*Guadalupe*, 1 Dec 93; le = el agua)

Climbing

"No te quiero obligar" (*Carmín*, 19 May 86)

"Lo sigo vigilando" (*Carmín*, 30 June 86)

Leonor: ¡No me mendas a callar! (*Atrévete*, 1 Dec 86)

Mariela: Yo me sé defender. (*Atrévete*, 23 Mar 87)

"Se volvió a burlar de mí" (*La Intrusa*, 18 Jan 88)

"Luis Antonio se quiere divorciar" (*La Intrusa*, 25 Jan 88)

"Si lo necesitas, házmelo saber" (*Amar de Nadie*, 16 Apr 91; clitics from different Ss)

"No te quiero volver a ver" (*Amar de Nadie*, 19 July 91)

"No me pienso mover de aquí" (*Amar de Nadie*, 7 May 91)

"¡E! me tiene que buscar a mí" (*Marielena*, 2 Dec 92)

Luigi: Lo mandaré matar. (*Al Filo de la Muerte*, 10 Mar 92)

"Te he venido a buscar" (*Marielena*, 2 Dec 92)

"¿Me viniste a buscar?" (*María Mercedes*, 13 Nov, 20 Nov 92)
 "Este niño es el hijo de Guadalupe y Alfredo, señora, el hijo que le robaron y que yo le vengo a devolver" (*Guadalupe*, 10 Jan 94; *le* in context has to refer to Alfredo)
 Carmela: Este hombre ha tenido el atrevimiento de venirte a buscar. (*Marilena*, 15 Jan 93)
 Andrés: Ya me tengo que ir. (*Marilena*, 15 Jan 93)
 "Primero nos tenemos que casar" (*Marilena*, 9 Feb 93)
 "No me pienso mover de aquí" (*Marilena*, 3 Feb 93)
 "Cuando yo tenga tiempo para hablar contigo, te mandaré a llamar" (*Guadalupe*, 23 Apr 93)
 "Yo me sé controlar" (*Guadalupe*, 9 Apr 93)
 "Con el tiempo las cosas se van olvidando" (*Guadalupe*, 17 June 93)

"Me dejé engañar" (*Diana Salazar*, 18 Oct 88; climbs over understood unspecified subject)
 "No se deje ver" 'Don't let yourself be seen'

Roberto: Nunca te voy a dejar de querer. (*Atrévete*, 31 Mar 87; iterated climbing)
 "Te vas a poder casar" (*Estrellita*, Mar 88)
 "No te quiero volver a ver, nunca" (*La Intrusa*, 7 Oct 87)
 "Te va a venir a buscar" (*Valentina*, 14 Dec 93)

"Ya no quiero seguir lo engañando" (*Diana Salazar*, 3 Nov 88; to intermediate V of stack)
 "Marilena no puede volverse a enamorar" (*Marilena*, 23 Dec 92)
 "(La información) no podrá usarse en su contra" (WCIU)
 "Yo no quiero volverte a ver nunca más" (*Marilena*, 18 Feb 93)
 "No quiero seguirte oyendo" (*Guadalupe*, 13 July 93)
 "Eso tiene que acabarse" (*Atrévete*, 1 Jan 87; all of the examples in this group allow the clitic at any level in the stack of V's)

various syntactic constructions

Absolute

"Siendo sus radioteatros tan famosos, creí que ganaría montones de plata" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 165)
 "¿Es que no hablas francés, siendo francés tu papá?" (*Al filo de la muerte*, 11 Nov 91)

"[Tenemos que aceptar lo], venga de quién venga" 'We have to accept it, no matter who it comes from' (*La Intrusa*, July 87)
 "[Hay que comportarse en manera natural], haya o no haya policía" (*Tal como somos*, 5 May 88)

Auxiliary verb

"Había habido truenos y caído mucha agua la vispera..." (Vargas Llosa, *El hablador*, 137; *haber* with conjoined complement)

*Estoy siguiendo esperando. (cf. 'I'm still hoping)

Clause union

"La cobra, la tarántula, la sucurana serían amigas del hombre, como hubiera sido si éste no se hubiera hecho expulsar del Paraíso" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 221)

Cleft

"Lo que estoy es zeloso" (*Guadalupe*, 30 Apr 93)
 "Lo que te venía a decir es que tienes que casarte con Diana" (*Guadalupe*, 11 May 93)
 "Yo lo que tengo ganas es que..." (*Guadalupe*, 2 June 93)
 "Lo que ella queda en esta casa es poco tiempo" (*Guadalupe*, 28 May 93; 'It won't be long that she'll stay in this house'; * for ES)
 "Tú lo que tienes es rabia de la pobre Guadalupe" (*Guadalupe*, 24 May 93)
 Violeta: Enamorada es lo que estoy. (*Guadalupe*, 21 Oct 93)
 "Lo que tiene queda en esta casa es muy agradecida" (*Guadalupe*, Dec 93)
 Ortiz to Contreras: Quien se la merece realmente soy yo. (*Marta y Javier*, 21 Feb 84)

"Con la única con que contamos es con la ayuda de Dios" (*Atrévete*, 18 Nov 86; 'The only help we can count on...'; 'Con lo único...', is also possible, meaning 'The only thing we can count on...'—ES)
 "Con la única con que puedo contar es contigo" (*La Intrusa*, 10 Aug 87)

"De lo único que me acuerdo es que era una revista americana" (*Al filo de la muerte*, 19 Dec 91)
 "De lo que sí estoy seguro es que Diana no está enamorada de él" (*Diana Salazar*, 28 July 88)

Claudia: Me voy a ir muy lejos, adonde nadie me encuentre más (*Carmín*, 20 June 86; NB *adonde* matches *adonde*; ES notes that *adonde/adonde*, *bajo/abajo*, *dentro/dentro*, and *fuera/afuera* are often interchangeable, though some fixed expressions require one in particular: *bajo/abajo* para *de muerte*, *está fuera/afuera de sí*; JMF offers further examples where they are not interchangeable:

El gato se escondió bajo/*abajo el armario. ... debajo/abajo del armario
 Esos libros los he puesto dentro/*dentro del cajón.
 Mi hermana está esperándote abajo/*bajo.
 Los vecinos de abajo/*bajo
 ¿Puedes ver aquellos hombres que están abajo/*bajo al fondo del valle?)

"No es con sangre como se defienden los triunfos" (*El Nuevo Día*, 19 June 89; *como* in pseudo-cleft)

comparative

"Más que vivir, vegetaba hasta ahora" (*Carmín*, 30 Apr 86)
 "...el diccionario bilingüe más completo y de mayor actualidad..." ('cover blurb, Simon & Schuster Spanish/English dictionary; corr. to E 'most complete and up-to-date')
 "... el hijo que es tan suyo como mío" (*Guadalupe*, 22 Sept 93; 'the child that is as much his as mine')

Antonio: Diana te sigue queriendo, igual o mucho más que antes. (*Guadalupe*, 4 Jan 94)

"Dwight Gooden logró ser el tercer jugador más joven en la historia contemporánea de las grandes ligas que gana 100 partidos..." (*El Mundo*, 20 June 89)
 "Gooden se convirtió en el tercer más joven lanzador de la época moderna actual en ganar 100 juegos..." (*El Nuevo Día*, 21 June 89)

"Ni Ricardo, ni siquiera mi papá, son tan educados como erg él" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 123; V retained in than-clause, to support non-identical tense)

"Le juro que no he visto a un hombre tan templado de nadie como él a usted" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 79; 'gapped' than-clause)

Mauricio to Sonia: Tú me quieres tanto como yo. (*Dos Vidas*, 1 July 88; = as much as I love you)

"Sobre usted se echa más todo que nadie" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 165)

"Y respecto a mis viajes estoy de acuerdo. Cada día salgo con más frecuencia" (*Al filo de la muerte*, 19 Feb 92; the departures take place at perhaps 2- or 3-week intervals)

comparative conditional

"Cuanto más trato, menos me acuerdo" (*Estrellita*, Apr 88)
 "...la perseguirán día y noche tratando de sacar la declaraciones. Y mientras más sucias y escandalosas, más las explotarán" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 164)
 "Mientras más lo frecuentaba —aunque nuestra relación siguiera sujeta a brevísimas charlas en torno a una mesa de café— el hechizo que ejercía sobre mí su personalidad, su físico, su retórica, era mayor" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 232)
 "... en la lengua erótica por excelencia (un francés tanto más excitante cuanto más incomprensible)..." (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 210)
 "La verdad es que mientras más enojado estoy con este país y más lejos viajo, más mexicano me siento" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 59)

comparative congeners

"Prefiero aceptar su ayuda que la tuya" (1983)
 "Prefiero actuar en la calle que vegetar tras un escritorio" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 210)
 "Prefiere ser referi a jugador porque el que arbitra un partido es el que manda" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 341)

"Panchito, ya un viejo, sigue siendo el cerebro de la oficina, porque el nuevo jefe resultó igual de incompetente que el anterior" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 176)
"João Abade cuenta que la Columna que viene subiendo desde Sergipe y Geremoabo, es la mitad de numerosa que ésta, no más de dos mil hombres" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 374)
"[Koolaid] cuesta la mitad que las sodas" (commercial, 7 May 87)

complements

Sandra to Roberto: Tienes que acostumbrarte (a) que yo soy tu madre. (*Atrévete*, 22 Jan 87; cf. *You have to accustom yourself (to) that I am your mother. Is the usual deletion of P excluded here for reasons that GB people would subsume under 'Case theory', e.g. that the complement isn't adjacent to the V that the P goes with? Is deletion of P excluded in all cases where a P in [V NP P'] has a sentential object?)

"Cuidado con darle a entender que estoy aquí" (Rodrigo to Maura, *Tú o nadie*, 22 March)
"Cuando cadete, podía sacar cualquier tonada con oír la una vez" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 145)

"Creo que si lo conocen" (*Paradiso*, 7 Jan 91)

"Levanta la lamparilla, apaga la llama soplando y sale del despacho, ..." (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 140; = 'blows out')

Melisa: Ahora estoy completamente convencida de quién mató a mi tía Claudia. (*Marielena*, 24 Dec 92)

"En Puebla también está la Casa del Alféñique, que es un museo que vale la pena ser visitado..." (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 211)

"Te noto distinta" (*Marielena*, 14 Jan 93)

"Cuando se encierran [allí] nunca se sabe a la hora que saldrán" (*Marielena*, 11 Jan 93)

"Tu sigues casado legítimamente con Estrella" (*La Intrusa*, 16 Dec 87)

"Yo sigo siendo tu esposa" (*La Intrusa*, 25 Jan 88)

"Tengo al niño enfermo" (*La Intrusa*, 5 Jan 88)

"Yo la veo cada vez peor" 'She keeps looking worse to me'

"... dudó si regresar" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 187, 'he wondered whether to go back'; *si* + inf)

"Dudé sobre si continuar o cambiar de tema..." (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 289)

"Le habían hablado de manera tan solemne que hasta dudó si contarnos" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 278)

"No dudes en llamarme" (*Marielena*, 21 Jan 93; 'Don't hesitate to call me')

Complementizer choice

"Te prohíbo que hables así" (*La Intrusa*, Aug. 87)

"Te prohíbo que entres en mi casa" (*Diana Salazar*, 15 Nov 88)

"¿Como vas a entrar en su casa sin que te vea?" (*La Intrusa*, 8 Jan 88)

no complementizer

"El presidente electo, Menem, no cree pueda resolver los conflictos militares heredados de su predecesor Alfonsín" (*El Nuevo Día*, 21 June 89)

"Santa Bárbara, virgen, mártir, cristiana, se supone \emptyset vivió en el Siglo Tercero D.C." (San Jeronimo Museum, San Juan PR; finite complement without *que*; with extraction)

"Junto con los comunistas, que se esperaba \emptyset perdieran ocho de sus 48 asientos, ..." (*El Nuevo Día*, 19 June 89)

"... la privatización de Telmex, que se espera \emptyset produzca una rápida mejoría del servicio telefónico básico" (*Américas* 44.3.24)

"Tengo que decirte algo que creo \emptyset es importante" (*Al Filo de la Muerte*, 21 Oct 91)

"Caza animales, algo que nunca supe \emptyset hicieran las mujeres" (Vargas Llosa, *El Hablador*, 109)

reduced

"Quiero verme muy bonita" (*Yo compro esa mujer*, 5 Oct 90)

Quiero verme muy bonita y Rosa lo quiere también. (can be either 'R wants me to look pretty too' or 'R wants to look pretty too', i.e. both 'strict identity' and 'sloppy identity' are possible in the reduced form)

"Yo no te pago, por sinvergüenza y por pecador" (*Estefanía*, April 85)

"Se destruye a sí misma por estúpida" (*La Intrusa*, 28 May 87)

Renata: La boté por inmoral. (*La Intrusa*, 21 July 87)

"Estoy aquí por criminal, no por tonto" (*El Pecado de Oyuki*, 25 Dec 87)

"Esas manifestaciones de fe... lo confunden y apenas, a pesar de que el Padre Lizzardo, en todas las misas de campaña, trueno contra los impíos, acusándolos de perjurios, heréticos y profanadores de la fe" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 462)

"Los van a meter presos por escandalosos y pornográficos" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 197)

"Con resignación había aceptado que de las distracciones familiares quedaran excluidos, por inmorales para el espíritu, el cine, el baile, el teatro, la radio, y, por onerosos para el presupuesto, los restaurantes, los viajes y cualquier fantasía en el atuendo corporal y en la decoración inmueble" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 175-6)

"¿Me estás acusando de ladrón?" (*Guadalupe*, 7 Apr 93)

"La tiene usted por descarado y ella por sinvergüenza: (*Guadalupe*, 24 June 93; refers to *tener la culpa*)

"...el Testigo de Jehová recibió la misión de gobernar ese match que todos profetizaban memorable" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 351)

"¿Fue por rebelde, en insubordinación contra este destino de gloria crematística y brillo social que el niño resultó árbitro de fútbol, o más bien por insuficiencia de psicología?" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 338)

"... desde muy niña..." (*Atrévete*, June 86)

Leonor: Armando y Marcos han sido amigos desde niños. (*Atrévete*, 16 Dec 86)

"Yo estoy acostumbrada a trabajar desde pequeña" (*Amor de Nadie*, 10 Apr 91)

"Le conté la historia desde el principio, las complicaciones que teníamos para vernos y entendí por qué en las últimas semanas le había pedido dos o tres veces plata prestada" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 153-4; N + V_{ptcp} combination as reduced complement)

Aurora: Yo te advertí la clase de hombre que es Rodolfo. (*Guadalupe*, 20 May 93)

Coordination

Doctor: Hay que prepararte tanto física como psicológicamente. (*La Intrusa*, 17 Feb 88)

"Y con esto no me refiero única ni principalmente a las impropiedades verbales, ..." (Borges, *Discusión*, 41)

"Ve entrar y salir a oficiales salpicados de barro, oye discutir al Coronel Tamarindo con el Mayor Cunha Matos, dar órdenes a Moreira César" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 278)

"La Superiora del Coro Sagrado vio, además de mujeres y niños acurrucados, muchos hombres en armas, y a João Grande, corriendo con una carabina y sertas de balas en los hombros" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 290)

"¿Tiene rabia porque ese cortador de pescuezos lo llamó Casabendidos y traidores a la República a los voluntarios bahianos, porque abusó de sus policías?" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 528)

"Apoya la cabeza en sus brazos, trata de que entre el aire a sus pulmones, escucha su corazón" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 326)

"¿Qué son las muchas de la Ilíada de Chapman a Magnien sino diversas perspectivas de un hecho móvil, sino un largo sorteo experimental de omisiones y de énfasis?" (Borges, *Discusión*, 89; o could be used instead of but not in addition to the second *sino*)

"... sin poder leer ni poder escribir" (ad for literacy program, channel 44, 30 Dec 85)

"Y no la he obligado ni nada" (= '... or anything')

"...sin peligros ni violencias" (*Américas*, 38.4.27)

"Era un cine sin techo ni sillas, al natural" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 123)

"[Esta traducción] hizo más... que ninguna otra, antes ni después" (Américas, 38.4.36)
 "No son bombones cremosos, rellenos de licor ni esencia y no tienen tampoco sabores artificiales ni preservativos químicos" (Américas 39.3, 56)
 "No, no tenía los ojos brillantes ni húmedos" (Vargas Llosa, ¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?, 129
 "... sin saber qué decir ni hacer" (Vargas Llosa, ¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?, 170; CR with ni as the conjunction)
 "Yo había visto en esos días una película mexicana (sólo años después sabría que era de Buñuel y quién era Buñuel)" (Vargas Llosa, La Tía Julia, 187; declarative conjoined with interrogative)
 "Jugábamos al profesor y a la alumna y yo le explicaba lo que era huachafo..." (Vargas Llosa, La Tía Julia, 276; separate a before each conjunct)
 "...no podían estar contra ni a favor de ella" (Vargas Llosa, La Tía Julia, 419; RNR)
 "... una polémica (pequeñísima) sobre si los jóvenes de esa edad tienen o no criterio suficiente para ejercerlo" (Ibargüengoitia, Instrucciones para vivir en México, 117)
 "La clave del programa es una nueva clase única de programa de computadora llamada Transparent Language, que funciona tanto en computadores personales compatibles con IBM como con Macintosh" (Américas 45.5.3)

category identity of conjuncts

"Para más información y obtener gratis su guía médica, llame ahora" (WCIU commercial; NP + Y')
 "...le decía que de joven soñaba con la ciencia y pasar su vida en laboratorios y anfiteatros" (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 208; NP + Y')
 "El final de la novela ocurre en el momento en que los buenos, después de muchas peripecias y de haber aniquilado hasta el último de los villanos, logran apoderarse de manera indiscutible e indisputable, del documento en cuestión" (Ibargüengoitia, Instrucciones para vivir en México, 184)

"Se quedaron con la plata y libres" (Vargas Llosa, ¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?, 179; P' conjoined with A')
 "Esta mal eado y con arcadas pero no vomita" (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 326)
 "Al pasar por los corrales, reconstruidos y con cabras y chivos otra vez, todos se pusieron a cantar esos himnos que, decían, había compuesto el Beatito" (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 380)
 "Recordó cómo había comenzado a aspirar éter porque el éter le traía el sosiego después de esos ataques en que quedaba exhausto, humillado y con los nervios erizados..." (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 450)
 "Seremos felices y millonarias" (Guadalupe, 22 Dec 93)

Gapping, RNR

"Para agradecerla, Kashiri, la luna, le enseño qué es la yuca, qué el plátano". (Vargas Llosa, El Hablador, 111)
 "Ni la cruz ni la bandera, en las varias horas de lucha y confusión, dejaron de estar erecta la una y danzante la otra, ..." (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 78; Gapping?)

"... pues sugería en esa fantasía infantil unas profundidades mórbidas y una agudeza insospechadas" (Vargas Llosa, Elogio a la madrastra, 151)

Exclamative, echo

"No sabes lo feliz que me haces" (Carmin, 12 May 86)
 "No sabes lo que te extraño". (La Intrusa, 3 Feb 88; NB no overt compared adjective)
 "¡Qué ganas tengo de que Guadalupe vuelva!" (Guadalupe, 1 July 93)
 "¡Qué ganas tengo que vuelva!" (Guadalupe, 29 June 93)

"¿Es que tienes miedo?" "¿Miedo yo?" (Carmin, 3 June 86)
 Alejandro: Tengo miedo. Alvarez: ¿Miedo tú? (Yo compro esa mujer, 21 Nov 90)
 Rodrigo to Francisco: ¿Y tú me llamaste delincuente? ¿A mí, delincuente? (Carmin, 1 July 86)
 Jose Antonio: He venido para hacerte un favor. X: ¿Tú a mí un favor? (Luisana, 1983; NB 3-part residue)
 "¿Yo en la cárcel?" (Atrévete, 25 Mar 87; NB nominative, unlike English)
 "¿Casarse mi hija con usted?" (Yo compro esa mujer, 14 Nov 90)
 Journalist: Lo que ocurrió en Río de Janeiro, en São Paulo, es lógico y racional.

Baron de C: ¿Lógico y racional que la multitud se vuelque a las calles a destruir periódicos, a asaltar casas, a asesinar a gentes incapaces de señalar en el mapa dónde está Canudos, porque unos fanáticos derrotan a una expedición a miles de kilómetros de distancia? ¿Lógico y racional eso? (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 361)
 Carmela: ¿Dejar yo mi departamento? (Marielena, 22 Jan 93)

Armando: ¡Papá, qué falta me haces! (Atrévete, 16 Oct 86)

"¡Pobrecita mi hijal!"
 "¡Pobrecito, y pobre tu papé!" (Atrévete, 7 Aug 86; cf. *poor your father)

Armando: No te pido, te exijo. Federico: ¿Qué? ¿Exigirme, tú a mí? (Atrévete, 14 Oct 86)

Desiree: ¡Primero muerta! (Atrévete, 30 Mar 87; 'I would die first')

"... la fiero de tu mujer" (La Intrusa, 27 May 87; cf. your wild animal of a wife, *the wild animal of your wife)
 "¡Ese desgraciado de Alfredo!" (La Intrusa, 2 July 87)
 Alfredo: La loca de mi mujer. (La Intrusa, 13 July 87)
 "El poco hombre de Federico Torreslenda..." (Yo compro esa mujer, 12 Oct 90)
 "Mira, lo más importante de todo es que ella ya se dió cuenta del engaño de Esteban, de lo miserable de su mentira" (Marielena, 4 Feb 93)

"... esa cualquiera que va a tener un bastardo de dios sepa quién" (Marielena, 21 Dec 92)

"¡Es que cómo podía perdonar eso!" (Dos Vidas, 16 June 88; note apparent interrogative as complement of es que, ES provides additional examples:

Es que cuándo podré terminar esto!
 Es que cuánto vamos a pagar por esta casa?!
 Es que qué más podríamos haber hecho?!
 Es que dónde quisieras vivir en tu situación?!
 Es que por qué tuvo que comportarse así?!
 Es que cómo iba a perdonar eso?!

Existential

"Hombres como usted hay pocos" (Diana Salazar, 20 Oct 88)

Extraction from subordinate S

Vanessa: ¿Con quién dicen que (Ø = Pierre) va a casarse? (Vanessa, 1983)
 "¿Cómo crees que me puedo sentir yo?" "How do you think I feel?" (Hola. Pelusa, 27 Sept 85)
 "... Alfonso, que sabes que Ø; ama a tu hija, ..." (1983)
 Marcos: ... una muchacha que tú sabes muy bien que Ø es inocente. (Atrévete, 28 Feb 87)
 "Quién cree que Ø lo persiga?" (Diana Salazar, 13 Sept 88)
 "Algo tienes que haber oído" (Atrévete, 25 Dec 86)
 "...unas propiedades que nadie sabe que Ø son mias..." (Yo compro esa mujer, 16 Nov 90)
 "Es Pejeú, el de Canudos, oyó decir a Gall, ese hombre que ni él mismo sabía si Ø era su prisionero o su huésped" (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 236)
 "Esos bultos, que él no conseguía saber si Ø eran hombres o mujeres, permanecían quietos..." (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 350)
 "En la primera carga, el Sargento iba detrás de la Tercera Compañía y vio cómo los grupos de cazadores del Alférez Sepúlveda eran segados por ráfagas que nadie localizó de dónde Ø venían" (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 387)
 "De pronto, viendo a esos heréticos y fariseos de caras asustadas, descompuestas, que caen de a uno, de a dos, de a diez, por balas que ignoran de dónde Ø vienen, siente compasión" (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 442)
 "Dios lo había hecho conocer gentes extrañas, que ni sospechaba que Ø existieran..." (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 380)
 "Le puso en las manos una escudilla con comida y una lata con un líquido que, al beber, descubrió que Ø era leche" (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 453)

"Después de un forcejeo que no supo cuánto \emptyset duró y en el que, mientras empujaba y presionaba, su energía y su deseo crecían sin cesar, logró al fin subirse sobre Sebastiano" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 504-5)

"Pasarse las noches despescuezando prisioneros no se puede decir que \emptyset sea oficio de soldado, sino más bien de carnicero" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 528)

"... por una mujer de la que en la realidad no sabes nada \emptyset " (*Al filo de la muerte*, 19 Dec 91)

"No puedes imaginar lo mal que me trata" (*Al filo de la Muerte*, 2 Jan 92; the 'relativized' constituent is an Adv, not an A)

"Le dije cosas que sé que \emptyset le hirieron mucho" (*Marielena*, 8 Dec 92)

"... un país que la mayoría de los estadounidenses ignora que \emptyset exista" (*Américas* 43.4.57)

Marcial: Es que me voy a ver con una mujer tan bella que todavía no sé si \emptyset es un ángel. (*Al filo de la muerte*, 26 Feb 92)

"... una mujer que casi pudimos decir que \emptyset era invencible" (*Marielena*, 11 Dec 92)

Melisa: ... Andy, que no se sabe de donde \emptyset viene. (*Marielena*, 24 Dec 92)

"... mencionó varias empresas semiculturales de mucho éxito, que todo el mundo cree que \emptyset nacieron en otros cerebros..." (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 213)

"Yo no quiero ilusionar a Melisa con algo que es prácticamente imposible que \emptyset ocurra" (*Marielena*, 4 Feb 93)

"La nieta que Doña Delfina quiere que \emptyset vaya a ver la es Guadalupe" (*Guadalupe*, 9 Apr 93)

"En todos los que ahora están haciendo maletas, abriendo cajones, buscando en los archivos los documentos que más conviene que \emptyset desaparezcan..." (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 127-8)

"Actores que parece que \emptyset se comieron parte del diálogo y se adelantaron diez renglones" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 159)

Luisa: Ahora Guadalupe es una pobre loca que lo único que \emptyset inspira es lastima. (*Guadalupe*, 22 Dec 93)

Psychiatrist to receptionist: El Señor Maldonado que pase por favor. (*Guadalupe*, 22 Sept 93)

imperative

"Nunca vuelvas allá" (Mexican movie ca. 1970)

Harry: No se mueva nadie. (*Guadalupe*, 4 Jan 94)

Melisa: Mami, entiéndeme tú a mí. (*Marielena*, 19 Jan 93)

Impersonal

"Señora, la buscan. Es el teniente Harry" (*Guadalupe*, 30 June 93)

Interrogative

"¿Sabes de qué tengo ganas?" (*Dos Vidas*, 4 July 88)

"Una semana después los casó el párroco de Xique-Xique. ¿Cuánto hacía de eso? ¿Cuatro o cinco años?" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 181)

Negation

"Salí de aquí no hace mucho tiempo" (*Atrévete*, 2 Jan 87)

"Imaginan que un libro puede no pertenecer a las letras" (Borges, *Discusión*, 28)

"Anotemos, de paso, que Morris puede no comunicar al lector su imagen del centauro ni siquiera invitarnos a tener una, ..." (Borges, *Discusión*, 73)

"Groussac, persona inconfundible, Renán quejoso de su gloria a trasmano, no puede no quedar" (Borges, *Discusión*, 82)

"Que acendado ni político pondría los pies entre tanta miseria" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 246; queclarative)

"De nada te va a servir" (*Al filo de la Muerte*, 11 Mar 92; ES notes this can also be expressed as "¡De mucho te va a servir!", cf. "A lot of good that'll do you!")

"Yo me sentía allí muy mal en la agencia, sin casi nada que hacer" (*Marielena*, 7 Jan 93; = with almost nothing)

"Era un adolescente huraño, lacónico, al que nadie pudo ufanarse de haber hecho ni visto reír, ..." (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 172)

"No puedo permitir que nadie haga daño a Guadalupe" (*Guadalupe*, 13 Apr 93; ambig: 2 negs or 1)

"Si, regresa, pero no para una partida de nada" (*Guadalupe*, Mar 93)

"Nunca nada es completo" (*Guadalupe*, 26 May 93)

"Allí llegaron la conclusión de que como no había empleos ni suficientes ni adecuados para los

profesionistas que estaban produciendo las universidades, lo mejor era cerrarles por un tiempo" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 247)

"En cuanto a lo de adentro, debo decir que noto, con no poca sorpresa, que se siguen los mismos procedimientos que se seguían en mi época..." (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 245)

"Yo creo que hace mucho que nadie dice, ni en serio ni en ningún idioma, aquella frase antigua de..." (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 224)

"... sus ondas eran las que primero difundían en Lima los últimos éxitos de Nueva York y de Europa, pero tampoco desdeñaban la música latinoamericana siempre que tuviera un mínimo de sofisticación" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 12; *tampoco* with positive antecedent)

"Y cuando callé, tampoco dijo ni una palabra" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 247; antecedent of *tampoco* implied by *callar*)

"No conozco a casi nadie" (*Al filo de la muerte*, 11 Nov 91; Also OK: No conozco casi a nadie, Casi no conozco a nadie)

"No me preguntó absolutamente nada sobre Miguel Andrade" (*Tal como somos*, 26 Apr 88)

cf. He asked me absolutely nothing. He didn't ask me (*absolutely) anything. (Evidence that *nada* is the real negative word and *no* its accompaniment, rather than vice versa.)

sin absolutamente nada

"No recuerdo absolutamente nada" (*La Caravana Negra*)

"No podemos ver completamente nada" (*Yo compré esa mujer*, 11 Oct 90)

Francisco: No hables de eso con nadie. ¡Absolutamente con nadie! (*Al filo de la muerte*, 27 Feb 92)

Negative polarity

"Aquí estaremos tranquilos, sin que nadie nos moleste" (1983)

"No puede ser que nada es más importante que tu familia" (*Coralito*, 25 Sept 84)

"... sin que nadie se entere"

Alfredo: ¿(Usted se va a ir) sin ni siquiera decirme su nombre? (*La Intrusa*, 18 Nov 87)

"... sin obligación de comprar nada" (commercial, 23 Nov 87)

"Te quiero más que en mi vida" (*Amor de Nadie*, 28 Mar 91)

"Esos temas terrenales le importaban un camino" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 57)

Raúl: [Eso] me importa un camino. (*Amor de Nadie*, 30 Jul 91)

"¿Qué sabe Sofía de nada?" (*Amor de Nadie*, 27 Aug 91; licensed by queclarative)

"El calor no ha cedido con las sombras y, a diferencia de otras noches de verano, no corre gota de brisa" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 129)

"El Excmo. Sr. Presidente de la Asamblea, Caballero Adelberto de Gumucio, dijo que los Excmos. Sres. Diputados de la oposición no conseguirían lo propósito de amedrentar a nadie con chantajes..." (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 135)

Raúl: Veo que con usted es inútil decir nada. (*Amor de Nadie*, 24 Sept 91)

Madre Dolores to Herminia: Le prohíbo hacer nada como empleado de esta cárcel. (*Atrévete*, 25 Feb 87)

"No estoy en posición de exigir nada" (*La Intrusa*, 20 Oct 87)

"Tiene espíritu, y ni tú ni nadie va a romperlo" (*Al filo de la Muerte*, 12 Mar 92)

"Yo tampoco me arrepiento de nada" (*Carmín*, 16 May 86)

"Ahora tampoco eso tiene la menor importancia" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 158)

"Hasta hoy me di cuenta" (*María Mercedes*, 13 Nov 92; = "I didn't notice until today")

"Regresará hasta pasado mañana" (*Al filo de la Muerte*, 7 Mar 92 = He won't come back until the day after tomorrow)

Antonio: ¿Y hasta ahora te los devolvió? (*Guadalupe*, 14 Dec 93; = not until now)

Lucrecia: ¿Ya puedo leerla? Alfonso: Todavía. (Vargas Llosa, *Elogio a la madrastra*, 111; acc. to B. Mannheim, *todavía* for 'not yet' is common in Peruvian Spanish)

"A Títón le importe un pito lo tuyo" (*Guadalupe*, 28 Oct 93)

"La más grande historia jamás contada" (TV ad, Mar 92)

"No te pongas así". "No me pongo nada". (*Carmín*, 10 Apr 86)

Negative raising

Yo tampoco creo que Jordana es/sea la asesina. (*sea* more normal acc. to ES, whose examples these are) = Yo también creo que J no es la asesina. Raised *no*, like any other *no*, requires *tampoco* in place of *también* and deletes unless it precedes the *tampoco* (*Yo no creo tampoco que J sea...*)

"Por nada del mundo quiero que tengas ningún trato con él, ¿entiendes?" (*Amar de Nadie*, 8 May 91)

Carmela: No has debido preguntar. (*Marielena*, 21 Dec 92; raises not only over *deber* but also over *haber*)

"Francisco no lo sabe ni debe saberlo" (*Al Filo de la Muerte*, 27 Jan 92; *ni* even when semantically the negation is in a lower S; evidence for *ni = y + no?*)

Nicki: Mi papá está muy débil. Ni siquiera debe estar manejando. (*Marielena*, 12 Feb 93)

"Yo no creo que debo continuar presionándolo" (*Marielena*, 18 Jan 93; *no* is still interpreted as below *debo*: CRE- (NO S)); argues that *creo* triggers NR)

Nominalization

"... la iglesia donde están todos los invitados a la boda" (*Guadalupe*, 21 May 93)

"Los convencidos de la inocencia del propagandista médico..." (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 265)

"Yo soy una mayor de edad" (*Guadalupe*, 20 May 93; Encontré a un mayor de edad.)

"Nuestra hija se ha casado con un muerto de hambre" (*Guadalupe*, 7 June 93)

"Este sistema autosuficiente y naturalmente fortificado ayudó de esta manera a la ciudad-estado a mantener su cuasi independencia" (*Américas* 44.6.9)

Alicia: Lo que no entiendo es esta insistencia de Titón en casarse. (*Guadalupe*, 19 July 93)

"¿Usted es la culpable de que ella esté en este estado" (*Guadalupe*, 16 Sept 93)

"Voy a un banquete y en él me encuentro varios de los invitados a la gira" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 147)

"Por esta razón, el partido de los objetantes por principio debe buscar durante los próximos seis años una manera de expresión electoral..." (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 116)

"Cada vez ella fue la encargada de organizar la mudanza y cada vez el movimiento fue de una casa grande a otra más pequeña" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 288)

Passive

"X y Y fueron negados fianzas" (*Información* 26, mid 80s; = were denied bail; IO as passive subject)

"...el convento y la iglesia de San Felipe Neri, mandado a construir en 1775..." "Esta obra de arte, mandada a hacer en 1679..." (*Américas* 38.1.13; Passive extracting from lower V?)

"Sus fortificaciones, empezadas a construir en 1503..." (*Américas* 39.3.13)

"...la barricada... que se empezó a erigir hace unas horas" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 469)

Raising

"Tiene que haber un error" (*Amar de Nadie*, 18 Apr 91)

"Aunque esta posibilidad ha dejado de mencionarse en los consejos de oficiales" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 468)

part of speech

"...me sentí más protegida que rodeada de mis padres o que en el Templo, los sábados" (Vargas Llosa, *Elogio a la madrastra*, 182)

"el pijama azul marino" (Vargas Llosa, *Elogio a la madrastra*, 18; ES points out contrast between *dos pijamas azules* and *dos pijamas azul marino*, likewise *dos camisas amarilla pálido*, versus *dos camisas amarillos*. *Amarillo pálido* is a clear case where a color word functions

simultaneously as N [modified by *pálido*] and A [modifying *camisas*]. *Azul marino*, however, is a compound, since when used as a N only *marino* is inflected, e.g. one describes the marvelous shades of navy blue that a painter uses as *sus azul marinos*, not **sus azules marinos*)

"¿Y tú le dijiste todo, incluso que uno de ustedes es su hermano?" (*Guadalupe*, 21 July 93)

"En este artículo quiero tratar de un acto semejante, equivalente y simétrica de la largada a la inglesa o despedida o la francesa, que es muy nuestro..." (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 79)

"Otra clase de hospitalidad muy nuestra es la de cantina" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 77)

Adv vs. A

"Ese error puede costarte caro/*caramente" Esa locura puede costarte muy cara.

"Vas a pagar muy caro" (*Atrévete*, 2 Oct 86)

"Ese tipo juega sucio"

Marielena: Trabajo muy duro. (*Marielena*, 22 Dec)

"Ella está metida completo en este asunto" (*Atrévete*, 29 Jan 87)

"¡Suba rápido!" (*Atrévete*, 9 Jan 87) ¡Suba rápido!

N' as A'

"¿Se fue sin decir nada? Muy el estilo de ella" (*Al filo de la muerte*, 31 Jan 92)

"Es muy dueña de sí" (*Diana Salazar*, 19 July 88)

"Yo me sentía dueño del mundo" (*Marielena*, 1 Feb 93)

"Yo me siento muy amiga tuya" (*La Intrusa*, 19 Aug 87)

"Los hombres son muy sinvergüenzas" (*Guadalupe*, 25 May 93)

"... una mujer tan poca vergüenza..." (*Guadalupe*, 1 June 93)

P' as A'

"Tú te sientes con sueño" "You feel tired"

Diana: Lo encontré muy extraña, como con miedo. (*Diana Salazar*, 8 Sept 88)

X: Tengo derechos. Y: Tú te sientes con derechos.

X: ¿Y tu hermano? Marta: Con problemas, como siempre. (*Tú o nadie*, 24 Feb)

Mariela: ¿Como estás? Patricia: Con mucho trabajo pero feliz. (*Al filo de la muerte*, 4 Feb 92)

"No me siento con ánimos para bailar" (*Yo compro esa mujer*, 26 Oct 90)

"Venía llorosa y con moretones en la cara, brazos y piernas, entre sus padres..." (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 128)

"Me quedé con las ganas de vengarme" (*Al Filo de la Muerte*, 5 Nov 91)

"Era gordo, diabético, miope y con tres papadas" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 175)

"¡Es un verdadero sin educación!" (*Yo compro esa mujer*, 13 Sept 90)

Charo: ... Tinita enferma, Mariela presa, y yo sin trabajo... (*Atrévete*, 20 Jan 87)

"Llevaba una vida ejemplar, solitario y sin hablar con nadie" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 82)

"Un hombre tan duro y tan sin sentimiento como él" (*Guadalupe*, 24 Aug 93)

"Estoy hablando muy en serio" (*Guadalupe*, 21 Apr 93)

"Tendré que hablar con el señor Alfredo, y muy en serio" (*Guadalupe*, 28 Apr 93)

Olivia: ¿Como fuiste capaz de contarle a ese cura algo tan nuestro, algo tan de nosotros? (*Guadalupe*, 25 May 93)

"Hace poco, y muy a mi pesar, tuve que intervenir en el caso de un vecino paracaidista que estaba matando un perro a palos" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 62)

"...muy a pesar de..." (*Atrévete*, 13 Oct 86)

muy en seguida (*Dos Vidas*, 28 June 88; cf. *en seguidita*, which isn't nearly so soon)

"Accedí muy en contra de mi voluntad" (*Guadalupe*, 21 Dec 93)

"Me siento como en Italia" (commercial, 25 Dec 86; cf. **I feel like in Italy*)

P' as object of P

"Mi esposo no tiene secretos para conmigo" (*Atrévete*, 3 Nov 86)

"Rose, que podría ser marginado de por vida del béisbol..." (*El Nuevo Día*, 21 June 89)

"Garantía de por vida" (WCIU commercial, Apr 91; 'lifetime guarantee')

"Este Roberto, esta Margarita, siempre tan frívolos, pensaba el doctor Quinteros, sin acritud, lleno de benevolencia para con las debilidades de su hermano y su cuñada" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 39)

"La ronda de a caballo pasó hace rato y no volverá hasta el amanecer" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del*

fin del mundo, 129)

"El peridiasta miopo ve, por entre el Doctor y el Capitán, que Moreira César se deja caer de espaldas sobre la litera" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 306)

"Incluso durante los primeros meses de la vida" (WCIU public service spot, Mar 92)

"... su actitud para con nosotros" (*Guadalupe*, 23 July 93)

"Garantizada de por vida" (Commercial, channel 44, May 93)

"... se planteaba la incógnita de qué sería México si en vez de por los españoles hubiera sido conquistado por los ingleses, los franceses o los holandeses" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 31)

"Estos pobres, que estaban todavía a medio nacer, salieron, en vez de al agua fresca del mar, al patio de una casa acapulqueña y murieron *ipso facto*..." (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 257)

V' as object of P

"... desde hace poco" (*Marielena*, 22 Jan 93; likewise *hasta hace poco*)

hasta as cross-category modifier

"Hoy hasta [lo besó]" "Today she even kissed him"

sin as negation + subordination

"Sigo sin entender" "I still don't understand"

"¿Paulino un camarada y yo sin saberlo?" (*Espérame en el Cielo*)

"Has estado sin abrir la boca toda la noche" (*Amar de Nadie*, 21 Mar 91)

"Pero la casa sigue sin venderse" (*Marielena*, 30 Dec 92)

"Esa semana que estuve sin ver a la tía Julia, ..." (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 247)

"... nos contaba de nuevo, a carcajadas, la historia del marido que había querido matarlo por casar con otro a la bruja de Cachiche sin estar él muerto ni divorciado" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 368)

V' as N'

"El [estar sentado todo el día] es malo para mis hemorroides" (commercial, 1983)

"El robarse a esa mujer fue una de esas órdenes, parece" (Vargas Llosa, *El Hablador*, 108)

"El declararse en bancarota" (TV ad, Mar 92)

Constituency

Marcos: ¿Estás seguro que esa mujer mató a tu hermano? Armando: Sí, lo estoy.

No es pecado tomarlo ni virtud dejarlo.

No es más pecado tomar lo que tontería abandonar lo. (examples from ES, in response to question about constituency in the brandy ad in which one monk says to another 'No es pecado tomarlo')

"... para un observador desinteresado —es decir, que no tiene esperanzas de que le den un puesto o temor de que se lo quiten" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 115)

Luis Antonio (on telephone): Solamente faltas tú. (*La Intrusa*, 4 Feb 88; subject focus with separated *solamente*; not, as I had first thought, evidence for treatment of postverbal subjects as being in the V', since, unlike English *only*, *solamente* need not be at the beginning of a constituent containing the focus: *Dio solamente algo a los niños* can have *los niños* as focus, even though the underlined part is not a constituent.)

Structure of NPs

"Desde hace una semana, media hora al día, de seis a seis y media, hombre poco observador" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 202, answer to a question as to since when Pedro Camacho has autograph sessions; "Not very observant man" couldn't be a vocative in English)

[What is head of *hada madrina*? Obvious test: see which word *-ita* can be added to; however, ES and the friends that she asked find both *hadita madrina* and *hada madrinita* very odd.]

"El Trochita" (name of Patagonian train; = el tren de trocha angosta; *Américas* 44.5.8)

"una playa desnuda" (*Guadalupe*, 24 Sept 93)

Irene: Maté por [amor a tí]. (*Diana Salazar*, 29 Aug 88)

"... los invitados al almuerzo..." (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 41)

"Hay guerra, incendios, falta que comer" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 161)

"No a aquellos en los que las creencias son más fuertes que el miedo a morir" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 271)

"[João Grande] se pregunta por qué el Padre le conserva tan fuerte en la cabeza ciertos hechos de su pasado pecador, como la nostalgia del mar, como el amor a los caballos" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 404)

"... parecía creer que su supervivencia dependía de su capacidad de proteger a esa persona, animal y cosa que eran su mundo" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 223)

"Ella no es nada mía". (*La Intrusa*, 25 Jan 88. 'She isn't any relation to me')

"¿Es algo suyo?" (*Yo compro esa mujer*, 12 Oct 90; = 'Is she any relation to you?')

"Estrellita es hija mía" (*Estrellita*, 17 Mar 88; restricted to predicate NPs and vocatives?)

Apposition?

"El programa no incluyó obras de Beethoven, Debussy o Tchaikowsky, sino el concierto para orquesta, de Antonio Estévez, el concierto para piano y orquesta, de Roberto Caamaño, "Episodios de Nueva Inglaterra", de Quincy Porter, y la Sinfonía Número 2, de Raquel Cordero, ciudadanos de Venezuela, Argentina, Estados Unidos y Panamá, respectivamente" (*Américas* 43.4.54; NB split antecedent)

Articles

"Es un hombre muy flaco Caifás, huesudo, bruñido, con los pómulos saltados y unos ojos vinosos que causan malestar pues nunca parpadean..." (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 116)

"Un ordenanza, arrodillado, lo ayuda a calzarse unos botes de montar, sin espuelas" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 145)

"Era de cabellos castaños y piel muy blanca, con unos manos de largos dedos que se movían como pájaros" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 162)

"Tenía unas ojeras profundas, un pliegue sombrío en la frente, ..." (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 268)

"¿No han enfloquecido también João Grande y Pedrão, que eran unos gigantes?" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 437)

"Tenía unas narizotas y el convencimiento de que había vivido heroicamente" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 251)

"Hoy, don Sebastián no pone jamás los pies en la calle, nunca cambia su atuendo —que es, día y noche, un pijama color ladrillo, una bata azul, unas medias de lana y unas zapatillas de alpaca—..." (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 256)

"—Sueno bonito y me convalida que fuera verdad —dijo la tía Julia, frotando contra mi mejilla una nariz que siempre estaba fría—" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 206)

"Fue un vecino admirable hasta el día en que compró radio..." (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 82; NB no article; discussion in *Investigación de Gramática* cited by ES can most plausibly be taken as saying that the form without article gets a generic interpretation)

"Con este fin, carta que se recibía u oficio que mandaba, se fotocopiaba y se distribuía entre los siete departamentos de la organización" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 179)

Relative clauses and their congeners

"En ese tiempo, el grupo de hombres embozados que éramos acabó por llamar la atención" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 365; relativized predicate)

"Sebastiano le tenía un sordo resentimiento y el alivio que fue para ella ver la partir a Queimados con el rastreador" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 472)

Francisco: ¿No es la bruja esa que—? Juan: Sí, la que por su culpa me quitaron a Homer. (*Al filo de la muerte*, 5 Dec. 91; resumptive pronoun)

"No me quite usted el 'Lic.', que bastante trabajo me costó conseguir el título" (imaginary political candidate, quoted in Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 153)

"Javier sí que es un romántico, enamora como se debería enamorar" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 200)

"La manera como el Padre Seferino Huanca Leyva consiguió atraer, moscas que sienten la miel, alcatrazes que divisan el pez, hacia su desairado Parvulario a los chiquillos de Mendocita, fue poco ortodoxa y le ganó la primera advertencia seria de la Curia" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 302)

"Mi padre no es el hombre junto con cual he crecido" (*Guadalupe*, 2 June 93)

"... una parte muy importante de la bomba, sin la cual no podíamos regar" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 108)
"Yo cometo las locuras que me dé las ganas" (*Guadalupe*, 30 June 93)

"Es perfecto, con el frío que hace aquí" (receiving gift of scarf in Mazatlán; *Dos Vidas*, 1 June 88)
"... con el calor que hace..." (*Yo compro esa mujer*, 24 Sept 90)

Carmela to Leonor: ... su hijo, que en paz descanse (*Atrévete*, 9 Oct 86; cf. *your son, who (may) Ø rest in peace; is this a nonrestrictive relative or a (nonrelative) parenthetical?)

"El piloto era el mismo con el que habíamos viajado nosotros" (Vargas Llosa, *El hablador*, 148)
"Al único que quiero está muy lejos de mí" (*Yo compro esa mujer*, 28 Aug 90)

Fake
Leonor: Desiree desapareció y Juan Carlos que no llega. (*Atrévete*, 17 Sept 86)
"¡Qué casualidad! Él que llega y el teléfono que suena." (*La Intrusa*, 26 May 87)
Fierro: ... años sin ella, y ahora que la encuentro. (*La Intrusa*, Feb 88)

Free
"Los médicos son quien pueden salvarlo" (*La Intrusa*, 19 May 87)
"... y yo aburrída, sin con quien jugar" (*La Intrusa*, 22 June 87)
"[Quiero que se larguen por donde vinieron" (*La Intrusa*, 25 Jan 88)
"Ahora tengo quien me defienda" (*Al filo de la muerte*, 2 Dec 91)
"Escupe, da media vuelta y se aleja, por donde vino" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 236)

"Objetivamente, esas gentes son instrumentos de quienes, como usted, han aceptado la República sólo para traicionar la mejor..." (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 213)
"¿No era pecado dejar sin sacramentos a quienes creen como no he visto creer a nadie?" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 247)

"¿No es por lo que lucha hace tanto tiempo?" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 329;
"Isn't it what you've been fighting for for so long?")
"¿Les vas a decir que se ha muerto por el que están peleando, a pesar de que yo no hay balas ni comida?" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 483; "Are you going to tell them that [the one] they are fighting for despite not having ammunition or food has died?")
"Yo puedo tener amistad con quien yo quiera" (*La Intrusa*, 7 Oct 87)

Guadalupe: Voy a salir con quien me dé la gana. (*Guadalupe*, 1 Sept 93)
"... hay quien cree que Santa Anna no fue un traidor y otros que piensan que si perdió todas las batallas fue por culpa de Gómez Farías" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 37)
"En el fondo, estás muerto de ganas de que haya ese escándalo para tener de qué escribir" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 241)

"... sentía amargura e impotencia, y me maldecía por no tener ni siquiera con qué comprarme yo también un revólver" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 419)
"Ustedes no tenían por qué meterse en ese asunto" (*Marielena*, 15 Feb 93)
"Eres un mocoso, no tienes una profesión ni donde caerte muerto..." (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 405)

"Me dijiste que no tienes adonde ir" (*Guadalupe*, 27 Apr 93)
Guadalupe: Cuando tengo confianza, no hay quien me calle. (5 June 93)
"Su propósito, dice, es actuar como un portavoz del ambiente, y de quienes buscan preservar lo" (*Américas* 45.5.3)

"Quienes me han precedido en esta labor se han limitado a una [causa]" (Borges, *Discusión*, 11)
"Quienes defienden el doblete razonarán (tal vez) que las objeciones que pueden oponérsele pueden oponerse, también, a cualquier otro ejemplo de traducción" (Borges, *Discusión*, 150)
"Entre los antropólogos, hay quienes le reprochan pervertir a las culturas aborígenes, ..." (Vargas Llosa, *El Hablador*, 70)

Infinitival
Mariano: Ya conseguí un lugar donde vivir. (*Carmin*, 19 May 86)
"No tengo un sitio donde ir" (6 Apr 89)
"Usted no tiene nada por qué disculparse". (*La Intrusa*, 4 Feb 88; cf. You have no reason (*why) to

apologize)
"... conseguirme un lugarcito donde vivir" (*La Intrusa*, 10 Feb 88)

"Tienes que encontrarte (a) un hombre con quien casarte" (*Dos Vidas*, 11 July 88)
"... buscar una mujer con quien compartir la vida" (*Al filo de la Muerte*, 2 Jan 91)
"Te aseguro que no tienes nada por qué preocuparte" (*Marielena*, 2 Jan 93)

"¿Tienes dónde anotar?" (*Amar de Nadie*, 17 June 91; "Do you have somewhere to write it down?"; infinitival free relative)

"Usted y yo no tenemos de qué hablar" (*Yo compro esa mujer*, 22 Nov 90)
"Otros bandidos soñaban con reunir suficientes reis para comprarse unas tierras, en algún municipio remoto, donde pasar el resto de la vida con nombre cambiado" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 69)

"No hay dónde huir" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 458)
"... ¿Acaso había herederos por cuya suerte inquietarse?" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 500; "Were there any heirs for whose sake to worry?")

"No tenemos con que comparar los" (*La Historia Oficial*, 2380)
"Ya no tengo a quien recurrir" (*Al filo de la Muerte*, 8 Jan 92)
"Si usted tiene informaciones o necesita con quien hablar, ..." (WCIU, anti-gang message 87)

Reduced
"Hablamos de algo [para mí muy importante]" (*Diana Salazar*, 18 Oct 88)

"Jamás sonrío; no tiene a quien... Usted tiene a quien sonreír" (Crest commercial, July 88; reduced infinitival free relative)
Armando: No tenía con que pagarme. Federico: Es cierto, no tenía con que. (*Atrévete*, 14 Oct 86)
"No sé adonde ir; no tengo donde" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 104)

Word order
"Yo de aquí no me muevo" (*Amar de Nadie*, 27 May 91; *Guadalupe*, 28 June 93)
Felix: ¡Ella con nada está contenta! (*Amar de Nadie*, 30 July 91)
"Ve tú. Yo después bajo" (*Amar de Nadie*, 23 Aug 91)
"Pero eso nada tiene que ver con la impresión que me da conocerla" (*Al filo de la Muerte*, 9 Oct 91)

"No le prometo nada sin antes hablar con él" (*Atrévete*, June 86; cf. without first/*beforehand talking with him)
"Yo mañana voy a la oficina" (Antonio in *Tú o nadie*, 15 Jan; tomorrow couldn't occupy that position in English)

"Ustedes para mí son muy importantes" (*Atrévete*, 13 Oct 86)
Armando: Yo contigo puedo hablar. (*Atrévete*, 25 Aug 86)
Javier: Andy ahora más que un médico necesita a ustedes. (*Marielena*, 29 Dec 92)
"Yo por tí estoy dispuesta a enfrentar lo que sea" (*Guadalupe*, 3 Mar 93)

"Yo de Arango espero cualquier cosa" (*Guadalupe*, 17 Dec 93)
Luisa: Yo allí no voy a ir. (*Guadalupe*, 5 Aug 93)
"Yo, francamente, confianza en la policía nunca la he tenido" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 224)

"Tú aquí no tienes ningún derecho" (*Al filo de la muerte*, 19 Feb 92)
"Tú a mí no prohibes nada" (*Al filo de la muerte*, 11 Feb 92)

Armando: ¿También con ella tenía relaciones Juan Carlos? (*Atrévete*, 15 Oct 86)

"¿Eso qué importa, Guadalupe?" (*Guadalupe*, 28 Apr 93)

"Usted lo que necesita es la Máquina de Lenguaje" (commercial, WCIU, May 91)
"Tú lo que eres es una chismosa" (*Guadalupe*, 9 Apr 93)
"Este niño lo que necesita en la realidad es much cariño" (*Al filo de la Muerte*, 28 Oct 91)
"Yo lo único que he hecho para tí es trabajar como un loco" (*Al filo de la muerte*, 2 Dec 91)
"Yo lo único que sé es que te estás volviendo loca" (*La Intrusa*, 7 May 87)
"Yo lo único que puedo sentir por tí es lástima" (*La Intrusa*, 4 Feb 88)
"Él lo que necesita es dinero" (*La Intrusa*, 26 May 87)

"Yo con quién quería hablar era contigo" (*Atrévete*, 26 Aug 86)
Sam: Yo con la única que me entiendo es con Tracy. (*Al filo de la muerte*, 26 Feb 92)

"Entiendo perfectamente todo". (*Atrévete*, 18 Mar 87)
"Tengo en mis manos a ese maldito" (*Yo compro esa mujer*, 15 Nov 90)

"El abogado de la acusación está metiendo opiniones que nada tienen que ver con..." (*Atrévete*, 13 Apr 87)

"Nunca nadie ha vuelto a vivir en ese lugar del río Timpia" (Vargas Llosa, *El Hablador*, 54)

"Yo la vi crecer al lado mío" (*Guadalupe*, 24 June 93)

"Pasan cosas buenas y pasan malas cosas" 183; no apparent reason for the change in word order)

"Pero a todo se llega uno a acostumbrar" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 199)

Diana: ¿Estás segura? Guadalupe: Segura, no. Segura no estoy de nada. (*Guadalupe*, 26 Oct 93)

"Por ejemplo, cuando terminé de hacer colas en la Rectoría y quedó demostrado que había yo cursado y aprobado todas las materias requeridas en mi carrera..." (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 271)

"Cuando tuvo uso de razón y mi madre me explicó que así es como debería yo presentar a dos personas que me conocieran y se desconocieran entre sí, sentí que un abismo se abría a mis pies" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 80)

"Lo está usted logrando" (*Atrévete*, 1 Sept 86; NB clitic climbing)

"Tan culpable es usted como lo soy yo" (*La Intrusa*, 23 Oct 87)

Amalgams, patches, syntactic metonymy

"Andrés los vio en el jardín parece que besando" (*Tú o nadie*)

Ana Julia: Mi esposo está en la calle, haciendo Dios sabe qué. (*La Intrusa*, 13 Aug 87)

"Habríamos desaparecido quién sabe adónde" (Vargas Llosa, *El Hablador*, 52)

"Se calló, para pasarse por la boca una mano rápida como un matamoscas" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 161)

Reanalysis

"Estoy segura que estás capaz de inventar quién sabe qué cosas" (*Amar de Nadie*, 2 Apr 91)

Semantics

"Cuando una es madre..." (*Guadalupe*, 21 Sept 93; acc. to E0, speaker must be a woman; "Cuando uno es madre..." would be possible only jocularly, spoken by a man doing mother's tasks; for generalizations about women in e.g. an election speech, "Cuando se es madre..." is possible)

Diana: Una piensa sentirse madre... (*Guadalupe*, 25 Oct 93)

Focus

"Casi no tengo esperanzas" (*Guadalupe*, 19 Aug 93; ??I almost don't have any hope)

"Sólo me importa tú" (*Guadalupe*, 28 Dec 93)

Scope

Roberto: Tú no vas a volver porque yo lloro. (*Atrévete*, 29 Oct 86; subjunctive makes scope of negation unambiguously wide)

Daniel: ¡Cinco camisas sin botones! (complaining to maid about shirts each missing one or more buttons; *Hola... Pelusa*, 7 Oct 85; context brings out normally disfavored interpretation)

Aspect/tense

Tatiana: Siempre lo supe. Gabriel: ¿Lo sabías? (*La Verdadera Eva*, 13 Feb 85)

Regina, as she regains her sight: ¡Estoy viendo! (*La Verdadera Eva*, 85; ??I'm seeing)

"A pesar del corto tiempo que estoy conociendo a Eva, ..." (*La Verdadera Eva*, 85)

"Estás teniendo miedo" (*Dos Vidas*, 27 June 88)

"¿Estás viendo, Chonita?" (*Maria Mercedes*, 18 Nov 92; = 'Do you see what I see?')

"Estoy vieja" (*Marielena*, 7 Dec 92; being old is permanent)

"¿Están deseando tus hijos algo diferente?" (Radio Shack commercial, Dec 93)

Angela: ¿Tú crees? Alicia: Estoy temiendo. (*Guadalupe*, 30 June 93)

Marielena: Doctor, ¿está grave?

Doctor: Oh, señorita, su estado es muy grave. (*Marielena*, 23 Dec 92)

Marielena: Necesito ser sincera con él. (*Marielena*, 31 Dec 92)

Estrella: Luis Antonio, ¿me das un beso? (*La Intrusa*, Oct 87; English would require 'Will/would/... you...' instead of present; *Darás* not possible here as immediate future)

"...hasta hacía poco..." (Vargas Llosa, *El Hablador*, 86; sequence of tense in something that corresponds to a Prep in many languages; ES also notes: *hasta hace poco*/*mucho)

"...desde hacía un mes salía con Nancy..." (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 257)

Semidirect discourse

"Una noche, caminando por una calle oscura, en la angustia de los trece mil pesos que iba a tener que sacar de no sabía donde, ..." (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 222)

morphology

"Iglesia chilena" (*El Nuevo Día*, 19 June 89; otherwise in the article, *chileno* etc.)

"Díle no a las drogas" (signs all over PR; *le* apparently refers to *las drogas*) "Díle no a las drogas y sí a la felicidad" (TV public service ad observed by ES; "sloppy" interpretation of *la*)

"Medias deportiva" (Dept. store, San Juan PR; conjecture: neither /s/ is pronounced, but the first one is written, presumably because *medias* is the way that noun is usually spelled)

"Muebles de primerísima calidad" (Teletone commercial, Nov 91)

"Son cuatísimos" (*Al filo de la muerte*, 19 Feb 92)

"También hay hígados mujeres —o hígados—..." (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 188)

"Está cambiadísima" (*Guadalupe*, 28 July 93)

"bracketing paradoxes"

"El Partido Republicano germano occidental" (*El Nuevo Día*, 19 June 89; *occidental* modifies *Alemania*, which counts here as a part of *germano*)

"Hubie Brooks, jardinero derecho de los Expos..." (*El Nuevo Día*, 21 June 89; = [[*jardín derecho*] - *ero*])

compounding

un microondas (commercial, 30 June 88)

Derivation

"Bravísimo" (*Diana Salazar*, 1 Nov 88)

"Prohibidísimo" (*Espérame en el Cielo*)

"el mismísimo Coronel Mindreau" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 181)

sombrerero 'hat-maker' (-ero + -ero); ES also suggests *calderero* 'man who makes cauldrons' and *carterera* 'woman who makes purses'

"ese hembrón" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 87)

"... por tu sinvergüenzura" (*Marielena*, 4 Feb 93)

"...déjate de llamar artista a lo que en buen peruano se llama estriptisera de tres por medio" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 444)

Diminutive

"un problemito" (*La Intrusa*, 6 July 87)

A: ¿Y de quién es esta boquita? B: Es tuyita. (*La Intrusa*, 10 Nov 87)

"... toma todito" (*Carmín*, Apr 86)

"No me gusta nedita de eso" (*Atrévete*, 3 Jan 87)

"Eso es lo peorcito que he visto" (*Maria Mercedes*, 11 Nov 92; is it relevant that the speaker enjoys spreading gossip?)

"Chaito" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 286; diminutive of *ciao*; *chaito)

Igualtito. (Calconcin Inspector)

"Lo dijo clarito" (*Guadalupe*, 15 June 93; *claritamente)

Sublexical syntax

"Nos despedimos hasta la próxima semana" (WCIU, 14 Mar 92)
 "...y uno de ellos adquirió fama por haberse aprendido de memoria las tablas de logaritmos, del uno al cien. Este último pasó tres años en un manicomio, siguiendo un tratamiento especial que le dieron para que volviera a olvidarlas" (Ibargüengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 262; *volver* modifies [sic] the 'not remember' part of the meaning of *olvidar*: he hadn't forgotten them previously)

lexicon

"Agustín Lara cumplió 50 años de muerte" (24 Horas, 8 Nov 85; ifelicitaciones, Agustín, y le deseo 50 años más!)
 "... y VISA y MASTERCARD son bienvenidos" (commercial, 28 Oct 86; evidently a calque)
 "Estás hablando dormida" (*Atrévete*, 21 Oct 86)
 Barbara to Desiree: Me gusta más José para hacer pareja contigo. (*Atrévete*, 2 Dec 86)
 "Entonces soy toda oídos" (*Carmin*, 29 May 86 and 3 June)
 "Advertencia de cirujano general: Fumar durante el embarazo puede causar... y reducir el peso del recién nacido" (English original is "...and low birth weight")
 "Drake murió de disentería y fue enterado en las aguas de Panamá" (El Morro, San Juan PR)
 "Tuvo un accidente en la carretera y se mató" (*Diana Salazar*, 25 Nov 88 = was killed, died)
 "Creo que lo he querido desde siempre" (*Marielena*, 3 Dec 92)
 "Él y cualquier otro se vuelve loco contigo" (*Marielena*, 17 Dec 92)
 Lena: Don Raúl sale hoy. (*Amar de Nadie*, 2 Sept 91; = gets out of prison; you can't say "Raúl leaves today" in that sense)
 "Sarita, venciendo su confusión y quebrando, había revelado a los custodios del orden que el estupro no era sino el saldo trágico de un largo y secreto asedio a que se había visto sometida por el violador" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 128)
 "Tengo hambre— es todo lo que tengo" (*Guadalupe*, 28 Apr 93; suggested translation: "I'm hungry—that's all")
 "Resultó que era señorita" (*Guadalupe*, 11 June 93; 'It turned out she was a virgin')
 Alicia: Tu eres mi único hijo varón. (*Guadalupe*, 25 Oct 93; cf. ??my only male child)
 Luisa: Vamos — acaben de decidirse. (*Guadalupe*, 16 Dec 93)

Prepositions with *soñar*; examples from ES and J. Martí (judgements in that order when two are given)

Soñaba con María. Soñaba en conseguir el premio.
 OK/? Soñaba con una lavadora. Soñaba que conseguiría el premio. Soñaba con ganar el premio.
 OK/* Soñaba con un unicornio. (nonreferential interpretation)
 */OK Soñaba en un unicornio. Soñaba acerca de un unicornio que...
 ¿En qué sueñas? ¿Con quién sueñas?
 *¿En quién sueñas? *¿Con qué sueñas. (for JMF, OK in context such as "Soñé con que me volvía millonario y me compraba una casa muy grande. Y tú, ¿con qué sueñas?")
 ¿Acerca de qué sueñaste? (EG: ???) Sobre qué sueñabas? (EG: ???)
 OK/*¿Acerca de quién sueñaste?(EG:*) */???¿Sobre quién sueñabas. (EG: *)
 "¿... estás soñando con una nueva alfombra?" (WCIU commercial, Feb 88; clearly nonreferential object)
 *Soñé con la casa. Soñé con la casa de mi abuela. (ES)
 Cuando yo era niño, soñaba fantasmas. (Ricardo M, Feb 88)

Freezes

"Nada menos y nada más" (*Marielena*, 3 Feb 93)
 tarde o temprano (= *late or soon)
 "Cuando llegamos, por fin, enterados de pies a cabeza, a la ancha y cuadrada plaza sin árboles de Grocio Prado, comprobamos la popularidad de Melchorita" (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 373; *from foot to head)

Gender choice

"una [ven]" ('a van'), "una Blazer" (auto dealer commercial, Dec 92; ES says the feminine is because those vehicles are classed as *camioneta*)
 —Sin duda, un Lolita típica —sentenció el juez. (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 141)

Idioms

"Si tú supieras la falta que me haces" (*La Intrusa*, Aug. 87)
 "Tú no sabes la falta que me haces" (*La Intrusa*, 13 Oct 87)
 "... los miles de dólares que tanta falta nos hacen" (*Guadalupe*, 24 Nov 93)
 Francisco: Ya vio el caso que le hizo ese asesino a su psiquiatra. (*Al filo de la muerte*, 26 Feb 92)

Mindreau: Tampoco quiero hacerle perder su tiempo, Teniente.
 Silva: No me lo hace usted perder. (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 163-4)

Maggi: Yo no quiero dejar ningún cabo suelto (*Amar de Nadie*, 8 Aug 91)

A: No te pongas así. B: ¿Cómo quieres que me ponga? (*Amar de Nadie*, 4 June 91)
 X: ¿Qué tienes, Enrique? Y: Miedo. Lo que tienes es miedo.
 "Tienes la conciencia sucia" (*Diana Salazar*, 3 Nov 88; 'You have a guilty conscience')

Valence

"...di la razón o la calles por siempre" (*Carmin*, 12 May 86)
 Carmela: No me puse nada... Si, me puse. (*Atrévete*, 17 Mar 87)
 "Los llamamos desaparecerion aún perfecto, frustrando a los gusanos" (Vargas Llosa, *Elogio a la madrastra*, 44-5)
 "Me convenció para casarnos ya" (*Guadalupe*, 27 Aug 93)

"Hugo no puede todo, ¿verdad?" (Mexican movie ca. 1970)
 Luisa: Yo puedo todo lo que se me antoje. (*Guadalupe*, 13 Dec 93)

Phonology

[sinxer] (manufacturer of sewing machines)
 [rolh rois] 'Rolls-Royce' (*La Intrusa*, 6 Jan 88)
 "batir récords mundiales" (*Américas* 39.4, 2; pronounced [rekorh mun...] acc. to ES)
 films (Borges, *Discusión*; pronounced with [lms])
 [kaset] (WCIU, Dec. 92)
 "Fue en uno de esos matchs disputados por caóticos palomillos..." (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 343)

Hypercorrection and other screwups

"la elección municipal" (*Ayuda*, 30 Oct 86; Puerto Rican speaker)
 Colón: Las tierras que pretiendo descubrir son llenas de oro. (Film *Cristóbal Colón*)
 2011 W. Calle Pershing. (commercial, channel 26)
 "Prevención está alrededor de la esquina" (CTA ad, Spanish version of "Prevention is just around the corner"; wrong sense of "around")
 "Si lo echan fuera, échelo a la cárcel" (NYC subway poster; English original is "If they throw you out, throw them in jail")
 vacamole (menu at food stall, Fiesta del Sol, July 93; no, it wasn't a Mexican version of steak tartare)

Written language

Nancyta (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 199, diminutive of *Nancy*; the 'y' fuses the 'y' of 'Nancy' and the 'i' of 'ita')

"When I tell my daughters this, who have to go on these heartbreaking auditions, ..." (Carmel Quinn, interviewed by Chuck Schaden, 4 Mar 89)
"... what I called yesterday Plato's problem" (Chomsky 88, Kyoto lectures)
I called (*yesterday) this problem (??yesterday) Plato's problem.
I called (?yesterday) it (?yesterday) Plato's problem.

Misc. word order

"I wondered if I were to begin convulsing whether she would actually know what to do" (NYT Magazine, 8 Oct 89)

Agreement

"Most likely candidates for the Berlin post are Seiji Ozawa or Ravinia music director James Levine" (Sneed, Sun-Times, 4 May 89)
"But everybody there, from Santa Claus to the elves to the clowns, was cops" (Police commander quoted in Sun-Times, 19 Dec. 88)
This/*These man and woman are married.
"The men then turned into a large snake, who is still resident at the site" (Australian Aboriginal Art exhibition, Smart Gallery, Jan 89)
"I think Dr. Ostroff has given you one too many treatments" (New Twilight Zone, "Room 2642")
"Glasgow Transport Museum are the proud possessors of six of these trams" (Glasgow bus tour brochure)
"She's immune [to mumps]! She's had them!" (Gasoline Alley, May 21 86)
"... and clarinetists with injured right thumbs, which sustain the full weight of their 2-pound instruments" (St. Petersburg newspaper, 19 Feb 89)
"Let me put it where it won't be in either of our ways" (7 Mar 89)
"We ask that everyone remain seated with your seatbelt fastened" (CO flight attendant, 8 Aug 89)
"Either my husband or I have to be home for our daughter" (Sally Forth, 15 June 89)
"Transportation to and from the Opera House plus parking are included" (WFMT, 24 Nov 89)

"You used to be able to start an artist in Carnegie Recital Hall and build them up over seven years" (press agent quoted in Aug 6 89 NYT)
"If he had admitted it, he would probably have been the first person who ever admitted they spied for the CIA" (lawyer quoted in 5 Oct 89 Tribune)
Everybody was enjoying themselves. *Every person was enjoying themselves.

Identity

"Family can't help an addict unless he does Ø" (headline on Ann Landers column, 10 Apr 89; Ø = help himself?)
"Is this one of those things I have to do if I know what's good for me even if I don't think so?" (Dennis the Menace, Nov 16 89; apparently so = it's good for me)

Conjoining

Category identity of conjuncts

"We have a warrant for your husband's arrest and to search the house" (GN, 27 Dec 88)
"The broadcast is also watched by American-born children whose parents want them to learn the language and about where they come from" (Tribune, 13 June 89)
"But then they get bonded out or a light sentence" (Royko, 13 Dec 89)

Gapping

"Most of the phororhacids became extinct before, only a straggler or two after, placental carnivores reached South America" (G. G. Simpson, *Splendid Isolation*, cited by Gould; Gapping + RNR)

Parallelism of conjuncts

"... after Chaff's car apparently went out of control and into the water" (Sun-Times, 1 May 89)
"Smoking is not permitted in the lavatories or while walking or standing in the aisles" (American Airlines, 27 Mar 89)

Peripheral coordinating conjunctions

"Tancredi plus 'Le Sonnambulo' in one season are simply too much of a not-especially-good thing" (Sun-Times, 16 Jan 89)

RNR

"There we have had music by a contemporary of and frequent collaborator with Moliere, Jean-Baptiste Lully" (WFMT, 22 Jan 89)

Misc.

"I'm going in and ask the boss for a raise" (Blondie, 12 Jul 89)

Complements

"[X forbade the students at the conservatory] from even reading the scores of Rossini's operas" (WFMT, 24 Nov 89)

"I hate when dogs eat the puppets" (sculptor quoted in New Yorker, Nov 6 89, p37)

Complementizer selection

What I deplore is that S. *I deplore that S.

"Jim Farley's chief job here is to prevent the convention boring both the delegates and the country" (Mencken, quoted in Bode, *Mencken*, 319)

Extraposition

I've heard it said that Dutchmen are good sailors. (Extraposition in "small clause")

for-deletion

"Whattaya want, fella, for us to lose our advantage over women?" (Tank McNamara, Nov 16 89)

P-deletion

A: What do people hope for? B: That the new year won't be as rotten as the last one. (Shoe, 1 Jan 84)

"...a videotape that instructs high school students how to use a condom" (Playboy, Oct 89, 43)

Reduced

"As long as I'm here in Peaceful Valley, I want just one thing-out" (Twilight Zone, "Valley of the Shadow")

Various constructions

Adverbs

"Now home in Wiltshire, he is independently producing a series of movies" (Time, 1 May 89)

"The seatbelt sign is on intentionally" (AA flight attendant, 21 Jun 89)

"...a first trimester abortion, which can be safely done under local anaesthesia" (Dr. Arthur Herbst, quoted in 20 Oct 89 Meroon)

"In a couple of days, he'll forget all about you" ("I never met the dead man", Suspense, Jan 5 50)

"Drop on in" (Montgomery Ward commercial, Nov 89)

"I woke back up"

Ambient //

"It was almost cold enough to snow" (CBS News, 7 Aug 89)

Comparative

The whiskey that John drank was better than the beer (that he drank/*did). (Why is V'-deletion bad here?)

Making funny faces is not so/??as much comical as stupid.

"More people ask us to play than we have time" (Studs Terkel guest, 3 May 89)

"You can count on Master-Card in three time the number of places as American Express" (radio commercial, May 89)

"Toscanini himself is, I think, more positive and estimable a figure than Mr. Horowitz allows" (NYT Book Review, 80s)

"... the much larger windshields than you see in Taurus..." (commercial, Nov 89)

"For years, Japanese women have been voting in larger numbers than men" (Flora Lewis, NYT, reprinted 27 July 89)

"McDonald's... faces a challenge by an aggressive smaller fry, Rally's" (Arizona Daily Star, 31 July 89)

"...grapes were picked earlier than many people in the vineyards had ever experienced" (NYT Magazine, Nov 89)

Comparative-conditional

One person is superior to another, the more books he has read. (notional comparative)

I prefer foods the spic ar they are.

The further away each mountain is, the more mist there is in front of it.

Conditional

"Mom wouldn't care about these things if she wouldn't keep finding out about them" (Calvin &

Hobbes, 22 May 89)

"The peanuts are for the elephants. These are for if you go to the termite cage." (Snafu, 27 Sept 89)

Dative

"... a man who hijacks my truck, who loses me my job,..." (Brazil)

Imperative

"[Joan Crawford] campaigned and asked all the New York members of the academy to please not vote for me;" (Bette Davis, quoted in 21 Apr Sun-Times; dependent imperative)

"Weigh more than two ounces and you're seafood!" (one pet fish to another, as Heathcliff looks hungrily into their tank; Heathcliff, 18 Feb 89)

Interrogative

Who₀ asked which₁ artists' portraits of which₀ kings they put on display? (multiple WH in which one of the WHs is in a WH-moved constituent)

"The report did not give the names of the other people convicted or say who had committed which crimes or when they occurred" (Tucson newspaper, 31 July 89)

Inversion

"[She wanted] to see had I my medals on" (Carmel Quinn, interviewed by Chuck Schaden, 4 Mar 89; Irish speaker, inversion with *have... on*)

John has been treated worse than I have (been). ...than have I (*been). ...than have been I.

Negation

"I never should have listened to you"

"That's the call I should have never answered" (Suspense, "Death has a shadow")

negative polarity

"It's not me who's gonna have any regrets" (Suspense, "The big shot"; NPI separated by clefting from trigger)

Nominalization

"...but there is no danger in what show of death it makes, more than the locking-up the spirits a time..." (Cymbeline I.v.41)

Passive

"The owner of the simple plot site was waged that he couldn't erect a full sized building on it" (Glasgow bus tour brochure)

"It's not the 'lived-in' look that bothers me. It's the 'died in' smell" (Drabble, Oct 21 89)

Quantifier float

(Even though there are for more Mexicans than Puerto Ricans in Chicago, there are more Puerto Rican voters, because)
 the Puerto Ricans are all American citizens.
 ?all (of) the Puerto Ricans are American citizens.

Raising

"There didn't look like there was going to be too long a wait" (copy-raising = Richard)

Superlative

"I walk in and there's the second one I've ever seen in my life" (A. Schiller, 18 Nov 89)

Misc.

"Do you want to wear these out?" (Marshall Field's, 21 Dec 88; = leave the shop wearing them)

Constituent structure

"Five will get you ten you don't get a hit" (Tribune cartoon, 11 Apr 89; where does the complement fit into the structure?)

"What it causes is a player to be uncomfortable" (discussion, UC composers Workshop, 10 Dec 89)

Categories

Prepositions

"American English usually serves as the 'other' vis-a-vis which Japanese is known" (J Fair thesis)

"Based on what did you make your tempo changes?" (discussion, UC Composers Workshop, 10 Dec 89)

"We're over head the Quad Cities area" (AA pilot, 22 Jun 89)

*For Hyde Parkers to celebrate the 100th anniversary of Hyde Park's annexation by Chicago is like for Estonians to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Estonian SSR. (evidence

that *like* is a P and not an A?)

"Regardless that Harvard appears to have bungled the matter, ..." (letter, NYT Magazine, 15 Oct 89; *regardless of* with *that*-clause object and deletion of *of*)

with P' as object

"Ten-percent discounts are offered on B.A. fares, including on the Concorde" (NYT, 3 Apr 89)

"Unlike with some cameras, he won't have to move an inch" (TV commercial, 89)

zero

"You do 'em your way, and I'll do 'em mine" (Nancy, 2 Apr 89; \emptyset P with deleted head N, the identity of which determines the acceptability of the \emptyset P)

"We actually have 9 fewer new students this year than we did last" (cf *than we had last. What determines the possibility of the \emptyset_N licensing the \emptyset_P ?)

Structure of NPs

"The image of the romantic fanatic wandering in Barbados, where her once lover has been transferred, ..." (New Yorker, Nov 6 89, p3)

Adverb in NP

"Published last month by arguably the most active Vatican congregation and the Pope's most active aide..." (Tribune, 21 Apr 89)

John probably married Susan.

John married probably Susan. (letter but not former version presupposes J married someone)

Apposition?

"They accompanied her mother and stepfather, Paul Shields, an investment banker who was a friend and supporter of President Roosevelt" (W. Safire, 18 Apr 89)

my uncle Bob and aunt Carol ?my uncle Bob Smith and aunt Carol Brown

Articles

"A spouse_i of a student_j can stay as long as the spouse_j/?_i is a student" (Jerry S, 23 May 89)

"You're the man in the hurry". He's in a/*the hurry.

"They have a different first oboist and first bassoonist than they did last year".

Extrapolation of P', etc.

"... but disdaining me and throwing favors on the low Posthumus slanders so her judgment that what's else rare is chok'd" (Cymbeline III.v.77)

Genitive

He leaped/fell to his/* \emptyset death. They beat him to (*his) death.

"Who knows if one her women, being corrupted, hath stol'n it from her?" (Cymbeline II.v.118)

Modifier preposing

"...she is a much brighter than average, tough-talking self-sufficient young woman..." (NYT Book Review, 80s; head not final)

N'

"Momma, I just bought this real bargain of a table" (Momma, 26 Dec 88)

"Now coming on stage, our three featured soloists and conductor" (KUAT, 7 Jul 89)

of

"They defend their territory against all (??of) those who encroach on it" (shows the *of* isn't completely inert semantically)

"Put a couple more pop tarts in the microwave" (Crankshaft, 11 Jan 89)

a couple of/* \emptyset pop tarts *a couple more of pop tarts a couple more of them

He wrote a turd of a paper. *He wrote shit of a paper.

His paper is a turd. His paper is shit.

Proper names

"...a sequence in which Daffy and Donald Duck play pianos at breakneck speed" (Sci Am Jun 89, 37; treats Duck as a family name, Daffy and Donald as members of a single family)

I wrote an article about Presidents Johnson and Nixon.

*I had dinner with Uncles George and Tom.

misc.

quite/*very something else

"Thorburgh flights cost twice Meese's" (= twice what Meese's flights cost; Tribune headline, 12 Oct 89)

"Now all we women are demanding equal raises and promotions!" (On the Fastrack, May 1 86)

Relative clauses and congeners

"... Fidel Castro, whom he admires with the passionate conviction that he detested J. Edgar Hoover" (Tribune, 20 Dec 88; *with* omitted in RC)

"Those guys went into a place that I wouldn't go if you paid me" (earthquake survivor quoted in 20 Oct 89 Sun-Times; cf. *I wouldn't go that place.).

"If you hear a vintage radio program that you would like to have Ø but Ø is not available on a commercial recording,..." (Chuck Schaden, 12 May 89; conjoining of RCs with subject gap and non-subject gap)

"The Temple of Dagon, for example, whose exterior is seen in act one and interior (?? is seen) in act three, rivals a movie set..." (Reader opera review, 10 Nov 89)

Nonrestrictive

"His father and I were soldiers together, to whom I have been often bound for no less than my life" (*Cymbeline* 1.iv.25)

Omission of that

"Ain't no Sicilian Ø hates anybody worse than a rent-control landlord hates his tenants" (Tom Wolfe, *Banfire of the Vanities*, 636)

"Never was a war Ø did cease, ere bloody hands were wash'd, with such a peace" (*Cymbeline* V.v.486)

"We have yet many among us Ø can gripe as hard as Yessibelen" (*Cymbeline* 11.1.40)

"...she could at least keep Thad's train of thought from derailing during the two hours each morning he spent writing" (Stephen King, *The Dark Half*, 74; RC with missing *that*, not adjacent to head N)

Interpretation of operators

"Please remain on the line and your call will be answered in the order in which it was received" (recorded message, Continental Airlines, May 89)

"T rex may be a household word among dinosaurs [sic], but no one's ever found a complete one, and that's what we've done" (paleontologist quoted in 31 Oct 89 Tribune).

"Handel did it all the time" (= always)

Mental space phenomena

"Best known for his work as an actor (he played the young Roy Scheider in *All That Jazz*)..." (Reader, 20 Jan 89; Roy Scheider isn't the character but the actor who played the same character at a more advanced age)

"The young people are returning from Paris, where they had gone in Act I" (WFMT, 14 May 89; time connections can be given in terms of content of story, form of story, or performance of story:

where they had gone in 1788	where they had gone two years earlier
where they had gone in Act I	where they had gone three scenes earlier
	where they had gone 30 pages earlier
where they went 45 minutes ago	*where they went at about 4:00 [today]

(ambiguous: 45 min of story time or of performance (hme))

Tense, time reference

Shouting curses, John (*has) stomped out of the room.

"When he came to the United States from Odessa, when he was 1.1 years old, he was already giving concerts..." (NYT Arts, 10 Dec 89; second *when*-clause provides background for first one)

Speech acts

*You can pass the salt, can't you? (only the question with inversion is available as an indirect request)

Indirect, semi-direct discourse

"It occurred to him_i to wonder just what he was going to do about all this, and Digger_j was goddamned if he knew" (Stephen King, *The Dark Half*, 45-6)

"He could live with the thought of his own stupidity; God knew he had done it before" (Stephen King, *The Dark Half*, 366)

Syntactic metonymy, amalgams, mimicry

"Jenny, since this is your first time [pitching horseshoes], why don't you throw a couple of practice shoes before we keep score" (Marvin, 10 Nov 89)

"It probably gets easier with each cupcake that rolls off the tray" (= with each instance of a cupcake rolling off the tray; Crankshaft, 26 Oct 89).

"This new field is raising some ethical eyebrows" (NYT Magazine, 35, 14 May)

"... asking our listeners to give us a financial hand" (WFMT, 9 June 89)

"... on a logical par" (Dryer, Lg 62.836)

"... in the company of such big critical game as Harold Rosenberg and Clement Greenberg" (Flint Schier, quoted in NYT Magazine, 19 Nov 89)

"...one that had just hitchhiked along for the developmental ride as a side sequence of another adaptation..." (Gould, *Wonderful Life*, 307)

Telescoping

"We're the only ones who can put up with how obnoxious we are" (Sheri L., 22 Jan 89)

Vice versa

John needs Mary more than vice versa. ?John gives Mary more love than vice versa.

"On balance, 'Waterstone's' strikes me as better written than 'The Reader's Catalog', but the two compendiums are actually complimentary, 'Waterstone's' listing some hard-to-find books available through British publishers that are out of print here and vice versa" (= and 'The Reader's Catalog' listing some hard-to-find books available through American publishers that are out of print in Britain; Mordecai Richler, NYT Book Review, 8 Oct 89)

Miscellaneous syntactic/semantic

"Many patients had wrongly gotten antibiotics" (Hippocrates, May 89, 37; = had wrongly been given)

"There's now a bit of white space between each entry" (H. Kisor, Sun-Times, Apr 89)

not that S, for *S* obligatorily follow the host *S*; what else does? Can *S*, *not that S* be embedded in a larger *S*?

Of course you can invite your friend. (no intonation break)

Sure/*Yes you can invite your friend.

I had to do as much work as if there were three of me (= us).

A: Who is that? B: It/He looks like Henry Kissinger. (// suggests that the person really is

Kissinger, *he* that he isn't; cf. "He's lost 50 pounds and grown a beard, but it??he looks like HK")

"At 63 yards, an average marksman, using a .30-06 rifle mounted with a 4X scope..., could kill a squirrel, let alone a deer..." (Letters, NYT Magazine, 8 Oct 89)

"If I were you... which I am..." (cartoon of man looking in mirror, Parade, 10 Oct 82)

"Excessivement lent" (tempo marking in Poulenc, *Dialogues des Carmelites*; creates liar paradox)

"... began to chase him from room to room of the old castle" (Bullwinkle)

Metonymy

"The cornfields are about 4 feet tall" (Arizona Daily Star, 26 July 89)

Implicature

Luann: Have you always been a good dancer, Delta?

Delta: Heck no! I couldn't dance at all until I was almost a year old. (Luann, 16 Jan 89)

Morphology

Genitive 's

"But the summers had always been mine—mine and the Bobbsey Twins and Laura Ingalls Wilder's and ..." (NYT Education Supplement, 8 Jan 89)

"Walter Johnson the man was like Nolan Ryan the man in the sense that each's fastball intimidated him perhaps more than it did the batters" (NYT, 1980s)

*"They also dislike government impairment of private parties' ability to contract freely with whomever they wish" (Virginia Postrel, Washington Post Weekly, 10-16 Jul 89)

Inflection

"It's for all of our safety" (Midway Airlines flight attendant, 2 Mar 89; expresses * [all of us]'s *safety*)

moonlighted/*moonlit

"The so-called 'Bermuda triangle' is a goldrum zone" (Jerry Teft, Sun-Times, 23 Jan 89)

"...to attain in suit the place of 's bed and win this ring by hers and mine adultery" (*Cymbeline* V.v.188)

"... you may want to give in to their sweet tooth's a bit and allow them to doctor up some homemade cookies" (Tribune Food, 26 Oct 89)

*"Young's response: we isn't stupid" (headline, Royko column, Dec 4 89; = of the young)

Possible morphemic relations

beer-barrel blame-blemish

Word-formation

"He's trying to remake contacts with X" (Bonnie K, 22 Jan 89)
 "He shared committee member Joseph Biden's concern about over-promising" (WFMT, 1 Mar 89)
neologisms
 recoupment (NYT, 8 Jan 89)
 "Her method also makes it possible to glad one kind of metal with another" (Sci. Am. Feb 89, 20)
 biographe (Marquis Who's Who form letter; *biography)
 "One can make surmisals" (liner notes, Havergal Brian Symph #4)
 grandkids (Dear Abby, 28 Jul 89)
 "...the time my birthday cake caught my hair on fire" (Fox Trot, 29 Sept 89)
 "And you'll liaise with Oxford Barracks?" (Stephen King, *The Dark Half*, 359; speaker is a police officer)
 "The infinitesimal advances he got didn't earn out" (Stephen King, *The Dark Half*, 112; means his ultimate royalties on the book were less than the advances that he had received)
 "Barry Sadler; cowrote 'Ballad of Green Berets'" (headline on Tribune obituary, 6 Nov 89)
 "I don't wanna protract this too much"

Lexicon

"Susanna and Figaro meet, quarrel and reconcile" (Lyric opera synopsis, 1987)
 I play the bagpipes/??bagpipe. I have a bagpipe. ??I have bagpipes.

blocking

"Seated woman holding female child" (sign on painting, Gallery of Contemporary Art, Tokyo)
 Two times out of two. *Twice out of two/twice.
 ??Two times out of two times. *Two times out of twice.

complementizer choice

"The OED2 is thoroughly international, reflecting that the colonies... are the richest lode of new words" (Tribune?, 31 Mar 89)

Idioms

"You've been breaking better than even" (Alfred Hitchcock Hour, "Three wives too many")
 "...and there will be hell to pay, if hell hasn't been paid already" (Stephen King, *The Dark Half*, 390)

Time will tell. (Only) time will tell.
 *Time tells/told. (*Only) the cat got out of the bag.

I'll be right there. (= I'll be there right away, or something such; also, what is *right away*?)
 "I threw a temper tantrum an' then Mom threw one right back at me!" (Dennis the Menace, Feb 11 89) †

Lexical semantics

sit on/in a chair You're in/*on seat 013.
 "Robert Wolders—the handsome Dutch widower of the fabulously wealthy film star Merle Oberon..." (Parade, 26 Feb 89)
 "RAIN LIKELY Warm, a 40 percent chance of rain. High in the 80s" (Sun-Times, 80s)
 Les: Bringing these binoculars to the concert was a great idea, Funky! They make the figures on the big TV screen seem real close. Funky: Yeah, it's almost like being here. (Funky Winkerbean, 80s)
 Charlie: Did you ever steal apples from a neighbor's tree when you were young?
 Linus: I'm just a kid... I'm not young yet. (Peanuts, 80s)
 "Riduzione per due pianoforti" (Italian edition of 2-piano transcription of Weber works originally for one piano 4-hands; the 'riduzione' clearly contains more notes than the original)
 There were frequent quarrels between/among members of the board. (*between* means quarrels each with two adversaries; *among* takes in quarrels with more than two participants, maybe even the whole board quarreling)
 "Over time, ferret took on the meaning 'to drive out; expel' (All that Jazz, 25 Jan 89; that's *ferret out*, not **ferret y*).
 "Joan is a beautiful dancer" not quite = "Joan dances beautifully", in view of
 ?Itzhak Perlman is a beautiful violinist.
 ??Cezanne was a beautiful painter.

Selectional restrictions

"The federal government is immune from such suits" (Reader, 6 Jan 89)
 "When practice refuses to make perfect" (NYT Arts headline 17 Dec 89)

Sexist language

one-person show (used in 28 Oct 89 Tribune obituary of a gay male artist; EPH suggests that sex-neutral language is being used here to maintain conspicuous neutrality with regard to sexual orientation)

Valence

"... he walked the bases loaded in his first inning of work..." (Tribune, 29 Mar 89)
 "An extra five would help there *be* a next time" (Calvin and Hobbes, 6 Oct 89)

misc.

the Thames/Rhine (*River) vs. the Mississippi River

Speech errors, screwups

"Soaring above the rest in quality, service, and price" (Chicago auto agency ad, 88)
 "Please eat this waffle. You will be satisfied with its taste" (sign on food stand, Nagoya Design Expo)
 "It's a fact that these young people know 'nuttin' from nuttin'," to quote from 'Duffy's Tavern'...." (NYT, 8 Oct 89; mixes dialects—quote is "don't know nuttin' from nuttin'")
 "Can he be stopped before his next victim?" (movie trailer, channel 50, 1989)
 "Consumption of spirits was cut in more than half within three years" (Sydney Harris, early 80s)

morphological

"closely" (for "more closely"; Bill D, 14 Feb 89)

syntactic

"Taxis are available at there" (sign at Ueno station, Tokyo)
 "Rivera's affiliation with Cubism is a subject which baffles me that it has not been previously explored..." (catalog of exhibition of Rivera's cubist work)
 "If their gravity had been half of ours, twice of ours, they would have been structurally completely different" (Radio Smithsonian, 5 Jul 89)
 "It was more than last year" (Karen L; for "more than a year ago")
 A: How did you recognize my voice, darling?
 B: I don't know... unless it's because there hasn't been a day pass in those four years that I haven't thought of you. (Apt 3-0; There hasn't been a day X A day hasn't passed; but why *pass*?)

word formation

"A sold machine for tickets" (sign on ticket-vending machine, Narita Airport station)
 "Gun-hunting prohibited area" (sign, Inuyama?)

Written language

"There are no Ed Koches, Mario Cuomos, or Richard Daleys here to slug it out" (NYT, 16 Apr 89)
 Illinois' (pronounced as 's would be, but only apostrophe written)

Punctuation

"New York ex-transit official" (NYT, 29 Jan 84)

German

"ein Zugständnis der Sowjetunion an China" (Fr. Allg., 8 Mar 89; is that word order required, so that the genitive NP will be adjacent to the head N?)
 "In den Regenswäldern Hawaii wurden im Jahre 1987 insgesamt 1,9 Millionen Marihuanapflanzen vernichtet. In Kalifornien waren es im selben Jahr 200,000 Pflanzen" (Fr. Allg., 8 Mar 89)
 "... weil ich meinem Bruder Klaus nicht ins Gehege kommen und weil ich den Tod meines Vaters abwarten wollte" (RNR Golo Mann, quoted in Fr. Allg., 25 Mar 89; RNR)
 Wie der Historiker Lord Macaulay (ein Cambridge-Mann) geschrieben hat, -hatte Cambridge die Ehre, jene ruhmvollen protestantischen Bischöfe auszubilden, die Oxford die Ehre hatte, zu verbrennen". (Fr. Allg., 25 Mar 89; translation from English, with word order altered to put finite V in 2nd position; would such an alteration of word order be excluded in a direct quote from German?)
 "... bei Spätaussiedlern, die immer eiliger ihre Herkunftsländer verlassen, je intensiver in der Bundesrepublik über eine künftige Begrenzung des Zuzugs geredet werde" (Fr. Allg., 25 Mar 89; relativization into comparative-conditional)

Japanese

...nanzuunen mo mae hulla yuki ya ame... "Snow and rain that had fallen decades before" (TV segment on water from Mt. Fuji, 8 Apr 89)

PHO / 1/2 244 / 1/2 to indicate non-palatalization?

"[siroi hana]kazar i no boosi no musume" (title on painting, Gallery of Contemporary Art, Tokyo;
"girl in hat decorated with white flowers")
"[Yokohama kara 40pun]ken" (ad for real-estate magazine)
"Netabako ya aruki-nagara no tabako wa go-enryo kudasai" (sign in Ryokan)
tetateato (=tête-a-tête; why is only one /e/ long?)
"huringu doriimu" ("Flying dream", title of exhibit at Nagoya Design fair; only one /i/ in first
word)
"Marason kinsi" (sign with English version "Don't run on the pebbles [sic]", Imperial Palace; does
marason = jogging?)
"Tookyoo, Saitama ryootoken..." (check other possibilities of to/doo/hu/ken)
"Naze 'Yamanaka' no kubi o kitte 'Kokura' wa kirenai ka" (ad for Syuukan Sinko, Sept 89)

Polish

Mam jedne dudy. 'I have one (set of) bagpipes' (dudy is plural).
Mam dwie dudy.
"...na zamówienie Elżbiety ^{osq} i krzysztofa ^{osq} Pendereckich ^{gpl}..." ("on a commission of E and K
Penderecki"; liner notes, Edgeniusz Knapki record)

Spanish

"No tenemos con que comparar los" (La Historia Oficial, 2380)
"No tengo un sitio donde ir" (6 Apr 89)
"No sé adonde ir; no tengo donde" (Vargas Llosa, ¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?, 104)

"No recuerdo absolutamente nada" (La Corona Negra)

antirumanos (SJ newspaper, 19 June 89)

"Ahora es cuando" (Vargas Llosa, ¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?, 60)
"Le juro que no he visto a un hombre tan templado de nadie como él a usted" (Vargas Llosa, ¿Quién
mató a Palomino Molero?, 79; 'gapped' then-clause)
"Olfateando el papel (como un sabueso la mesa)..." (Vargas Llosa, ¿Quién mató a Palomino
Molero?, 85)
"Y necesita un hombre para que la proteja" (Yesenia, 1 Dec 89)
"ese hembrón" (Vargas Llosa, ¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?, 87)

"Do not stand between cars at any time / En ningún momento permanezca de pie entre los carros"
(sign in CTA; Spanish suggests that you should sit while you're riding between the cars)
"Prevenición está alrededor de la esquina" (CTA ad, Spanish version of "Prevention is just around
the corner"; wrong sense of "around")

1994 linguistic flea circus

Yet another annual harvest of examples that I have read, overheard, or concocted, or which have been passed on to me by friends (those to whom I am indebted this time around are E. Wayles Browne III and Peter Daniels), distributed to miscellaneous fellow data-fetichists that I either remember to send it to or happen to run into while I have copies at hand. Users of this compilation are welcome to make any use of it that they can think of making. --Jim McCawley

Anaphora

"This is not because no one is writing articles on these figures — they are —..." (Lamb, *New Horizons in the Phil. of Sci.*, 5)

Anaphoric elements other than the most-discussed ones

"A team from Underwater World Singapore in Sentosa failed to save the mammal twice" (Straits Times, 1 Feb 92; refers to a whale that had swum up a river)

"...he compiled it single-handedly, aside from clerical assistance" (Signet *Selected Writings of Samuel Johnson*, intro., 7)

one: "It is necessary to stay away or to exert creative acts of distancy, as when a boy jokingly treats his wooden horse as if it were a racing **one**" (Goffman, *Encounters*, 108)

"... my interpretive position is not **one** that the original intent is controlling, but that the original meaning is controlling" (David Souter, quoted in NYT Magazine, 25 Sept 94)

"The fact that I am **one** accounts for this no doubt, but I am a soft touch, an easy mark, for **grandfathers**" (Raymond Coffey, Sun-Times, 28 Oct 94)

{My father, Mine, *My one} was a lawyer.

{My nose, Mine, ??My one} is too long.

so: "He was not aware that the gentle-snoring Sid was awake, and had been **so** for an hour" (Twain, *Tam Sawyer*, 74)

"Mr. McWilliams calls them 'consensual crimes,' since everyone involved in them is so by free choice" (*Reason*, Feb 94, p. 64)

this/that: "You be off yonder way, and I'll go this" (Twain, *Tam Sawyer*, 69)

"If ever miracles were needed on 34th St., now's the time. R. H. Macy & Co., the venerable emporium featured in **that** movie, and on Broadway every Thanksgiving, is the takeover target of a powerful suitor, Federated Department Stores, which owns Macy's crosstown rival, Bloomingdale's" (Newsweek, 17 Jan 94, noticed by P. Daniels)

Backwards

"Most ordinary-language philosophers at Oxford did not have much regard for science. By contrast, his_i understanding of science was the enormously important thing about Quine_i" (Patricia Churchland, in Callebaut, *Taking the Naturalistic Turn*, 16)

"Sir, — It is with regret that I write to make public what I consider to be a serious abuse of its_i powers to the Bodleian Library_i" (TLS, 15 Apr 94; first mention)

"He_i had been struck, Mr. X_i said, by Mr. Y's statistics on this College's ability to make an education available to poorer students" (University Senate Minutes, April 94; first mention of X; OK because logophoric?)

"She_i got just three hours of sleep the night before and conservative Justice Antonin Scalia began to pepper her_i with questions two minutes into her_i first 20 minutes ever before the U.S. Supreme Court. But that didn't seem to faze NOW attorney Fay Clayton_i..." (National NOW Times, Jan 94, noted by EWB; first mention)

"Her teacup jerked in Kyra's hand"; "Wine slopped as her glass jerked in Kyra's hand" (Anderson, *Harvest of Stars*, 338, 455)

"If their team wins, these schools get a lot of money" (Spike Lee, quoted in 28 Oct 94 Reader; apparently distributive interpretation: for each_x of these schools, if x's team wins, x gets a lot of money)

"Binding conditions"

"O'Rourke_i has worked at the diner for 35 years, beginning at age 7 when he_i would peel potatoes for his_i uncle_j, who eventually sold the restaurant to his_i nephew_j" (China Post, 1 June 94)

"His wife, who often accompanies him on trips abroad, is very handy with a video camera, ensuring her husband's many interviews, lectures and other moments of glory are all captured for posterity" (*Asia Magazine*, 1 July 94, 13)

"They had seen the tunnel a hundred times, and it was of no more interest to them than his_i driveway is to a suburbanite_j" (Pohl, *The Cool War*, 263; cf. *His driveway isn't very interesting

to a suburbanite)

"And while Gothon_i may appear the more 'serious' performer, he has Norris_j to thank for being first, as newly minted festival organizers put their first conferee_j on an exhausting performance schedule that nearly destroyed Norris_j" (Tribune, 25 July 94)

Choice of pronoun

"... but Weil emphasizes that it was not Bourbaki itself but its followers who perpetrated these crimes" (*Sci Am*, June 94, 34; "Nicolas Bourbaki" is the pseudonym of a group of French mathematicians)

"Neither one of us ever has to sit through a movie we didn't want to see" (Dave, 4 Dec 94; meaning evident from context is 'for no x among us, x has had to sit through a picture x didn't want to see')

"He had found a printed map of the United States that represented only the boundaries between them" (John Cage, quoted in South China Morning Post, 16 July 94)

Crossover

"Nietzsche was then thirty-nine, and earlier that year Richard Wagner had died, whom_i his admirers had been in the habit of calling *Meister*" (Kaufmann, *Nietzsche*, 461)

Multiple 1st/2nd person references

"It's remote, but I wouldn't put anything past me" (Anderson, *Harvest of Stars*, 197; the speaker is speaking of a clone of himself)

Precyclic?

"I've never judged anybody by their accent, but 'I have been'" (BBC World Service, 19 Feb 94; Ø = judged by my accent)

"I'd like to see anyone influence Edmund more than he wants to be" (O'Neill, *Long Day's Journey*, 733)

"... I had plenty of years to think, and found more to think about than I'd imagined could be" (Anderson, *Harvest of Stars*, 519; Ø = thought about?)

"Biological rhythms are not to be confused—even though Webster's does—with biorhythms" (Tribune, 31 Oct 94)

Passenger: Have you got the door shut? Flight attendant: Just getting ready to. (9 Jan 94)

"If it [= this tradition] is followed (as Talbot and Walts generally do not), this gratuitous methodological asceticism is likely to produce nonsense..." (S. Murray, JPr 21.223)

Reciprocal

"There are no authenticated letters between Johnson and Savage. There is no mention of each other in private journals..." (Tribune Books, 30 Oct 94)

"In 'Red', none of the major characters knows each other at the beginning of the movie..." (Ebert, Sun-Times, 2 Dec 94; error for "... know each other...")

Reflexive

"She married a young man several years older than herself" (Joe F, 7 Jan 94)

"... men easily forgive wrongs which are not committed against themselves" (Signet *Selected Writings of Samuel Johnson*, 288)

"His supplication to father Thames, to tell him who drives the hoop or tosses the ball, is useless and puerile. Father Thames has no better means of knowing than himself" (Signet *Selected Writings of Samuel Johnson*, 465)

"... the man who frowned on the second *Meditation* because it had no special reference to himself..." (Kaufmann, *Nietzsche*, 35)

"You know when it's time for something to spring forth and come out of yourself" (NYPD Blue, 19 Jan 94)

"Why would a promising young screen beauty pile on hot latex makeup every day to play the mother of a woman only a few years younger than herself?" (AP item, China Post, 15 Feb 94)

"Emma has known her all her life, but although there is far more 'equality' between them than there is between Harriet and herself, they have never been close" (Austen, *Emma*, introduction, 23; Austen uses reflexives like this all over the place, but the introduction dates from 1966)

"A robust poor man_j, one sunny day here in Concord, praised a fellow-townsmen_j to me, because, as he said, he_j was kind to the poor; meaning himself_j" (Thoreau, *Walden*, 382-3)

"His method of doing so was a critical one: he criticized anything that seemed to himself and to others to be certain" (Popper, *In search of a better world*, 34)

"Drouet and Guillaume managed, however, to avoid these patrols by following paths known to themselves..." (Kropotkin, *The Great French Revolution*, 227)

"The names of all the principal confederates of Murel_j were obtained from himself_j, in a manner

which I shall presently explain" (book quoted in Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*, 406)
 Brown: One of us has got to go ashore. Captain: Very well, let it be yourself. (Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*, 353)
 "Editing" was a concept he grasped only dimly, and that more by seeing what had happened to himself and the other Purchased People than from any theoretical knowledge" (Pohl & Williamson, *Wall Around a Star*, 205)
 "Louis Jeanty did something this morning that some day could save the state welfare system millions of dollars and others see as demeaning to himself" (NYT, 30 Jan 94; noted by EWB)
 "Novi List; of 18 January reports on the government's campaign against three independent papers, namely itself, Olobus, and Feral Tribune" (Radio Free Europe, 19 Jan 94, noted by EWB)
 "Then something sedentary for half an hour's rest: learning to use bugging equipment, learning to know when it was being used on themselves" (Pohl, *The Cool War*, 94)
 "They live in a designer house with walls covered by 'important' paintings, and their friends are as wealthy as themselves" (Ebert, Sun-Times, 23 Sept 94)
 "<Herbie Stempel> was incensed at what he viewed as the snobbery and anti-semitism that made Van Doren a prince and himself a foil or fool" (Tribune movies, 16 Sept 94)
 "... I told Dreiser of that decision and also sent him a carbon of the chapter on himself" (Mencken, *My Life as Author and Editor*, 183)
 "On September 20, 1909, I wrote to him protesting against the tone of an editorial on spiritualism, obviously written by himself" (Mencken, *My Life as Author and Editor*, 125-6)
 "He was aghast at how she might react to Lauretta Taylor's devastating portrait of, patently, herself" (NYT, Letters, 20 Nov 94)

"X said there was a communication problem between Walker and himself" (US Cable News, Jan 94)
 "He wrote a concert to specifically for performance by his sister and himself" (CSO broadcast, 16 Jan 94)
 "... a police detective posing as a Japanese businessman asked her to provide call girls for himself and others" (Sun-Times, 12 Dec 94)
 "When we parted I gave him a bottle of Burgundy and he pressed me to make an immediate visit to himself and his wife at Castle Hill..." (Mencken, *My Life as Author and Editor*, 357)

V-deletion

Emma: I wonder which she will think the handsomest, Henry or John?
 Mr. Woodhouse: Aye, I wonder which she will. (Austen, *Emma*, 105)
 Harriet: I dare say she was very much attached to him.
 Emma: Perhaps she might. (Austen, *Emma*, 274)
 "But, Mr Knightley, are you perfectly sure that she has absolutely and downright accepted him. — I could suppose she might in time — but can she already Ø?" (Austen, *Emma*, 434; Ø = have accepted him?)
 "This dumb brood was tryin' to tell you'd changed, but you ain't a damned bit" (O'Neill, *The Iceman Cometh*, 608)
 information that they could have gotten but (?they) didn't
 A: Go home. B: You can't make me Ø. (Is this V-del?)
 "Yet through his computers and his communication lines, a single ghost was still able to rule it, keep it together, stave off its foes, set it reaching for the stars. How much longer could he?" (Anderson, *Harvest of Stars*, 34)
 "Correct—which told us that the call had been intercepted. If it hadn't, we had alternative plans in hand" (Hogan, *Multiplex Man*, 362)
 I don't know what to believe and what not to. *... what not.
 ?? what to not believe. *... what to not.

"It is not what is known as a popular magazine; it hasn't a circulation of 1,000,000 a month, and it never will have" (Mencken, *My Life as Author and Editor*, 411; main have treated as auxiliary)
 A: What'd you bring us tomatoes for? We've still got plenty from Jersey and the Island.
 B: In a couple of weeks you won't have. (Pohl, *Coming of the Quantum Cats*, 284)
Miscellaneous ellipsis
 A: It doesn't make much sense. B: It doesn't make much to me either. (TV, Feb 94)
 "Gothoni never played in another piano competition after winning the first he entered at age 8"

(Tribune, 25 July 94)
 "I felt they overlooked the potential of American actresses, and Meryl Streep is one of our most important" (Clint Eastwood, quoted in NYT Magazine, 18 Sept 94)
 "I made no less than twenty-three trips to New York during 1921... I also made eighteen to Washington mainly on Baltimore *Sun* business, and one to Philadelphia" (Mencken, *My Life as Author and Editor*, 356)
 "There had been a carpenter's bench in the cellar since my boyhood, and presently I began to buy good tools for it, and after a while I supplanted it with another and better of my own construction" (Mencken, *My Life as Author and Editor*, 283)
 "When we were separated we exchanged jocose letters, and before the end of 1918 we were toying with a plan to make a book of them. Most of his to me have been lost, but a large number of mine to him were lent to me by his widow after his death in 1940..." (Mencken, *My Life as Author and Editor*, 227)

Mrs. Miller: And he loves you and always has. Lily: Never enough to stop drinking for. (O'Neill, *Ah, Wilderness!*, 30)
 "Rama Reddi, in the copilot seat, was busy with a notebook, [studying what and writing what] Haka did not want to imagine" (Pohl, *The Cool War*, 221)
 "Marry, sir, I carried Mistress Silvia the dog you bade me Ø" (*Two Gent. Verona* iv.iv.45; Ø = carry (to) her)
 "And being wild, it appeals to you. Bueno, I confess it does to me also" (Anderson, *Harvest of Stars*, 194; Pseudo-gapping?)
 "Even if it cost Lois her life—both of them their lives—he didn't mean to give up the ring" (King, *Insomnia*, 653)
 "I assumed wrong" (Ebert, 7 Oct 94; ?; cf. I guessed/*surmised/?supposed wrong)
 "We haven't had many requests for it, but we have had one for it" (Norm Pellegrini, *Midnight Special*, 15 Jan 94)

Control

"Unlike most sales, this one comes early enough to wear what you buy this season" (Land's End commercial, July 94)
 "Lazuri was not diagnosed early enough to cure her case" (WFMT News, 26 Sept 94)

Anaphoric islands

"Then pretty soon Sherburn sort of laughed; not the pleasant kind Ø, but the kind that makes you feel like when you are eating bread that's got sand in it" (*Huckleberry Finn*, 767; Ø = of laugh)

Islands

Complex NP constraint

"Such are the faults of that wonderful performance, *Paradise Lost*; which he who can put Ø in balance with its beauties must be considered not as nice but as dull..." (Signet *Selected Writings of Samuel Johnson*, 368-9)

Coordinate structure constraint

"What's the worst thing you've done to your handphone and it survived?" (Motorola ad, Straits Times, 2 Feb 94)
 "He came with Mrs Weston, to whom and to Highbury he seemed to take very cordially" (Austen, *Emma*, 208)
 "What I'd want was some tramp I could be myself with without being ashamed—someone I could tell a dirty joke to and she'd laugh" (O'Neill, *The Iceman Cometh*, 696)
 "<Burlington has> a paid fire department, a thing which the great city of New Orleans is without, but still employs that relic of antiquity, the independent system" (Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*, 564)

"Hard as it may be to imagine, musicians in church are supposed to play or sing for the glory of God, not the pleasure of the congregation (whom people increasingly slip and call 'the audience')" (Miss Manners, 4 Nov 94)

Other

"The first act, we were ready to go home after" (Peter D, 20 Nov 94)
 "It's not the kind of odds you could live by making book on, but we'll play them" (Anderson, *Harvest of Stars*, 193)
 "What did you have in mind doing Ø?" (Miss Manners lecture, 13 Oct 94)

"And hopefully the spouse he breaks the agreement to visit will still be alive when he comes to trial" (King, *Insomnia*, 97; actually refers to an agreement not to visit the spouse; evident meaning is: he breaks that agreement, in order to visit her)

Surface constraints

"Routine actions like cleaning one's teeth are treated by Polish syntax as just/*Ø as simple and ordinary as direct bodily events such as opening one's eyes" (Wierzbicka, *Semantics of Grammar*, 194; as just as, *as as)

It's unfair of you to request X. It's unfair to the candidate to request X.

* of you to the candidate to request X.

* to the candidate of you to request X. (2 P's in semantic structure, an A' has room for only one)

Double -ing

"She was the first to announce it to Mr Knightley; and exclaimed as much as was necessary, (or, being acting a part, perhaps rather more,) at the conduct of the Churchills, in keeping him away" (Austen, *Emma*, 162)

Order of V' elements

"The way Chicago works is you can always hand me in a paper late" (C. Rosen, 2 Nov 94)

"Well, no one can say of me that I turned away anyone I knew thirsty from my door" (O'Neill, *A Touch of the Poet*, 209; Irish speaker)

Pied piping

"I fail to see against what the rebellion—as whose cause Jesus has been understood or misunderstood—may have been directed..." (Nietzsche, *Antichrist* 27, quoted by Kaufmann)

"Wasn't the classic 1957 Chevy, even the steering wheel and dashboard of which were a bright cherry, the quintessential red car?" (NYT Books, 4 Dec 94)

"These redoubts — the remains of more than 60 of which are scattered throughout Israel, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria — are eerie but poignant reminders of the militant side of the Age of Faith" (NYT Books, 4 Dec 94)

Agreement

"Neither of them thought but of Mr Knightley and themselves" (Austen, *Emma*, 398; = neither (of Emma and Harriet) thought but of Mr. K and herself)

"The *Alpine Suite* (1955) for two soprano and one alto recorder is a charming set of short programmatic sketches..." (Eve O'Kelly, *The Recorder Today*, 45)

"These kind of things are very well at Christmas, when one is sitting round the fire" (Austen, *Emma*, 365)

"Six famous people who were a twin" (Tribune, 14 Sept 94)

A: Are we guaranteed to become amazingly wealthy?

B: While being our own boss? (Dilbert, 18 Sept 94)

Many societies allow men to have more than one wife.

beat their wives/??wife. (the pronoun has to be *their* because of the plural antecedent, and that forces the N to be plural too).

"He said the Soviets concluded that the plane had enough fuel to fly to the Soviet cities of Irkutsk or Chita" (Straits Times, 2 Feb 94)

"Enter on Wabash or Randolph Streets" (sign, Chicago garage, 1994; the thoroughfare in question is actually Wabash Avenue, not Street)

"But they disagree about whether it's best to burn in spring or fall, or whether prairies should be burned every one, two or three years" (Sun-Times, 14 Nov 94; * *every one years*)

Identity

Arnold Schwarzenegger (asked if he ever cries in movies): Of course, in "Terminator", when I see myself die. (Tribune Mag, 26 Dec 93)

"The ROC has set up a semi-official representative office in Moscow, and a corresponding Russian office is expected to be established in Taipei before the end of this year. So will direct flights between the two capitals" (China News, 21 Mar 94)

"That's what everyone talks about. Even parents do Ø" (*Playboy*, Aug 94, 152; Ø = talk about it)

"In 1949 Ralph Boas proclaimed... that Bourbaki was a pseudonym and did not exist" (*Sci Am*, June 94, 34; name = referent)

"Whenever I get out of breath, Mr. Wilson, I just take another one" (Dennis the Menace, 28 Nov 94; count = mess)

"... he watched the replay of Dom's face, speaking in Dom's voice the words I could not believe Dom would ever say. And neither could Jack Kennedy" (Pohl, *Coming of the Quantum Cats*, 144; in context, Ø has to be "believe Dom would ever say <those words>")

"... *Candide* has been downsized, upsized, rearranged and rewritten so many times that no definitive version exists, and probably never will now that its composer and librettists are dead" (Lyric Opera program, Dec 94)

"No major protests greeted the film starring Michael Douglas and Demi Moore, as had been rumored" (Sun-Times, 14 Dec 94; as = that major projects would greet the film)

"Everyone said you couldn't do anything with a zebra. I thought you could" (animal trainer quoted in 15 Dec 94 Tribune; Ø = do something with a zebra)

"Tom had no handkerchief, and he looked upon boys who had Ø, as snobs" (Twain, *Tom Sawyer*, 37; Ø = a handkerchief)

"You make an excellent point. However, not all people are willing to answer questions asked by strangers; they feel it's an invasion of their privacy" (Dear Abby, 14 Jan 94; pronoun as if first clause is "Some people aren't willing...")

"The Soviet fleet was allotted <170> blue whales, the largest creature on earth" (BBC World Service, 12 Feb 94)

"The book's hero, Kanzi, is a bonobo, more commonly known as the pygmy chimpanzee" (NYT Books, 11 Dec 94; predicate N identified with generic NP)

"Grewé said the boy appeared to fit the typical hacker profile: a 15- to 20-year-old male, many of whom have low self-esteem" (Tribune, 28 Nov 94; sg = pl)

"In Sudan, the largest and one of the poorest nations in Africa, ..." (*Lingua Franca* Mar 94, 24-5)

Stoppy identity

"Perhaps I can buy a plantation in Nashville and let it go picturesquely to seed, as Scarlett O'Hara did, while I dance wearing drapes" (NYT Mag, 16 Jan 94; different plantations, of course)

"But it led me to realize that everybody has their own version of the chafing dish. Some item that they can't toss out yet, but on the day that they do, they will be immensely liberated" (Judy Markey, Sun-Times, 4 Aug 94)

"... they didn't swallow it. A man would, but a woman knows what makeup can do. And what it can't" (King, *Insomnia*, 414; distinct occurrences of *do*!)

Conjoining

"Her daughter enjoyed a most uncommon degree of popularity for a woman neither young, handsome, rich, nor married" (Austen, *Emma*, 51-2; *neither... nor* with 4 conjuncts)

"There was a tendency,' as M. Aulard says, 'to apply this law to towns which were neither besieged nor blockaded, nor surrounded'" (Kropotkin, *The Great French Revolution*, 506; commas as indicated; one coordinate structure or two?)

"But when you, the readers, never hear the details of my work until it is too late to matter, both you, myself, and the democratic process are all ill-served indeed" (letter, 4 Nov 94 Reader)

"I should like to take a line that is both classical and modern, sacrificing neither contemporary practice to hallowed traditions nor tradition to the fashion of the moment" (Fauré, quoted in Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré*, 268)

"They're all either under investigation, or we've already given them government jobs, Willie" (Mallard Fillmore, 26 July 94)

"But no one expected to see them charged Tuesday with beating and stabbing an 89-year old man to death during a weekend robbery" (Sun-Times, 24 Aug 94; does *to death* go with both conjuncts or only the second?)

"Work is done there only with non- or moderate-risk organisms" (NYT Magazine, 21 Aug 94)

"The heath on the North Argolid highlands had not yet become forest, nor would for several hundred years..." (Anderson, *Harvest of Stars*, 467)

"*It's All True*, which he co-directed, -produced, and -wrote, opened in theaters in 1993..." (*Univ. of Chicago Magazine*, Oct 94, 41)

"... over-looks Chicago's most stunning landscapes and notable attractions" (WFMT commercial, Oct 94)

"Do you suppose I will ever reach the place where I will make a living wage out of my books, or is

this all a bluff and had I better quit?" (Dreiser, quoted in Mencken, *My Life as Author and Editor*, 142)

"... part- and full-time residents" (WFMT commercial, Dec 94)

Category identity of conjuncts

"I want to ... discover what light this sheds on both historical and socio- linguistics" (applicant's personal statement, Jan 94)

"All we want is to pass out and get drunk and a little peace!" (O'Neill, *The Iceman Cometh*, 691)

"... and the car roared into an illegal U-turn and away" (Pohl, *The Cool War*, 6)

"Be sure to browse in X for exquisite decorative and gift ideas" (WFMT commercial, Oct 94) 27

Gaping

"If I wished a boy to know something about the arts and sciences, for instance, I would not pursue the common course, which is merely to send him into the neighborhood of some professor, where any thing is professed and practised but the art of life;—to survey the world through a telescope or a microscope, and never with his natural eye; to study chemistry and not learn how his bread is made, or mechanics, and not learn how it is earned; ..." (Thoreau, *Walden*, 363; conjuncts as residues)

"Why does something seem missing no matter how splendid and summy the locales or likable the actors?" (Tribune Movies, 7 Oct 94; *how* as shared "Det"?)

What I intended was that Bill get back before 5 and/? but Mary not leave until after 6.

Parallelism of conjuncts

"She was a little shocked at the want of two drawing rooms, at the poor attempt at rout-cakes, and there being no ice in the Highbury card parties" (Austen, *Emma*, 291)

"Others were found by state or local officials, or by accident" (WFMT News, 29 Aug 94)

"They contend that Kronos has been nothing short of a disaster, with thousands of teachers paid late or incorrect amounts" (Sun-Times, 7 Sept 94)

RNR

Nothing has been added to or removed from it. (RNR, but no pause before shared item)

"Having spent grammar and high school in a Roman Catholic setting..." (Tribune Magazine letter, 28 Aug 94)

"Were you ever a Boy or a Girl Scout on a nature trip?" (Arch Oboler, "Ancestor")

"I notice others nearby whose names, if not always faces, I know" (NYT Travel, 14 Aug 94; RNR in a noncoordinate structure?)

Complements

"... and it supports that it is isomorphism invariant..." (Keenan, WCCFL 10:262)

"There have been calls for aid to Russia to be suspended" (BBC World Service, 24 Feb 94; *for* as P and Comp simultaneously?)

"You animals amaze me how you've learned to walk on your hind legs just like us humans"

(Boner's Ark, 2 June 94)

"It was strongly laced with chicory or some other substance <...> but it contained caffeine enough to shock his nervous system awake" (Pohl & Williamson, *Wall Around a Star*, 10)

"FBI employees who engage in sexual harassment will face losing their jobs" (WFMT News, 10 Aug 94)

"I have lov'd her ever since I saw her, and still I see her beautiful" (*Two Gent. Verona* II.1.63-4)

"We would like him to resign, and for a new search process to take place" (Deaf activist quoted in NYT Magazine, 28 Aug 94; conjoining of complements with and without *for*)

"Last week's Illinois Commerce Commission ruling that forbids Commonwealth Edison from collecting its Chicago franchise tax from suburban customers corrects a long-standing inequity" (Sun-Times editorial, 12 Sept 94)

"I'm going up and change my dress, Mother" (O'Neill, *A Touch of the Poet*, 197)

"But I'll bet you tink yuh're goin' out and lend a job, too" (O'Neill, *The Iceman Cometh*, 662)

Complementizer-deletion

"... if he gets de Hot Seat I won't go into no mournin'!... Not after his trowin' it in my face I'm a pimp" (O'Neill, *The Iceman Cometh*, 683-4)

"And you're the guy who kids himself he's through with the Movement!" (O'Neill, *The Iceman Cometh*, 666)

"Two windows, so glazed with grime one cannot see through them, are in the left wall, looking out on a backyard" (O'Neill, *The Iceman Cometh*, 565)

"... and when he finds fault, it is with evident reluctance and restraint, excepting where motives purely patriotic urge him to state roundly what it is for the benefit of his country & should be known" (Mrs. Trollope, quoted in Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*, 602)

"A soft drink and a couple of Twinkies didn't make a meal, but at least they informed my stomach my intentions were good" (Pohl, *Coming of the Quantum Cats*, 106)

"He turns on his ex-wife Tonya Harding, implicating she was in on the whole deal" (WLS teaser, 1 Feb 94, noted by PD)

"Given my clout as columnist does not extend to demanding DNA testing of dead presidents, I proposed that the mystery could not be solved definitely" (Rat Dog, Sun-Times, 19 Oct 94)

Complementizer selection

"Shapere suggests to compare, for instance, Dreyer's treatment of Kepler with Koyré's..." (Callebaut, *Taking the Naturalistic Turn*, 336)

"Howard resisted various early efforts to budge him from Chicago, and even accepted in 1970 to succeed Leonard Meyer as Chair of the Department of Music..." (UC Record, 13 May 93)

"Then again, just because the mother is younger doesn't mean the child will be brought up in a 'suitable home'" (Richard Roeper, Sun-Times, 3 Jan 94)

"There had never been a day like this one was looking to be" (Hagen, *Out of Time*, 7); "It don't look to me he's scared of yuh" (O'Neill, *The Iceman Cometh*, 652); "Deborah is forty-one, but looks to be no more than thirty" (O'Neill, *A Touch of the Poet*, 215)

"This'll prove who's right" (Mysterious Traveler: "Hideout")

"He signed a form... requesting the transaction to go ahead" (BBC, 7 Feb 94)

"They won't even try and find the killer of this girl's father" (BBC World Service, Feb. 14 94)

"So I remember to have heard" (Austen, *Emma*, 307)

"Over the old wooden bridges no traveller crossed, and neither the river nor the fishes avoided to glide between the abutments" (Thoreau, *A Week...*, 41)

"It is a rough and heedless fish, biting from impulse, without nibbling, and from impulse refraining to bite, and sculling indifferently past" (Thoreau, *A Week...*, 25)

"Her parents forbade her from pursuing a concert career, and she turned to teaching" (Tribune, 4 Aug 94)

"This arrangement had the purpose to prevent heated gas to reach the thermocouple by natural convection" (quote in Meyer, *Apposition in Contemporary English*, 124)

I hate/detest giving students low grades. I hate/*detest to give students low grades. (re Wierzbicka, *Semantics of Grammar*, 54)

What is it like to be a bat? What is it like being a bat? (re Wierzbicka, *Semantics of Grammar*, 70-71; latter elicits an answer from someone who is or has been a bat)

"Nokemets never thinks to retire; there's just too much to do, he says..." (*Asia Magazine*, 1 July 94, 13)

"Redon described the figure on the right as a 'magus or prophet,' who is perhaps assisting the woman on the left, with her head bowed reverently, choose the appropriate course" (Art Institute caption, Aug 94)

"Look at Tiffany cozy up to Aaron Hill!" (Luann, 22 Sept 94)

"We love that you took the crew to dinner" (Hager, 20 Nov 94)

Extraposition

"Well, Miss Melody, this is tiresome of me to stand here giving you a discourse on Harford family history" (O'Neill, *A Touch of the Poet*, 225; *this*, not *it*)

"There're things going on I don't understand!" (Pohl & Williamson, *Wall Around a Star*, 58)

P-deletion

"... the whole country set to work to discover the causes why Captain Hall had visited the United States, and why he had published his book" (Mrs. Trollope, quoted in Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*, 601; current English would have '...the causes of why...' or '...the reasons why...')
"What I became convinced is that <S>" (C. Rosen, 2 Nov 94)

Reduced

"... he seemed watching her intently..."; "He seemed often observing her" (Austen, *Emma*, 323, 341)

"No credible person saw the crimes committed or saw Simpson at the scene of the murder..." (Carl Rowan, 31 Aug 94)

Switch-reference causative

"What exactly do you expect to have happen?" (Tales from the Crypt)

Various constructions

Adverbs
"Kuhn has not much influenced the history of science; Popper has not much either" (Ron Giere, in Callebaut, *Taking the Naturalistic Turn*, 59)
But as linguists well know, languages change rapidly. *I well know that languages change rapidly.
"Jespersen (1961), like Curme, quite liberally defines opposition" (Meyer, *Apposition in Contemporary English*, 2)
"What they didn't know was that Donaldson was forced into these tactics because Deaver wouldn't let him properly question Reagan" (BBC World Service, 15 Mar)
"Prisoner rehabilitation is a joke, and a centuries-old one at that; but it had its serious uses, and one of them was to keep the prisoners busy. It didn't much matter at what" (Pohl, "My Lady Green Sleeves", 125; **It much matters* is * because *much* is a NPI, but **It greatly matters* is * too)
"People sometimes look at my life and think this is all effortlessly done" (Meryl Streep quoted in NYT Magazine, 18 Sept 94; *??* I effortlessly do all this)
"In no event can you long go on as you have done, Mr. Guthrie" (Anderson, *Harvest of Stars*, 395)
"Double crews were carried, so that all work could be quickly done" (Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*, 332)
"Like Dickens, to whom he has often been too facilely compared, he is a 'big' novelist..." (NYT Books, 4 Sept 94; *They have often too facilely compared him with Dickens)

Mr. Butts: But then I think of the 50 million people who still smoke and how much they continue to need me... and that perks me right up. (Doonesbury, 21 Mar 94)
"... there was still such an evil hanging over her in the hour of explanation with Harriet, as made it impossible for Emma to be ever perfectly at ease" (Austen, *Emma*, 157)
"But this memory was too much for the old lady, and she broke entirely down" "... the tendency to lug in by the ears particularly prized words and phrases until they were worn entirely out" (Twain, *Tam Sawyer*, 101, 135)
"Well, he cried and took on so, that me and Jim didn't know hardly what to do, we was so sorry..." (Huckleberry Finn, 146)
"Madame President had got clean away" (Pohl, *Coming of the Quantum Cats*, 193)
"I told you before to let the paint dry before switching the fan back on!" (Beattie Blvd., 28 July 94)
"Search Back On for Couple Missing 24 Years" (Sun-Times headline, 4 Aug 94)
"You know, you guys have snuck in and eaten all the desserts too a few times, I might remind ya" (Overboard, 28 July 94)
"Einstein's first wife was probably already pregnant again when they give up their illegitimate daughter, Lieserl, for adoption at the age of a year and a half" (NYT Books, 18 Sept 94)
"Below them, the Civic Center began to wheel sickeningly around..." (King, *Insomnia*, 720)
"... if you don't, I think you're going to pass right out on your feet" (King, *Insomnia*, 537)

Ambient *it*
"It is the greatest absurdity — Actually snowing at this moment!" (Austen, *Emma*, 134; absence of ambient *it*)

Auxiliary verbs
"<Milton's father> was a man eminent for his skill in music, many of his compositions being still to be found" (Signet *Selected Writings of Samuel Johnson*, 309; nonfinite form of *is to*)
"No, we should not have heard, if it had not been for this particular circumstance, of her being to come here so soon" (Austen, *Emma*, 173)

Only under these conditions can the clause not be passivized. (= only(not(can(...)))
*Only under these conditions can't the clause be passivized.
(Cf. "Can we not bring him next time?" (Overboard, 7 Oct 94), which is Q(can(not(...)))
Can't this clause be passivized?
Can this clause not be passivized? (? with not(can()) reading)
I can no longer pay your bills. (= no longer + I can pay your bills)

"...you didn't want to give me the satisfaction of showing me I'd had the right dope. And I did have!" (O'Neill, *The Iceman Cometh*, 689; non-tensed main verb *have* retained)
"Ought libertarians consider themselves men of the Right?" (Liberty Jan 95, 10)

A: <Ruchko may challenge Yeltsin for the presidency>. B: He may well do. (BBC World Service, 24 Feb 94)

Cleft and pseudo-cleft
"Nobody likes to drive directly behind them because all you get is salt in your car" (Carol P, Dec 93)
"I think that's why she still respects you, because it was you left her"; "He's a liar, Rocky! It was mé locked him out!" (O'Neill, *The Iceman Cometh*, 635, 667)
"Don't be wishin' him harm, for it's thirsty we'd be without him" (O'Neill, *A Touch of the Poet*, 235; Irish speaker)
"Be God, it's you can bate the world and never let it change you!" (O'Neill, *A Touch of the Poet*, 230; Irish speaker)
"I'm leaving with my two fists is when I'm leaving" (O. J. Simpson, quoted in South China Morning Post, 27 June 94)
"You can always come up with plausible-sounding numbers in a feasibility study, but in the worst-case scenario who will pay in the end are the taxpayers" (expert quoted in Dec 94 Reason)

Comparative
"The hell of skunks like McComber is that after being with them ten minutes you become as big skunks as they are" (O'Neill, *Ah, Wilderness!*, 22)
"She [= Davenport IA] sends more children to her schools now, than her whole population numbered twenty-three years ago" (Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*, 566)
"He was having good times now; for his boss, George Ealer, was as kind-hearted as Brown was n't" (Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*, 347)
John is 20 pounds heavier than Mary. Mary is 20 pounds lighter than John.
Mary is 20 pounds less heavy than John. *John is 20 pounds less light than Mary.
"The surprising thing about Sharon Lawrence is how much younger and slimmer she looks than Sylvia Costas, Detective Andy Sipowicz's lady friend on ABC's 'NYPD Blue'" (Sun-Times, 2 Aug 94)
"The base we had captured was stuffed fuller of goodies than a Christmas stocking" (Pohl, *Coming of the Quantum Cats*, 123)
"What I was more than anything else was in the way" (Pohl, *Coming of the Quantum Cats*, 241)
Tom is as good a lawyer as Bill (is). *Tom is as good a lawyer as Bill and Joan are.
?? Bill and Joan.

?Bill and Joan are as good lawyers as Fred and Nancy are.
* Tom (is).
"His delivery was quiet, though perhaps that made it the more effective on these hearers" (Anderson, *Harvest of Stars*, 341; = that much more effective)
"The war against the Jews was not as big box office as the war itself" (NYT Arts, 6 Nov 94)
comparative Stripping
"Where can I eat Italian as fancy as French?" (Chicago, Nov 93, 77)
"The sharp nature of cabbage acts as a counterpoint to rich duck, just as cole slaw can to greasy barbecue" (NYT Mag, 16 Jan 94)

Comparative-conditional
"The sail locker on board the *Vasa* did little to protect the sails during their centuries under water, but the condition of the cloth improved the deeper we went into the folded layers" (Scientific American Feb 94, 10; notional comparative in 'apodosis')
"The longer you wait, the less you will end up spending for more power" (South China Morning Post, 28 June 94; double comparative only in apodosis?)
The more noise a machine makes when I'm using it, probably the more damage I'm doing to it.

comparative congeners
"So the figures suggest that women executives harass men in the same proportion as men harass women" (Crichton, *Disclosure*, quoted in 19 Jan 94 Sun-Times)
"If she hadn't been so damned good—if she hadn't been the same kind of wife I was a husband" (O'Neill, *The Iceman Cometh*, 698)
The curtains are the same color as the towels.
Cut the meat the same same size as the vegetables. (= the same size the vegetables are, or = the same size that you cut the vegetables)
"I would at least strike my spade into the earth with such careless freedom but accuracy as the woodpecker his bill into a tree" (Thoreau, *A Week...*, 45; NB 3-part residue)

metalinguistic

"But this is more a detective than science fiction story by the author previously of 'Neuromancer' and 'Mona Lisa Overdrive'" (Tribune Books, 24 June 94)

Y-deletion, Gapping, etc. in comparative

"She got sick of the others before they did of her" (O'Neill, *The Iceman Cometh*, 635)

"There must have been something there he was even more scared to face than he is Hickey and me!" (O'Neill, *The Iceman Cometh*, 685)

Conditional

"Walk past the White House last week and you ran the risk of being yanked inside to brief Bill Clinton on his upcoming trip to Europe" (Newsweek, 17 Jan 94, 24, noticed by P. Daniels)

Dative

"I really love babies! I think I'll have myself another one of them." (Jump Start, 20 Jan 94)

Imperative

"Let you stop now, Father!" (O'Neill, *A Touch of the Poet*, 243)

"Let's us go too, Tom" (Twain, *Tam Sawyer*, 106)

Interrogative

"What sort of looking man is Mr Martin?" (Austen, *Emma*, 58)

*I don't know what tomorrow to do.

"What we have in these cases is a special kind of status symbol — a disidentifier — that the individual hopes will shelter an otherwise wise coherent picture, telling others not what he is but what he isn't quite" (Goffman, *Encounters*, 146; cf. *What isn't he quite?)

Rider: They didn't now I left a tachyon receiver down at the temple.

Pertin: Score one for our side! And against that, what don't we know? (Pohl & Williamson, *Wall Around a Star*, 152)

Fred's been behaving strangely, 'hasn't the bastard. ... 'hasn't he? *... 'hasn't the bastard?

Inversions

"Back the appointment book went into his pocket, and then he was off" (Damasio, *Descartes' Error*, 194)

"Then—and only then—are the strips rushed to your dairy case" (Doonesbury, 12 Jan 94; only the [here parenthetical] second conjunct creates the conditions for inversion)

"Left unsaid was that the U.S. Figure Skating Association, a federation within the USOC, was given the ammunition by its own panel a week ago to drop Harding from the Olympics and passed the buck" (LA Times story in China Post, 15 Feb 94)

"I was powerful glad to get away from the feuds, and so was Jim to get away from the swamp" (*Huckleberry Finn*, 739; so without V-del)

"Well, you can do me a good turn, and so can I you, if we see fit" (Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*, 451)

"Especially in the United States is his whole enterprise viewed with bilious eye" (Mencken, *Prejudices* 4.275)

"The nice part about day is that you can see what you're doing. The bad part is that so can everybody else" (Dennis the Menace, 18 Sept 94)

"So uneven were the cast's performances that towards the season's end, Mr. Michaels felt compelled to call a rare cast meeting..." (NYT Arts, 2 Oct 94)

"The Club's immediate neighbors and fellow tenants are the Dao Thai restaurant, ... and Moe's Deli, all destined for the wrecking ball and for none of which has anyone claimed landmark status" (R. Coffey, Sun-Times, 21 Oct 94)

Negation

"Not a neon sign flickered; nor did a traffic light wink, an elevator move, or a motor hum, anywhere" (Hogan, *Out of Time*, 107)

"The life of one man, nor of a dozen men, cannot stand in my way" (Mysterious Traveler, "Beware of tomorrow")

A: My eyes might look different next time. B: Not what's behind them won't. (*The Blackboard Jungle*, movie)

"... four men jailed in England for IRA bombings they never committed" (BBC, 10 Feb 94; *... they didn't ever commit)

"Harriet, who had been standing in no unhappy reverie, was yet very glad to be called from it" (Austen, *Emma*, 398; = a reverie which was not unhappy)

"I'll learn people to bring up a boy to put on airs over his own father and let on to be better'n what

he is. You lemme catch you fooling around that school again, you hear?" (*Huckleberry Finn*, 644; means 'Don't let me catch you...')

Contrastive

"This La Monte was not a Baltimorean, but a native of Brooklyn, nor was he a newspaper man, but a lawyer" (Mencken, *My Life as Author and Editor*, 30)

Negative polarity

"It's impossible for shops like his to afford insurance" (BBC World Service, Feb. 14 94)

"Asking the same questions recently, I found few New York-area girls who were calm about anything" (*Playboy*, Aug 94, 150)

"No pool for me that day. No church. No sneaking off to watch the Cubs game. No anything but calculating down payments and points and the pitfalls in transferring a Torrens title" (Pohl, *Coming of the Quantum Cats*, 47)

"It was not long afterward that he ever mentioned his differences with her to me, and then he was very circumspect..." (Mencken, *My Life as Author and Editor*, 137)

"Ultimately, I know that companies could care a hoot about the Latino market" (Nelly Galén, quoted in NYT Magazine, 11 Dec 94)

"People trying to quit can try smoking fewer cigarettes, but soon they end up smoking just as many as they used to. Switching to 'low-tar,' 'low-nicotine' cigarettes usually does little good either" (authority quoted in 23 Dec 94 Sun-Times)

"You don't know shit about shit" (Olson, *Virtual Light*, 274)

Negative raising

A: I hope I won't hear any screams. B: I don't guess you will. (Mysterious Traveler: "Hideout")

"Don't pretend to notice, eh? And don't you kids, you hear! And don't you, Lily." (O'Neill, *Ah, Wilderness!*, 39; evidently means "Pretend not to notice")

"Your going away doesn't make it seem good any more" (line uttered by Lauren Becall in "Dark Passage")

Mary: Have another drink yourself, if you wish, Cathleen.

Cathleen: I don't know if I'd better, Miss. (O'Neill, *Long Day's Journey*, 774; Irish speaker)

"I don't notice you've worn any holes in the knees of your pants going to Mass" (O'Neill, *Long Day's Journey*, 759)

Negative spreading

"We hadn't ever been this rich before, in neither of our lives" (*Huckleberry Finn*, 699)

"A feller don't have only one chance for such a pile—and that one's lost" "They ain't only two taverns" (Twain, *Tam Sawyer*, 166; context makes clear that the *not* is pleonastic) "Bless yo' soul, Misto Wilson, it's pow'ful nice o' you to say dat, 'ca'se one o' 'em ain't only a nigger" (*Pudd'nhead Wilson*, 925)

Nominalization

"U.S. sees rehearing into gay's commission" (Tribune headline, 31 Dec 93)

"I would at least strike my spade into the earth with such careless freedom but accuracy as the woodpecker his bill into a tree" (Thoreau, *A Week...*, 45)

"But chiefly for thy face and thy behavior, which if my augury deceive me not, willness good bringing up..." (*Two Gent. Verona* IV.iv.67)

"He's one of the recent commissionees by the Chicago Symphony Orchestra" (P. Morehead, WFMT, 9 Oct 94)

"And some sufferers from migraine headaches also report star sightings as the headache begins" (Tribune, 10 Oct 94)

"... some 53 percent ~~of~~ our murders were committed by strangers to the victims" (R. Coffey, Sun-Times, 6 Dec 94)

"The looking over his letter again, in replying to it, had such a softening tendency, that it was particularly necessary to brace her up with a few decisive expressions" (Austen, *Emma*, 81); "At this moment, an ingenious and animating suspicion entering Emma's brain with regard to Jane Fairfax, this charming Mr Dixon, and the not going to Ireland, ..." (173); "I knew nothing of that till this moment—but the cutting the finger, and my recommending court plaister, and saying I had none about me!" (335)

"... the most lucrative [business] was the enticing slaves to run away from their masters, that they might sell them in another quarter" (book quoted in Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*, 405)

A: Ira, do you mind these long, cold walks to school?

B: No. It's the finally getting there that I can't stand. (Miss Peach, 28 Oct 94)

Parenthetical

"They sang together once more, and Emma would then resign her place to Miss Fairfax, whose performance, both vocal and instrumental, she never could attempt to conceal from herself, was infinitely superior to her own" (Austen, *Emma*, 235)

"Instead, then, of starting with the notion of a definition of the situation we must start with the idea that a particular definition is *in charge of the situation*, ..." (Goffman, *Encounters*, 133)

"He might even, they say, come up with a tax increase larger than that proposed by his Democratic challenger, Dawn Clark Netsch" (Raymond Coffey, Sun-Times, 3 Nov 94)

"He glides past, without comment, the fact that Charles cuckolded a friend of longstanding..." (Tribune Books, 11 Dec 94)

Passive

"... and suddenly I was leaped upon by a wild <fury?>" (*Mysterious Traveler*, "Behind the locked door")

"<If ORS were widely used, the world's relief agencies> would be saved 15 billion dollars a year" (BBC World Service, Feb. 14 94)

"He had been sitting with her, it appeared, most companionably at home, till her usual hour of exercise; and on being desired to chuse their walk, immediately fixed on Highbury" (Austen, *Emma*, 208)

"... and she was made such a fuss with by every body!..." (Austen, *Emma*, 180); "You want to be petted and spoiled and made a fuss over, isn't that it?" (O'Neill, *Long Day's Journey*, 768)

"But she was not wanted to speak" (Austen, *Emma*, 99)

"In all probability she was at this very time waited for there" (Austen, *Emma*, 441)

"But you'll never be let see him!" (O'Neill, *A Touch of the Poet*, 249)

"The hand horn was still being written for by Brahms" (G. Williams, WFMT, 4 Sept 94)

"If it weren't for the Illinois lemon law, he would have been more taken advantage of" (Carol P, 28 July 94)

"Virtually no facilities will be closed and no lines are planned to be eliminated" (Santa Fe Railroad chairman, quoted in 14 Oct Sun-Times)

"I should have expected it after seeing... O. J. Simpson's lawyer being glared at by Judge Lance Ito because his portable phone kept going off in the courtroom" (Royko, 18 Nov 94)

"...so many things that are helped make possible by your contributions" (WFMT, 15 Nov 94)

"He expands it so the second part of the melody will have been modulated to" (C. Rosen, 30 Nov 94)

"Actually, what the chimps were really doing was more interesting than what they were claimed to be doing" (Pinker, *The Language Instinct*, 338; ??X claimed the chimps to be doing Y)

"I share the writer's concern that children not be held captive for advertisers. But she is painfully naive if she believes that children are not already being advertised to in public schools" (Liberty Jan 95, 7)

"To date, the only presidents who have served long enough to be prevented a third term have been Eisenhower and Reagan, Republicans both" (Liberty Jan 95, 9; *The 22nd amendment prevented Eisenhower and Reagan a third term)

"Information gathered after the event can hardly be argued relevant" (prosecutor quoted in 19 Dec 94 Tribune; *They argued that information relevant)

"People produce more than they use—at least they can, if they're let 0" (Hogan, *Multiplex Man*, 165)

"They went in; and while the sleek, well-tied parcels of 'Men's Beavers' and 'York Tan' were bringing down and displaying on the counter, he said — 'But I beg your pardon, Miss Woodhouse, ...'" (Austen, *Emma*, 211; modern English: ...were being brought down and displayed...); "The cold repeat was over, and the party were to go out once more... perhaps get as far as the clover, which was to begin cutting on the morrow, ..." (356) "And how could she bear such behaviour!... to look on, while repeated attentions were offering to another woman..." (388)

"... he had enough experience to make him more or less useful in any other magazine office, and plenty of jobs were offering at the time..." (Mencken, *My Life as Author and Editor*, 49)

Presentative

"My rise back from the political dead has given people a sense of hope that here's Marion Barry, who was internationally embarrassing, abandoned by his friends, and he has come back to be better than he was before he went down" (M. Barry, quoted in NYT Magazine, 11 Sept 94)

"It looks as if here's what God did" (Lila Gleitman, LSA Presidential Address, 7 Jan 94)

"Out of the subway and into the Polo Grounds pour fans by the thousands" (PBS "Baseball" 7)

"In he walked, the first and the handsomest; and after paying his compliments en passant to Miss Bates and her niece, made his way directly to the opposite side of the circle, where sat Miss Woodhouse" (Austen, *Emma*, 229)

"... passing by an old cemetery where we were told lie the ashes of an early pirate..." (Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*, 486)

Raising

"Animals will also be banned from being used in racing or as prizes, according to the bill" (China Post, 6 May 94)

"He makes a personal inspection of the place where <relief> is asked, sees what is necessary to be done, and then, having two boats chartered, with flats, sends them promptly to the place..." (1882 newspaper, quoted in Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*, 502)

"The cartoons will continue to be drawn by two cartoonists Ketcham has hired" (Sun-Times, 24 Oct 94)

"The fact that so many would-be diners therefore give up is probably what has given rise to the defeatist notion that the lettuce was not intended to be eaten anyway" (Miss Manners, 13 Aug 94)

"If you ... want to help peace be established in the middle east..." (BBC, 10 Feb 94)

Father: I promise you Calvin will behave himself next time.

Babysitter: An extra five would help there be a next time. (Calvin and Hobbes, 28 Oct 94)

Superlative

"Indeed, what is it about *Cyrano* that has made it the most performed of all French plays — more even than Molière's comic masterpieces?" (*The World and I*, Aug 90, 183)

"the least knowledgeable of any president I've ever met" (Tip O'Neill description of Ronald Reagan, quoted in 6 Jan 94 Boston Globe)

"Brussels was the most receptive city of all to Fauré's music" (Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré*, 276)

"Pinewood and Shepperton studios, which have been struggling for the past decade, now say they are the busiest they have been for 11 years" (South China Morning Post, 12 July 94)

There-insertion

"... there wouldn't nothing go wrong again for a week" (*Huckleberry Finn*, 728)

"Well, hang it all, you did dream it, because there didn't any of it happen" (*Huckleberry Finn*, 708)

"Huck, they couldn't anybody get you to tell, could they?" (Twain, *Tom Sawyer*, 143; they = standard *there*; cf. 201: "...but there's a mighty short cut that they don't anybody but me know about", where *they* and *there* both occur)

"For the first time in history, there begins to show itself the faint shadow of a hope that, if all goes well, leadership in the arts, and especially in all the art of letters, may eventually transfer itself from the eastern shore of the Atlantic to the western shore" (Mencken, *Prejudices* 4.282)

"Did there come into your possession a ledger belonging to Angelo Morino?" "Did there come a point during the Lenardi investigation when you discovered X?" (NYPD Blue, 11 Oct 94)

"My interpretation of this phenomenon is that in the absence of on-line input from the missing limb, there prevails the on-line input from a dispositional representation of that limb" (Damasio, *Descartes' Error*, 152)

Tough-like constructions

"It's good country for hiding out from the law in too" (*Mysterious Traveler*, "Killer come home")

"The delicacy of her mind throughout the whole engagement, my dear madam, is much beyond my power of doing justice to" (Austen, *Emma*, 425)

"Roy is a very uncomfortable person to be around" (wife of abortion opponent, quoted in 30 Oct 94 NYT Magazine)

"I only hope and pray that you live long enough to get even with" ("Take me home again", NBC)

"Widespread, instantaneous communications. And nearly invisible to use" (Don Crabb software review, Sun-Times, 19 Dec 94)

Miscellaneous constructions

"Here is a town of twelve or thirteen thousand population, with electric lighted streets, ..." (Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*, 570)

"How would you feel if your local politicians gave the OK for a rock quarry to start blasting away within 110 feet of your home and 300 feet of a Little League ballpark?" (R. Coffey, Sun-Times, 6

Sept 94)

"What's this I hear that you feel Whitt Sparks is stalking you?" (Apt. 30, 8 Aug 94)
"You can have a naval base, is what I'm saying" (Dave Barry interview, Reason, Dec 94)
"Yadim... directs this beach comedy about a loosely moralized coquette..." (Tribune, 1 Nov 94)
We'll go shopping whether or not it rains. I don't know whether (*or not) it rained.

Categories

I'm very much ashamed of that. *I'm very much sorry about that.
"Harriet, she found, had never in her life been within side the Vicarage" (Austen, *Emma*, 108)
not very long ago

"Surgery requires acts unbecoming a surgeon, just as mothering requires acts that are unmaternal" (Goffman, *Encounters*, 134; [A: A NP]?)

He cleaned a different room with/*using each mop.

This is the mop with /*using which I cleaned up the mess.

"I would not have any one adopt my mode of living on any account; for, beside [that before he has fairly learned it I may have found out another for myself], I desire that there may be as many different persons in the world as follows..." (Thoreau, *Walden*, 378)

"I knew that all save a forlorn few of them were trying to work him to their own ends, and I said so" (Mencken, *My Life as Author and Editor*, 223; few as N?)

"One of the most surprising things was that we were meeting some pretty top people..." (Sen. Muckowski, quoted in 14 Dec 94 Sun-Times)

NP as A'

"He'll pretend he's found something serious the matter because that's his bread and butter" (O'Neill, *Long Day's Journey*, 769)

Prepositions

"Indeed, the distance between mainstream history of science and the philosophy of science is probably greater than it has ever been, notwithstanding that many historians of science still take philosophical issues seriously" (L. Laudan, *Studies in the History & Philosophy of Science* 20.9)

"... Huck was sore afraid that his share in the business might leak out, yet, notwithstanding Injun Joe's flight had saved him the suffering of testifying in court" (Twain, *Tom Sawyer*, 148)

Nouveaux prépositions

"People attributed this to the dollar's strength versus other currencies" (South China Morning Post, 30 June 94)

"More Charges Vs. Bailey?" (Sun-Times headline, 3 Aug 94)

"You could not have predicted the changes that occurred based on a knowledge of the individual species' sensitivity to water temperature" (zoologist quoted in *SciAm*, Aug 94, 18)

"Given most robberies using a handgun carry sentences as high as 20 to 30 years, we figured we could put a lot of guys away for 10 years or more" (undercover police agent quoted in NYT Magazine, 16 Sept 94)

P' as A'

"You must think one five hundred million times more above me than the other" (Austen, *Emma*, 397)

P' as object of P

"The bill did contain a list of exceptions, including for meals and entertainment offered in a lawmaker's home state, and for gifts motivated by 'personal friendship'" (China Post, 13 May 94)

"We agreed to record for our private reference, including in discussions like this" (Anderson, *Harvest of Stars*, 392)

"Small, eclectic bar, great for before and after Sox games" (Sun-Times tavern review, 9 Aug 94)

"Cheering for Charles was like rooting for the Columbia Lions, but instead of on a gridiron, this contest was being played out in <a> TV studio" (NYT Magazine, 21 Aug 94)

Mr. Dithers: What's that candy bar doing on your desk?

Dagwood: It's for if I get hungry. (Blondie, 4 Nov 94)

"... it was not until toward the end of the year that I met her" (Mencken, *My Life as Author and Editor*, 142)

Zero

He works (*in) downtown. (/n blocked by Ø?)

The national debt increases every second by \$8,000. They increased every salary by \$8,000.

The national debt increases by \$8,000 every second. ??They increased by \$8,000 every salary.

(the one pair has a Ø P, the other doesn't)

"We've heard Harry pull that bluff about taking a walk every birthday he's had for twenty years" (O'Neill, *The Iceman Cometh*, 639)

"The singers who play the Ploids... boast voices as creamy as the wedding-cake white tuxedo jackets they wear most of the performance" (Tribune, 19 Oct 94)

"I paid her back, the first money I earned" (O'Neill, *The Iceman Cometh*, 695 = when I earned the first money that I earned; Øp + Telescoping?)

"Since we're different religions we'll probably have to get married outside the church" (Crock, 17 Nov 94)

Structure of NPs

"As the ease of acquiring Medicaid increases or Medicaid payments become more generous, fewer elderly receive substantial day-to-day help from their children" (economists quoted in *Reason*, Feb 94, 12)

"But she can be awfully funny, and Winger... transforms her into a warm vessel of life force until almost the end" (Boston Globe, 7 Jan 94)

"Show me 100 head of ordinary children who are worth one 'Heart of Darkness,' and I'll subside" (Mencken, *Prejudices* 4.141)

He didn't do a whole hell of a lot. He didn't do a whole lot. That's a (*whole) hell of a good book. You need lots (*of) more (*of) examples. You need lots of examples.

Who didn't bring how many of what? (cf. Who didn't bring how many (*of) apples?)

"Among female readers and especially writers, there is no more sacred a cow in all of literature than 'Little Women'" (NYT Books, 25 Dec 94; = no cow more sacred?)

Adverbial constituents of NP

"Corder's death in such a public manner stunned his family and friends, but they knew he was in emotional trouble" (Tribune, 13 Sept 94)

"Seldom a day passed that she was not mentioned in the newspapers, and seldom a week that did not see her favor the country with some new revelation, full of inside stuff" (Mencken, *My Life as Author and Editor*, 343)

Apposition

I don't want to get in you guys' way. (NB: not *your guys'*; shows *you guys'* isn't apposition)

He offered two arguments: one an argument from ignorance and the other circular.

"In the dead of winter he and Henri de Tonty, son of Lorenzo Tonty, who invented the tontine, his lieutenant, started down the Illinois, with a following of eighteen Indians brought from New England, and twenty-three Frenchmen" (Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*, 235)

"Nome hit a record high Monday of 40—above zero" (Tribune, 29 Dec 93; extraposition of "appositive" of 40; cf. *He visited the city last week of Boston)

"On December 14, 1600—the year Shakespeare wrote *Hamlet*, the year the first crude telescope was invented in the Netherlands—a Spanish merchant galleon called *San Diego*.. sailed from Manila Bay..." (*Nat. Geogr.* Aug 94, 36)

"... she had not heard of George Lakoff or Mark Johnson, a linguist and a philosopher who have certainly had the body in their minds" (Damasio, *Descartes' Error*, 223)

Articles

"Blackwell, driven by an alcoholic impulse rarely encountered in so normally abstemious a man, threw back his second double bourbon..." (Sheckley, *Hunter/Victim*, 23; = a [normally so abstemious] man)

"We're selling it all over the world, and making a nice few bucks for the balance of payments" (Pohl, *The Cool War*, 114)

"... and it surpassed the dollar four cents per share that it earned last year" (WFMT, 11 Oct 94)

"For example, a caterpillar, chrysalis, and butterfly are in a crucial sense the same animal" (Pinker, *The Language Instinct*, 422)

"...a cold January could be offset by a warm December and February..." (NYT, 11 Dec 94)

Extraposition of P'

"I'd say the chances are slim of a cat going to dog heaven by mistake" (Heathcliff, 10 Nov 94)

"<They> put the number killed each year like this at several thousand" (BBC World Service, Feb. 14 94)

Gaping in NP

"As a graduate student, I attended my first meeting at this Academy—a concert in 1956, commemorating the 250th anniversary of Franklin's birth and the 200th of Mozart's" (AAAS

Bulletin, Oct 94, 23; cf. ??the 250th anniversary of Franklin's birth was celebrated by more people than the 200th of Mozart's)

"Think of this as a successor to Brad Gooch's biography of Frank O'Hara last year, Linda Hamilton's of Kenneth Rexroth two years ago, or Martin Duberman's of Paul Robeson a few years before" (*Liberty*, Dec 94, 65)

Genitive

"Yes, sir, I *have* got a reputation; and it's as good as anybody's in the profession, too, country or no country" (*Puddin'head Wilson*, 1006)

"...next door's gardener..." (Fred Basset, 1 July 94)

the possibility of extraposition in such structures

*extraposition's possibility in such structures

its possibility in such structures (with *it* referring to 'extraposition')

"Donna, give Detective Lesniak the address on Andy's homicide" (NYPD Blue, 25 Oct 94; = the homicide that Andy is investigating)

Modifier preposing

"... my frustration at having to repeat the same sound bites for one after another television, radio, or print interviewer" (D. Tannen, Washington Post, 21 Nov 93)

"Now you can have the furniture you've been wanting, at lower-than-ever prices" (commercial, WFMT, Aug 94)

"If the jet pack fails, Discovery's pilots will rescue the drift astronaut as both ship and spacewalker circle the Earth at 17,500m.p.h." (Tribune, 6 Sept 94)

"Pale eyes were set deep in a face seamed and craggy" (Anderson, *Harvest of Stars*, 195; without the conjoining, preposing would be obligatory: *a face seamed/craggy)

N's

"Ramey—a witty Figaro, seductive Don Giovanni and menacing Attila—has made practically every part he sings a stellar role" (Tribune Arts, 11 Sept 94)

"Divorced and the father of a 16-year-old son and 24-year-old daughter, Wasley said he'd like to see Clinton again" (Sun-Times, 31 Aug 94)

"... Leontes' totally unfounded jealousy of his wife Hermione and best friend Polixenes festers and then bursts forth" (HP Herald, 16 Nov 94)

"Besides, I now know that in exchange for every flea bath I've given, vet bill I've paid, and meal I've dished out, I've added hours to my life" (*Health*, Nov 94, 6)

RNR

"The 23 studio and 19 live tracks that make up this collection are a passionate representation of Goodman's unique versatility" (Sun-Times, 7 Nov 94)

"Ricobene's, operating out of three South Side and one downtown addresses, ..." (Sun-Times, 14 Nov 94)

Relative clauses and congeners

"...but this is another instance which may confirm Dalrymple's observation who says, 'that whenever Burnet's narrations are examined, he appears to be mistaken'" (Signet *Selected Writings of Samuel Johnson*, 331)

"It will not be back next season, as originally planned" (NYT Arts, 15 May 94; meaning is that it was originally planned that that opera *would* be back next season)

"And at last, when it hit me all of a sudden that here was the plain hand of Providence slapping me in the face and letting me know my wickedness was being watched all the time from up there in heaven, whilst I was stealing a poor old woman's nigger that hadn't ever done me no harm..." (*Huckleberry Finn*, 833; context makes clear that the relative clause modifies *a poor old woman*)

"His father, who has reclined into an armchair with the ease of the raconteur he is famous for being, nods emphatically" (NYT Arts, 7 Aug 94; RC on predicate NP)

Free

"You've had your reasons for doing what you did how you did" (Anderson, *Harvest of Stars*, 314; You had reasons for doing it how you did ??it/* \emptyset).

You had reasons for doing it the way you did (it)).

"No children, which is why they can do what else they do" (Anderson, *Harvest of Stars*, 185)

"Besides being a councillor and judge in this community, he's the purchasing agent for whatever supplies that its industries need from outside sources" (Anderson, *Harvest of Stars*, 28)

"Can you direct me to whoever's business it is?" (NYPD Blue? Nov 94)

"When the experiment was repeated a few months later..., Elliot behaved no differently from how

he did in real-life situations, where his errors have persisted" (Damasio, *Descartes' Error*, 214)

Nonrestrictive

"To Isabella, the relief of such tidings was very great, and they were scarcely less acceptable to Emma on her father's account, who was immediately set as much at ease on the subject as his nervous condition allowed" (Austen, *Emma*, 147)

"Luther's attitude toward the Jews furnishes an extreme example, and one may contrast his position with Hegel's, who is often charged with having conceived of freedom merely as the freedom to agree and conform" (Kaufmann, *Nietzsche*, 165)

"She need no longer be unhappy about Jane, whose troubles and whose ill health having, of course, the same origin, must be equally under cure" (Austen, *Emma*, 393; single RC with two relative expressions)

"After breakfast they went whooping and prancing out on the bar, and chased each other round and round, shedding clothes as they went, until they were naked, and then continued the frolic faraway up the shoal of water of the bar, against the stiff current, which latter tripped their legs from under them from time to time and greatly increased the fun" (Twain, *Tom Sawyer*, 104)

"Symphonies are referred to by their number in Mandyczewski's list prepared for the publishers Breitkopf and Härtel, which numbers were adopted by Hoboken" (Landon & ●, *Haydn: Life and Times*, ●)

"... this seed [= yeast] I regularly and faithfully procured from the village, till at length one morning I forgot the rules, and scalded my yeast; by which accident I discovered that even this was not indispensable..." (Thoreau, *Walden*, 372)

"My purpose in going to Walden Pond was not to live cheaply nor to live dearly there, but to transact some private business with the fewest obstacles; to be hindered from accomplishing which for want of a little common sense, a little enterprise and business talent, appeared not so sad as foolish" (Thoreau, *Walden*, 338)

"You had to be under fifteen or Japanese to understand anything these days. Or one of those people whose business it was, like Larry — and which Larry never let slip an opportunity to demonstrate" (Hogan, *Multiplex Man*, 12)

Omission of that

"That's the one thing \emptyset can make her cheerful" (O'Neill, *Long Day's Journey*, 774; Irish speaker)

"In de old days, people \emptyset calls me 'nigger' wakes up in de hospital" (O'Neill, *The Iceman Cometh*, 589)

"Never refused a drink to anyone \emptyset needed it bad in my life!" (O'Neill, *The Iceman Cometh*, 573)

"If I've been through with the Movement long since, it's been through with him, and, thanks to whiskey, he's the only one \emptyset doesn't know it" (O'Neill, *The Iceman Cometh*, 571)

"Hell, yuh'd tink I wuz a pimp or somethin'. Everybody \emptyset knows me knows I ain't!" (O'Neill, *The Iceman Cometh*, 571)

"Well, it was me \emptyset let her go, so don't take out your rage on poor Mother" (O'Neill, *A Touch of the Poet*, 119)

"Oh, she's the kind \emptyset would be polite to the hangman, and her on the scaffold" (O'Neill, *A Touch of the Poet*, 221)

"You keep on slaving for him when it's that \emptyset has made you old before your time!" (O'Neill, *A Touch of the Poet*, 192)

"Nora was as pretty a girl as you'd find in a year's travel, and he'd come to be bitter lonely, with no woman's company but the whores \emptyset was helpin' him ruin the estate" (O'Neill, *A Touch of the Poet*, 187)

"She lov'd me well [\emptyset delivered it to me]" (*Two Gent. Verano* iv.iv.71)

"She hadn't had a single friend \emptyset liked Lowell much" (Gibson, *Virtual Light*, 262)

"Now they were walking past this bagel place \emptyset had a sort of iron cage outside, welded out of junk..." (Gibson, *Virtual Light*, 259)

"But from her description he knew her asshole up in the Morrissey had been the same one \emptyset got himself the Cuban necktie..." (Gibson, *Virtual Light*, 243)

"He said he spent every penny of it [we didn't recover] at Thee Dollhouse" (police officer quoted in 28 Sept 94 Sun-Times)

"<The conductor or the stage director> may interrupt the proceedings at any point they choose to do so" (Danny Newman, Lyric Opera rehearsal, 25 Oct 94)

"He strips to display that scar on his back he got from a native spear whenever he's completely

plastered" (O'Neill, *The Iceman Cometh*, 583-4)

Pseudo-relative

"There's no cause left worth fighting for, Frank" (*The Blackboard Jungle*, movie)

Reduced

"For guilt of the kind then dealt with by those courts met with the reprehension of practically all men not professional criminals themselves" (Mencken, *Prejudices* 4.86; reduced to extended NP)

"The premise of this [alarmist though still worthwhile] book is that the global monetary system is on the brink of disaster..." (NYT Books, 24 July 94)

Resumptive pronoun

"There are people, who the more you do for them, the less they will do for themselves" (Austen, *Emma*, 115)

"... *this* is a girl that I'm letting that old reptile rob her of her money... and *this* is *another* one that I'm letting him rob her of her money!" (*Huckleberry Finn*, 796)

Syntactic metonymy, amalgams, mimicry

"In this way he acquired a vast hoard of all sorts of learning, and had it pigeon-holed in his head where he could put his intellectual hand on it whenever it was wanted" (Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*, 561)

"Even after he got the archival goods on Stalin, he continued to revere Lenin..." (NYT Books, 13 Nov 94)

Mental space phenomena

"Our favorite was a place in a cellar, also in Lexington Avenue, kept by a fat Italian who was his own cook, and worked his current wife as waitress and cashier. This wife changed from time to time, but she was always attentive to us..." (Mencken, *My Life as Author and Editor*, 209)

"Zachary, an African species of monkey, was raised in a Chicago apartment by a couple who treated him extremely well" (Tribune, 10 Nov 94)

Reanalysis

"How many people would die meanwhile, or worse than die?" (Anderson, *Harvest of Stars*, 205)

"... he gets off and on and around the moving platform with a grace and ease that can only be displayed by safely taking what for children and even adults would be chances" (Goffman, *Encounters*, 109)

Telescoping

"Resnick also makes the claim that Nicole had six abortions because O. J. hated how fat she got when she was pregnant" (Roeper, Sun-Times, 19 Oct 94)

Indirect, semi-direct discourse

"At least an hour to clear the databanks of the ongoing material <...> and then God knew how many more hours and days of puzzling it over before he could get back to his real work" (Pohl & Williamson, *Wall Around a Star*, 89)

"... it was Ed down there, and God knew what he might want" (King, *Insomnia*, 186)

Interpretation of operators

Scope

"And nobody that didn't belong to the band could use that mark, and if he did he must be sued; and if he done it again he must be killed" (*Huckleberry Finn*, 632; *anybody that didn't belong to the band* plus a conjoined S with a negated first conjunct)

"An Uzi in each hand blazed briefly" (Sheckley, *Hunter/Victim*, 263)

"It'll be a long time before every snake is stopped from going off island" (Guam USDA official quoted in NYT Mag, 13 Nov 94)

Vice versa

"Deborah Darr's Paquette was lustily brainless (and sometimes vice versa)..." (Sun-Times, 28 Nov 94; brainlessly lusty? brainily lustless?)

Tense, aspect, time reference

"I was ready to have gone with her, but this will do just as well" (Austen, *Emma*, 367)

5 out of the 18 books that Bill has reviewed have been by Saul Bellow.

* *Herzog* has been by Saul Bellow.

They appointed_i him president. (at / he became president)

They appointed_i him to be president. (at / he become president-designate) (re Wierzbicka, *Semantics of Grammar*, 54)

"Darwin has been dead for over 110 years" (counterexample to claim that present perfect

requires that the subject denote a living entity)

"Jesus! Lois, are you seeing this?" (King, *Insomnia*, 590)

A: He's got a face that makes you hate him automatically.

B: You're right. I'm already hating him. (Dilbert, 28 Oct 94)

Metaphor

"Weil himself navigated all the major tributaries of mathematics... erecting proofs and conjectures that, like levees, determined the future course of inquiry" (*Sci Am*, June 94, 33)

Metonymy

"He shook her heartily and gratefully by the hand" (Austen, *Emma*, 391) "... and when I folded it up and give it to her, I see the water come into her eyes too; and she shook me by the hand, hand, and says: 'Good-bye—I'm going to do everything just as you've told me'" (*Huckleberry Finn*, 812) "He came around the desk and shook Blackwell warmly by the hand" (Sheckley, *Hunter/Victim*, 35)

Quotation

"The net result is that you can do all kinds of things that Jerry Fodor used to stamp his foot and say, 'You can't do'" (Patricia Churchland, in Callebaut, *Taking the Naturalistic Turn*, 351; probably foully editing here — It's doubtful that Churchland meant this as a direct quote)

Miscellaneous semantic-pragmatic

"In 1988, Macy's was an unsuccessful bidder for Federated. The company, against its will, wound up being bought that year by Canadian businessman Robert Campeau..." (Sun-Times, 3 Jan 94)

"Top left: Olya Kozlovskaya, a 12-year-old from Aban, Siberia, went to the doctor complaining of a high fever, and a serious heart defect was discovered... Without surgery, Olya might not have lived past 40" (NYT Mag caption, 2 Jan 94; doesn't presuppose that she has lived past 40)

"I have books I want to write" (Grec C, 9 Jan 94)

my favorite actress = the one who I favor most among actresses; ≠ my + favorite actress, though that is the surface structure: "... and Tom's Ø is Julie Roberts.

There's everything here. (for every kind k)($\$x$: xik)(x is here)

The fact that a doctor has cured someone of a life-threatening disease doesn't guarantee that the patient will live any longer.

John has insulted every person that the bastard has ever met. (argument for external NP?)

"Violinists don't have to breathe" (in a discussion of a flute arrangement of a violin work; the meaning was not that violinists can live without breathing but that their playing, unlike that of flautists, does not involve breathing)

"In April the country elected its first woman mayor and governor" (China Post, 25 June 94; evidently refers to two persons winning separate elections)

"Every minute it was getting earlier, now, and pretty soon one of them watchers would begin to stir..." (*Huckleberry Finn*, 801; means 'getting closer to morning')

"Where would the millions, the billions, perhaps the trillions come from?" (Sheckley, *Hunter/Victim*, 68; in a context where there isn't any known quantity of trillions)

"And what was that that Freddie had said, about DatAmerica and InterSecure being basically your same company?" (Gibson, *Virtual Light*, 244)

"There was a different material anywhere you looked..." (Gibson, *Virtual Light*, 194)

Quoclatives

"The potential must be in that young man who now seemed a total stranger, or why had he come?" (Anderson, *Harvest of Stars*, 462)

Discourse structure

"With the exception of a few advanced Montagnards, when a commissioner of the Convention arrived in a provincial town, the questions of employment and prosperity within the Republic and the equal enjoyment of available commodities by all interested him but little. Having been sent to organize resistance to the invasion and to rouse the patriotic feeling, he acted as a democratic official for whom the people were but the tools which were to help him to carry out the plans of the Government. If he presented himself at the local Popular Society, ..." (Kropotkin, *The Great French Revolution*, 480-1; the quantifier { \exists ?) has scope over several sentences)

Morphology

Genitive 's

"He was a lot of girls' dream guy" (person quoted in 17 Jan 94 Tribune)

"Subject to your concurrence, subject to all of your concurrence, a program has been prepared" (Pohl, *The Cool War*, 47; = [all of you]'s concurrence)
"... the arrangements for one of the brothers' weddings" (Miss Manners lecture, 13 Oct 94; evident meaning: the wedding of one of the brothers)
"Thud! Irish's Title Hopes Hit Ground Zero" (NYT Sports headline, 9 Oct 94; how is *Irish's* pronounced?)

Inflection

"This is getting insaner" (Hogan, *Out of Time*, 58)

I moonlighted/*moonlit for a year at UIC.

"Well, naturally, her family forbid her seeing me" (O'Neill, *The Iceman Cometh*, 694; *forbid* used as past tense)

Exam question: Is *I done it* derived (a) through deletion of *have* from a present perfect *I've done it?* or (b) by using the past participle as a past tense? Answer: (a), because there isn't any corresponding change to past participle in *I didn't, did I*, etc.

"Besides, *Chicago* is a fantastically dark and thought-provoking musical" (Maroon, 12 Aug 94)

"He is slovenly dressed..." (O'Neill, *The Iceman Cometh*, 566)

warningly, frightenedly (O'Neill, *Long Day's Journey*, 735, 744)

"His clothes differed in no respect from a 'wharf-rat's,' except that they were raggeder, more ill-assorted and inharmonious..." (Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*, 561)

"Behind other islands we found wretched little farms, and wretcheder little log-cabins" (Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*, 293)

"I often wonder whether the history of the remoter past is any more reliable" (Mencken, *My Life as Author and Editor*, 300)

"We liked Crowe better than Warner, if only because we saw him seldomer" (Mencken, *My Life as Author and Editor*, 82)

Contraction

"What time's it, Rocky?" (O'Neill, *The Iceman Cometh*, 574)

"Mayn't I go out and play now, aunt? (Twain, *Tom Sawyer*, 20; also *Huckleberry Finn*, 781, 850)

Infixation

"You can't just write *del segno* any old how" (C. Rosen, 2 Nov 94)

Word formation

"President Bill Clinton put politics before environmental protection on October 4 when he refused to sanction Norway for its return to commercial whaling" (Greenpeace, Jan. 94; means 'impose sanctions on')

"I felt that... the same approach could be applied to both. This eventuated in *Taking Darwin Seriously*" (Michael Ruse, in Callebaut, *Taking the Naturalistic Turn*, 437)

"The connectivity does not preexist the functioning" (R. Lewontin, in Callebaut, *Taking the Naturalistic Turn*, 391)

"Three-and-twenty! — is he indeed? — ...I remember it was written from Weymouth, and dated Sept. 28th..." (Austen, *Emma*, 119; is "28th" to be read "twenty-eighth" or "eight-and-twentieth"? We could tell with other dates: "23rd" vs. "23th"; did the ordinals shift to their modern form before the cardinal numbers did?)

"I disremember which trunk..." (O'Neill, *A Touch of the Past*, 214; Irish speaker) "... what it was I disremember..." (Mencken, *My Life as Author and Editor*, 224; also *Huckleberry Finn*, 697, 899)

"The dead end for the most part unmerchantable wood behind my house..." (Thoreau, *Walden*, 365)

"... that sluggish, headachy, 'what's the use?' feeling..." (Carter's Little Liver Pills radio commercial, 40s)

Back formations

"You give me your money now and I invest it until you reincarnate" (Dilbert, 14 Jan 94)

"The next day the doctors were back; Tom had relapsed" (Twain, *Tom Sawyer*, 141)

"... the same Laura Williams who carefully planned and premeditated his murder" (Suspense,

"Three times murder", Oct 3 46)

"He vanished in 1974, three days after the nanny was killed and Lady Lucan was assailed in her London apartment" (7 Aug 94)

"Investigators said embalming fluids spontaneously combusted" (News of the Weird, 30 Sept 94)

"*Mauritius* got off the first cannon shot, tattering *San Diego's* mainsail and destroying one of her two bilge pumps" (*Nat. Geogr.* Aug 94, 48)

"... a real-estate venture that the president co-owned" (WFMT News, 20 Jan 94)

"Wirtz, who owns the old arena and co-owns the new United Center, ..." (Sun-Times, 19 Aug 94)

"A succession of American ambassadors to Italy admired <Mussolini>, one co-writing his 'autobiography' for the Saturday Evening Post" (*NYT Magazine*, 24 July 94, 16)

"They will tailor-make a campaign geared to the market" (BBC World Service, Mar 1)

Policeman: Spider-man! Where is he?

Woman: He just web-swung away! (Spider-Man, 5 Aug 94)

"We spring-trained that year in Houston, Texas" (PBS "Baseball" 6)

Compounding, complex nominals

cup-rock eight-cup rack

Neologisms

prolificity (NYT Arts, 16 Jan 94)

"Deboarding only" (SamTrans sign, Palo Alto)

"For philosophers, on the other hand, it's the generalizable character of the events; they rip ideas, discoveries, and experiments untimely out of context so as to generalize from them..." (R.

Richards, PSA 1992.2.482)

scientificity (R. Richards, PSA 1992.2.486)

"For guilt of the kind then dealt with by those courts met with the reprehension of practically all men not professional criminals themselves" (Mencken, *Prejudices* 4.86)

"... crimes of malparenting that amounted to attempted pubescide and adolescicide" (Playboy, Oct 94, 114)

"His tone gentled" (Anderson, *Harvest of Stars*, 398)

"From the number, she had foreknown that what waited was a suborbital" (Anderson, *Harvest of Stars*, 367)

"He, a simple fishpoke?" (Anderson, *Harvest of Stars*, 190; = fish farmer, modeled on *cawpoke*)

"Since then, she has snogged and married an 89-year-old half-billionaire" (*Zazz*, 19 Oct 94)

"Failure to supply all this information forfeits your entry" (Sun-Times contest, Nov 94)

"The dioramas and taxidermed contents of the Bishop Museum attest to Hawaii's status as an ecological treasure." (NYT Mag, 13 Nov 94)73

"... he'll be on probation for at least a year, unless Galipeau 'violates' him and sends him away again" (NYT Mag, 13 Nov 94; = reports him as a parole violator)

"Heifetz was much criticized because he devoted so much attention to facile miniatures and salon pieces—silk-underwear music; as Thomson famously derided them" (Tribune Arts, 27 Nov 94)

"The heroine still whistles while she houseworks" (NYT Mag, 25 Dec 94)

re-. "In case you're wondering, city Treasurer Miriam Santos is definitely re-running for office" (Sneed, Sun-Times, 3 Nov 94)

"The next time you dine with them, you can always say you're so glad they're enjoying the serving pieces and look puzzled if they attempt to rethank you for the crystal vase" (Miss Manners, 11 Sept 94)

"Leydecker had re-met Helen at Ralph and Lois's in February of 1994..." (King, *Insomnia*, 757)
"In an amusing letter of May 1939, Strauss attempted to reinterest Gregor in *Capriccia*..." (Lyric Opera program, Nov 94)

"He re-urged — she re-declined; and he seemed then about to make his bow, when taking the paper from the table, she returned it" (Austen, *Emma*, 106)

"Or else, without any formalities, they retook possession of the forests which had once been communal" (Kropotkin, *The Great French Revolution*, 114)

"But he also said he still wanted to re-attempt the goal he had set" (HK Standard, 28 Mar 94)

"Mr. Sherwood said he know nothing about Alderdice's 20-year-old Russian lover, Natalya Samoslava, except that he now suspected Alderdice had been trying to recreate some romance in his life" (South China Morning Post, 1 July 94)

Lexicon

"<The intent of the series was to show how baseball> is inextricably linked to our national psyche (and it is, if Krauthammer likes it or not)" (letter, Tribune, 19 Oct 94)

I live across the street from a skating-rink/*rink.

A: Are there any skating rinks near where you live?

B: Yes, as a matter of fact I live across the street from a rink. (*a rink* OK only anaphorically)

"The Judiciary is finally in a position to enable Chinese to be used in higher courts" (South China Morning Post, 4 July 94)

"Though Y.O.T.E. leaders deny it, the organization is strongly alleged to have connections to street gangs..." (Raymond R. Coffey, Sun-Times, 4 Aug 94)

"Palestinian: I exploded Pan Am 103" (Ithaca Journal, 13 June 94, pointed out by EWB; the Palestinian actually said "blew up")

Count/mass

"The fire ant is thought to infest approximately two million acres of land in Georgia, attacking crops, young wildlife and livestock..." (quote in Meyer, *Apposition in Contemporary English*, 147)

Idioms

"The Serbs are getting away once again with slaughter" (BBC, 7 Feb 94)

"But if Clinton does not have an ace in the hole, one can only hope he has one up his sleeve" (Eastern Express, 7 Feb 94)

"Clinton said that [it] marked a clear victory for the 'radical right', which he accused of stopping at nothing" (China Post, 7 June 94)

"And the guy who should be leading the cheers is Mayor Daley, whom Bloom got off a very uncomfortable political hook. ... And the mayor obviously breathed a sigh of political relief" (Raymond R. Coffey, Sun-Times, 4 Aug 94; NB: get off the/*a hook)

"I'm trying to get out of your way, and I got right in it" (overheard, Aug 94)

"The case of the late Danby, Secretary of the Navy, is in point" (Mencken, *Prejudices* 4.184)

"... the idea being that they were a mobile force ready to be thrown into the fray wherever germs raised their ugly if invisible heads" (The Straight Dope, 26 Aug 94)

"It's not only wolf that detectors cry" (Tribune headline, 7 Oct 94; = Carbon monoxide detectors sometimes give warnings of real dangers)

They played ball/football with him. (*ball* + comitative *with*, *football* + instrumental *with*)

"I thought anything went in Quark Fair" (Anderson, *Horsing of Stars*, 91)

"Yet Abramson quickly stole Bozovich's thunder, and Lansing's spotlight, by prosecuting the putative victims, Jose and Kitty Menendez, for crimes of malparenting that amounted to attempted pubescide and adolescicide" (Playboy, Oct 94, 114)

"The drinking scene drives him out of what little mind he has left" (Andrew Greeley in Lyric Opera Program, Oct 1994)

"Reagan's national security adviser spills his version of the beans about the Iran-Contra affair" (NYT Books, 13 Nov 94, headline)

"Thank you, Ruth Laredo, not on behalf of the instrumentalists, but on ours" (First Hearing, 17 Dec 94)

"Darling, for both our sakes say you'll do it" (Mysterious Traveler, "Death has a cold breath")

"You call THAT rising and shining?" (Marmaduke, 22 Sept 94; for me, *rise and shine* takes only the bare form: *He rose and shone. *He hasn't risen and shone. You should rise and shine)

Bartender: Beat it now! Richard: I will not beat it! (O'Neill, *Ah, Wilderness!*, 61)

"Pat McBlain, the other one, was a police lieutenant back in the flush times of graft when everything went" (O'Neill, *The Iceman Cometh*, 584)

Lexical semantics

"The much-delayed road has its unofficial opening today and is expected to at least halve the road journey between Hong Kong and Guangzhou" (South China Morning Post, 12 July 94; = 'is expected to reduce the traveling by at least half'; "The result was that the thermal water to the Heviz baths was more than halved" (Tribune, 16 Aug 94)

"While temperatures this week dipped to 50 below in Minnesota, and exceeded 20 below in Maine, Nome hit a record high Monday of 40—above zero" (Tribune, 29 Dec 93)

"Thus, since they like to dine on things like smoked oysters and a nice orange Nehi for lunch, they don't hound teenagers who eat pizza for breakfast" (Judy Morkey, Sun-Times, 4 Jan 94)

"Steamboat service discontinues 4/3/94" (NWA ad, Jan 94)

"Jason Bateman and James Wilder are the two men who each admit to killing a Los Angeles policeman" (Tribune TV, 16 Jan 94; context makes clear that it's the same policeman; for the writer, *admit* to evidently isn't factive)

"Nor could anyone observing the falling fortunes of the recorder at the turn of the eighteenth century have envisaged a second chance for it at the turn of the nineteenth" (Eve O'Kelly, *The Recorder Today*, 116; refers to 1800 and 1900, not to 1700 and 1800) "When we began to drift apart, at the turn of the 20's, ..." (Mencken, *My Life as Author and Editor*, 139; refers to the years around 1920)

"Mrs Elton is very good-natured and agreeable, and I dare say her acquaintances are just what they ought to be" (Austen, *Emma*, 378)

"mother-in-law, son-in-law" (Austen, *Emma*, 354, 429; the relation referred to is that of stepmother to stepson); "The three daughters-in-law of Jonathon, Evan's half-sisters, had to make a large, greedy fortune out of privateering and the Northwest trade..." (O'Neill, *A Touch of the Past*, 224; the relationship is what would now be called "stepdaughter")

What kind/*type/??sort of animal is that?

You've completely convinced/??persuaded me that S.

*You've completely caused me to believe that S. (re Wierzbicka, *Dictionary*)

Russian for beginners/*starters. starter/*beginner (of a car) (re Wierzbicka, *Semantics of Grammar*, 78)

"The whole tragedy occurred within two minutes, and neither of the three spoke after he was shot" (newspaper quoted in Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*, 470)

"Now only look at that" (Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*, 452; standard English would require *Now just look at that*)

Aside from going/*coming to and from the railway station, I was never north of Beijing Lu.

"Seven dollars no matter how short I stay?" (PD to parking-lot attendant; ??, but OK: no matter how long or short I stay)

"On some shining tomorrow a psychoanalyst may be put into the box to prove that perjury is simply a compulsion neurosis, like beating time with the foot at a concert or counting the lamp-posts along the highway" (Mencken, *Prejudices* 4.272)

"His wife plays in the Chicago Symphony, so they must live somewhere near Chicago" (conflicts with Chomsky's statement that 'near' implies 'not in')

Quantifiers

Do you have any children/*child?

"In fact, half of everyone who takes the new test flunks it..." (Tribune, 1 Sept. 94; cf. half of all the people... *half of every person...; argues that *everyone* = *all-one* as well as *every-and*)

Plurality

"ONE BOXER SHORT" (label on package containing one pair of Joe Boxer boxer shorts; 1994)

Selectional restrictions

"We're just leaving 23,000 feet above sea level on our descent into Chicago's O'Hare Airport" (AA pilot, 21 July 94)

Sexist language, etc.

A student should study a lot, *shouldn't he or she? (a context where a pronoun is required and *he or she* doesn't count as one)

Valence

"One cannot help but wonder how many people have been violently ill into their bag before sealing it and sending it to the National Photos Company for processing" (Far Eastern Econ. Rev., 10 Feb 94; refers to a "combined airsickness bag and film packet for sending photographs to be developed and printed" distributed by Qantas)

"That won't stop the ordinations of women going ahead" (BBC World Service, 22 Feb 94)

"Zulu leaders have agreed to talk next week to prevent the violence worsening" (CNN, 2 Apr 94)

"Robespierre attempted to speak, but he too was prevented" (Kropotkin, *The Great French Revolution*, 567)

"Roux' section of the Graviillers vainly demanded from the Commune the abandonment of these prosecutions, offering that its members should give securities for him" (Kropotkin, *The Great French Revolution*, 504)

I am under no obligation (*for me) to be present.

"But as I have said, a day came when I began to cease from noting the glories and the charms which the moon and the sun and the twilight wrought upon the river's face..." (Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*, 285) "She saw her darling gradually cease from being her son..." (Pudd'nhead Wilson, 939)

"Tom can persuade him into things which other people can't..." (Pudd'nhead Wilson, 1029-30)

"... a couple of short bald guys wearing white tunics which looked left over from Central Casting" (King, *Insomnia*, 244)
"Of the role she now brings to Lyric, *Le Figaro* effused in 1993, 'One cannot combine so much talent with so much grace...'" (Lyric Opera program, Nov 94)

Phonology

Where is it? Where is the bus stop?

Speech errors, screwups

"Here are one of the four Romantic Pieces by Dvorák" (WFMT, 11 Sept 94)
"The condition is caused when the enzyme we need to digest lactose... isn't present in sufficient quantities and thus hinders digestion" (Lifetime of Health 4.4; it isn't the enzyme that hinders digestion but the lack of it)
"Let me take it one tiny step further, but it's a huge step" (Ted Koppel, 4 Feb 94, noted by PD)
"Because so little progress is being reported, the 10th International Conference on AIDS, held in Yokohama, Japan, last month, was the last to convene annually; scientists will now meet every two years" (NYT Magazine, 25 Sept 94)

Crosses

"I had to choose between teaching 'Harmony I' or whether I was going to compose" (B. Lees interview, WNIB, 9 Jan 94)
"... stop the innocent killing of civilians" (Bill Clinton, 11 Feb 94, noted by PD; for "killing of innocent civilians")
"That tops the cake" (Harvey P, July 94; tops everything X takes the cake)

Garden paths

"Deciding on whom you will love or forgive, making career choices, or choosing an investment are in the immediate personal and social domain" (Damasio, *Descartes' Error*, 168; *who* would avoid a perceptual garden-path)

Malapropisms

"No sooner do those Colombians start smuggling that mind-numbing stuff into the country and they're killing each other over it" (Bok cartoon, 1994)

Syntactic

"... bad service because that's the only service there is, isn't there?" (C Johns, 21 Apr 94, noted by PD)

Hypercorrections

"This Wayne Sochsteiffer was mightily surprised" (Pohl, *Coming of the Quantum Cats*, 64)

Written language

I'll, it's, Wilson's, war n't, I's, did n't, ... vs.: ain't, won't, sha'n't (*Pudd'nhead Wilson*; in this work, Twain writes the contracted form as two words when it is simply a contraction but as one word when one of the parts undergoes something other than a deletion)

Punctuation

"Roux' section of the Graviillers..." (Kropotkin, *The Great French Revolution*, 504)

Interesting/amusing signs

"Strictly no parking. Unauthorized parking will be towed away" (Singapore, Jan 94)
"This you's" (jacket, Taiwan, Feb 94)
"Flush after vomit" (English half of bilingual sign over urinal in Taipei restaurant, 1994)
"DIPLOMACY COURTEOUS RECEPTION" (Shanghai airport, March 94)
"Pay tax behind your right back" (Taipei International Airport, 1994)
"BEWARE OF HEADROOM" (Tom Lee Music, Hong Kong; Chinese version: xiaoxin peng tou)
"Praceta da Tranquilidade; Praceta da Serenidade" (two consecutive stops on a bus line, Macao)

Other languages

Chinese

"Wo dou mei jianguo" 'I haven't seen any of them' (Ø topic as antecedent of *dou*)

German

"...die Gewinnerin des zweiten Preises" (telecast of German musical competition, 1994)
"rück- und vorsichtig" (Nietzsche, quoted in Kaufmann; pun on *vorsichtig*: 'cautiously' x 'looking forwards')
"Vom Pagen und der Königstochter" (title of ballad by R. Schumann; contraction involving one

conjunct of coordinate structure)

Hungarian

igazságosán

Japanese

"... Kawaki inisharu-T sama..." (announcement, SFO, 25 Jan 94)

Spanish

Anaphora

"... y viajaba durante días y noches cambiando varias veces de montura para no reventar la" (García Márquez, *El General en su Laberinto*, 51)
Rosa: Esta conversación no tiene sentido. Bustillos: Sí, lo tiene, Rosa. (*Señora Tentación*, 27 Oct 94)

Control

Daniela: Creí morir me. (*Guadalupe*, 17 Jan 94; = I thought I would die)

Ellipsis

A: Tengo un regalo para ti. B: Y yo uno para ti. (*Guadalupe*, 17 Jan 94)
"... una mujer que tenía relaciones con él al mismo tiempo que con mi papá" (*Señora Tentación*, 13 Oct 94)

Anita: <Eso me da miedo>. Rosa: Confieso que a mí también. (*Señora Tentación*, 22 Sept 94)

Use of morphological forms

Gender ignored

Rosa: Yo perdí una hija, y no quiero perder dos Ø. (*Señora Tentación*, 25 Oct 94; the 2nd child is a boy, thus Ø = hijas)

"Yo la peor de todos" (title of Mexican movie)

"... seguíen sentados el uno frente al otro..." (García Márquez, *El General en su Laberinto*, 87; refers to a man and a woman facing each other; *el uno.. el otro* unless only women are involved)

Agreement

Melisa: Ni Andi ni yo somos unos niños. (*Marielena*, 23 Dec 94)

Accusative Ø

"Siempre tuvo a la muerte como un riesgo profesional sin remedio" (García Márquez, *El General en su Laberinto*, 16)

"... le aseguro que generará más dinero mostrándome en una jaula como al más grande majadero de la historia" (García Márquez, *El General en su Laberinto*, 103)

Contraction

"... y era poco menos que un asceta del comer y el beber..." (García Márquez, *El General en su Laberinto*, 53)

de = possessive

Marielena: Son cosas muy mías -- mías y de Titón. (*Guadalupe*, 13 Jan 94)

"Rosa es mía y de nadie más" (*Señora Tentación*, 29 Aug 94)

Adele: ¿Este niño es suyo y del general? (*Señora Tentación*, 20 Oct 94)

Subjunctive

Bustillos: ... cuando le da la gana y como le da la gana. (*Señora Tentación*, 25 Oct 94)

Rosa: El padre de mi hijo es Víctor Manuel del Río, que en paz descanse. (*Señora Tentación*, 20 Oct 94)

Clitics

Freddy: Mi hermana le llena la cabeza de mentiras a mi mamá. (*Señora Tentación*, 23 Sept 94)

Ester: Ahora te toca divertirme a tí. (*Guadalupe*, 14 Jan 94)

Climbing

"No hay otro remedio que pedirles a tus padres que te mandan a buscar" (*Señora Tentación*, 24 Sept 94)

"Me acabo de escapar de la cárcel" (*Pasiones Secretas*, 13 Dec 94)

"Ha sido un gran placer poderles servir" (*Pasiones Secretas*, 15 Dec 94)

Island constraints

"Tu enemigo es mucho más peligroso que tú tienes idea" (*Pasiones Secretas*, 15 Dec 94)

Rosa: Me enamoré de quién ustedes no tienen una idea" (*Señora Tentación*, 14 Nov 94)

Various syntactic constructions

Cleft

Cheo: Pero quién tiene la llave de todo esto es Pucha, la hermana de Rita. (*Guadalupe*, 12 Jan 94)

Luisa: Es de lo único que no me pueden acusar. (*Guadalupe*, 12 Jan 94)

Comparative

"Hace 23 años que Patek trabaja en Angostura, y mientras explica el proceso de fabricación—todo lo discretamente que puede—el suave aroma del cardamomo perfuma el ambiente" (*Américas* 46.4.3)

Comparative congeners

"Las emociones de la fiesta se le quedaron asociadas al valse que había hecho repetir cuantas veces fueron necesarios, para que ni una sola de las damas de Lima se quedara sin bailar lo con él" (García Márquez, *El General en su Laberinto*, 82)

Superlative

"Lo que más nos preocupa es ella" (*Pasiones Secretas*, 28 Nov 94)

Complements

"Al Monaldi ver estas tierras, el proyecto de Parí se empezó a formularse en teoría" (*Américas* 46.4.34)

Monsignor: Por cualquier cosa, hija, no dudes en llamarme" (*Señora Tentación*, 24 Oct 94)

Conditional

Olivia: Yo, siendo tú, no confiaría tanto en él. (*Guadalupe*, 19 Jan 94)

Coordination

"Dos mil soldados harapientos y descalzos, sin armas, sin comida, sin montas para desafiar los páramos, cansados de guerras y muchos de ellos enfermos, habían empezado a desertar en desbandada" (García Márquez, *El General en su Laberinto*, 56)

"... afortunado o desafortunadamente..." (*Pasiones secretas*, 23 Dec 94)

Exclamative, echo

Ines: Usted está celoso. Sergio. ¿Celoso yo? (*Guadalupe*, 14 Jan 94)

Extraction from subordinate S

"Aquí hay un misterio que no sé cual es" (*Señora Tentación*, 10 Oct 94)

"El *New Ironsides*, que se suponía que era el buque de guerra más poderoso del mundo..." (*Américas* 46.4.6)

"Es la sangre que corre en las venas de esa criatura que cree que es su hijo" (*Señora Tentación*, 3 Nov 94)

"Tengo una cosa en el corazón que no sé si es buena o si es mala" (*Señora Tentación*, 14 Nov 94)

"Las cosas que están pasando en esta casa no me parecen que *Ø* estén bien" (*Pasiones secretas*, 23 Dec 94)

Imperative

René: No te vayas a enredar con Marielena. (*Marielena*, 23 Dec 94)

Impersonal

"Se te ve mucho mejor" (*Pasiones Secretas*, 7 Dec 94)

Negation

Rosa: Yo necesito un hombre que me proteja, que me ame, no que se porte como un niño. (*Señora Tentación*, Oct 94)

"Nadie debe recordarlo" (*Pasiones Secretas*, 18 Nov 94; must(not(someone remembers it)))

Negative polarity

"Hasta mañana podrás salir" (*Salon México*; In context, had to mean "You [the unjustly jailed heroine] won't be able to get out until tomorrow [when the judge will be here]")

Nominalization

"La belleza primigenia que Colón descubrió en Parí permanecerá casi inalterada, debido a su poca accesibilidad, cerrada al sur por las fantásticas barreras del delta del Orinoco y al norte por el mar Caribe" (*Américas* 46.4.32 = its being so inaccessible)

Parts of speech

P' as object of P

"El puerto estaba lleno desde las cinco de la mañana con gentes de a caballo y de a pie..." (García Márquez, *El General en su Laberinto*, 92)

sin as negation + subordination

"Sin colores ni sabores artificiales" (Cheerios commercial; RNR)

Structure of NPs

"Las primeras líneas férreas de la península fueron construidas al servicio del henequén, estableciendo conexiones entre las haciendas y los mercados y puertos" (*Américas* 46.4.28)

"...estaba a punto de sucumbir bajo el peso de sus tantas victorias" "Una de las tantas veces en que el general pensó renunciar, ..." (García Márquez, *El General en su Laberinto*, 57, 60)

Articles

... y con un hilo de aliento que apenas si le alcanzaba para la escalinata del portal, macilento y lolondrado, pero con unos ojos de loco feliz" (García Márquez, *El General en su Laberinto*, 34)

Relative clauses and their congeners

Un hombre que ni siquiera sé su nombre me consoló" (*Señora Tentación*, 28 Sept 94; resumptive pronoun)

Mira la hora que es" (*Señora Tentación*, 15 Sept 94; Telescoping?)

Reduced

Sin embargo, aquel que lo había merecido todo estaba desde hacía dos años desterrado en París por su complicidad nunca probada en una conjura para matarlo" (García Márquez, *El General en su Laberinto*, 60)

Word order

Usted lo que necesita es una enfermera" (*Señora Tentación*, 28 Sept 94)

Yo aquí estoy para servirte" (*Señora Tentación*, 12 Sept 94)

Maudie: Yo con Luis Felipe no tengo reservas. (*Marielena*, 22 Dec 94)

¿Porqué tengo que ser yo siempre la víctima?" (*Pasiones Secretas*, 13 Dec 94)

Semantics

Scope

¿osa: Algo tengo que hacer. (*Señora Tentación*, 20 Oct 94; in context, clearly narrow scope: 'I have to do something')

Aspect/Tense

¿emera: Si ella sabía lo que estoy teniendo. (*Señora Tentación*, 20 Oct 94)

Telescoping

¿ustillos: No me importa las veces que tú lo digas. (*Señora Tentación*, 21 Oct 94)

Miscellaneous semantic

"Ya no soy yo" (García Márquez, *El General en su Laberinto*, 52)

"Una vez, en Guayaquil, contó que lo había soñado con un libro abierto sobre la penza redonda, pero en vez de leerlo le arrancaba las páginas y se las comía una por una, deleitándose en masticar las con un ruido de cebra" (García Márquez, *El General en su Laberinto*, 64)

Luis Felipe: Tienes el derecho de visitar tu empresa las veces que quieras. (*Marielena*, 22 Dec 94)

Morphology

Bracketing paradoxes

Rene: Son recién casados — recién caseditos. (*Señora Tentación*, 18 Oct 94; = [recién casados] + ito)

Lexicon

Rosa: Es probable, pero yo lo dudo. (*Señora Tentación*, 7 Oct 94)

Freezes

"Al fin y al cabo es una mujer" (*Señora Tentación*, 28 Oct 94)

Idioms

"Has lo que te dé la maldita gana" (*Señora Tentación*, 22 Sept 94)

1995 linguistic flea circus

Once again I offer to all interested readers a year's harvest of examples read, overheard, or concocted by either me or various friends who have passed them on to me (for which I hereby thank Peter Daniels, Eddy Gaytan, Eric Hamp, Rich Janda, Sige-Yuki Kuroda, Eric Schiller, and Elisa Steinberg). Those into whose hands this compilation falls or is dropped are welcome to make any use of the examples contained herein that they can think of making. --Jim McCawley

Anaphora

"Basically, a young, energetic dog will drink more than an older dog unless there is a physiological reason for it" (Sun-Times, 26 July 95; it = for the younger dog not to do so?)

"She is so devoted and obsessed by him that she is telling you that's the kind of man he is. Then you just have to be it" (Jonathan Pryce, quoted in Nov 5 95 NYT Arts)

"Venator himself had not been granted an access code—and it biological—until the cybercosm had concluded that Lilisaire's activities were disturbing enough that he had a need to know" (Anderson, *The Stars are also Fire*, 198; the implicature of not until allows a negated existential NP to be the antecedent of a pronoun)

Backwards

"Tributes to his royal patron were the highlight of last Week's Purcell concert" (Sunday Times [London] headline, 12 Mar 95)

"The Chicago Tribune proclaimed hers \emptyset a voice without equal" (WFMT, 31 Mar 95)

"Since it entailed no travel, he agreed to conduct a subscription concert of the New Haven Symphony Orchestra on 12 January 1948..." (Noss, *Paul Hindemith in the United States*, 148)

"His doctors say Mickey Mantle told them he feels good <after liver transplant surgery>" (WFMT, 9 June 95)

"Most golfers would agree that it was no one's fault but her own when Jeannie Pelletier managed to hit herself in the nose with her own golf ball" (Royko, 20 Jul 95; first mention)

"The state of Maryland—as do the states of Colorado, Illinois, Missouri, Nebraska, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island—specifically exempt federally registered research facilities from state animal control and cruelty statutes" (Blum, *The Monkey Wars*, 122; note also the plural *exempt*)

"I couldn't take his mother away from my son" (Presumed Innocent, noted by EG)

"That they didn't mind criticizing each other made people think otherwise, but they were very devoted to each other..." (Frances Partridge, *NYT Magazine*, 3 Dec 95)

"Binding" conditions

"Gabriel Lockard opened Gabriel Lockard's eyes" (Grimm, *Bodyguard*, 63; the scene is one in which GL has reoccupied his original body)

"... apparently his father's Buchananite tendencies had taken hold more than his son realized" (*NYT Magazine*, 12 Feb 95)

"The stepfather of Baby Joseph "Jojo" Masters, who was just a little over 2 years old when he was murdered Jan. 4, has been charged with his stepson's murder" (Sneed, 28 Apr 95)

"On their wedding anniversary, the redneck's wife asked her husband, 'Homer, should I kill a chicken for tonight?'" (Playboy's Party Jokes, Jan 96)

"Wolfgram's son, named after his father, is an American soldier on his way to Bosnia" (Joan Beck, Tribune, 14 Dec 95)

Choice of pronoun

"Gibaldi says that when he started out his partner in the Rome station had a Ph.D. in Italian politics. In Barcelona, on his last tour, she was an English major who spoke no Spanish" (*NYT Magazine*, 10 Dec 95; referent of antecedent of *she* could be male)

"Today, Ms. Bartlett distances herself from the 80's as if she had never been part of them" (NYT Arts, 4 June 95)

"The question seems peculiar; it does so because historians take for granted that it was reasonable in Newton's time to insist that theories be compatible with data..." (Laudan, *Progress and Its Problems*, 166)

"How candid were they ever, even among each other?" (Anderson, *The Stars are also Fire*, 294)

"... so far Erma has declined to accept, because the surgery is riskier for the donor than for the recipient, and she doesn't want anyone to put themselves at risk" (Parade, 26 Nov 95)

"I feel like a baby bird whose parents pushed it out of the nest for its first solo flight... and discover

I'm a penguin" (Curtis, 1 Nov 95)

"I'm the type of person who doesn't care if I'm good enough" (Anna Roosevelt, quoted in *Tribune Magazine*, 3 Dec 95)

"Abandoned boy? He's really a 25-year-old woman passing herself off as a poor homeless teen" (Southern Illinoisian, 28 Dec 95)

"If one of the other players <in a certain video game> crossed your path, he would show up as a simple cartoon figure, who you would hope to shoot before it turned, saw you, and shot you" (Dennett, *Darwin's Dangerous Idea*, 486)

Multiple first/second person references

"And when you_i have suddenly become the man_j [O_k to see O_j] [O_j to tell you_k] how to take care of your_k soul, it seems that everyone has a question" (*NYT Magazine*, 23 Apr 95)

"Feeling as you do, you would be doing all of you a favor to give your husband full custody of Sherry" (Dear Abby, 22 May 95)

Recyclical?

"The spacious house on Alden Avenue had to be completely furnished by the Hindemiths and they did so in a modest yet attractive fashion" (Noss, *Paul Hindemith in the United States*, 160)

"When the canvas is stained directly, as these artists did, pigment and support are fused" (Montréal Musée des Beaux Arts, Nov 95)

Reciprocal

"Although <the scene> is comical and silly, it is also sweet and tender, in the sense that they discover they are one another's true love" (Stagebill, Feb 95)

"The hoods here... are all ex-cons hired by an older ex-con (Lawrence Tierney) who conceals their identities from each other by assigning them the names of colors" (Reader, 8 Dec 95; not c-commanded by antecedent)

This game pits against each other the two strongest teams in the country. (conditions weaker than for reflexive: *I asked about himself the strongest man in the country.)

Reflexive

"Broughton, in riot gear, ordered the dog to stay between himself and a crowd of people involved in the fight" (Tribune, 1 Jan 95)

"<Franco> then had it made into a film, O_i picking one of Spain's best and handsomest actors to play himself_i" (NYT Books, 17 Feb 95)

"That way dogs can bring down prey much more powerful than themselves" (Eyewitness, 7 May 95)

"... some <black musicians> grew angry through the years as they saw white players making more money than themselves playing jazz or watered-down jazz" (*NYT Magazine*, 25 June 95)

"The line of sunrise lay across the area, and for excellent reasons understood best by themselves, astronomers frequently study the movement of sunrise across the Moon" (Biggle, *All the colors of darkness*, 117)

"In Nice Tit for Tat, one begins by cooperating, and then does unto the other as the other has done unto oneself on the previous move" (Dennett, *Darwin's Dangerous Idea*, 479)

"I guess I don't see a problem if an employer wants to check how an employee is conducting his or herself on their time working for that employer" (Gov. Edgar, quoted in 14 Dec 95 Tribune)

"As an example, she cites the way the 'long punitive arm of the KGB' was allowed to extend even to herself" (Tribune Books, 13 Aug 95)

S-anaphora

"Gert hurried back to the picnic area, needing to pee now but ignoring it" (King, *Rose Maddox*, 289)

V-deletion

"The stuff you see everywhere, at prices you don't" (ad, Tribune, 10 Feb 95)

"The Pagans very unanimously felt I was being unfair and insensitive to them and their beliefs.

Which I guess I thoughtlessly was" (R. Coffey, Sun-Times, 28 Mar 95)

Lao: We'll get in trouble. Ellen: You think we aren't \emptyset already? (Pohl & Thomas, *Mars Plus*, 312; \emptyset = in trouble)

"Is there any way... of determining who is right, the intellectual historian or the cognitive sociologist? Or could they both be?" (Laudan, *Progress and Its Problems*, 198)

Miscellaneous ellipsis

"Buy cookies or brownies and get the 6th free" (Sign, Original Cookie Co., July 95; \emptyset = cookie or brownie)

"Well, we squashed those magazines—the way you could a bug" (Lawrence Kimpton, quoted in 3 Nov 95 Reader, pseudo-gapping)
"The High World will have its share of Muslim allies, and the Mahdis will have theirs of every creed and none" (Anderson, *The Stars are also Fire*, 158; *every creed* has the 2nd conjunct in its scope, *none* has as scope the reduced clause of NP)

"However curious Solti's juxtaposition of styles, there was nothing curious about his or the orchestra's positive response to both the Bruckner and Bartók's Second Violin Concerto . . ." (Tribune, 6 Oct 95)

"No matter how dumb you might feel, how worthless and inferior, spend one day watching this stuff and you'll be walking tall" (Royko, 1 Nov 95)

Control

"Instead of tearing down the <elevated train> line, it should be extended" (letter to Tribune, 14 June 95)

Parasitic gap

"The book . . . sent to me by a publisher whom I won't embarrass \emptyset by naming \emptyset here, was written by one June Stephenson . . ." (R. Coffey, Sun-Times, 30 Mar 95)

Amphoric islands

Benedick: I have the toothache. Pedro: Draw it. (*Much Ado About Nothing* III.ii.20-21, noted by SYK)

"Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and her Singapore counterpart, Goh Chok, listen to their national anthems after her arrival there Wednesday" (Tribune photo caption, 9 Mar 95; *there* = in Singapore)

"Behind collapse of a building, an 80's investment that did too" (NYT headline, 26 Mar 95)

"Evidently they were unharmed, at least seriously" (Tenn, *The Seven Sexes*, 124; = at least they weren't seriously harmed)

"Despite his mockery of East Coast liberalism, he visits there almost as frequently as Havel" (*NYT Magazine*, 16 Jul 95)

"Parental overconcern with their children's weight is definitely on the rise" (dietician quoted in *NYT Magazine*, 17 Dec 95)

Islands

Coordinate structure constraint

"The defense attributes Ms. Zion's death to the interaction of prescription drugs and cocaine, which they say she took but did not tell doctors" (NYT, 1 Jan 95)

"I know what you could wear and nobody would recognize you" (Wizard of Id, 12 Jan 95)

"Ah! Colleen! The one you come home every night and talk about" (Jump Start, 1 Mar 95)

"Similarly, there's just a limit to the number of students that even the best teacher can have and not regard them as a mob" (*NYT Magazine*, 28 May 95)

Other

"It was my body the police had decided that was lying back there in the charred ruins of my cabin on Lake Latimer" (Suspense: "The day I died"; Comp-trace violation)

Surface constraints

*pleasantly surprisingly

Order of V elements

"I'll bring you in some" (NYPD Blue, 21 Mar 95; previous sentence referred to flowers)

"Yeah, they'll bring you some in" (NYPD Blue, 22 Nov 95; refers to a soft drink)

Pied piping

"James and Althea Thurber — the precise psychodynamics of whose troubled marriage eludes even Mr. Kinney — divorced in 1935" (*NYT Books*, 10 Dec 95)

"It is not necessary for you to monitor this process, but let us hope that everyone rinses out the sink, whatever use to which it was put" (Miss Manners, 24 Feb 95)

Agreement

"Neither cigar nor pipe smoking are permitted" (AA, 26 Mar 95)

"Link up with me at Botwinick Bridge . . . before Krunch or Klang get there" (Terry & the Pirates, 3 July 95)

"Just wait and see what this harsh sun and wind does to your hair" (Crock, 3 Aug 95)

"There is almost no cognitive value and associated methodological rule which have been shown to stand in this one-to-one relation to each other" (Laudan, *Science and Values*, 36; any other combination of agreements is worse; singular is required because *no* counts cognitive values, not value/rulepairs)

They aren't klutzes like us??me. They aren't klutzes like we are.

I am.

"Or, to make an end, it is milleniumism, or the theory that the world is going to blow up to-morrow, or the day after, or two weeks hence, and that all sweating and striving are thus useless" (Mencken, *Smart Set Criticism*, 237)

"He began scooping up feces and throwing them at me" (R. Fouts, quoted in Blum, *The Monkey Wars*, 16)

"Who are the only father-son team to win an Oscar for the same movie?" (St. Louis Post-Dispatch trivia quiz, 28 Dec 95; *is* would be even worse)

Care marking

"I know you're surprised that me, 'Denise, the man hater,' is getting married" (The Buckets, 29 Aug 95)

Identity

"I had nothing to do with Abby's death—There's no way they could prove I had" (Suspense: Pink Camelias)

"To the British there is no hero like Horatio Nelson (1758-1805), and probably never will be" (NYT Books, 8 Jan 95)

"They may not have any commercial value at the moment but will in the long run" (letter by Paul Hindemith, quoted in Noss, *Paul Hindemith in the United States*, 60; \emptyset = have some commercial value)

"But as it stands, A₃ carries no explanatory force. It fails to do so because the reason it offers for accepting evolutionary theory seems to be no legitimate reason at all" (Laudan, *Progress and Its Problems*, 167)

"She takes no umbrage, nor desires to pretend it" (Anderson, *The Stars are also Fire*, 474; *it* = that she takes any umbrage)

"I am not X's linguistics advisor (who is away on extended leave), so I cannot comment on the work she has already completed towards her thesis" (letter of recommendation, 1995; predicate NP = referential NP)

"I remember the father in a father-son impersonator pair from Dubuque telling me an elaborate fantasy (although I'm not sure he realized it was \emptyset) about running into Lisa Marie Presley on the grounds of Graceland on Death Night a year ago" (*NYT Mag.*, Sept 24 95)

"He'd simply been placed in a situation he didn't comprehend. How well did she \emptyset ?" (Anderson, *The Stars are also Fire*, 70; \emptyset = comprehend it)

"I could ask him to do simple tasks, and he would" (Savage-Rumbaugh & Lewin, *Kanzi*, 46; \emptyset = do them)

" . . . but he did discover Katharine Angell, a strong-minded, versatile editor with sound literary taste, something Ross lacked and knew it" (*NYT Books*, 2 Apr 95, 16; *it* = 'he lacked \emptyset ')

"A Human Rights Watch-Africa report earlier quoted soldiers admitting that they killed and raped Ogonists to intimidate them" (Tribune, 1 Nov 95; variable = domain?)

"Speaking of opera, we'll have one at 8 o'clock" (WFMT, 3 May 95; mass = count)

"My central concern in writing this essay has been from the outset to offer an account of scientific debate and scientific decision making that does as much justice as I can to what we have come to learn about how science works" (Laudan, *Science and Values*, xiii; what I do = what the account does)

Sloppy identity

"Mr Buggage, you see, at this particular moment, had exactly sixty-six different accounts in his own name and Miss Tottle had twenty-two" (Roald Dahl, *Collected Stories*, 715)

"Say it's someone whose interests are not precisely identical with those of Universal Trans, and keep your suspicions to yourself. I am" (Biggle, *All the colors of darkness*, 168)

"Voltaire created Pangloss as a parody of Leibniz, and it is exaggerated and unfair to Leibniz—as all good parody is" (Dennett, *Darwin's Dangerous Idea*, 239; all good parody is unfair to Leibniz?)

Conjoining

"Residents of Oakland's Sungen apartments feel secure enough to leave their footwear at the door—and the door unlocked" (Tribune, 21 June 95)

"The difference between how the television production and her earlier experience affected her is emblematic of how much Lange has changed in three years" (Tribune, 14 Apr 95; conjunction reduction into lower S?)

"Thank you, and thank all of you listeners out there for your support" (WFMT Operathon 95)
"I do it myself now and then, and yet I am neither an apoplectic, a maniac, a felon or a divorcee" (Mencken, *Smart Set Criticism*, 293)

"You could not design a better experiment of cross-species transmission of a virus than to transplant an organ from a baboon to a human, and then immunosuppressing the hell out of the human; to keep it from rejecting the organ" (biologist quoted in Blum, *The Monkey Wars*, 225; different Comps in the two conjuncts)

"It's been at once the most repugnant and perplexing mystery in the murder of Debra Evans and two of her children: ..." (Sun-Times, 22 Nov 95)

Category identity of conjuncts

"He chose the 11-year-old Chakrabongse, who, with his close but commoner friend Nai Poom Sakara, was living in Surrey..." (Telegraph Magazine, 25 Mar 95, 38)

"It can take about 40 minutes to get your tickets and into the show" (Sun-Times, 26 Sept 95)

Gapping

"In the remaining three chapters of Chomsky's book no evidence is used or argument adduced that would not be acceptable in principle to someone who still thought that the aims of generative grammar should be... as they had been... in *Syntactic Structures*" (Matthews, *Grammatical Theory in the US*, 213; shared determiner)

"But, unlike Hill's last western, ... there's such a baroque lushness to the visuals, and gusto to the performances, it rarely seems heavy" (Tribune, 1 Dec 95)

"Keep you your word, O Duke, to give your daughter,
You yours, Orlando to receive his daughter" (*As you like it*, V. iv. 19-20; 3-part residue)

Rosalind: Searching of thy wound I have by her adventure found mine own.

Touchstone: And I mine. (*As You Like It* II. iv. 42-4)

"Since the days of Salome, who's been depicted on film by Theda Bara in 1918, Alla Nazimova in 1923, and Rita Hayworth in 1953, strippers have paradoxically achieved power through nakedness" (Tribune Arts, 30 Apr 95)

Parallelism of conjuncts

"Save 25% on 1995 wall and engagement calendars!" (ad, Maroon, 13 Jan 95)

"Farmers and flea markets" (sign, New Orleans, 1995)

"Tickets are available at the gate or by calling 708-xxx-xxxx" (WFMT commercial, July 95)

"... Norman would have a hunch about what she was doing and either call or come home" (King, *Rose Madder*, 50)

"Just yesterday I forgot to eat lunch, to salute the general, my belt, and where I parked your jeep" (Beetle Bailey, 27 July 95)

"Be assured that Truman is seen playing poker and the piano..." (NYT Arts, 30 July 95)

"After paying taxes and his toll collectors, each of whom received \$3.50 an hour, he had a profit of \$34,660.72" (NYT, 27 Aug 95)

"Nolen created the demanding title role of Carlisle Floyd's *Willie Stark*, in which he was seen by Houston Grand Opera audiences and on national television" (Lyric Opera program, Nov 95)

Peripheral coordinating conjunctions

"I am fluent in ASL and English as well as have experience in Manually Coded English and other sign systems" (fellowship application, 1995)

"So it passed a law forcing afternoon closure of pubs to ensure that the armaments workers stayed at work rather than spent long hours propping up bars" (*Yorkshire Post*, 18 Mar 95)

"He heard the sound of crunching like a cricket song in the thin Martian air rather than felt the grinding through his ankles" (Pohl & Thomas, *Mars Plus*, 1)

"... not a fantastic, pale green mystic like W. B. Yeats, or a maker of crude folk plays like Douglas Hyde, but a noble poet plus a great dramatic craftsman..." (Mencken, *Smart Set Criticism*, 51)

Placement of conjunction

"It used to be said that jazz players were either black, Jewish, Italian or Irish" (*NYT Magazine*, 25 June 95)

Respectively construction

"Do you think they're doing this so the regular baseball players will sign a contract?" asked Sue McKervern, who stood at a fence with her two young children while their 20-year-old husband and father... tried to impress Blue Jay scouts and minor league coaches" (NYT, 22 Jan 95; noncoordinate antecedent)

Buffalo and Niigata are the cities in their respective countries that are most renowned for having severe winters.

RNR

"I would judge my reactions similar to what Jan and what Bob said" (Arnold D, 24 Oct 95)

"Are you, or is someone you know, interested in a piano?" (WFMT commercial, May 95)

"There is progress in philosophy just as surely as, if more slowly than, there is in science" (Laudan, *Science and Values*, xiii)

"From my point of view (and I suspect that from Duhem's too), the real challenge of the Duhemian analysis consists, not in showing how we can 'localize' falsehood or truth, but rather in showing what rational strategies there are for selecting a better complex" (Laudan, *Progress and Its Problems*, 44)

"<They> also infiltrated the graduate institutions that epitomized male professional-ism—Yale Law and Harvard Medical Schools" (*NYT Magazine*, 27 Aug. 95)

Stripping

"Any customer bringing paper bags back or canvas bags will receive \$.05 credit" (sign, Mr. G, 95; in context, *back* figures only in the first conjunct)

Complements

"He forbade women from wearing pants, men from wearing their hair long or growing beards and ran the country as though it were his personal piggy bank" (Tribune, 24 Jan 95)

"Royal aides demand Prince gets British car" (*Glasgow Herald*, 18 Mar 95)

"Gimme a good trap and a piece of cheese and I'll show you what else we can do" (Blondie, 16 Nov 95)

"I figure I'll hire an eye kept on him" (Anderson, *The Stars are also Fire*, 22)

"But I've listened to Suspense attain new dramatic heights this season" (Ronald Colman, *Suspense*, 1 June 53)

"I thought I saw in the room a shadow move" (*Suspense: The man within; Heavy-Constituent-Shift on a shadow move?*)

Complementizer-deletion

"There's nothing wrong with John whatsoever other than he killed a couple people" (friend of John Salvi, quoted in 2 Jan 95 Tribune)

Complementizer selection

"... he refused to accept that he needed treatment..." (Sunday Times [London], 12 Mar 95)

"Whilst I accept no one else had any part in her death, I remain to be convinced that she necessarily intended taking her own life" (*Telegraph*, 23 Mar 95)

"Lawrence's journey looked to be perilous" (*NYT Magazine*, 2 Apr 95)

"The commission assesses that Iraq obtained or sought to obtain all the items and materials..." (UN report quoted by William Safire, Tribune, 13 Apr 95)

That doesn't preclude his/him winning. That doesn't preclude there being a riot. (evidence that *Acc-ing* can substitute for *Poss-ing* when there's no possessive)

"If you'll pardon me, Mr. Lem Cluson, I'm going home and start his dinner" (*Suspense: Beware the Quiet Man; and as Comp?*)

"I'm not going to school and leave you home alone" (Curtis, 17 Apr 95)

"I'm going in and take a bath, put on my makeup and get dressed for the party" (Hagar the Horrible, 6 Apr 95)

"It depends on if you count 'whining'" (Dilbert, 20 Nov 95)

"I doubt if there are many black adults who haven't had bad experiences with cops" (Royko, 26 Jan 95)

"What would make you really, really happy? □1. If further research confirms that eating tofu reduces cholesterol. □2. If watching 'the X-files' while eating shortbread cookies reduces cholesterol" (Sylvia, 11 Oct 95)

Extrapolation

"And I like that on the Net, personal appearance counts for nothing" (Doonesbury, 21 July 95; Extrap usually obligatory with *like*)

P-deletion

"With a bald father and two bald grandfathers, I had ample warning what to expect" (Dear Abby, 10 May 95)

Reduced

"So, Ed... Do you think that snow's going to be coming down like they've been calling for?" (Crankshaft, 30 Oct 95)

"Jenny, Marvin needs his nails trimmed" (Marvin, 15 May 95)

"I'm not sure they'd be any happier with us together miserable" (NYPD Blue, 16 May 95)

"Isn't her hair cute short?" (overheard, 10 June 95)

Stuicing

"Oliver: Know you where you are, sir?"

Orlando. O, sir, very well; here in your orchard.

Oliver: Know you before whom, sir?" (*As you like it*, I.i.39-41)

"Someone—and it has never been revealed whom—from within the laboratory tipped activists off to the existence of those tapes" (Blum, *The Monkey Wars*, 118)

Various constructions

Absolute

"We can't lift with them, the shape they're in" (Simak, *All the traps of Earth*, 154)

"My honest answer is that I expect this march to be tragically counterproductive, with the only black men benefitting to be Chavis and Farrakhan" (Carl Rowan, Sun-Times, 13 Oct 95)

Adverbs

"Bloomfield remarks that syntax 'cannot entirely be separated' from morphology" (Matthews, *Grammatical Theory in the US*, 62)

"... <Darwin> began to fancy himself a country clergyman after the model of the 18th Century naturalist Gilbert White, whose 'Natural History of Selbourne' he had early loved" (Tribune Books, 30 Apr 95)

"Miss Manners is not asking for it back" (Miss Manners, 28 Apr 95)

"Mahi-mahi over 50 pounds can do real damage to a boat and should be quickly brought under control" (*Newsweek*, 8 May 95)

"<He> smacked into a pillar in front of the store, knocking himself briefly unconscious" (Reader, 18 Aug 95)

"I'll dress all up" (Suspense: Want Ad)

"I way overbought" (Kim C, 24 Dec 95)

Ambient *it*

"I want to try to cool it down a bit" (July 95)

Auxiliary verbs

"Ought it, then, be that way now?" (Dennett, *Darwin's Dangerous Idea*, 461)

"... Kuhn's *Structure* ought no longer be regarded as the *locus classicus*..." (Laudan, *Science and Values*, xiii)

"There could apparently never be compelling grounds for saying that one paradigm is better than another" (Laudan, *Science and Values*, 72; *could* in scope of both Adv's)

"... the first publisher that I sent it to accepted it forthwith, as any other intelligent publisher would have done" (Mencken, *Smart Set Criticism*, 9)

Cleft

Fish: Hey! We're not the ones trying to put a hook in your lip! (Broom-Hilda, 20 Aug 95; presupp. is "somebody is trying to put a hook in somebody's lip", not "somebody is trying to put a hook in your lip")

Comparative

"Thai cuisine is currently as hot a food fad as the tiny chilis that characterize many of its dishes" (MacWorld, Mar 95, noted by Peter Daniels)

"I am as agog as the next person to see Lauren Bacall back in the theatrical harness" (Guardian, 20 Mar 95)

"David Packard and Bill Hewlett faced obstacles no less intimidating than did Jerry Kaplan, but had more breathing room" (NYT Books, 2 July 95)

"Without the robots, Man could not have gone as far or fast, or as effectively, out into the Galaxy" (Simak, *All the traps of Earth*, 117)

"As a reviewer of orchestra concerts, I am as convinced of as I am baffled by the ability of a powerful guest conductor to change the sound of an unfamiliar orchestra in the space of three rehearsals" (NYT Arts, 13 Aug 95; RNR in comparative)

"They are not as beautiful to behold as I'm sure she is in her herringbone suit" (letter to Reader, 17 Nov 95; *I'm sure* gets parenthetical interpretation)

"And believe me, he's reckoned to have sliced up more people than most folk have cut up Sunday joints" (writer quoted in 18 Mar 95 *Sun*)

comparative: Stripping

"The chances that folks who are poor in this city will take half a step in the right direction are 100 times greater if Marion Barry says, 'You know, we ought to try this,' than any other elected official in this city" (Newt Gingrich, quoted in NYT Magazine, 29 Oct 95)

"Gun laws may hurt more than help" (headline, Sun-Times, 30 Oct 95)

"An estimated 40,000 women a year die of alcohol-related illnesses, almost as many as breast cancer" (Tribune, 26 Mar 95)

"In all honesty, I must say that I heard from a great many more readers who agreed with you than with me" (Ann Landers, 24 July 95; CNPC violation?)

"Simon and Chen's measurements detected companions much closer to T Tauri stars than was possible with infrared imaging" (*Sci. Am.*, Oct 95, 136)

"His real name was Arthur Fellig, but New York baptized him Weegee because of the Ouija board that was said to get him to a cadaver faster than a cop" (*NYT Magazine*, 22 Oct 95; = faster than a cop gets to a cadaver?)

"Very likely we have learned more from them than ever they from us" (Anderson, *The Stars are also Fire*, 75)

"... it is no safer talking on a phone while driving than reading the newspaper or watching TV..." (Sun-Times, 1 Dec 95)

"More travelers do than don't tip drivers of airport buses and vans" (Tribune Travel, 19 Nov 95)

"Many adults I've talked to actually liked this film more than their children" (Siskel, Tribune, 24 Dec 95; nice illustration of the ambiguity)

Comparative-conditional

"My husband, on the other hand, says his desire increases the more I refuse, and that by practising, I'll enjoy it more" (Playboy Advisor, Apr 95)

"... and the originality of his fiction suffered the farther he got from his real-life sources" (*NYT Books*, 2 Apr 95, 18; = ... suffered more...?)

"It tends to be definite the further south you go" (D. Gil, 10 Sept 95)

The greater his success was/Ø in interpreting Mahler, the lower his reputation was/*Ø among the critics.

comparative congeners

Is it better/preferable to hold your view?

Is it any better/*preferable to hold your view?

"Just as it is valuable for us to know of our own internal states, the better to manage our own existence, designers of mechanical devices need to signal the internal states of their machines, the better to keep them maintained and functioning" (Norman, *Turn Signals*, 127)

"Time passes at a different rate when we are asleep from when we are awake" (Norman, *Turn Signals*, 98)

Dative

"Hang her an epitaph upon her tomb" (*Much ado about nothing*, V.i.278)

Echoes

A: Not especially, I shouldn't think.

B: Oh-ho. You shouldn't, shouldn't you! (Roald Dahl, *Collected Stories*, 610)

Exclamative

"Paper are piling up at the office. Whatever [sic] will I do?" (Cathy, 27 Jan 95)

Did you ever! *Did you ever?

Heavy Constituent Shift

"All you need do is place on the table with the meal a cool bottle of Roma hearty California burgundy" (radio commercial, Suspense, 21 Sept 44)

Interrogative

"Your husband can't be that helpless, could he?" (Apt. 3G, 20 Jan 95)

Inversions

"But while broadly accepting Bloomfield's theory of what meanings were, Harris in particular developed the tenets of distributionalism, in which not merely does the study of language start from form rather than meanings... but the entire investigation of meaning is 'put off'... until a formal description has been completed" (Mathews, *Grammatical Theory in the US*, 84)

"Was ever uttered a less aphrodisiacal phrase?" (*NYT Books*, 2 Apr 95, 10)

He actually can't get it through his head that we want to help him.

♣ He can't actually get it through his head that we want to help him.

Can you actually not get it through your head that we want to help you?

*Can't you actually get it through your head that we want to help you?

Can't you get it through your head that we want to help you?

??Can you not get it through your head that we want to help you?

Locative inversion

"Recesses and flutings made a subtle pattern over which smoked the hues of a thousand different sunsets" (Anderson, *The Stars are also Fire*, 142)

"... and it looked as if here she would stay... all three of them would stay..." (Grimm, *Bodyguard*, 26)

Presentative

"There it all was in the morning paper" (Suspense: "Green-eyed monster")

Middle

"You could sell me, but I convince easy from you, baby" (Suspense: Angel Face)

Negation

"He would have pulled it off if some white suburban cops, on a brilliant hunch, hadn't found the gun" (Royko, 12 Oct 95; parenthetical in scope of *it*)

Negative raising

"But I don't think you ought to turn me down quite so quickly..." (Roald Dahl, *Collected Stories*, 18)

Nominalization

"... What merit's in that reason which denies The yielding of her up" (*Troilus & Cressida* II.ii.25)

"... the defenders to the death of clause 4..." (ITV News, 10 Mar 95)

"Even the various plans of revenge Richard sets in motion... all have the conceptual brilliance but complete non-effect of Tull's own high-literary novels" (*Tribune Books*, 14 May 95)

"I suggest that the difference between the morphological transparency of *someone*, etc. and the morphological opacity of *who*, etc. is responsible for the ability of the former but not the latter to host reduced relative clauses..." (*SPhE*, 13.15)

"... a vast, undifferentiated herd of good-humored animals—Knights of Pythias, Presbyterians, Ph.D.'s, Prohibitionists, readers of the *Saturday Evening Post*, admirers of Massenet, sitters on committees, weepers at Chautauquas, wearers of badges, honest householders, children of God" (Mencken, *Smart Set Criticism*, 1)

"His release, unharmed, after two months was one of the factors that led the rebels to begin negotiations with the government..." (NYT, 3 Nov 95)

"Her defense of Heidegger, when she knew better, is hard to forgive" (quotation in NYT, 5 Nov 95)

"Their failure would have been almost as spectacular as their success was, if less meaningful"

(Anderson, *The Stars are also Fire*, 18-19; = indefinite *failure by them*)

Parenthetical

"Yale, of course, is also the university which is proud to consider—perhaps correctly—George Bush and Bill Clinton to be its two most distinguished alumni" (*Chicago Maroon*, 9 May 95)

"Above all, the book underscores that Romantic composers elevated, as did Romantic poets and painters, once trivial genres to the level of the sublime" (NYT Arts, 4 June 95)

"You have broken other laws... What of breaking just one more? Why, if necessary, not break a hundred more?" (Simak, *All the traps of Earth*, 24)

"No facile blubberer, I assure you, I have yet risen from James Huneker's *New Cosmopolis* with more tears in these eyes, and wetter ones and bigger ones, than ever a chaplain of the Junior Order of United American Mechanics gave issue to at a forty-back funeral" (Mencken, *Smart Set Criticism*, 199; host is the "absolute" NP)

Passive

"He should be written to if we want him to come" (Norma F, 31 Jan 95)

"But a study of 133 moms and babies showed the pretty babies were held closely and cooed to more often" (Sun-Times, 23 May 95)

"I refuse to be betted on like this" (Roald Dahl, *Collected Stories*, 446)

"Such patents are on the rise: 4,500 were granted in 1994, and nearly 5,400 are projected to be granted in 1995..." (Sci. Am., July 95, 30)

"Headsets and earphones are not permitted to be used at this time" (Business Express recorded announcement, Nov 95)

"Emily Dickinson is probably the most often set American poet" (Dawn Upshaw, 15 Dec 95)

Quantifier float

"She believed that little by little he came to some knowledge of her Lahui Kuikawa, the two races of it that she both loved, ..." (Anderson, *The Stars are also Fire*, 303; Q-float from object)

Raising

"You won't see many monuments to St. Thomas a Becket, because everything was ordered to be destroyed" (guide, Chester Cathedral, Mar 95)

"Thank you. Please consider the record set straight" (Dear Abby reply to letter, 4 Apr 95)

Superlative

"We got hit probably one of the hardest of anyone" (chicken farmer quoted in 15 Aug 95 Sun-Times)
"... overlooks Chicago's most stunning landscapes and interesting sights" (WFMT commercial, Aug 95)

Tough-like constructions

"If that comes to us in electronic form, then it's really fast for us to work on" (Lise M, 5 Jan 95)

"... a generally very easy person to work with..." (Maggie R, 5 Jan 95)

"Whether that is true is complicated to assess" (T. Parsons, L&P17.431)

"The building cost only \$17million to build" (Reader, 27 Jan 95)

"If you have to \emptyset , there is no finer aircraft to crash in" (pilot quoted in *Telegraph*, 18 Mar 95; \emptyset = crash in it?)

"Those were remarkable things to happen" (BBC, Mar 95)

"In lying to his customers Joe was saying: You are important enough to abase myself before" (*NYT Magazine*, 23 Apr 95)

"Mad, bad or both, Laura was certainly dangerous to know" (NYT Books, 5 Nov 95)

Vocative

In a pig's eye he did, {you bastard, *John}.

You put it where, [you bastard, ?John]?

Miscellaneous constructions

There are many, many, many persons who believe that.

*There are few, few, few persons who believe that.

"Are you (*a) fan enough to win?" (WFMT ad, May 95; cf. ... enough of a fan...)

"Why don't each one of you guys hold a cup?" (Kim C, 16 Apr 95; * doesn't)

"They talked and sang as they worked, sometimes hardly even watching their own handiwork, it was so second nature to them" (Savage-Rumbaugh & Lewin, *Kanzi*, 240. Which is the subordinate part of "They sometimes hardly even watched their own handiwork, it was so second nature to them"?)

The *-ing* in the quote suggests "it was ...", but it's the other S that takes the subordinator in "Their handiwork was so second nature to them (that) they sometimes hardly even watched it")

"... in one anecdote, he is laboriously bringing out photographic slide after slide of his defunct laboratory, trying unsuccessfully to convince the writer of his viewpoint" (Blum, *The Monkey Wars*, 121)

"In play after play, which included 'The Entertainer' (1957) and 'Inadmissible Evidence' (1964), Mr. Osborne vented his spleen at an England he regarded as parched, cramped, and soulless" (Tribune,

Constituent structure

"Now, all I want is someone to hold my hand when I pick out lawn furniture" ("Miami Rhapsody", quoted in NYT Arts, 9 Apr 95)

Categories

"She seems in rather a hurry to me" (Roald Dahl, *Collected Stories*, 193)

"Some are indifferent or outright/??outrightly hostile to religion" (*NYT Books*, 10 Dec 95)

Prepositions**Non-cum prepositions**

"... geographer Stephen Richard Higley's recent book..., which maps out where rich folks live based on their listings in the 1988 SR" (Cecil Adams, Reader, 17 Nov 95)

"Terry Southern was probably denied a more ringing critical (and economic) endorsement in Hollywood based on two factors: ..." (NYT Arts, 12 Nov 95)

"Ten days before the premiere of Oliver Stone's 'Nixon' film, Beau Bridges gets a head start vs. Anthony Hopkins in December's Tricky Dick derby" (Sun-Times, 8 Dec 95)

"Footraces vs. Trains Yield Fines" (Sun-Times, 26 Dec 95)

P' as A'

"How do you keep yourself so in shape?" (TV movie)

"Other postponees, though not in every case as in bliss about it while at study, were Shaeffer and the poet-novelist-essayist June Jordan" (Tribune Books, 20 Aug 95)

P' as argument

"Mommy, under the bed needs to be undusted" (Family Circus, 7 Nov 95)

P' as object of P

"The pseudomonas bacteria lurk all over the place, including in the urinary tract" (Sun-Times, 12 Jan 95)

"Money keeps coming in, including from the sales of this single" (UK radio, 18 Mar 95)

"The pretense has succeeded spectacularly, including in Washington, ..." (*NYT Mag*, 9 Apr 95)

"There is no smoking on the Alco bus, including in the rest room" (announcement, June 95)

"At one point, I expressed dismay that, unlike when I attended Northwestern, now there was a segregated fraternity system" (letter, *NYT Magazine*, 14 May 95)

"Unlike in the movies, nobody was wounded" (Sun-Times, 25 May 95)

"A high in the lower 80s except for in the 70s along the lake" (WFMT, 8 July 95)

"We can pinpoint it to early in the summer of 1923" (J. Joseph, LSA, 7 Jan 95)

Structure of NPs

"... the reason that I mention that detail right away is that the fight between Rob Roy and his snake of a nemesis comes at the end of the picture" (Siskel, 7 Apr 95 Tribune)

"The same notebook has drawings of other unrealized projects, including a hearing aid and achateau of a laboratory in West Orange, NJ" (*NYT Magazine*, 14 May 95)

"Mexicans are certainly not more aggressive a people than the British" (Norman, *Turn Signals*, 191)

"It is no harder a drinking town than any other town in the west of Scotland, or come to that, in Scotland" (Oban tourist board official, quoted in Tribune, 9 Aug 95)

their majesties King George and Queen Elizabeth

*their holinesses Pope John and Pope Paul

Take all/*both these.

tomorrow evening. *the day after tomorrow evening.

"Glaring exceptions to such standards today spring not from essential changes in ballerina status or finesse but from unsuccessful candidates for the position chosen by ballet masters in name only" (Stagebill, May 95)

"I would thou hadst been son to some man else" (*As you like it*, I.ii.214)

"I sense Carolyn's same primal hunger myself at least once every blue moon" (*NYT Magazine*, 1 Oct 95)

*a Spanish little girl a little Spanish girl

We saw four Spanish and two Portuguese bullfighters.

* [] who were favorites of the fans.

Several hundred of the enemy's horses/livestock have been captured. (Poutsma, *Grammar of Late Modern English*, 190, gives the *horses* version and infers that *horses* has been deleted after *several hundred*)

Apposition

"Simpson then asked to speak with Arnelle, who later picked up his young daughter, Sydney, then 8, and son, Justin, then 6" (Tribune, 17 Feb 95)

"Shannon Lee, who has no interest in participating in the martial arts that made her late father Bruce and brother Brandon famous" (20 Oct 95 Tribune; *late* applies to both conjuncts)

Hey, you two/*three. You two/three can do this.

"But they're also more likely to get in trouble, such as joining gangs, he said" (Sun-Times, 7 July 95)

"Hong Kong's Sept. 17 vote for democracy. . . was a blow to Beijing and a rebuke to London, the capitals in charge of Hong Kong's future" (Tribune, 26 Sept 95; split antecedent)

Articles

Aldworth was built some dozen years ago. (Poutsma, *Grammar of Late Modern English*, 192; * -> Ø)

the whole Bronx ??the/*Ø whole Brooklyn

Genitive

Lt. Fancy: I'm going to make a recording of this conversation for both of our benefits. (*NYPD Blue*, 9 May 95; = the benefit of both of us; both of us's ??benefit/*benefits)

"I have to get it clear. For both of our sakes" (Pohl, *Voices of Heaven*, 31)

"Both of their stock is dropping" (overheard, 27 Dec 95; = [both of them]'s stock)

"This is the problem of putting a man of genius into a story in such a fashion that he will seem real—in such fashion that the miracle of him will not blow up the plausibility of him" (Mencken, *Smart Set Criticism*, 46; the plausibility of him = his plausibility, the miracle of him ≠ his miracle)

"I don't know [whose all] this is" (Kim C, 24 Dec 95, in context evidently with the interpretation corresponding to the brackets)

"Her hair, I'll wager, is the shortest of any soprano's in history" (*NYT Magazine*, 23 July 95)

Relative clauses and congeners

you/we/?the who know this ??he who knows this

"Consecutive"

"The display included three sets of antlers, which, of course, were promptly stolen" (Playboy, Apr 95, 13)

Free

"There are few enough things you'd like to keep how they were" "You gotta take it how it comes... Let me do it how I gotta do it" (NYPD Blue, 21 Mar 95, 24 Oct 95)

"You get to listen to it however long you want" (Blockbuster radio ad, March 95)

"You were what counted, Dagny, and Juliana was who eased the confusion out of you" (Anderson, *The Stars are also Fire*, 24)

"The concerns are primarily those of radiation-induced heart disease. While rare, this was caused by how radiation was given in the '60s and '70s" (Tribune letter, 8 Dec 95)

Nonrestrictive

"All of the interviews were taped, which I then transcribed" (admissions dossier, Jan 95; is the antecedent 'the interviews', or is it understood 'tape recording(s)')?

"If the organism did lack DNA and RNA, the finding would mean that it was not a virus or any other known type of infectious agent, all of which contain genetic material" (Sci Am, Jan 95, 50; *which* = viruses and other known types of infectious agents?)

"The other; is daughter to the banish'd Duke,
And here detain'd by her usurping uncle
To keep his daughter; company, whose; i; loves
Are dearer than the natural bond of sisters." (*As you like it*, I.ii.263-6; split antecedent)

"And three or four loving lords have put themselves into voluntary exile with him, whose lands and revenues enrich the new Duke" (*As you like it*, I.i.97-9; *whose* probably = the lords')

"These were especially written for a string quartet that was comprised of two gifted young violinists studying at the school, Blanche Raisin and Jean F. Harris, Hindemith as violist, and Gertrude as cellist, whose limited skills on the instrument had to be accommodated" (Noss, *Paul Hindemith in the United States*, 123)

"Of particular interest is the 14th Century when the productivity of this process was relatively low and during which century three of the possible prepositional prefixes ceased to be subject to <it>" (Anshen/Aronoff lecture abstract, Oct 95)

Omission of that
"I have a kind of self [Ø resides with you]" (*Troilus & Cressida* III.ii.146)

"Who were those [Ø went by]?" (*Troilus & Cressida* I.ii.1)

"Had I a sister [Ø were a grace], or a daughter a goddess, he should take his choice" (*Troilus & Cressida* I.ii.238-9; note also gapping in second conjunct)

"There's a place next door will do it" (Simak, *All the traps of Earth*, 21)

"What's a South Carolina virgin?" the children joke in 'River of Names,' one of her short stories.

"At's a 10-year-old Ø can run fast" (*NYT Magazine*, 17 Dec 95)

"There is nothing Ø doth more awaken our thoughts or excite our minds to enquire into the causes of such things, than the actual view of them" (Thomas Burnet, quoted in Rosen, *The Romantic Generation*, 143)

"Hi, Mr. Wilson. I brought some friends over I'd like you to meet" (Dennis the Menace, 21 June 95)

Reduced
??everyonditalian everyone who is Italian (Nigel V?)
quiet, pleasant place somewhere pleasant, quiet (Dick Hudson gives these examples, noting that while an indefinite pronoun can host one A, it can't host two)

Syntactic metonymy, amalgams, mimicry

Mental space phenomena

Sarge: Sometime I'd like to be here when I'm gone. (Beetle Bailey, 13 Aug 95)

Reanalysis

"To what Reinhardt describes as his own amazement, the wild-running cattle were far more prolific" (Blum, *The Monkey Wars*, 192)

"Bryan T. Sisson, a Las Vegas man who solicited sex from what he thought was a 14-year-old Milwaukee girl on the Internet, was sentenced Tuesday in U.S. District Court in Milwaukee to 21 months in prison" (Tribune, 28 Sept 95)

Telescoping

"They can't prove who I am" (Simak, *How-2*, 86)

Vicarious quantification, etc.

"Most men's cars are pretty important to them" (person quoted in 19 Oct 95 Sun-Times)

"After the war, Graves withdrew to his home on Majorca, where he held generous court, ..." (NYT Books, 5 Nov 95)

"The Prince of Wales at least showed up in royal person this fall..." (Tribune, 27 Dec 94)

"Ford... is at his serious, preoccupied best as the yuppie of the '80s who still hasn't gotten the message that greed isn't good in the '90s" (Siskel, Tribune, 15 Dec 95)

"And so seven years after making both their rather colorful acquaintances, I courteously narrowed the dynamic by accepting my wife's divorce" (*NYT Mag*, 9 Apr 95)

Indirect, semi-direct discourse

"... not merely the tape-recorder chanting the alphabet, but hypnosis, deep recall, heaven knew what..." (Pohl, *Whatever counts*, 290)

"Just in his spare time—although God knew, he thought, a man had little enough of that, working fifteen hours a week" (Simak, *How-2*, 69)

Interpretation of operators

Scope

"No food or drink to be consumed in this vehicle" (sign, Glasgow, Mar 95)

"A New York City woman who used 15 names and falsely claimed to have 73 children pleaded guilty in August to defrauding state and local welfare authorities out of \$450,000" (Reader, 27 Jan 95; implies that there are 73 children she claimed to have, not in the sense that 73 such children exist, but

in the sense that the "identities" of 73 nonexistent children do)

Fountain pens are still manufactured. * Fountain pens still are manufactured.

"Yes, you can buy a Mercedes-Benz on Friedrichstrasse in East Berlin, where only the tiny, soot-spitting East German-built Trabants once chugged" (NYT Magazine, 5 Feb 95, 46; once > only)

"... Jane Grant estimates that he hired and fired some 300 people during the first two years" (*NYT Books*, 2 Apr 95, 7; evident meaning: there were 300 persons, such that he hired x and fired x)

"When most shoplifters are apprehended, they have in their wallets or purses enough money to have purchased the items they attempted to steal" (Zazz, 20 June 95)

"But in any case, some of the islands are also claimed by five other countries" (*NYT Magazine*, 27 Aug. 95; intended meaning apparently is: there are five other countries that claim one or more of the islands)

"If you kick your drug habit, you may still not get your kids back" (judge quoted in *NYT Magazine*, 15 Oct 95; still follows may but has higher scope)

"10,000: Minimum fee, in dollars, an economist can command per speech after winning the Nobel" (*Tribune Magazine*, 17 Dec 95; evidently means: the laureate can demand that he be paid \$10,000, not that \$10,000 is the minimum he can demand to be paid)

Vice versa

... and conversely. [is vice versa an Adv?] *... but Bill said that vice versa.

... but not v. v. /conversely. *... but Bill said that conversely.

[does vice versa have to be preceded by and/or/na?]

Topic, time reference

"At this moment he's probably seeing quite as well as he did before" (Roald Dahl, *Collected Stories*, 32)

"Places in italic type were in the former Soviet Union" (NYT graph caption, 16 July 95)

"Two weeks before Christmas, he was fired Monday because at age 79 he no longer can hold the children on his lap" (Tribune, 13 Dec 95; two time-locative adverbials)

Metonymy

"Then he shook Mr Zuckermann warmly by the hand..." (Roald Dahl, *Collected Stories*, 164)

Quotation

"What's in the scroll,' quoth he, 'thou keepest furled?'" (Browning, 'A grammarian's funeral', 47, quoted in Harris, *The Language Myth*)

Three different treatments of *shit* in quotations in newspapers:

1. "I told the fire chief that the guy who handles [excrement] for the police department is off today" (Chicago Police Bomb Squad officer quoted in 4 Dec 95 Tribune; he undoubtedly didn't mean 'excrement')

2. "Those shoes are [garbage]" (person quoted in 7 Dec 95 Richard Roeper column)

3. "Where I was born — Greenville South Carolina — smelled like nowhere else I've ever been. Cut wet grass, split green apple, baby [expletive] and beer bottles, cheap makeup and motor oil" (Allison, *Two or Three Things I Know for Sure*, quoted in NYT Magazine, 17 Dec 95; *shit* here wasn't an expletive)

Miscellaneous semantic-pragmatic

"When Rousseau's father, we learn from the 'Confessions,' proposed to speak to his son about the boy's mother, who had died in the same manner, Rousseau would say, 'Now we're going to weep'" (NYT Book Review, 22 Jan 95, noted by SYK; empathy shift)

"Thomas Kunkel has written a fully rounded account of Ross's career that does the editor that Ross was justice and entertains as well" (*NYT Books*, 2 Apr 95, 7)

"Passeau won the third game, using his blinding speed to pitch only the second one-hitter in World Series history" (Tribune, 8 Mar 95; = to pitch what was only the second...)

Even? Only his novels all bore me.

"Controlled Demolition Inc. will use less than 100 pounds of carefully placed dynamite to implode the building Tuesday morning" (Sun-Times, 22 May 95)

"He'd been retired like 10 years when I first started knowing him" (NYPD Blue, 12 Dec 95)

Pragmatics

"I shall be arguing that there are important nonempirical, even 'nonscientific'... factors which have—and which should have—played a role in the rational development of science" (Laudan,

Progress and Its Problems, 5; cancellation of implicature *should have* -> *didn't*)

Quadratives

"What's her name, who does the 'Sylvia' strip, should learn that if you can't read the words, who's going to try to read the strip?" (Tribune comics survey, 30 Jan 95)

Morphology

"Tell them to stay hid/"hidden out till ..." (Suspense: A present for Benny)

Genitive 's

"New study supports fish's benefit in diet" (Sun-Times headline, 1 Nov 95)

Inflection

"You're going to start me at 300G's, aren't you?" (Doodlesbury, 25 July 95; 300 grand/*grands; but cf. computere: 800 K/*K's)

"... at least two of his Mercedes have been confiscated..." (Tribune, 24 Jan 95)

"For the past decade every one of our 'Battle of the Bands' has taken place in a downpour" (Funky Winderbean, 23 Oct 95)

"I speak but brotherly of him" (*As you like it*, I.i. 146-7)

"A pot of coffee arrived, and the pie—a whole pie for the two of them—and they polished it off leisurely" (Biggle, *All the colors of darkness*, 166)

"But you moved with unearthly ease, and if you dropped something, it fell dreamlikeslowly" (Anderson, *The Stars are also Fire*, 152)

"... one of the city's most high-crime neighborhoods..." (NYT, 30 Apr 95)

"Medicine's minorest moments" (Burnt Offerings, 27 Sept 95)

"Cleanthes insists that God's mind is like the human— and agrees when Philo adds 'the liker the better'" (Dennett, *Darwin's Dangerous Idea*, 30)

Word formation

"But Winnetka police said Wednesday that they are re-interviewing witnesses... before issuing their report" (Tribune, 19 Jan 95)

"Before we go back and re-interview him..." (NYPD Blue, 31 Oct 95)

"Jury Resentences Cop Killer to Death" (Sun-Times headline, 6 June 95; article makes clear that it refers to a new death sentence, i. e. re- + [sentence to death])

re-replicate re-renovate *re-resume *re-reform ??re-repair

"He scratched his cheek and stared puzzledly at the players around him" (Wallace, *Delay in Transit*, 139)

photograph_{N/V} photo_{N+V}

"They are evil satires that out-poststructuralize the deconstructionists" (*NYT Magazine*, 15 Oct 95)

"<Vidal> once wrote of Mary McCarthy that she was 'un-corrupted by compassion'" (*NYT Magazine*, 15 Oct 95)

"Building partially sprinklered" (Sign, Manhattan, Aug 95)

"... he talked himself hoarse catching his mother up on recent events" (*NYT Magazine*, 25 June 95)

"The lamps ahead glared the stars away from her" (Anderson, *The Stars are also Fire*, 109)

"Histone, deliberately coarse, gentled" (Anderson, *The Stars are also Fire*, 24)

Back formations

"But I don't agree that I am aggressing against anyone by running for president or by being president" (Harry Browne, May 95 *Liberty*)

"We could complement their registration" (Maggie R, 5 Jan 95; = make complementary)

"... was probably reinstrumentated by C.P.E. Bach" (WFMT, 16 July 95)

"In all, some 100,000 physical properties, including farms, houses, and small businesses, were quickly restituted" (*Reason*, Apr 95, 30)

"Both parties politicked heavily" (*Reason*, 32)

"If you play a few games, you really start to understand more of how the machine is architected..." (D Crabb, quoted in 27 Sept 95 *Maroon*)

"Well, perhaps we could incent people by mentioning <description of premium>" (WFMT Operathon

95)

"Shortly after its government went bust, the Cuyahoga River that runs through town combusted from gaseous pollutants..." (Tribune, 28 Sept 95)

"In Hamberg and other North Dakota outposts, collapsing buildings are scavenged for lumber" (*NYT Magazine*, 15 Oct 95)

"All I can tell you about this diary is, if it authenticates, and I think it will, there'll be a lot of sweaty palms on the west side" (Murder One, 5 Oct 95)

"... accurately quantitates all of your samples" (mail-order ad, noted by Peter Daniels)

"He was more dark-complected than the other one" (NYPD Blue, 24 Oct 95)

"But if Smith junior already has the misguided notion that certain cows are carnivorous (perhaps because man-eating cows feature in some television science-fiction serial he watches), ..." (Harris, *The Language Myth*, 30)

Wife: Is there anything you can do? Hoffman: Not much, except sit around feeling sorry for this poor kid and obsessing about Richard Cross. (Murder One, 2 Nov 95)

"Yes. I remember. He would have jubilated" "No gatherings jubilate" (Anderson, *The Stars are also Fire*, 346, 502)

"Heaven predestines all in like fashion" (Auden, *Rake's Progress*)

"It is true that polecats, like foxes, will surplus kill if let loose among poultry..." (*Telegraph*, 18 Mar 95)

"He manages another building as well—and now, in addition to driving a bus, substitute teaches" (*NYT Magazine*, 2 Apr 95)

"She was court-ordered not to have an abortion" (lawyer quoted in 26 Sept 95 Tribune)

"We long-range spied their home planet once, too" (Pohl, *Age of the Pussyfoot*, 100)

Compounding, complex animals

"A leap ahead in polymer technology" (Headline, *The Lamp*, Winter 95, 17)

Neologisms

"... the recently widowered Hume Cronyn and Jimmy Stewart" (Roepke, Sun-Times, 25 Jan 95)

"Presently, an agent has only three choices in processing low-fare transactions: Lose money, service charge clients, or refuse a transaction" (Tribune Travel, 5 Feb 95)

"Now introductory priced at only \$XX" (auto ad, WFMT, Feb 95)

"Under this system, art schools find themselves pressurized to produce tangible results" (BBC, Mar 95)

"Did I copy that to you, John?" (Eliz. T, 14 May 95) "You might copy Phil Gossett with that letter" (Ed S, 31 Jan 95; = send P.G. a copy of the letter)

"He was adept, of course, with the variously sized and curved scalpels..." (Pohl & Thomas, *Mars Plus*, 249; = scalpels of various sizes and curves)

"With a glove, you simply point and the glove itself is instrumented to determine where it is being pointed, which fingers are bent, and which are wiggling" (Norman, *Turn Signals*, 60)

"Place ovenable paperboard container on cookie sheet" (instructions for Trader Giotto's Mamicotti Florentine, noted by Eric S)

"The competitive process was grueling and lawyer intensive" (*Reason*, Apr 95, 32)

"Did you maintenance the Explorer?" (Walnut Cove, 26 July 95)

"With a computer as his sole companion and soulmate, he could cybernate in his electronic fallout shelter..." (Tribune, 9 Oct 95)

Incorporation

"The door creaked open" (Suspense: A tale of two sisters)

Lexicon

"The Mudes seem to have struck very lucky" (person quoted in *Telegraph*, 18 Mar 95)

"Anyone found flyposting or defacing this structure will be prosecuted by Maiden Outdoor" (sign, London, Mar 95)

Shanghai is the second most populous city in the world.

*Shanghai is very populous. ??... more populous than New York.

?... the most populous city in Asia

"Only weeks after this promising meeting, King Chulalongkorn died, aged 58, never having clapped eyes on his daughter-in-law" (*Telegraph Magazine*, 25 Mar 95, 39)

"I think the situation is a whole lot more dire than people seem to think here in Washington" (Maggie

R, 12 May 95)

Cross/mass

"Among the evidence: ..." (Sun-Times, 12 Jan 95)

"It doesn't cut really large wood" (*NYT Magazine*, 10 Dec 95)

Idioms

"Ejected Pippen throws a fit, chair" (Tribune headline, 25 Jan 95)

"However, according to one senior source, Channel 4 is ready to risk 'having the book thrown at it' rather than accept 'judgment by innuendo'" (Sunday Times [London], 12 Mar 95)

"A small number, including Mrs Renshaw, got carefully to their feet and threaded their ways with a kind of concealed haste between the tables and through the doorway" (Roald Dahl, *Collected Stories*, 495)

"Why? Because it is easier to give someone the finger than a helping hand" (Royko, 11 Oct 95)

"I knew that what I had was one chance in a million, but I knew I had to take it" (Suspense: Dead of Night)

"He got his, and so'll they" (Suspense: Tree of Life)

"If I can't put her out of her misery, at least I can put myself out of mine" (Cathy, 16 May 95)

"Who's Really Who" (headline on Max Frankel column, NYT Magazine, 19 Nov 95)

Lexical semantics

"The system dates from at least the turn of the century" (Matthews, *Grammatical Theory in the US*, 148; = at least as far back as the turn of the century)

"But Prof. Hans Fricke... says in the journal *Nature* today that the population has more than halved" (*Telegraph*, 23 Mar 95; = decreased by more than half)

"I am a 13-year-old eighth grader and I'm a huge Beatles fan..." (letter to Zazz, 19 Apr 95)

"Tres irmãos / Two brothers, one sister" (Chicago 1995 Latino Film Festival brochure, noted by Elisa S; 'Three siblings' would be ridiculous as the translation)

"She also gave her enthusiastic approval to the idea of his accepting a teaching engagement at Northwestern University, promising to sponsor a performance of his string quartets if he were to come there" (Noss, *Paul Hindemith in the United States*, 30; Hindemith is in Germany, *come* refers to travel to the USA, to a place hundreds of miles away from where Mrs. Coolidge was writing)

"Percentage of people who wear seatbelts regularly: 58" (*Health*, Mar 95)

immortal in Anderson's *Bridge of a Million Years* means 'can (not die)', not 'not (can die)'

We sure (*surely) needed that thunderstorm.

Surely we needed that thunderstorm *Sure we needed that thunderstorm.

Suddenly the thought/*belief struck me.

"Her father... was pals with George Gershwin" (NYT Books, 5 Nov 95)

the street fiddler/?violinist (cf. Picasso's "El violinista callejero")

"Of course we aren't talking revolution or any such foolishness today, neither you and I nor they and I" (Anderson, *The Stars are also Fire*, 399; *we* identified with both inclusive and exclusive 1pl.)

"He's stupid, but he ain't dumb" (Suspense: A present for Benny)

Selectional restrictions

"That's why it's cheap enough for us to afford" (Pohl, *Voices of Heaven*, 268)

"I don't want to rain on Batman's parade, but his new box-office record is slightly tarnished" (Ebert, Sun-Times, 20 June 95)

on/*in Sunday evening in/*on the evening on/*in that evening

Valence

"Meanwhile, officials at the Chicago Historical Society, the Art Institute of Chicago and the Museum of Science and Industry are brainstorming how they, too can create an electronic 'doorway' into their institutions" (Tribune, 2 Jan 95)

"I kept that picture because it was so good of Cindy" (NYPD Blue, 14 Feb 95; = it was such a good picture of Cindy)

"India is a very different place to Malaysia and a very different place to China" (researcher quoted in 23 Jan Sun-Times)

"Such a contrast from the Clinton crew, sighs Mr. Fitzwater..." (NYT Books, 5 Nov 95)

"The ban was imposed in 1993 after concern was raised that pandas were becoming in such great demand by zoo operators that their survival in the wild in China was being jeopardized" (Sun-Times, 31 Mar 95; *become* + P)

"... the state has to either justify the restriction or pay for the value that is being deprived" (R.

Epstein, quoted in *Reason*, Apr 95, 38)

independently of X

"Oswald escaped his mother's clutches... into the Marines at age 17" (*Tribune Books*, 14 May 95)

One day you'll cease to be. *You are. *You'll continue to be for many years.

Speech errors, screwups

"... but they complain that there is nothing for them to do or place to hang out when they are on campus and between classes" (UC memo, May 95; missing *any?*)

"Neither Simon nor I hesitates to scold our respective parties when we feel it has strayed off course or departed from important principles" (William Rentschler, Sun-Times, 19 June 95)

"Green was referring to his boyhood friend Larry Martin Demery—the only friend Green said he ever had" (Sun-Times, 1 May 95; presumably means: the x such that Green said x was the only friend he ever had)

"The average flea weighs one-millionth of a pound" (*NYT Magazine*, 22 Oct 95; would be OK without the hyphen)

"As the number of AIDS cases in women rise, so do the number of cases in children..." (Blum, *The Monkey Wars*, 214)

Crosses

"No other corpse has meant so much to a nation than Eva Peron's to Argentina" (author quoted in NYT, 30 July 95; - *er... than X so... as*)

Malapropisms

"By sentencing Wei Jingsheng... to another 14 years in prison on drummed up sedition charges..." (Tribune, 15 Dec 95; malapropism for "trumped up"?)

"It wasn't just the forgetful three days of oratory on Bosnia" (Sun-Times, 18 Dec. 95; evident intention forgettable)

Hypercorrections

"Fully to appreciate the book, the reader must be educated in the language of music theory and harmony..." (Robert Craft, in *Tribune Books*, 14 May 95)

Written language

Spelling

"Can you butle?" (movie line quoted in *NYT Magazine*, 15 Jan 95; cf. spelling in old ad: "Best bottle I've ever buttled"; < *butler*)

Punctuation

"Homicide" 's Henry Bromell used to write short stories for The New Yorker. (*NYT Magazine*, 22 Oct 95)

Interesting/amusing signs

"Irish Karaoke Nights" (pub, Manchester, Mar 95)

Other languages

German

"Se. Majestät der König haben mit Sr. Majestät dem Kaiser aller Reussen ein Off= und Defensiv= Bündnis abgeschlossen" (proclamation of Friedrich Wilhelm III, 20 Mar. 1813, noted by Rich Janda)

Spanish

Amphora

Alejandra (to Fernando): Tú y yo no podemos vivir el uno sin el otro. (*Pasioness Secretas*, 27 Jan 95)

"... que estén felices uno al lado de la otra" (telenovela, winter 95)

Laura to Macario: Si no me habría enamorado de José María, lo habría hecho de ti. (*La Dueña*, 5 Oct 95)

Backwards

"Tal vez un especialista alemán, un filósofo que haya hecho de la filosofía su especialidad, y en ésta haya enterrado, matándola antes, su humanidad, explicara mejor eso de la ciencia, cuyo fin está en sí misma..." (Unamuno, *Sentimiento Trágico*... 33)

Ellipsis

Sebastián: Se está enamorando de ti. Marialejandra: Pero yo no de él. (*Pasioness Secretas*, 30 Dec 94)

"Arreglamos los que otros no pueden Ø" (car repair commercial, ch. 44, July 95; Ø = arreglar t)

"No puedo permitir que calumnien a alguien tan caballero. Sobre todo, Ø siendo amigos" (Vargas Llosa, *Pantaleón y las Visitadoras*, 236; Ø = usted y yo)

Identity

Reina: No pasa nada. Telma: Pero puede pasar. (*Marielena* 30 Dec 94)

"No tiene nada que perder y mucho que ganar" (*Marielena* 31 Mar 95)

Use of morphological forms

Diminutive

"Las niñas están creceditas" (*Lazos de Amor*, 27 Nov 95)

"El pueblo está más allacito" (*Lazos de Amor*, 28 Nov 95)

Los tengo compraditos. (ES: only in sense of (persons) 'bribed' or 'paid off'; *Los tengo comprados* could also have the literal sense of (goods) bought)

Gender ignored

Claudia: Eres un buen muchacho, y Melisa también. (*Marielena* 3 Jan 95)

"Yo soy hija única, igual que José María" (*La Dueña*, 6 Oct 95)

"¿Son las oraciones que presuponen... o son los hablantes los que presuponen?" (Rivero, *Estudios de Gramática Generativa del Español*, 127)

"Nunca sabía que la dueña de Los Cascabeles era una mujer" (*La Dueña*, 1 Aug 95; he isn't expressing surprise that the female proprietor of previously unknown species is human but that the human proprietor of previously unknown sex is female)

?El dueño / *La dueña de esta hacienda no es su madre sino él. (judgments: ES)

Es mi madre la que es la dueña de esta hacienda. *... el dueño...

Agreement

Fabiola: ... una ambición que compartimos muchas mujeres. (*La Dueña*, 15 Nov 95; = an ambition that many of us women share)

"... todas las mujeres que hemos tenido la desgracia de amarte" (*Marielena* 5 Apr 95)

"Le dije que nadie sabemos" (*La Dueña*, 27 Sept 95 = that none of us knows)

"En la propia Francia, el 63% de los ciudadanos es contrario a la decisión presidencial" (*El País*, 5 Sept 95)

"... el 80% de la población se hubiese manifestado en contra" (*El País*, 6 Sept 95)

"... la película, que la mayoría de sus críticos no ha podido ver todavía..." (*El País*, 16 Sept 95)

"Pero lo único que esperan y reciben de Gran Bretaña no son subvenciones, sino protección frente a las amenazas de anexión procedentes de España" (*El País*, 6 Sept 95)

"Viggo, en compañía de Matt Dillon y Gary Sinise, dan vida a un trio de caraduras" (*El País*, 15 Sept 95)

"La incomunicación más el miedo a los bombardeos más el cansancio de la guerra dan como resultado un pueblo al borde del colapso" (*El País*, 16 Sept 95)

"La edad clave para detectarla son los cinco años..." (*El País*, 18 Sept 95)

"Sí, yo soy eso, cuando es yo y todo es mío y mía la totalidad de las cosas" (Unamuno, *Sentimiento Trágico*... 46)

"Muchas veces he pensado que ¿porqué te has distanciado de mi? Deben ser selos" (*EntreTinieblas*, 1540)

"Sin embargo, todos coincidieron en que la verdadera razón fueron las noticias que recibió esa mañana..." (García Márquez, *El General en su Laberinto*, 243)

"... pueden inducir cambios en el ADN que luego prosperan o no en los descendientes del animal plantacoda" (*El País*, 21 Sept 95)

Accusative

"... ha querido rendir homenaje a la persona que vio en él a un excelente músico" (*El País*, 16 Sept 95)

"¿Cuando tendremos aquí a Laura?" (*La Dueña*, 22 Nov 95; refers to Laura's dead body)

"< Flores > había separado de Colombia a Quito y Guayaquil para crear una república nueva..." (García Márquez, *El General en su Laberinto*, 209)

"La Audiencia de Alicante acaba de hacer pública una sentencia que condena a la clínica GINETEC a mantener hasta su mayoría de edad a una niña que nació después de haber sometido a esterilización a la madre" (*El País*, 14 Sept 95; what is the rationale for #?)

de = possessive

"Eso es mi vida, no la de ella" (*Pasiones Secretas*, 10 Jan 95)

Nicanor: Es sobre ese hijo de Telma y mío. (*Marielena* 1 Mar 95)

"Esto es un asunto de él y mío" (*Marielena* 10 Apr 95)

Regina: ¿De quien es este lugar? José María: Mío. (*La Dueña*, 28 Aug 95)

Clitics

"Yolanda me ha suicidado" (*EntreTinieblas*, 730)

"Y no lo puede porque el fin de la vida es vivir y no lo es comprender" (Unamuno, *Sentimiento Trágico*... 107; *lo* shows that *el fin de la vida* is a predicate NP, notwithstanding its preceding the V)

"... creer en Dios ante todo y sobre todo es querer que le haya" (Unamuno, *Sentimiento Trágico*... 105)

"Y en cuanto a la necesidad, ¿la hay absoluta?" (Unamuno, *Sentimiento Trágico*... 97; cliticized part of an object)

"... quiero vivir siempre, siempre, siempre, y vivir yo, este pobre yo que me soy y me siento ser ahora y aquí..." (Unamuno, *Sentimiento Trágico*... 45)

Clipping

"Ella la mandó a callar" (*La Dueña*, 17 Aug 95)

"Yo no me quiero meter en problemas" (*La Dueña*, 5 Oct 95)

"Apenas te acabas de acostar" (*La Dueña*, 20 Oct 95)

Regina: Todavía te tengo que pedir perdón. (*La Dueña*, 26 Oct 95)

Island constraints

"Al general Diego Ibarra, que había sido su primer edecán y una de las pocas personas a quienes tuteaba y lo tuteaban en privado y en público, le aconsejó trasladarse a algún lugar donde fuera más útil que en Venezuela" (García Márquez, *El General en su Laberinto*, 252-3; across-the-boards extraction, but *a quienes* fits only the first conjunct)

Various syntactic constructions

Absolute

"Y habiendo tantos países en este mundo, ¿cómo fue que se le ocurrió venirse para acá?" (García Márquez, *El General en su Laberinto*, 190)

Auxiliary verb

"A Paris, unos van a exponer, y otros a supervisar las últimas tendencias y estudiar nuevas vías para su penetración en el mercado internacional" (*El País*, 31 Aug 95; CR + RNR)

"... la zona debe estar particularmente protegida y recibir ayudas de la Administración para las excavaciones" (*El País*, 8 Sept 95; conjoined complement)

Cleft

"Ustedes lo que me tienen a mí es envidia" (*Pura Sangre*, 4 July 95)

"Ahora lo que tengo es preocupación" (*Lazos de Amor*, 12 Dec 95)

"... es en este mercado en el que los distribuidores están concentrando su promoción..." (*Américas*, Jul 95, 21)

"Este sueño no es la primera vez que lo tengo" (*Lazos de Amor*, 8 Dec 95)

"En una visita domiciliar que le hizo Moriano a mi madre le dijo que todo lo que tenía era miedo..." (person quoted in *El País*, 13 Sept 95)

Comparative

"Fucha es más madre de León que tú" (*Marielena* 3 Mar 95)

Mauricio to Laura: A veces me pregunto de cual me arrepiento más: que la perdí a Regina o a ti. (*La Dueña*, 11 Oct 95)

Comparative conditional

"... los ejecutivos de Disney, a quienes no se les escapa la evidencia de que cuanto más bulla meta el *sarao* acuático militar y por encrespada que esté la protesta que lo acompaña, más engordará la cifra de taquillaje de su *Marearaja*..." (*El País*, 31 Aug 95; conjoining of two forms of protasis)

Comparative cogensers

"Prefería venir que llamar" (*Pasiones Secretas*, 8 Mar 95)

"... y muchas madres preferieron par sus hijos los riesgos del contagio que no los de la prevención" (García Márquez, *El General en su Laberinto*, 113)

"Tú te casas primero que yo" (*Marielena* 11 Jan 95)

Complements

"<Gunter Grass> ha roto su silencio y ha advertido a los comentaristas que 'tengan cuidado' con el tratamiento de los libros" (*El País*, 31 Aug 95)

"Esta película... hubiese sido muy distinto de haberla dirigido hace 15 o 20 años" (Clint Eastwood quoted in *El País*, 4 Sept 95)

Complementizer choice

"... y nos aconsejan desistamos de querer penetrar en lo impenetrable" (Unamuno, *Sentimiento Trágico*... 93)

Reduced

"Suele discutirse si la Reforma nació como hija del Renacimiento o en protesta a éste, y cabe decir que las dos cosas..." (Unamuno, *Sentimiento Trágico*... 103)

Coordination

"... descubrieron un túnel que contenía una gran cantidad de huesos humanos y casi dos docenas de vasijas [intactas o que podían restaurarse]" (*Américas*, Jul 95, 6)

"Este trabajo y tú han sido mi ruina" (Vargas Llosa, *Pantaleón y las Visitadoras*, 229; would Castilian have a 2pl here?)

"Productos latinos y del país" (sign on grocery store, Chicago, 1995)

"Ya saben la razón de la presencia en Iquitos de esta curiosa y sin igual obra artística" (Vargas Llosa, *Pantaleón y las Visitadoras*, 184)

"Extendió de nuevo los brazos y, sin más, dejó el micrófono y se sentó el tiempo necesario para que [se apagaran las luces y marcharse]" (*El País*, 18 Sept 95)

"Necesito un taxi y hablar con el gerente" (*Lazos de Amor*, 29 Dec 95)

"A los Emiratos Arabes viajarán los ministros de Asuntos Exteriores, Domingo Siazon; Trabajo, José Brillantes, y del Ejecutivo, Rubén Torres" (*El País*, 20 Sept 95)

"... sin que hasta el momento haya sido posible identificar al o a los culpables" (Vargas Llosa, *Pantaleón y las Visitadoras*, 105)

"... la defensa contra las violencias intra y extrafamiliares..." (*El País*, 4 Sept 95)

"La progresiva desaparición de especies de moluscos que se está constatando representa no sólo una pena estética sino también práctica..." (*El País*, 5 Sept 95)

"Pensamos articulada, o sea reflexivamente, gracias al lenguaje articulado..." (Unamuno, *Sentimiento Trágico*... 28)

Exclamative, echo

"No te imaginas en el estado en cual yo lo encontré" (*Marielena*, 30 Mar 95)

Extraction from subordinate S

"... y León, que tú sabes como Ø es" (*Marielena*, 17 Feb 95)

"Los huesos, que se calcula que Ø son esféricos, de 18 o 20 centímetros y con una cáscara de milímetro y medio de espesor, fueron rotos por los animales al nacer..." (*El País*, 31 Aug 95)

"¿Qué andas haciendo Ø por aquí a esta hora?" (*La Dueña*, 6 Oct 95)

"No, para la razón, la verdad es lo que se puede demostrar que Ø es, que Ø existe, consuélenos o no" (Unamuno, *Sentimiento Trágico*... 87)

"... y una niña que ni tú sabes quién es el padre" (*La Dueña*, 1 Nov 95)

"¿Quién te crees que eres?" (*La Dueña*, 9 Nov 95)

Imperative

Samuel: No me vayas a abandonar. (*Pasiones Secretas*, 26 Jan 95)

Interrogative

Alejandra: ¿Gracias a quién estoy viva? (*Pasiones Secretas*, 14 Feb 95)

"¿Es usted la señora Pantoja, no es cierto?" (Vargas Llosa, *Pantaleón y las Visitadoras*, 202)

Negation

Negative polarity

"No quiero decir absolutamente nada" "No hagan absolutamente nada" (*La Dueña*, 26, 27 Sept 95)

"Quiero que regresen hasta lunes" (*La Dueña*, 24 Nov 95)

"Otra vez vamos a comer hasta las 4 de la tarde" (*La Dueña*, 8 Nov 95; = Again we aren't going to eat until 4PM)

Nominalization

"El aspecto severo de Michelangelo Antonioni, acentuado por la casi inmovilidad y el silencio forzoso que padece desde hace más de una década..." (*El País*, 4 Sept 95)

"Recógete, lector, en ti mismo, y figúrate un lento deshacerse de ti mismo..." (Unamuno, *Sentimiento Trágico*... 42)

Passive

"Fue mandado construir por Samuel Ha-Levi a mediados del siglo XIV" (Sephardic Museum, Toledo, 1995)

Raising

"Sigue habiendo grandes incertidumbres..." (*El País*, 21 Sept 95)

Parts of speech

N as A'

"Mi hija es muy dueña de sus actos" (*Lazos de Amor*, 29 Dec 95)

P as A'

"Muy en serio" (*Pura Sangre*, 20 July 95)

Nicolas: El me escribe de vez en cuando.

Abuela: Sí, muy de vez en cuando. (*Lazos de Amor*, 30 Nov 95)

P as object of P

"Este matrimonio está muerto desde hace mucho tiempo" (*Marielena*, 15 Feb 95)

"El extenso deterioro lleva a especulaciones sobre si las vasijas representan o no ofrendas particulares" (*Américas*, Jul 95, 10)

"Este año el descenso fue muy singular y, en vez de sobre el agua del río, como se ha hecho otros años, se desarrolló sobre ruedas" (*El País*, 4 Sept 95)

hasta as cross-category modifier

"Hasta me hiciste un favor" (*La Dueña*, 26 Sept 95)

"... pero era capaz de concebir una situación completa hasta en sus últimos detalles" (García Márquez, *El General en su Laberinto*, 210)

Structure of NPs

"Mientras pontificaba sin tregua sobre éstos y otros muchos asuntos, sólo hacía pausas de emergencia para lamentarse de los defectos culturales de la cocina criolla" (García Márquez, *El General en su Laberinto*, 129)

"... se sorteó a siete 'hermanos' para ejecutar la misión decidida por todos los asistentes a la ceremonia..." (Vargas Llosa, *Pantaleón y las Visitadoras*, 257)

"Buscetta... anuncia 'nuevas revelaciones' sobre la relación con la Mafia del siete veces primer ministro" (*El País*, 24 Aug 95)

"Jorge Berkeley, obispo anglicano de Cloyne y hermano en espíritu del también obispo anglicano José Butler..." (Unamuno, *Sentimiento Trágico*... 81)

"... dos taiwaneses que se casaron la pasada semana en la isla de Orchid, en la considerada primera boda submarina del país" (*El País*, 11 Sept 95)

"... una caja de oro para rapé..." (García Márquez, *El General en su Laberinto*, 215; cf. Eng. a gold [snuff box])

__ una caja para rapé de oro

Articles

"Tengo unos nervios" (*EntreTinieblas*, 670)

"Tienes unos ojos muy bonitos" "Tienes unos ojos muy hermosas" (*Marielena*, 30 Dec 94, 15 Feb 95)

"Ustedes son unos incompetentes" (*Marielena*, 1 Mar 95)

Relative clauses and their congeners

Free

"En el fondo, esa era la certidumbre de cuantos lo vieron en su último viaje, y tal vez fue por eso que nadie dejó un testimonio escrito" (García Márquez, *El General en su Laberinto*, 133)

Infinitival

"¿Ya tienen un lugar donde ir?" (*La Dueña*, 15 Nov 95)

"¿Tienes con qué apuntar?" (*Lazos de Amor*, 18 Dec 95)

Reduced

"Su madre la bebía tibia con miel de abejas, y se la hacía beber a él siendo muy niño para endulzarle la tos" (García Márquez, *El General en su Laberinto*, 251)

Word order

Cecilia to Marielena: Pero él a quién quiere es a ti. (*Marielena*, 3 Jan 95)

Aron: Yo por Corazón lo que tengo es lástima. (*Pura Sangre*, 26 July 95)

"Irlanda del Norte, donde desde hace más de tres siglos se enfrenten dos comunidades con culturas y religiones diferentes—angloescoceses protestantes y católicos irlandeses..." (*El País*, 31 Aug 95; in either conjunct, either word could be a N and the other word an A modifying it)
 "Gheorghiu vive una vida feliz junto a su compañero, el también cantante de ópera italo-francés Roberto Alagna" (*El País*, 11 Sept 95)
 "Nunca en la historia de las armas nucleares la realización de una prueba de este tipo ha despertado tan masiva y universal reprobación previa" (*El País*, 5 Sept 95)
 "Me dijo Lucio que aquí estabas" (*La Dueña*, 22 Nov 95)
 "Pero cuando mejor parecía, el enfermo confundió al general Sardá con un oficial español..." (García Márquez, *El General en su Laberinto*, 266)

Semantics

"Pronto descubrimos que el nuevo túnel en realidad constituía un complejo de tres pasadizos, uno situado verticalmente encima del otro" (*Américas*, Jul 95, 8)

Scope

"Algo tengo que hacer" (*Marielena* 22 Feb 95; in context clearly narrow scope *algo*)
 "No considero a nadie mi enemigo porque sea gringo..." (Ruben Blades, quotes in *El País*, 16 Sept 95)

Aspect/Tense

"Desde aquí la estoy viendo" (García Márquez, *El General en su Laberinto*, 110)
 "¿Qué es que me estás queriendo decir?" (*La Dueña*, 6 Nov 95)
 "Pujol confirma que fue espiado por el Cesid"... él y su familia habían sido espiados por el Cesid... "que estaba siendo espiado por el Cesid" (*El País*, 21 Sept 95)

Regina: Yo no quise quemar la cabaña — o si quería hacerlo, pero... (*La Dueña*, 26 Oct 95)
 "... el último tipógrafo al buen modo antiguo que va quedando en México..." (García Márquez, *El General en su Laberinto*, 274)
 "... la opción es muy poca si se piensa que el 90% de la información que circula por las redes está en inglés" (*El País*, 2 Sept 95)

Morphology

Nueva Zelanda / neozelandés
 "Vine al mundo a hacer mi yo, y ¿qué será de nuestros yos todos?" "Yo soy uno; pero todos son yos" (Unamuno, *Sentimiento Trágico*... 46, 113)
 "... es la más formidable tragicomedia o comi-tragedia" (Unamuno, *Sentimiento Trágico*... 93; comedi- = comi-, tragedi- = tragi-)

Lexicon

"Es que hay muchos malos entendidos entre ustedes" (*La Dueña*, 4 Oct 95 and often thereafter)
 Marielena: Tienes que escoger entre tu esposa o yo. (*Marielena* 20 Jan 95)

Lexical semantics

su suegra (*La Dueña*, 15 Aug 95; with reference to the mother of the woman's supposed fiancé)
 "... va a la enfermería, alienta a la víctima, clave banderitas en un mapa, dicta instrucciones, desea buena suerte a los oficiales que parten el coronel Augusto Valdés" (Vargas Llosa, *Pantaleón y las Visitadoras* 225; *deseas* a speech act verb)
 "... mi única hija hembra" (*Pura Sangre*, 3 July 95)

Valence

"Se te ven divinos" (*Marielena* 2 Jan 95; "They look great on you")

Hypercorrections and other screwups

el establishment científico (*El País*, 26 Sept 95)

Written language

Interesting/missing signs

"Quijotes. Biblias" (sign on bookstore in Madrid bookstore; books in which one can find quotations to suit anything?)

1996 linguistic flea circus

To all interested readers I present my latest annual collection of examples read, overheard, or concocted, either by me or by various friends (this time I owe thanks to Nancy Dray, Ray Jackendoff, and the students in my "Syntax II" class). As usual, those into whose hands these pages fall are welcome to make any use of these examples that they can think of making. --Jim McCawley

Anaphora

"I looked for a fan, but they were all gone" (King, *The Green Mile* 3.39)

Antecedent-contained

"The most important newspaperman of his generation tells his story" (ad in NYT Books, 22 Sept 96)

Bach-Peters

[Examples of BP sentences with 2 different anaphoric elements, constructed by students in Syntax II]
The boy who wanted everything else got only the reward that everyone else had earned. [B.

McCurdy]

Tell the guy who stole the damn thing that the bike the bastard stole is broken anyway. [J. Pontius]

The boy who wanted one got a shirt with his name on it. [J. Pontius]

The student who wanted to didn't get to present her paper in class. [R. Eggert]

Backwards

"As part of a summerlong survey of the composer's works, the Chicago Symphony gave Schumann's popular Fourth Symphony in D minor, Op. 120, a spirited reading..." (Sun-Times, 16 July 96)

"Ms. Colbert, who also kept an apartment on Fifth Avenue in Manhattan, died in Barbados, where she had an oceanfront home..." (Tribune, 31 July 96)

"Binding conditions"

"The more inconvenient it is for Fisher_f to do business here, the less he_f will come, he_f said" (Sun-Times, 9 Sept 96)

"The hippie guy grabbed Peter Jackson by Peter's right wrist and tried to haul him away from his dead wife" (Bachman, *The Regulators*, 115)

Choice of pronoun

"Since other studies have shown that humans carry these same chemicals in our bodies, we may be in similar danger" (*Greenpeace Quarterly*, Summer 96)

"... Elinor, satisfied that each felt their own error, wished to avoid any survey of the past that might weaken her sister's spirits" (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 205-6)

Reciprocal

"The trio find themselves heading towards disaster... with only each other to depend on" (Chicago Film Festival 1996 brochure)

Reflexive

"Does a granddaughter want to hang out with a grandmother who looks exactly like herself and who may rate admiring looks from the granddaughter's boyfriend?" (Herguth, Sun-Times, 15 May 96)

"One explanation, advanced by Ivan Illich and other critics, is that physicians and other professionals are manipulating demand, promoting dependency on themselves" (Tenner, *Why things bite back*, 47)

"The poor fish had been listening for years to evangelists of a wholly different sort... But here was an elderly man who looked and talked like themselves..." (*2nd Mencken Chrestomathy*, 445)

"Mailer even *looks* like a Mad magazine drawing of himself" (Roepert, Sun-Times, 29 Aug 96)

"She_e had seen enough of her_f pride, her_f meanness, and her_f determined prejudice against herself_e, to comprehend all the difficulties that must have perplexed the engagement, and retarded the marriage, of Edward and herself_e, had he been otherwise free" (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 141)

"... his uncertain behaviour towards herself... his ill-treatment of herself..." (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 84; Elinor's vantage-point)

"Could he ever be tolerably happy with Lucy Steele; could he, were his affection for herself_e out of the question, with his integrity, his delicacy, and well-informed mind, be satisfied with a wife like her_s — illiterate, artful, and selfish?" (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 85)

"If in the supposition of his seeking to marry herself_e, his difficulties from his mother had seemed great, how much greater were they now likely to be, when the object of his engagement was undoubtedly inferior in connections, and probably inferior in fortune to herself_e" (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 85)

"Marianne, who had never much toleration for any thing like impertinence, vulgarity, inferiority of

parts, or even difference of taste from herself, was at this time particularly ill-disposed... to be pleased with the Miss Steeles..." (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 79)

"But Mrs Dashwood could find explanations whenever she wanted them, which at least satisfied herself" (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 55)

"On the other hand, the letter to Chopin went on at some length about himself and his place in her life" (Zamoyski, *Chopin*, 273)

"When a Parisian publisher does acquire a scholarly title, it's most often a study of something ... French. ('They have an insatiable appetite for books about themselves,' jokes another rep.)" (*Lingua Franca*, Apr 96)

"In two years the whole world will be wiping itself on an Amina Brand cloth" (Rushdie, *Midnight's Children*, 372)

S-anaphora

"Though Hardin believed he never shot a man who didn't deserve it, he became the model for the fictional character the Cisco Kid ..." (Tribune, 8 Feb 96)

"... a man who wanted to be important, and the crime he committed to accomplish it" (Suspense: The man who threw acid)

V'-deletion

I tried unsuccessfully to reach you. I tried (*unsuccessfully) to Ø.

I asked him not to talk so loud. I asked him to not talk so loud.

I asked him not to. *I asked him to not.

Doctor: Did you have a good sleep? Patient: I must have had. (Suspense, "Lost")

Brenda: Do you want us all to die? Rock: I don't want you to. (Brenda Starr, 30 Sept 96)

"The daughter said it looked spooky to her, and I said it did to me, too" "And it didn't seem so 'little' to any of us at the time, and it doesn't to me now, if I'm to tell the truth" (Bachman, *The Regulators*, 363, 364; same narrator)

Abby: I enjoy spending time with you. Greg: I do with you as well. (NYPD Blue, 10 Dec 96)

Miscellaneous ellipsis

"The headline that I have put on these lines indicates that this was a happy man. I believe that, in all my days, I have never known a happier" (*2nd Mencken Chrestomathy*, 451)

"The Metropolitan Opera unveils its third production of Mozart's 'Cosi Fan Tutte' on Thursday evening, with Lesley Koenig in her Met debut as director and Cecilia Bartoli in hers, as Despina" (NYT Arts, 4 Feb 96)

"And yet two thousand a-year is a very moderate income. A family cannot well be maintained on a smaller" (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 59)

"She had a pretty good idea she wouldn't have gotten the job without washing the dye out of it if the manager hadn't been absolutely strapped for someone to work eleven-to-seven — her good luck, his bad" (Bachman, *The Regulators*, 22)

"... Delacroix's collection of waistcoats was as legendary as Chopin's of gloves..." (Zamoyski, *Chopin*, 213)

"... the obvious conflict between his life in Paris and theirs in the Polish countryside..." (Zamoyski, *Chopin*, 150)

"The relationship had its good side as well as its bad..." (Zamoyski, *Chopin*, 280)

Interviewer: And you don't think the redevelopment is treating poor people very well.

Decorator: That's why the wallpaper. (Sun-Times, 28 Feb 96)

Velacek: If there's anyone susceptible to being bought, he'll find them and buy them.

Hoffman: Tell them not to worry about how much for. (*Murder One*, 22 Mar 96)

"The sulfa drugs of the 1930s... and the other celebrated drugs of the middle years of the twentieth century all excited doctors and patients alike as few other scientific discoveries" (Tenner, *Why things bite back*, 34; is this an error created by a copy-editor changing *like* to *as* ?)

"And I'll get more Kash if I enroll friends, parents and teachers, any 35 of whom would entitle me to a case of Nabisco cookies" (NYT Magazine, June/July 96; = my enrolling any 35 of whom...)

Control

"... we would like to congratulate the Class of 1996 with a 50% discount on any purchases made Ø

wearing graduation regalia during graduation weekend" (ad in UC Weekly News, 30 May 96)
"... and no food is partaken of without asking God's blessing before and afterwards" (Twain, *A Pen Warmed-up in Hell*, 118)
"Why are new drugs tested on patients without telling them?" (NYT, 17 Nov 96)
"You mean you woke me; up just Ø; to fluff up your pillow?" (Marmaduke, 3 Dec 96)
Anaphoric islands
"We mustn't confuse our audience more than they already are" (? , 4 June 96)
"Then pretty soon Sherburn sort of laughed; not the pleasant kind, but the kind that makes you feel like when you are eating bread that's got sand in it" (Twain, *A Pen Warmed-up in Hell*, 177)
"If he was poisoned, I'm going to find the person who gave it to him" (Suspense: The 12th Rose)

Islands
Coordinate structure constraint
"There were at least three or four shows that we tried and tried but couldn't fit in" (museum director quoted in NYT Arts, 25 Feb 96)

Wh-island
"Psycholinguistic stuff I don't see how you can do Ø" (Sally T, 29 Feb 96)
"I now get more e-mail each day than I know what to do with Ø" (D. Crabb, Sun-Times, 20 May 96)
Other
"Oh, I'm from a place that I'd be surprised if you've ever heard of Ø" (Hogan, *Realtime Interrupt*, 68)

Pied piping
"They are being housed in a hotel somewhere in town and are delivered daily by a deputy marshall to the safe site, getting in or out of which without a deputy is like cracking a safe" (NYT Magazine, 11 Feb 96)
"I've already written to Jim U, the last time I performed with whom was 20 years ago in a memorable 'HMS Pinafore'" (Susan F e-mail, 7 Nov 96)
"... tell him that I have six new manuscripts, for each of which I want 300 francs..." (Chopin letter, quoted in Zamoyski, *Chopin*, 198)
"There are pictures there at the sight of which I hear music" (Chopin letter quoted in Zamoyski, *Chopin*, 68)

Agreement
"You know you've made a serious error in judgment when the foursome you've been hitting into all day are wearing eyelid rings and safety pins in their cheeks" (B.C., 31 Jan 96)
"Have Sam Donaldson or Cokie Roberts ever looked in Dole's belly?" (Royko, 22 Feb 96)
"... neither my sister nor I were complaining..." (Rushdie, *Midnight's Children*, 360)
"In 1962, she wrote *Laclos and the Epistolary Novel*, an analysis of Choderlos de Laclos' *Les Liaisons Dangereuses*, upon which the stage play and movie 'Dangerous Liaisons' were based" (Sun-Times obituary, 7 Mar 96)
"How do you expect to learn anything from a science project if everybody and his brother help you with it?" (Crankshaft, 6 May 96; is there variation on *help* vs. *helps*?)
"A group of Sikhs has spread a cloth on the ground and is eating, seated around it" (Rushdie, *Midnight's Children*, 35)

"I recall another study, ... which said those men who died of heart attacks during sex were most likely to be with someone other than their wives" (Ann Landers, 15 July 96)
"But we went only at times when any member of Congress and their spouses could go" (Barney Frank, quoted in *NYT Magazine*, 4 Feb 96)
Legal immigrants may continue to get benefits if they fit one of these exemptions:
They have become a U.S. citizen.
They are a refugee with fewer than five years in this country.
They are a U.S. veteran or currently serve in the U.S. military... (Sun-Times, 17 Dec 96)

"That is why George Soros and Ross Perot have each in his own way been so successful" (NYT Magazine, 13 Oct 96)

"President Clinton and Bob Dole each was given two pages to present his views in the Chicago Sun-Times this week..." (Sun-Times, 4 Oct 96)
"Thus we may say that the most lasting contribution to the growth of scientific knowledge that a theory can make are the problems which it raises..." (Popper, *Conjectures and Refutations*, 222)

"A major attraction of prostitution, especially to women with children, are the flexible hours and independence" (McElroy, XXX, 208)
"The second component of Kuhn's disciplinary matrices are metaphysical beliefs, like those in atoms, or in fields or force, or in heat as a substance, or in heat as a mode of motion" (Musgrave, *BJPhSc* 1971, 292)
"Our next music on this concert by the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra are the seven early songs by Alban Berg" (WFMT, 20 June 96)
"Still, it's a shame that the best television these days are the beer commercials" (Walnut Cove, 30 June 96)

"The CBOT, along with the CME, were the exchanges from which most of Gould's get-rich examples were drawn" (Reader, 4 Oct 96, 24)
"One theory has it that some flu viruses incubate in the intestinal tracts of wild aquatic birds, whose feces infect land-based birds, pigs and then humans" (NYT Magazine, 17 Nov 96)
"... she found in Elinor and her husband, as she believed, one of the happiest couple in the world" (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 219)

Case marking
"I merely note that he views everyone in Venice, including we who serve him, with suspicion" (Smith, *Venetian Song*, 63)

Identity
"Their jobs become more diverse in a negative way, including things like printing out letters that their secretaries once did" (Tenner, *Why things bite back*, 208; = the kinds of letters that... ?)
"Earth doesn't matter, the stars don't matter, death doesn't matter, nothing is anything. Only God is" (LeGuin, "Field of Vision", 33)
"I never want to face the struggle that Lucy is Ø" (Tom Sheridan, Sun-Times, 21 Feb 96; Ø = 'facing t')
"Latour misrepresents a theory that is routinely taught to college freshmen, as I did last fall" (A. Sokal, PSA, 2 Nov 96)

"Then it was discovered that there was no such thing as witches, and never had been" (Twain, *A Pen Warmed-up in Hell*, 168)
"Today's opinion has no foundation in American constitutional law, and barely pretends to" (Justice Scalia, quoted in *NYT Magazine*, Oct 96; Ø = have any foundation in Amer. const. law)
"But surely no dream could be as real as this either. Or could it?" (Hogan, *Realtime Interrupt*, 219; it = a dream)
Reader: How does the polite technophile respond to such provocation, considering that it is impossible to cut someone dead with a withering stare via computer?
Miss Manners: Sure it is. (Miss Manners, 22 Sept 96; Ø = possible)

"... your daughter is snatched in the middle of the night, you're accused and then exonerated of her murder, ..." (Roeper, 27 Mar 96 Sun-Times; two senses of *of*)
"Wanna punch each other in the arm for a while?" (Frumpy the Clown, 18 July 96; you = *we inc*)
"President Clinton indicated that he was very concerned and closely monitoring the situation" (WFMT news, 19 Dec 96; copula = progressive *be*)
"Angela Morales walked into San Francisco General Hospital the other morning holding her ailing daughter by the hand and her emotions in check" (Tribune, 25 Sept 96)
Lt. Fancy: He should get what he deserves. Wife: Some people say he is. (*NYPD Blue*, 17 Dec 96)
"Elinor made her a civil reply, and they walked on for a few minutes in silence. It was broken by Lucy..." (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 80; silence = the silence)
"With a total caseload of 75 (34 of which were decided unanimously), there are not all that many opinions to spread out over nine months of work for nine Justices — and 34 law clerks" (*NYT Magazine*, Oct 96; caseload = cases?)

"That's our find of the year. Something so big it's still dead secret. I'll tell you if you can keep it one awhile longer" (Bachman, *The Regulators*, 361; count = mass)

Sloppy identity

"The insurance companies have lawyers working hard on their side, and so should you" (radio commercial, June 96)

Conjoining

"<The Whitewater hearings> will not harm the reputations of either President or Mrs. Clinton" (Clinton-Gore reelection campaign official, quoted 14 Jan 96 on WFMT)

"I'm not a famous musician, nor artist, nor scientist" (Momma, 19 Feb 96)

"Well, there was something that he and me and a couple of the others talked about once when we were arguing about memory suppression" (Hogan, *Realtime Interrupt*, 265; since 'he' is the topic, the constituent structure is probably as marked, which would make sense of the case choice)

"In any case, most native Arizona desert plants are pollinated by birds, bees, butterflies, and other insects, not by the wind" (Tenner, *Why things bite back*, 105; has to be stressed on *insects*; if stressed on *other*, it would imply that birds are insects)

"When the two months were up, they would go just as straight as they could walk to Mother Leonard's and get drunk; and from there to Kearny street and steal something; and thence to this city prison, and next day back to the old quarters in the county jail again" (Twain, *A Pen Warmed-up in Hell*, 142)

"Of the 100 guests, 89 are current or ex-relatives" (Cathy, 14 July 96)

"What he didn't tell them (nor did anyone else) was that the Dettericks were the only ones who had been asked to turn their loads over to the deputy" (King, *The Green Mile* 3.49)

"The court feels that it is again its duty at this time to remind the prisoner that he has so far made nor allowed to be made by Counsel in his defense no cross-examination of witnesses nor rebuttal to arguments made by the prosecution of any kind" (Suspense, Angel of Death)

"Expect Klaus in September and the doors of the eatery to open in November" (Tribune, Inc., 1 Aug 96)

"I watched him go out in the blackness and the blackness swallow him" (Inner Sanctum, Birdsong for a Murderer)

"What is he that builds stronger than either the mason, the shipwright, or the carpenter?" (*Hamlet*, V.i.40-41; *either* with 3 conjuncts)

Category identity of conjuncts

"It will try to identify accounts opened by or on behalf of Jews during the war but whose existence was subsequently denied" (Sun-Times, 29 July 96)

"I felt humiliated, but the humiliation was far less serious than if I had slept with him and gotten pregnant or a disease" (All that Zazz, 6 Feb 96)

"Smart Matty Crompton, a secret writer and artist, helps him with his insect studies and to build an ant colony" (Wilmington, Tribune, 16 Feb 96)

"This work has been undertaken by anthropological and ethno-linguists" (Linda W, 29 Mar 96)

"... it's my job to obey them—even if that means I can't go to school anymore," said Adam, who said he misses his classmates and playing clarinet in the junior high band" (Sun-Times, 15 Oct 96)

Gapping

"He had been put on the island and his execution out to bid" (Macfarlane, "Quickening", 35)

"The audience was again small, but the takings large..." (Zamoyski, *Chopin*, 295; *again* applies to the whole coordinate structure; without Gapping, it would apply only to the first conjunct)

Parallelism of conjuncts

"Kolenaty" returns with the will, an apology, and Jaroslav Prus" (Lyric Opera Program, 1996)

"We're going to go to Washington and teach our children right from wrong" (Sonny Bono acceptance speech, quoted by George Lakoff)

"... the unfolding story of Ezekiel Porterhouse Rawlins from the late 1940's onward (with glimpses of his earlier life in Louisiana, Texas and World War II)..." (NYT Books, 16 June 96)

"National Sidewalk and Clearance Sale" (Radio Shack sign, July 96)

"I'll take this to the post office... You get yourself upstairs and back to work!" (Funky Winkerbean, 1 Aug 96)

"Expect Klaus in September and the doors of the eatery to open in November" (Tribune, Inc., 1 Aug 96)

Peripheral coordinating conjunctions

"To complicate matters, Joan is the lover of Louis II of France, whom she eventually will name holy Roman emperor and who will, along with an unexpected pregnancy, be responsible for her downfall" (Sun-Times, 20 Feb 96)

"The film contains several things that our community could find objectionable, including full frontal nudity, multiple-partner sex scenes as well as violence" (school principal quoted in NYT Arts, 18 Feb 96; 3 conjuncts)

"It's hard to buy, as well as to stomach, her light-brained foggiess" (Sun-Times 29 Feb 96; RNR)

"He co-starred opposite Jessica Tandy in 'Driving Miss Daisy' (1989) and Tim Robbins in 'The Shawshank Redemption' (1994), not to mention Brad Pitt in 'Seven'" (Ebert, 26 Jan 96)

"He was there with this young woman, plus various friends of his would stop by his table" (*Murder One*, 22 Jan 96)

Placement of conjunction

"Neither his fame, his official stature, his talent, nor his survival ever exempted him from feeling part of Russian Jewry's tragic fate" (Joshua Rubenstein, quoted in Tribune Books, 14 Apr 96)

"Sir John never came to the Dashwoods without either inviting them [to dine at the park the next day, or to drink tea with them that evening]" (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 63)

Respectively construction

"Congratulations to fourth years Ben Sharp and Adam Mortara, winners of Rhodes and Marshall scholarships, respectively" (Maroon, 5 Jan 96)

"The change from an arbitrary mapping to a partial mapping to a full natural mapping reduces the number of alternatives from 24 to 4 to 1 and reduces the information theory content from 8 to 4 to 0 bits, respectively" (Norman, *Psychology of Everyday Things*, 224)

RNR

"Another thing I learned was that it was quite as easy, and a good deal more pleasant, to lay bricks in a good design as it was to lay them in a bad design" (*2nd Mencken Chrestomathy*, 174)

"The indebtedness of Greek to Chaldean Astronomy" (article cited in Popper, *Conjectures and Refutations*, 75)

"Of breakfast she had been kept by her fears, and of dinner by their sudden reverse, from eating much" (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 184)

"First Minkins' records, then his corpse, disappear" (Tribune Movies, 27 Sept 96)

Stripping

"They became political activists too. Why did they survive and not her?" (NYT Arts, 25 Feb 96)

"We should be out there looking for them, not them looking for us" (Al Booth, quoted in 23 Oct 96 Sun-Times)

Complements

"When you see in America nearly 2 million black people answer a call by Louis Farrakhan, I'm in deep trouble inside America" (Louis Farrakhan, quoted in 14 Feb 96 Sun-Times)

"... for besides [that the circumstance did not in her opinion justify such lasting amazement or variety of speculation], her wonder was otherwise disposed of" (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 47)

"... their mother's servant might easily come there to attend them down..." (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 164)

"Mrs John Dashwood now installed herself mistress of Norland" (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 11)

"Your wisdom should show itself more richer to signify this to the doctor, for [for me to put him to his purgation] would perhaps plunge him into more choler" (*Hamlet*, III.ii.303-6; early attestation of *for-to*)

Complementizer-deletion

"Do the filmmakers delude themselves there's something ironic about the new ending?" (Ebert, 26 Jan 96)

"She didn't care I had another job" (*NYPD Blue*, 17 Dec 96)

"Right, I know how disappointed you are I won't be home for dinner" (Sally Forth, 9 Dec 96)

Complementizer selection

"The best of my home reflects that I'm the 'fling-it-in-the-closet-and-shut-the-door-before-it-all-dumps-on-the-floor' type" (Cathy, 9 Jan 96)

"I have no notion of men's going on in this way..." (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 114)

"It depends on if you go with your heart or your head" (Sun-Times, 25 Sept 96)

"But the government recently ordered all offices with e-mail access to forbid workers from using it" (Sun-Times, 6 Nov 96)
"Herod has forbidden everyone in the palace from setting eyes on Jochanaan" (Lyric Opera program, Dec 96)

"Last June 27 in Singapore, the FBI observed Nicholson put a camerabag into the trunk and get into a car with diplomatic license plates registered to the Russian Embassy there..." (Sun-Times, 19 Nov 96)

"A Vegas lounge singer (Whoopi Goldberg) witnesses her mobster boyfriend commit a murder" (Tribune move summary, 29 Jan 96); "... 8-year old Sarah witnesses Haitian militia thugs beat a neighbor bloody and senseless" (Sun-Times, 18 Oct 96)

"He sits back at an exquisite remove looking at the rest of us go about our lives" (*Murder One*, 22 Mar 96)

"One reason I went there was to gain some sense of what kind of people had let — or helped — one of history's greatest atrocities happen" (New Yorker, letter, 3 June 96)
"Edward was the first to speak, and it was to notice Marianne's altered looks, and express his fear of her not finding London agree with her" (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 143)

"Now that I've done my good deed for the year, I'm going down to the driving range and drop eggs on people" (Broom-Hilda, 14 July 96; and as Comp?)

"... they'd be sure and call here" (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 207)

"I have to hang up now, Marcie. I'm going outside and stand in the rain" (Peanuts, 10 Oct 96)

Reduced

"This would constitute the ultimate terrorist weapon, a device to facilitate the American penchant for entertaining ourselves senseless" (NYT Books, 3 Mar 96)

"A great number of women are scared silent" (Ann Landers, 4 Mar 96)

Various constructions

Adverbial Equi

"Until admitting that he once spied for the apartheid machine, Mark Behr was something of a hero" (Sun-Times, 30 July 96)

Adverbs

"Things might be looking somewhat up for me too" (*NYPD Blue*, 19 Nov 96)

"You want me to pick him back up?" (*NYPD Blue*, 16 Jan 96)

"Brando threw eggs at her as she dashed out, then fell back asleep on the juice and coffee-soaked sheets" (Sun-Times, 25 Sept 96)

Smith is still alive (and remarkably active for a man over 80).

Smith still is alive. (I told you jerks that I wanted him dead.)

The train/*baby absolutely crawled.

"I have been always used to a very small income..." (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 89)

"Democrat Richard A. Devine scored his stunning upset with a major boost from black voters, whose Punch 10 straight-ticket voting apparently knocked Republican Cook County State's Attorney Jack O'Malley right out of office" (Sun-Times, 7 Nov 96)

"But we got lost presently among the rugged little ravines, and wasted a deal of time finding the way again..." (Twain, *A Pen Warmed-up in Hell*, 30; sublexical host?)

"... they didn't outright laugh" (King, *The Green Mile* 5.16; cf. ??They outright laughed)

"I was a little reminded of Orson Welles presiding over 'F for Fake'" (Ebert, Sun-Times, 25 Oct 96;

*It a little reminded me...)

Auxiliary verbs

"But if only women had been voting in 1976, Jimmy Carter would have never beaten Gerald Ford" (*NYT Magazine*, 28 July 96)

"Ought we demand of our concepts... that they be applicable to any and every situation that might conceivably arise in any possible world?" (Kuhn, *Essential Tension*, 254)

"... Elinor received her brother's congratulations on their traveling so far towards Barton without any expense, and on Colonel Brandon's being to follow them to Cleveland in a day or two" (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 176; has only finite forms in current English)

"You're not going to get that tax cut if you don't be quiet" (R. Dole, 5 Nov 96)

"Her death was doubtful, And, but that great command o'ersways the order, she should in ground unsanctified been lodged" (*Hamlet*, V.i.227-30; no *have*)

"She woulda probably poisoned her tea" (*NYPD Blue*, 17 Dec 96; evidence that *woulda* has become a single word?)

"Just as Diane had done, Jane became the talk of the town" (Suspense: Lucky Lady)

"... he made us all feel shabbier than the dogs had done..." (Twain, *A Pen Warmed-up in Hell*, 31)

Comparative

"Of all the people I've ever worked for, I've never met more of a gentleman than Richard Cross" (*Murder One*, 22 Mar 96)

"Nevertheless, there were few Baltimoreans of his time who were later worth knowing" (*2nd Mencken Chrestomathy*, 449)

"... it takes more energy to walk at a crouch than it does upright..." (King, *The Green Mile* 6.17)

"You're smarter than I ever gave you credit for" (Suspense: A case of identity)

comparative Stripping

"Kaelin described Simpson as much more upset after a June 12, 1994, dance recital than he did in his trial testimony" (Sun-Times, 28 Feb 96)

"It has been estimated that there are now more people who speak English as a foreign language than who speak it as their first language" (NYT, 14 Apr 96)

"The study showed that the people from Gomel said they were five times as sick as those from Tver" (NYT, 31 Mar 96; the Gomel people were reporting how sick they were in absolute terms, not relative to the Tver people)

"More twentysomethings believe they will see a UFO in their lifetime than a Social Security check with their name on it" (person quoted in 22 Dec 96 Tribune)

"... I suppose it's better it happened before than after the wedding" (Chopin letter, quoted in Zamoyski, *Chopin*, 267; + RNR)

Comparative-conditional

"The smaller the room and the less fresh air circulating, the higher the risk" (Health, May 95)

"House speaker Newt Gingrich warned Pat Buchanan and Steve Forbes Monday that they will have less influence on the Republican platform the longer they stay in the presidential race" (Tribune, 11 Mar 96)

"The older they get, the less tactful you have to be" (*Baby Blues*, 27 Nov 96; ambiguous: 'you have to be less tactful' vs. 'you don't have to be so tactful')

comparative congeners

"There are being more and more of them discovered all the time" (Ruth Shaw Wylie interview, WNIB, 23 June 96)

Dative

"The tradition of Kangeiko, however, provides for the event a unique quality that should warrant it more than just a cursory glance on a budget priority list" (Maroon, 29 Jan 96)

"Did you ask her who delivered her her drugs?" (O. J. Simpson, quoted in 6 Feb 96 Sun-Times)

Degree

I had to get up an hour (*even) earlier.

Echoes

Two eighty how much? *Two eighty how much?

*Two eighty how much does it cost?

Focus constructions

"It's only work if you'd rather be doing something else" (Dilbert, quoted in 5 Feb 96 Tribune)

He only was rude when he hadn't had enough sleep. ?...was only...

"... that rapturous delight, which, in her opinion, could alone be called taste" (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 18; *only, except apparently OK for Austen: "She would not even admit it to have been natural, and Elinor left her to be convinced that it was so, by that which only could convince her, a better knowledge of mankind" (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 153)

Interrogative

"'Adversity often makes people stronger', sir. What do you think adversity makes people?" (Crock, 9 Jan 96)

Inversions

"<Judy Garland> died in 1969, but only 20 years later did her hometown build a yellow brick road leading to the Judy Garland Museum" (NYT Arts, 5 May 96; nice contrast with "only 20 years later her hometown built...")

"A city apart, <New York> is breeding a race apart. Is that race American? Then so is a bashi-bazouk American. Is it decent? Then so is a street-walker decent" (2nd *Mencken Chrestomathy*, 188)
"And then a cold January evening, on which 'I've got to go out tonight' said Ahmed Sinai; and despite her pleas of 'It's cold—you'll get sick...' he put on his business suit and coat under which the mysterious grey bag made a ridiculously obvious lump" (Rushdie, *Midnight's Children*, 90)

Middle

"These cards are not swiping for some reason" (AA clerk having difficulty with my credit card, 3 Sept 96)

Negation

"As long as somebody's paying the bill for you, he can [not like it] all he wants" (Carol P, 4 July 96)
"I will never forget that I lost by one vote. I had [not voted for myself] out of humility and old-fashioned manners" (letter to Dear Abby, 17 Dec 96)

Contrastive

"They didn't catch the suspected Unabomber by tapping any lines" (NYT Magazine, 7 July 96; = They caught the Unabomber not by tapping any lines but by X)
"Now George Sand saw clearly that Chopin's jealousy of other men who approached her... was in fact not jealousy over her, but Solange" (Zamoycki, *Chopin*, 276)

Negative polarity

"Contrary to some reports, Sun executives deny making an offer until mid-January" (Newsweek, 5 Feb 96)

"I wish I could dissuade you from visiting him yet" (TV *Gulliver's Travels* part 1)
"Tracy had a baby boy, and not a tongue clucked nor was an eyebrow raised when Tracy and her infant son played Mary and Baby Jesus in our live nativity scene..." (letter to Dear Abby, 4 Mar 96)
"This is not a subject that guys think is one bit funny" (Judy Markey, Sun-Times, 24 Sept 96)
"And how had she dared do this? How had she dared?" (King, *Desperation*, 589)

Negative spreading

"I don't think he met with no accident" (Suspense: The Tramp; Cockney speaker)

Nominalization

Iraq's attack on Kuwait *Kuwait's attack (on) by Iraq
"This sudden sending him away must seem Deliberate pause" (*Hamlet*, IV.iii.8-9)

Passive

"total ball parks homered in" (category in SABR Home Run Encyclopedia, quoted in NYT Books, 7 Apr 96)

"There are limited goods that are competed over" (J. Dubois, 20 Mar 96)
"Your Chicago vote is being cut into" (QT, Sun-Times, 11 June 96)
"This great moral cause, so obscenely wallowed in by the newspapers of late, offers an instructive indicator of the extent to which the 'orderly process of the law' has been modified and improved in the United States" (2nd *Mencken Chrestomathy*, 81)
"I was visiting in the small town where my boyhood had been spent—Hannibal, Marion County" (Twain, *A Pen Warmed-up in Hell*, 18)

"Everything has been ordered to be liquidated" (WFMT, 24 Oct)

"I'll not be juggled with" (*Hamlet*, IV.v.132)

"... all those his lands Which he stood seiz'd of..." (*Hamlet*, I.i.88-9)

"Herod's stature increases markedly when his notes are truly sung, rather than barked or semi-spoken" (Lyric Opera program, Dec 96; *He semi-spoke his notes)

Raising

"... and no sentient man will ever confess himself doomed to life imprisonment in the proletariat so long as the slightest hope remains... of getting out of it" (2nd *Mencken Chrestomathy*, 475)

"... there didn't seem like there was anything much in it to see..." (Bachman, *The Regulators*, 374)

There-insertion

There couldn't anything wake them up all over, and make them happy all over, like a dog-fight" (Twain, *A Pen Warmed-up in Hell*, 171)

There's no publicity gone out" (Ruth B, 29 July 96)

"84 years ago tonight, there sailed from the port of London the brigantine Maid of Athens" (The wreck of the Maid of Athens, Suspense, Nov 30 53)

"There was nothing gonna stop me from goin' places" (Suspense: Too Many Smiths)

Topicalization and other frontings

"'When Dr. Lamm wouldn't speak to me,' says Stier, 'I decided to go public.' And public he went..." (*Lingua Franca*, Apr 96)

Tough-like constructions

"The kind of thing the Turtles had made unnecessary for humans to have ever again" (Pohl & Williamson, *The Singers of Time*, 23)

"Jenny, isn't Marvin a little young to be teaching how to cook?" (Marvin, 6 May 96; in context has to = 'a little young for you to be teaching him how to cook')

"Good design is possible to achieve" (Norman, *Psychology of Everyday Things*, 220)

"No one ever told us Kansas was so wide to cross" (The Spencer Brothers, Suspense, 26 Jan 53)

"Or rather, as I believe, she considers them impossible to exist" (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 39)

Miscellaneous constructions

I can never seem to find my checkbook when I need it.

"At 14 he bought a Stutz Bearcat, not to drive... but to take completely apart and put back together again..." (NYT Books, 16 June 96)

"These substances were concentrated enough in parts of the harbor that merely sailing into port could treat a ship's hull free" (Tenner, *Why things bite back*, 98; probably means: 'make the hull free of barnacles, etc.')

"The year was 1952, and Edward Press was growing increasingly troubled by one part of his job as a pediatrician in Chicago: authorizing surgery on child after child who had swallowed lye or acid" (Health, May 95)

"<Ms. Ackermann> then proceeds to lavish on us sentence after lush sentence describing the mysterious delights of the nature she encounters" (NYT Books, 18 Feb 96)

He has lots and lots of problems. *a lot and a lot of problems

"He sits there and sits there with a book, but he never colors" (*Parade* cartoon, 18 Feb 96)

Constituent structure

"All 64 passengers and 4 crew members died" (ABC News, 9 July 96; the *all* evidently was intended to go with both conjuncts)

"On the screen, a helicopter flies... on toward the Los Angeles skyline, where hovering alien ships are about to give the city an extremely bad hair day" (NYT Arts, 30 June 96)

Categories

He quickly/*fast realized that S.

Prepositions

Complex

"The Turtles had complained furiously against being compelled to share the lectures with the whole crew—out, Sue-ling thought, of pure embarrassment" (Pohl & Williamson, *The Singers of Time*, 160)

NP as A'

"<The streetcars> are painted the livery of cities where Presidents Conference Committee cars once operated" (Tribune Transportation 28 Jan 96)

"My ankle had swollen the size of a football" (NYT, 29 Sept 96)

Nouveaux prépositions

"The clout-driven college 'scholarship' program via which Illinois legislators dispense favors to their political pals costs state universities upward of \$4 million a year" (R. Coffey, Sun-Times, 23 Feb 96)

"In Amsterdam in August and in Miami in June, men were arrested based on fingerprints taken from their own severed fingers... that they abandoned at crime scenes" (Reader, 13 Dec 96)

P' as A'

"Somebody else had arranged a far more elaborate simulation than you were told about... Which meant that you weren't as in control as you thought" (Hogan, *Realtime Interrupt*, 211)

P' as object of P

"We should have you into Chicago pretty close to on schedule" (UA, Mar 96)

"And the idea that a woman married to this man might at some point seek a divorce did not strike Peter as [in the least bit] odd" (King, *Desperation* , 37)

Zero

He died in (around) 1910. He died around/*Ø 1910.

Structure of NPs

"... everybody of us ..." (German soprano interviewed by Studs Terkel, 26 Jan 96; every one of us, *everybody/*everyone of us)

"Gudahl is convincing as Lenin in his all too few scenes..." (Maroon, 14 Apr 95)

"<He> comes back years later and rapes Antonia's intellectual prodigy of a granddaughter..." (Tribune, 14 Feb 96)

"You mention balancing the budget as though that were somehow less meritorious a cause or goal than taking care of children" (Henry Hyde, quoted in Reader, 16 Feb 96)

"The idiot box is proving more formidable a challenge than expected for the Hollywood heavy hitters who called their startup venture DreamWorks" (Tribune, 4 Mar 96)

"... an unprecedented 87 percent of the hospitalized wounded were able to return to duty" (Tenner, *Why things bite back* , 36)

There's something of interest other than that. ?There's something other than that of interest.

*There's something of interest else. There's something else of interest.

"It's sort of his curio cabinet" (Sun-Times, 26 July 96)

the recent local weather *the local recent weather

"But without cost as a consideration, there is no longer any reason why not to send something out" (UC Free Press, Oct 96)

"We didn't think the populace would vote in favor of a former [tractor driver on a collective farm]" (Belarus citizen quoted in 15 Dec 96 NYT)

Apposition

"I plan to take the exams at the end of next, my third year" (student report, 96)

Articles

"As of Wednesday, a former priest and nun and perhaps hundreds of other Roman Catholics in the Lincoln Diocese can consider themselves excommunicated" (Sun-Times, 16 May 96; refers to a former priest and a former nun, not to a pious transsexual)

"The proceedings, which pits the burger giant against an unemployed postman and part-time waitress, had already entered the 'Guinness Book of Records' as the lengthiest English civil action" (*New City*, 19 Dec 96; two separate persons)

"Elephant man's disease.. is named after the case of Joseph Merrick, a horribly disfigured 19th century Englishman whose life inspired a 1979 play and 1980 movie" (Sun-Times, 4 Dec 96; are the play and the movie being treated as identical?)

Genitive

Many people have good ideas and many have stupid ideas.

*Many people's ideas are good and many's are stupid.

"Measured by size, the runts of the litter today are Woolworth Corp. and Bethlehem Steel Corp., each of whose shares are worth \$1.6 billion" (Sun-Times, 26 Feb 96; = [each of which]'s shares)

"A moment of your time will assure all our safety" (sign, Jan 96; = [all of us]'s safety; but cf. *all us)

Modifier preposing

"Because Powell's Bookstore believes that the only snazzier attire for a Hyde Park book lover than a Powell's T-shirt is a Cap and Gown, we would like to congratulate the Class of 1996 with a 50% discount on any purchases made wearing graduation regalia during graduation weekend" (ad in UC Weekly News, 30 May 96)

Relative clauses and congeners

*a poet only whose sonnets I like < a poet [I like only his sonnets]

Hindi is a language whose nouns have gender but not its/*whose pronouns.

Hindi is a language [whose nouns have gender but whose/*its pronouns do not].

Hindi is a language whose nouns have gender, but its pronouns do not.

"Consecutive"

"Beauvoir duly seduced her and, the following year, introduced her to Sartre, then 33, who also took

her to bed" (NYT Books, 14 Apr 96; separated from antecedent by parenthetical)

"Here he stopped to be thanked; which being done, he went on" (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility* , 156)

Free

"He even dares to speak about the love that dare not speak its name, with a chapter on who is probably our only homosexual president, James Buchanan" (Tribune, 22 Feb 96)

"She says she can identify who tried to kill her" (NYPD Blue, 17 Mar 96)

A: Do you recognize anyone? B: Number 4. He's who did the robbery. (NYPD Blue, 29 Oct 96)

"He said that who he owed was after him" (NYPD Blue, 12 Nov 96)

"Fat Cat was who fronted him" (NYPD Blue, 12 Nov 96)

"I want who killed Marcos Dooley" (Mickey Spillane, Playboy, Dec 96)

"Sorry, dear, it didn't turn out how I wanted" (Fred Bassett, 23 July 96)

"What is not yet clear, but which many here suspect, is whether local Communist officials engineered the downfall of a popular religious chieftan..." (NYT, 10 Nov 96; hosts nonrestrictive)

Infinitival

She's a person whose word to take seriously.

Nonrestrictive

"After the concert, Thurman rushed upstairs to introduce reporters to one of his daughters, the actress Uma Thurman, and to Harrison Ford, hosts of the late supper party to come" (NYT Magazine, 5 May 96; split antecedent)

"Also, as Tyrone had made sure would not be missed but which Corrigan was not too concerned over for now, if anything went wrong, it would have been Corrigan who had said before witnesses that everything would be fine" (Hogan, *Realtime Interrupt* , 196; as-clause = nonrestrictive)

"Yesterday I went to dinner at Jeny Lind's, who then sang Swedish things for me until midnight" (Chopin letter, quoted in Zamoyski, *Chopin* , 291)

Pseudo-relative

___ I have a brother who studies physics and a sister anthropology. [As normal RC, a brother who studies physics is possible only with ellipsis of of X]

Resumptive pronoun

"It was one of those things that once you see it, you can't take your eyes off it" (expert quoted in NYT Magazine , 28 July 96)

Syntactic metonymy, amalgams, mimicry

Mental space phenomena

"Although the movie was a major flop, it has had an afterlife among film cognoscenti who can still conjure the image of Seberg burning at the stake" (NYT Arts, 25 Feb 96)

"Her husband, Tom Cruise, who portrayed Mr. Hoffman's brother in 'Rain Man,' echoes that opinion" (NYT Arts, 1 Sept 96)

Reanalysis

"She's the only one on the block who is what you could call friendly with the Hobarts" (Bachman, *The Regulators* , 316)

Telescoping

"It's still a very good transportation system despite what imbeciles have been in charge of running it" (Dec 96)

Vicarious quantification, etc.

"We'll keep in constant touch" (Murder One, 12 Feb 96)

Indirect, semi-direct discourse

"All I could do was to remind myself that Percy had put Delacroix through God knew what agonies simply because Delacroix had laughed at him" (King, *The Green Mile* 5.43)

"God knew the kid had surprised him, coming through on the phone that way" "If it hadn't been for Cynthia, Steve later thought, Audrey would have gotten to the carvings again. God knew what would have happened if she had" (King, *Desperation* , 358, 481-2)

Interpretation of operators

Scope

"The school did not admit 165 applicants with double 800's" (NYT Magazine, 28 Apr 96)

"The *New York Times* reported that the new metal rackets were lasting far longer than wooden

models and needed less frequent restringing" (Tenner, *Why things bite back*, 245; = less frequently need restringing)

my future former wife ≠ my former future wife.

"She met frequently with the former president and then darted off to record it all..." (*Int. Herald Tribune*, 8 Aug 96; 2nd conjunct in scope of *frequently*)

"A change in rates is unlikely until after the November election" (WFMT, 20 Aug 96)

"The children need never know" (Moll Flanders dramatization, 13 Oct 96; = -need((∃: time)_t (the children know)_t)))

"Our essential business was to curry favor with high-ranking city and state officials, many of whom were suddenly black" (NYT Magazine, 8 Dec 96; *many* in scope of *suddenly*)

Vice versa

"Gulliver becomes Lilliputian and the other way round" (NYT Arts, 21 Jan 96; anaphoric island violation)

Tense, time reference

[Pointing at a figure in a film that is being shown]

What is Batman doing now/??today?

What was Batman doing {24 hours ago, *yesterday}? (deictic anchorage to the narrative moment but not to larger units containing it)

"And when you add all the religious songs that have hit the chart before '55, and since '82, well, who says religion isn't represented in popular culture any more" (*Freethought Today*, June 96, 8; *have* would be * if *and since* '82 weren't there; discontinuous domain for time variable)

"Leonard Slatkin has been conducting this cast" (WFMT, 20 Sept 96; between acts in broadcast of an opera recording)

"Welles married his high-school sweetheart and wife of twenty-five years, during his first year of college..." (New City, 17 Oct 96)

"This redounds to Nicolas Chopin's credit, when one considers how ruthlessly most child prodigies were, and are, exploited by their parents" (Zamoyski, *Chopin*, 15; *most* in scope of tenses)

What are you majoring in? *What do you major in? What did you major in?

Metonymy

"I was hoping he'd bring it back and then I could fire his ass"; "I'm gonna padlock your apartment and your ass is gonna be out on the street" (*NYPD Blue*, 19 Nov, 26 Nov 96)

"Typically I will get a dozen phone calls and ten or twenty clippings on a Monday if someone ran an ad infringing us on Sunday" (McDonald's lawyer, quoted in *New City*, 19 Dec 96; possessor → derived object)

Miscellaneous semantic-pragmatic

"Curiously, there weren't even any human beings in sight" (Pohl & Williamson, *The Singers of Time*, 50)

"... if you could fly a P-38 in aerial combat in the Pacific you could fly *anything*. He was wrong about that. It turned out that you couldn't" (Pohl & Williamson, *The Singers of Time*, 48)

How many piano concertos did Beethoven write? A: 5.

How many piano concertos by Beethoven are there? A: 6 (includes op. 61a, the piano version of the violin concerto)

"Duchamp produced six versions of this collection; each new edition included additional works by the artist" (Museum of Contemporary Art, July 96; ??every, ??all the)

Her eyes are blue;_{indiv/red stage}

"Earlier Sir Karl had equated 'learning from our mistakes' with 'learning by trial an error'..., and the trial-and-error formulation dates from 1937 at least..." (Kuhn, *Essential Tension*, 278)

"She saw me on Law TV along with half her garden club" (Murder One, 12 Dec 96; ambig.: 'half her garden club saw me too' vs. 'she saw half her garden club too')

Pragmatics

"... mud as black as tar, and nigh about a foot deep in some places; and two or three inches deep in all the places" (Twain, *A Pen Warmed-up in Hell*, 171; = at least 2 or 3 inches deep)

"Marianne assented most feelingly to the remark; and her mother was led by it to an enumeration of Colonel Brandon's injuries and merits... Her daughter did not look, however, as if much of it were heard by her" (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 206; shift of empathy focus?)

Speech acts

"Cops Tell Driver: 'We Will Find You'" (Sun-Times headline, 30 May 96; intended recipient ≠

addressee?)

Queclaratives

What/*Which title of nobility?! (as queclarative)

Morphology

"Impasse Threaten's Elderly's Meals" (Sun-Times headline, 3 Jan 96)

Inflection

"He's the best-naturedest old fool in Arkansaw—never hurt nobody, drunk nor sober" (Twain, *A Pen Warmed-up in Hell*, 172)

Contraction

He's been going to pay us back for years. *...gonna... (only finite *gonna*?)

—What I want's to buy a new suit.

"... the one that you're so worried's mad at you" (NYPD Blue, 3 Dec 96)

Infixation

"I need an engin-bloody-neer" (Suspense: The Tramp)

Word formation

"... Kamila Stösslová, the thirty-year-old married Jewish woman with whom he was passionately but unrequitedly in love" (Lyric Opera Program, 1996)

"All used pianos are close-out priced" (WFMT commercial, Jan 96)

"... ensemble artistic director and violist da gamba John Mark Rozendaal..." (Tribune, 14 Nov 95)

"Messenger the books to their homes and have them e-mail their strategies back by 4:00 PM!" (Cathy, 23 Jan 96)

"I remain very conflicted on this issue" (Carl Sagan, Parade, 10 Mar 96)

"recordingist Frans Bruggen" (WFMT, 27 July 96; = recorder player)

"It would be impossible, I know, to convince you that a woman of seven and twenty could feel for a man of thirty-five anything near enough to love, to make him a desirable companion to her" (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 29)

"<The other explanations> all seem to be ruleable out" (R Hall, PSA, 1 Nov 96)

"The police are investigating Eduardo as a suspect in Jessica's murder, which obviously conflicts us out" (*Murder One*, 11 Mar 96; = excludes us, due to conflict of interest)

Parole Officer: I violated him — it was his fourth no-show. (*NYPD Blue*, winter 96; = reported him for a violation [of parole])

"And somewhere between the broken footstool and the sticker-covered coffee table, I re-fell in love with my filthy home and my sticky furniture..." (Cathy, 27 July 96)

"That's more time that the cop is off the street re-fingerprinting someone" (WLS News interview, 1 Oct 96)

Back formations

"People who lived in the south suburbs... talked about the Dowaliby trial as much as people across the nation obsessed on the Simpson case last year" (Roeper, Sun-Times, 27 Feb 96)

"It's all very well to obsess, but let's try to do it in moderation" (Cecil Adams, 29 Sept 95)

"Thousands of excellent nouns, verbs and adjectives that have stood in every decent dictionary for years are still unfamiliar to such ignoramuses; and I do not solicit their patronage. Let them; recreate themselves with whodunits, and leave my vocabulary and me to my own customers, who have all been to school" (*Mencken Chrestomathy*, preface)

"This responding turn of mind..." (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 66)

"And there <the plastic bags> remain. Refusing to biodegrade" (Sun-Times, 30 July 96)

Blocking

two more times ?twice more³

Causatives

"... and then he swore us on the Bible to be faithful to the State of Missouri and drive all invaders from her soil..." (Twain, *A Pen Warmed-up in Hell*, 23)

"Something in his tone of voice must have decided me" (Suspense: Evening's Diversion)

Compounding, complex nominals
John is 15 years/*year old. a 15 year/*years old boy

Neologisms
"... a revolutionary theory about the origin and history of species that he co-developed with Niles Eldredge in 1972" (Tribune Books, 3 Mar 96)
"... two infractors surrendered to a campus cop.." (NYT Magazine, 10 Nov 96)

Lexicon
The last/*final of Brahms' 4 symphonies.
"This is the fourth and final of them" (Peter van de Graff, WFMT, 22 Feb 96; observed just days after I constructed the examples on the preceding line; he was even referring to Brahms) sufficiently few/little ??little/??few enough

"The day that it started wasn't too different to any other day" (Suspense, Heavens to Betsy) Sûre/*Sûrely he did.
*We will sure get wrong results if <we make this assumption>. (paper by native German, 96)
"... she had very much regretted being from home"; "... if Sir John dined from home, she might spend a whole day without hearing any other raillery on the subject, than what she was kind enough to bestow on herself" (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 143, 146; from = away from)
"All her impatience to be at home again now returned... and she was wildly urgent to be gone" (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 120-21)
"What ceremony else?" "There are no tongues else for 's turn" (*Hamlet*, V.i.223, V.ii.183)

"Detectives said they had been unable to question the girl, 15, who had suffered head injuries and was in and out of consciousness Monday..." (Sun-Times, 2 July 96; *in consciousness)
"In a clinic bed in Botafogo, a 6-year old... fell in and out of tears 24 hours after a bullet pierced his thigh" (NYT, 10 Nov 96; *out of tears)

Count/mass
"... so the change is in me—in my vision of the evidences" (Twain, *A Pen Warmed-up in Hell*, 8)
Idioms

"In a 60th-birthday interview Mr. Martino was still blaming everyone but himself for the lack of headway his music had made despite all his prizes and plum academic posts" (NYT Arts, 10 Mar 96)
"Campbell Scott's 'Hamlet' is out for blood from the moment he gets his ghostly exhortation to kick Claudius' bucket!" (Boston Globe, Mar 29 96, noted by RJ)
"... she destroyed all the letters between herself and the composer on which she could lay her hands" (Zamoyiski, *Chopin*, 280)

"You're a cinch to have the book thrown at you when they get you" (Circumstantial Terror, Suspense, 8 Mar 54)
"We all ended up with our geese well and truly cooked" (Rushdie, *Midnight's Children*, 398)

"Taking stock, but no guff, Mandela talks of democracy" (NYT headline 10 Nov 96)
"So having put it in mortal peril, Phred managed to save my sorry behind" (Doonesbury, 14 July 96)
"They had little applause for the music, and were plainly not having anything properly describable as a high old time" (*2nd Mencken Chrestomathy*, 418)
"Airlines prefer mum to be word on safety" (Tribune headline, 25 July 96)

Lexical semantics
"What's great about Skitch is that he can move between any type of music" (Marvin Hamlisch, quoted in NYT Arts, 28 Jan 96)
A: Yes, I asked him if he'd like the usual and he said yes and thanked me and I said goodbye.
B: All the time you were talking to me?
A: Well — between talking to you. (Sturgeon, "Agnes, accent and access", 172)
"Between each doorbell ring, Rose recalculated the odds of having chocolate left over" (Rhymes with Orange, 31 dec 96)

Why don't you buy one more — you'll always use it. (*always* ≠ at all times; = in any event)
"... a T-shirt similar to the one Seberg famously wore in 'Breathless'" (NYT Arts, 25 Feb 96)
"Like good pulp fiction, an American Earth-orbiting telescope last December stumbled in the dark recess of space over a dying body" (Tribune, 28 Feb 96; the brown dwarf star to which this refers

was of course many light years away)
"As early down as you go, you find <...>" (Nina H, 19 Mar 96; refers to studying ever younger children)
"Mixed peanuts" (label on package, KLM, Mar 96)
"Thomas Kuhn's 1962 landmark work, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, didn't enter the French language until 1983" (*Lingua Franca*, Apr 96)
They were miserable the ?remainders/*rests of their lives.
"He's also close friends with Georg Solti and Carlos Kleiber" (Tribune Arts, 16 June 96)
[Is a line parallel to itself? If so, that screws up definition of "parallel" as "has no points in common with".]
invisible = it's such that it can't be seen not visible = we can't see it
"Is there no salvation for us both to adopt Civilization and lift ourselves down to its level?" (Twain, *A Pen Warmed-up in Hell*, 86)
"When he was eventually caught, he was jailed for 13 years. But he was released in 1992 on condition that he seek psychiatric help" (Tribune, 3 Sept 96; 13 years is the sentence, not the length of time that he was in jail)
Selectional restrictions
"Oh, I didn't want to wait for a vehicle. They're too slow. I conveyed myself" (Lafferty, "By the seashore", 75)
Valence
"This is funny of Sharon" (Connie A, 1 June 96, with reference to a photograph of Sharon)
"The debris blocks tiny blood vessels in the brain, starving it of oxygen" (Sun-Times, 19 Dec 96)

Phonology
evolve/evolution [iy-ε]

Speech errors, screwups

"By choice, I took four months off work and only returned part time until the baby is older" (letter to Dear Abby, 5 March 95; clearly intended to mean 'until the baby is older, I will work only part time')
"If you've seen shows like this and liked them, and you're not yet a member, now is your chance to do so" (WTTW pledge drive, 1996; noted by Nancy Dray)
"Turgenyev was in no doubt as to whom it referred" (Zamoyiski, *Chopin*, 257; hapology of to)

Question

For whom do you have more respect,
Louis Farrakhan or Nelson Mandela?
Yes: (312) 408-3641
No: (312) 408-3642 (Sun-Times, 29 Jan 96)

Crosses

"Youth ball hockey is an increasingly popular sport because it combines the fun of ice hockey without the expense" (R. Roeper, 30 Apr 96)

Hypercorrections

"Maybe you're one of those red-eyed people who has trouble dropping off at night? Or maybe one of those who wakes up too early and can't get back to sleep?" (Royko, 2 Feb 96)
"Not all women vote and think alike" (expert quoted in *NYT Magazine*, 28 July 96; = Women don't all...)
"The real Hungarian count... was an opportunist who spied for whomever suited him" (NYT, 22 Dec 96)

Written language

Spelling
"Gangsta rapper Snoop Doggy Dogg..." (Sun-Times; NB not *rappa*)
Interesting/amusing signs
"We rent helium" (State Novelty Co., Cleveland, 1996)

Other languages

Chinese

dang-guo zongtong *shi-guo xuesheng (possible evidence that copula *shi* isn't a V?)

Dutch

"Syrië beschouwt deze organisaties niet als terreur- maar als bevrijdings bewegingen..." (*Algemeen Dagblad*, 12 March 96)

"Op de conferentie wordt gerapporteerd en geëdiscussieerd over de maten en hoeveelheden besmetting van het milieu en de coodselketens, die genomen en nog te nemen maatregelen om deze besmetting tegen te gaan..." (*Algemeen Dagblad*, 12 March 96)

"Dat is gewoon en kwestie van vraag en aanbod" (*Algemeen Dagblad*, 12 March 96; lit. 'demand and supply')

"Deelnemers komen uit heel de wereld" (*Algemeen Dagblad*, 16 Mar 96; RdR accepts only 'de heel wereld')

German

"Das einzige Land der Welt, in dem gegen deutsche Touristen demonstriert wird, sind die Niederlande" (Frankfurter Allgemeine, 23 March 96; cf. Czech, where plural place names like *Ceske Budejovice* take plural agreement)

"Wenn entsprechend ausgerüstete Autos dennoch als gestohlen gemeldet wurden, sei entweder der Dieb im Besitz des Originalschlüssels gewesen, der Diebstahl vorgetäuscht worden oder der Wagen sei von den Dieben abgeschleppt worden" (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 26 Mar 96)

"In Brownsville und East New York sind die Einbrüche wieder leicht hoch- und die Verhaftungen zurückgegangen" (*Spiegel*, 1 Apr 96)

"Maul- und Klauenseuche" (*Spiegel*, 1 Apr 96; cf. Eng. hoof and mouth disease)

"Wenn man ein Geschäft wie dieses betreiben will, muß man es ganz oder gar nicht machen" (*Spiegel*, 1 Apr 96; ___ ganz oder nicht; are *nicht* and *gar nicht* of different categories?)

"Die Bevölkerung weiß, daß es viele schwule Priester in der katholischen Kirche und daß es auch eine Menge schwule Pfarrer und lesbische Pfarrerinnen bei den Protestanten gibt" (*Spiegel*, 1 Apr 96)

"Vertrieben wurden, vertrieben haben hier alle drei Volksgruppen..." (*Spiegel*, 1 Apr 96)

"Es reicht schon, wenn einfach weder Bier noch Wein ausgeschrieben werden" (*Spiegel*, 1 Apr 96)

"Wer gemeinsam reist, steigt natürlich zusammen ein" (LH Bordbuch, Feb 96)

"Gogol schrieb in Odessa den zweiten, mißglückte, Teil seines Romans — und vernichtete ihn wieder" (LH Bordbuch, Feb 96)

"In der fidschianischen Hauptstadt Suva setzten Vertreter dieser drei Staaten am Montag ihre Unterschrift unter den elf Jahre alten Vertrag..." (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 26 Mar 96; cf. English 'the eleven year/*years old treaty') "Ihre sieben Jahre ältere Schwester ist mit einem Bruder ihres Mannes verheiratet" (*Spiegel*, 1 Apr 96; Eng. 'her 7 ??year/*years older sister')

"Die 71 jährige Josefa Behl, [ein Leben] lang Demokratin und Clinton-Wählerin, applaudiert" (*Spiegel*, 1 Apr 96; cf. Eng. a [life-long] Democrat)

"... in- und ausserhalb Europas" (Adolf Hitler speech, 30 Jan 39)

Spanish

Anaphora

Eduardo: Yo no estoy enamorado de Susana, pero tampoco lo estoy de tí. (*Lazos de Amor*, 14 Mar 96; antecedent less than whole A)

Backwards

"Aunque los italianos los disfrutaban más si cuelgan y se balancean desde su boca, le sugerimos que si no quiere mancharse la camisa de tomate, pida una cuchara para poder enrollar y comer los espaguetis" (textbook used by Elisa S; 1996)

"Ana le ocultó su origen a Maria Guadalupe" (*Lazos de Amor*, 7 Feb 96)

Reflexive

"Yo lo vi besándose con una muchacha" (*Pobre Niña Rica*, 28 Aug 96)

Control

"Lo has hecho para obligarme a casarnos" (*Pobre Niña Rica*, 15 July 96)

Ellipsis

"Te espero esta tarde donde siempre" (*Lazos de Amor*, 1 Mar 96)

Identity

"No pasa nada ni va a pasar" (*Lazos de Amor*, 16 Feb 96)

"Tú y yo somos amigos, pero también lo soy de Carlos" (*Pobre Niña Rica*, 11 June 96; transitive *amigo* = intransitive)

Use of morphological forms

Gender ignored

Maria Paula: No, Osvaldo no es tan encantador como yo. (*Lazos de Amor*, 15 Mar 96)

Agreement

"El proximo ganador podría(s) ser tú" (MacDonald's commercial June 96)

"... las dos Marias Guadalupe..." (*Lazos de Amor*, 1 Mar 96)

"Cada uno tenemos lo nuestro" (*Lazos de Amor*, 19 Mar 96)

"Tu papá necesita que alguien le hable claro, y ese alguien voy a ser yo" (*Lazos de Amor*, 11 Apr 96)

"... cada vez que haya un espacio y tiempo libres..." (*Américas*, Sept. 95, 20)

"Pelaremos y limpiaremos bien los pepinos, tomates y pimientos..." (*Cocina Regional Española*, 59; the recipe calls for "1 pepino")

"Canal 44 es malas noticias para los trabajadores del sindicato" (poster, Dec 96)

"¿Son el sonido de mis propios anhelos que resuenan por el vasto vacío de la nada?" (Unamuno, *Sentimiento Tragico de la Vida*, 162)

"La parte más delicada de una separación son los hijos" (*Canción de Amor*, 5 July 96)

"La distancia entre esto y esto son 14 días" (before-and-after commercial, Jan 96)

Hector: Mi especialidad son los negocios. (*Pobre Niña Rica*, 16 Aug 96)

"Lo que cuentan son los hechos" (*Pobre Niña Rica*, 28 Aug 96)

Accusative a

Maria Paula: No quiero compartir nada ni a nadie. (*Lazos de Amor*, 28 Feb 96; conjoining of conjuncts with/without a)

Contraction

"Mercedes Sosa tiene una cálida y sensual voz de contralto, que parece elevarse sin esfuerzo alguno por encima del coro y la orquesta" (*Américas*, May 96, 42)

Clitics

Inanimate dative

"El viejo sillón, recuerdo de mejores tiempos, no pertenece a este mundo que le rodea" (Marqués, *La Carreta*, 55)

"¿Y qué es esto de la visión beatífica? Vemos, en primer lugar, que se le llama visión y no acción, suponiendo algo pasivo" (Unamuno, *Sentimiento Tragico de la Vida*, 199)

Various syntactic constructions

Comparative-conditional 95

"El hombre es tanto más hombre, esto es, tanto más divino, cuanto más capacidad para el sufrimiento, o, mejor dicho, para la congoja, tiene" (Unamuno, *Sentimiento Tragico de la Vida*, 183)

Complements

"Ojalá y lo logre" (*Lazos de Amor*, 2 Feb 96)

Beatriz: Ojalá y algun día puedo ser su amiga. (*Pobre Niña Rica*, 28 Aug 96)

"Ojalá y lo hubieras hecho antes" (*Pobre Niña Rica*, 30 Aug 96)

Coordination

"Tanto Soledad como yo somos una prueba" (*Lazos de Amor*, 2 Jan 96)

"Ni usted va a perder a Nicolás ni mi mamá a mí" (*Lazos de Amor*, Feb 96; gapping)

"El Festival de Berlín presentó seis producciones nacionales o en cooperación en la sección Mercado Internacional..." (*Américas*, May 96, 56)

"... uno de esos argumentos inocentes que las madres utilizan para convencer a sus hijos de que deben o no hacer una cosa" (Marqués, *LaCarreta*, 91)

"Ni el alma puede vivir sin el cuerpo, ni éste sin aquélla..." (Unamuno, *Sentimiento Tragico de la Vida*, 220)

Extraction from subordinate S

"¿Y cual crees tú que es la razón?" (*Lazos de Amor*, 23 Jan 96)

"Tuve una idea que creo que Ø les va a servir" (*Canción de Amor*, 26 Aug 96)

Negation

"Nada ni nadie puede separarnos" (*Lazos de Amor*, 6 Feb 96; also note sg agreement)

"No quiero que nunca se borre" (*Lazos de Amor*, 5 Mar 96; Ø = tu sonrisa)

Parts of speech

"200g de champiñones muy picados" (*Cocina Regional Española*, 189)

P' as A'

"Todo eso es tan sin sentido" (*Lazos de Amor*, 20 Mar 96)

"Nunca he dicho nada tan en serio" (*Pobre Niña Rica*, 30 July 96)

P' as object of P

"Yo me siento solo desde hace mucho" (*Lazos de Amor*, 29 Mar 96)

"... la caridad para con los hombres" (Unamuno, *Sentimiento Tragico de la Vida*, 191)

"... la Cámara de Representantes votó ayer para pasar por sobre el veto del presidente Clinton a un proyecto de ley que prohíbe una forma de aborto en la etapa final" (*El Nuevo Día*, 20 Sept 96)

Structure of NPs

"1 vaso de agua lleno de aceite" (*Cocina Regional Española*, 315)

"Hector es un miserable, un poco hombre" (*Pobre Niña Rica*, 1996)

Articles

Julio: Tienes unos ojos muy bonitos. (*Pobre Niña Rica*, 2 July 96)

Relative clauses and their congeners

"Puedes visitarlas las veces que quieras" (*Lazos de Amor*, 13 Feb 96; = however many times you want)

"No imaginas la ilusionada que estoy"; "Piense solo en los felices que somos" (*Canción de Amor*, 23 Aug 96)

"Usted no tiene porque culparse de nada" (*Pobre Niña Rica*, 2 Sept 96)

Word order

"Yo de aquí no me muevo" (*Lazos de Amor*, 10 Jan 96)

"Pero yo hace tiempo que no creo en la radio" (Marqués, *La Carreta*, 139)

"No quiero terminar esta tan amable asociación con la familia Villagran" (*Pobre Niña Rica*, 16 Aug 96)

"... la expresión 'creo que sea así, aunque no estoy de ello seguro' es corriente y vulgar" (Unamuno, *Sentimiento Tragico de la Vida*, 167)

Semantics

Scope

"Algo me tienen que decir" (*Lazos de Amor*, 10 Jan 96; in context had to be narrow-scope algo)

Aspect/Tense

"¿Estaba enamorada de tí o lo sigue estando?" (*Lazos de Amor*, 28 Feb 96)

"... tuvo la gran alegría de recibir la noticia de que su marido seguía con vida" (letter, *El País*, 12 Sept 95)

"Quizá la sorpresa más grande siga siendo ese pequeño país, Uruguay, de apenas 3 millones de habitantes, que sigue asombrando al mundo con sus hazañas futbolísticas" (*Américas*, Sept 95, 2)

Morphology

"Has cometido un grande pecado" (*Lazos de Amor*, 22 Jan 96)

"¡Canallas! ¡Asesinos! ¡Hijodeputas!" (Marqués, *La Carreta*, 152)

Diminutive

Estela: Está bien loquita. (*Pobre Niña Rica*, 9 Sept 96; uttered as a reproach)

Word formation

"Retomare el caso" (*Pobre Niña Rica*, 30 Aug 96; ??I'll retake the case)

"Una mujer como tú, con estas sinseguridades" (*Canción de Amor*, 30 July 96)

"Voz de hombre aguardentosa" (Marqués, *La Carreta*, 57)

Lexicon

be X's fault = ser por la culpa de X

Freezes

pillor y guardias (Marqués, *La Carreta*, 72; cf. Eng. cops and robbers)

Idioms

"... porque ganas de vivir no tengo" (*Canción de Amor*, 13 June 96)

Doña Isa: Tú no tuviste la culpa. Luis: Sí, la tuve. (Marqués, *La Carreta*, 94)

SPANISH

(examples taken mainly from telenovelas and Spanish news shows on Chicago TV stations; includes my 1985-6 compilation plus a lot of new stuff; the number of spelling and transcription errors in earlier compilations has been greatly reduced thanks to the help of Elisa Steinberg; this supplements my annual compilations of [mainly English] examples. —James D. McCawley)

morphology

Gender ignored

M.T.: Eres injusto, José Antonio. J.A.: No, María Teresa, la injusta eres tú.

Mariela: Estás equivocado. Armando: La equivocada eres tú, Mariela. (*Atrévete*, Jan. 9 87)

Yo no soy inseguro. La insegura eres tú.

(doctor to Claribel) Usted es una muchacha sana, y su marido también. (Coralito, 1984)

(mother to Alfonso) Es una buena chica, y tú lo eres también. (1983)

Armando: "Estás tan asustada como yo, Mariela, ¿verdad?" (*Atrévete*, 6 Aug 86)

Amanda to Esteban: Yo también estoy sola como tú. (*Atrévete*, 22 Sept 86)

Agreement

Armando to Marcos: Ni tú ni Federico van a convencerme. (*Atrévete*, 8 Oct 86)

Leonor: No quiero que ni Armando ni Roberto sufran. (*Atrévete*, 17 Mar 87)

Maximo to Diego: Recuerda que ni tú ni yo la tenemos. (*Jugando a vivir*, May 8 84)

[Plural agreement obligatory in all the preceding; ES, citing Gili Gaya, points out that with conjoined subject after the verb there is the option of agreement with just the closest conjunct:

No me agradaba/agradaban ni el lugar, ni la hora, ni los concurrentes.]

Virginia, acompañada por otros tipos, me descubrieron. (*La Intrusa*, 6 Nov 87)

Los hombres y las mujeres tenemos los mismos derechos. (*La Intrusa*, 7 July 87; *tienen* also possible—ES)

... con una precisión y maestría increíbles. (Marti, *Instrumentos musicales precortesianos* 58)

Juan y Pedro son amigos, y Pablo y Gerardo lo son también.

"La escuela Du Sable es 97% negro" (Ayuda, 5 June 86)

"¿Sabes lo que necesitas? Enamorarse" (*Atrévete*, June 86)

"Si lo echan fuera, échelo a la cárcel" (NYC subway poster; English original is "If they throw you out, throw them in jail"; why not échelos?)

Marcos to Armando: [Roberto] estaba jugando a que fuera/*fuera tú. (*Atrévete*, 8 Dec 86)

El ganador voy/*va a ser yo.

El ganador parezco/*parece ser yo.

El ganador parece/*parezco que soy yo. [Does this argue that in "El ganador soy yo", *el ganador* is the subject, but agreement is with the predicate NP?]

Accusative

"A la única que no pudo reconocer fue a Raquel" (27 Jan. 86)

"¿A quién hay que meter en la cárcel?" (*Carmín*, May 20 86)

"¿Cómo se llama el hombre que atropelló la señorita?" (*Tú o nadie*; unambiguously: ... who the lady ran over)

¿Estás reconociendo que escribiste el libro con la sola intención de separarnos, a Eva y a mí?

(Gabriel to Homer Chavez, *La Verdadera Eva*, 84)

Ella me ama con locura, igual que yo a ella. (NB comparative reduction)

La única que ama es a mí. (Vanessa, March 2, 83)

Los voy a destruir a todos. (NB separation of quantifier from NP)

Lo que tienes que convencer es a Javier. (*Marta y Javier*)

Es a ti que yo quiero.

Mariela: No la condenas como a mí. (*Atrévete*, 18 Mar 87)

contraction

"Cartagena no tardó en convertirse en punto de recolección del oro, esmeraldas y perlas procedentes del virreinato de Nueva Granada, y a menudo del oro y la plata del Perú..." (*Américas* 39.3, 13; *de* fuses with article of only the first conjunct)

"Puerto Rico... había salido victorioso del mal tiempo, la posible turbulencia política y las dificultades logísticas" (*Américas* 39.63)

de = possessive

Pierre: Esa niña no es de Luciano sino mía. (Vanessa, Apr 26, 83)

Yo me llevo un lindo recuerdo tuyo. "... a lovely memory of you"

a pesar tuyo 'in spite of you'

"Hay un retrato tuyo y de Raquel" (= a picture of you and Raquel; *Tú o nadie*, 9 Jan.; "two pictures of you and R" = dos retratos tuyos y de Raquel)

¡Pobre Armando! ¡Pobre de tí! (*de tí* ≠ tuyo)

diminutive

"un problemita" (*La Intrusa*, 6 July 87)

A: ¿Y de quién es esta boquita? B: Es tuyita. (*La Intrusa*, 10 Nov 87)

"... toma todito" (*Carmín*, Apr 86)

"No me gusta nada de eso" (*Atrévete*, 3 Jan 87)

Subjunctive

No importa la opinión que tú tengas.

clitics

Dios (*lo) hizo llover. (dummy subject of *llover* doesn't surface as a clitic when it becomes object)

Inanimate dative

"Dice la gente que si uno le da tres vueltas al árbol, se casa dentro del año" (*Américas* 38.1.13)

Climbing

"No te quiero obligar" (*Carmín*, May 19 86)

"Lo sigo vigilando" (*Carmín*, 30 June 86)

Leonor: ¡No me mandes a callar! (*Atrévete*, 1 Dec 86)
Mariela: Yo me sé defender. (*Atrévete*, 23 Mar 87)
No se deje ver. 'Don't let yourself be seen'
Se volvió a burlar de mí. (*La Intrusa*, 18 Jan 88)

Roberto: Nunca te voy a dejar de querer. (*Atrévete*, 31 Mar 87; iterated climbing)
No te quiero volver a ver, nunca. (*La Intrusa*, 7 Oct 87)

(La información) no podrá usarse en su contra. (WCIU; 'no se podrá' also possible)
"Eso tiene que acabarse" (*Atrévete*, 1 Jan 87; is climbing possible here?)

be-deletion

Yo no te pago, por sinvergüenza y por pecador. (*Estefanía*, April 85)
"Se destruye a sí misma por estúpida" (*La Intrusa*, 28 May 87; S reduced to AP)
Renata: La boté por inmoral. (*La Intrusa*, 21 July 87)
"Estoy aquí por criminal, no por tonta" (*El Pecado de Oyuki*, 25 Dec 87)

Aspect/tense

Tatiana: Siempre lo supe. Gabriel: ¿Lo sabías? (*La Verdadera Eva*, Feb. 13, 85)

¡Estoy viendo! (Regina, as she regains her sight)

A pesar del corto tiempo que estoy conociendo a Eva, ...

Estrella: Luis Antonio, ¿me das un beso? (*La Intrusa*, Oct 87; English would require "Will you..."; is *darás* possible here?)

part of speech

Adj vs. N

Yo me siento muy amigo tuyo. (*La Intrusa*, Aug 19 87)

Adv vs. adj.

Ese error puede costarte caro/*caramente.
Esa locura puede costarte muy cara.
"Vas a pagar muy caro" (*Atrévete*, 2 Oct 86)

Ese tipo juega sucio.

Ella está metida completo en este asunto. (*Atrévete*, Jan. 29 87)
¡Suba rapidito! (*Atrévete*, Jan. 9 87) ¡Suba rápido!

PP as AP

Tú te sientes con sueño. 'You feel tired'
'Tengo derechos'. Tú te sientes con derechos'
X: ¿Y tu hermana? Marta: Con problemas, como siempre. (*Tú o nadie*, Feb. 24)

"Me siento como en Italia" (commercial, 25 Dec 86; cf. *I feel like in Italy*)
"...muy a pesar de..." (*Atrévete*, 13 Oct 86)
Charo: ... Tinita enferma, Mariela presa, y yo sin trabajo... (*Atrévete*, Jan. 20 87)

PP as object of P

"Mi esposo no tiene secretos para conmigo" (*Atrévete*, 3 Nov 86)

hasta as cross-category modifier
Hoy hasta [lo besó]. 'Today she even kissed him'

sin as negation + subordination
Sigo sin entender. 'I still don't understand'

YP as N'

El [estar sentado todo el día] es malo para mis hemorroides. (commercial, 1983)

various syntactic constructions

Cleft

Ortiz to Contreras: Quién se la merece realmente soy yo. (*Marta y Javier*, Feb 21 84)
"Con la única con que contamos es con la ayuda de Dios" (*Atrévete*, 18 Nov 86; could also be 'con lo único...', meaning 'The only thing we can count on...' [vs. 'The only help we can count on...']—ES)
"Con la única con que puedo contar es contigo" (*La Intrusa*, 10 Aug 87)

Yo puedo tener amistad con quién yo quiera. (*La Intrusa*, 7 Oct 87)
Si usted tiene informaciones o necesita con quién hablar, ... (WCIU, anti-gang message 87)

Claudia: "Me voy a ir muy lejos, adonde nadie me encuentre más" (Carmín, 20 June 86; NB *donde* matches *adonde*)

comparative

"Más que vivir, vegetaba hasta ahora" (*Carmín*, 30 Apr 86)
"[Koolaid] cuesta la mitad que las sodas" (commercial, 7 May 87)
Prefiero aceptar su ayuda que la tuya. (1983; pseudo-comparative)

complements

Sandra to Roberto: Tienes que acostumbrarte (a) que yo soy tu madre. (*Atrévete*, Jan. 22 87; cf. *You have to accustom yourself (to) that I am your mother).
"Cuidado con darle entender que estoy aquí" (Rodrigo to Maura, *Tú o nadie*, 22 March)
Te prohíbo que hables así. (*La Intrusa*, Aug. 87)
"¿Como vas a entrar en su casa sin que te vea?" (*La Intrusa*, 8 Jan 88)
"Tu sigues casado legítimamente con Estrella" (*La Intrusa*, 16 Dec 87)

"Tengo el niño enfermo" (*La Intrusa*, 5 Jan 88)

Perception predicates

Yo la veo cada vez peor. 'She keeps looking worse to me'

coordination

"Se limpian ropas y se planchan" (sign on shop, 1134 Belmont)

"Entonces los declaro marido y mujer" (Carmín, May 12 86)

"... sin poder leer ni poder escribir." (ad for literacy program, channel 44, Dec 30 85)
"Y no la he obligado ni nada" (= '... or anything')
"...sin peligros ni violencias" (Américas, 38.4.27)
"[Esta traducción] hizo más... que ninguna otra, antes ni después" (Américas, 38.4.36)
"No son bombones cremosos, rellenos de licor ni esencias y no tienen tampoco sabores artificiales"

ni preservativos químicos" (*Américas* 39.3, 56)

Exclamative, echo

"No sabes lo feliz que me haces" (Carmín, 12 May 86)

"No sabes lo que te extraña". (*La Intrusa*, 3 Feb 88; NB no overt compared adjective)

"¿Es que tienes miedo?" "¿Miedo yo?" (Carmín, 3 June 86)

Rodrigo to Francisco: ¿Y tú me llamaste delincuente? ¿A mí, delincuente? (*Carmín*, 1 July 86)

Armando: ¡Papá, qué falta me haces! (*Atrévete*, 16 Oct 86)

¡Pobrecita mi hija!

"¡Pobrecito, y pobre tu papá!" (*Atrévete*, 7 Aug 86; cf. *poor your father)

Armando: No te pido, te exijo. Federico: ¿Qué? ¿Exígeme, tú a mí? (*Atrévete*, 14 Oct 86)

"¿Yo en la cárcel?" (*Atrévete*, 25 Mar 87; NB nominative, unlike English)

Desiree: ¡Primero muerta! (*Atrévete*, 30 Mar 87; 'I would die first')

"...la fiera de tu mujer" (*La Intrusa*, 27 May 87; cf. your wild animal of a wife, *the wild animal of your wife)

"¡Ese desgraciado de Alfredo!" (*La Intrusa*, 2 July 87)

Alfredo: La loca de mi mujer. (*La Intrusa*, 13 July 87)

Extraction from subordinate S

Vanessa: ¿Con quién dicen que (Ø = Pierre) va a casarse? (1983)

¿Cómo crees que me puedo sentir yo? 'How do you think I feel?' (*Hola.. Felusa*, Sept. 27 85)

... Alfonso, que sabes que ama Ø; tu hijo, ... (1983)

Marcos: ... una muchacha que tú sabes muy bien que Ø es inocente. (*Atrévete*, 28 Feb 87)

"Algo tienes que haber oído" (*Atrévete*, 25 Dec 86)

Negation

"Salió de aquí no hace mucho tiempo" (*Atrévete*, 2 Jan 87)

Negative polarity

Aquí estaremos tranquilos, sin que nadie nos moleste. (1983)

No puede ser que nada es más importante que tu familia. (*Coralito* Sept 25 84)

... sin que nadie se entere.

Alfredo: ¿(Usted se va a ir) sin ni siquiera decirme su nombre? (*La Intrusa*, 18 Nov 87)

"... sin obligación de comprar nada" (commercial, 23 Nov 87)

"Yo tampoco me arrepiento de nada" (*Carmín*, May 16 86)

"Ni nada ni nadie puede separarnos" (*Atrévete*, Aug 29 86; is *pueden* *?)

"No te pongas así". "No me pongo nada". (*Carmín*, Apr 10 86)

"No está mal -- no está nada mal" (*Carmín*, 7 July 86; which is head: *nada* or *mal*?)

Madre Dolores to Herminia: Le prohíbo hacer nada como empleada de esta cárcel. (*Atrévete*, 25 Feb 87)

No estoy en posición de exigir nada. (*La Intrusa*, 20 Oct 87)

Passive

X y Y fueron negados fianzas. (= were denied bail; IO as passive subject)

"...el convento y la iglesia de San Felipe Neri, mandado a construir en 1775..." "Esta obra de arte, mandada a hacer en 1679..." (*Américas* 38.1.13; Passive extracting from lower Y?)
"Sus fortificaciones, empezadas a construir en 1503..." (*Américas* 39.3.13)

Relative clauses and their congeners

Leonor: Desiree desapareció y Juan Carlos que no llega. (*Atrévete*, 17 Sept 86)

"¡Qué casualidad! Él que llega y el teléfono que suena." (*La Intrusa*, 26 May 87) Fake relative

Carmela to Leonor: ... su hijo, que en paz descansa (*Atrévete*, 9 Oct 86; cf. *your son, who (may) Ø rest in peace; is this a nonrestrictive relative or a (nonrelative) parenthetical?)

Free

"Los médicos son quién pueden salvarlo" (*La Intrusa*, 19 May 87)

"...y yo aburrída, sin con quién jugar" (*La Intrusa*, 22 June 87)

Infinitival

Mariano: "Ya conseguí un lugar donde vivir" (*Carmín*, May 19 86)

"Usted no tiene nada porque disculparse". (*La Intrusa*, 4 Feb 88; cf. *You have no reason why to apologize)

Idioms with tener

¿Qué tienes, Enrique? 'Miedo'
Lo que tienes es miedo.

"Agustín Lara cumplió 50 años de muerte" (24 Horas, Nov 8 85; ¡Felicitaciones, Agustín, y le deseo 50 años más!)

"... y VISA y MASTERCHARGE son bienvenidos" (commercial, 28 Oct 86; ¡Is this a calque?)

"Estás hablando dormida" (*Atrévete*, 21 Oct 86)

Barbara to Desiree: Me gusta más José para ser pareja contigo. (*Atrévete*, 2 Dec 86)

"Entonces soy toda oídos" (*Carmín*, 29 May 86 and 3 June)

"Advertencia de cirujano general: Fumar durante el embarazo puede causar... y reducir el peso del recién nacido" (English original is "...and low birth weight")

Prepositions with *soñar*; examples from ES and J. Martí (judgements in that order when two are given)

Soñaba con María.

Soñaba en conseguir el premio.

OK/? Soñaba con una lavadora. Soñaba que conseguiría el premio.

Soñaba con ganar el premio

OK/* Soñaba con un unicornio. (nonreferential interpretation)

*/OK Soñaba en un unicornio. Soñaba acerca de un unicornio que...

¿En qué sueñas?

¿Con quién sueñas?

*¿En quién sueñas?

*¿Con qué sueñas.

¿Acerca de qué soñaste?

Sobre qué soñabas?

OK/*¿Acerca de quién soñaste?

*/?¿Sobre quién soñabas.

Freezes

... de pies a cabeza. (*La Intrusa*, 17 July 87)
tarde o temprano.

Idioms

Si tú supieras la falta que me haces. (*La Intrusa*, Aug. 87)
Tú no sabes la falta que me haces. (*La Intrusa*, Oct 13 87)

Valence

"...di la razón o la callas por siempre" (Carmín, May 12 86)

Carmela: No me puse nada... Si, me puse. (*Atrévete*, 17 Mar 87)

Word order

"No le prometo nada sin antes hablar con él" (*Atrévete*, June 86; cf without first/*beforehand talking with him)

"Yo mañana voy a la oficina" (Antonio in *Tú o nadie*, 15 Jan.; tomorrow couldn't occupy that position in English)

"Ustedes para mí son muy importantes" (*Atrévete*, 13 Oct 86)

Armando: Yo contigo puedo hablar. (*Atrévete*, Aug 25, 86)

"Yo con quién quería hablar era contigo" (*Atrévete*, Aug 26 86)

"Yo lo único que sé es que te estás volviendo loca" (*La Intrusa*, 7 May 87)

"Yo lo único que puedo sentir por tí es lastima" (*La Intrusa*, 4 Feb 88)

"Él lo que necesita es dinero" (*La Intrusa*, 26 May 87)

"Lo está usted logrando" (*Atrévete*, 1 Sept 86)

Armando: ¿También con ella tenía relaciones Juan Carlos? (*Atrévete*, 15 Oct 86)

"Entiendo perfectamente todo". (*Atrévete*, 18 Mar 87)

"El abogado de la acusación está metiendo opiniones que nada tienen que ver con ..." (*Atrévete*, Apr 13 87)

Tan culpable es usted como lo soy yo. (*La Intrusa*, 23 Oct 87)

Ellipsis

"¿Quieres ir a la cárcel? ¿Quieres que yo y mi papá también?" (*Tú o nadie*, Jan. 7)

Yo sé que tú estas sufriendo, y tú sabes que yo también.

¿Cómo te sientes? Creo que un poco mejor.

Luis Antonio: Yo te amo. Virginia: Yo también a tí. (*La Intrusa*, 1 Jan 88)

Alfredo: Por supuesto hablo francés. No me digas que tú también. (*La Intrusa*, 8 Jan 88)

"Si ella se va, yo también" (*La Intrusa*, 22 June 87)

Armando: No tenía con que pagarme. Federico: Es cierto, no tenía con que. (*Atrévete*, 14 Oct. 86)

Jose Antonio: He venido para hacerte un favor. X: ¿Tú a mí un favor? (Luisano, 1983; Gapping with 3-part residue?)

"... desde muy niña..." (*Atrévete*, June 86)

Leonor: Armando y Marcos han sido amigos desde niños. (*Atrévete*, 16 Dec 86)

Anaphora

Leonor: Tengo mis dudes y supongo que tu las tienes también. (*Atrévete*, Apr 20 87; cf. ??... I suppose you have them too; "... I suppose you do too" is OK, since sloppy identity is OK).

A: ¿Qué relación hay entre ese señor y yo? B: Todavía ninguna. Pero te aseguro que la habrá.

"Entre Estrella y yo no hay nada, y no lo habrá nunca" (*La Intrusa*, 4 Jan 88)

"Yo quería verte sana, como tu siempre lo fuiste" (*La Intrusa*, 23 Dec 87)

Spanish pronoun = English gap

"...el aeropuerto de Sucre... es famoso entre los pilotos por ser difícil de aterrizar en él..."

Américas 38.1.8

"Sucre sigue siendo una ciudad para caminar por ella" Américas 38.1.10.

"Allí está el pavo para llenarlo" (*Atrévete*, 5 Jan 87)

Backwards anaphora

Llena teatros en toda América y las mujeres se enloquecen cuando él se contorsiona sensualmente en el escenario, pero José Luis Rodríguez, tiene objetivos que van mucho más allá de su éxito...

(Américas 38.3.60)

"Políticos no lo oye, si Usted no vota" (sign in CTA buses; violates some versions of anaphora constraint)

Reflexive

"Casarse sin amor es faltarse el respeto a sí mismo" (*La Intrusa*, 28 Nov 87)

Miscellaneous

"...con tu ayuda o sin ella" (Carmín, Apr 30 86)

Control

"Cuentas los pollos, antes de él, nacer" (*Atrévete*, June 86)

"Parece que ha llegado una mujer que dice ser la viuda de Antonio" (*Tú o Nadie*; Equi with *decir*)

"... el 3 de Septiembre que no se trabaja por ser Labor Day" (commercial for Viajes Palenche, 84)

"Antes que caigas en una de estas situaciones, llámanos para ayudarte" (ad in NYC; is *tú* or *nosotros* the understood subject of *ayudar*?)

Ana Julia: Antes las cosas eran diferentes.

Luis Antonio: ¿Antes de que?

Ana Julia: Antes de él casarte con Estrella. (*La Intrusa*, 1 May 87)

Lucharé hasta vencer. (*La Intrusa*, Aug. 87)

"Yo no me voy de aquí hasta aclarar quién es X" (*La Intrusa*, 22 Dec 87)

Amalgams, patches

"Andrés los vio en el jardín parece que besando" (*Tú o nadie*)

Ana Julia: Mi esposo está en la calle, haciendo Dios sabe qué. (*La Intrusa*, Aug. 13 87)

Scope

Roberto: Tú no vas a volver porque yo lloro. (*Atrévete*, 29 Oct 86; subjunctive makes scope of

negation unambiguously wide)

"¡Cinco camisas sin botones!" (Daniel complaining to maid about shirts each missing one or more buttons; *Hols... Felusa*, Oct 7 85; context brings out normally disfavored interpretation)

Constituency

Marcos: ¿Estás seguro que esa mujer mató a tu hermano?

Armando: Sí, lo estoy.

No es pecado tomarlo ni virtud dejarlo. (examples from ES)

No es más pecado tomarlo que tontería abandonarlo.

Luis Antonio (on telephone): Solamente faltas tú. (*La Intrusa*, 4 Feb 88; NB subject focus with separated *solamente*; might be evidence for GB-ers' treatment of postverbal subjects as being in the VP)

Hypercorrection

la elección municipal (*Ayuda*, 30 Oct. 86; Puerto Rican speaker)

Phonology

[sinxer] (manufacturer of sewing machines)

[roth rois] 'Rolls-Royce' (*La Intrusa*, 6 Jan 88)

"batir récords mundiales" (*Américas* 39.4, 2; how is this pronounced?)

Miscellaneous

"Yo nunca te hablé de matrimonio. ¿O sí?"

"[Tenemos que aceptarlo], venga de quién venga" "We have to accept it, no matter who it comes from" (*La Intrusa*, July 87)

Virginia to Manuel: Luis Antonio nos encontró a las dos juntas. (*La Intrusa*, 29 Oct 87)

SPANISH

(examples taken mainly from telenovelas and Spanish news shows on Chicago TV stations; includes my 1985-9 compilation plus lots of new stuff; the number of spelling and transcription errors in earlier compilations has been greatly reduced thanks to help from Elise Steinberg and Eddy Gaytan; this supplements my annual compilations of [mainly English] examples.—James D. McCawley)

Phonology

[sinxer] (manufacturer of sewing machines)
[roih rois] 'Rolls-Royce' (*La Intrusa*, 6 Jan 88)
"batir récords mundiales" (*Américas* 39.4, 2; pronounced [rekorh mun...] acc. to ES)
films (Borges, *Discusión*, pronounced with [lms])

morphology

"Iglesia chilena" (*El Nuevo Día*, June 19 89; otherwise in the article, *chileno* etc.)
"Dile no a las drogas" (signs all over PR; *le* apparently refers to *las drogas*) "Dile no a las drogas y sí a la felicidad" (TV public service ad observed by ES; note "sloppy" interpretation of *le*)
Medias deportiva (Dept. store, San Juan PR; conjecture: the /s/'s aren't pronounced, but the first one is written, because *medias* is the way that noun is usually spelled)
bongoses 'bongos' (music store, Ponce PR)

"bracketing paradoxes"

"El Partido Republicano germano occidental" (*El Nuevo Día*, June 19 89; *occidental* modifies understood *Alemania*)
"Huble Brooks, jardinero derecho de los Expos..." (*El Nuevo Día*, June 21 89; *derecho* modifies *jardín*)

compounding

un microhondas (commercial, 30 June 88)

Derivation

Bravísimo. (*Diana Salazar*, 1 Nov 88) Prohibitísimo. (*Espérame en el Cielo*)
"el mismísimo Coronel Mindreau" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 181)
sombbrero 'hat-maker' (-ero + -er); ES also suggests calderero 'man who make cauldrons' and carterera 'woman who makes purses'

"ese hembrón" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 87)

diminutive

"un problemita" (*La Intrusa*, 6 July 87)
A: ¿Y de quién es esta boquita? B: Es tuyita. (*La Intrusa*, 10 Nov 87)
"... toma todito" (Carmín, Apr 86)
"No me gusta nadita de eso" (*Atrévete*, 3 Jan 87)

use of morphological forms

Gender ignored

M.T.: Eres injusto, José Antonio. J.A.: No, María Teresa, la injusta eres tú.
Marlela: Estás equivocado. Armando: La equivocada eres tú, Marlela. (*Atrévete*, Jan. 9 87)
"Yo no soy inseguro. La insegura eres tú."
Armando: Estás tan asustado como yo, Marlela, ¿verdad? (*Atrévete*, 6 Aug 86)
"Tú no te das tan fácilmente por vencida, ni yo tampoco" (*Diana Salazar*, July 18 88; male speaker)
Amanda to Esteban: Yo también estoy sola como tú. (*Atrévete*, 22 Sept 86)

(man to woman) Eres un ser humano, no un muñeco. (*Dos Vidas*, 14 June 88)

(doctor to Claribel) Usted es una muchacha sana, y su marido también. (Coralito, 1984)
(mother to Alfonso) Es una buena chica, y tú lo eres también. (1983)

Rosana: Que buen hijo eres. Rodrigo: Mejor que tú. (*Tal como somos*, 26 May 88; hijo = hija)
"Es la principal sospechosa" (*Diana Salazar*, 4 Nov 88; means 'principal suspect', not 'principal female suspect')

Diana: Yo también creo que Jordana no es la asesina. (*Diana Salazar*, 4 Nov. 88; no presupposition that the culprit is a woman, and *el asesino* isn't even acceptable here. Cf.:

Yo también creo que Jordana no es la asesina sino que otra persona debe ser el asesino.)

"Yo no vi ninguna carta ni tarjeta que me pruebe que ella fue la que llevó la guitarra al Puesto" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 147; no presupposition that it was a woman who brought the guitar to the police station)

Agreement

Armando to Marcos: Ni tú ni Federico van a convencerme. (*Atrévete*, 8 Oct 86)
Leonor: No quiero que ni Armando ni Roberto sufran. (*Atrévete*, 17 Mar 87)
Máximo to Diego: Recuerda que ni tú ni yo la tenemos. (*Jugando a vivir*, May 8 84)
"Ni Ricardo, ni siquiera mi papá, son tan educados como era él" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 123)
[Plural agreement obligatory in all the preceding; with conjoined subject after the verb there is the option of agreement with just the closest conjunct: No me agradaba/agradaban ni el lugar, ni la hora, ni los concurrentes. (ES). On this option, see now Judith Aissen and Jeffrey Runner, "Spanish left conjunct agreement", read at 1989 LSA meeting.]
But: "Ni nada ni nadie puede separarnos" (*Atrévete*, Aug 29 86; *puede* preferred to *pueden*)

Su punto débil son las mujeres. (*Diana Salazar*, July 28 88)

Lo que importa ahora somos tú y yo. (*Dos Vidas*, 9 June 88)

Virginia, acompañada por otros tipos, me descubrieron. (*La Intrusa*, 6 Nov 87)

Los hombres y las mujeres tenemos los mismos derechos. (*La Intrusa*, 7 July 87; *tienen* also possible-ES)

"...quienes no creemos que esa debe ser el futuro de Puerto Rico, tendremos que unirnos en un movimiento para detener la República" (*El Nuevo Día*, June 19 89; = we who do not believe...")
"Aquí, los únicos que se riegan siempre somos los pobres" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 179)

... con una precisión y maestría increíbles. (Martí, *Instrumentos musicales precortesianos* 58)
"...disparando la flecha sin apuntar, daba unos pasos por el monte y pronto se tropezaba con una pavita, una perdiz o un trompetero flechados" (Vargas Llosa, *El Hablador*, 38; one bird each time)
"No he conocido a nadie que diera de entrada, como él, esa impresión de persona tan abierta, sin repiegues, despreñida de buenos instintos, nadie que mostrara una sencillez y un corazón semejantes en cualquier circunstancia" (Vargas Llosa, *El Hablador*, 11; no *á* before 2nd *nadie*)

Juan y Pedro son amigos, y Pablo y Gerardo lo son también.

"La escuela Du Sable es 97% negro" (Ayuda, 5 June 86)
Estrella to Rosa: Eres mi antiguo perro fiel. (*La Intrusa*, Feb 88; an idiom: if *perro* were replaced by *perra*, it would be literal and mean 'bitch')

Diana: Dijo que Mario gyo hemos a morir. (*El extraño retorno de Diana Salazar*, 30 Nov 88)

"Los reyes de Castilla y el de Portugal..." 'The king and queen of Castile and the king of Portugal' (film *Cristóbal Colón*)
los reyes de Castilla y la de Inglaterra 'the king and queen of Castile and the queen of England'
la reina de Inglaterra y los de Castilla 'the queen of England and the king and queen of Spain'
(shows that *reyes* is a plural of *reina* as much as of *rey*)

"La hambrienta y flaca loba del primer canto de la Divina Comedia no es un emblema o letra de la avaricia" (Borges, *Discusión*, 139; "una letra o emblema" also OK acc. to ES)

Marcos to Armando: [Roberto] estaba jugando a que fuera/*fuera tú. (*Atrévete*, 8 Dec 86)
El ganador voy/*va a ser yo. El ganador parezco/*parece ser yo.
El ganador parece/*parezco que soy yo. [Does this argue that in "El ganador soy yo", *el ganador* is the subject, but agreement is with the predicate NP?]

"Los únicos culpables son nosotros" (*La Intrusa*, Feb 88)
"Los que se van, han vuelto. Están aquí. Son nosotros" (Verges Llosa, *El Hablador*, 39)

Accusative a

"A la única que no pudo reconocer fue a Raquel" (27 Jan. 86)

"¿A quién hay que meter en la cárcel?" (*Carmín*, May 20 86)

"¿Cómo se llama el hombre que atropelló la señorita?" (*Tú o nadie*, unambiguously: ... who the lady ran over)

Gabriel to Homar Chavez: ¿Estás reconociendo que escribiste el libro con la sola intención de separarnos, a Eva y a mí? (*La Verdadera Eva*, 84)

"Ella me ama con locura, igual que yo a ella" (NB comparative reduction)

"A la única que ama es a mí" (Vanessa, March 2, 83)

"Los voy a destruir a todos" (NB separation of quantifier from NP)

"Lo que tienes que convencer es a Javier" (*Marta y Javier*)

"Es a tí que yo quiero"

Mariela: No la condenas como a mí. (*Atrévete*, 18 Mar 87)

Omar: Quiero a Mario Villareal muerto. (*Diana Salazar*, 1 Sept 88)

"¿Estás jugando a detective?" (*Diana Salazar*, 14 Oct 88; a also possible)

contraction

"Cartagena no tardó en convertirse en punto de recolección de oro, esmeraldas y perlas procedentes del virreinato de Nueva Granada, y a menudo de oro y la plata del Perú..." (*Américas* 39.3, 13; de fuses with article of only the first conjunct)

"Puerto Rico... había salido victorioso de mal tiempo, la posible turbulencia política y las dificultades logísticas" (*Américas* 39.63)

"Es idéntico a de Irene" (*Diana Salazar*, 18 Oct 88)

de = possessive

Pierre: Esa niña no es de Luciano sino mía. (Vanessa, Apr 26, 83)

"Yo me llevo un lindo recuerdo tuyo" ... a lovely memory of you'

a pesar tuyo 'in spite of you'

"Hay un retrato tuyo y de Raquel" (= a picture of you and Raquel; *Tú o nadie*, 9 Jan.; "two pictures of you and R" = dos retratos tuyos y de Raquel)

= possessive in "¡Pobre Armando! ¡Pobre de ti!" (*Pobre tuyo) or in (ES examples) "El malo/traidor de mi hermano" (cf. "My traitor of a brother"); ES notes that evaluatively positive words become ironic in this construction: El vivo de me digo.

La inteligente de tu mujer regaló mi libro favorito.

La belleza de silla que compró arruina toda la decoración.

Subjunctive

"No importa la opinión que tú tengas"

clitics

Dios (*lo) hizo llover. (dummy subject of *llover* doesn't surface as a clitic when it becomes object)

"...cada fotografía, simultáneamente, da la vida y se la quita a sus objetos" (*Américas* 40.6.13; a sus objetos evidently goes with both conjuncts; ...les de la vida... is also possible)

Virginia to Manuel: Luis Antonio nos encontró a las dos juntas. (*La Intrusa*, 29 Oct 87)

Inanimate dative

"Dica la gente que si uno le da tres vueltas al árbol, se casa dentro del año" (*Américas* 38.1.13)

"... ponerle aceite al coche".

Climbing

"No te quiero obligar" (Carmín, May 19 86)

"Lo sigo vigilando" (Carmín, 30 June 86)

Leonor: ¡No me mandas a callar! (*Atrévete*, 1 Dec 86)

Mariela: Yo me sé defender. (*Atrévete*, 23 Mar 87)

"No se deje ver" 'Don't let yourself be seen'

"Te vas a poder casar" (*Estrellita*, Mar 88)

"Se volvió a burlar de mí" (*La Intrusa*, 18 Jan 88)

"Luis Antonio se quiere divorciar" (*La Intrusa*, 25 Jan 88)

"Me dejé engañar" (*Diana Salazar*, 18 Oct 88; climbs over understood unspecified subject)

Roberto: Nunca te voy a dejar de querer. (*Atrévete*, 31 Mar 87; iterated climbing)

"No te quiero volver a ver, nunca" (*La Intrusa*, 7 Oct 87)

"Yo no quiero seguirlo engañando" (*Diana Salazar*, 3 Nov 88)

"(La información) no podrá usarse en su contra" (WCIU; 'no se podrá' also possible)

"Eso tiene que acabarse" (*Atrévete*, 1 Jan 87; 'Eso se tiene que acabar' also possible)

Aspect/tense

Tatiana: Siempre lo supe. Gabriel: ¿Lo sabías? (*La Verdadera Eva*, Feb. 13, 85)

Regina, as she regains her sight: ¡Estoy viendo!

"A pesar del corto tiempo que estoy conociendo a Eva, ..."

Estrella: Luis Antonio, ¿me das un beso? (*La Intrusa*, Oct 87; English would require 'Will/would/... you...' instead of present; *Darás* not possible here as immediate future)

"Estás teniendo miedo" (*Dos Vidas*, 27 June 88)

"...hasta hacía poco..." (Verges Llosa, *El Hablador*, 86; sequence of tense in something that corresponds to a Prep in many languages; ES also notes: hasta hace poco/*mucho)

part of speech

Adj vs. N

"Yo me siento muy amigo tuyo" (*La Intrusa*, Aug 19 87)

Adv vs. adj.

"Ese error puede costarte caro/*caramente" Esa locura puede costarte muy cara.

"Vas a pagar muy caro" (*Atrévete*, 2 Oct 86)

"Ese tipo juega sucio"

"Ella está metida completamente en este asunto" (*Atrévete*, Jan. 29 87)

"¡Suba rapidito!" (*Atrévete*, Jan. 9 87) ¡Suba rápido!

N' as AP

"Es muy dueña de sí" (*Diana Salazar*, July 19 88)

PP as AP

"Tú te sientes con sueño" 'You feel tired'

Diana: La encontré muy extraña, como con miedo. (*Diana Salazar*, 8 Sept 88)

X: Tengo derechos. Y: Tú te sientes con derechos.

X: ¿Y tu hermana? Marta: Con problemas, como siempre. (*Tú o nadie*, Feb. 24)

"Me siento como en Italia" (commercial, 25 Dec 86; cf. **I feel like in Italy*)

"...muy a pesar de..." (*Atrévete*, 13 Oct 86)

Charo: ... Tinita enferma, Mariela presa, y yo sin trabajo... (*Atrévete*, Jan.20 87)

muy en seguida (*Dos Vidas*, 28 June 88; = en seguida)

PP as object of P

"Mi esposo no tiene secretos para conmigo" (*Atrévete*, 3 Nov 86)

"Rose, que podría ser marginado de por vida del béisbol..." (*El Nuevo Día*, June 21 89; P' object of P)

hasta as cross-category modifier

"Hoy hasta [lo besó]" 'Today she even kissed him'

sin as negation + subordination

"Sigo sin entender" 'I still don't understand'

"¿Paulino un camarada y yo sin saberlo?" (*Espérame en el Cielo*)

VP as N'

El [estar sentado todo el día] es malo para mis hemorroides" (commercial, 1983)

Constituency

Marcos: ¿Estás seguro que esa mujer mató a tu hermano?

Armando: Sí, lo estoy.

No es pecado tomarlo ni virtud dejarlo. (examples from ES)

No es más pecado tomarlo que tontería abandonarlo.

Luis Antonio (on telephone): Solamente faltas tú. (*La Intrusa*, 4 Feb 88; NB subject focus with separated *solamente*, might be evidence for GB-ers' treatment of postverbal subjects as being in the VP)

"¿Sabes de qué tengo ganas?" (*Dos Vidas*, 4 July 88)

various syntactic constructions

Absolute

"[Tenemos que aceptar lo], venga de quién venga" 'We have to accept it, no matter who it comes from' (*La Intrusa*, July 87)

"[Hay que comportarse en manera natural], hoy o no haya policía" (*Tal como somos*, 5 May 88)

Cleft

Ortiz to Contreras: Quien se la merece realmente soy yo. (*Marta y Javier*, Feb 21 84)

"Con la única con que contamos es con la ayuda de Dios" (*Atrévete*, 18 Nov 86; could also be 'con lo único...'; meaning 'The only thing we can count on...' [vs. 'The only help we can count on...']—ES)

"Con la única con que puedo contar es contigo" (*La Intrusa*, 10 Aug 87)

"Yo puedo tener amistad con quien yo quiera" (*La Intrusa*, 7 Oct 87)

"Si usted tiene informaciones o necesita con quién hablar, ..." (WCIU, anti-gang message 87)

Claudia: Me voy a ir muy lejos, adonde nadie me encuentre más (Carmin, 20 June 86; NB *donde* matches *adonde*; ES notes that *dónde/adónde*, *bajo/abajo* and *fuera/afuera* are largely interchangeable, though some fixed expressions require one in particular: *bajo/*abajo* pena de muerte, *está fuera/*afuera* de sí)

"De lo que sí estoy seguro es que Diana no está enamorada de él" (*Diana Salazar*, July 28 88)

"No es con sangre como se defienden los triunfos" (*El Nuevo Día*, June 19 89; *como* in pseudo-cleft)

comparative

"Más que vivir, vegetaba hasta ahora" (*Carmin*, 30 Apr 86)

"[Koolaid] cuesta la mitad que las sodas" (commercial, 7 May 87)

"Prefiero aceptar su ayuda que la tuya" (1983; pseudo-comparative)

"...el diccionario bilingüe más completo y de mayor actualidad..." ('cover blurb, Simon & Schuster Spanish/English dictionary; corr. to E 'most complete and up-to-date')

"Dwight Gooden logró ser el tercer jugador más joven en la historia contemporánea de las grandes ligas que gana 100 partidos..." (*El Mundo*, 20 June 89)

"Gooden se convirtió en el tercer más joven lanzador de la época moderna actual en ganar 100 juegos..." (*El Nuevo Día*, June 21 89)

"Ni Ricardo, ni siquiera mi papá, son tan educados como era él" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 123; V retained in then-clause, to support non-identical tense)

"Le juro que no he visto a un hombre tan templado de nadie como él a usted" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 79; 'gapped' than-clause)

"Olfateando el papel (como un sabueso la mesa)..." (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 85)

comparative conditional

"Cuento más trato, menos me acuerdo" (*Estrellita*, Apr 88)

"...la perseguirán día y noche tratando de sacarle declaraciones. Y mientras más sucias y escandalosas, más las explotarán" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 164; CC)

complements

Sandra to Roberto: Tienes que acostumbrarte (a) que yo soy tu madre. (*Atrévete*, Jan. 22 87; cf.

*You have to accustom yourself (to) that I am your mother. Is the usual deletion of P excluded here for reasons that GB people would subsume under 'Case theory', e.g. that the complement isn't adjacent to the Y that the P goes with? Is deletion of P excluded in all cases where a P in [V NP P'] has a sentential object?)

"Cuidado con darle entender que estoy aquí" (Rodrigo to Maura, *Tú o nadie*, 22 March; 'a entender' for ES; can't be sure there wasn't an *a* in what I heard)

"Cuando cadete, podía sacar cualquier tonado con oír la una vez" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 145)

"Tu sigues casado legítimamente con Estrella" (*La Intrusa*, 16 Dec 87)

"Yo sigo siendo tu esposa" (*La Intrusa*, 25 Jan 88)

"Tengo el niño enfermo" (*La Intrusa*, 5 Jan 88)

"Santa Bárbara, virgen, mártir, cristiana, se supone vivió en el Siglo Tercero D.C." (San Jeronimo Museum, San Juan PR; finite complement without *que*, with extraction)

"Junto con los comunistas, que se esperaba perdieran ocho de sus 48 asientos, ..." (*El Nuevo Día*, June 19 89; NB no *que* before *perdieran*)

"Caza animales, algo que nunca supe hicieron las mujeres" (Vargas Llosa, *El Hablador*, 109)

"El presidente electo, Menem, no crea pueda resolver los conflictos militares heredados de su predecesor Alfonsín" (*El Nuevo Día*, June 21 89)

"... dudó si regresar" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 187, 'he wondered whether to go back'; *si* + inf)

be-deletion

"Yo no te pago, por sinvergüenza y por pecador" (*Estefanía*, Apr 11 85)

"Se destruye a sí misma por estúpida" (*La Intrusa*, 28 May 87; S reduced to AP)

Renata: La boté por inmoral. (*La Intrusa*, 21 July 87)

"Estoy aquí por criminal, no por tonto" (*El Pecado de Oyuki*, 25 Dec 87)

Complementizer choice

"Te prohíbo que hables así" (*La Intrusa*, Aug. 87)

"Te prohíbo que entres en mi casa" (*Diana Salazar*, 15 Nov 88)

"¿Como vas a entrar en su casa sin que te vea?" (*La Intrusa*, 8 Jan 88)

Perception predicates

"Yo la veo cada vez peor" 'She keeps looking worse to me'

coordination

"Se limpian ropas y se planchan" (sign on shop, 1134 Belmont)

"Entonces los declaro marido y mujer" (Carmin, May 12 86)

Doctor: Hay que prepararte tanto física como psicológicamente. (*La Intrusa*, 17 Feb 88)

"Y con ésto no me refiero única ni principalmente a las impropiedades verbales, ..." (Borges, *Discusión*, 41)

"Para más información y obtener gratis su guía médica, llame ahora" (WCIU commercial; NP conjoined with infinitive)

"Se quedaron con la plata y libres" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 179; PP conjoined with AP)

"... sin poder leer ni poder escribir". (ad for literacy program, channel 44, Dec 30 85)

"Y no la he obligado ni nada" (= "... or anything")

"...sin peligros ni violencias" (Américas, 38.4.27)

"Era un cine sin techo ni sillas, al natural" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 123)

"[Esta traducción] hizo más... que ninguna otra, antes ni después" (Américas, 38.4.36)

"No son bombones cremosos, rellenos de licor ni esencias y no tienen tampoco sabores artificiales ni preservativos químicos" (*Américas* 39.3, 56)

"No, no tenía los ojos brillantes ni húmedos" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 129)

"... sin saber qué decir ni hacer" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 170; CR with *ni* as the conjunction)

"¿Qué son las muchas de la *Iliada* de Chapman a Magnien sino diversas perspectivas de un hecho móvil, sino un largo sorteo experimental de omisiones y de énfasis?" (Borges, *Discusión*, 89; *o* could be used instead of but not in addition to the second *sino*)

"Para agradecerla, Kashiri, la luna, le enseñó qué es la yuca, qué el plátano". (Vargas Llosa, *El Hablador*, 111; Gapping)

Exclamative, echo

"No sabes lo feliz que me haces" (Carmin, 12 May 86)

"No sabes lo que te extraño". (*La Intrusa*, 3 Feb 88; NB no overt compared adjective)

"¿Es que tienes miedo?" "¿Miedo yo?" (Carmin, 3 June 86)

Rodrigo to Francisco: ¿Y tú me llamaste delincuente? ¿A mí, delincuente? (*Carmin*, 1 July 86)

Armando: ¡Papá, qué falta me haces! (*Atrévete*, 16 Oct 86)

"¡Pobrecito mi hijo!"

"¡Pobrecito, y pobre tu papá!" (*Atrévete*, 7 Aug 86; cf. *poor your father)

Armando: No te pido, te exijo. Federico: ¿Qué? ¿Exigirme, tú a mí? (*Atrévete*, 14 Oct 86)

"¿Yo en la cárcel?" (*Atrévete*, 25 Mar 87; NB nominative, unlike English)

Desiree: ¡Primerio muertal! (*Atrévete*, 30 Mar 87; 'I would die first')

"...la fiera de tu mujer" (*La Intrusa*, 27 May 87; cf. your wild animal of a wife, *the wild animal of your wife)

"¡Ese desgraciado de Alfredo!" (*La Intrusa*, 2 July 87)

Alfredo: La loca de mi mujer. (*La Intrusa*, 13 July 87)

"¡Es que cómo podía perdonar eso!" (*Dos Vidas*, 16 June 88; note apparent interrogative as complement of *es que*, ES provides additional examples:

Es que cuándo podré terminar esto!

Es que cuánto vamos a pagar por esta casa?!

Es que qué más podríamos haber hecho?!

Es que dónde quisieras vivir en tu situación?!

Es que por qué tuvo que comportarse así?!

Es que cómo iba a perdonar eso?!

Existential

"Hombres como usted hay pocos" (*Diana Salazar*, 20 Oct 86)

Extraction from subordinate S

Vanessa: ¿Con quién dicen que (Ø = Pierre) va a casarse? (1983)

"¿Cómo crees que me puedo sentir yo?" "How do you think I feel?" (*Hola. Pelusa*, Sept. 27 85)

"... Alfonso, que sabes que ama Ø; tu hija, ..." (1983)

Marcos: ... una muchacha que tú sabes muy bien que Ø es inocente. (*Atrévete*, 28 Feb 87)

"¿Quién cree que Ø lo persiga?" (*Diana Salazar*, 13 Sept 88)

"Algo tienes que haber oído" (*Atrévete*, 25 Dec 86)

Diana: Es que mi madre descubrió algo que no sé qué es Ø. (*Diana Salazar*, 4 Nov 88)

Negation

"Saltó de aquí no hace mucho tiempo" (*Atrévete*, 2 Jan 87)

"Imaginan que un libro puede no pertenecer a las letras" (Borges, *Discusión*, 28)

"Anotemos, de paso, que Morris puede no comunicar al lector su imagen del centauro ni siquiera invitarnos a tener una, ..." (Borges, *Discusión*, 73)

"Groussac, persona inconfundible, Renán quejoso de su gloria a trasmano, no puede no quedar"

(Borges, *Discusión*, 82)

Negative polarity

"Aquí estaremos tranquilos, sin que nadie nos moleste" (1983)

"No puede ser que nada es más importante que tu familia" (*Corallita*, Sept 25 84)

"... sin que nadie se entere"

Alfredo: ¿(Usted se va a ir) sin ni siquiera decirme su nombre? (*La Intrusa*, 18 Nov 87)

"... sin obligación de comprar nada" (commercial, 23 Nov 87)

"Yo tampoco me arrepiento de nada" (*Carmin*, May 16 86)

"Ahora tampoco eso tiene la menor importancia" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 158)

"No te pongas así". "No me pongo nada". (*Carmin*, Apr 10 86)

"Madre Dolores to Herminia: Le prohíbo hacer nada como empleada de esta cárcel." (*Atrévete*, 25 Feb 87)

"No estoy en posición de exigir nada" (*La Intrusa*, 20 Oct 87)

"No me preguntó absolutamente nada sobre Miguel Andrade" (*Tal como somos*, 26 Apr 88)

cf. He asked me absolutely nothing. He didn't ask me (*absolutely) anything. (Evidence that *nada* is the real negative word and *no* its accompaniment, rather than vice versa.)

sin absolutamente nada

"No recuerdo absolutamente nada" (La Corona Negra)

Negative raising

Yo tampoco creo que Jordana es/sea la asesina. (see more normal acc. to ES, whose examples these are) = Yo también creo que J no es la asesina. Raised *no*, like any other *no*, requires *tampoco* in place of *también* and deletes unless it precedes the *tampoco* (*Yo no creo tampoco que J sea...*)

Passive

"X y Y fueron negados fianzas" (= were denied bail; IO as passive subject)

"...el convento y la iglesia de San Felipe Neri, mandado a construir en 1775..." "Esta obra de arte, mandada a hacer en 1679..." (*Américas* 38.1.13; Passive extracting from lower V?)

"Sus fortificaciones, empezadas a construir en 1503..." (*Américas* 39.3.13)

Structure of NPs

"Ella no es nada mía". (*La Intrusa*, 25 Jan 88. 'She isn't any relation to me')
"Estrellita es hija mía" (*Estrellita*, 17 Mar 88; this restricted to predicate NPs and vocatives)
Irene: Maté por [amor a tí]. (*Diana Salazar*, 29 Aug 88)

nominalization

"El robarse a esa mujer fue una de esas órdenes, parece" (Vargas Llosa, *El Hablador*, 108; nominalization)

Relative clauses and their congeners

"Es perfecto, con el frío que hace aquí" (receiving gift of scarf in Mazatlan; *Dos Vidas*, 1 June 88)

Carmela to Leonor: ... su hijo, que en paz descanse (*Atrévete*, 9 Oct 86; cf. *your son, who (may) \emptyset rest in peace; is this a nonrestrictive relative or a (nonrelative) parenthetical?)

Fake

Leonor: Desiree desapareció y Juan Carlos que no llega. (*Atrévete*, 17 Sept 86)

"¡Qué casualidad! Él que llega y el teléfono que suena." (*La Intrusa*, 26 May 87)

Fierra: ...años sin ella, y ahora que la encuentro. (*La Intrusa*, Feb 88)

Free

"Los médicos son quién pueden salvarlo" (*La Intrusa*, 19 May 87)

"...y yo aburrido, sin con quién jugar" (*La Intrusa*, 22 June 87)

"[Quiero] que se larguen por donde vinieron" (*La Intrusa*, 25 Jan 88; check)

"No tenemos con que compararlos" (La Historia Oficial, 2380')

"No sé adonde ir; no tengo donde" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 104)

"Jamás sonreie; no tiene a quién... Usted tiene a quién sonreir" (Crest commercial, July 88; reduced infinitival free relative)

Armando: No tenía con que pagarme. Federico: Es cierto, no tenía con que. (*Atrévete*, 14 Oct. 86)

"Quienes me han precedido en esta labor se han limitado a una [causa]" (Borges, *Discusión*, 11)

"Quienes defienden el doblete razonarán (tal vez) que las objeciones que pueden oponerse pueden oponerse, también, a cualquier otro ejemplo de traducción" (Borges, *Discusión*, 150)

"Entre los antropólogos, hay quienes le reprochan pervertir a las culturas aborígenes, ..." (Vargas Llosa, *El Hablador*, 70)

Infinitival

Mariano: Ya conseguí un lugar donde vivir. (*Carmín*, May 19 86)

"No tengo un sitio donde ir" (6 Apr 89)

"Usted no tiene nada por qué disculparse". (*La Intrusa*, 4 Feb 88; cf. You have no reason (*why) to apologize)

"... conseguirme un lugarcito donde vivir" (*La Intrusa*, Feb 10 88)

Tienes que encontrarte (a) un hombre con quién casarte. (*Dos Vidas*, 11 July 88)

Reduced

Hablamos de algo [para mí muy importante]. (*Diana Salazar*, 18 Oct 88)

Word order

"No le prometo nada sin antes hablar con él" (*Atrévete*, June 86; cf without first/*beforehand talking with him)

"Yo mañana voy a la oficina" (Antonio in *Tú o nadie*, 15 Jan.; tomorrow couldn't occupy that position in English)

"Ustedes para mí son muy importantes" (*Atrévete*, 13 Oct 86)

Armando: Yo contigo puedo hablar. (*Atrévete*, Aug 25, 86)

"Yo con quién quería hablar era contigo" (*Atrévete*, Aug 26 86)

"Yo lo único que sé es que te estás volviendo loca" (*La Intrusa*, 7 May 87)

"Yo lo único que puedo sentir por tí es lástima" (*La Intrusa*, 4 Feb 88)

"Él lo que necesita es dinero" (*La Intrusa*, 26 May 87)

"Lo está usted logrando" (*Atrévete*, 1 Sept 86)

Armando: ¿También con ella tenía relaciones Juan Carlos? (*Atrévete*, 15 Oct 86)

"Entiendo perfectamente todo". (*Atrévete*, 18 Mar 87)

"El abogado de la acusación está metiendo opiniones que nada tienen que ver con ..." (*Atrévete*, Apr 13 87)

"Nunca nadie ha vuelto a vivir en ese lugar del río Timpía" (Vargas Llosa, *El Hablador*, 54)

"Tan culpable es usted como lo soy yo" (*La Intrusa*, 23 Oct 87)

Ellipsis

Irene: En esta ciudad que ellas no se acuerden, pero yo sí, ... (*Diana Salazar*, 2 Dec 88)

"¿Quieres ir a la cárcel? ¿Quieres que yo y mi papá también?" (*Tú o nadie*, Jan. 7)

"Yo sé que tú estás sufriendo, y tú sabes que yo también"

X: ¿Cómo te sientes? Y: Creo que un poco mejor.

Alfredo: Por supuesto hablo francés. No me digas que tú también. (*La Intrusa*, 8 Jan 88)

Ana Julia: ¿A quién te refieres? Fidelia: ¿A quién crees? (*La Intrusa*, 3 Mar 88) Sluicing

"...hasta el día que María sufra lo que yo" (*Rosa Salvaje*, Apr 88)

"Si ella se va, yo también" (*La Intrusa*, 22 June 87)

Teresa: No lo creo. Rosa: La verdad es que ni yo tampoco. (*Dos Vidas*, 6 June 88)

"La verdad es que yo tampoco" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 186)

"Ahora es cuando" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 60)

"Yo nunca te hablé de matrimonio. ¿O sí?"

"¿Adonde vas?" "Adonde me da la gana" (*Diana Salazar*, 20 Oct 88)

Virginia: Yo no me puedo ir—no puedo. (*La Intrusa*, Feb 88; argues for an underlying structure with the clitic in the lower V' for ellipsis to apply to)

Luis Antonio: Yo te amo. Virginia: Yo también a tí. (*La Intrusa*, 1 Jan 87)

Mauricio to Sonia: Tú me quieres tanto como yo. (*Dos Vidas*, 1 July 88)

"Una canción puede o no gustar" (*Dos Vidas*, 9 June 88)

"... buscan tecniquieries... que les informarán si lo escrito tiene el derecho o no de agraderles" (Borges, *Discusión*, 39)

Jose Antonio: He venido para hacerte un favor. X: ¿Tú a mí un favor? (*Luisana*, 1983; Gapping with 3-part residue?)

"Y necesito un hombre para que lo proteja" (*Yasenia*, 1 Dec 89; is this Equi into a finite S? hard to verify, since a non-zero subject *él* is possible in some Ss, though marginal here:

??Necesita un hombre para que él lo proteja.

Necesita a su hermano para que él lo proteja. (examples from E0))

"... desde muy niña..." (*Atrévete*, June 86)

Leonor: Armando y Marcos han sido amigos desde niños. (*Atrévete*, 16 Dec 86)

Anaphora

Leonor: Tengo mis dudas y supongo que tu las tienes también. (*Atrévete*, Apr 20 87; cf. ??... I suppose you have them too; '... I suppose you do too' is OK, since sloppy identity is OK).

A: ¿Qué relación hay entre ese señor y yo? B: Todavía ninguna. Pero te aseguro que le habrá.

"Entre Estrella y yo no hay nada, y no lo habrá nunca" (*La Intrusa*, 4 Jan 88)

"Usted no tiene la culpa de nada. Nadie la tiene" (*La Intrusa*, Feb 9 88)

"Yo quería verte sana, como tú siempre lo fuiste" (*La Intrusa*, 23 Dec 87)

"Un día de estos voy a estar ahí" (*El Nuevo Día*, June 21 89 translation of remarks by Dwight Gooden; English: one of these days, *one day of these)

Backwards

"Llena teatros en toda América y las mujeres se enloquecen cuando θ; se contorsiona sensualmente en el escenario, pero José Luis Rodríguez; tiene objetivos que van mucho más allá de su éxito..." (Américas 38.3.60)

"Políticos no lo oyen, si Usted no vota" (sign in CTA buses; violates some versions of anaphora constraint)

Reflexive

"Casarse sin amor es faltarle el respeto a sí mismo" (*La Intrusa*, 28 Nov 87)

Spanish pronoun = English gap

"...el aeropuerto de Sucre... es famoso entre los pilotos por ser difícil de aterrizar en él..." (Américas 38.1.8)

"Sucre sigue siendo una ciudad para caminar por ella" (Américas 38.1.10)

"Allí está el pavo para llenar lo" (*Atrévete*, 5 Jan 87)

Miscellaneous

"...con tu ayuda o sin ella" (Carmin, Apr 30 86)

Control

"Cuentas los pollos; antes de θ; nacer" (*Atrévete*, June 86)

"Parece que ha llegado una mujer que dice ser la viuda de Antonio" (*Tú o Nadie*, Equi with *decir*)

"... el 3 de Septiembre que no se trabaja por ser Labor Day" (commercial for Viajes Palenche, 84)

"Antes que caigas en una de estas situaciones, llámanos para ayudarte" (ad in NYC; *nosotros* appears to be the intended understood subject of *ayudar*)

Ana Julia: Antes las cosas eran diferentes.

Luis Antonio: ¿Antes de que?

Ana Julia: Antes de θ casarte con Estrella. (*La Intrusa*, 1 May 87)

"Lucharé hasta vencer." (*La Intrusa*, Aug. 87)

"Yo no me voy de aquí hasta aclarar quién es X" (*La Intrusa*, 22 Dec 87)

Amalgams, patches, syntactic metonymy

"Andrés los vio en el jardín parece que besando" (*Tú o Nadie*)

Ana Julia: Mi esposo está en la calle, haciendo Dios sabe qué. (*La Intrusa*, Aug. 13 87)

"Habríamos desaparecido quién sabe adónde" (Vargas Llosa, *El Hablador*, 52)

"Se calló, para pasarse por la boca una mano rápida como un metamoscas" (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 161)

Scope

Roberto: Tú no vas a volver porque yo lloro. (*Atrévete*, 29 Oct 86; subjunctive makes scope of negation unambiguously wide)

Daniel: ¡Cinco camisas sin botones! (complaining to maid about shirts each missing one or more buttons; *Hola... Pelusa*, Oct 7 85; context brings out normally disfavored interpretation)

Lexicon

"Agustín Lara cumplió 50 años de muerte" (24 Horas, Nov 8 85; ¡Felicitaciones, Agustín, y le deseo 50 años más!)

"... y VISA y MASTERCHARGE son bienvenidos" (commercial, 28 Oct 86; Is this a calque?)

"Estás hablando dormido" (*Atrévete*, 21 Oct 86)

Barbara to Desiree: Me gusta más José para hacer pareja contigo. (*Atrévete*, 2 Dec 86)

"Entonces soy toda oídos" (*Carmin*, 29 May 86 and 3 June)

"Advertencia de cirujano general: Fumar durante el embarazo puede causar... y reducir el peso del recién nacido" (English original is "...and low birth weight")

"Drake murió de desentería y fue enterrado en las aguas de Panamá" (El Morro, San Juan PR)

"Tuvo un accidente en la carretera y se mató" (*Diana Salazar*, 25 Nov 88)

Prepositions with *soñar*; examples from ES and J. Martí (judgements in that order when two are given)

Soñaba con María. Soñaba en conseguir el premio.

OK/? Soñaba con una lavadora. Soñaba que conseguiría el premio.

Soñaba con ganar el premio

OK/* Soñaba con un unicornio. (nonreferential interpretation)

*/OK Soñaba en un unicornio. Soñaba acerca de un unicornio que...

¿En qué sueñas?

¿Con quién sueñas?

*¿En quién sueñas?

*¿Con qué sueñas.

¿Acerca de qué sueñaste? (EG: ???)

Sobre qué sueñas? (EG: ???)

OK/*¿Acerca de quién sueñaste?(EG:*)

*/???¿Sobre quién sueñas. (EG: *)

"¿... estás soñando con una nueva alfombra?" (WCIU commercial, Feb 88; clearly nonreferential object)

*Soñé con la casa.

Soñé con la casa de mi abuela. (ES)

Cuando yo era niño, soñaba fantasmas. (Ricardo M, Feb 88)

Freezes

"... de pies a cabeza" (*La Intrusa*, 17 July 87)

tarde o temprano.

Idioms

"Si tú supieras la falta que me haces" (*La Intrusa*, Aug. 87)

"Tú no sabes la falta que me haces" (*La Intrusa*, Oct 13 87)

Mindreau: Tampoco quiero hacerle perder su tiempo, Teniente.

Silva: No me lo hace usted perder. (Vargas Llosa, *¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?*, 163-4)

with *tener*

X: ¿Qué tienes, Enrique? Y: Miedo Lo que tienes es miedo.

"Tienes la conciencia sucia. (*Diana Salazar*, 3 Nov 88; 'You have a guilty conscience')

Valence

"...di la razón o la calles por siempre" (Carmin, May 12 86)

Carmela: No me puse nada... Si, me puse. (*Atrévete*, 17 Mar 87)

Written language

antirumanos (SJ newspaper, 19 June 89)

Hypercorrection and other screwups

"la elección municipal." (*Ayuda*, 30 Oct. 86; Puerto Rican speaker)

Colón: Las tierras que pretiendo descubrir son llenas de oro. (Film *Cristóbal Colón*)

2011 W. Calle Pershing. (commercial, channel 26)

"Prevención está alrededor de la esquina" (CTA ad, Spanish version of "Prevention is just around the corner"; wrong sense of "around")

"Si lo echan fuera, échelo a la cárcel" (NYC subway poster; English original is "If they throw you out, throw them in jail")