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 elements 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 Red 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. Senators Judge Joel Flamm and his wife... can patch it up." (Kup's Column, 17 Oct 86)

"The Trial of Lucullus--- Bertolt Brecht... His victims 'judge a Roman general'" (LP News, Aug 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 chop 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 maneuvered 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 alive 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)

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

reflectives

"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 Varley, Blue Champagne, 48)

pragmatic YP-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 July85)

"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 B" (Apt. 36, 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 chop 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 B 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 B from the simpler formulation” (Noam Chomsky, The generative enterprise, p. 90)

We have more money then we know what to do B with B1.

Which politicians, did Smith ask which relatives of D 1 the FBI was investigating B2?

Coordinate structure constraint

"The ABA defines 'American' very loosely -- 'any place we think It is fun to travel to if and
and going 'waa'..." (William Safire, NYT, 86)

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

"If you play Chopin or Beethoven, you can get them with vegetables, ..." (Roger Simon, Oct 20 86)

"I believe in a lot of analysis early in the game, which I then consciously abandon B and run wild" (Ellen Taffe Zwich, quoted in NYT 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 conceptional said to sit over here and someone would call me" (indefinite conjoined with that clause)

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

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 out here -- if I can get the job done before I pass out, or the yuppy 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 B persuaded that Fari no guy to give himself up?" (Nightfall: The Willoughby Obsession) cf: ??It was Smith persuaded ...

"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 B" (CTA message about graffiti)

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

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

Parasitic gap
It’s the only law that ignorance of B excuses violations of B.

Agreement
"Up to this point the examples and terminology have been non-controversial". (me 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 B will have to cut B out of your head or we’ll have to cut B out” (SNL skit: Randy Quaid as sadistic naval captain)

"...if you go up to someone much smaller than you in a bar and give him IIg, 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 B", Anthony said. "Now I can B" (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 B". D. Tannen, 25 June 86.

"Stocks fall 86 -- biggest ever" (Sun-Times headline, 12 Sept 86; delete under identity with fellu)

"If you don’t indulge yourself, nobody will B" (B = indulge you; Garfield, 10 Nov. 86)

Soldier: "Lt. Flep calls you ‘man’"
Lieutenant: "Lt. Flep is an officer. ‘Man’ from him implies no disrespect! Yours does B!" (B = ‘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 B, ..." (J. Higginbotham, 25 July 86)

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

"The font can 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 II Turca or Un Turca in itaII? 
is the title II or Un Turca in itaII? (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 drew enough fans and make enough from television to pay the bills" (Royko, 7 July 86)

"That was Ellen Taze 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 686)

"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)

Extracts are possible neither from S1 nor from S2.

??Extracts neither from S1 nor from S2 are possible.

Misc.

"Now 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/*&.

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

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

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 Telltale, 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.

"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)


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

Theseus: there need none to be blamed. (Midsommer Night's Dream, V.i.)

Passive
They've been set fire to it.

"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" (CMC, 19 Dec 85)

"It's an easy job to do badly and a thankless one to do well" (Paul Halmos, 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. Tamulyne, Apr 14 86)

Infinitival relative
That's something not even to joke about.

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, 96; Y pedestal?)

Reduced nonrestrictive
"The Illinois Supreme Court throws out the death penalty for a man who killed his sleeping wife and baby" (Chicago Tribune, 15 May 86)

Free relative
That's not how I think. (W. Safrir 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)

"Consecutive" relative
"...a French patrol boat fired on two Spanish trawlers that it then captured and charged with illegal fishing" (Tribune, 6 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. Sedock, May 12 86)

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

Miscellaneous constructions
"What's it doing up on 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 out!" (Family Circus, Apr 86; original boldface)

"[] Ready to take a chance again? [ ] Tired of empty relationships? [ ] Liking for a woman of beauty [...] [ ] Want a best friend, a part to build a life and possess 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 metalinguage (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 summer, though the trees 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, It, 876)

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

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

"The Harris poll found teens who had comprehensive sex-education courses were 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 Southmay, Chicago Sun-times, Feb. 20, 86; as worded, "indubitable testimonials of sobriety, honesty, and attention to the duties of the station")

"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. (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" (Talmun commercial, 18 Dec 86)

"But she couldn't seem to do anything about it" (John verley, 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 tellers)

Tense, time reference
(above prefase 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 bell hit the bone, it'd be shattered" (Dennis Resmussen, 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 tips 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 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 VP?)

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

Structure of NPs
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])

such 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
"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)

"Flutey's blinding diamond jewelry, three luxury automobiles, and flashy wardrobe were admired by his poorer neighbors" (HP/Herold, Dec. 3 86; numeral inside R)

They were wearing the same color of/RED hat.

You've had one beer too many.

"I thank you on (the) behalf of my colleagues."

I thank you on (the) behalf of my colleagues.

I thank you on (the) behalf of (my) colleagues.

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 own's blood" (Stephen King, It, 24)

"One of the nurses' father had a heart attack" (CP/Sc, 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

*a looked up Information

(Ptch OK in modifier only if participial Y-Ptch is lexicalized as A)

Pronominal modifier

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

"She was a quiet, small-like 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 Ophiusi 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)
"... 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"

"For many months, the American Public argued among itself whether Patty Hearst should be praised or blamed for her "involvement" with terrorists" (D. S. Keeler, "Understanding ironic communication", Journal of Pragmatics 9, 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, frownered 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 hit a word that hasn't an 's' in it." (Wodehouse, "Jeeves and the Yule-tide Spirit", 63)

Fucked off! (cf Zwicky 86) *Sam fucked off when I told him to.

Fucked 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" (Halmos, I want to be a mathematician, 162)

Word formation
maladjustment (Jack Fuller, UC/AMS symposium, 1 Nov 86)

They out/ever-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 boats of aliens across Mona Passage..." ((dangerously overloaded boat) + load?)

Infestation
unbe-fucking-liveable (Sam Konkin, Feb 15)
They're gonna eat the third world a-fucking-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 at all that much" (Halmos, 401)

Sam isn't any genius. (≠ (Sam is some genius))

"...the caregiver need to 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, screw-ups

“What he’s talking is sometimes about the sentence and sometimes about the utterance” (J. Sadock, 16 Jan 86)

“Earl Wild, first of three all-American recitals received a standing ovation” (WFMT, Feb. 24)

“Pan-Am flies to more places in Europe than all US airlines combined” (March 15 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?”

(hep to Christie Heffner, 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” (hep to N. Stucki, TV show with Ebert, 1 Nov 86)

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

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

“Je ne lisserai Pierre ne partir” (N. Rowet, 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 chairman 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 effect: “Ladies” — or “Fair ladies — I would wish you” — or “I would request you” — or “I would entreat you” ...

(Midsummer Night’s Dream III.1)

Orthography

A: This is [the biographer of Lenin’s] signature.
B: It’s the biographer of who’s/whose signature?

Japanese

“We tai no koto o sukeo oboete kurera ima eu ka?” (Horu no Heto, episode 38; evidence that benefactive V’s are transparent to aspect)

“3- meetoru no petto o sizumeta” (NNN Nyuusu, 24 Aug 86; calque on English ‘sink’)

Ryouen ni muden de ryouko ni iku. ‘Go on a trip without informing one’s parents’ (Kenkyusha Dictionary; semantically, ryouen ni muden 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)

morfología

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 asustado 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 tú ni Federico van a convencerme. (Atrévete, 8 Oct 86)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

El genitor voy/#voy a ser yo.
El genitador parece/#parece ser yo.

El genitor parece/#parece que ser yo.

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

"¿Quién hay que meter en la carcel?" (Carmín, May 20 86)

"¿Cómo se llama el hombre que atropelló la señorita?" (Tu 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)

Elle me amó con locura, igual que yo a ella. (NB comparative reduction)

La única que ama es a mí. (Vanessa, March 2, 85)

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

Lo que tienes que convencer es a Javier. (Martín y Javier)

Es a ti que yo quiero.

do = possessive

Pierre: Ese niño no es de Luciano sino mío. (Vanessa, Apr 26, 83)

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

Yo me llevo un lindo recuerdo tuyo. "... in spite of you"

"Hoy 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: ¿V tu hermanos?

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

Subjunctive

No importa la opinión que tu tengas.

cítics

Dios (#lo) hizo llorar. (dummy subject of llorar doesn't surface as a cletic when it becomes object)

Inanimates dative

"Dice la gente que si uno la 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 sinvergcnia y por pecador. (Estefanía, April 85)

Aspect

Tatiana: Siempre lo supe.

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

iEstoy viendo! (Regina, as she regain 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 ese locura is it still caro?)

"Yes a pagar muy caro" (Atrévete, 2 Oct 86; why Adj and not Adv?)
El tipo jugó sucio.

PP es AP
Tu te sientes con sueño. 'You feel tired'.
...muy apresurado... (Atrevete, 15 Oct 86)

PP es object of P
"Mi esposo no tiene secretos para conmigo" (Atrevete, 3 Nov 86)

Aspecto as cross-category modifier
Hay hasta [lo besó]. 'Today she even kissed him'.

sin as negation + subordination
Sigo sin entender. 'I still don't understand'.

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

Various syntactic constructions

Negative polarity
Aqui esfuerzos tranquilos, sin que nadie nos moleste. (1983)
No puede ser que nadie esa más importante que tu familia. (Corriente Sept 25 84)
...sin que nadie se entere.

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

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

"No te pongas así": "No me ponga 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; 10 es passive subject)

Cleft
Quien se la merece realmente soy yo. (Ortiz to Contreras; Marga y Javier, Feb 21 84)
"Con la única con que contamos es con la ayuda de dios" (Atrevete, 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 él ama tu hija, ... (1985)

Other extraction from subordinate S
¿Cómo cree que me puedo sentir yo? 'How do you think I feel?' (Hala, Pelusa, Sept 27 85)
Veneno: ¿Con quién dicen que si ama tu hija? (1985)

Context bringing out normally disfavored interpretation:
"Cinco camisas sin botones!" (Daniel complaining to maid about shirts each missing one or more buttons; Hala... Pelusa, Oct 7 85)

Coordination
"Se limpiarán ropas y se plancharán" (sign on shop, 1134 Belmont)

"Entonces los declaro merido y mujer" (Carmín, May 12 86)
"... sin poder leer ni poder escribir." (ad for literacy program, channel 44, Dec 30 85)
"Yo no he obligado ni nada" (=...or anything?)
"...sin peligros ni violencias" (Américas, 38.4.27)
"[Esta traducción] hace mier... que ninguna otra, antes ni después" (Américas, 38.4.36)

Lexicon

Idioms with tener
¿Qué tienes, Enrique? 'Miedo'
Lo que tienes es miedo.

"Agustín Lola cumplió 50 años de muerte" (24 Horas, Nov 8 85; felicitaciones, Augustín!)
"... y VISA y MASTERCARD son bienvenidos" (commercial, 20 Oct 86; is this a calque?)

"Estás hablado dormito" (Atrevete, 21 Oct 86)

Barbara to Desiree: Me gusta más José para ser pareja contigo. (Atrevete, 2 Dec 86)

"Entonces soy todos" (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
"Yo le prometo nada sin antes hablar con él" (Atrevete, June 86; cf without first/#beforehand talking with him)

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

Armando: Yo contigo puedo hablar. (Atrevete, Aug 25, 86)
"Yo con quién quiere hablar era contigo" (Atrevete, Aug 26 86)

"Lo está usted logrando" (Atrevete, 1 Sept 86)

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

"Ustedes para mí son muy importantes" (Atrevete, 13 Oct 86)

Ellipsis
"¿Quiere ir a la carcel? ¿Quiere que yo y mi papá tambien?" (Tu a nadie, Jan. 7)
Ya sé que tu estás sufriendo, y tu sabes que yo también.
¿Cómo te sientes? Creo que un poco mejor.

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

José Antonio: ¿Te viniste para hacerte un favor.
X: ¿Te sirvió un favor? (Gapping with 3-part residue?) (Lusana, 1983)

... desde muy niño... (Atrevete, June 86)
Leonor: Armando y Marcos han estado amigos desde niños. (Atrevete, 16 Dec 86)

Anaphora
Spanish pronom - 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 testos en toda América y las mujeres se enloquecen cuando Betty se contagia sensualmente en el escenario, pero José Rodríguez tiene objetivos que van mucho más allá de su éxito... (Américas 38.3.60)

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

Central
"Cuentas los pollos, antes de Betty, nacer" (Atrevete, June 86)

"Parece que ha llegado una mujer que dice ser la viuda de Antonio" (Tu o Nadie, Equí with decir)
"... el 3 de Septiembre que no se trabaja por ser Labor Day" (commercial for Viajes Pelonche, 84)

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

Inflinitival relative
Marcos: "¿Qué haces que no te mataste delincuente? ¿A mi delincuente?" (Carmín, Rodrigo to Francisco, 1 July 86)

Cleft
Claudia: "Me voy a ir muy lejos, donde nadie me encuentre más" (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 tú me llamaste delincuente? ¿A mí delincuente?" (Carmín, Rodrigo to Francisco, 1 July 86)

Armando: ¡Papá, que falta me haces! (Atrevete, 16 Oct 86)
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." (H. L. Mencken, quoted in Bode, Mencken, 15; static antecedent)

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

You and I think we can succeed. We, j think you, and j 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 forms is charging." (Sun-Times, Feb 6 87, first mention)

"The New York Times referred his or one of the most glorious voices of the century." (WFMT Feb 7 87)

"Call them racists and some white editors cringe." (Rosko, 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 B. (Dick Tracy, Feb 16 87; B = 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 84)

"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 were one of them, I'd dislike myself." (Goodbye, Mr. Chips, remake)

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

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

split antecedent

For me, the advantages are smaller and the disadvantages are greater than they were 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 B. (does only the deleted A' have to be a V' to delete by V'-deletion? Or does a V' underlie the antecedent V?)

Sam looks stupid, but he isn't. Sam is stupid, but he doesn't look it/"B.

"Asked if any evidence of arson had been found, Allison said that there had not B ( = been any evidence of arson found)." (Hall, The Tommyknockers, 276)

Anaphoric island

"He [Gildon Kremer] claims to hate recording, but has made more than 50 B. (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 pizzas)

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 of man women dream about, Doria—on! wake up screaming!" (Andy Capp, Feb 87)

"The $8 million dollars that God told him to raise by the end of the month or else." (SIN, 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 Allen'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 B?)

WH-island

"He gave me an example that I've just found out who do with B." (Jeff H., 20 May 87)

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

other

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." (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 B." (Twelfth Night, 1.11.11)

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

"For the time being his head hurt too badly B, to even try reconstructing the last unknown period of time." (Hall, The Tommyknockers, 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**
B 1/2 by 11 inches. (Is this RNR?)

**Category identity of conjuncts**
"The weather in Chicago is overcast and with a temperature of 54° 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" (B 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 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 congener**
"He managed to get out of Berlin by pulling strings that no other reporter seemed able to pull" (Bode, Manhattan, 115; counterexample to Brame analysis of RC's)

...a vintage program that you would like to have B but B 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 yet and B cost a fortune" (Apartment 3-G, 17 Nov 87; violation of sloppy identity constraint)

"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, Garraty". (Stephen King, 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)

"There are no food, no soft lights, or conversation to provide distraction" (Chicago Tribune Food, 12 Mar 87)

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

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

"Mr. Hyman humiliated himself far more thoroughly than a weak showing tonight could have done B" (Sun-Times, 1 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 B (= looking at that thing)" (King, Tommyknockers, 141)

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

"...she was no one's carpenter, nor ever would be B (= 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 whisked you 7 miles above and thousands of miles across the world's surface" (Commercial, WNIB, June 87)
There are several students in this class who can speak Swahili. (Is this a problem for my analysis?)

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 attaches to?)

He successively suffered many setbacks. *He in a row suffered many setbacks.

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

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

"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/*0 buy from us, the happier we are.

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

The better books you write,

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)

Middle
"Let's see how that rag walks." (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)

"A list of candidates who espouse the same conservative philosophy as Ginsburg and as Robert Bork" (WFMT, 7 Nov 87)
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 B" (M. Liberman, 23 Apr 87)

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

"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)

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

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

"lead paint is dangerous -- Including while removing It" (Tribune headline, 11 Apr 86)

"... 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]" (WMT, 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, 51)

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 at least 10 years older than you.

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

*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)

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

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

Categories
...the real poor N7... the truly 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" (WMT, 16 Mar 87; versus as P)

"If you're not pro enough to cut the mustard, ..." (Chuck Schaden, WNIB, 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]" (WMT, 19 Oct 87)
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/*It 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].
[never showed 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, Talent ed).
#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 Kentuckey... 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).

[eskanuze] (D Zubin, 10 Apr 87)

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

Orthography
"...unescorted ladies..." (sign et bar, Yan Buren St.; evidence that writer relates escort, courting)

Japanese
nie'misu 'near miss'
"Wakatte lmesu wa. Binboo ga iya na deke yo" I understand. You just don't like being poor" (Kurosew, Hokuschi, p 30; be ' B)
Otra cerca de pulgas lingüística

(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 greatly reduced thanks to help from Elise Steinberg, Edith Gaytan, and Josep M. Fontana.)

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Anaphora
A: ¿Qué relación hay entre ese señor y yo? B: Toda la, ninguna. Pero te aseguro que la habrás “Entre Estrella y yo no hay nada, y no la habrás nunca” (La intrusa, 4 Jan 88)

“Usted no tiene ni culpa de nada Nadie la tiene” (La intrusa, 9 Feb 88)

Iris: Tengo la conciencia limpia. Mariela: Yo lo tengo también. (El filó de la muerte, 3 Dec 91; cf. I have "it/??one too"

“Jojinku pudo retener entre las suyas la diestra de la muchacha por más de un minuto (exacto: su cabeza de árbitro o cronómetro)” (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 seren”, como tú siempre la 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

“¿Ojalá, lleno teatros en toda América y las mujeres se enamoran cuando yo, se contorsionan sensualmente en el escenario, pero José Luis Rodríguez tiene objetivos que van mucho más allá de sus años, Ricardo y Federico-hijo se apartarían de la senda que le había trazado, ..” (Vargas Llosa, La tía Julia, 186)

“... el aeropuerto de Sucre... es famoso entre los pilotos por ser difícil de aterrizar en el...” (Américas, 38.3.60)

“Polticos no lo oyen, si Usted no vota” (sign in CTA buses; violates some versions of anaphora constraint)

“No lo haré nunca más porque Fonchito, aunque la fuera en edad, no era un niño, sino alguien con más mañas y reticencias que todos los viejos que ella conocía” (Vargas Llosa, El hijo de la madre, 195)

“Al mismo tiempo que a hablar, aprendió a pedir limosna a los transeuntes de la avenida Abancay, ...” (Kiraly, 513; refers to another)

“Con el va a pasar lo mismo que con Rodrigo?” (La intrusa, 21 Aug 87)

“...hasta que María sufre 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 hecho francés. No me digas que tú también. (La intrusa, 8 Jan 88)

“¿Todos los diablos cojen? Peró que sí. Dicen que Kientibakor también” (Vargas Llosa, El hablador, 190)

“... los Schnell 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 compre 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 metió a Palomino Molero?, 186)

“¿Quién metó a Palomino Molero?”

Wife: ¿Te de mucha ilusión tener un hijo? Husband: ¿Quién no? (Amor de Nadie, 12 Apr 91)

“Si yo no tengo nada, ni tú tampoco” (Amor de Nadie, 9 Apr 91)

“¿Crees que otras personas están felices en la misma forma en que tú? (Amor 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 es universal + neg; slurring)“Porque la hija de su hermano Roberto era en mujer que Richard en hombre...” (Vargas Llosa, La tía Julia, 35)

“Le dijo que encontró” (Vargas Llosa, La tía Julia, 58)

“Con la lengua entrecortada por el sueño, John Grande la explica que a ellos tampoco” (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 403)

Álvaro: ¿Para mí? Francisco: Claro que para ti. (Al filó de la muerte, 9 Dec 91)

“¿Cómo decir que no rezarán en todas las lenguas que mi nombre cruzará los siglos como los astros el cielo?” (Vargas Llosa, El hijo de la madre, 186)

Rodrigo: ¿Meates noticias? Juan: No, sólo que inesperadas. (Al filó de la muerte, 20 Jan 92)

“¿Pienso las que con él va a pasar lo mismo que con Rodrigo?” (Al filó de la muerta, 22 Jan 92)

“¿Qué hay que hacer para no perder la serenidad, Tasurinchí?” Comer lo debido y respetar las prohibiciones, hablador. Si no, a cualquiera puede pasarle lo que a Tasurinchí, aquella vez” (Vargas Llosa, El hablador, 185; deletion of y)

“El bienestar material es producto de un proceso calado, casi imperceptible —la mayoría de los observadores ven lo contrario— pero yo creo que fatal” (Ibarüengoitia, Instrucciones para vivir en México, 105)

“Ibarüengoitia, Instrucciones para vivir en México, 105)

“¿Quién quiere imitarla? Yo creo que nadie” (Ibarüengoitia, Instrucciones para vivir en México, 34)

“Después de te lo dije la proposición presidencial, ...” (Ibarüengoitia, Instrucciones para vivir en México, 36)

“Será mejor que no” (Guadalupe, 5 Nov 93)

Daniela: Ella nos vio y pensó que otra cosa. (Guadalupe, 15 Dec 92)

“Te digo que después” (Guadalupe, 26 Apr 93)

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

English gap

“Me cuesta medio millón de pesos, ¿de dónde los sacó?” (Ibarüengoitia, Instrucciones para vivir en México, 147)

“Penderieron tu casa, Silasabian —dice una mujer.” (La intrusa, 513; refers to Silasabian; you couldn’t say ‘the latter’ in English)

“Casarse sin amor es fallar el respeto a sí mismo” (La intrusa, 28 Nov 87)

...si lo viste besándose con Mariela” (El filó de la muerte, 3 Jan 92)

Spanish pronoun = English gap

“el aeropuerto de Sucre... es famoso entre los pilotos ser difícil de aterrizar en él...” (Américas, 38.1.8)

“Sucre sigue siendo una ciudad para caminar por ella” (Américas, 38.1.10)

“Alí está el pavo para llenarlo” (Atrévete, 5 Jan 87)

Contrast

“Aunt Carlitos antes de él, nacer” (Atrévete, June 85)

“Pequeña que ha llegado una mujer que dice ser la viuda de Antonio” (Tú no sabes, Equivocar con ella)

“Antes que caigan en unas de estas situaciones, lámemonos por lo que les sea más agradable” (en Nyc; nosotros appears to be the intended understood subject of ayudar)

Ana Julia: Antes los casos eran diferentes. Luis Antonio: ¿Antes de qué?

Ana Julia: Antes de él casarse con Estrella. (La intrusa, 1 May 87)

“Lucharemos hasta vencer” (La intrusa, Aug. 87)

“Yo no empeño de aquí hasta él ocllar quién es X” (La intrusa, 22 Dec 87)

“Don Federico, ahora, no se hacían ilusiones. Sebáte, que una vez él, muerto a invitado 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)

Olive: ... tan insignificante para gustarle a un hombre como Alfredo. (Guadalupe, 28 July 93)
"Hay es la boda del joven Jorge Luis con la señorita María Teresa, y pronto será la suya conmigo." (María Mercedes, 25 Nov 92; 'yours with me')

"Olárate 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)

"¡Sólo 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)

"¿Quién no tiene nada que decirme, pero yo sí?" (María Elena, 26 Jan 93)


Luis Antonio. Yo te amo. Virginia. Yo también a ti. (Jan 87)

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

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con la hija mayor de Tasurinchi, se quejaron" (Vargas Llosa, El habitador, 216)

"[Plural agreement subject 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 nadie ni nadie puede separarnos" (Atevete, 29 Aug 86; puede preferred to pueden)

"Hay que ver qué lo quiere, y ni Alina ni nadie tiene gran influencia sobre él" (Al filo de la muerte, 22 Nov 91)

Marileena. Ni mi hijo ni yo volveremos jamás. (Marileena, 17 Dec 92)

"El Partido Demócrata Nacional nos prometieron muchas cosas" (interview, Noticiero, 5 July 93)

"El campo está preparado, el mundo espera ansiosos" (Ibaruguengoitia, instrucciones para vivir en México, 181)

"Mirá a las mujeres. No menos que parecen" (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 tu)

"Lo único que necesito son tus besos" (Marileena, 30 Dec 92)

"Ahora lo que quiero es tú" (Marileena, 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)

"Uno me dijo que quien no cree que eso debe ser el futuro de Puerto Rico, tenemos que unirnos..." (Cristina, 17 Oct 91; woman discussing ex-husbands)

Marcos a Armando: [Roberto) estaba jugando a que fuera/*fueras tu.

"El problema fueron ellos, no fue yo" (Cristina, 7 Oct 91; woman discussing ex-husbands)

El ganador va/*vá 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, tenemos que unirnos en un movimiento para detener la República" (El Nuevo Dia, 19 June 89; we who do not believe...

"Aquí, los únicos que se frien siempre somos los pobres" (Vargas Llosa, ¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?, 179)

"Haciamos la Torre de Babel cuatro personas: Luis Llosa; ... Moshó don Furgong... el camarónero 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 enriquecida por la canela y el deseo no éramos dos sino tres" (Vargas Llosa, El loco de la madrastita, 36)

"He decidido gastar sus dineros sacando estas publicaciones con el propósito de defender el nombre de quienes sirvimos al Emperador, del vilipendiado y 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 profesores, los que no entendemos el trámite y estamos fuera del aguinaldo,..." (Ibaruguengoitia, 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..." (Ibaruguengoitia, instrucciones para vivir en México, 153)

... para los mexicanos que no tenemos ambiciones políticas ni esperanzas burocráticas... (Ibaruguengoitia, 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 cartero mío es mejor. Sebe leer, y distinguiendo entre las cinco familias que compartimos la misma dirección..." (Ibaruguengoitia, instrucciones para vivir en México, 198)

"... con una precisión y maestria increíbles" (Marti, Instrumentos musicales precoces, 58)

..."disparando la flaca y sin apuntar"... (Vargas Llosa, El habitador, 38; one bird each time)

"No he conocido a nadie que diga de entrada, como esa impresión de persona tan abierta, sin repliegues, desprendida de buenos instintos, ni que mostrase una sencillez y un corazón semejantes en cualquier circunstancia" (Vargas Llosa, El habitador, 11; no before 2nd nadie)

... pues ahora sólo hablaban del Consejero de Días o del lugar de donde venían con una convicción y un orgullo contigojoso" (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 92)

"La tercera alternativa consiste en seguir investigando hasta encontrar una exégesis del suceso..." (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 92)

Juan y Pedro son amigos; 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)

"... pero aclarar cierlos malos entendidos" (news, 4 Dec 92)

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

Estrella lo 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 Castille and the king of Portugal'" (films Cristobal Colón, los reyes de Castilla y la de Inglaterra 'the king and queen of Spain', la reina de Inglaterra y los de Castilla 'the queen of England and the king 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, El tropo a la madrastita, 160)

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

"Chef Bayard... su número uno en pastas en..." (commerciol, 1991, noted by ES)

El número uno en pastas en México... (commerciol, 1991, noted by ES)

"el número uno en pastas en..." (commerciol, 1991, noted by ES)

"el número uno en pastas en..." (commerciol, 1991, noted by ES)
Me arde la palma de las manos. *la mano*
Me arden las palmas de las manos. *las manos*
Me duele la raíz de los dientes.
Me duelen los raíces de los dientes.
Me enrié el lóbulo de las orejas, *el lóbulo*
Me enrié los lóbulos de las orejas. *los lóbulos*

**Accusative a**

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

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

Gabriel lo Homar Chávez, ¿Estás reconociendo que escribiste el libro con la sola intención de separar, a Eva y a mí? (La Verdad, 84)
Alina los vi hablando. Laura: ¿A quién? Alina: A Francisco y a Mariela. (_Al filo de la muerte_, 25 Dec 91)

" Ella me acer con locura, igual que yo a ella" (NB comparative reduction)
"A la única que amo es a mí" (Vanessa, 2 Mar 83)
"A la única que no puedo reconocer fue a Raquel" (27 Jan 86)
"Los voy a destruir a todos" (NB separation of quantifier from NP)

Vargas Llosa, _La Tía Julia_, 278)

"Lo que esa niña necesita es su padre" (Vanessa, 26 Apr. 83)
"Prefiero dejar hablar a mi corazón" (_Al filo de la muerte_, 27 Feb 92)
"El gobierno no decide hasta un esfuerzo espectacular y gracias a él, colocar al país a la cabeza de las naciones en determinado campo" (Ibarra, _Instrucciones para vivir en México_, subtitle, 277)

"¿Quién mató (o voy a matar) a la Universidad?" (Ibarra, _Instrucciones para vivir en México_, 277)
Mariela. No la condenas como a mí. (_Atrevete_, 18 Mar 87)

Omar. Quiero a Mario Villareal muerto. (Diana Salazar, _1 Sept 88_)

"¿Estás jugando al detective?" (Diana Salazar, _1 Oct 88; a also possible)

**Possessive**

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)

"No me pienso mover de aquí" (Vargas Llosa, _La guerra del fin del mundo_, 50)
Yo no tengo nada en contra tuyo" (Mariela, 7 Jan 93)
"Cualquier mujer sería feliz al lado tuyo" (Mariela, 7 Jan 93)
"Es eso en el que puedo y te mío" (Mariela, 11 Jan 93)
Perú. ¿Qué quieres —que yo te vea a espaldas tuyas? ( _Guadalupe_, 5 Aug 93)
Arango. María es más hija mía que de él. ( _Guadalupe_, 5 Jan 94)

... "Pobre Armándol! (Pobre de mí)! " (Pobre tuyo) or in (ES examples) "El meló/ traidor de mi hermano" (cf. "My traitor of a brother"); CS notes that evasively 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 arruinó toda la decoración.

**Subjunctive**

"No importa la opinión que tú tengas"
"Este lo hago, no porque exista una ley, ni escrito 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. (Ibarra, _Instrucciones para vivir en México_, 52; = "... not because there's any law...")

... Dios ("lo) hizo llorar. (dummy subject of llorar doesn't surface as a clitic when it becomes object)
"Déjate de falsas bromas y explicamos de una vez" (Vargas Llosa, _La guerra del fin del mundo_, 272)
"... cada fotografía, simultáneamente, de lo vivo y de lo que se omitió" (Américas 40.6.13; a sus objetos evidently goes with both conjuncts; las de la vida... is also possible)

Virginia tu Manuel: Luis Antonio nos encontró a las dos juntas. (_La Instrucción_, 29 Oct 87)
"Estoy muy contenta, y tú vas a estarlo también" (Mariela, 3 Dec 92)

...esa fusión que sólo puede expresarse adecuadamente traumatizando la sintaxis: yo te entrego, me te muestre, chupetéémonos" (Vargas Llosa, _La guerra a la madrasta_, 161)

**Inanimate dative**

dice "Pobre Armándol! (Pobre de mí)! " (Pobre tuyo) or in (ES examples) "El meló/traidor de mi hermano" (cf. "My traitor of a brother"); CS notes that evasively positive words become ironic in this construction: El vivo de mi hijo.

... Dios ("lo) hizo llorar. (dummy subject of llorar doesn't surface as a clitic when it becomes object)
"Déjate de falsas bromas y explicamos de una vez" (Vargas Llosa, _La guerra del fin del mundo_, 272)
"... cada fotografía, simultáneamente, de lo vivo y de lo que se omitió" (Américas 40.6.13; a sus objetos evidently goes with both conjuncts; las de la vida... is also possible)

Virginia tu Manuel: Luis Antonio nos encontró a las dos juntas. (_La Instrucción_, 29 Oct 87)
"Estoy muy contenta, y tú vas a estarlo también" (Mariela, 3 Dec 92)

... esa fusión que sólo puede expresarse adecuadamente traumatizando la sintaxis: yo te entrego, me te muestre, chupetéémonos" (Vargas Llosa, _La guerra a la madrasta_, 161)

**Climbing**

"No te quiero obligar" (Carmín, 19 May 86)
"Lo sigo vigilando" (Carmín, 30 June 86)
Leonor. No me mandes a callar! (_Atrevete_, 1 Dec 86)
Mariela. Yo me sé defender. (_Atrevete_, 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 no te quieres, házmelo saber" ( _Amor de madre_, 16 Apr 91; clitics from different SSs)
"No te quiero volver a ver" ( _Amor de madre_, 19 Jul 91)
"No me pienses mucho de aquí" ( _Amor de madre_, 7 May 91)
"El me tiene que buscar a mí" (Mariela, 2 Dec 92)
Luigi. Lo mandaré meter. (_Al filo de la muerte_, 10 Mar 92)
"Te he venido a buscar" (Mariela, 2 Dec 92)
Andrés: Ya me tengo que ir.

Garmell: Este hombre tiene el tremendo de venirte.

Roberto: Nunca te voy a dejar de querer.

Violeta: Enamorada es lo que estoy. (La intrusa, 7 Oct 87)

"Yo no quiero volverle ver nunca más" (Marielena, 23 Dic 92)

"No se deje ver" (Don't let yourself be seen)

"Yo no quiero volverle ver nunca más" (Marielena, 23 Dic 92)

"(A/rave/e, 26 Mar 88)

"Más que vivir, vegetaba hasta ahora" (Carmin, 30 Apr 86)

"... el dictado en bilingüe más completo y de mayor actualidad..." (cover blurb, Simon & Schuster Spanish/English dictionary; corr. to "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")

"Dwight Gooden logró ser el tercer jugador más joven en la historia contemporánea de las grandes ligas que ganó 100 partidos..." (El Mundo, 20 June 89)

"Gooden se convirtió en el tercer más joven lanzador de la época moderna en ganar 100 juegos..." (El Nuevo Día, 21 June 89)

"Ni Ricardo, ni siquiera mi papá, son tan educados como él" (Vargas Llosa, 21 Oct 92)

"Le juro que no he visto a un hombre tan temible como al que usted" (Vargas Llosa, 21 Oct 92)

"Sobre usted se eehan mil más que no sé" (Vargas Llosa, 21 Oct 92)

"Yo 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)

"Cuanto más trata, menos me acuerdo" (Estrellita, Apr 88)

"... la perseguirán día y noche tratando de secarle declaraciones. Y mientras más suyas y escandalosas, más las explotarán" (Vargas Llosa, ¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?, 164)

"Mientras más lo frecuentaban —aunque nuestra relación siguió sujeto a brevísimas charlas en donde la mesa de café— el hecho de que ejercieran sobre mi su personalidad, su físico, su retórica, era mayor" (Vargas Llosa, La Ti Ti Ti Julia, 232)

"... en la lengua erótica por excelencia (un francés tanto más excitante cuanto más incomparable)..." (Vargas Llosa, La Ti Ti Ti Julia, 120)

"La verdad es que mientras más enojado estoy con este país y más lejos viajo, más mexicano me siento" (Ibarriqueguita, Instrucciones para vivir en México, 59)

"Prefiero aceptar su ayuda que la tuya" (1983)

"Prefiero actuar en la calle que vegetar tras un escritorio" (Vargas Llosa, La Ti Ti Ti Julia, 120)

"Prefiere ser rico porque el que arriba un partido es el que manda" (Vargas Llosa, La Ti Ti Ti Julia, 341)

"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)
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 le pago, por sinvergüenza y por pecador" (Estefanía, April 85)

"Se destruye a sí mismo por estupidez" (La Intrusa, 28 May 87)

Renata: La boté por inmoral. (La Intrusa, 21 July 87)

"Estoy muy por criminal, no por bola" (El Pecado de Oroki, 25 Dec 87)

"Esas manifestaciones de fe... lo confunden y aterrían, a pesar de que el Padre Lázaro, en todas las mistas de compasión, cura contra los impíos, acusándolos de perjura, herejías y proferencias de la fe" (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 462)

"Los van a meter presos por escándalos y pornográficos" (Vargas Llosa, La Tiña Julia, 197)

"Con resignación había aceptado que de las distorsiones familiares quedarían excluidos, por inmorales para el espíritu, el cine, el baile, el teatro, la radio, y, por onerosos para el presupuesto, los restaurantes, las películas y cualquier fantasia en el atuendo corporal y en la decoración inmuble" (Vargas Llosa, La Tiña Julia, 338)

... desde muy niña." (Atrévete, June 89)

Leonor: Armando y Marcos han sido amigos desde niños. (Atrévete, 16 Dec 86)

"Yo estoy acostumbrado a trabajar desde pequeña" (Vargas Llosa, La intrusa, 16 Jan 93)

"Yo voy a meter presos por escándalos y pornográficos" (Vargas Llosa, La Tiña Julia, 351)

"¿Fue por rebeldía, en insubordinación contra este destino de glorificar el martirio y brillo social que el niño resultó árbolito de futbol, o más bien por insuficiencia de psicología?" (Vargas Llosa, La Tiña Julia, 338)

Aurora: Yo te advertí la clase de hombre que es Rodolfo. (Gacela, 20 May 93)

Coordination

Doctor: Hay que prepararte tanto física como psicológicamente. (La Intrusa, 17 Feb 88)

"Y con esto no me refiero ni principalmente a las inapropiaciones verbales, ..." (Borges, Disculpa, 41)

"Yo entrar y salir a oficiales salpicados de barro, oye discutir al Coronel Tarewardo con el Mayor Cinta Melos, dar órdenes a Horeira César." (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 278)

"La Superficia del Coro Sagrado via, además de mujeres y niños arrojados, muchos hombres en armas, y Julio Grande, corriendo con una carabina y sábanas de bolas en los hombres." (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 290)

"¿Quién habría porque ese bribón de pescuezo llamó Cebaballado y traidores a la República a los voluntarios del barrio, porque abusó de sus policías?" (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 326)

"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 esos muchos de la ilusión de Chapman a Magnien sino diversas perspectivas de un hecho móvil, sino un largo sorteo experimental de anaciones y de eufemismo?" (Borges, Discusión, 89; e could be used instead of but not in addition to the second sino)

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

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

...sin peligros ni violencias" (Américas, 38.4.2)

"Era un cine sin techo ni sillitas, 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, llenos de licor, ni esenciales 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 es el conjunct)

“Yo había visto en esos días una película mexicana (sólo años después sabría que era de Buñuel y quien era a Buñuel” (Vargas Llosa, La Tienda, 187, declarative conjoined with interrogative)

“Jugábamos al profesor y a la alumna... sin saber que...” (Vargas Llosa, La Tienda, 276; separate to before each conjunct)

“...no podían estar ni a favor ni de ella” (Vargas Llosa, La Tienda, 419; RNR)

“...una polémica (pequeñísima) sobre si los jóvenes de esa edad tienen o no criterio suficiente para ejecutarlo” (Ibargiengiola, Instrucciones para vivir en México, 107)

“La clave del programa es una nueva clase única de programa de computadora llamada Transparent Language, que funciona tanto en computadoras 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” (WCUI comercial, NP + V)

“...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 + V)

“El final de la novela ocurre en el momento en que los buenos, después de muchas peripeyas y de haber enlazado hasta el último de los villanos, logran apoderarse de manera indiscutible e indisputable, del documento en cuestión” (Ibargiengiola, 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 traza y con arcos para no vomitar” (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 326)

“Al pasar por los corrales, reconstruidos y con chivos olra vez, todos se pusieron a cantar esos himnos que, decían, habían compuesto el Beato” (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 agradar a la, Kashiri, la luna, le enseña que es la yuca, que el plátano”. (Vargas Llosa, El Habilador, 111)

“¿Qué? ...” (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 78, Gapping?)

“...pues sugería en esa fantasía infantil unas profundidades mordidas y una agudeza insospechadas” (Vargas Llosa, Elógio a la madrasta, 151)

**Exclamativo, echo**

“No sabes lo felí que me hace” (Carmin, 12 May 86)

“No sabes lo que te extraño” (La Intrusa, 3 Feb 86; NB no overt compared adjective)

“Igual que ganes tengo de que Guadalupe vuelva” (Guadalupe, 1 July 93)

“Igual que ganes tengo que volver” (Guadalupe, 29 June 93)

“¿Es que tienes miedo?” “¿Miedo yo?” (Carmin, 3 June 86)

Alejandro: Tengo miedo. Alvaraz: ¿Tienen miedo? (Yo compré esa mujer, 21 Nov 90)

Rodrigo y Francisco: ¿Y tú me llamaste delincuente? ¿La mi, delincuente? (Carmin, 1 July 86)

Jose Antonio: He venido para hacerte un favor: X: ¿Tú a mi un favor? (Luisana, 1983; NB 3-part residue)

“¿Yo en la carcel?” (Atrévete, 25 Mar 87; NB nominative, unlike English)

“Casarse mi hija con usted?” (Yo compré esa mujer, 14 Nov 90)

Journalist: Lo que ocurrió en Río de Janeiro, en Sao Paulo, es lógico y racional.

Baron de C.: “Lógico y racional que la multitud se vuelque a las calles a destruir periódicos, a asesinar a gentes incapaces de señalar en el mapa donde están Canudos, porque unos fanáticos desean a un millón de kilómetros de distancia. ¿Lógico y racional eso?” (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 361)

Carmela: “Dejar ya mi departamento?” (Marílena, 22 Jun 93)

Armando: “Papá, qué falta me haces” (Atrévete, 16 Oct 86)

“¿Pobrecito, y pobre tu papá!” (La Intrusa, 7 Aug 86; cf. “poor your father”)

Armando: “No lo pido, te exijo.” Federico: “¿Qué? ¿Exigirme, tú a mí?” (Atrévete, 14 Oct 86)

Desiree: “Primer muerto” (Atrévete, 30 Mar 87; I’d would die first)

“...la fuerza de tu mujer” (La Intrusa, 27 May 87; cf. your wild animal of a wife, “the wild animal of your wife”)

“...es desgraciado de Alfredo!” (La Intrusa, 2 July 87)

Alfredo: “La loca de mi mujer.” (La Intrusa, 13 July 87)

“...el pobre hombre de Federico TORRELEANDE...” (Yo compré esa mujer, 12 Oct 90)

“Mira, lo más importante de todo es que ella se dió cuenta del engaño de Esteban, de lo miserable de su mentira” (Marílena, 4 Feb 93)

“...esa cualquiera que va a tener un bastardo de dioses sepa quién” (Marílena, 21 Dec 92)

“...que cómo podía perdonar eso” (Los Víctimas, 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 donde quisiéramos vivir en tu situación?
- Es que que tuvo que comportarse así?
- Es que cómo iba aperdonar eso?)

**Existential**

“Hombres como usted hay pocos” (Diana Salazar, 20 Oct 88)

**Extraction from subordinate S**

Vanessa: “¿Con quién dicen que (Ω = Pierre) va a casarse?” (Vanessa, 1983)

“¿Cómo creo que me puedo sentir yo?” “How do you think I feel?” (Hasta la Pelusa, 27 Sep 85)

“...Alfonso, que sabes que κ ama a tu hija...” (1983)

Marcos: “...una muchacha que tú sabes muy bien que Ω es inocente.” (Atrévete, 28 Feb 87)

“¿Quién cree que Ω lo persigue?” (Diana Salazar, 13 Sep 88)

“Algo tienes que haber oído” (Atrévete, 25 Dec 86)

“...un paseo al campo a ver qué sabes que Ω son más...” (Yo compré esa mujer, 16 Nov 90)

“...Es Pejéu, el de Canudos”, oyó decir a Gull, ese hombre que ni él mismo sabía si Ω era su prisionero o su huésped” (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 236)

“...Esos bultos, que él no conseguía saber si Ω eran hombres o mujeres, permanecían quietos...” (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 350)

“En la primera carga, el Sergente dio tras de la Tercera Compañía y vio cómo los grupos de cazadores del Alférez Sepúlveda eran segados por ráfagas que nadie localizó de donde Ω venían” (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 387)

“De pronto, viendo a esos heréticos y fariseos de caras astutas, descompuestas, que caen de a uno, de a dos, de a diez, por bellos que ignoran de donde Ω vienen, siente compasión” (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 442)

“Dios la había hecho conocer gentes extrañas, que ni sospechaba que Ω 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, el beber, descubrió que Ω era leche” (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 453)
"Después de un forjazo que no supo cuánto duró y en el que, mientras empujaba y presionaba, su energía y su deseo crecían sin cesar, logró el fin subirse sobre su carruaje. (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 504–5)

"Pasarse las noches despejándose prisioneros no se puede decir que <i>se</i> sea oficio de soldado, sino más bien de caníbal. (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 528)

... por una mujer de la que en la realidad no sabes nada <b>Ø</b>. (Al filo de la muerte, 19 Dec 91)

"No puedes imaginarse lo mal que me tratas. (Al filo de la Muerte, 2 Jan 92; the "relativistic" constituent is an Adv, not an A)

"Le dijo cosas que sé que <b>Ø</b> le harán mucho. (Melie: 8 Apr 92)

... un país que la mayoría de los estadounidenses ignora que <b>Ø</b> existe. (Américas, 43, 45, 1977)

Marcial: Es que me voy a ver con una mujer tan bela que todavía no sé si <b>Ø</b> es un ángel. (Al filo de la muerte, 26 Feb 92)

... una mujer que casi pudimos decir que <b>Ø</b> era invencible. (Melie: 11 Dec 92)

Melisa: Andy, que no se sabe de dónde <b>Ø</b> viene. (Ibarguengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 224)

... no se puede decir que <b>Ø</b> de soldado, sino guerra a la manera de México, (Ibarguengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 224)

"Yo creo que hace mucho que nadie dice, ni en serio ni en ningún idioma, aquella frase antigua de... (Ibarguengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 245)

... sus orígenes eran los que primero difundían en Lima los últimos éxitos de Nueva York y de Europa, pero tampoco desdeñaban el músico latinoamericano siempre que tuviera un mínimo de sofisticación. (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 12; tampoco with positive antecedent)

"Y cuando callé, tampoco dije ni una palabra. (Vargas Llosa, *La Tía Julia*, 247; antecedent of tampoco implied by caller)

"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. (Tel como somos, 26 Apr 88)

... un país que la mayoría de los estadounidenses ignora que <b>Ø</b> existe. (Américas, 43, 45, 1977)

... una mujer que casi pudimos decir que <b>Ø</b> era invencible. (Melie: 11 Dec 92)

Melisa: Andy, que no se sabe de donde <b>Ø</b> viene. (Ibarguengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 224)

"él mencionó varias empresas semiculturales de mucho éxito, que todos los medios de comunicación ignoran que <b>Ø</b> existen. (Ibarguengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 213)

"Yo no quiero ilusionar a Melisa con algo que es prácticamente imposible que <b>Ø</b> ocurra. (Melie: 4 Feb 93)

"La nieta que Doña Delfina quiere que <b>Ø</b> vaya a verla es Buenaísima. (Melie: 9 Apr 93)

"En todos los que ahora están haciendo maletas, abriendo cajones, buscando en los archivos los documentos que más conviene que <b>Ø</b> desaparezcan... (Ibarguengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 127–8)

"Actores que parece que <b>Ø</b> se comieron parte del diálogo y se adelantaron diez renglones" (Ibarguengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 159)

Luis: Ahora Guadalupe es una pobre loca que lo único que <b>Ø</b> 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, entiende tú a mi. (Melie: 19 Jan 93)

Impersonal

"Señora, le buscan. Es el teniente Harry." (Guadalupe, 30 June 93)

Interview

"Sabe de qué tengo ganas?" (Dos Vides, 4 July 88)

"Una semana después los casó el párroco de Xique-Xique. ¿Cuándo hacía de eso? ¿Cuatro o cinco años?" (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 181)

Negation

"Salió de aquí no hace mucho tiempo." (Atrévete, 2 Jan 87)

"Imaginan que un libro puede no pertenecer a las letras" (Borges, *Discusión*, 28)

"Anote, de paso, que Morris no puede comunicar al lector su imagen del centauro ni siquiera invitarnos a tener una..." (Borges, *Discusión*, 73)

"Groussac, persona incómoda, René quejoso de su gloria y trasmundo, no puede no quedar." (Borges, *Discusión*, 82)

"Que acendido ni político pondría las piezas entre tanto misterio." (Vargas Llosa, *La guerra del fin del mundo*, 246, qualitative)

"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 sentí al López mal en la agencia, sin casi nada que hacer." (Melie: 7 Jan 93; = with almost nothing)

"Era un adolescente hurano, locuaz, al que nadie pudo ufánarse de haber hecho ni visto reir,..." (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, 3 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 cerrarlas por un tiempo." (Ibarguengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 247)

"En cuanto a lo de admitir, debo decir que no, con no poca sorpresa, que siguen los mismos procedimientos que se seguían en mi época..." (Ibarguengoitia, *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... (Ibarguengoitia, *Instrucciones para vivir en México*, 224)
"La más grande historia jamás contada" (TV ad, Mar 92)

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

**Negative raising**

Yo tampoco creo que Jordana es/se la asesina (see more normal acc. to ES, whose examples these are) = Yo también creo que 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?" (Amor de Nadie, 8 May 91)

Carmela: No has debido preguntar. (Marielena, 21 Dec 92; raises not only over deber but also over hacer)

"Francisco no lo sabe ni debe sabelo" (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 delirio. Ni siquiera debe estar manejoando. (Marielena, 12 Feb 93)

"Yo no creo que deba continuar presionándolo" (Marielena, 16 Jan 93; no is still interpreted as below debo: CRE - (DEB - (NO S)), argues that creo triggers NRs)

**Nominalization**

... la iglesia donde están todos los invitados a la boda" (Guadalupe, 21 May 93)

"Los convencidos de la inocencia del propagandista político..." (Vargas Llosa, La Tierra Julia, 265)

"Yo soy una mayor de edad" (Guadalupe, 20 May 93; Conocí a mayor de edad)

"Nuestra hija se ha casado con un muerto de hombre" (Guadalupe, 7 June 93)

"Este sistema autotrepuntado y naturalmente fortificado ayudó de esta manera a la ciudad-estado a mantener su cuers independencia" (Américas 44.6.9)

Alicia: Lo que no entiendo es esta insistencia de Titan en casarse... (Guadalupe, 20 May 93; Conocí a mayor de edad)

"Usted es la culpable de que ella esté en este estado" (Guadalupe, 16 Sept 93; no is still interpreted as below debo: CRE - (DEB - (NO S)), argues that creo triggers NRs)

**Passive**

"Yo no creo que deba continuar presionándolo" (Marielena, 16 Jan 93; no is still interpreted as below debo: CRE - (DEB - (NO S)), argues that creo triggers NRs)

"...la iglesia donde están todos los invitados a la boda" (Guadalupe, 21 May 93)

"Los convencidos de la inocencia del propagandista político..." (Vargas Llosa, La Tierra Julia, 265)

"Yo soy una mayor de edad" (Guadalupe, 20 May 93; Conocí a mayor de edad)

"Nuestra hija se ha casado con un muerto de hombre" (Guadalupe, 7 June 93)

"Este sistema autotrepuntado y naturalmente fortificado ayudó de esta manera a la ciudad-estado a mantener su cuers independencia" (Américas 44.6.9)

Alicia: Lo que no entiendo es esta insistencia de Titan en casarse... (Guadalupe, 20 May 93; Conocí a mayor de edad)

"Usted es la culpable de que ella esté en este estado" (Guadalupe, 16 Sept 93; no is still interpreted as below debo: CRE - (DEB - (NO S)), argues that creo triggers NRs)

**Raising**

... el convento y la iglesia de San Felipe Neri, mandado a construir en 1775... "Esta obra de arte, mandada a hacer en 1679..." (Américas88.5.13; Passive extracting from lower V?)

"Sus fortificaciones, empezadas a construir en 1503..." (Américas 59.3.13)

... 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" (Amor 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 protegido que rodeado de mis padres o que en el Templo, los sábados" (Vargas Llosa, El grito a la maestra, 182)

"el pijama azul marino" (Vargas Llosa, El grito a la maestra, 18; ES points out contrast between dos pijamas azules and dos pijamas azul marino, likewise dos camisas amarilla pálido, versus dos camisas amarillas. Amarillo pálido is a clear case where a color word functions simultaneously as N [modified by pálido] and A [modifying camisa]. Azul marino, however, is a compound, since when used as N only marino is inflected, e.g. one describes the marvelous shades of navy blue that a painter uses as sus azules marinos; not sus azules marinos)

"¿Y tú te 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 simbólico de la largada a la iglesia o despedida a la francesa, que es muy nuestro:..." (Ibargüienganía, Instrucciones para vivir en México, 79)

"Otra clase de hospitalidad nuestra es la de continé" (Ibargüienganía, Instrucciones para vivir en México, 77)

Adv vs. A

"Ese error puede costarte caro/brindesamente" Esa locura puede costarte muy caro

"Vos a pagar muy caro" (Atrévete, 2 Oct 86)

"Ese tipo juega sucio" (Marielena, 22 Dec)

"Ella está metida completito en este asunto" (Atrévete, 29 Jan 87)

"¡Suba rápido!" (Atrévete, 9 Jan 987)

"¡Suba rápido!"

**P as object of P**

"Tú te sientes con sueño" "You feel tired"

Diana: La encontre muy extraña, como con mieo... (Vargas Llosa, La Tierra Julia, 265)

"X: ¿Y tu hermano? Marta: Con problemas, como siempre..." (Vargas Llosa, La Tierra Julia, 128)

"X: ¿Y tu hermano? Marta: Con problemas, como siemep..." (Vargas Llosa, La Tierra Julia, 128)

"X: ¿Y tu hermano? Marta: Con problemas, como siemp..." (Vargas Llosa, La Tierra Julia, 128)

"X: ¿Y tu hermano? Marta: Con problemas, como siemp..." (Vargas Llosa, La Tierra Julia, 128)

"X: ¿Y tu hermano? Marta: Con problemas, como siemp..." (Vargas Llosa, La Tierra Julia, 128)

"X: ¿Y tu hermano? Marta: Con problemas, como siemp..." (Vargas Llosa, La Tierra Julia, 128)

"X: ¿Y tu hermano? Marta: Con problemas, como siemp..." (Vargas Llosa, La Tierra Julia, 128)
"El per icodista mige ve, por entre el Doctor y el Capitán, que Moreiras 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" (WOU public service spot, Mar 92)
"... su actitud para con nosotras" (Guadalupe, 23 July 93)
"...se planteara la incógnita de qué sería México si en vez de por los españoles hubiere sido conquistado por los ingleses, los franceses o los holandeses" (Ibarriiguoiti, Instrucciones para vivir en México, 31)
"Estos pobres, que habían sido a medio nacer, salieron, en vez de al agua fresca del mar, al patio de una casa acañada y murieron "ipsa facta." (Ibarriiguoiti, Instrucciones para vivir en México, 257)

**Y as object of P**

"...hasta hace poco" (Maria Elena, 22 Jan 93; likewise "hasta hace poco"

**hasta as cross-category modifier**

"Hay hasta lo bosil" (Today she even kissed him)

**sin as negation + subordination**

"Sigo sin entender"(I don't still understand)

**...desde hace poco**

"Hay has esto (10 bes6I" 'Today she even kissed him'

**sin as negation + subordination**

"...No es mi fe pecado tomarlo que tonteria abandonarlo. (examples from ES, in response to question of NPs separated from the verb)

**Constituency**

Marcos: ¿Estás seguro que esa mujer mato a tu hermano? Armando: Sí, lo estoy.

No es un hecho tomarlo ni virtud dejarlo. No es más hecho tomarlo que tenerlo abandonarlo. (examples from ES, in response to question about constituency in the brandy ed in which one monkey says to another "No es hecho tomarlo")

"... para un observador desinteresado --es decir, que no tiene esperanzas de que le den un puesto o tenedor de que se lo quiten" (Ibarriiguoiti, Instrucciones para vivir en México, 115)

**Structure of NPs**

"Desde hace una semana, media hora al día, de seis a seis y media, hombre poco observador" (Vargas Llosa, La TiJula, 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 madrileña? Obvious test: see which word -ita can be added to; however, ES and the friends that she asked find both hada madrileña and hada madrileña very odd.]

"El Trenchito" (name of Patagonian train; = el tren de trocha angosta; Américaes 44.5.8)

"una playa desnuda" (Guadalupe, 24 Sept 93)

Irene: Mate por amor a ti. (Diana Selazar, 29 Aug 88)

"...los invitados al almuerzo..." (Vargas Llosa, La Tia Julia, 41)

"Hay guerra, incendios, falta que comer" (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 161)

"No a aquellos en que las creencias son más fuertes que el miedo a morir" (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 271)

"[Joque Grande] se pregunta por qué el padre le conserva tan fuerte en la cabeza ciertos hechos de su pecado pasado, como la nostalgia del mar, como el amor a los caballos" (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 404)

"...puedo 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)

"Ellos no es nada mío". (La Intrusa, 25 Jan 88. 'she isn't any relation to me')

"¿Es algo suyo?" (To compró esa mujer, 12 Oct 90; = "Is she any relation to you?"

"Estrelita es hija mía" (Estrelita, 17 Mar 98; restricted to predicate NPs and vocatives?)

**Apposition?**

"El programa 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 Sueña Ingleterre", de Quincy Porter, y la Sinfonía Número 2, de Raquel Cordero, ciudadanos de Venezuela, Argentina, Estados Unidos y Panamá, respectivamente" (Américas 43.4.5; NB split antecedent)

**Articles**

"Es un hombre muy florido Califás, huiado, briñado, con los pómulo saltados y unos ojos vinosos que causan malestar a pesar nunca para impedir..." (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 116)

"Un ordenamiento, arroñillado, le ayuda a calzarse unas botas de monter, sin espuelas" (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 145)

"... los más de cebellos Castaños y piel muy bien..." (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 162)

"Tenía unas orejas profundas, un pliegue sombrero en la frente..." (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 268)

"...No han enlazado todavía João Grande y Padreño, que eran unos gigantes?" (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 437)

"Tenía unas narices profundas, un pliegue sombrero en la frente..." (Vargas Llosa, La guerra del fin del mundo, 256)

"...Suan bonito y me convenci de que era verdad —dijo la tía Julia, frunciendo contra mi mejilla una nariz que siempre fría frío—" (Vargas Llosa, La Tiá Julia, 206)

"Fue un vecino admirable hasta el día en que compró radio..." (Ibarriiguoiti, Instrucciones para vivir en México, 82. NB an article, discussion in Investigación de Gramática cited by ES can be 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" (Ibarriiguoiti, Instrucciones para vivir en México, 179)

**Relative clauses and their congenerers**

"En ese tiempo, el grupo de hombres embolados que éramos, abandonó a la sabiduría..." (Vargas Llosa, La Tiá Julia, 305)

"...es el tren de trocha angosta, én que se debe la enfermedad" (Vargas Llosa, La Tiá Julia, 200)

"Lo que es más que el testimonio a una mera como se debiera la enfermedad..." (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 cometa las locuras que me dé las ganas" (Guadalupe, 30 June 93)

"El piloto era el mismo con el que habíamos viajado nosotros" (Vargas Llosa, El hablador, 148)

"No era pecado dejar sin sacrificios 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?")

"Y tú, yo después bajo" (Amor de Nadie, 23 Aug 91)

"Pero eso nada tiene que ver con la impresión que me da conocerla" (El filo de la muerte, 9 Oct 91)

"No le prometo nada sin antes hablar con él" (Atrévete, 6 Nov 88; cf. without first/without beforehand talking with him)

"Yo siempre voy a la oficina" (Antonio en Tú o nadie, 15 Jan; tomorrow couldn't occupy that position in English)

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

"Yo, francamente, confía en la policía nunca la he leído" (Ibargüengoitia, instrucciones para vivir en México, 224)

"Tú aquí no tienes ningún derecho" (El filo de la muerte, 19 Feb 92)

"Tú y mí no podrías nada" (El filo de la muerte, 11 Feb 92)

"¿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)

"Yo lo que eres es una chismosa" (Guadalupe, 9 Apr 93)

"¿Este niño lo que necesita en la realidad es mucho cariño?" (El filo de la muerte, 28 Oct 91)

"Yo lo único que he hecho para que te trabajes como un loco" (El filo de la muerte, 2 Dec 91)

"Yo lo único que sé es que te estás volviendo loco" (La intrusa, 7 May 87)

"Yo lo único que puedo sentir por ti es lástima" (La intrusa, 4 Feb 88)

"El lo que necesita es dinero" (La intrusa, 26 May 87)
"Yo con quién quería hablar era contigo" (Atrevete, 26 Aug 86)

"Entiendo perfectamente todo" (Atrevete, 18 Mar 87)

"En mis manos a ese maldito" (Yo compré esa mujer, 15 Nov 90)

"El abogado de la acusación está metiendo opiniones que nada tienen que ver con ..." (Atrevete, 13 Apr 87)

"Nunca nadie ha vuelto a vivir en ese lugar del río Timpio" (Vargas Llosa, El Lablador, 54)

"Yo le vi crecer el 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 locostumbró" (La Intrusa, 13 Oct 87)

"A pesar del corto tiempo que estuve conociéndola ..." (Guarda, 27 June 88)

"Estoy vieja" (Marielena, 7 Dec 92; being old is permanent)

"¿Están desando tus hijos algo diferente?" (Radio Shack commercial, Dec 93)

Angela: ¿Tú crees? Álica: Estoy temiendo. (Guadalupe, 30 June 93)
Sublexical syntax

"Nos despertamos hasta la próxima semana" (WCIU, 14 Mar 92)
"...y una de ellas adquirió fama por haberse aprendido de memoria las tablas logarítmicas, del uno al cien. Este último pasó tres años en un manicomio, siguiendo un tratamiento especial que le dieron para que volviera a olvidarlas" (Ibaragainias, Instrucciones para vivir en México 262; *whver 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, if felicitaciones, Agustín, y le deseó 50 años más)
"...y VISA y HASTERCHARGE son bienvenidos" (commercial, 28 Oct 86, evidently a calque)
"Estás hablando dormido" (Alrevete, 21 Oct 86)
Barbara lo describe: M' gusta más José para hacer pareja contigo. (Alrevete, 2 Dec 86)
"Entonces soy toda mía" (Carmin, 29 May 86 y 3 June)
"Advertencia de cirujano general: F umar durante el embarazo puede causar... y reducir el peso del bebé" (commercial, 28 Apr 93; suggested translation: "I'm hungry—that's all")
"Tu no sabes la falta que me haces" (La Intrusa; en 1987)

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 tanto falta nos hacen" (Guadalupe, 24 Nov 93)
Francisco: Veía el caso que le hizo ese asesino a su psiquiatra. (Al filo de la muerta, 26 Feb 92)

Hypercorrection and other screwups

"la elección municipal"
"la elección municipal" (La Intrusa, 30 Oct 86; Puerto Rican speaker)
Colón: Las tierras que pretenden descubrir son llenas de oro. (Film Cristobal Colón) 2011 W. Calle Pershing (commercial, channel 26)
"Prevención está alrededor de la esquina" (CIA ad, Spanish version of "Prevention is just around the corner"); wrong sense of "around"
"Si lo echan fuera, échale a la cárcel" (NYC subway poster; English original is "If they throw you out, throw them in jail")

Written language

"Nancyta (Vargas Llosa, La Tía Julia, 199, diminutive of Nancy; the 'y' fuses the 'y' of 'Nancy' and the 'i' of 'Ite')" (La Intrusa, Aug 87)
"When I told my daughter 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" (Chernsky 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 Selji Zawar or Ravinia music director James Levine" (Sun-Times, 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 is why men and women are married."

"The man then turned into a large snake, who is still resident at the site" (Australian Aboriginal Art exhibition, Smart Gallery, Jan 89)

"I think Dr. Pestoff 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, Moy 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" (CIA 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" (Interviewed by Chuck Schaden, 4 Mar 89)

"I'm going in and ask the boss for a raise" (Blondie, 12 Jul 89)

Complements

"I X forbade the students at the conservatory from even reading the scores of Rossini's operas" (WFMT, 24 Nov 89)

"... a videotape that instructs high school students how to use a condom" (Playboy, Oct 89, 43)

Misc.

"You can count on Master-Cord in three times the number of pieces as American Express" (Raidto, July 89)

"I prefer foods the spider Jr they are."

Conditional

"Mom wouldn't care about these things if she wouldn't keep finding out about them" (Calvin &
Passive

John has been treated worse than I have (*been). ... than have I (*been). ... than have been I.

Who asked which artists' portraits of which kings they put on display? (multiple WH in which one of the WHs is in a WH-moved constituent)

Interrogative

Hobbes, 22 May 89)

Dative

"... a man who hijacks my truck, who loses me my job,..." (Brazil)

Imperative

[John 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, 16 Feb 89)

Hominalization

"[She wanted] to see had my medals on" (Carmel Quinn, interviewed by Chuck Schaden, 4 Mar 89; Irish speaker, inversion with have, and)

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 wagered that he couldn't erect a full sized building on it" (Glasgow tour brochure)

"It's not the 'lived-in' look that bothers me. It's the 'died in' smell" (Drible, Oct 21 89)

Quantifier Float

(Even though there are far 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)

"I walk in and there's the second one I've ever seen in my life" (A. Schiller, 18 Nov 89)

Superlative

"I walk in and there's the second one I've ever seen in my life" (A. Schiller, 18 Nov 89)

Do you want to wear these out?" (Harrell Fields, 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 fill into the structure?)

What It causes a player to be uncomfortable" (discussion, UC composers Workshop, 10 Dec 89)

Categories

Prepositions

"American English usually serves as the 'other' vs-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 overhead 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)

P with deleted head N, the identity of which determines the acceptability of the 0 P

"We actually have 9 fewer new students this year than we did last" (cf "then we had last: What determines the possibility of the 0\p licensing the 0\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, p5)

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 my aunt Carol Brown

Articles

"A spouse of a student can stay as long as the spouse, a student is a student" (Jerry S, 25 Mar 89)

"You're the man in the hurry". He's in for the hurry.

"They have a different first oboist and first bassoonist than they did last year".

Extraposition of P, etc.

... but disciplines me and throwing favors on the low Posthumus slackers so her judgment that what's now rare is chic" (Cymbeline I.v.77)

Genitive

He leaped/fell to his/8 death. They beat him to (*his) death.

"Who knows if one her women, being corrupted, hath stolen 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 (??oO those who encroach on it" (shows the of isn't completely inert semantically)

"Put a couple more pop tarts in the microwave" (Cranshaft, 11 Jun 89)

a couple of /8 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 piñatas 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.

"Thornburgh 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 Fasttrack, May 1 86)
**Relative clauses and conegers**

"... Fidel Castro, whom he admires with the passionate conviction that he detested J. Edgar Hoover" (Tribune, 20 Dec 88; written 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)

"The Temple of Dagon, for example, whose exterior is seen in one act and interior (?) is seen in act three, rivals a movie set..." (Reader opera review, 10 Nov 89)

"His father, and I were soldiers together, to whom I have been often bound for no less than my life" (Gambeline Vv.25)

"Omission of that" (Simon Vv.486)

"We have never even among us a prince as great as Yessiben" (Gambeline I-II.140)

"...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)

"I read 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)

"He could live with the thought of his own stupidity; God knew he had done it before" (Stephen King, The Oed Helf, 45-6)

"...it occurred to him to wonder just what he was going to do about all this, and Diólò was moon-hunting/*moon-lit" (Jerry Teft, Sun-Times, 23 Jan 89)

**Tense, time reference**

Shooting stars, John (Thas) stomped out of the room.

"When he came to the United States from Odyssey, when he was 11 years old, he was already giving concerts,..." (NYT Arts, 10 Dec 89; second where-clause provides background for first one)

"He could live with the thought of his own stupidity, God knew he had done it before" (Stephen King, The Dark Half, 356)

**Syntactic metonymy, analogems, mimicry**

"Jenny, since this is your first time [pitching horseshoes], why don't you throw a couple of practice shots before we keep score" (Marvin, 11 Nov 89)

"If it probably gets easier with each cupcake that rolls off the tray" (= with each instance of a cupcake rolling off the tray; Crankshaf, 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" (Orrery, LG 62.836)

"...in the company of such big critical geniuses as Harold Rosenberg and Clement Greenberg" (Harold Schier, quoted in NYT Magazine, 19 Nov 89)

"...one that had just hitchhiked along for the developmental ride as a side consequence of another adaptation..." (Gould, Wonderful Life, 307)

**Telescoping**

"...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..." (Sheri L, 22 Jan 89)

"...on balance, Waterstones's strikes me as better written than 'The Reader's Catalog', but the two compendiums are actually complimentary, 'Waterstones'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 Richter, NYT Book Review, 8 Apr 89)

**Miscellaneous syntactic/semantic**

"Many patients have wrongly gotten antibiotics" (Hippocrates, May 89; = wrongly having been given)

"There's now a bit of white space between each entry" (H. Kiser, Sun-Times, Apr 89)

"...that S. for S obligatorily follow the host S; what else does? Can S. not that S be embedded in a larger S?..." (intonation break)

"...of course you can invite your friend..." (cartoon of man looking in mirror, Parade, 10 Oct 82)

"...begin to chase him from room to room of the old castle" (Bullwinkle)

"The cornfields are about 4 feet tall" (Arizona Daily Star, 26 July 89)

**Implication**

Luan: Have you always been a good dancer, Delite?

Dellite: Heck no! I couldn't dance at all until I was almost a year old. (Luan, 16 Jan 89)

**Genitive's**

"...the summers have always been mine—mine and the Bobbsey Twins's 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 dislike government impairment of private parties' ability to contract freely with whomever they wish" (Virginia Postrel, Washington Post Weekly, 10-16 Jul 89)

"...it's for all of our safety" (Midway Airlines flight attendant, 2 Mar 89; expresses *all of us)*

**Morphology**

"moonlighted/*moon-lit" (moonlighted as moon-lit)

"The so-called 'Bermuda triangle' is a delusion 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" (Gambeline Vv.188)

"...you may want to give in to their sweet looths a bit and allow them to doctor up some homemslef cooKies" (Tribune Food, 26 Oct 89)

"...Young's response: we aren't stupid" (headline, Rocky column, Dec 4,89; of the young)

**Possible morphemic relations**

beer-beer barrel-blame-blemish

**Word-formation**
"He's trying to remake contacts with X" (Bennie K, 22 Jan 89)

"He shared committee member Joseph Biden's concern about over-promising" (WFMT, 1 Mar 89)

neologisms

catacomb (NYT, 8 Jan 89)

"Her method also makes it possible to clad one kind of metal with another" (Sci. Am. Feb 89, 20)

biographies (Marquis Who's Who form letter; *biography)

One can make guesses" (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 Sep 89)

And you'll haunt with Oxford Baracks?" (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: "Ballad of Green Berets" (headline on Tribune obituary, 6 Nov 89)

I don't wanna protect this too much..."

"Susanne and Figaro meet, quarrel and reconcile" (Lyric opera synopsis, 1987)

I play the bagpipe/??I play the pipes. I have a bagpipe. ??I have bagpipes.

Lexicon

blocking

Sealed woman holding female child" (sign on painting, Gallery of Contemporary Art, Tokyo)

Two times out of two. *Twice out of two/twice.

complementizer choice

"The OED is thoroughly international, reflecting that the colonies... are the richest 1000 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 he'll 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 on then Hom threw one right back at me!" (Peanuts the Movie, Feb 11 89)

Lexical semantics

sit on/in a chair

"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)

Charles: Did you ever steal apples from a neighbor's tree when you were young?

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 quarrelling)

"Over time, ferret took on the meaning 'to drive out; expel'" (All that Jazzy, 25 Jan 89; that's ferret out, not serde)

Joan is a beautiful dancer" not quite = "Joan dances beautifully", in view of

?Ozanne 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 boxes loaded in his first inning of work..." (Tribune, 29 Mar 89)

"An extra five would help there, Joe next time" (Calvin and Hobbes, 6 Oct 89)

...the Thames/Rhine Vs. the Mississippi River

Speech errors, screwups

"Searing 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

"closer ly" (for "more closely"; Bill D, 14 Feb 89)

syntactic

"Sex is available everywhere" (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 3-6; 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, Norite 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 Zugendnis 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 Regenwasserhainen wurden im Jahre 1987 insgesamt 1,9 Millionen Marihuana-Plänen vernichtet. In Kalifornien waren es im selben Jahr 200,000 Pflanzen" (Fr. Allg., 8 Mar 89)

...weil ich meinem Bruder Klaus nicht ins Gehäuse kommen und ich auch das Tod meines Vaters abwarten wollte" (RNR [also 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 In 2nd position; would such an alteration of word order be excluded in a direct quote from German?)

...bei Spielsassiedlern, die immer eilig ihre Herkunftslande verlassen, je intensiver in der Bundesrepublik über die künftige Begrenzung des Zuwachs geradezu wächst" (Fr. Allg., 25 Mar 89; relativization into comparative-condition)

Japanese

...nezuyonnen me me hutte yuki yere ene... "Snow and rain that had fallen decades before" (TV segment on water from Mt. Fuji, 8 Apr 89)

observe... to indicate non-pastelization?
"[siroi hana] kazari no boosi no musume" (title on painting, Gallery of Contemporary Art, Tokyo; "girl in hat decorated with white flowers")

"[Yokohama] kara 40 pun ken" (ad for real-estate magazine)

"Nebakokyaru asaki - nagara no tabako we [go]- eryo kudesu" (sign in Ryoken)

"Tatemado (=title-a-title; why is only one / in first word?"

"Moruun kinesi" (sign with English version "Don't run on the pebbles [sic]", Imperial Palace; does maruun = jogging?)

"Tokyo, Saitama ryuoo, token..." (check other possibilities of to/doo/hu/ken)

"Naze 'Yamanaka' no kubi o kitte 'Kokura' wa kirenai ka" (ad for Syukan Sinko, Sept 89)

Polish

"Ham jedne dudy. 'I have one (set of) bagpipes' (dudy is plural).

"Ham dwie dudy."

"...na zamówienie Elżbiety i Krzysztofa Penderackich..." ("on a commission of E and K Penderacki"; liner notes, Eugeniusz Knapik Record)

Spanish

"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" (Le Corone Negre)

"Antirrumanos (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' than-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 hombre" (Vargas Llosa, ¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?, 87)

"De no 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)

"Prevención está alrededor de la esquina" (CIA ed, Spanish version of "Prevention is just around the corner"; wrong sense of "around")
Anaphora

"This is not because no one is writing articles on these figures — they are — ..." (Lamb, New Harvard 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 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 distance, 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 Souler, quoted in NYT Magazine, 25 Sep 94)

"The fact that I am one accounts for this no doubt, but I am a soft touch, a easy mark, for grandparents" (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 for so an hour" (Twain, Tom 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 yerder way, and I'll go this" (Twain, Tom 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 cross-town rival, Bloomingdale's" (Newsweek, 17 Jan 94, noticed by P. Daniels)

Backward

"Most ordinary—language philosophers at Oxford did not have much regard for science. By contrast, his understanding of science was the enormously important thing about Quine."
(Patricia Churchland, in Callbeau, 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 powers by the Bodleian Library" (TLS, 15 Apr 94; first mention)

"He had been struck, Mr. X told, 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 euphonic?)

"She got just three hours of sleep the night before and conservative Justice Antonin Scalia began to pepper her with questions two minutes into her first 20 minutes ever before the U.S. Supreme Court. But that didn't seem to freeze NOW attorney Fay Clayton..." (National NOW Times, Jan 94, noticed 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 girls get a lot of money" (Spike Lee, quoted in 28 Oct 94 Reeder; apparently distributive interpretation: for each of these schools, if x's team wins, x gets a lot of money)

"Binding conditions"

"O'Rourke has worked at the diner for 35 years, beginning at age 7 when he would peel potatoes for his uncle, who eventually sold the restaurant to his nephew" (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, 15)

"They had seen the tunnel a hundred times, and it was of no more interest to them than his driveway is to a suburbanite" (Pohl, The Cool War, 263; cf. *His driveway isn't very interesting to a suburbanite*)

"And while Gohoni may appear the more 'serious' performer, he has Norris to thank for being first, as newly minted festival organizers put their first conference on an exhausting performance schedule that nearly destroyed Norris!" (Tribune, 25 July 94)

Choice of pronoun

"...but Well emphasizes that it was not Bourbaki itself but its followers who perpetrated these crimes" (SciAm, June 94, 34; "Nicolas Bourbaki" is the pseudonym of a group of French mathematicians)

"He is never going 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 Gege, quoted in South China Morning Post, 16 July 94)

Crossover

"Nietzsche was then thirty-nine, and earlier that year Richard Wagner had died, whom his admirers had been in the habit of calling Master" (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)

Pragmatic

"I've never judged anybody by their accent, but I 'have been'" (BBC World Service, 19 Feb 94; Ø = judged by speaker)

"I'd like to see anyone influence Edmund more than he wants to be" (\'O'Neill, Long Day's Journey, 735)

..."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 Wett generally do not), this gratuitous methodological asceticism is likely to produce nonsense..." (S. Murray, JFr 21.223)

"There are no authenticated letters between Johnson and Savage. There is no mention of either 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...?")

Reflective

"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 purely. 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 piece, but the introduction dates from 1966)

"A robust poor meni, one sunny day here in Concord, promised a fellow-townsmanL to me, while. as he said, he was kind to the poor; meaning himself!" (Thoreau, Walden, 382–3)

"His method of doing so was a critical one: he criticized everything 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 petrols by following paths known to themselves..." (Kropotkin, The Great French Revolution, 227)

"The names of all the principal confederates of Muret were obtained from himself, 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, Well Around A Star, 205)

"Louis Jeanny 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)

Novel List of 18 January reports on the government’s campaign against three independent papers, namely itself, Oibus, and Feral Tribune” (Radio Free Europe, 19 Jan 94; noted by EWB)

"Then something sedentary for half an hour’s rest: learning to use baggage equipment, learning to know when it was being used on themselves" (Pohl, The Cool War; 94)

"They live in a desil8f’ house with walls coverM by ‘importent’ paintings, and their friends are

" ... the police detective posing lIS a Jepenese businessmen asked her to provide call girls for himself and others” (Sun-Times, 23 Sept 94)

"Herbie Stempel” was incensed at what he viewedM as the snobbery and anti-semitism that made Van Doren a prince and himself a fool 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 agast at how she might react to Laurette Taylor’s devastating portrait of, patently, herself” (NYT, Letters, 20 Nov 94)

"Said there was a communication problem between Welker and himself” (US Cable News, 194)

"He wrote a concerto 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 herself and others” (Sun-Times, 12 Dec 94)

"When we parted I gave him a bottle of Durgrillade 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)

Y-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 B?" (Austen, Emma, 434; B = have accepted him?)

“This dumb bread 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 b. (Is this Y-delet?)

"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 reeching 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 Mar, 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
A: It doesn’t make much sense. B: It doesn’t make much to me either. (TV, Feb 94)

"Ohotomi 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 Jackson 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)

"Merry, sir, I carried Mistress Silvie the dog you bade me 8" (Two Gent, Verona iv. iv.45; b = carry (to) her)

"And being wild, it appeals to you. Bueno, I confess it does to me also” (Anderson, Harvest of Stars; 94; Pseudo-groping?)

"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 hadn’t had many requests for it, but we had had one for it” (Norm Petreirini, 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)

"Lazur I was not diagnosed early enough to cure her case” (WFMT News, 26 Sept 94)

Anaphoric

"Then pretty soon Sherburn sort of laughed; not the pleasant kind b, but the kind that makes you feel like when you are eating bread that’s got sand in it” (Huckleberry Finn, 767; b = 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 headphone 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 peid fire department, a thing which the great city of New Orleens 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 O, 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 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's 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 Y elements**

"The way Chicago works is you can always hand me in a paper late." (C. Rosen, 2 Nov 94)

**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 it." (Playboy, Aug 94, 152; *= talk about it*)

"In 1949 Ralph Baer 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 = mass)

"... he watched the replay of Don's face, speaking in Don's voice the words I could not believe Don would ever say. And neither could Jack Kennedy." (Pohl, *coming of the Quantum Cats*, 144; in context, *= believe Don 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; *= 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; *= 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; pronounce 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, Kenzi, is a bonobo, more commonly known as the pygmy chimpanzee." (NYT Books, 11 Dec 94; predicate N identified with generic NP)

"Grewe 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)

**Sloppy 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." (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 an most unusual degree of popularity for a woman neither young, handsome, rich, nor married." (Austen, *Emma*, 51-2; neither = with 4 conjuncts)

"There was a tendency," as M. Aulerd Sto/S, "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 *Newsmu*, *Gabriel Fauré*, 268)

"They're all either under investigation, or we've already given them government jobs, Willie." (Hillard 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 = that major projects go with both conjuncts or only the second?)

"Work is done there now only with non- or moderate-risk organisms." (NYT Magazine, 21 Aug 94)

"The heath on the North Argold 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 pence!" (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)

Gapping

"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 this breed is or incorrect amounts" (Sun-Times, 7 Sept 94)

"The common course, which is merely to send him into the neighborhood of some professor, where..." (Thornton Wilder, Our Town, 3 Jan 94)

"There had never been a day like this one was looking to be" (Hogen, 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)

"PlllIIlfllf' to 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 wooden bridges no traveller crossed, and neither the river nor the fishes would glide between the abutments" (Thorne, A Week...)

"It is a rough and heedless fish, biting from impulse, without nibbling, and from impulse..." (Thorne, 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 gases to reach the thermocouple by natural convection" (quotable in Meyer, Apportionment 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)

"Letter elicits an answer from someone who is or has been a bat" (re Wierzbicka, Semantics of Grammar, 70-71)

"Hehet get's never thinks to retire; there's just too much to do, he says..." (Asia Magazine, 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 bowed reverently, choose the appropriate course" (Art Institute caption, Aug 94)

"Look at Tiffany cozy up to Aaron Hill!" (Luenn, 22 Sept 94)

"We love that you took the crew to dinner" (Hager, 20 Nov 94)

Extrapolation

"Well, Miss Melody, this is tiresome of me to stand here giving you a discourse on Hartford family history" (O'Neill, A Touch of the Poet, 225; this, not it)

"There are things going on I don't understand" (Pohl & Williamson, Well Around A Star, 58)

"P-detect ion..." (re Wierzbicka, Semantics of Grammar, 70-71)

"... 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 which'... 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?" (Tea from the Crypt)
Various constructions

Adverbs

"Kuhn has not much influenced the history of science; Popper has not much either" (Ron Giere, in Collembaut, Taking the Naturalistic Turn, 59)

But as linguists well know, languages change rapidly. *I well know that languages change rapidly. *I well know that languages change rapidly. (Pohl, "My lonely Green NYT MlllZine, 18 Sept 91; 11! effortlessly do all this)

"Kuhn has not much influenced the history of science; Popper has not much either" (Ron Giere, in "Jespersen (1961), like Curme, quite liberally defines apposition" (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 has 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; "?! 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" (Twoin, "Life on the Mississippi, 332"

"Like Dickens, to whom he has often 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! think of the 50 million people who still smoke and how much they continue to need me... and that perks me right up. (Ooonesbury, 21 Mar 94)

"The more noise a machine makes when I'm using It, the more damage I'm doing to It. The more noise the cloth improves the deeper we went into the folded clothing" (Twoin, "Life on the Mississippi, 377"

"...the tendency to lug in by the ears particularly prized words and phrases until they were worn entirely out" (Twoin, "Tom 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... " (Huckelberry Finn, 746)

"Madame President had got to come 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 gave 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 if

"It is the greatest absurdity - Actually snowing at this moment!" (Austen, "Emma, 134; absence of ambient if

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)

"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 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; HB 3-part residue)
B: No. It's the finally getting there that I can't stand. (Miss Peach, 28 Oct 94)

Paraphrased:

"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 Netch" (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)

"... 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 choose 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 wasn't to speak" (Austen, Emma, 99)

"In all probability she was at this very time waited for there" (Austen, Emma, 441)

"But you'll never let see him!" (O'Neill, A Touch of the Post, 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 gloated 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 claiming to be doing" (Pinker, The Language Instinct, 336; ??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 off" (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 repast 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..." (386)

"... 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 end 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 on paissant 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 Hanmer, 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 Goya that has made it the most performed of all French plays — more even than Moliere's comic masterpiece?" (The World and I, Aug 90, 183)

"The best 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 Faure's music" (Naeloux, 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" (Huckberry Finn, 728)

"Well, hang it all, you did dream it, because there didn't any of it happen" (Huckberry 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 arts 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
"What's this I hear that you feel Whitl 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)
"Vedim... directs this beach comedy about a loosely married couple..." (Tribune, 1 Nov 94)
"We'll go shopping whether or not it rains. I don't know whether (for not) it rained."

Categor 185

"One of the most surprising things was this: meeting pretty top people..." (Sen. stacks)
"It's perfectly learned it may have found out otherwise for myself, I desire there may be many different persons in the world as follows..." (Theoren, Walden, 378)
"I knew that all save a forlorn few of them were trying to work him to their own ends..." (Sen. Muckowski, quoted in 14 Dec Sun-Times)
"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 testing in court..." (Twain, Tom Sawyer, 146)
"Most obstinate dissipation..."
"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)
"Of ten most youngeries using a hanggun carry sentences..." (National Park Service, 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 lawyer'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 Columbus 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? Dogwood: It's for if I get hungry. (Bonde, 4 Nov 94)
"...it was not until toward the end of the year that I met her." (Mancken, My Life as Author and Editor, 142)
"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)
"We'll go shopping whether or not it rains. I don't know whether (for not) it rained."
"Surgery requires acts unbecoming a surgeon, just as mothering requires acts that are un maternal" (Bellmen, Encounters, 134; [A.A. NPl])
"He cleaned a different room with a using each mop."
This is the mop with which I cleaned up the mess.
"I would not have any one adopt my mode of living on any account; for, beside what he has fairly learned it may have found out otherwise for myself, I desire there may be as many different persons in the world as follows..." (Theoren, 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." (Mancken, My Life as Author and Editor, 223; few as NPl)
"One of the most surprising things was this: meeting pretty top people..." (Sen. Muckowski, quoted in 14 Dec 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)

Contingencies
"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 herself into a warm vessel of life force until otherwise informed." (Boston Globe, 7 Jan 94)
"Show me 100 head of ordinary children who are worth one 'Heart of Darkness,' and I'll subside." (Mancken, 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) 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." (Mancken, My Life as Author and Editor, 343)

Apposition
"I don't want you to get in you way. (NB: not your way; shows your way isn't apposition)"

He offered two arguments: one an argument from ignorance and the other circular."
"In the deed 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)
"...one 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 probably had the body in their minds." (Damasio, Descartes' Error, 225)

Articles
"Blackwell, driven by an alcoholic impulse rarely encountered in so normally abstemious a man, threw back his second double bourbon..." (Shockey, Hunter/Victim, 23; = a normally abstemious man)
"We're selling it all over the world, and making a nice few bucks for the balance of payments." (Pohl, The Cold War, 114)
"...and it surpassed the dollar four cents per share that it earned last year." (WFMT, 11 Oct 94)
"For example, a ceterpillar, 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 ever going to dog heaven by mistake." (Heathcliff, 10 Nov 94)
"They put the number killed each year like this at several thousand." (Boston World Service, Feb, 14 94)

Stepping in NP
"As a graduate student, I attended my first meeting at this Academy—a concert in 1956,..."
"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 herself into a warm vessel of life force until otherwise informed." (Boston Globe, 7 Jan 94)
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"I don't want you to get in you way. (NB: not your way; shows your way isn't apposition)"

He offered two arguments: one an argument from ignorance and the other circular."
"In the deed 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)
"...one 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 probably had the body in their minds." (Damasio, Descartes' Error, 225)

Articles
"Blackwell, driven by an alcoholic impulse rarely encountered in so normally abstemious a man, threw back his second double bourbon..." (Shockey, Hunter/Victim, 23; = a normally abstemious man)
"We're selling it all over the world, and making a nice few bucks for the balance of payments." (Pohl, The Cold War, 114)
"...and it surpassed the dollar four cents per share that it earned last year." (WFMT, 11 Oct 94)
"For example, a ceterpillar, 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 ever going to dog heaven by mistake." (Heathcliff, 10 Nov 94)
"They put the number killed each year like this at several thousand." (Boston World Service, Feb, 14 94)

Stepping in NP
"As a graduate student, I attended my first meeting at this Academy—a concert in 1956,..."
"...next door's gardener..." (Fred Basset, July 94)
pleistered” (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” (Hencken, Prejudices & 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” (Twin, Life on the Mississippi, 561)

“Even after he got the archival goods on Stalin, he continued to reverence 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 waitres and cashier. This wife changed from time to time, but she was always attentive to us...” (Hencken, My Life as Author and Editor, 209)

“Zachery, 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 then 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 safety 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” (Rooper, Sun-Times, 19 Oct 94)

Indirect, semi-direct discourse

“At least on hour to clear the dete8bllOks of the ongoing materlol...” (NYT Mag caption, 2 Jan 94; doesn’t presuppose that she has lived post 40)

“I have books I want to write” (Grec C, 9 Jan 94)

“my favorite actress = the one who I favor must among actresses = my + favorite actress, though that is the surface structure: ... and Tom’s & I John is quote...)

There’s everything here. (for every kind X: x(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 everyone that the bastard 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...” (Huckelbery Finn, 801; means ‘getting closer to morning’)

“What about 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 Fredrick had said, about Del-America and InteSecure being basically your same company?” (Gibson, Virtual Light, 244)

“There was a different material anywhere you looked...” (Gibson, Virtual Light, 194)

“Quotative

“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 raise the patriotic feeling, he acted as a democratic official for whom the tools were but the tools which were to help him to carry out the plan of the Government. If he presented himself at the local Popular Society, ...” (Kropotkin, The Great French Revolution, 480-1; the quantifier (?) has scope over several sentences)

Morphology

Genitive’s

“He was a lot of girls’s 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)

"Thudl 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 "The dead and for the most part unmerchantable wood behind my house ... " (Thoreau, to Norway for its return to commercial whaling" (Greenpeace, Jan. 94; means 'impose upon's)

"... the arrangements for one of the brothers' wtnlings" (Miss Manners lecture, 13 Nov 94; subject to your concurrence, subject to all of your concurrence, a program has been prepared"

Author and Editor, 82)

Contraction

"What time's it, Rocky?" (O'Neill, The Iceman Cometh, 574)

"Mayn't you go out and play now, aunl? (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 seldom" (Mencken, My Life as Author and Editor, 82)

"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)

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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 Poet, 214; Irish speaker) "... what it was I disremember..." (Mencken, My Life as Author and Editor, 224; also Huckleberry Finn, 697, 899)

"The deed and 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

"... 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)

"... a real-estate venture that the president co-owned" (WFMT News, 20 Jan 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)

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I live across the street from a skating-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") 

"The fire ants are thought to infest approximately two million acres of land in Georgia, attacking crops, young wildlife and livestock...." (quote in Meyer, at nothing..., Chine Post, 7 June 94) 

"Sometimes give warnings of real dangers...." (RIYmlnl R. Coffey, Sun-Times, 4 Aug 94) 

"They played ball/football with him." (overheard, Aug 94) 

"You've completely convinced me that S. (re Wierzbicka, Dictionary) Russian for beginners/* starters/* starter/* beginner (of a car) (re Wierzbicka, Semantics of Grammar, 78) 

"In one of the middle eastern countries was a beautiful foreign woman who always had a rose in her hair." (New York Times, 10 June 94) 

"I'm trying to get out of your way, and I get right in it." (Tribune, 4 July 94) 

"And the guy who should be leading the cheers Is Mayor Daley, whom Bloom just off a very uncomforatable political hook.... And the mayor obviously breathed a sigh of political relief.... And the major obviously breathed a sigh of political relief...." (First Hearing, 17 Dec 94) 

"Journey between Hong Kong and Guangzhou" (South China Morning Post, 12 July 94; "Is expected to reduce the travelling by at least half); "The result was that the thermal water to the Hvizh 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 Harkey, Sun-Times, 4 Jan 94) 

"Steamboat service discontinues 4/3/94." (NWA ed, 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 active) "Noor 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." (O'Neill, "A Touch of the Poet, 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) 

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"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 active)"
... a couple of short bald guys wearing white tunics which looked left over from Central Casting" (King, *Innamorati*, 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, "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, WNIJ, 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 area 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 Sachsteifer 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, she’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 undergoing something other than a deletion)

**Punctuation**

"Roux section of the Grallillas..." (Kropatkin, *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 COURTESY 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)

"Praca de Tranquilidade; Praca de Sardineioda" (two consecutive stops on a bus line, Macao)

**Other languages**

**Chinese**

"Wo dou mei jiangou ‘I haven’t seen any of them’ (Ø topic as antecedent of do)

**German**

"... die Gewinner in des zweiten Preises" (telecast of German musical competition, 1994)

"rueck- und vorsichtig" (Nietzsche, quoted in Kaufmann; pun on vorsichtig; cautiously x ‘looking forwards’)

"Yam Pagen und der Königstochter" (title of ballad by R. Schumann; contraction involving one

**conjunct of coordinate structure**

**Hungarian**

igazsagposag

**Japanese**

"... Kawaki inisharu-T sama..." (announcement, SFO, 25 Jan 94)

**Spanish**

**Anaphora**

"... y viajaba durante dias y noches cambiando varias veces de montura para no reventarla" (García Márquez, *El General en su laberinto*, 51)

**Control**

Senorita Tentación: "Me enamore de quien ustedes no tienen uno..." (Selina Y. Tentación, 13 Oct 94)

**Agreement**

Melitas: Ni Andi ni yo somos unos niños. (Marielena, 23 Dec 94)

**Accusative a**

"Siempre tuvo la muerte como un riesgo profesional sin remedio" (García Márquez, *El General en su laberinto*, 16)

"... le aseguro que generará más dinero mostrándome una joya como el más grande majadero de la historia" (García Márquez, *El General en su laberinto*, 103)

**Contraction**

"... y era poca menos que un esceto del comer y el beber..." (García Márquez, *El General en su laberinto*, 53)

**do** = possessive

Maricusa: Son cosas muy mías —mías y de Titón. (Guadalupe, 13 Jan 94)

"Rosita es mía y de nadie más" (Selena Tentación, 29 Aug 94)

Adela: ¿Este niño es suyo y del general? (Selena Tentación, 20 Oct 94)

**Subjunctive**

Bustillos: ... cuando le do la gana y como le do la gana. (Selena Tentación, 25 Oct 94)

Rose: El padre de mi hijo es Víctor Manuel del Rio, que es paz descanse. (Selena Tentación, 20 Oct 94)

**Clitics**

Freddy: Mi hermana le llena la cabeza de mentiras a mi mamá. (Selena Tentación, 23 Sept 94)

Ester: Ahora te toca divertirte a ti. (Guadalupe, 14 Jan 94)

**Climbing**

"No hay otro remedio que pedirles a tus padres que te manden a buscar" (Selena Tentación, 24 Sept 94)

"Me acabo de escapar de la cárcel" (Pasiones Secretas, 13 Dec 94)

"He 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)

Rose: Me enemoré de quién ustedes no tienen una idea" (Selena Tentación, 14 Nov 94)

**Various syntactic constructions**

Cliff

Choco: Pero quién tiene la llave de todo esto es Pucha, la hermana de Rita. (Guadalupe, 12 Jan 94)

Luise: Es de lo único que no me pueden acusar. (Guadalupe, 12 Jan 94)
Comparative
"Hace 23 años que Pepe trabaja en Angostura, y mientras explica el proceso de fabricación—todo lo discretamente que puede—el suave aroma del aroma de paella impregna el ambiente" (Américas 46.4.3)

Comparative conegers
"Las emociones de la fiesta se le quedaron asociadas al valse que había hecho repetir muchas veces fueron necesarias, para que ni una sola de las damas de Lima se quedara sin bailar con él" (García Márquez, El General en su Laborinto, 82)

Superlative
"Lo que más nos preocupa es ella" (Pasiones Secretas, 28 Nov 94)

Complements
"Al Morandi ver estas tierras, el proyecto de París 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 heridos y descalzos, sin armas, sin comida, sin mentiras para desafiar las penas, cansados de guerras y muchos de ellos enfermos, habían empezado a desertar en desbandada" (García Márquez, El General en su Laborinto, 56)

"...afortunado a desafortunadamente..." (Pasiones secretas; 23 Dec 94)

Exclamativa, echo
Ines: Usted está celoso. Sergio. ¿Celoso yo? (Guadalupe, 14 Jan 94)

Extraction from subordinate S
"Aquí hay un misterio que no se puede" (Señora Tentación, 10 Oct 94)

"El Amor que se suponía que era el buque de guerra más poderoso del mundo..." (Américas 46.4.6)

"Es la señora que corre en las venas de esa criatura que creo que es el 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 están bien" (Pasiones secretas; 23 Dec 94)

Imperative
Reni: No te veas a enredar con Mireluna. (Mireluna, 23 Dec 94)

"Se te ve mucho mejor" (Pasiones Secretas; 7 Dec 94)

Negation
Rosie: Yo necesito un hombre que me proteja, que me ame, que no se por cosa como un niño. (Señora Tentación, 9 Oct 94)

"Nadie debe recordarlo" (Pasiones Secretas; 18 Nov 94; must(n(someone remembers it))

Negative polarity
"Hasta mañana podrá salir" (Salón México; In context, had to mean "You, the unjustly jalled heroine, won't be able to get out until tomorrow [when the judge will be here]")

Nominalization
"Lo belisimo primitivo que Coñon descubrió en París permanecerá casi inalterado, debido a su poca accesibilidad, careta el sur por las fantásticas barreras del delta del Orinoco y al norte por el mar Caribe. (Américas 46.4.32 «It's being so inaccessible»

Parts of speech
P' as object of P
"El puerto estaba lleno desde las cinco de la mañana con gentes de e caballo y de a pie..." (García Márquez, El General en su Laborinto, 92)

...sin as negation + subordination
"Sin colores ni sabores artificiales" (Cheerlos comercial; RNR)

Structure of NPs
"Las primeras líneas férreas de la península fueron construidas el servicio del hidráulico, estableciendo conexiones entre las haciendas y los mercados y puertos" (Américas 46.4.28)

...estaba a punto de sucumbir bajo el peso de sus tantes victorias "Una de las tantes veces en que el general pensó renunciar,..." (García Márquez, El General en su Laborinto, 57, 60)
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 Eliza 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, 25 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 95 NYT Arts)

"I'm the type of person who doesn't care if I'm good enough" (Anna Roosevelt, quoted in Tribune Magazine, Dec 95)

"Abandoned boy? He's really a 25-year-old woman passing herself off as a poor homeless teen" (Southern Illinoisan, 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 have suddenly become the man, [0, to see 0; 0, to tell you] how to take care of your own 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)

**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 lover" (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; note also the plural "ex-cons")

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, Jan 95)

"Franco, then hadn’t made into a film, 01 picking one of Spain’s best and handsomest actors to play himself;" (NYT Books, 17 Feb 95)

"That way dogs can bring down prey much more powerful than themselves" (Eywitness, 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» (NYTMagazine, 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 don’t see a problem if an employer wants to check how an employee is conducting his or her 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-aphora**

"Gladly 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" (NYTMagazine, Dec 95)

"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. Ellén: You think we aren’t 0 already? (Pollh & Thomas, Muses Plus, 312; 0 = in trouble)

"If there are none... of determining who is right, the intellectual historian or the cognitive sociologist? Or could they both be?" (Laured, Progress and Its Problems, 198)

**Miscellaneous**

"Buy cookies or brownies and get the 6th free” (Sign, Original Cookie Co., July 95; 0 = cookie or brownie)

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"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, then as has 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)

"In the Scoop's, was written by one June Stephenson..." (R. Coffey, Sun-Times, 30 Mar 95)

"Parental overconcern with their children’s weight is definitely on the rise" (dietician quoted in NYT Magazine, 17 Dec 95)

"I had nothing to do with Abby’s death—There’s no way they could prove I had" (Suspense: Pink Camellias)

"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; O = have some commercial value)

"As it stands, Az 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" (Laudau, 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 O) 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 O?" (Anderson, The Stars are also Fire, 70; O = comprehend it)

"I could ask him to do simple tasks, and he would" (Savage-Rumbaugh & Lewin, Kanzi, 46; O = 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 it’)

"A Human Rights Watch-Africa report earlier quoted soldiers admitting that they killed and raped Ogoni 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" (Laudau, Science and Values, xiii; what I do = the account does)

"Mr Buggli, you see, at this particular moment, had exactly sixty-six different accounts in his own name and Miss Tottie had twenty-two" (Roald Dahl, Collected Stories, 715)

"Sey 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?)
Residents of Oakland's Sungate 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)

"Do you think they're doing this so the regular baseball players will sign a contract? asked Sue McKevv, who stood as 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.

"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 host out of the system; 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)

"For all my point of view...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 institution that epitomized male professionalism—Yale Law and Harvard Medical Schools" (NYTMagazine, 27 Aug 95)

"Any customer bringing paper bags back or canvas bags will receive $0.95 credit" (sign, Mr. G, 95; in context, tacit figures only in the first conjunct)

"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 aids demand Prince reject British CIIf..." (Glasgow Herald, 18 Mar 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 July 95)

"I thought I saw in the room a shadow move" (Suspense: The Man within, Heavy Constituent-Shift on a shadow move?)

"There's nothing wrong with John whatsoever other than he killed a couple people" (friend of John Salvi, quoted in 2 Jan 95 Tribune)

"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 possessees)
"What would make you really, really happy? (Sylvia, 11 Oct 95)
"If further research confirms that eating tofu reduces cholesterol. (Sylvia, 11 Oct 95)
"If watching the X-files while eating shortbread cookies reduces cholesterol. (Sylvia, 11 Oct 95)

"And I like that on the Net, personal appearance counts for nothing" (Doonesbury, 21 July 95; Extrapsychological)
"But are you being entirely fair" (MacWorld, Mar 95; noted by Peter Daniels)
"He smacked into a pillar in front of the store, knocking himself briefly unconscious" (Reader, 18 Aug 95)

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"My honest answer is that I expect this march to be tragically counterproductive, with the only black people involved being those on the march and the marchers themselves." (Newt Gingrich, quoted in NYT Magazine, 29 Oct 95)

"Bloomfield remarks that syntax cannot entirely be separated from morphology" (Matthews, Grammatical Theory in the US, 62)
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"There are no compelling grounds for saying that one paradigm is better than another" (Laudan, Science and Values, xxiii)
"... those first publisher that I sent it to accepted it; no other intelligent publisher would have done" (Mencken, Smart Set Criticism, 9)

"I'm not sure they'd be any happier with us together miserable" (NYPD Blue, 16 May 95)

"What is 'somebody is trying to put a hook in somebody's lip', not 'somebody is trying to put a hook in your lip'" (MacWorld, Mar 95, noted by Peter Daniels)

"And a reviewer of orchestra concerts, I am as convinced as ever I was 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)

"For 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 Felig, 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?)

"I am as agog as the next person to see Lauren Bacall back in theatrical harness" (Guardian, 20 Mar 95)

"I am as agog as the next person to see Lauren Bacall back in theatrical harness" (Guardian, 20 Mar 95)
"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? ... ?)

"I tend to be definite the further south you go" (D. G. J., 10 Sept 95)

"The greater his success was/0 in interpreting Mahler, the lower his reputation was/0 among the critics."

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"What is 'somebody is trying to put a hook in somebody's lip', not 'somebody is trying to put a hook in your lip'" (MacWorld, Mar 95, noted by Peter Daniels)
"Can you 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 him?

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 (Matthews, *Grammatical Theory in the US*, 84)

"Was ever uttered a less aphrodisiacal phrase?" (NYT Books, 2 Apr 95, 10)

He can't actually 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 you.

"Can't you actually get it through your head that we want to help you?"

??Can you not get it through your head that we want you to help?

??Can you not get it through your head that we want you to help you?

"... and it looked as if here she would stay... all three of them would stay..." (Grimm, *Bodyguard*, 26)

The defenders to the death of clause 4..." (nvNews, 10 Mar 95)

"He should be written to if we want him to come" (Nonna 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)

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We saw four Spanish and two Portuguese bullfighters.

We were a few hundred of the enemy's horses/livestock captured (Poutsma, Grammar of Late Modern English, 192; "others")[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" (200 Oct 95 Tribune; late applies to both conjuncts)

**Hey, you two/two**

"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 capital 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; a -> o)

**the whole Bronx**

?the/o whole Brooklyn

**Genitive**

Lt. Fancy: I'm going to make a recording of this conversation for both of our benefits. (NYPMD Blue, 9 May 95; = the benefit of both of us; both of us's =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)

**Relative clauses and congerses**

you/we/they who know this

?the 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" (NYPMD 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 detail'd by her usurping uncle To keep his daughter company, whose love...are dearer than the natural bond of sister..." (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 [0 resides with you]" (Traitys & Cressida III. ii. 146)

"Who were those [0 went by]" (Traitys & Cressida I. i. 1)

"Had I a sister [0 were a grace], or a daughter a goddess, he should take his choice" (Traitys & Cressida I. ii. 238-9; note also gapping in second conjunct)

"There's a place next door will do it" (Simak, All the trips 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 O can run fast'" (NYT Magazine, 17 Dec 95)

"There is nothing O 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, "Of particular interest is the 14th Century when the productivity of this process was relatively low" (Traitys & Cressida I. ii. 238-9; note also gapping in second conjunct)

"There's a place next door will do it" (Simak, All the trips 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 O can run fast'" (NYT Magazine, 17 Dec 95)

"There is nothing O 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, "Of particular interest is the 14th Century when the productivity of this process was relatively low"

"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" (TribuneMagazine, 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/so?]

**Tense, 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. Zuckerman 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 shi 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 apple, blob [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; shi 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 blazing speed to pitch only the second one-hittecin 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 for 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

Quotatives

"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 '

"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?" (Doonesbury, 25 July 95; 300 grand/*grand; but cf: computerese: 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)

"They are evil satires that tout-poststructuralize the deconstructionist report" (Fribule, 19Jm 95) "Before we go back and re-interview him ... " (NYPD Blue, 31 Oct 95) "... are going to try to read the strip" (Tribune comics survey, 30 Jm 95) "They are evil satires that tout-poststructuralize the deconstructionist report" (Fribule, 19Jm 95)

"But you moved with unearthly ease, and if you dropped something, it fell dreamlikeslowly" (Anderson, The Stars are also Fire, 152)

Word formations

"But Winkett's 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 Killerto Death" (SWl-Timesheadline, 6JWle95; article makes clear that it

"... one of the city's most high-crime neighborhoods... " (NYT, 30 Apr 95)

re-replicate re-renovate "re-resume "re-reform ?Yre-repair

"He scratched his cheek and stared puzzledly at the players around him" (Wallace, Delaysin Transit, 139)

"... one of the city's most high-crime neighborhoods... " (NYT, 30 Apr 95)

"A leap ahead in polymerstecbnology" (Headline, TheLamp, Winter 95, 17)

"... the recently widowed Hume Cronyn and Jimmy Stewart" (Roepre, 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, 15 Feb 95)

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 reinstrumented by C.P.E. Bach" (WFMT, 16 July 95) "In all, some 100,000 physical properties, including farms, houses, and small businesses, were quickly restored" (Reason, Apr 95, 30)

"Both parties politicized 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 Operation...
Among the evidence: ...” (Sun-Times, 12 Jan 95)

“It doesn’t cut really large wood” (NYT Magazine, 10 Dec 95)

“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)

“At least as far back as the turn of the century) (Matthews, Grammatical Theory in the US, 148; = decreased by more than half)

“I am a 13-year-old eighth grader and I’m a huge Beatles fan...” (letter to Jazz, 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 pollior a performance of his string quartet if he were to come there” (Noss, Paul Hindemith in the United States, 30; Hindemith is in Germany, he comes 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.

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 l” (Anderson, The Stars are also Fire, 399; we identified with both inclusive and exclusive Ipl.)

“He’s stupid, but he ain’t dumb” (Suspense: A present for Beauty)

“Selected 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

“Valencia: Meanwhile, officials at the Chicago Historical Society, the Art Institute of Chicago and the Museum of Science and Industry are brainstorming how to use it, 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.

“... 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 hesitate to scold our respective parties when we feel it has strayed off course or departed from important principles” (William Rentschler, SunTimes, 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)

“Crimes

“No other corpse has meant so much to a nation than Eva Peron’s to Argentina” (author quoted in NYT, 30 July 95; -... 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 butele?” (movie line quoted in NYT Magazine, 15 Jan 95; cf. spelling in old ad: “Best bottle I’ve ever butted”, < buller)

“Punctuation

“Homicide”’s Henry Bromell used to write short stories for The New Yorker.

(NYT Magazine, 22 Oct 95)

“Interesting/meaning signs

“Irish Karaoke Nights” (pub, Manchester, Mar 95)

“Other languages

“German


“Spanish

“Alejandra (to Fernando): Tuy yo no podemos vivir el uno sin el otro. (Pasiones Secretas, 27 Jan 95)

“... que esten felices uno al lado de la otra” (telenovela, winter 95)

Laura to Macario: Si no me habria enamorado de Jose Maria, lo habria hecho de ti. (La Duda, 5 Oct 95)

Backwards

“Tal vez un especialista alemam, un filosofo que haya hecho de la filosofia su especialidad, y en esta haya enterrado, matandola antes, su humanidad, explicara mejor eso de la ciencia, cuyo fin esta en si misma... (Unamuno, Sentimiento Trágico... 33)

Ellipis

Se está enamorando de ti. (Pasiones Secretas, 30 Dec 94)

“Arreglamos los que otros no pueden O” (car repair commercial, ch. 44, July 95; O = arreglar t)
"No puedo permitir que calumnien a alguien tan caballero. Sobre todo, tú siendo amigo" (Vargas Llosa, Patagonia y las Visitadoras, 236, Ø = usted y yo)

Idioma
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 crecidas" (Lazos de Amor, 27 Nov 95) "El pueblo está más allá" (Lazos de Amor, 28 Nov 95) Los tengo comprados. (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 Duerta, 6 Oct 95) "¡Son las craciones que presuponen! o son los hablantes los que presuponen?" (Rivero, Estudios de Semántica Generativa del Español, 127) "Nunca sabía que la dueña de Los Cascales era una mujer" (La Duerta, 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 ella. (judgments: ES)
"... todas las mujeres que hemos tenido la desgracia de amarte"
"... y muchas madres preferieron para sus hijos los riesgos del contagio que no los de la prevención" (García Márquez, El General en su Laberinto, 113)

Clitics
"Yo la mandó a callar" (La Duerta, 17 Aug 95)
"... el dueño de esta hacienda no es su madre sino ella, (judgments: ES)
"... la zona debe estarse particularmente protegida y recibir ayudas de la Administración para las excavaciones" (El País, 8 Sept 95; conjoining complement)

Various syntactic constructions

Absolute
"Y habiendo tantos países en este mundo, ¿cómo fue que se le ocurrió venirme a por mí?" (García Márquez, El General en su Laberinto, 190)

Auxiliary verb
"A París, 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; conjoining complement)

Cleft
"Ustedes lo que me tienen a mí es inviada" (Para Siempre, 4 July 95)
"... es en ese momento que los distribuidores están concentrando su promoción" (Américas, Jul 95, 21)

Comparative
"Ficha es más madre de León que tú" (Marielena, 3 Mar 95)
"... y muchas madres preferieron por sus hijos los riesgos del contagio que no los de la prevención" (García Márquez, El General en su Laberinto, 113)

"Tú no eres un muchacho, y Melisa también. (Marielena, 3 Jan 95)"Yo soy hija única, igual que José María" (La Duerta, 6 Oct 95)

Comparative + conditional
"... los ejecutivos de Disney, quienes no se les escapa la evidencia de que cuanta más bola meta el sean un cuarto militar y por encima de la que está la protesta que lo acompaña, más engordará la cifra de taquillaje de su Maravilla..." (El País, 31 Aug 95; conjoining of two forms of protasis)

Comparative congers
"Prefiero venir a llamar" (Pasion Secreta, 8 Mar 95)"... y muchas madres preferieron por sus hijos los riesgos del contagio que no los de la prevención" (García Márquez, El General en su Laberinto, 113)
Complementos
"<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)

Complementer choice
"... y nos aconsejan desistamos de querer penetrar en lo impenetrable" (Unamuno,Sentimiento Trágico... 93)

Reduced
"Suele disucirse si la Reforma nació como hija del Renacimiento o en protesta a este, y cabe decir que las dos cosas..." (Unamuno, Sentimiento Trágico... 103)

Coordination
"... descubrieron un tétel que contenía una gran cantidad de huesos humanos y cfas dos docenas de vasijas [incaetas 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)

"... y nos aconsejan desistamos de querer penetrar en lo impenetrable" (Unamuno, Sentimiento Trágico... 93)

Extracto from subordinate S
... y León, que tú sabes como O es" (Marieleana, 17 Feb 95)

"Los huesos, en que se calcula que O son esféricos, de 18 a 20 centímetros y con una cáscara de milímetro y medio de espesor, fueron rotos por los animales al nacer..." (El País, 31 Aug 95)

"Quénadastehaolporaquíahastahora?" (La Duda, 6 Oct 95)

"No, para la razón, la verdad es lo que se puede demostrar que O es, que O existe, consúlteno o no" (Unamuno, Sentimiento Trágico... 87)

"... y una nina que mi tte sabes quien es el padre" (La Duda, 1 Nov 95)

"¿Quién te cree que eres?" (La Duda, 9 Nov 95)

Exclamative, echo
"No te imaginás en el estado en cuál yo encontre" (Marieleana, 30 Mar 95)

Impersonal
Samuel: No me vayas a abandonar. (Pasiones Secretas, 26 Jan 95)

Introductory
Alejandra: Gracias a quien estoy viva? (Pasiones Secretas, 14 Feb 95)

"¿Es usted la señora Pantoja, no es cierto?" (Vargas Llosa, Pantaleón y las Visitadoras, 202)

Negation
"No quiero decir absolutamente nada" "No hagan absolutamente nada" (La Duda, 26, 27 Sept 95)
"Quiere que regresen hasta lunes" (La Duda, 24 Nov 95)
"Otra vez vamos a comer hasta las 4 de la tarde" (La Duda, 8 Nov 95; = Again we aren't going to eat until 4PM)

Nominative
"El aspecto severo de Michelangelo Antonioni, acentuado por la casi inmovilidad y el silencio forzoso que padecia desde hace más de una década..." (El País, 4 Sept 95)

Passive
"Fue mandado construir par 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 dudosa de sus actos" (Lazos de Amor, 29 Dec 95)

P as object of P
"... se sorrecio a siete 'hermanos' para ejecutar la misión decidida por todos los asistentes a la ceremonia..." (Vargas Llosa, Pantaleón y las Visitadoras, 275)

"... un to de oro para rapé..." (García Márquez, El General en su Laborinto, 215; cf. Eng. a gold snuff box)

"... una caja para rapé de oro" (García Márquez, El General en su Laborinto, 215; cf. Eng. a gold snuff box)

"... una caja para rapé de oro" (García Márquez, El General en su Laborinto, 215; cf. Eng. a gold snuff box)

Structure of NPs
"Mientras ponificaba sin tregua sobre estos y otros muchos asuntos, sólo hacía pausas de emergencia para lamerse de los defectos culturales de la cocina criolla" (García Márquez, El General en su Laborinto, 129)

"... se sorrecio a siete 'hermanos' para ejecutar la misión decidida por todos los asistentes a la ceremonia..." (Vargas Llosa, Pantaleón y las Visitadoras, 275)

"... y una nina que mi tte sabes quien es el padre" (La Duda, 1 Nov 95)

"¿Quién te cree que eres?" (La Duda, 9 Nov 95)

"Recoge, lector, en ti mismo, y figurarte un lento deshacerte de ti mismo..." (Unamuno, Sentimiento Trágico... 42)

"No te imaginas en el estado en cuál yo encontre" (Marieleana, 30 Mar 95)

"Fue mandado construir par Samuel Ha-Levi a mediados del siglo XIV" (Sephardic Museum, Toledo, 1995)

"Sigue habiendo grandes incertidumbres..." (El País, 21 Sept 95)

"... se sorrecio a siete 'hermanos' para ejecutar la misión decidida por todos los asistentes a la ceremonia..." (Vargas Llosa, Pantaleón y las Visitadoras, 275)

"... dos taifaneses 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 Laborinto, 215; cf. Eng. a gold snuff box)

"... una caja para rapé de oro" (García Márquez, El General en su Laborinto, 215; cf. Eng. a gold snuff box)

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"... una caja para rapé de oro" (García Márquez, El General en su Laborinto, 215; cf. Eng. a gold snuff box)

Tengo unos nervios" (EntreTíeblitas, 670)

"Tienen unos ojos muy bonitos" "Tienen unos ojos muy hermosas" (Marieleana, 30 Dec 94, 15 Feb 95)

"Ustedes son unos incompetentes" (Marieleana, 1 Mar 95)

"En el fondo, eso era la certidumbre de cuantoslo vieron en su último viaje, y tal vezfue par esos que..." (García Márquez, El General en su Laborinto, 133)

"¿Y tienen un lugar donde ir?" (La Duda, 15 Nov 95)

"¿Tienes con qué apuntar?" (Lazos de Amor, 18 Dec 95)

"... y nos aconsejan desistamos de querer penetrar en lo impenetrable" (Unamuno, Sentimiento Trágico... 93)

"... y nos aconsejan desistamos de querer penetrar en lo impenetrable" (Unamuno, Sentimiento Trágico... 93)

"... y nos aconsejan desistamos de querer penetrar en lo impenetrable" (Unamuno, Sentimiento Trágico... 93)

"... y nos aconsejan desistamos de querer penetrar en lo impenetrable" (Unamuno, Sentimiento Trágico... 93)
Irlanda del Norte, donde desde hace más de tres siglos se enfrenten dos comunidades con culturas y religion des diferencias—angloescoses y 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)

"Gheorgbiu vive una vida feliz junto a su compañero, el también cantante de opera 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 una masiva y universal reprobación previa" (El País, 5 Sept 95)

"Me dijo Lucio que aquí estabas" (La Duda, 22 Nov 95)

"Pero cuando mejor parecía, el enfermo confundió al general Sardi con un oficial español..." (García Márquez, El General en su Laborinto, 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" (Mariella, 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 Laborinto, 110)

"¿Qué es que me estás queriendo decir?" (La Duda, 6 Nov 95)

"Pujol confirma que fue espiado por el Cesid..." (El País, 21 Sept 95)

Regina: Yo no quise quemar la cabaña — o si quería hacerlo, pero... (La Duda, 26 Oct 95)

"... el último tipógrafo al buen modo antiguo que va quedando en México..." (García Márquez, El General en su Laborinto, 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 trágico comedia o comi-tragedia" (Unamuno, Sentimiento Trágico... 93; comedi- = comi-, tragedi- = tragedi-)

Lexicon

"Es que hay muchos malos entendidos entre ustedes" (La Duda, 4 Oct 95 and often thereafter)

Mariella: Tienes que escoger entre tu esposa o yo. (Mariella 20 Jan 95)

Lexical semantics

su suegra (La Duda, 15 Aug 95; with reference to the mother of the woman's supposed fiancé)

"... va a la enfermería, alienta a la víctima, deja banderitas en un mapa, dicta instrucciones, desea buena suerte a los oficiales que parten el coronel Augusto Valdés" (Vargas Llosa, Pautas y las Visitadoras, 225; desea... as a speech act verb)

"... mi única hija hembra" (Para Sangre, 3 July 95)

Valence

"Se te ven divinos" (Mariella 2 Jan 95; 'They look great on you')

Hypercorrections and other screws

establishment científico (El País, 26 Sept 95)

Written language

Interesting/mocking signs

"Quijotes Biblias" (sign on bookcase in Madrid bookstore; books in which one can find quotations to suit anything?)
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 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 Schuman'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 inconvenienced it is for Fisher...to do business here, the less he...will come, he 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 spirit..." (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?" (Herghug, 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, "The Hippie Guy's Footsteps", 445)
"The poor fish had been listening for years to evangelists of a wholly different sort... But here was an experienced fish..." (Bachman, The Regulators, 22)
"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)

Anaphora
"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)

"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 0.
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..." (NIT 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, her luck" (Bachman, The Regulators, 22)

"...Elinor, satisfied that each felt their own error, wished to avoid any survey of the past that might weaken her sister's spirit..." (Austen, Sense and Sensibility, 205-6)

"The relationship had its good side as well as its bad..." (Zamowski, 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)

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Anaphoric islands

Feb 96)
the safe site. getting in or out of which without a deputy is like cracking a safe" (NYT Magazine, 11

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 O? 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

"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)

"Psycholinguistic stuff I don't see how you can do O" (Sally T, 29 Feb 96)

"I now get more e-mail each day than I know what to do with O" (D. Crabb, Sun-Times, 20 May 96)

"Oh, I'm from a place that I'd be surprised if you've ever heard of O" (Hogan, Realtime Interrupt, 68)

Pied piping

"They are being housed in a hotel somewhere in town and are delivered daily by a deputy marshal 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 Fe-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 Cookie 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 Lacos and the Epistolary Novel , an analysis of Choderlos de Laclos' Les
Liasons 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" (Chopin letter
quoted in Zamoyski, Chopin, 68)

"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..." (Fopper, 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" (Walentz 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
feathers 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 O" (Tom Sheridan, Sun-Times, 21 Feb 96; = 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; O = 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; = possible)

"... your daughter is snatched in the middle of the night, you're accused and then exonerated of her
murder..." (Rooper, 27 Mar Sun Times; two senses of O)

"Wanna punch each other in the arm for a while?" (Frumpy the Clown, 18 July 96: you = we)

"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
daur 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.

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"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)

"<The Whitewater hearings> will not harm the reputations of either President or Mrs. Clinton" (Clintion-Gore reelection campaign official, quoted 14 Jan 96 on WFM)

"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 Interview, 265; since he's 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 Kearney 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 nothing 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 11)

"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, 13 Feb 96; 3 conjuncts)

"It's hard to buy, as well as to stomach, her light-brained foglessness" (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)

"One 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)

"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)
"But the government recently ordered all offices with e-mail access to forbid workers from using it" (Sun-Times, 6 Nov 96)

"He had, or 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 camcorder 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?)

"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 fear 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 throws eggs at her as she dashed out, then fell back asleep on the juice and coffee-soaked sheets" (Sun-Times, 30 July 96)

"The older they get, the less tactful you have to be" (Dilbert, quoted in 5 Feb 96 Tribune)

"...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'erwars the order, she should in ground unsanctified been lodged" (Hamlet, V.1.227-30; 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 Warned-up in Hell, 31)

"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 less 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

"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" (N.YT, 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 twentysevenths 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; + NRR)

Comparative-conditional

"The smaller the room and the less fresh air circulating, the higher the risk" (Health, May 95)

"He's only work if you'd rather be doing something else" (Dilbert, quoted in 6 Feb 96 Sun-Times)

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)

"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')

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"There are being more and more of them discovered all the time" (Ruth Shaw Wylie interview, WNIB, 23 June 96)

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Echoes

"Two eighty how much? *Two eighty how much?*

"Two eighty how much? *Two eighty how much?

"Two eighty how much? *Two eighty how much?*

"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 Chestromathy, 188)

And then a cold January evening, on which 'I've got to go out tonight' said Ahmed Sinia; and despite her pleas of 'It's cold—you'll get sick,' he put on his best 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" (NYTMagazine, 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" (Zamoyski, Twain, A

"This sudden sending him away must seem Deliberate pause"

"There are limited goods that are competed over" (1. Dubois, 20 Mar 96)

"I wish I could dissuade you from visiting him yet" (TV<br>

"This is not a subject that guys think is one bit funny" (Judy Markey, Sun-Times, 24 Sept 96)

"How and how had she dared do this? How had she dared?" (King, The Singers of Time)

"And how had she dared 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 (Apr 96)

"This great moral cause, so obscenely wallowed in by the newspapers of late, offers an instructive lesson to the United States" (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 Chestromathy, 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 juggling with" (Hamlet, IV.v.132)

"... all those his lands Which he stood seiz'd of..." (Hamlet, I.i.88-9)

"Herod's statutes increase 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 Chestromathy, 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..." (Linguistica Franca, Apr 96)

"Tough-like constructions"

"Silly little 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 be 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*" (Tennor, 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"

"As long as somebody's paying the bill for you, he can [not like it] all he wants"

"There couldn't anything wake them up all over, and make them happy all over, like a dog-fight"

"There was nothing gonna stop me from goin' places"

"I'll not be juggled with"

"I wish I could dissuade you from visiting him yet"

"This is not a subject that guys think is one bit funny"

"Good design is possible to achieve"

"No one ever told us Kansas was so wide to cross"

"Or rather, as I believe, she considers them impossible to exist"

"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..."

"These substances were concentrated enough in parts of the harbor that merely sailing into port could treat a ship's hull free*"

"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"
"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)

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]

"I plan to take the exams at the end of next, my third year" (student report, 96)

"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)

"But without cost as a consideration, there is no longer any reason why not to send something out" (UC Free Press, Oct 96)

"I 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)

"It's sort of his curio cabinet" (Sun-Times, 26 July 96)

"It was one of those things that once you see it, you can't take your eyes off it" (expert quoted in NYTMagazine, 37)

"It's still a very good transportation system despite what imbeciles have been in charge of running it" (Austen, Sense and Sensibility , 378, 481-2)

"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]

Vicarious quantification, etc.

"He even dares to speak about the love that dare not speak its name, with a chapter on who is 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, Playback, Dec 96)

"Sorry, dear, it didn't turn out how I wanted" (Fred Bassett, 23 July 96)

"But without cost as a consideration, there is no longer any reason why not to send something out" (UC Free Press, Oct 96)

"Also, as Tyron 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)

"You mention balancing the budget as though that were somehow meritorious a cause or goal than taking care of children" (Henry Hyde, quoted in Reader, 16 Feb 96)

"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)

"He's something other than that of interest. There's something else of interest."

"Many people have good ideas and many have stupid ideas."

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 loose is a language whose nouns have gender but its pronouns do not.

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"He's something other than that of interest. There's something else of interest."
models and needed less frequent restringing* (Tenner, *Why things bite back*, 245; = less frequently need restringing)
your 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(3; time)(the children know)))
"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 '92 werent 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" (Zamowsky, 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" (NYTD 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 on 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; = overy, =all the)
"He was wrong with my filthy home and my sticky furniture..." (Cathy, 27 July 96)
"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)
"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. (NYTD 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)
"It's all very well to occupy, 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 whoodunits, and leave my vocabulary and me to my own customers, who have all been to school" (Mencken *Chromesthesia*, preface)
"This depending turn of mind..." (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 66)
"And there, oh 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 Warned-up in Hell*, 23)
"Something in his tone of voice must have decided me" (Suspense: Evening's Diversion)
address?:
Qualificatives
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-natured old fool in Arkansaw—never hurt nobody, drunk nor sober" (Twain, A *Pen Warned-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)

** Inflection
"I need an engin-bloody-neer" (Suspense: The Tramp)

** Word formation
* "... Kamila Stosslova, 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)
"recordist 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)
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13
December 23, 1996

14
December 23, 1996
Compounding, complex nominals

John is 15 years old. a 15 year 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." (NYTMagazine, 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

*We will sure get wrong results if <we make this assumption>. (paper by native German, 96)

detected as 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, 0)

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 ghastly exhorition 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" (Zamoyski, 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)

Questions

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 regret for the music, and were plainly not having anything properly describable as a high old time" (Zamoyski, Chopin, 257; haplology of "as an hour ago")

"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)

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"Mixed peanuts" (label on package, KLM, Mar 96)
"No pasa nada ni va a pasar" (Lazos de Amor, 16 Feb 96)
"Tu 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 próximo ganador podría ser tu" (MacDonald's commercial June 96)
"Tan seguido las dos Marías 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)
"Pedimos y limpiaremos bien los peinados, tomatos y pimpimentos..." (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; conjointing of conjuncts with/without a)
Contraction
"Mercedes Sosa tiene una cálida y sensual voz de contrato, 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 positivo" (Unamuno, Sentimiento Tragico de la Vida, 199)
Various syntactic constructions
Comparative-conditional 95
"El hombre es tanto más hombre, esto es, tanto más divino, cuanta 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)
"Beatrix: Ojalá y algún 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 Benicassim 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, La Carreta, 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 cuál crees tú que es la razón?" (Lazos de Amor, 23 Jan 96)
"Tuve una idea que creo que O 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)
Part 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 Trágico 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 ilusión 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 Trágico 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
"Retomaré 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
pillos 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 Elise Steinberg; this supplements my annual compilations of (mainly English) examples. —James D. McCawley)

morphology

Gender ignored

M.T.: Eres injusto, José Antonio. JA: No, Meriteere, leinjusteenestu.

Mariela: Estas equivocado. Armendo: La equivocada eres tu, Mariela. (Atrévete, Jan. 9 87)

Yo no soy Inseguro. Lal nsegura eres tu. (doctor to Claribel) Usted es una muchacha sana, y su merido tambien. (Coralito, 1984)

(mother to Alfonso) Es una buena chice, y tu lo eres tambien. (1983)

Armando: "Estas tan esusted§ como yo, Marilela, verdad?" (Atrévete, 6 Aug 66)

Amanda to Esteban: Yo tambien estoy m como tu. (Atrévete, 22 Sept 86)

Agreement

Armando to Marcos: Ni tu ni Federico y§!la convencerme. (Atrévete, 8 Oct 86)

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

Maximo to Diego: Recuerda que ni tu ni yo la tengo. (Jugando a vivir, May 8 64)

[Plural agreement obligatory in all the preceding; ES, citing Gili GalJ8, points out that 'With conjoined subject after the verb there is the option of agreement 'With just the closest conjunct: No me agrabea/agradaban ni el lugar, ni la hora, ni las concurrentes.]

Virginia, acompañada por otros tipos, me descubrieran. (La Intrusa, 6 Nov 87)

Les hombres y las mujeres tenemos los mismos derechos. (La Intrusa, 7 July 87; tienenalso possible—ES)

... con una精确性和maestría increíbles. (Martí, Instrumentos musicales precortesianos 58)

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

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

"¿Sabe lo que necesitas? Enemorarse" (Atrévete, June 86)

"Si lo echas 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] estava jugando a que fueras tú. (Atrévete, 8 Dec 86)

El genador voy/ve a ser yo.

El genador parece/parezco que soy yo. [Does this structure in "El genador soy yo", el genador is the subject, but agreement is with the predicate NP?]

Accusative a

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

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

"¿Cúm se llama el hombre que atrapó la señora?" (Tú o nadie; unambiguously: ... who the lady ran over)

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

Elle 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 tiene que convencer es a Javier. (Marita y Javier)

Es a ti que yo quiero.

Mariela: No le condonan como a mí. (Atrévete, 18 Mar 87)

correction

"Cartagena no tardó en convertirse en punto de recolección del oro, esmeraldas y perlas procedentes del virreinato de Nuevo 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" e 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 tif (de tif = tuyo)

diminutive

"un problemita" (La Intrusa, 6 July 87)

A: ¿De quién es este boquita? B: Es tuyita. (La Intrusa, 10 Nov 87)

"... bueno todo" (Carmín, Apr 86)

"No me gusta nadita de eso" (Atrévete, 3 Jan 87)

Subjective

No importa lo opinión que tú tengas.

clitics

Dios (1o) hizo llorar. (dummy subject of llorar doesn't surface as a clitic when it becomes object)

Inanimate dative

"Digo a la gente que si uno le da tres vueltas el arbol, se casa dentro del año" (Américas 38.1.13)

Climbing

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

"Lo visto vigila" (Carmín, 30 June 86)
Leonor: ¡No me mandes a callar! (Atrévete, 1 Dec 86)

Mariana: 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: NIJnce te VOile dejer de querer. (Atrévete, 31 Mar 87; iterated climbing)

No te quiero volver aver, nunca. (La Intrusa, 7 Oct 87)

(La información) no podra uesarse en su contra. (WCIU; 'no se podrá' also possible)

"Eso tiene que acabarse" (t4troro'ete, 1 Jan 87; Is climbing possible here?)

Vo no te pago, por soberbia II por pecador. ([stefan/a, April 85)

"Sé destruí a si misma por estupida" (llallttrusa, 26 MeV 67; S reduced to AP)

Renato: le bote por inmoral. (lalntrusa, 21 JulV 87)

"Estoy &qui por criminel, no por tonta" ([r Pecatore Ogu/;/, 25 Dee 87)

Tatiana: Siempre 10 supe. Gabriel: LLo sabias? (la fut/adua b'a, Feb. 13,85)

IEstoll Vlendo! (Regina, as she regains her siQht)

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

Estrella: Luis Antonio, ¿me das un beso? (la/ltrusa, Oct 87; English ••••ould require 'Will ...'; is darío's possible here?)

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: ... Tínita enferma, Maricela prese, 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 es cross-category modifier

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

SIN as negation + subordination

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

VP as N

El [estar sentido 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, 25 Nov 86; could also be 'con te único...,' meaning 'The only thing we can count on...' vs. 'The only help we can count on...')

"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 los 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 derle entender que estoy aquí" (Rodrigo to Mara, Tú o nadie, 22 March)

Te prohíbo que hables así. (La Intrusa, Aug. 87)

¿Cómo 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 al niño enfermo" (La Intrusa, 5 Jan 88)

Perception predicates

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

coordination

"Se limpien ropa y se planchen" (sign on shop, 1134 Belmont)

"Entonces les 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 te ha 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 cromos, rellenos de licor ni esencias y no tienen tampoco sabores artificiales
ni preservativos químicos" (Américas 39.3, 56)

Exclamativo, écho
"No sabes lo feliz que me haces" (Carmín, 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?" (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, mi pobre papá!" (Atrévete, 7 Aug 86; cf. *poor your father)

Armando: No te pido, te exijo. Federico: ¿Qué? ¿Exijo, tú a mí? (Atrévete, 14 Oct 86)

"¡Yo en la cárcel!" (Atrévete, 25 Mar 87; NB nominative, unlike English)

Desiree: ¡Primero muerta! (La Intrusa, 27 May 87; cf. your wild animal of a wife, *the wild animal of your wife)

"... 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 Jul 87; cf. *your son, who (may) be rest in peace; is this a nonrestrictive relative or a (nonrelative) parenthetical?)

Free
"Los médicos son quien pueden salvarlo" (La Intrusa, 19 May 87)
"... y yo aburrido, sin con quien jugar" (La Intrusa, 22 June 87)

Infinitival
Marlano: "Ya conseguido un lugar donde vivir" (Carmín, May 19 86)
"Usted no tiene padre 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.

"Agustin Lara cumplió 50 años de muerte" (24 Horas, Nov 8 85; cf. felicitaciones, Agustín, y le deseo 50 años más)

"... y VISA y MASTERCARD son bienvenidos" (commercial, 28 Oct 86; f this a calque?)

"Estás hablando dormido" (Atrévete, 21 Oct 86)

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

"Entonces soy todo 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... end low birth weight...)

Prepositions with soñar; examples from El and M. 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 en ganar el premio
OK/Soñaba con un unicornio. (nonreferential interpretation)

*OK Soñaba acerca de un unicornio. Soñaba acerca de un unicornio que...

¿En qué sueñas?
* ¿En quién sueñas?
¿Acerc de quién soñaste?
OK/ ¿Soñaste acerca de quién soñaste?

Lexicon

Extroctioll from subordinate 5
Vanessa: ¿Con quién dicen que (B = Pierre) va a casarse? (1983)
¿Cómo crees que me puedo sentir? (Hi. Heluse, Sept. 27 85)
... Alfonso, que sabes que ama a tu hija...
Marcos: ... una muchacha que tú sabes muy bien que...
... Alfonso que sabes que ama a tu hija...

Desiree: ¡Primero muerta! (La Intrusa, 27 May 87; cf. your wild animal of a wife, *the wild animal of your wife)

"... la fiera de tu mujer" (La Intrusa, 27 May 87; cf. your wild animal of a wife, *the wild animal of your wife)

Alfredo: Lo loko de mi mujer. (La Intrusa, 13 July 87)

Negative polarity
Aquí estaremos tranquilos, sin que nadie nos moleste. (Coriolito, 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; la pueden ?)

"No te pongas así". "No me pongo nada" (Carmín, Apr 10 86)
"No está mal -- no está nada mal? (Carmín, 7 June 86; which is head: node or mal?)

Madre Dolores to Herminia: Le prohibo hacer nada como empleada de esta cárcel. (Atrévete, 25 Feb 87)

No estoy en posición de exigir nada. (La Intrusa, 20 Oct 87)
Freezes...
...de pies a cabeza. (La Intrusa, 17 July '87)
tarde o temprano.

Idioma
Si tu supieras la falta que me haces. (La Intrusa, Aug. '87)
Tú no sabes la falta que me haces. (La Intrusa, Oct '87)

Valence
...di la razón a la calles por siempre" (Carmén, May 12 '86)

Carmela: No me puse nada... Sí, 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 loco" (Le Intruso, 7 May '87)

"Yo lo único que puedo sentir por ti es lastima" (La Intrusa, 4 Feb '88)

"El 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 yo. (Le Intruso, 23 Oct '87)

Ellipsis
"¿Quieres ir a la cárce? ¿Quieres que yo y mi papá también?" (Tú o nadie, 1 Jan '77)

Yo sé que tú estás sufriendo, y tú sabes que yo también. (Luis Antonio: Yo te amo. Virginia: Yo también a ti. [La Intrusa, 1 Jan '88])

Alfredo: Por supuesto hablo francés. No me digas que tú también. (La Intrusa, 6 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)

José Antonio: He venido para hacerte un favor. X: ¿Tú a mí un favor? (Luisena, 1983; Capping 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 dudas y supongo que tú las tienes también. (Atrévete, Apr 20 '87; cf. ??... I suppose you have them too; ... I suppose you do too 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 la habrá nunca" (Le Intruso, 4 Jan '88)

"Yo quiero verlo sola, como tú siempre lo fuiste" (Le Intruso, 23 Dec '87)

Spanish pronoun = English gap
...al 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 pozo para llenarlo" (Atrévete, 5 Jan '87)

Backwards anaphora
Lleno teatros en toda América y las mujeres se enloquecen cuando B se convierte 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 ojen, si Usted no voto" (sign in ETA buses; violates some versions of anaphora constraint)

Reflective
"Casarse sin amor es fallarse el respeto a sí mismo" (Le Intruso, 28 Nov '87)

Miscellaneous
"...con tu ayuda o sin ella" (Carmén, Apr 30 '86)

Control
"Cuentas los pollos antes de B jacer" (Atrévete, June '86)

"Parece que he llegado una mujer que dice ser la viuda de Antonio" (Tú o Nadie; Equal with decir)

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

"Antes que caigas en una de estas situaciones, llámanos para elluderte" (ad in NYC; is tu'or

Anella, patches
"Andrés los vi en el jardín porque nos besando" (Tú o Nadie)

Ana Julia: Mi esposo está en la calle, haciendo cosas que... (La Intrusa, Aug 13 '87)

Scope
Roberto: Tú no ves 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; *Not... Polite*, 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**

[slaxer] (manufacturer of sewing machines)
[roll royce] *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 Edith Geyten; this supplements my annual compilations of [mainly English] examples. —James D. McCawley)

Phonology

[sinker] (manufacturer of sewing machines)
[roll rose] ‘Rolls-Royce’ (La Intrusa, 6 Jan 88)
‘batir récords mundiales’ (Américas, 39.4, 2; pronounced [teikork mun...] acc. to ES)
films (Borges, Discusión, pronounced with [lis])

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 drogadas “Dile no a las drogas y si le le falta el dinero” (TV public service ad observed by ES; note “slppy” interpretation of le)
Médies deportiva (Dept. store, San Juan PR; conjecture: the /s/ aren’t pronounced, but the first one is written, because meses is the way that noun is usually spelled)
angoses ‘bongos’ (music store, Ponce PR)

“bracketing paradoxes”

“el Partido Republicano germano accidental” (El Nuevo Día, June 19 89; accidental modifies understood Alemán)
“Huble Brooks, jardínero derecho de los Expos…” (El Nuevo Día, June 21 89; derecho modifies jardín)

compounding

un impacientes (commercial, 30 June 88)

Derivation

Brevísimo (Diana Salazar, 1 Nov 88) Prohibidísimo. (Esgáreme en el Che ¡)
el mismísimo Coronel Mingarde (Vargas Llosa, ¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?, 181)
sonombrero ‘hat-maker’ (-ero + -ero); ES also suggests calderero ‘man who make cauldrons’ and sombrerero ‘hut-maker’ (—ero); ES also suggests calderero ‘man who make cauldrons’ and
‘ese hembrón’ (Vargas Llosa, ¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?, 87)

diminutive

“un problemático” (La Intrusa, 6 July 87)
A: ¿De quién es este buquito? B: Es tuyito. (La Intrusa, 10 Nov 87)
“... tonto todo” (Carmín, Apr 86)
“No me gusta nada de eso” (Atrévete, 3 Jan 87)

use of morphological forms

Gender

M.T.: Eres injusto, José Antonio. J.A: No, María Teresa, la injusta eres tú.
María: Estás equivocado. Armando: La equivocada eres tú, María. (Atrévete, Jan. 9 87)
“Yo no soy Inseguro. La insegura eres tú.”
Armando: Eres tan esustaci como yo, María, verdad? (Atrévete, 6 Aug 86)
“Tú no te das tan fácilmente por vencida, ni yo tampoco” (Diana Salazar, July 18 88; male speaker)

Amanda es Esteban. Yo también estoy solo como tú. (Atrévete, 22 Sept 86)

(man to woman) Eres un ser humano, no un muñeco. (Dos Vides, 14 June 88)

(doctor to Claribel) Usted es una muchachita sana, y su marido también. (Coralito, 1984)
(mother to Alfonso) Es una buena chica, y tú lo eres también. (1983)
Rosario: Que buen hijo eres. Rodríg: Mejor que tú. (Tel como somos, 26 May 88; hijo = hijo)
“Es la principal sospechosa” (Diana Salazar, 4 Nov, 1988, 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 asesina isn’t even acceptable here. Cf.: Yo también creo que Jordana no es la asesina sino que otra persona debe ser el asesina.)

“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: ¿Tú 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: Recuerde que ni tú ni yo ni la tenemíos. (Jugando a vivir. May 8 84)
“¿Ni Ricardo, ni su prima, 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 agradece/agradecen ni el lugar, ni la hora, ni los concurrentes. (ES). On this option, see now Judith Assen and Jeffrey Runner. (Lingua, 1988, 2:66 ‘left conjunct agreement’, read at 1989 LSA meeting)]
But: “Ni nada ni nadie puede separarnos.” (Atrévete, Aug 29 89; could be preferred to poder)

Su punto débil, son las mujeres. (Diana Salazar, July 28 88)

‘Lo que importa ahora somos tú y yo. (Los Ñidos, 9 June 88)

Virginia, acompañada por otros tipos, me descubrió. (La Intrusa, 6 Nov 88)

Los hombres y las mujeres tenemos los mismos derechos. (La Intrusa, 7 July 87; tiene algo posible-ES)
... ‘¿quienes no creemos que ese debe ser el futuro de Puerto Rico, tendremos que unirnos en un movimiento para defender la República’ (El Nuevo Día, June 19 89; we who do not believe...)

“Aquí, los únicos que se friegan siempre somos los pobres” (Vargas Llosa, ¿Quién mató a Palomino Molero?, 179)

... con una precisión y maestría increíbles. (María, Instrumentos musicales precarionarios, 58)
... ‘disparando la flecha sin apuntar, debe una vez en el frente y pronto se tropezaba con una pata, una perdiz o un trompetero flechado’ (Vargas Llosa, El héroe, 38; one bird each time)

“No he conocido a nadie que diera de entrada, como él, esa impresión de persona tan abierta, sin relligues, desprendía de buenos instintos, nadie que mostrara una sencillez y un corazón semejantes en cualquier circunstancia” (Vargas Llosa, El héroe, 11; no before 2nd nadie)

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

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

Diane: Dijo que Mario y yo íbamos a morir. (El extranjero 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 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 Flaco lobo del primer canto de la Divina Comedia no es un emblema a letra de la avaricia” (Borges, Discusión, 139; ‘un letra o emblema’ also OK acc. to ES)

Marcos a Armando: [Roberto] estaba jugando a que fueras ‘fueses tú’. (Atrévete, 6 Dec 86)
El ganador voy ‘vea ser yo’. El ganador parece ‘pase lo que quiera’. El ganador parece ‘pase lo que quiera’. (Does this argue that In “El ganeador 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” (Vargas Llosa, El Hechicador, 39)

Accusative a

“A la única que no puedo reconocer fue Raquel” (27 Jan. 86)

“¿Quién hay que meter en la cárcel?” (Carmín, May 20 86)

“¿Cómo se llama el hombre que atrapó a la señorita?” (“Tú no dadas, unambiguously: ... who the lady ran over”}

Gabriel lo Homar-Chavez: “¿Estás reconociendo que escribiste el libro con la sola intención de separarnos, a Eva y a mí?” (Verdad, 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 devolver a todos” (NB separation of quantifier from NP)

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

“Me deje engañar” (“Atrévete, 18 Oct 88; climbs over understood unspecified subject)

“Yo me sa defender.” (Mairele, 20 Sept 88)

“Ella me ama con locura, igual que yo a ella” (Verges Llosa, El Hechicador, 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 enmigado tuyo” (“La intrusa, Aug 19 87)

Adv vs. adj.

“Ese error puede costarle caro/*caramente” Esa locura puede costarte muy cara.

“Yo a pagar muy caro” (“Atrévete, 2 Oct 86)

“Ese tipo juega sucio”

“Ella está metida completísimamente 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”

Diario: Le encontré muy extraño, como con miedo. (Diana Salazar, 8 Sept 88)

X: Tengo derechos. Y: Tú te sientes con derechos.

X: ¿Y tú hermana? María: Con problemas, como siempre. (Tú no dadas, 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)

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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)

Mairele: Yo me sé defender. (“Atrévete, 23 Mar 87)

“¿No se puede ver?” “Don’t let yourself be seen”

“Te ves a poder casar” (“Estratista, Mar 86)

“Se volvió a burlar de mi” (“La intrusa, 18 Jan 88)

“Luis Antonio se quiere divorciar” (“La intrusa, 25 Jan 88)

“Me dejó 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)

“Ya no quiero seguirle engañando” (“Diana Salazar, 3 Nov 88)

“(La información) no podrá usarse en su contra” (WCU; “no se podrá” also possible)

“Eso tiene que acabarse” (“Atrévete, 27 Oct 87; “Eso se tiene que acabar” also possible)

Aspect/tense


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, 27 Oct 86; English would require ‘Will/ would…/ you...’ instead of present; Dardes not possible here es immediate future)

“Estás teniendo miedo” (“Los Vides, 27 June 88)

“...hasta hace poco...” (Verges Llosa, El Hechicador, 86; sequence of tense in something that corresponds to a Prep in many languages; ES also notes: hasta hace poco/*mucho)

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de = possessive

Pierre: Esa niña no es de Luciano sino mía. (Vanessa, May 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 no dadas, 9 Jan.; “two pictures of you and R” = dos retratos tuyos y de Raquel)

= 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 me hila.

La inteligente de tu mujer regaló mi libro favorito.

La belleza de ella compra erruina toda la decoración.

Subjunctive

“No importa la opinión que tú tengas”

Clitics

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

“...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; ...las de la vida... is also possible)

Virginia to Manuel: Luis Antonio nos encontró a las dos juntas. (“La intrusa, 29 Oct 87)

Inanimate dative

“Dios la gente que sí uno la de tres vueltas alredó, se casa dentro del año” (Américas 38 1.13)

“...poner-le aceite al cacho”
Charo: ... Tinita enferma, Maríela presa, y yo sin trabajo... (Atrévete, Jan. 20 87)
muy en seguida (Los Videos, 28 June 88; = en seguidita)

PP as object of P
"Mi esposo no tiene secretos para contigo" (Atrévete, 3 Nov 86)
Rose, que podrá ser marginada de por vida del béisbol... (El Nuevo Día, June 21 89; P’ object of P)

hasta as cross-category modifier
"¿Hay hasta [lo besó] ? ‘Today she even kissed him’
sin as negation + subordination
"Sígo sin entender’ ‘I still don’t understand’
‘¿Paulino un enamorado 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 poco tomarlo ni virtud dejarlo. (examples from ES)
No es más poco tomarlo lo que toma el almohado.

Luis Antonio (on telephone): Solamente falta tú. (La Intrusa, 4 Feb 88; NB subject focus with separated solamente; might be evidence for GB-er’s treatment of postverbal subjects as being in the VP)

"¿Sebas de qué tengo genes?” (Los Videos, 4 July 88)

various syntactic constructions

Absolutive
"‘Tenemos que aceptarlo’, vengo de quien venga’ ‘We have to accept it, no matter who it comes from’ (La Intrusa, July 87)

"‘Hay que comportarse en manera natural’, hay a o hay policías’ (Tel como somos, 5 May 88)

Cleft
Oritz to Contreras: Quién se la merece realmente soy yo. (Marly y Javier, Feb 21 84)
"Con la única con que contamos es con la ayuda de Dios” (Alfonsín 18 Nov 86; could also be ‘con la única...’, 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)
"Sí usted tiene informaciones o necesita con quien hablar” (WCCI, anti-gang message 87)

Claudia: Me voy a ir muy lejos, adiós nadie me encuentre más (Germán, 20 June 86; NB donde matches adonde; ES notes that don’t/adonde, bajo/abajo y fuera/a fuera are largely interchangeable, though some fixed expressions require one in particular: bajo/abajo pene de mueren, está fuera/a fuera 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 ahí” (Germán, 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 bilingue más completo 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 de los grandes ligas que ganó 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 síguete mi pape, son tan educados como eres” (Vargas Llosa, ¿Quién mató a Palomino Moleró?, 123; Y retained in than-clause, to support non-identical tense)

"Le juro que no he visto a un hombre tan lleno de vida como él a usted” (Vargas Llosa, ¿Quién mató a Palomino Moleró?, 79; ‘gapped’ than-clause)
"Oír el papel como un sabueso la mesa...” (Vargas Llosa, ¿Quién mató a Palomino Moleró?, 85)

comparative conditional
"Cuanto más trato, menos me acuerdo” (Estrella, Apr 88)
"...le perseguirán día y noche tratando de sacarle declaraciones. Y mientras más suelen escandalizarse, más les explotarán” (Vargas Llosa, ¿Quién mató a Palomino Moleró?, 164; CC)

... los complementos
Sandra to Roberto: Tienes que acostumbrarte (e) que yo... (Atrévete, Jan. 22 87; cf. You have to accustom yourself to [la] 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 [NP P] has a sentential object?)

"Cuidado con darle entender que estoy aquí!” (Rodrigo to Mauro, 7/6/87; ‘e entender’ for ES; can’t be sure there wasn’t an s in what I heard)
"Cuando cadete, podés sacar cualquier tonada con o sin una vez” (Vargas Llosa, ¿Quién mató a Palomino Moleró?, 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, vírgen, mártir, cristiana, se supone vivió en el Siglo Tercero D.C.” (San Jerónimo Museum, San Juan PR; finite complement without that, with extraction)
"... junto con los comunistas, que se esperaba perdieran ocho de sus 48 asentos,...” (El Nuevo Día, June 19 89; NB no before perderan)
"Caza animales, algo que nunca supe hacer” (Vargas Llosa, El Henbador, 109)
"El presidente electo, Menem, no cree puede resolver los conflictos militares heredados de su predecesor Alfonsín” (El Nuevo Día, June 21 89)

... ¿dudó si regresará” (Vargas Llosa, ¿Quién mató a Palomino Moleró?, 187; 'he wondered whether to go back'; si + inf)
be-deletion
"Yo no te pido, por sinvergüenza y por pecador” (Esteréfata, April 85)
"Se destruyó a sí mismo por estupidez” (La Intrusa, 28 May 87; 3 reduced to AP)
"Renata, la bolita por immoral” (La Intrusa, 21 July 87)
"Estoy aquí por criminal, no por tonto” (El Pecado de Quynt, 25 Dec 87)

Complementizer choice
"Te prohibo que hables así” (La Intrusa, Aug 87)
"Te prohibo que entre en mi casa” (Diana Salazar, 15 Nov 88)
"¿Cómo vas a entrar en su casa sin que te veas?” (La Intrusa, 8 Jan 88)

Perception predicates
"Yo lo veo cada vez por’” ‘She keeps looking worse to me’
"Hombres como usted hay pocos" (Diana Salazar, 20 Oct 88)

Existential

"Salió de aquí no hace mucho tiempo" (Atrévete, 2 Jan 87)

Extraction from subordinate S
Vanessa: ¿Con quién dicen que (B = 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 a tu hija, ..." (1983)

Marcos: ... una muchacha que tú sabes muy bien que él es inocente. (Atrévete, 28 Feb 87)

"¿Quién cree que él lo persigue?" (Diana Salazar, 13 Sept 88)

"Algo tienes que haber ido" (Atrévete, 25 Dec 86)

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

Negation

"Imaginen que un libro puede no pertenecer a las letras" (Borges, Discusión, 28)

"Andemos de paso, que Morris puede no comunicar el lector su imagen del centenario ni siquiera invitarnos a tener una..." (Borges, Discusión, 73)

"Oroussac, persona inconfundible, René quejoso de su gloria a travesano, no puede no quedar" (Borges, Discusión, 82)

"No me pongo nadie" (Carmin, Apr 10 86)

"Madre Dolores to Herminia: Le prohibo hacer nada como empleado de esta círculo." (Atrévete, 25 Feb 87)

"No estoy en posición de exigir nada" (La Intrusa, 20 Oct 87)

"No me preguntó absolutamente nada sobre Miguel Andrade" (Tel como soamos; 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 accomplishment, rather than vice versa.)

"No recuerdo absolutamente nada" (La Corona Negra)

Negative raising

Yo tampoco creo que Jordana sea la esencia. (see more normal acc. to ES, whose examples these are) + Yo también creo que J no es la esencia. Raised na, like any other na, requires tampoco in place of tambien and deletes unless it precedes the tampoco. (Yo no creo tampoco que J sea...)

Passive

"X y Y fueron negados fianzas" (= were denied bail; 10 es 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?)
El robarse a esa mujer fue una de esas órdenes, parece (Vargas Llosa, El Halcón; 108, nominalization)

Relative clauses and their congersers

"Es perfecto, con el frío que hace aquí" (receiving gift of scarf in Flacraton; Des Vides, 1 June 88)

Armando: Yo contigo puedo hablar. (Atrévete, June 86; cf. suppose you have them too; .... I suppose you do too' is OK, since sloppy 1000tily Is OK).

Word order

"Yo mañana voy a la oficina" (Antonio in Tú o nada, 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 querer la hablar era contigo (Atrévete, Aug 25, 86)

Yo lo único que sé es que te estas volviendo loco (La Intrusa, 7 May 87)

Yo lo único que puede sentir por ti es lástima" (La Intrusa, 4 Feb 88)

"El 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 Timbal" (Vargas Llosa, El Halcón; 54)

"Tan culpable es usted como lo soy" (La Intrusa, 23 Oct 87)

Ellipsis

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

"¿Quiere ir a la cárce? ¿Quiere que yo y mi papá también?" (Tú o nada, Jan. 7)

"Yo sé que tú estas sufriendo, y tú sabes que yo también" (X: ¿Cómo le sientas? Y: Creo que un poco mejor.)

Alfredo: Por supuesto habló francés. No me digas que tú también. (La Intrusa, 8 Jan 88)

Ana Julia: ¿A quién te refieres? Federico: ¿A quién crees? (La Intrusa, 3 Mar 88) Sluicing "... hasta el día que María sufre lo que yo" (Ross Selva, Apr 88)

"Si ella se va, yo también" (La Intrusa, 22 June 87)

Teresa: No lo creo. Rosa: La verdad es que no la tampoco. (Des Vides, 6 June 88)

"La verdad es que yo tampoco" (Vargas Llosa, ¿Quién mataba a Polimono Malero?, 186)

"Ahora es cuando" (Vargas Llosa, ¿Quién mataba a Polimono Malero?, 60)

"Yo nunca te habló de matrimonio. ¿Lo sí?" (Atrévete, 20 Oct 88)

"¿Quiere ir a la cárce? ¿Quiere que yo y mi papá también?" (Ross Selva, Apr 88)

"... buscaron técnicas para que les informaran si lo escrito tiene el derecho o no de agradecer" (Borges, Discusión, 39)

Jose Antonio: He venido para hacerle un favor. X: ¿Tú a mí un favor? (Lucasane, 1983; Gepping with 3-plr residue?)

"Y necesita un hombre para que él la proteja" (Ross Selva, 1 Dec 89; is this Exact into a finite 3? hard to verify, since a non-zero subject al 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 BB))

"... desde muy niño..." (Atrévete, June 86)

Leonor: Armando y Marcos han sido amigos desde niños. (Atrévete, 16 Dec 86)

Anafora

"Yo contigo puedo hablar. (Atrévete, Aug 25, 86)

Yo con quién querer la hablar era contigo (Atrévete, Aug 25, 86)

"Yo lo único que sé es que te estas volviendo loco" (La Intrusa, 7 May 87)

"Yo lo único que puede sentir por ti es lástima" (La Intrusa, 4 Feb 88)

"El lo que necesita es dinero" (La Intrusa, 26 May 87)

Ello que necesito es dinero" (talking with him)

"Yo no es nada mi" (La Intrusa, 25 Jan 86; 'She isn't any relation to me')

"Estrellita es hija mía" (Estrellita, 17 Mar 88; this restricted to predicate NPs and vocatives)

Federico: Es cierto, no tenía con que pagarle.

Mariano: Ya consegui un lugar donde vivir.

"Entre los antropolégicos, hay quienes le reprochan pervertir las culturas aborígenes, por ejemplo..." (Vergés, 1968, Feb 10 88)

"No se larguen por donde vinieron" (Ross Selva, 22 June 87)

"No tenemos con que comparlos" (La Historia del oficial, 2380)

"Jamas sonreí, no tiene a quien sonreír... (Crest comercial, July 88; reduced infinitival free relative)

"Quiénes me han precedido en esta labor se han limitado a una causa" (Borges, Discusión, 11)

"Quiénes defienden el dobleje razonan (el vez que las declaraciones que pueden oponerse se pueden oponerse, también, a cualquier otro ejemplo de traducción" (Borges, Discusión, 150)

"Entre las antropólogas, hay quienes le reprochan no pertenecer a las culturas aborígenes, ..." (Vargas Llosa, El Halcón; 70)

Infinitival

Mariona: Ya consegui 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"

"... conquirme un lugarcito donde vivir" (La Intrusa, Feb 10 88)

Tienes que encontrarle (a) hombre con quien casarte. (Des Vides, 11 July 88)

Reduced

Hablanos de algo [para mí muy importante]. (Diana Selazar, 18 Oct 88)
“Usted no tiene la culpa de nada. Nadie le tiene” (La intrusa, Feb 988)

“Yo quería verte sana, como tú siempre la fuiste” (La intrusa, 23 Dec 87)

“Un día de estos voy a estar ahí” (El Nuevo Dia, June 21 89 translation of remarks by Dwight Gooden; English: one of these days, “one day of these”)

Backwards

“Tiene teatro 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 oyen, si Usted no vota” (sign in CTA buses; violates some versions of anaphora

Backwards

“Un día de estos... Yo quería verte sana, como tú siempre. ¡Qué fuiste” (América, 38.3.60)

“En que sueñas? ¡En qué sueñas? ¡En quien sueñas?” (Verges Losell, 52)

Miscellaneous

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

Scope

Roberto: Tu 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; Heha. 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 desea 50 años más)

“...y VISA y MASTERCARD son bienvenidos” (commercial, 28 Oct 86; Is this a calque?)

“Estás hablando dormido” (Atrévete, 21 Oct 86)

Berenice la Desiree: Me gustaría más José para hacer pareja contigo. (Atrévete, 2 Dec 86)

“En serio soy tuyo” (Carmín, 29 May 86 and 3 June)

“Advocación de cirujano general: Fumar durante el embarazo puede causar... y reducir el peso del recién nacido” (English original is “...and low birth weight”) (América 38.3.60)

“Drake murió de desesperación 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 same; 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 levadura. Soñaba que conseguiría el premio.

Soñaba con ganar el premio.

OK/* Soñaba con un unicornio. (nonreferential interpretation)

OK/* Soñaba acerca de un unicornio que...

¿En qué sueñas? ¿En quién sueñas?

¿En qué sueñas? ¿En quién sueñas?

¿En qué sueñas? ¿En quién sueñas?

Eso era a ti... (atrevete, Feb 988; clearly nonreferential)

Y con la casa.

Sofía 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 de temprano.

Idioms

“Si tu supieras la falta que me haces” (La intrusa, Aug 87)

“Tú no sabes la falta que me haces” (La intrusa, Oct 13 87)

Mindreau: Tempoco quiero hacerle perder su tiempo. Tentante.

Silve: No me la haces perder. (Vargas Losell, ¿Quién mato a Patatín Molerio?, 163-4)

with tener

X: ¿Qué tienes, Enrique? Y: Me duele lo que tienes. (La intrusa, 2 May 87)

“Tienes la conciencia sucia. (Diana Salazar, 3 Nov 88; ‘You have a guilty conscience’)

Valencia

“...di la razón a la calle por siempre” (Carmín, May 12 86)

Carmelo: No me puse nada... Si, me puse. (Atrévete, 17 Mar 87)

Written language

antirrumanos (SJ newspaper, 19 June 89)

Hypercorrection and other screwups

“La elección municipal” (Ayer, 30 Oct 86; Puerto Rican speaker)

Colón: Las tierras que pretiendo descubrir son llamas de oro. (Film Cristóbal Colón, 2011 W. Cale Pershing, (commercial, channel 25)

“Prevención está alrededor de la esquina” (CTA ad, Spanish version of “Prevention is just around the corner”; wrong sense of “around”)

“Si lo echas fuera, echalo a la cárcel” (NYC subway poster; English original is “If they throw you out, throw them in jail”)

11 March 14, 1990

12 March 14, 1990