

Linguistic Theory Evaluation and Comparison Based on a Universal Database of Ungrammatical Sentences: The Framework

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1. Introduction¹

It is well known in linguistics that some strings of words can be accepted, whereas others cannot. This can be illustrated, using even the same set of words as in (1a-b) (an asterisk* indicates that a given string of words cannot be accepted).

- (1) a. the boy chased the girl
b. *boy the girl chased the

The string of words in (1a) is judged as *acceptable* or *grammatical* by native speakers of English, while that in (1b) is as *unacceptable* or *ungrammatical*.² The fact of ungrammaticality has led to the recognition that it is necessary to construct a valid theory of *syntax*, i.e., word combinations to create grammatical sentences only (e.g., Chomsky, 1957). Consequently, linguists have advanced their theorizing of human language by observing, describing, and explaining ungrammatical sentences. Ungrammatical sentences such as (1b) have been regarded as particularly important because we can infer from them what part of our knowledge of language in the individual mind/brain, which is called *I-language* (“i” for *individual*, *internal*, and *intentional*, compared to *extensional*) (Chomsky, 1986), is responsible to the fact that a given string of words is not acceptable. In other words, ungrammatical sentences can be interpreted as the result of the violation of some grammatical rules or principles in our head.

The task of linguists within any particular theoretical framework is to observe ungrammatical sentences as in (1b), describe what rules or principles govern the fact of ungrammaticality, and explain why those rules or principles exist at all in human language. Another way of saying it is that a comprehensive model/theory of language, if any, should be able to generate all the grammatical sentences in any particular language, excluding all the ungrammatical ones. Whatever your theory of language is, it must account for every single ungrammatical sentence. In other words, it has to predict which strings of words are unacceptable.

There are (at least) two problems with pursuing the ideal theory. One is that in the previous research, a database of ungrammatical sentences available to any researchers has rarely been explored. As a result, it has been likely that linguists create their own sentences for their analyses. This causes a common criticism that in spite of being said “scientific,” linguistics lacks data reliability (see Sprouse & Almeida, 2012 for a review).

One reason is that the acceptability of a sentence can be *gradient* from speaker to speaker (see, e.g., Fanselow, Féry, Vogel, & Schlesewsky, 2006). Consider the following pair of sentences, for instance:

- (2) a. *Who do you expect stories about to terrify John (Chomsky, 1973: 249, (94b))
 b. Of which car did they believe the driver to have caused a scandal? (cf. Chomsky, 2008: 153)

In (2a-b), *wh*-phrases (i.e., *who* and *of which car*) are extracted from the embedded subjects (i.e., *stories about* and *the driver*). Although both sentences were used as the illustration of a linguistic analysis called *subject island* from which an element cannot be extracted, a speaker, Chomsky, judged the sentence in (2a) as unacceptable and the sentence in (2b) as acceptable.³ In order to present a linguistic analysis falsifiable by further data, it is ideal to use such a sentence that every native speaker judges as ungrammatical.⁴

Another problem has to do with the fact that there are a variety of linguistic theories based on different aspects of human language. Theories of language rely on (and are interested in) different sets of data as the empirical bases for their analyses, as is often the case with generative grammar and cognitive linguistics. Generative grammar (see, e.g., den Dikken, 2013; Carnie, Sato, & Siddiqi, 2014) deals with highly formal or abstract properties as the “core” aspect of language, putting aside figurative expressions as the “peripheral” aspect of language. On the other hand, cognitive linguistics (see, e.g., Geeraerts, 2006; Geeraerts & Cuyckens, 2007) bases its theorizing on the figurative nature of language, for instance, metaphors and metonymy. Hence, it is highly difficult to compare linguistic theories and decide which is the most valid.

The goal of the current study is to resolve these two problems by exploring a database of sentences whose ungrammaticalness is to be quantitatively justified by the sufficient number of native speakers of particular languages, and establishing the theoretical framework within which linguistic theories can be compared and evaluated in terms of how each of them explains ungrammatical sentences. The subsequent sections are organized as follows. In Section 2, I propose a universal database of ungrammatical sentences for theory evaluation and comparison. In Section 3, as a demonstration of theory evaluation, generative grammar and cognitive linguistics are compared in terms of how they account for the ungrammaticality relating to anaphora and the so-called *that*-trace effect. Section 4 discusses the theoretical implications of the current study, and Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Proposal

The database to be explored in the current study is *universal* for the following three reasons. A first reason is that ungrammatical sentences can be collected from any particular languages such as Japanese and English. Thus, we can create databases of ungrammatical sentences in any languages like the Ungrammatical Sentences in Japanese (USJ) database and the Ungrammatical Sentences in English (USE) database. A second reason is that the ungrammaticalness of each collected sentence can be experimentally examined by native speakers of any languages. To overcome the problem of data reliability, we can conduct quantitative experiments with native speakers, using psycholinguistic techniques such as questionnaire, self-paced reading, and eye-tracking reading (see, e.g., Ferreira, 2005). A final reason for why the database is universal is that its results can be made open to linguists for their analyses taking any approaches to human language. For example, generative

grammar and cognitive linguistics have constructed their theories on the basis of different sets of the empirical data, as pointed out above. However, ungrammatical sentences to be listed up in the database should be ones that have to be accounted for within any theoretical frameworks such as generative grammar, cognitive linguistics, simpler syntax, construction grammar, and so forth (see Borsley & Borjars, 2011; Carnie, Sato, & Siddiqi, 2014 for comprehensive summaries of those frameworks).

In what follows, I propose possible pieces of the information that should at least be included in the database.

Source

Source information such as author names, years of publication, article/book titles, cities of publication, publisher names/journal titles is included in the database as in (3).

(3) Example of source information

Chomsky, Noam

(1973)

Conditions on transformations. In: Stephen R. Anderson and Paul Kiparsky (eds.),

A Festschrift for Morris Halle, pp. 232-286

New York

Holt, Rinehart and Winston

This makes it easy for researchers to refer back to the article and book in question when they use the database for their analyses.

Sentences

Ungrammatical sentences collected from articles and books are listed up in the database with their individual numbers and page numbers in the articles and books as in (4).

(4) Example of sentence information

* Who do you expect stories about to terrify John

(94b)

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These kinds of information are useful for researchers to cite the sentences in their studies. If applicable, the names of phenomena are also helpful to sort out sentences of interest for analysis (e.g., *Wh-question* in the case of (4)). It is important to include the grammatical counterparts in the database as long as they are available in the articles and books under consideration. The reason is that we can obtain insights into the ungrammaticality by comparing ungrammatical sentences with their grammatical counterparts.

Experimental Results

The results of psycholinguistic experiments are included in the database in order to resolve the issue of data

reliability of each ungrammatical sentence. A variety of techniques such as questionnaire, self-paced reading, and eye-tracking reading are available to conduct experiments.⁵ For example, in the simplest case we can ask the experimental participants about their acceptability of a sentence, using a questionnaire with “yes” (i.e., acceptable) and “no” (i.e., unacceptable) answers. The results can be summarized in terms of the technique used, the number of participants, and the number of responses, for example, as in (5).

(5) Example of experimental information

Questionnaire (*acceptable* versus *unacceptable*)

30 participants

28 *unacceptable* responses

In addition to the experimental results in (5), the information about participants such as ages, genders, cities of birth, language experiences, and so on is also useful for researchers to judge whether or not the ungrammaticality of the sentence in question is reliable for their analyses.

Including such kinds of information as seen in (3)–(5), a database can be constructed for any particular language. As a demonstration, I created a sample USE (Ungrammatical Sentences in English) database in Appendix below, collecting unacceptable strings of words (i.e., ungrammatical sentences) in English (and their grammatical counterparts, if available) from three books: Kayne, Leu, and Zanuttini (2014); den Dikken (2013); and Geeraerts and Cuyckens (2007).^{6,7,8} The first book deals with syntax in general, and the second and third ones are specifically about generative grammar and cognitive linguistics, respectively, which are the two linguistic theories to be evaluated and compared below. The procedure for constructing such a database as Appendix is as follows:

(6) Steps to construct a database

- i. To collect ungrammatical sentences (and their grammatical counterparts) from articles and books.
- ii. To list up source information such as author names, years of publication, article/book titles, cities of publication, and publisher names/journal titles.
- iii. To list up sentence information such as individual numbers and page numbers in the article and book in question and, if applicable, the names of phenomena.
- iv. To conduct the relevant experimentation for data reliability, and list up the experimental results such as the techniques used, the numbers of participants and of responses.

Firstly, we collect ungrammatical sentences from articles and books of linguistics. Secondly, source information is listed up in the database as *Author(s)*, *Year*, *Title*, *City of Publication*, *Publisher/Journal Title* show in Appendix. In addition, sentence information should be also included as seen in *Sentence*, *Number*, and *Page* in Appendix. Finally, we should design the relevant experiments to guarantee the data reliability, and list up the experimental results in the database. The simplest possibility is acceptability judgments only with “yes” and “no” answers. That is, we would ask the experimental participants to judge whether the sentences in Appendix are acceptable or not.

3. Theory Evaluation and Comparison⁹

In this section, I demonstrate how to evaluate and compare two linguistic theories, using an USE database as in Appendix. The two linguistic theories are the Chomskyan *Generative Grammar* within the Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 1995 et seq.) and *Cognitive Linguistics*, a term covering cognitively-oriented approaches such as Cognitive Grammar (Langacker, 1987 et seq.) and the Mental Space theory (Fauconnier, 1994). In this paper, we focus on two out of many phenomena in Appendix, anaphora and the so-called *that*-trace effect, which will be explained below, for the evaluation and comparison of the two theories. In what follows, I first summarize the underlying assumptions of the two linguistic theories (§ 3.1 and § 3.2), and then evaluate and compare those theories in terms of how their assumptions account for the ungrammaticality relating to anaphora and the *that*-trace effect (§ 3.3).

3.1. The underlying assumptions of the Minimalist Program

As the underlying assumptions of Generative Grammar within the Minimalist Program (henceforth, MP), we adopt the following technical machinery (see, e.g., Boeckx, 2011; den Dikken, 2013; Carnie, Sato, & Siddiqi, 2014):

- (7) Technical machinery in the MP
 - a. recursive free Merge (or Merge α)
 - b. interface conditions
 - c. natural laws

The most fundamental assumption of the MP is that the domain-specific faculty of language is hard-wired in human biology. Recursive free Merge (we call it “Merge α ”) in (7a) takes two syntactic objects, X and Y, and forms a set, {X, Y}, containing them without linear order. Merge α is assumed as an only one operation included as virtual conceptual necessity in the initial state of the language faculty (often called Universal Grammar, or UG for short) because such simplest combinatorial operation should be included in every computational system like human language. However, interface conditions in (7b) are imposed on the outcome of Merge α from two language-external systems (sensorimotor and conceptual-intentional) for “sounds” and meanings (these two interfaces are also virtual conceptual necessity in terms of the human mind/brain). Furthermore, the MP assumes that natural laws in (7c) such as Minimal Computation restrict the application of Merge α as well as its outcome.

3.2. The underlying assumptions of Cognitive Linguistics

As the underlying assumptions of Cognitive Linguistics (hereafter, CL), we adopt the following technical machinery among others (see, e.g., Geeraerts, 2006 ; Geeraerts & Cuyckens, 2007):

- (8) Technical machinery in the CL
 - a. construal
 - b. categorization

- c. analogy (or metaphor)
- d. figure and ground
- e. mental spaces

The approaches within CL do not assume in advance anything domain-specific to human language, but language is assumed as an interaction of human cognitive ability. Those listed up in (8) are instantiations of the cognitive ability and all domain-general in that they can be used not only in language but also in other cognitive activities such as vision, memory, information processing, and so forth. Construal in (8a) is an ability to view things from different perspectives (e.g., active versus passive voices), categorization in (8b) is an ability of grouping things, and analogy or metaphor in (8c) is an ability to find the similarities between or among things. The figure/ground distinction in (8d) is that humans can perceive things in terms of the distinction between foreground and background, and mental spaces in (8e) are the conceptual regions of information that humans can form freely.

3.3. Evaluation and comparison of the MP and CL: A demonstration

In this paper, as a demonstration, I pick up two phenomena in Appendix and examine how the generative and cognitive linguistic assumptions in (7)–(8) above account for them. The two phenomena are anaphora in (9) and the so-called *that*-trace effect in (10a-b).

- (9) *I saw me (in the mirror). (cf. Chomsky, 1973: 241, (42a))¹⁰
 cf. I saw myself (in the mirror).
- (10) a. *Who do you think that will win the prize?
 b. Who do you think will win the prize? (cf. Kayne, Leu, & Zanuttini, 2014: 391, (88a-b))

In (9), in the same clause the personal pronouns like *me* cannot be used if they refer back to the subject. Instead, the reflexive pronouns like *myself* have to be used if they have co-reference with the subject. In (10), if *wh*-phrases like *who* is extracted from the embedded subject position, the complementizer *that* has to be deleted as (b) shows; otherwise, the sentence in question becomes unacceptable as seen in (a).

As for anaphora in (9), the MP assumes an interface condition such as that pronominals like *me* cannot be linked locally with their antecedent DPs (Determiner Phrases) like *I* due to their lexical features, excluding the sentence in (9) as ungrammatical. CL, on the other hand, assumes two mental spaces for *me* (being reflected in the mirror) and *I* (being physically in front of the mirror) and, interestingly, does not exclude the sentence in (9) as ungrammatical in the relevant contexts (Fauconnier, 1994). This option is impossible in the “standard” Binding Theory (Chomsky, 1981) in which the reflexives like *myself* and the pronominals like *me* are in complementary distribution as seen in (9).

For the *that*-trace effect as in (10), the MP assumes Minimal Computation as a natural law, imposed on computational systems like human language, to restrict the computational domain called a *phase* (assumed as (at least) *v**P (little verb Phrase) and CP (Complementizer Phrase)).¹¹ The ungrammaticality of the sentence in (10a) is accounted for by the existence of the complementizer *that* as the phase head, C, because due to it, *who* is forced at this embedded CP phase to *transfer* to the interfaces and becomes inaccessible to the next

phase, resulting in the computational crash. The grammaticality of the sentence in (10b) is explained by the deletion of the complementizer because thanks to it, there is no problem with derivation by phase (Chomsky, to appear).¹² On the other hand, CL would assume that the complementizer *that* is not meaningless, as generally assumed in the MP, but indeed meaningful, and that the meaning of *that* blocks the question formation in the sentence in (10a). Without *that*, the question formation would be assumed as possible in the sentence in (10b). This kind of appeal to the meaning of *that* is dubious even if the meaning in question would be any sort.¹³

4. Discussion

In this paper, I have proposed the theoretical framework to (i) construct a universal database of ungrammatical sentences in human languages and (ii) to evaluate and compare linguistic theories in terms of how they can explain each ungrammatical sentence listed up in the database. First, the conception of a universal database has theoretical implications for future research. As demonstrated in English, a database can be constructed for any particular languages, using the procedure summarized in (6) above. A universal database, if any, in which ungrammatical sentences in every language are listed up would be useful to researchers for their analyses because the ungrammaticalness of each sentence in the database would be attested empirically for the problem of data reliability. As pointed out in Section 1 above, it is highly difficult to compare theories of human language because they rely on different sets of data as the empirical evidence for their analyses. For this problem, a universal database can be used as the common measure, and we can compare and evaluate linguistic theories by examining whether each of them accounts for every single ungrammatical sentence. In addition to such between-theory evaluation, we can do within-theory evaluation, and obtain insightful information as to how the theory under consideration should be revised to capture the nature of human language more comprehensively.

Second, the evaluation and comparison of the Minimalist Program (MP) and Cognitive Linguistics (CL) also has theoretical implications. Both the MP and CL have their own limitations to fully explain the fact of ungrammaticality. For the MP, *features* as the atomic elements of Merge α need to be assumed in order to explain, for example, the selectional restrictions on the two syntactic objects to be merged as seen in the case of anaphora in (9) above. A natural criticism is on how too abstract features such as *unvalued features* could be motivated empirically and incorporated into the MP assumptions in (7) (cf. Boeckx, 2015). As for CL, we have seen that highly formal or abstract properties are involved in the ungrammaticality as shown in the *that*-trace effect in (10a-b) above.¹⁴ A natural criticism is on how those properties could be captured only in terms of domain-general cognitive ability as in (8). The MP seeks the most minimal UG under the Strong Minimalist Thesis (SMT): Merge α (UG)+Interfaces=Language (see, e.g., Sauerland & Gärtner, 2007; Almutairi, 2014 for discussions on the SMT). It also pursues a principled explanation for human language by reducing technical stipulations to interface conditions and natural laws as the so-called “third factor.” If Merge α is derived from human cognitive ability in the sense of CL, we could reach a more principled explanation for language beyond the SMT. In order to construct such a new theory of human language, we should critically compare and eventually unify generative and cognitive linguistic insights into the ungrammaticality. Along the same line, future research needs to evaluate and compare other linguistic theories such

as simpler syntax, construction grammar, and so on (for comprehensive summaries of those theories, see Borsley & Borjars, 2011; Carnie, Sato, & Siddiqi, 2014).

5. Concluding Remarks

The theoretical framework has been proposed for (i) the construction of a universal database and (ii) the linguistic theory evaluation and comparison based on ungrammatical sentences in the database. It leads us to explore a new approach to the linguistic theory evaluation and comparison, using the database of ungrammatical sentences as the common measure. For theory construction, the question is which theory is able to capture the largest number of ungrammatical sentences in the database. Although time-consuming, ungrammatical sentences should be collected more thoroughly from as many articles and books as possible to construct a universal database. Once constructed, the database will be available to all linguists for their further inquiry of particular languages and human language in general. Each ungrammatical sentence in the database to be offered in future research is a piece of intriguing puzzles of what human language is like and of what kind of creatures we humans are.

The followings are future issues and suggestions for further research.

Issue 1: What kinds of data should we analyze to construct a theory of human language?

As we have seen above, a single data such as anaphora in (9) can be analyzed differently from different perspectives such as the Minimalist Program (MP) and Cognitive Linguistics (CL). Thus, the following kinds of data are worth analyzing in further research:

- (11) The relevant kinds of data worth analyzing in future research within the MP and CL
- a. The data explainable by the MP but not by CL, such as the *that*-trace effect in (10a-b) above.
 - b. The data explainable by CL but not by the MP.
(e.g., *He sneezed the napkin off the table.* (Geeraerts & Cuyckens, 2007: 758, (4)))
 - c. The data explainable neither by the MP nor by CL.
 - d. The data predicted as OK (grammatical) by the MP but as NG (ungrammatical) by CL.
 - e. The data predicted as OK by CL but as NG by the MP, such as anaphora in (9) above.

We should discover those kinds of data in (11) in the database like Appendix and attempt to construct a comprehensive theory beyond (at least) the MP and/or CL.

Issue 2: What kind of model/grammar should be a valid theory of human language?

As the MP analysis suggests, we have to assume that the properties of “words” are involved in the ungrammaticality. Since words (or features) are virtual conceptual necessity as the building blocks to create (grammatical) sentences, any linguistic theory should characterize them. As the CL analysis implies, the relevant context (or *usage*) influences the ungrammaticality even if it is intra-sentential. Thus, we have to explicate what kinds of conditions or constraints are imposed on the creation of sentences. Finally, as the data of *that*-trace effect in (10a-b) above show, we have to assume some formal or abstract properties in order to

account for the ungrammaticality. In sum, the followings should be assumed, within any theoretical framework, as a valid theory of human language (or grammar):

- (12) The elements indispensable for the architecture of grammar
 - a. the properties of words (or features)
 - b. the context in which the sentence in question is created
 - c. some formal or abstract properties related to sentence structure

The conception of Merge α seems on the right track to account for the fact that we can create any sentences that have never been produced or comprehended. The simplest idea is that we humans can combine any two objects, X and Y, to create sentences. At the same time, however, we cannot ignore the properties of each object (= (12a)). Moreover, those properties can be influenced by the context in which they are used (= (12b)). Finally, even if (12a-b) are satisfied, the creation of sentences appears to be constrained by its mechanism, which we have called “syntax” (= (12c)). The intriguing questions for future research are whether more elements than (12a-c) have to be assumed for a valid theory of human language, and whether those elements in (12a-c) are innate or not (in other words, language-specific or not).

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Notes

1. The current paper is an extended version of the manuscript (Yamada, 2015) presented at TL/MAPLL 2015 at Tsuda College on August 5th, 2015. I thank the audience for their valuable comments.
2. In this paper, I use the terms *(un)acceptable* and *(un)grammatical* interchangeably. See Sprouse, Schütze, and Almeida (2013) for the recent discussion on those terms.
3. Notice that what is extracted is different in (2a) and (2b) in that it is the complement of the prepositional phrase in the former, while it is the prepositional phrase as a whole in the latter. This may make a difference in judgment. I thank Janet Dean Fodor for her comments on this point during my presentation at TL/MAPLL 2015. Note, however, that I asked several native speakers of English (informally) about the sentence in (2b), and some of them judged it as unacceptable. This reflects the speaker-variability of ungrammaticality after all.
4. The I-language theory of Chomsky (1986 and subsequent work) suggests that our linguistic knowledge may be slightly different from individual to individual even in the same community of a particular language, for example, English. As a consequence, the sentence in (2b) is acceptable for some native speakers of English but unacceptable for others (see footnote 3). It might be the case that every native speaker of English has his/her own differently individualized knowledge of language, which is called *grammar*. However, it is also the fact that there are sentences that are excluded by English grammar without exception. The string of words in (1b) is an example of those sentences. Using such *unexceptionally ungrammatical* sentence, we would be able to present a falsifiable linguistic analysis. I thank Douglas Roland for his discussion on this issue with me during my presentation at TL/MAPLL 2015.
5. The way of asking the experimental participants to read ungrammatical sentences has to be well designed; otherwise, they would read sentences, including grammatical ones, always considering the issue of grammaticality, which hinders their normal reading. I thank Chunhua Bai for this point during my presentation at TL/MAPLL 2015.
6. Although the chapters in the three books are extracted from the papers of distinct authors, I specify the citations by the

- books' page numbers without reference to those authors (just for simplicity).
7. To construct a more comprehensive database, we have to collect ungrammatical sentences from much more books and articles. In this paper, however, I selected these three books just due to the space limitation.
 8. Notice in Appendix below that, in the comparison of the data between the second and third books, generative syntax heavily depends on ungrammatical sentences as the empirical evidence for theory construction. This does not imply that a linguistic theory dependent on ungrammatical sentences is inherently superior to others independent on them. Nevertheless, it suggests that for generative grammar and cognitive linguistics, what is assumed as the "core" data is different.
 9. In what follows, we focus on two linguistic theories, generative grammar and cognitive linguistics. This by no means suggests that other framework are not worth considering. For example, functional syntax, a kind of unification of generative and cognitive linguistic insights, may be promising (e.g., Kuno & Takami, 1993, 2007). We also focus on sentences in English as the empirical data. This never means that other languages are not appropriate for theory evaluation and comparison. Depending on the phenomena in question, other languages are much better because it may be the case that the relevant properties for analysis are difficult to surface (i.e., unobservable) in English sentences. This suggests that if the theoretical framework to be offered in the current paper is on the right track, we have to collect ungrammatical sentences in other languages as well in the spirit of a *universal* database. For now, this is, of course, left for future research.
 10. This representative example was extracted from Chomsky (1973) instead of Appendix below.
 11. See Chomsky (2001) for the framework of *derivation by phase*, and see also Chomsky (2013, 2014, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c) for Minimal Computation.
 12. See Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007); Sobin (1987, 2002) for the exceptions to the *that*-trace effect as in (i-ii), where the insertion of an adverbial expression appears to blind the effect.
 - (i) a. *An amendment which they say that will be law next year
 - b. An amendment which they say that, next year, will be law
 - (ii) a. *Which doctor did you tell me that had had a heart attack during an operation?
 - b. Which doctor did you tell me that, during an operation, had had a heart attack?

(cf. Kayne, Leu, & Zanuttini, 2014: 391, (83a-b), (84a-b))
 13. Cf. Bolinger (1977) for the meaning of the complementizer *that*.
 14. Cf. Hasegawa (2003) for a syntax-phonology interface account of the *that*-trace phenomenon, which is consistent with CL.

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Appendix: A Sample USE (Ungrammatical Sentences in English) Database

Note that the sentences here were extracted (with the notations and italics) only from the numbered examples in the respective books, excluding both the data with no numbers in the main text and the data in notes. Also note that the grammaticality judgments depend on the author(s) of papers in question (an asterisk (*) stands for the unacceptability, a question mark (?) means that the sentence may be unacceptable, and a hash mark (#) means that the sentence is pragmatically infelicitous). The reliability of those judgments should be critically examined with more empirical or experimental evidence. I defer it to future research.

For the following references, the chapter information (underlined) is provided, only if the relevant data are presented in the chapter, instead of the author(s) of each chapter (i.e., paper).

The three books' information is listed up in Table 1. Sentences from Kayne, Leu, and Zanuttini (2014); den Dikken (2013); and Geeraerts and Cuyckens (2007) are listed up in Tables 2, 3, and 4, respectively below. In Tables 2-4, the column of *Phenomenon* is excluded because the relevant names are not available in some cases. The columns of *Expt. Technique*, # of Informants, and # of Responses are also excluded, but they should be included in the database eventually with the relevant experimentation in future studies.

Table 1 The three books' information

Author(s)	Year	Title	City of Publication	Publisher/Journal Title
Kayne, Richard S., Thomas Leu, & Raffaela Zanuttini (Eds.)	(2014)	<i>An annotated syntax reader: Lasting insights and questions</i>	West Sussex	Wiley-Blackwell
Den Dikken, Mercel (Ed.)	(2013)	<i>The Cambridge handbook of generative syntax</i>	Cambridge, UK	Cambridge University Press
Geeraerts, Dirk & Herbert Cuyckens (Eds.)	(2007)	<i>The Oxford handbook of cognitive linguistics</i>	Oxford	Oxford University Press

Table 2 Sentences from Kayne, Leu, and Zanuttini (2014)

Sentence	Number	Page		
Chapter 1				
I met the one who Lucille divorced	23a	17	This means that he is of low birth.	3c 27
I met the man who Lucille divorced	23b	17	*This means for him to be of low birth.	3d 27
*I met the one	26a	17	They decided that their children were happy	5 28
I met the man	26b	17	*They managed that their children were happy	5 28
I ate the one Schwartz gave me	24a	17	*They decided for their children to be happy	5 28
I ate the apple Schwartz gave me	24b	17	They managed for their children to be happy	5 28
*I ate the one	27a	17	*They decided their children's being happy	5 28
I ate the apple	27b	17	*They managed their children's being happy	5 28
I bred the small one	25a	17	*That they imagined it	7 30
I bred the small lion	25b	17	We { *believed/ inquired } whether he was there	18 31
*I bred the one	28a	18	We { believed/*inquired } that he was there	19 31
I bred the lion	28b	18	For him to eat cabbage means nothing=It means nothing for him to eat cabbage	23 31
did you see us guys	36a	19	*This means for him to eat cabbage	24 31
who insulted you men	36b	19	For him to eat cabbage means that he will be sick	25 32
*did you see Bill, who is six feet tall	33a	19	That John eats cabbage implies that he likes cabbage	26 32
*who wrote a novel, which was published by McGraw Hill	33b	19	The first statement implies the second statement	27 32
he didn't like us Americans	36c	19	The first statement implies that the second statement is true	28 32
he did not insult you Communists	36d	19	*That the first statement is true implies the second statement	29 32
*he didn't eat the mango, which I bought for him yesterday	34a	19	Susie didn't tell { *that they had eaten/whether they had eaten }	30 32
*he didn't write a novel, which was banned as obscene	34b	19	Susie didn't tell us {that they had eaten/whether they had eaten }	31 32
none of you guys are any good	36e	19	I always like to tell stories – but not necessarily to anyone. (Often I just spin a yarn for my own benefit.)	32 32
neither of us professors is quitting	36f	19	*I always like to tell stories to someone – but not necessarily to anyone – which is overtly contradictory.	33 32-33
they never agreed with us planners	36g	19	*He was alone was obvious from the report	70 34
*no American, who was wise, remained in the country	35a	19	*You to leave right now would be inconvenient	70 34
*none of the cars, which were Chevrolets, were any good	35b	19	*Does he eat cabbage or not doesn't matter	70 34
*they never insulted the men, who were democrats	35c	19	*What does he eat doesn't matter	70 34
you troops will embark but the other troops will remain	40a	20	*That John is here	71 34
lets us three men leave first	40b	20	*Whether is John here	72 34
you, who are troops, will embark but the other troops will remain	41a	20	Chapter 3	
*lets us, who are three men, leave first; lets us three, who are men, leave first	41b	20	John is easy (difficult) to please.	6a 48
Chapter 2				
That he eats cabbage means nothing.	3a	27	John is certain (likely) to win the prize.	6b 48
For him to eat cabbage means nothing.	3b	27	John amused (interested) the children with his stories.	6c 48
			John's being easy (difficult) to please	7a 48
			John's being certain (likely) to win the prize	7b 48
			John's amusing (interesting) the children with his stories	7c 48

*John's easiness (difficulty) to please	8a	48	*Mary isn't different than [what John believes [Bill's claim [that she was five years ago]]]	56c	96
*John's certainty (likelihood) to win the prize	8b	48			
*John's amusement (interest) of the children with his stories	8c	48	*Mary isn't different than [what I wonder [whether she was five years ago]]	56d	96
John's eagerness to please	9a	48	<i>this book, I really like</i>	63a	98
John's certainty that Bill will win the prize	9b	48	<i>this book, I asked Bill to get his students to read</i>	63b	98
John's amusement at (interest in) the children's antics	9c	48	* <i>this book, I accept the argument that John should read</i>	63c	98
John's being eager to please	10a	48	* <i>this book, I wonder who read</i>	63d	98
John's being certain that Bill will win the prize	10b	48	<i>John gave away the books to some friends</i>	74	99
John's being amused at (interested in) the children's antics	10c	48	* <i>to whom the books did John give away (to whom did the books John give away)</i>	75a	100
The question is whether John should leave.	23a	51	* <i>whom the books did John give away to</i>	75b	100
The prospects are for peace.	23b	51	* <i>the boy to whom the books John gave away</i>	75c	100
The plan is for John to leave.	23c	51	* <i>the boy whom the books John gave away to</i>	75d	100
The excuse was that John had left.	23d	51			
the question whether John should leave	24a	52	Chapter 7		
the prospects for peace	24b	52	*Did that John showed up please you?	2a	109
the plan for John to leave	24c	52	Did that please you?	2b	109
the excuse that John had left	24d	52	*Such things that he reads so much doesn't prove.	3a	109
*The question whether John should leave is why Bill stayed.	25a	52	Such things it doesn't prove.	3b	109
*The prospects for peace are for a long delay.	25b	52	*Although that the house is empty may depress you, it please me.	4a	109
*The plan for John to leave is that Bill should stay.	25c	52	Although this outcome may depress you, it please me.	4b	109
*The excuse that John had left was that Bill should stay.	25d	52	*That for Bill to smoke bothers the teacher is quite possible.	2a	110
Chapter 4			*Although that the house is empty may depress you, it please me.	2b	110
I believe [α the dog is hungry].	2a	59	*Did that John showed up please you?	3a	110
I believe [α the dog to be hungry].	2b	59	*What does that he will come prove?	3b	110
*The dog is believed [α is hungry].	3a	59	It doesn't prove such things.	4a	110
The dog is believed [α to be hungry].	3b	59	Such things it doesn't prove.	4b	110
Who do [S you think X [S Alice said Y [S we saw Z]]]?	5	59	*That he reads so much doesn't prove such things.	5a	111
*What did [S you hear [NP the claim X [S John said Y]]]	6	59	*Such things that he reads so much doesn't prove.	5b	111
The candidates each hated the other(s)	21a	62	That John has blood on his hands proves that Mary is innocent.	6a	111
The candidates each expected the other(s) to win	21b	62	*It proves that Mary is innocent that John has blood on his hands.	6b	111
The candidates each expected that the other(s) would win	21c	62	*How likely is that John will come?	9	111
The candidates hated each other	22a	62	That the children are always late shows the necessity of discipline.	41a	116
The candidates expected each other to win	22b	62	*The necessity of discipline is shown by that the children are always late.	41b	116
*The candidates expected that each other would win	22c	62	*What did [that John saw t] surprise Mary.	43	116
The candidates each expected [S PRO to defeat the other]	24a	63	What is important? Love is.	44a	116
The candidates expected to defeat each other	24b	63	What is important? *That we work harder is.	44b	116
The men each expected [S the soldier to shoot the other]	25a	63	Who is nice? John is.	45a	117
*The men expected the soldier to shoot each other	25b	63	Who is nice? *John, he is.	45b	117
*What did he wonder where John put	57	65	Chapter 8		
What crimes does the FBI know how to solve	59	65	*Who was she wondering where they should seat?	2a	122
*What crimes does the FBI know whether to solve	61	65	*Your brother, to whom I wonder which stories they told, ...	3b	122
How does the FBI know what crimes to solve	67	66	Chapter 9		
*What books does John know to whom to give	63	65	*I believe to have made a mistake.	3a	137
*To whom does John know what books to give	64	65	*I told him where for her to go.	11	139
John knows what books to give to whom	65	65	*She's looking for someone with whom for her child to speak.	12	139
John knows to whom to give what books	66	65	I told him where to go.	13	139
*John knows what you saw	70	66	She's looking for someone with whom to speak.	14	139
Who did he expect Bill to see	82	69	*Who would you prefer for to leave first?	31a	141
*Who did he find Bill's picture of	83	69	*Who did you think that had married her?	31b	141
Who did you see a picture of _	86a	69	*They seem for to speak English.	33a	141
Who did you hear stories about _	86b	69	*They seem that speak English.	33b	141
What do you write articles about _	86c	69	It would be a pity for something to happen to him.	57	141
What do you generally receive requests for _	86d	69	*It would be a pity for to leave now.	59	141
*Who did you hear stories about a picture of _	87a	69	*Something to happen to him would be a pity.	62	142
*What do you receive requests for articles about _	87b	69	Chapter 10		
Chapter 6			*I like the dog that it is Zhangsan that bought.'	13	157
John is taller than Mary is.	1a	86	*The book that it was yesterday that Zhangsan bought is very good.'	14	157
*John is taller than I heard the claim that Mary is	1b	86	*That it is tomorrow that Zhangsan will come does not matter.'	15	157
John is taller than you think Mary is	1c	86	*It is Zhangsan that it is tomorrow that will come.'	16	158
*what did John complain that he had to do this evening	42a	92	*Who is it Zhangsan that beat?'	23	159
*what did John quip that Mary wore	42b	92	*He wonders who it is Zhangsan that beat.'	24	159
?who did he murmur that John saw	42c	92	*Who is it Lisi that believes that beat him?'	25b	160
Mary isn't the same as [she was five years ago]	52a	95	*The man that stole what was caught?'	32	161
Mary isn't the same as [John believes [that Bill claimed [that she was five years ago]]]	52b	95	*The book that you did not buy why is very good?'	33	161
*Mary isn't the same as [John believes [Bill's claim [that she was five years ago]]]	52c	95	*That Zhangsan married whom is a real pity?'	34	161
*Mary isn't the same as [I wonder [whether she was five years ago]]	52d	95	*That Zhangsan married whom, you know?'	35	161
Mary isn't different than [what she was five years ago]	56a	96	*Books that who wants to buy are most expensive?'	36	161
Mary isn't different than [what John believes [that Bill claimed [that she was five years ago]]]	56b	96			

*You want to see movies that he filmed <i>when</i> ?	37	161	If you had not left, he would have been a lot happier.	61	280
*You like articles in which I criticize <i>who</i> ?	38	161	*Whether you had no left, he would have been happier.	62	280
*What did you wonder who bought?	47	163	?John knows how to get oneself elected.	94	287
*Who did you wonder what bought?	48	163	John knows the best way to get oneself elected.	95a	287
Who bought what?	49	163	John knows the best way of getting oneself elected.	95b	287
Who wonders where we bought what?	50	163			
Chapter 11			Chapter 20		
*e will come	1b	171	*It cowed a calf. (cf. A cow had a calf. A cow calved.)	11a	319
*e will come Gianni	2b	171	*It mared a foal. (cf. A mare had a foal. A mare foaled.)	11b	319
*Who _i do you think that e _i will come?	3b	171	*It dusted the horses blind. (cf. The dust made the horses blind. The dust blinded the horses.)	11c	319
*Who do you believe that will come?	84b	183	*It machined the wine into bottles. (cf. A machine got the wine into bottles. A machine bottled the wine.)	11d	319
*I believe that will come somebody	85b	183			
Chapter 13			*He shelved the books on. (cf. He put the books on a shelf. He shelved the books.)	12a	319
I showed Mary <i>herself</i> .	2a	204	*He corralled the horses in. (cf. He put the horses in a corral. He corralled the horses.)	12b	319
*I showed <i>herself</i> Mary.	2b	204	*He bottled the wine in. (cf. He put the wine in bottles. He bottled the wine.)	12c	319
I presented/showed Mary to <i>herself</i> .	3a	204			
*I presented/showed <i>herself</i> to Mary.	3b	204	*She churched her money. (cf. She gave a church her money.)	13a	320
I showed Mary <i>herself</i> .	3a	206	*He bushed a trim. (cf. He gave a bush a trim.)	13b	320
*I showed <i>herself</i> Mary.	3a	206	*They housed a coat of paint. (cf. They gave a house a coat of paint.)	13c	320
I gave every worker _i his _i paycheck.	3b	206			
*I gave its _i owner every paycheck _i .	3b	206	*She metaled flat. (cf. She flattened some metal.)	17a	322
Which man _i did you send his _i paycheck?	3c	206	*He speared straight. (cf. He straightened a spear.)	17b	322
*Whose _i pay did you send his _i mother?	3c	206	*They screened clear. (cf. They cleared a screen.)	17c	322
Who did you give which paycheck?	3d	207			
*Which paycheck did you give who?	3d	207	Chapter 22		
I showed each man the other's socks.	3e	207	<i>Who do you think (*that) left?</i>	56	355
*I showed the other's friend each man.	3e	207	* <i>That John left.</i>	82	358
I showed no one anything.	3f	207			
*I showed anyone nothing.	3f	207	Chapter 24		
I presented/showed Mary to herself.	5a	208	*A man who I think that t knows this book very well	82a	391
*I presented/showed <i>herself</i> to Mary.	5a	208	*A man who I think that, this book, t knows very well	82b	391
I gave/sent every check _i to its _i owner.	5b	208	*An amendment which they say that t will be law next year	83a	391
??I gave/sent his _i paycheck to every worker _i .	5b	208	An amendment which they say that, next year, t will be law	83b	391
Which check _i did you send to its _i owner?	5c	208	*Which doctor did you tell me that t had had a heart attack during an operation?	84a	391
*Which worker _i did you send his _i check to?	5c	208	Which doctor did you tell me that, during an operation, t had had a heart attack?	84b	391
Which check did you send to who?	5d	208			
*Whom did you send which check to? (*To whom did you send which check?)	5d	208	*Who do you think [t' that [t will win the prize]]?	88a	391
I sent each boy to the other's parents.	5e	208	Who do you think [t' 0 [t will win the prize]]?	88b	391
*I sent the other's check to each boy.	5e	208	Who did you see t?	106a	393
I sent no presents to any of the children.	5f	208	*Who you saw t?	106b	393
*I sent any of the packages to none of the children.	5f	208	*Who did see you?	107a	393
			Who saw you?	107b	393
Chapter 15			Chapter 28		
*John like not Mary.	2a	236	*It was expected PRO to shave himself.	4a	453
*Likes he Mary?	3a	236	*John thinks that it was expected PRO to shave himself.	4b	453
*John kisses often Mary.	4a	237	*John's campaign expects PRO to shave himself.	4c	453
John often kisses Mary.	4c	237	John expects PRO to win and Bill does too. (=Bill win)	4d	453
*My friends love all Mary.	5a	237	*John _i told Mary _j PRO _{i+j} to wash themselves/each other.	4e	453
My friends all love Mary.	5c	237	The unfortunate expects PRO to get a medal.	4f	453
*To speak hardly Italian after years of hard work means you have no gift for languages.	38a	240	Only Churchill remembers PRO giving the BST speech.	4g	453
*To look often sad during one's honeymoon is rare.	38b	240	Only Churchill remembers himself giving the BST speech.	5a	453
*To lose completely one's head over pretty students is dangerous!	38c	240	Only Churchill remembers the BST speech.	5b	453
*To forget almost one's name doesn't happen frequently.	38d	240			
I believe John to often be sarcastic.	39a	240	*We never expected [PRO _i to appear to t _i that ...]	25	456
I believe John to often sound sarcastic.	39b	240	*We _i were expected [t _i to appear to t _i that ...]	26	457
(?)I believe John to be often sarcastic.	39c	240	The shit seems [t to have hit the fan].	28a	457
*I believe John to sound often sarcastic.	39d	240	There seems [t to be a man in the garden].	28b	457
The English were then said to never have had it so good.	39e	240	*The shit expects [PRO to hit the fan].	29a	457
The English were then said to have never had it so good.	39f	240	*There expects [PRO to be a man in the garden].	29b	457
Chapter 17			Chapter 32		
I would do that in no case.	26a	269	"He _{x(i,j)} hit Jakamarra _i 's dog"	2a	517
*In no case I would do that.	26b	269	"Jakamarra _i 's dog bit him _{x(i,j)} "	2b	518
In no case would I do that.	26c	269			
Chapter 18			Chapter 33		
He doesn't know whether to go to the movies.	3a	278	I predicted that John would marry Susan, and marry Susan/her/*Anne he will.	16	541
*He doesn't know if to go to the movies.	3b	278	I predicted that John would marry Susan, and marry he will the woman he loves.	17	541
He doesn't know whether he should go to the movies.	53	280	*... and marry he will Susan/her.	18	541
He doesn't know if he should go to the movies.	54	280	*?I predicted that John would look at Susan and look at he will the woman he loves.	20	541

*I predicted that John would send Susan some flowers and send some (flowers) he will the woman he loves.	21	541	*What evidence that each other _i 's friends brought up in court did the lawyers _i refuse to talk about?	30a	111
I predicted that John would send Susan those flowers, and send her he will the flowers he loves.	22	541	the lawyers _i refused to talk about the evidence that each other _i 's friends brought up in court	30b	111
I predicted that John would speak French to Susan, and speak French he will to the woman he loves.	23	542	??What did John fall asleep [after Mary had bought]?	31	111
*I predicted that John would introduce you to Susan, and introduce you to he will the woman he loves.	24	542	Who did you tell that she should buy what?	36a	114
*?John will look at tomorrow the article you just sent him.	25	542	??What did you tell who that she should buy?	36b	114
*John will introduce you to tomorrow the woman he loves.	26	542	Chapter 5		
*They predicted that he'd be happy that he could help us, and he can help us he'll be happy that.	40	542	*the man who _i that I know <i>t_i</i>	2d	125
*They predicted that he wouldn't be sure if he could help us, and he can/could help us he won't be sure if.	41	542	*the book [about which] _i that he spoke <i>t_i</i>	2d'	125
(?)They predicted that he'd be happy to help us, and help us he'll be happy to.	42	542	Chapter 6		
John mentioned *(the)/*a fact that Mary was away.	46	543	*writes books	18a	173
John thinks that Mary is away.	47	543	the boy writes books	18b	173
John is aware *(of) the fact that they're away.	48	543	*the boys writes books	18c	173
John is aware *(of) that they're away.	49	543	*Cara _i started her(self) _i to ride a bicycle [cf. Cara started PRO to ride a bicycle, TY]	24	175
*John pointed that they're smart out.	54	544	Who did you think that Cara would propose that we send to France?	33a	179
			*Who did you think that Cara would propose that we send Ana to France?	33b	179
			discuss (*frankly/*openly) one's child/the problem (frankly/openly)	35a	181
			talk (frankly/openly) to one's child/about the problem (frankly/openly)	35b	181
			...that he {was on time/is on time/be on time/*to be on time}	43a	186
			he tried {to leave/leaving/*is leaving/*will leave}	44a	186
			Chapter 8		
			I consider [Ted the cause of our problems]	25a	246
			*I consider [the cause of our problems Ted]	25b	246
			Ted is the cause of our problems	26a	246
			the cause of our problems is Ted	26b	246
			Ted is considered the cause of our problems	27a	247
			*the cause of our problems is considered Ted	27b	247
			I consider Ted to be the cause of our problems	28a	247
			I consider the cause of our problems to be Ted	28b	247
			Ted is considered to be the cause of our problems	29a	247
			the cause of our problems is considered to be Ted	29b	247
			*the professor appears that it was expected to have finished the lecture	30	250
			*What did you ask who said that we should bring?	37	252
			Chapter 9		
			#happiness ate the apple [requiring metaphoric interpretation, TY]	3	267
			*John hit	11a	275
			*Mary elapsed the time	11b	275
			*John are dinner the fork	11c	275
			the ship sank (*to collect the insurance)/(/*by the torpedo)	28a	287
			the ship was sunk (to collect the the [sic] insurance)/ (by the torpedo)	28b	287
			*physics knows easily	30a	288
			*the wall hits easily	30b	288
			the glass broke	36a	291
			John broke the glass	36a	291
			Mary danced	37a	291
			*John danced Mary	37b	291
			the broken glass	38a	291
			*the danced girl	38b	291
			John broke the safe open	39a	291
			*Mary danced tired (on the reading: 'Mary danced until she became tired as a result')	39b	291
			John ate porridge for an hour/*in an hour	46a	295
			John ate five apples in an hour/??for an hour	46b	295
			John ate at the apple	71a	315
			John hit at the table	71b	315
			*John destroyed at the city	71c	315
			John broke the stick/the stick broke	72a	315
			John ate the apple/*the apple ate	72b	315
			John destroyed the city/*the city destroyed	72c	315
			John hit the table/*the table hit	72d	315
			John broke the vault open/into pieces	73a	315

Table 3 Sentences from den Dikken (2013)

Sentence	Number	Page
Chapter 1		
*John's easiness to please	4a	12
John's eagerness to please	4b	12
John is easy for us to please	5a	12
*John is eager for us to please [*with John as the object of please]	5b	12
to please John is easy	6a	12
*to please John is eager	6b	12
it is easy to please John	7a	12
*it is eager to please John [*unless it is referential]	7b	12
Chapter 2		
he met his wife in Italy	34a	44
*he met in Italy his wife	34b	44
*Irv and someone were dancing, but I don't know who Irv and were dancing	49	49
Irv and someone were dancing, but I don't know who	50	49
*we want for to win	56	51
*John read what?	58	55
Guess who bought what?	59	56
*Guess what who bought?	60	56
Chapter 3		
the man who is tall is in the room	2a	63
*It the man who tall is in the room?	2b	63
Is the man who is tall in the room?	2c	63
Chapter 4		
*How do you wonder [why Mary left t]?	2	97
*you wanna John go there	5a	100
cf. you want John to go there	5b	100
you wanna go there	5c	100
cf. you want PRO to go there	5d	100
*Who do you wanna go there?	5e	100
cf. Who _i do you want t _i to go there?	5f	100
Mary is certain t to leave	8	102
*Mary is certain t will leave	9a	102
*the belief Mary to be likely t will leave	9b	102
??What do you wonder [why John bought t]?	12a	104
??*What do you like [Mary's picture of t]?	12b	104
*Mary wondered which picture of Tom _i he _i liked	17a	106
What did John read without filing?	23a	108
*Who read what without filing?	23b	108
??What do you wonder why John bought?	28a	111
What do you wonder John bought why?	28b	111
What do you wonder why John bought?	28c	111
*Which argument that John _i is a genius did he _i believe?	29a	111
Which argument that John _i made did he _i believe?	29b	111

John handed the letters in	73b	315	*John will show herself _i Sue _i (in the mirror)	66b	382
*John destroyed the city into cinders	73c	315	John will show Sue _i to herself _i	67a	382
*John rejected Mary despondent	73d	315	??John will show herself _i to Sue _i	67b	382
Chapter 10					
I regard Julia as wise	6a	326	the Italian invasion of Albania	93a	390
{wisdom/being wise/*wise} is a desirable attribute	6b	326	*the invasion Italian of Albania	93b	390
it is important that students are unionized	9a	327	Peter kissed [an extremely pretty girl]	103a	393
it is important for students to appear to be unionized	9b	327	*[Extremely pretty] _i Peter kissed a t _i girl	103b	393
it is important to appear to be unionized	9c	327	Peter kissed [a girl with red hair]	104a	393
it is important for it to appear that students are unionized	9d	327	*[With red hair] _i Peter kissed [a girl t _i]	104b	393
*it is important to appear that students are unionized	9e	327	*Whose did you kiss sister	105a	393
it seemed that John was wrong without [*PRO/it seeming that Mary was right]	14	329	*Who did you kiss-se sister?	105b	393
if a house _i is going to last, PRO _i not (to be/being) built on sand is a prerequisite	15a	330	Whose sister did you kiss?	105c	393
??if it _i is going to last, PRO _i not (to be) built on sand is a prerequisite	15b	330	*How _i do you think he is [t _i dependent on his sister]?	133a	400
??if it _i is going to be obvious that we're the right people, PRO _i {to be/being} evident that we know what we're doing is important	15c	330	[How dependent on his sister] do you think he is?	133b	400
*if it _i is going to be obvious that we're the right people, PRO _i {to seem/seeming} that we know what we're doing is important	15d	330	[How heavily] _i do you think he is [t _i dependent on his sister]?	134a	401
*its likelihood that Julia will arrive on time is a relief	16a	330	[How heavily dependent on his sister] do you think he is?	134b	401
*its rain bothered us	16b	330	Chapter 12		
*its appearance that Julia has already left is a relief	16c	330	*John not sees Mary	13a	429
Mary considers that {an island/*?Schiermonnikoog}	41	341	John does not see Mary	13b	429
John is in {London/a good mood}	42a	342	John is usually often obliged to stay home	30a	436
I consider John in {??London/a good mood}	42b	342	*John is often usually obliged to stay home	30b	436
I don't know who _i the culprit was t _i (if it wasn't Jennifer)	44a	343	the book that, tomorrow, I will give to Mary	81a	453
*I don't know [which student] _i the culprit was t _i	44b	343	??the book that, to Mary, I will give tomorrow	81b	453
*I don't know what _i the cause of the riot was their announcement of t _i	44c	343	*this is the man who I think that will sell his house next year	82a	453
Ahab is the best man for the job, isn't he/*it?	46a	343	this is the man who I think that, next year, will sell his house	82b	453
The best man for the job is Ahab, isn't *he/it?	46b	343	*this is the man who I think that, his house, will sell next year	82c	453
The winners were Federer and Williams, {weren't they/*wasn't it}?	48a	343	Chapter 13		
Federer and Williams were the winners, even though they don't look {*them/it}	48b	343	fearful of Bill	39a	473
John guessed the winner of the Oscar for best actress before I guessed {it/*her}	49a	344	*fearfully of Bill	39b	473
John guessed the winners before the committee announced {it/them}	49b	344	honestly I am unfortunately unable to help you	63a	480
John is the one thing that I want a man to be—honest	50	344	*unfortunately I am honestly unable to help you	63b	480
*The one thing that I want a man to be—honest—is John	52	345	fortunately, he had evidently had his own opinion of the matter	63c	480
The one thing that I want a man to be is honest.	54	345	*evidently, he had fortunately had his own opinion of the matter	63d	480
There are sympathetic nurses and callous nurses; which kind of nurse is Mary?	51A	344	clearly John probably will quickly learn French perfectly	63e	480
Mary is the first kind of nurse.	51B	344	*probably John clearly will quickly learn French perfectly	63f	480
There are sympathetic nurses and callous nurses; give me an example of the second kind of nurse.	53A	345	probably he once had a better opinion of us	63g	480
Mary is the second kind of nurse.	53B	345	once he probably had a better opinion of us	63h	480
*The second kind of nurse is Mary.	53B'	345	he was then certainly at home	63i	480
*Is not the least of Upali's enemies Sri Lanka's prime minister, Ranasinghe Premadasa?	57	346	*he was certainly then at home	63j	480
[Which pictures of himself _i / _j] _k did John _i think Bill _j liked t _k ?	58	346	Chapter 14		
[criticize himself _i / _j] _k John thinks Bill _j never will t _k	59a	346	John often kisses Mary	2a	494
[proud of himself _i / _j] _k John thinks Bill _j will never be t _k	59b	346	*John kisses often Mary	2b	494
*as a genius, I would hesitate to regard him	61a	347	*John did kiss Mary (<i>did</i> unstressed, non-contrastive)	5	495
?a genius, I would hesitate to regard him as	61b	347	Whom _i did John persuade t _i [to visit whom ₂]?	11a	503
How proud of himself _i / _j does Bill _i regard John _j as?	62	347	*Whom ₂ did John persuade whom ₁ [to visit t ₂]?	11b	503
Chapter 11					
*he slept [the man]	53a	377	*there is likely [someone to be t _{someone} in the room]	18a	505
*he slept [that John was afraid of cats]	53b	377	there is likely [t _{here} to be someone in the room]	18b	505
*he recommended Sue	54a	378	I expected [someone to be t _{someone} in the room]	19a	506
*John recognized in the mirror	54b	378	*I expected [t _i to be someone in the room]	19b	506
*Bill slept it (meaning: 'Bill slept')	58	379	Chapter 15 ("...italics in the examples indicate that two terms are to be coconstructed." (p.516)))		
it seems that John speaks Swahili	59a	379	*George loves <i>him</i> .	7	518
*seems that John speaks Swahili	59b	379	even <i>Bill</i> hates <i>Bill's</i> mother	13a	521
John will show Sue _i herself _i (in the mirror)	66a	382	*crazy <i>Bill</i> hates (crazy) <i>Bill's</i> mother	13b	521
			*the man <i>who he</i> praised <i>t</i> left town	14a	522
			??the man <i>who his</i> mother praised <i>t</i> left town	14b	522
			the man <i>who t</i> praised his mother left town	14c	522
			?? <i>his</i> mother loves <i>everyone</i>	15a	522
			<i>everyone</i> loves <i>his</i> mother	15b	522
			John loves <i>everyone</i> . *Mary likes <i>him/them</i> too.	19a	523
			the men [<i>sic</i>] love <i>themselves/each other/*them</i>	33a	529
			<i>the men</i> expected that <i>they</i> ?* <i>each other/*themselves</i>	33b	529
			<i>the men</i> expected <i>themselves/each other/*them</i> to be happy	33c	529

<i>the men</i> expected me to love <i>them</i> /* <i>each other</i> /* <i>themselves</i>	33d	529	there <u>are</u> /?is <u>five linguists</u> in the room	13b	614
<i>they</i> /* <i>themselves</i> /* <i>each other</i> implicated <i>themselves</i> / <i>each other</i>	33e	529	<u>five linguists seem</u> /*seems to be in the room	13c	614
PRO _i to praise <i>himself</i> _i /* <i>him</i> _i /* <i>the guy</i> _i would upset John _i	37a	531	there <u>seem</u> /?seems to be <u>five linguists</u> in the room	13d	614
PRO _j to praise * <i>himself</i> _j / <i>him</i> _j / <i>the guy</i> _j would upset John _i	37b	531	*there <u>seem</u> to <u>some linguists</u> that agreement is a fascinating topic (Compare: it seems to some linguists that agreement is a fascinating topic)	16	616
Mary saw a/*Bill's description of <i>herself</i>	40a	533	there <u>seem</u> to be <u>five linguists</u> in the room	17a	616
Melba thinks that <i>she</i> is smart	41a	534	*there <u>seem</u> that <u>five linguists</u> are in the room (Compare: <u>it seems</u> that five linguists are in the room)	17b	616
Melba lifted <i>her</i> book	41b	534	Mary is a linguist/*linguists	42a	631
*Melba forgave <i>her</i>	41c	534	they are linguists/*a linguist	42b	631
Paul praised <i>himself</i> /*him	56	541	*John <u>seems</u> —has solved the problem	48a	636
Esther expects <i>herself</i> /* <i>her</i> to win	60a	542	John <u>seems</u> —to be have solved the problem	48b	636
Sam <u>seems</u> to <i>himself</i> /*him to be smart	60b	542	it <u>seems</u> (that) John has solved the problem	48c	636
Parish praised <i>himself</i> /*him	63a	544	*I believe <u>her</u> has solved the problem	49a	636
Thora thinks that <i>she</i> /* <i>herself</i> is smart	63b	544	I believe <u>her</u> to have solved the problem	49b	636
*Look! It's himself. (Accompanied, perhaps, by pointing gesture)	77	557	I believe (that) she has solved the problem	49c	636
*Alice introduced John to <i>each other's</i> accountant(s)	78a	558	Little Red Riding Hood believed the wolf	65a	646
Charlotte introduced Emily to <i>their</i> accountant	78b	558	Little Red Riding Hood believed that it will rain	65b	646
<i>the boys</i> expect <i>each other</i> to be honorable	86a	563	the wolf was widely believed	65c	646
<i>the boys</i> read <i>each other's</i> / <i>their</i> /* <i>themselves</i> books	86b	563	that it would rain was widely believed	65d	646
Chapter 16			*it/there was widely believed the wolf	65e	646
*Kim _i seemed for Pat to believe ___ _i to know the answer	8	579	it was widely believed that it will rain	65f	646
Which artist, do you admire paintings by ___ _i ?	14a	580	that Chris will declare bankruptcy is unfortunate	67a	648
?/*Which artist _i do you expect paintings by ___ _i to sell the best?	14b	580	*Chris to declare bankruptcy would be unfortunate	67b	648
it was easy for Jones to force Smith to leave	15a	580	(PRO) to declare bankruptcy would be unfortunate	67c	648
Smith was easy for Jones to force to leave	15b	580	for Chris to declare bankruptcy would be unfortunate	67d	648
it was easy for Jones to expect Smith to leave	16a	580	Chapter 18 (ec: empty category, or a trace)		
*Smith was easy for Jones to expect to leave	16b	580	Who would you approve of my seeing <i>ec</i> ?	3a	658
there is likely to be a riot	19	581	*How intelligent do you have a <i>ec</i> sister?	3b	658
*there decided to be a riot	20	581	I spoke to the man who kissed Mary		
the governor decided to withdraw the resources from the program	23	582	*Who did you speak to the man who kissed <i>ec</i> ?	7a	660
*the crisis decided to withdraw the resources from the program	24	582	I kissed Mary and Sue		
*the police's appearance (to the protesters) to stay calm	26a	582	*Who did you kiss Mary and <i>ec</i> ?	7b	660
*Kim's consideration of Pat to be a good role model	26b	582	that he kissed Mary was surprising		
the police's intention to stay calm	27a	582	*Who was that he kissed <i>ec</i> surprising?	7c	660
the police's appeal to the protesters to remain calm	27b	582	they had expected that they would find the treasure said to have been buried on that island since 1932		
Which senator did she persuade the staff of to give her an internship?	33a	583	*they had expected that they would find <i>ec</i> since 1932 <i>the treasure</i> said to have been buried on that island	7d	661
*Which senator did she expect the staff of to give her an internship?	33b	583	he told me about a book which I can't figure out whether to buy <i>ec</i> or not	8a	661
the DA proved none of these defendants to be guilty during any of the trials	47a	588	he told me about a book which I can't figure out how to read <i>ec</i>	8b	661
*the DA proved that none of these defendants was guilty during any of the trials	47b	588	he told me about a book which I can't figure out where to obtain <i>ec</i>	8c	661
Mary _i said that her professor _j decided ___ _{ij} to apply for a grant	55a	593	he told me about a book which I can't figure out what to do about <i>ec</i>	8d	661
Mary _i said that her professor _j wondered whether ___ _{ij} to apply for a grant	55b	593	he told me about a book which I can't figure out why he read <i>ec</i>	9a	661
John prayed to Athena to take care of herself/*himself	61	595	? he told me about a book which I can't figure out whether I should read <i>ec</i>	9b	661
Pat persuaded Kim to run the race	81a	603	??he told me about a book which I can't figure out when I should read <i>ec</i>	9c	661
Kim was persuaded by Pat to run the race	81b	603	Which books did he tell you {?whether/?when} he wanted to read <i>ec</i> ?	10	661
Kim promised Pat to run the race	82a	603	*Who was that he kissed <i>ec</i> surprising?	14a	664
*Pat was promised by Kim to run the race	82b	603	*Who was the sudden appearance of <i>ec</i> surprising?	14b	664
Chapter 17			?Who did you leave town before talking to <i>ec</i> ?	15a	664
I expect Mary to come/*comes	6a	610	*To whom did you leave town before talking <i>ec</i> ?	15b	664
I hope that Mary comes/*come	6b	610	the keys that I can never remember where I put <i>them</i>	20a	667
Mary is/was coming	7a	611	*the place that I can never remember which keys I put <i>there</i>	20b	667
*Mary are/were comings	7b	611	?Who did John leave town before talking to <i>ec</i> ?	21a	667
Mary does not help	8a	611	*Who did John leave town before saying <i>ec</i> would win the election?	21b	667
*Mary do not helps			*Who did John try to leave town before being arrested after talking to <i>ec</i> ?	22a	668
Does Mary help?	8b	611	*Who did John try to leave town before talking to someone who had met <i>ec</i> ?	22b	668
*Do Mary helps?			What did John {arrive/drive Mary crazy} whistling <i>ec</i> ?	23a	668
John helps and Mary does too	8c	611	Which book did John design his garden after reading <i>ec</i> ?	23b	668
*John helps and Mary do too					
five linguists are/*is in the room	13a	614			

*What did John {work/paint this picture} whistling <i>ec</i> ?	24a	668	*Which films did he refuse to see, and which ones did he agree?	18a	709
*Which letter did John break a glass before/after writing <i>ec</i> ?	24b	668	*these films he refused to see and those he agreed	18b	709
Who do you think (that) John invited <i>ec</i> ?	26a	669	*I know the films he refused to see and the ones he agreed	18c	709
Who do you think (*that) <i>ec</i> invited Mary?	26b	669	a movie executive refused to see every film, and an intern agreed (∃>∀, *∀>∃)	18d	709
Who would you prefer (for) John to invite <i>ec</i> ?	27a	669	John might seem to enjoy that, and Fred might do ___ too	20a	709
Who would you prefer (*for) <i>ec</i> to invite Mary?	27b	669	*although we don't know what John might read, we do know what Fred might do ___	20b	709
John will be invited	29a	670	*Injustices, he rights, but books he doesn't ___	21	710
Will John be invited?	29b	670	*Emily was beautiful at the recital and her sister will ___ too	23a	711
*Be John will invited?	29c	670	Emily was beautiful at the recital and her sister will be beautiful at the recital, too	23b	711
John seems to be invited	30a	671	*Joe was murdered, but we don't know who [passive antecedent+active ellipsis site]	26a	712
*John seems that it/there will be invited	30b	671	*someone murdered Joe, but we don't know who by [active antecedent+passive ellipsis site]	26b	712
<i>How</i> do you think that he behaved <i>ec</i> ?	31a	671	John didn't see anyone, but Mary did	27	713
* <i>How</i> do you wonder why he behaved <i>ec</i> ?	31b	671	...but Mary did see someone	27a	713
* <i>How</i> don't you think that he behaved <i>ec</i> ?	31c	671	*...but Mary did see anyone	27b	713
* <i>How</i> did he deny that he behaved <i>ec</i> ?	31d	671	I could find no solution, but Holly might	29	713
* <i>How</i> do few people think that he behaved <i>ec</i> ?	31e	671	≠...but Holly might find no solution	29a	713
* <i>How</i> does only Mary think that he behaved <i>ec</i> ?	31f	671	≠...but Holly might find a solution	29b	713
it is to go home every evening that John prefers	39a	677	they arrested Alex _i , even though he _i thought they wouldn't ___	30a	714
*it is to go home every evening that John seems	39b	677	*they arrested Alex _i , even though he _i thought they wouldn't arrest Alex _i	30b	714
*it is doubt that Desdemona was faithful that Othello did	39c	677	* <i>Moby Dick</i> was being discussed and <i>War and Peace</i> was being ___ too	31a	714
John likes Mary	47a	683	<i>Moby Dick</i> was discussed and <i>War and Peace</i> was ___ too	31b	714
Mary _i , John likes t _i	47b	683	*Mag Wildwood came to read Fred's story and I also came to ___	35	716
*John _i , t _i likes Mary	47c	683	*You shouldn't play with rifles, because to ___ is dangerous	36a	716
John _i likes t _i	50a	683	you shouldn't play with rifles, because it's dangerous to ___	36b	716
John likes himself	50b	683	*Mary was told to bring something to the party, so she asked Sue what to ___	37a	716
nobody believes that this will happen	51a	684	John wants to go on vacation, but he doesn't know when to ___	37b	716
that this will happen, nobody believes	51b	684	*Mary must be a successful student, and they say Frances must ___ too	38a	716
*this will happen, nobody believes that	51c	684	?Mary must be a successful student, and they say Frances may ___ too	38b	716
John _i said that Bill _j likes pictures of himself* _{ij}	52a	684	decorating for the holidays is easy if you know how	58a	724
John _i said that pictures of himself _{ij} , Bill _j likes	52b	684	=how <to decorate for the holidays>		
John _i said that Bill _j would never criticize himself* _{ij}	53a	684	≠ *how <decorating for the holidays>		
John _i said that criticize himself* _{ij} , Bill _j never would	53b	684	I'll try fix the car if you tell me how	58b	724
Chapter 19			=how <to fix the car>		
*John read the long book and I read the short --.	1	702	≠ *how <I'll fix the car>		
I didn't think there would be many linguists at the party, but there were/*was	3a	704	I remember meeting him, but I don't remember when =when <I met him>	58c	724
I didn't think there would be a linguist at the party, but there *were/was	3b	704	≠ *when <meeting him>		
*they attended a lecture on a Balkan language, but I don't know which they did	11a	706	*they're jealous, but it is unclear who	60a	725
ED attended a lecture on carpentering, but I don't know what MARY did	11b	706	*Joe was murdered, but we don't know who	60b	725
*Abby DOES want to hire someone who speaks GREEK, but I don't remember what kind of language she DOESN'T	12a	707	*last night he was very afraid, but he couldn't tell us what they're jealous, but it is clear of who	60c	725
*BEN will be mad if abby talks to Mr Ryberg, and guess who CHUCK will	12b	707	Joe was murdered, but we don't know by who	61a	725
*they got the president and 37 Democratic Senators to agree to revise the budget, but I can't remember how many Republican ones they DIDN'T	12c	707	last night he was very afraid, but he couldn't tell us of what	61b	725
*Abby DOES want to hire someone who speaks GREEK, but I don't remember what kind of language she DOESN'T want to hire someone who speaks	13a	707	*it was painted, but it wasn't obvious that ___	61c	725
*BEN will be mad if abby talks to Mr Ryberg, and guess who CHUCK will be mad if Abby talks to	13b	707	*the Pentagon leaked that it would close the Presidio, but no-one knew for sure whether/if ___	74a	729
*they got the president and 37 Democratic Senators to agree to revise the budget, but I can't remember how many Republican ones they DIDN'T get the president and 37 Democratic Senators to agree to revise the budget	13c	707	*Sue asked Bill to leave, but for ___ would be unexpected	74b	729
*Sally will stand near Mag, but he won't Holly	15a	708	*somebody stole the car, but they couldn't find the person who ___	74c	729
?I know which woman FRED will stand near, but I don't know which woman YOU will	15b	708	What did Ernie but?	74d	729
*while Holly didn't discuss a report about every boy, she did every girl	16a	708	A banana.	81A	731
I know which woman HOLLY will discuss a report about, but I don't know which woman YOU will	16b	708	*Bert said that a banana.	81Ba	731
*while Doc might claim that O. J. Berman had read his book, he wouldn't the paper	17a	708	the poor deserve our help	81Bb	731
I know which book DOC might claim O. J. Berman had read, but I don't know which book PERRY might	17b	708	*if you have money, you should help the poorer (than you)	84a	732
			A: Look at the poor kitty stuck in the tree!	84b	732
			B: *That's no poor—he lives there.	84c	732
			*The poors are everywhere in this town!	84d	732

Chapter 20		
yesterday John met the woman who was elected two years ago	7a	750
two years ago John met the woman who was elected yesterday	7b	750
yesterday John said that Mary was elected two years ago	8a	750
*two years ago John said that Mary was elected yesterday	8b	750
John played baseball when Mary played/*plays soccer	19	755
John _i will be late, he _j said	30a	760
*John _i would be late, he _j said	30b	760
he would be late, John said	30c	760
*a panda eats leaves at this very moment	35a	762
*the baby walks (as I speak)	35b	762
*Sue reads a novel at this moment	35c	762
a panda eats leaves	36a	762
Sue studies at the library	36b	762
the baby walks	36c	762
when the train arrived, Fred met Mary	42a	765
*when the train arrived, Fred meets Mary	42b	765
*when the train arrives, Fred met Mary	42c	765
*when the train arrived, Fred will meet Mary	43a	765
when the train arrived, Fred would meet Mary	43b	765
when the train arrives, Fred will meet Mary	43c	765
*when the train arrives, Fred would meet Mary	43d	765
Sue arrived when Fred left/*leaves/*will leave	52a	768
Sue plays the piano after Mary does a flute solo/*did a flute solo	52b	768
John had been laughing	84a	780
*John had had laughed	84b	780
Jack's wife can't be very rich 'it is not possible that Jack's wife is very rich'	92a	783
Jack's wife couldn't be very rich		
'it is <u>not possible</u> that Jack's wife is very rich'		
*'it was <u>not possible</u> that Jack's wife was very rich'	92b	783
John could move his arm yesterday	102a	786
?John might move his arm yesterday	102b	786
*John should move his arm yesterday	102c	786
John left when he could/*can	103a	787
John left when he ??might/*may	103b	787
Chapter 21		
with no clothes is Sue attractive	1a	794
with no clothes Sue is attractive	1b	794
With no clothes is Sue attractive, is/*isn't she?	2a	794
With no clothes Sue is attractive, isn't/*is she?	2b	794
with no clothes is Sue attractive, and/or Mary either/*too	3a	795
with no clothes Sue is attractive, and/or Mary too/*either	3b	795
we *(didn't) read <i>any</i> books	27a	805
I have*(n't) been there <i>yet</i>	27b	805
I <i>need</i> *(n't) do that	27c	805
I *(didn't) read the book, and John *(didn't) <i>either</i>	27d	805
nobody/*somebody <i>lifted a finger</i>	27e	805
I didn't drink some wine ($\exists > \neg$; * $\neg > \exists$)	30a	807
I am (*not) rather ill	30b	807
*perhaps John read any books	39	809
*he read any of the stories to none of the children	45	814
Sam didn't read every child a story		
$\neg > \exists > \forall$; $\neg > \forall > \exists$	46a	814
Sam didn't read every child any story		
$\neg > \exists > \forall$; $\neg > \forall > \exists$	46b	814
John didn't see somebody **John saw nobody'		
✓'there is somebody John saw'	52a	817
I am (*not) rather ill	52b	817
they (*don't) possibly like spinach	52c	817
Mary mustn't leave **'Mary doesn't have to leave'		
✓'it's obligatory that Mary leaves'	52d	817
Chapter 22		
there is a bone in every corner of the room	5a	830
*there is a bone which is in every corner of the room	5b	830
*every girl _i is here and she _i wants to study	6a	830
*his _i mother loves every boy _i	6b	830
some student admires every professor and John does too	23a	838
some student admires every professor and some administrator does too	23b	838
*every professor _j some student admires t _j and every professor _j John admires t _j	24a	838
every professor _j some student admires t _j and every professor _j some administrator admires t _j	24b	838
an American flag was hanging in front of two buildings	28a	840
*five guards stood in front of two buildings	28b	840
each boy/every boy/*all the boys read a different book	29a	840
a different boy read every book/each book/*all the books	29b	840
all/each of/both the suspects have been arrested	45a	850
the suspects _i have (all/each/both) been arrested *all/*each/*both t _i	45b	850
all/each of/both the children have arrived	46a	850
the children _i have (all/each/both) arrived *all/*each/*both t _i	46b	850
the vegetables (all) will (all) have (all) been (*all) being (*all) roasted for an hour by the time you arrive	47	850
Chapter 23		
I explained to Bill the reasons why he shouldn't attend	18a	869
I explained to Bill the reinforcement resistance test	18b	869
??I explained to Bill the test/the reasons	18c	869
*I explained to Bill them	18d	869
some people [who had been silent before] started laughing	21a	871
some people t _{CP} started laughing [who had been silent before]	21b	871
Q: (Did you see Dr Cremer to get your root canal?)		
A: (Don't remind me.) I'd like to STRANGLE the butcher.	26	874
A: #(Don't remind me.) I'd like to STRANGE the BUTCHER.		
Chapter 24		
he < *eats > often < eats > an apple	5b	906
*Eats he often an apple?	5i	906
Chapter 26		
the boys heard Joe's stories about Africa	2a	982
*the boys heard Joe's about stories Africa	2b	982

Table 4 Sentences from Geeraerts and Cuyckens (2007)

Sentence	Number	Page
Chapter 1		
Mary is not happy. On the contrary, she is feeling really depressed.	10	67
#Mary is unhappy. On the contrary, she is feeling really depressed.	11	67
A: Few linguists still believe in transformations.		
B: So you think they won't be around much longer?		
B': #So you think they'll still be around for some time?	12	68
A: A few linguists still believe in transformations.		
B: #So you think they won't be around much longer?		
B': So you think they'll still be around for some time?	13	68
Chapter 5		
The car crashed into the wall.	3	128
Milton Keynes is close to London.	4	128
?London is close to Milton Keynes.	7	129
The sugar is in the red jar.	5	128
The red jar contains sugar.	6	128
The wall was hit by the car.	8a	129
?The wall absorbed the motion energy of the car.	8b	129
*The wall received the car.	8c	129
the girl's neck	12a	133
*the neck's girl	12b	133
the cat's mat	13a	134
*the mat's cat	13b	134
the boy's bicycle	14a	134
*the bicycle's boy	14b	134
the man's problem	15a	134
*the problem's man	15b	134
Chapter 6		
?Arthur and his driving license expired last Thursday.	4	142
?Judy's dissertation is thought provoking and yellowed with age	5	143

Judy's dissertation is still thought provoking although yellowed with age.	6	143	?I am loving her.	31a	816
Chapter 11			I am loving her more and more, the better I get to know her.	31b	816
I need to put more soil/dirt/earth in the planter.	7a	274	Chapter 34 ("Italics are used to indicate coreference" (p.891))		
The soil/?dirt/?earth is slowly changing color.	7b	274	Near him, <i>Luke</i> saw a skunk.	1a	891
The bike is near the house.	10a	275	His mother says <i>John</i> is a wonderful human being.	1b	891
?The house is near the bike.	10b	275	*Near <i>Luke</i> , he saw a skunk.	1c	891
Chapter 16			*He says <i>John's</i> mother is a wonderful human being.	1d	891
I hear him sing(ing).	7a	406	*He loves <i>John's</i> mother.	4	896
I hear that he sings/is singing.	7b	406	I gave <i>John</i> his book.	6a	900
I hear that he sang/was to sing.	7c	406	*I gave <i>him</i> <i>John's</i> book.	6b	900
*I hear him being to sing.	7d	406	<i>Sally</i> saw <i>John</i> at <i>his</i> sister's house.	6c	900
She married and got pregnant.	12	407	* <i>Sally</i> saw <i>him</i> at <i>John's</i> sister's house.	6d	901
She got pregnant after she married.	13a	407	Ralph showed <i>Samantha</i> a picture of <i>her</i> cat.	6e	901
He ran too hard so (that) he fell down.	13b	407	*Ralph showed <i>her</i> a picture of <i>Samantha's</i> cat.	6f	901
*So (that) he fell down he ran too hard.	13c	407	<i>John</i> put a handkerchief in <i>his</i> pocket.	10a	907
Chapter 18			In <i>his</i> pocket, John put a handkerchief.	10b	907
Mud oozed onto the driveway.	5a	468	*He put a handkerchief in <i>John's</i> pocket.	10c	907
?The car oozed onto the driveway.	5b	468	*In <i>John's</i> pocket, he put a handkerchief.	10d	907
The car started.	6a	469	<i>Sally</i> thought Sam said <i>she</i> was right.	11a	907
?*Mud started.	6b	469	* <i>She</i> thought Sam said <i>Sally</i> was right.	11b	907
Tom pulled strings to get the job.	7a	469	Sam told <i>Sally</i> that she deserved a better job.	11c	907
*Tom pulled ropes to get the job.	7b	469	*Sam told her that <i>Sally</i> deserved a better job.	11d	907
*Tom grasped strings to get the job.	7c	469	<i>John</i> breeds tarantulas in <i>his</i> apartment.	13a	908
She spilled the beans.	8a	469	* <i>He</i> breeds tarantulas in <i>John's</i> apartment.	13b	908
*She spilled the succotash.	8b	469	*In <i>John's</i> apartment, he breeds tarantulas.	13c	908
Judith danced.	38a	496	<i>Mr. Green</i> printed an entire book on <i>his</i> printer.	13d	908
Judith danced a kopanica.	38b	496	* <i>He</i> printed an entire book on <i>Mr. Green's</i> printer.	13e	908
Judith slept.	39a	496	*On <i>Mr. Green's</i> printer, he printed an entire book.	13f	908
*Judith slept bed.	39b	496	<i>Tom Cruise</i> gets framed for murder in <i>his</i> latest movie.	14a	909
*Judith found.	40a	496	* <i>He</i> gets framed for murder in <i>Tom Cruise's</i> latest movie.	14b	909
Judith found a 20-dollar bill.	40b	496	<i>Rosa</i> is riding a horse in Ben's picture of <i>her</i> .	14c	909
Rasselas dug his way out of the Happy Valley.	44a	502	* <i>She</i> is riding a horse in Ben's picture of <i>Rosa</i> .	14d	909
The wounded soldiers limped their way across the field.	44b	502	<i>John</i> is described as mild-mannered in <i>his</i> biography.	14e	909
?Convulsed with laughter, she giggled her way up the stairs.	44c	502	* <i>He</i> is described as mild-mannered in <i>John's</i> biography.	14f	909
Chapter 29			*I handed <i>him</i> the contract outside <i>Ralph's</i> office.	18a	910
He sneezed the napkin off the table.	4	758	* <i>Rosa</i> tickled <i>him</i> with <i>Ben's</i> peacock feather.	18b	910
The child resembles his father.	10a	766	Outside <i>Ralph's</i> office, I handed <i>him</i> the contract.	18c	910
?His father resembles the child.	10b	766	<i>Rosa</i> tickled <i>Ben</i> with <i>his</i> peacock feather.	18d	910
Mary exercises in the living room.	15a	767	I saw <i>John</i> after he came back from work.	19a	910
*The living room is exercised in by Mary.	15b	767	*I saw <i>him</i> after <i>John</i> came back from work.	19b	910
That flea-bitten dog has slept in this bed again.	16a	767	Alex called <i>Sue</i> when <i>she</i> was in Chicago.	19c	910
This bed has been slept in again by that flea-bitten dog.	16b	767	*Alex called <i>her</i> when <i>Sue</i> was in Chicago.	19d	910
Chapter 30			<i>John's</i> worst fear is that he might have to sing in public.	22a	912
We all wanted to stay at home.	1a	787	* <i>His</i> worst fear is that <i>John</i> might have to sing in public.	22b	912
*We all wanted staying at home.	1b	787	That he might have AIDS worries <i>John</i> .	23a	912
*We all kept to play.	2a	787	%That <i>John</i> might have AIDS worried <i>him</i> .	23b	912
We all kept playing.	2b	787	[%: variable judgments, TY]		
She expected him to come.	7a	788	* <i>She</i> joined a new organization, which paid <i>Sally</i> a lot more money.	24a	913
*She expected for him to come.	7b	788	<i>She</i> joined a new organization, whose members all found <i>Sally</i> to be absolutely delightful.	24b	913
*She waited him to come.	8a	788	* <i>He</i> found a new insurance company, which promised <i>Mark</i> excellent benefits.	24c	913
She waited for him to come.	8b	788	<i>He</i> married a former dental hygienist, who clearly thinks <i>Mark</i> is the greatest guy on earth.	24d	913
She was keen to go.	9	789	Chapter 36 ("the conjunction <i>while</i> , which was previously a noun meaning a length of time" (p.972))		
She was keen for him to go.	10a	789	*I was there the same <i>while</i> you were.	20	972
*She was keen for herself to go.	10b	789	*I've been there many <i>whiles</i> .	21	972
Chapter 31			*I waited a boring <i>while</i> .	22	972
He walked for two hours.	27a	813	*The <i>while</i> was very long.	23	972
?He walked a mile for two hours.	27b	813			
?He walked in two hours.	28a	813			
He walked a mile in two hours.	28b	813			