

## A Feature Descriptions

### A.1 Simple

#### A.1.1 Simple

These are sentences with transitive or intransitive verbs appearing with their default syntax and argument structure. All arguments are noun phrases (DPs), and there are no modifiers or adjuncts on DPs or the VP.

##### (1) Included

- a. John owns the book. (37)
- b. Park Square has a festive air. (131)
- c. \*Herself likes Mary's mother. (456)

##### (2) Excluded

- a. Bill has eaten cake.
- b. I gave Joe a book.

### A.2 Pred (Predicates)

#### A.2.1 Copulas

These are sentences including the verb *be* used predicatively. Also, sentences where the object of the verb is itself a predicate, which applies to the subject. Not included are auxiliary uses of *be* or other predicate phrases that are not linked to a subject by a verb.

##### (3) Included

- a. John is eager. (27)
- b. He turned into a frog. (150)
- c. To please John is easy. (315)

##### (4) Excluded

- a. There is a bench to sit on. (309)
- b. John broke the geode open.
- c. The cake was eaten.

#### A.2.2 Pred/SC (Predicates and Small Clauses)

These sentences involve predication of a non-subject argument by another non-subject argument, without the presence of a copula. Some of these cases may be analyzed as small clauses. (see Sportiche et al., 2013, pp. 189-193)

##### (5) Included

- a. John called the president a fool. (234)
- b. John considers himself proud of Mary. (464)
- c. They want them arrested. (856)
- d. the election of John president surprised me. (1001)

### A.2.3 Result/Depictive (Resultatives and Depictives)

Modifiers that act as predicates of an argument. Resultatives express a resulting state of that argument, and depictives describe that argument during the matrix event. See (Goldberg and Jackendoff, 2004).

##### (6) Included

- a. Resultative
  - (i) \*The table was wiped by John clean. (625)
  - (ii) The horse kicked me black and blue. (898)
- b. Depictive
  - (i) John left singing. (971)
  - (ii) In which car was the man seen? (398)

##### (7) Excluded

- a. He turned into a frog. (150)

### A.3 Adjunct

#### A.3.1 Particle

Particles are lone prepositions associated with verbs. When they appear with transitive verbs they may immediately follow the verb or the object. Verb-particle pairs may have a non-compositional (idiomatic) meaning. See Carnie (2013, pp. 69-70) and Kim and Sells (2008, pp. 16-17).

##### (8) Included

- a. \*The argument was summed by the coach up. (615)
- b. Some sentences go on and on and on. (785)
- c. \*He let the cats which were whining out. (71)

#### A.3.2 VP-Adjunct

Adjuncts modifying verb phrases. Adjuncts are (usually) optional, and they do not change the category of the expression they modify. See (Sportiche et al., 2013, pp.102-106).

##### (9) Included

- a. PP-adjuncts, e.g. locative, temporal, instrumental, beneficiary
  - (i) Nobody who hates to eat anything should work in a delicatessen. (121)
  - (ii) Felicia kicked the ball off the bench. (127)
- b. Adverbs
  - (i) Mary beautifully plays the violin. (40)
  - (ii) John often meets Mary. (65)

- c. Purpose VPs
- (i) We need another run to win. (769)

#### (10) Excluded

- a. PP arguments
  - (i) \*Sue gave to Bill a book. (42)
  - (ii) Everything you like is on the table. (736)
- b. S-adjunctions
  - (i) John lost the race, unfortunately.

### A.3.3 NP-Adjunct

These are adjuncts modifying noun phrases. Adjuncts are (usually) optional, and they do not change the category of the expression they modify. Single-word prenominal adjectives are excluded, as are relative clauses (this has another category).

#### (11) Included

- a. PP-adjuncts
  - (i) \*Tom's dog with one eye attacked Frank's with three legs. (676)
  - (ii) They were going to meet sometime on Sunday, but the faculty didn't know when. (565)
- b. Phrasal adjectives
  - (i) As a statesman, scarcely could he do anything worth mentioning. (292)
- c. Verbal modifiers
  - (i) The horse raced past the barn fell. (900)

#### (12) Excluded

- a. Prenominal Adjectives
  - (i) It was the policeman met that several young students in the park last night. (227)
- b. Relative Clauses
- c. NP arguments

### A.3.4 Temporal

These are adjuncts of VPs and NPs that specify a time or modify tense or aspect or frequency of an event. Adjuncts are (usually) optional, and they do not change the category of the expression they modify.

#### (13) Included

- a. Short adverbials (never, today, now, always)
  - (i) \*Which hat did Mike quip that she never wore? (95)
- b. PPs

- (i) Fiona might be here by 5 o'clock. (426)

#### c. When

- (i) I inquired when could we leave. (520)

### A.3.5 Locative (Locative Adjuncts)

These are adjuncts of VPs and NPs that specify a location of an event or a part of an event, or of an individual. Adjuncts are (usually) optional, and they do not change the category of the expression they modify.

#### (14) Included

- a. Short adverbials
- b. PPs
  - (i) The bed was slept in. (298)
  - (ii) \*Anson demonized up the Khyber (479)
  - (iii) Some people consider dogs in my neighborhood dangerous. (802)
  - (iv) Mary saw the boy walking toward the railroad station. (73)
- c. Where
  - (i) I found the place where we can relax. (307)

#### (15) Excluded

- a. Locative arguments
  - (i) \*Sam gave the ball out of the basket. (129)
  - (ii) Jessica loaded boxes on the wagon. (164)
  - (iii) I went to Rome.

### A.3.6 Misc Adjunct (Miscellaneous Adjuncts)

These are adjuncts of VPs and NPs not described by some other category (with the exception of (6-7)), i.e. not temporal, locative, or relative clauses. Adjuncts are (usually) optional, and they do not change the category of the expression they modify.

#### (16) Included

- a. Beneficiary
  - (i) \*I know which book Jos didn't read for class, and which book Lilly did it for him. (58)
- b. Instrument
  - (i) Lee saw the student with a telescope. (770)
- c. Comitative
  - (i) Joan ate dinner with someone but I don't know who. (544)

- d. VP adjuncts
  - (i) Which article did Terry file papers without reading? (431)
- e. Purpose
  - (i) We need another run to win. (769)

## A.4 Argument Types

### A.4.1 Oblique

Oblique arguments of verbs are individual-denoting arguments (DPs or PPs) which act as the third argument of verb, i.e. not a subject or (direct) object. They may or may not be marked by a preposition. Obliques are only found in VPs that have three or more individual arguments. Arguments are selected for by the verb, and they are (generally) not optional, though in some cases they may be omitted where they are understood or implicitly existentially quantified over. See Kim and Sells (2008, p.40).

#### (17) Included

- a. Prepositional
  - (i) \*Sue gave to Bill a book. (42)
  - (ii) Mary has always preferred lemons to limes. (70)
  - (iii) Janet broke Bill on the finger. (141)
- b. Benefactives
  - (i) Martha carved the baby a toy out of wood. (139)
- c. Double object
  - (i) Susan told her a story. (875)
  - (ii) Locative arguments
    - Ann may spend her vacation in Italy. (289)
  - (iii) High-arity Passives
    - \*Mary was given by John the book. (626)

#### (18) Excluded

- a. Non-DP arguments
  - (i) We want John to win (28)
- b. 3rd arguments where not all three arguments are DPs
  - (i) We want John to win (28)

### A.4.2 PP Arg VP (PP Arguments of VPs)

Prepositional Phrase arguments of VPs are individual-denoting arguments of a verb which are marked by a preposition. They may or may not be obliques. Arguments are selected for by the verb, and they are (generally) not optional, though in some cases they may be omitted where they

are understood or implicitly existentially quantified over.

#### (19) Included

- a. Dative
  - (i) \*Sue gave to Bill a book. (42)
- b. Conative (at)
  - (i) \*Carla slid at the book. (179)
- c. Idiosyncratic prepositional verbs
  - (i) I wonder who to place my trust in. (711)
  - (ii) She voted for herself. (743)
- d. Locative
  - (i) John was found in the office. (283)
- e. PP predicates
  - (i) Everything you like is on the table. (736)

#### (20) Excluded

- a. PP adjuncts
- b. Particles
- c. Arguments of deverbal expressions
  - (i) \*the putter of books left. (892)
- d. By-phrase
  - (i) Ted was bitten by the spider. (613)

### A.4.3 PP Arg NP/AP (PP Arguments of NPs and APs)

Prepositional Phrase arguments of NPs or APs are individual-denoting arguments of a noun or adjective which are marked by a preposition. Arguments are selected for by the head, and they are (generally) not optional, though in some cases they may be omitted where they are understood or implicitly existentially quantified over.

#### (21) Included

- a. Relational adjectives
  - (i) Many people were fond of Pat. (936)
  - (ii) \*I was already aware of fact. (824)
- b. Relational nouns
  - (i) We admired the pictures of us in the album. (759)
  - (ii) They found the book on the atom. (780)
- c. Arguments of deverbal nouns
  - (i) \*the putter of books left. (892)

### A.4.4 By-phrase

Prepositional arguments introduced with by. Usually, this is the (semantic) subject of a passive verb, but in rare cases it may be the subject of a nominalized verb. Arguments are usually selected for

by the head, and they are generally not optional. In this case, the argument introduced with by is semantically selected for by the verb, but it is syntactically optional. See [Adger \(2003, p.190\)](#) and [Collins \(2005\)](#).

#### (22) Included

- a. Passives
  - (i) Ted was bitten by the spider. (613)
- b. Subjects of deverbal nouns
  - (i) the attempt by John to leave surprised me. (1003)

### A.4.5 Expletive

Expletives, or dummy arguments, are semantically inert arguments. The most common expletives in English are it and there, although not all occurrences of these items are expletives. Arguments are usually selected for by the head, and they are generally not optional. In this case, the expletive occupies a syntactic argument slot, but it is not semantically selected by the verb, and there is often a syntactic variation without the expletive. See [Adger \(2003, p.170-172\)](#) and [Kim and Sells \(2008, p.82-83\)](#).

#### (23) Included

- a. There—inserted, existential
  - (i) \*There loved Sandy. (939)
  - (ii) There is a nurse available. (466)
- b. It—cleft, inserted
  - (i) It was a brand new car that he bought. (347)
  - (ii) It bothers me that John coughs. (314)
  - (iii) It is nice to go abroad. (47)
- c. Environmental it
  - (i) Kerry remarked it was late. (821)
  - (ii) Poor Bill, it had started to rain and he had no umbrella. (116)
  - (iii) You've really lived it up. (160)

#### (24) Excluded

- a. John counted on Bill to get there on time. (996)
- b. I bought it to read. (1026)

## A.5 Arg Altern (Argument Alternations)

### A.5.1 High Arity

These are verbs with 3 or more arguments of any kind. Arity refers to the number of arguments that a head (or function) selects for. Arguments are usually selected for by the head, and they are generally not optional. They may be DPs, PPs, CPs,

VPs, APs or other categories.

#### (25) Included

- a. Ditransitive
  - (i) \*[Sue] gave [to Bill] [a book]. (42)
  - (ii) [Martha] carved [the baby] [a toy] out of wood. (139)
- b. VP arguments
  - (i) \*[We] believed [John] [to be a fountain in the park]. (274)
  - (ii) [We] made [them] [be rude]. (260)
- c. Particles
  - (i) [He] let [the cats which were whining] [out]. (71)
- d. Passives with by-phrase
  - (i) \*[A good friend] is remained [to me] [by him]. (237)
- e. Expletives
  - (i) \*[We] expect [there] [to will rain]. (282)
  - (ii) [There] is [a seat] [available]. (934)
  - (iii) [It] bothers [me] [that he is here]. (1009)
- f. Small clause
  - (i) [John] considers [Bill] [silly]. (1039)

#### (26) Excluded

- a. Results, depictives
  - (i) [John] broke [the geode] [open].

### A.5.2 Drop Arg (Dropped Arguments)

These are VPs where a canonical argument of the verb is missing. This can be difficult to determine, but in many cases the missing argument is understood with existential quantification or generically, or contextually salient. See [Sportiche et al. \(2013, p.106-109\)](#).

#### (27) Included

- a. Middle voice/causative inchoative
  - (i) \*The problem perceives easily. (66)
- b. Passive
  - (i) The car was driven. (296)
- c. Null complement anaphora
  - (i) Jean persuaded Robert. (380)
  - (ii) Nobody told Susan. (883)
- d. Dropped argument
  - (i) \*Kim put in the box. (253)
  - (ii) The guests dined. (835)
  - (iii) I wrote to Bill. (1030)
- e. Transitive adjective
  - (i) John is eager. (27)
  - (ii) We pulled free. (144)

- f. Transitive noun  
 (i) I sensed his eagerness. (155)  
 g. Expletive insertion  
 (i) \*It loved Sandy. (949)  
 (28) Excluded  
 a. Ted was bitten by the spider. (613)

### A.5.3 Add Arg (Added Arguments)

These are VPs in which a non-canonical argument of the verb has been added. These cases are clearer to identify where the additional argument is a DP. In general, PPs which mark locations, times, beneficiaries, or purposes should be analyzed as adjuncts, while PPs marking causes can be considered arguments. See [Pylkkänen \(2008\)](#).

- (29) Included  
 a. Extra argument  
 (i) \*Linda winked her lip. (202)  
 (ii) Sharon fainted from hunger. (204)  
 (iii) I shaved myself. (526)  
 b. Causative  
 (i) \*I squeaked the door. (207)  
 c. Expletive insertion  
 (i) There is a monster in Loch Ness. (928)  
 (ii) It annoys people that dogs bark. (943)  
 d. Benefactive  
 (i) Martha carved the baby a toy out of wood. (139)

### A.5.4 Passive

The passive voice is marked by the demotion of the subject (either complete omission or to a by-phrase) and the verb appearing as a past participle. In the stereotypical construction there is an auxiliary *be* verb, though this may be absent. See [Kim and Sells \(2008, p.175-190\)](#), [Collins \(2005\)](#), and [Sag et al. \(2003, p.311-333\)](#).

- (30) Included  
 a. Verbs  
 (i) The earth was believed to be round. (157)  
 b. Psuedopassive  
 (i) The bed was slept in. (298)  
 c. Past participle adjuncts  
 (i) The horse raced past the barn fell. (900)

## A.6 Imperative

### A.6.1 Imperative

The imperative mood is marked by the absence of the a subject and the bare form of the verb, and expresses a command, request, or other directive speech act.

- (31) Included  
 a. \*Wash you! (224)  
 b. Somebody just left - guess who. (528)

## A.7 Binding

### A.7.1 Binding:Refl (Binding of Reflexives)

These are cases in which a reflexive (non-possessive) pronoun, usually bound by an antecedent. See [Sportiche et al. \(2013, p.163-186\)](#) and [Sag et al. \(2003, p.203-226\)](#).

- (32) Included  
 a. \*Ourselves like ourselves. (742)  
 b. Which pictures of himself does John like? (386)

### A.7.2 Binding:Other (Binding of Other Pronouns)

These are cases in which a non-reflexive pronoun appears along with its antecedent. This includes donkey anaphora, quantificational binding, and bound possessives, among other bound pronouns. See [Sportiche et al. \(2013, p.163-186\)](#) and [Sag et al. \(2003, p.203-226\)](#).

- (33) Included  
 a. Bound possessor  
 (i) The children admire their mother. (382)  
 b. Quantificational binding  
 (i) Everybody gets on well with a certain relative, but often only his therapist knows which one. (562)  
 c. Bound pronoun  
 (i) \*We gave us to the cause. (747)

## A.8 Question

### A.8.1 Matrix Q (Matrix Questions)

These are sentences in which the matrix clause is interrogative (either a wh- or polar question). See [Adger \(2003, pp.282-213\)](#), [Kim and Sells \(2008, pp.193-222\)](#), and [Carnie \(2013, p.315-350\)](#).

- (34) Included  
 a. Wh-question  
 (i) Who always drinks milk? (684)

- b. Polar question
- (i) Did Athena help us? (486)

### A.8.2 Emb Q (Embedded Questions)

These are embedded interrogative clauses appearing as arguments of verbs, nouns, and adjectives. Not including relative clauses and free relatives. See [Adger \(2003, p.297\)](#).

(35) Included

- a. Under VP
  - (i) I forgot how good beer tastes. (235)
  - (ii)\*What did you ask who saw? (508)
- b. Under NP
  - (i) That is the reason why he resigned. (313)
- c. Under AP
  - (i) They claimed they had settled on something, but it wasn't clear what they had settled on. (529)
- d. Free relative
  - (i) What the water did to the bottle was fill it. (33)

(36) Excluded

(36) Relative clauses, free relatives

### A.8.3 Pied Piping

These are phrasal Wh-phrases, in which the wh-word moves along with other expressions, including prepositions (pied-piping) or nouns in the case of determiner wh-words such as how many and which.

(37) Included

- a. Pied-piping
  - (i)\*The ship sank, but I don't know with what. (541)
- b. Other phrasal wh-phrases
  - (i) I know which book Mag read, and which book Bob read my report that you hadn't. (61)
  - (ii) How sane is Peter? (88)

### A.8.4 Rel Clause (Relative Clause)

Relative clauses are noun modifiers appearing with a relativizer (either that or a wh-word) and an associated gap. See [Kim and Sells \(2008, p.223-244\)](#).

(38) Included

- a. Though he may hate those that criticize Carter, it doesn't matter. (332)

- b.\*The book what inspired them was very long. (686)
- c. Everything you like is on the table. (736)

(39) Excluded

- a.\*The more you would want, the less you would eat. (6)

### A.8.5 Island

This is wh-movement out of an extraction island, or near-island. Islands include, for example, complex NPs, adjuncts, embedded questions, coordination. A near-island is an extraction that closely resembles an island violation, such as extraction out of an embedded clause, or across-the-board extraction. See [Adger \(2003, pp.323-333\)](#) and [Carnie \(2013, pp.332-334\)](#).

(40) Included

- a. Embedded question
- b.\*What did you ask who Medea gave? (493)

(40) Adjunct

- a.\*What did you leave before they did? (598)

(40) Parasitic gaps

- a. Which topic did you choose without getting his approval? (311)

(40) Complex NP

- a. Who did you get an accurate description of? (483)

### A.9 Comp Clause (Complement Clauses)

#### A.9.1 CP Subj (CP Subjects)

These are complement clauses acting as the (syntactic) subject of verbs. See [Kim and Sells \(2008, pp.90-91\)](#).

(41) Included

- a. That dogs bark annoys people. (942)
- b. The socks are ready for for you to put on to be planned. (112)

(42) Excluded

- a. Expletive insertion
  - (i) It bothers me that John coughs. (314)

#### A.9.2 CP Arg - VP (CP Arguments of VPs)

These are complement clauses acting as (non-subject) arguments of verbs. See [Kim and Sells \(2008, pp.84-90\)](#).

(43) Included

- a. I can't believe Fred won't, either. (50)
- b. I saw that gas can explode. (222)



- c. It bothers me that John coughs. (314)
- d. Clefts
  - (i) It was a brand new car that he bought. (347)

### A.9.3 CP Arg - NP/AP (CP Arguments of NPs and APs)

These are complement clauses acting as an argument of a noun or adjective. See [Kim and Sells \(2008, pp.91-94\)](#).

(44) Included

- a. Under NP
  - (i) Do you believe the claim that somebody was looking for something? (99)
- b. Under AP
  - (i) \*The children are fond that they have ice cream. (842)

### A.9.4 Non-Finite CP

These are complement clauses with a non-finite matrix verb. Often, the complementizer is *for*, or there is no complementizer. See [Adger \(2003, pp.252-253,256-260\)](#).

(45) Included

- a. For complementizer
  - (i) I would prefer for John to leave. (990)
- b. No Complementizer
  - (i) Mary intended John to go abroad. (48)
- c. Ungrammatical
  - (i) Heidi thinks that Andy to eat salmon flavored candy bars. (363)
- d. V-ing
  - (i) Only Churchill remembered Churchill giving the Blood, Sweat and Tears speech. (469)

### A.9.5 No C-izer (No Complementizer)

These are complement clauses with no overt complementizer.

(46) Included

- a. Complement clause
  - (i) I'm sure we even got these tickets! (325)
  - (ii) He announced he would marry the woman he loved most, but none of his relatives could figure out who. (572)
- b. Relative clause
  - (i) The Peter we all like was at the party (484)

### A.9.6 Deep Embed (Deep Embedding)

These are sentences with three or nested verbs, where VP is not an aux or modal, i.e. with the following syntax: [S ... [ VP ... [ VP ... [ VP ... ] ... ] ... ]

(47) Included

- a. Embedded VPs
  - (i) Max seemed to be trying to force Ted to leave the room, and Walt, Ira. (657)
- b. Embedded clauses
  - (i) I threw away a book that Sandy thought we had read. (713)

### A.10 Aux (Auxiliaries)

#### A.10.1 Neg (Negation)

Any occurrence of negation in a sentence, including sentential negation, negative quantifiers, and negative adverbs.

(48) Included

- a. Sentential
  - (i) I can't remember the name of somebody who had misgivings. (123)
- b. Quantifier
  - (i) No writer, and no playwright, meets in Vienna. (124)
- c. Adverb
  - (i) They realised that never had Sir Thomas been so offended. (409)

#### A.10.2 Modal

Modal verbs (*may, might, can, could, will, would, shall, should, must*). See [Kim and Sells \(2008, pp.152-155\)](#).

(49) Included

- a. John can kick the ball. (280)
- b. As a statesman, scarcely could he do anything worth mentioning. (292)

(50) Excluded

- a. Pseudo-modals
  - (i) Sandy was trying to work out which students would be able to solve a certain problem. (600)

#### A.10.3 Aux (Auxiliaries)

Auxiliary verbs (e.g. *be, have, do*). See [Kim and Sells \(2008, pp.149-174\)](#).

(51) Included

- a. They love to play golf, but I do not. (290)
- b. The car was driven. (296)

- c. he had spent five thousand dollars. (301)
- (52) Excluded
- a. Pseudo-auxiliaries
- (i) \*Sally asked if somebody was going to fail math class, but I can't remember who. (589)
- (ii) The cat got bitten. (926)

#### A.10.4 Psuedo-Aux (Pseudo Auxiliaries)

These are predicates acting as near-auxiliary (e.g. get-passive) or near-modals (e.g. willing)

- (53) Included
- a. Near-auxiliaries
- (i) \*Mary came to be introduced by the bartender and I also came to be. (55)
- (ii) \*Sally asked if somebody was going to fail math class, but I can't remember who. (589)
- (iii) The cat got bitten. (926)
- b. Near-modals
- (i) Clinton is anxious to find out which budget dilemmas Panetta would be willing to tackle in a certain way, but he won't say in which. (593)
- (ii) Sandy was trying to work out which students would be able to solve a certain problem. (600)

### A.11 to-VP (Infinitival VPs)

#### A.11.1 Control

These are VPs with control verbs, where one argument is a non-finite to-VP without a covert subject co-indexed with an argument of the matrix verb. See [Adger \(2003, pp.252,266-291\)](#), [Sportiche et al. \(2013, pp.203-222\)](#), and [Kim and Sells \(2008, pp.125-148\)](#).

- (54) Included
- a. Intransitive subject control
- (i) \*It tries to leave the country. (275)
- b. Transitive subject control
- (i) John promised Bill to leave. (977)
- c. Transitive object control
- (i) I want her to dance. (379)
- (ii) John considers Bill to be silly. (1040)
- (55) Excluded
- a. VP args of NP/AP
- (i) This violin is difficult to play sonatas on. (114)
- b. Purpose

- (i) There is a bench to sit on. (309)
- c. Subject VPs
- (i) To please John is easy. (315)
- d. Argument present participles
- (i) Medea denied poisoning the phoenix. (490)
- e. Raising
- (i) Anson believed himself to be handsome. (499)

#### A.11.2 Raising

These are VPs with raising predicates, where one argument is a non-finite to-VP without a covert subject co-indexed with an argument of the matrix verb. Unlike control verbs, the coindexed argument is not a semantic argument of the raising predicate. See [Adger \(2003, pp.260-266\)](#), [Sportiche et al. \(2013, pp.203-222\)](#), and [Kim and Sells \(2008, pp.125-148\)](#).

- (56) Included
- a. Subject raising
- (i) Under the bed seems to be a fun place to hide. (277)
- b. Object raising
- (i) Anson believed himself to be handsome. (499)
- c. Raising adjective
- (i) John is likely to leave. (370)

#### A.11.3 VP+Extraction (VPs with Extraction)

These are embedded infinitival VPs containing a (non-subject) gap that is filled by an argument in the upper clause. Examples are purpose-VPs and tough-movement. See [Kim and Sells \(2008, pp.246-252\)](#).

- (57) Included
- a. Tough-movement
- (i) \*Drowning cats, which is against the law, are hard to rescue. (79)
- b. Infinitival relatives
- (i) \*Fed knows which politician her to vote for. (302)
- c. Purpose
- (i) the one with a red cover takes a very long time to read. (352)
- d. Other non-finite VPs with extraction
- (i) As a statesman, scarcely could he do anything worth mentioning. (292)



#### A.11.4 VP arg - NP/AP (VP Arguments of NPs and APs)

These are non-finite VP arguments of nouns and adjectives.

(58) Included

- a. Raising adjectives
  - (i) John is likely to leave. (370)
- b. Control adjectives
  - (i) The administration has issued a statement that it is willing to meet a student group, but I'm not sure which one. (604)
- c. Control nouns
  - (i) As a teacher, you have to deal simultaneously with the administration's pressure on you to succeed, and the children's to be a nice guy. (673)
- d. Purpose VPs
  - (i) there is nothing to do. (983)

#### A.11.5 Non-Finite VP Misc (Miscellaneous Infinitival VPs)

These are miscellaneous non-finite VPs.

(59) Included

- a. I saw that gas can explode. (222)
- b. Gerunds/Present participles
  - (i) \*Students studying English reads Conrad's Heart of Darkness while at university. (262)
  - (ii) Knowing the country well, he took a short cut. (411)
  - (iii) John became deadly afraid of flying. (440)
- c. Subject VPs
  - (i) To please John is easy. (315)
- d. Nominalized VPs
  - (i) \*What Mary did Bill was give a book. (473)

(60) Excluded

- a. to-VPs acting as complements or modifiers of verbs, nouns, or adjectives

#### A.12 N, Adj (Nouns and Adjectives)

##### A.12.1 Deverbal (Deverbal Nouns and Adjectives)

These are nouns and adjectives derived from verbs.

(61) Included

- a. Deverbal nouns

(i) \*the election of John president surprised me. (1001)

- b. Light verbs
  - (i) The birds give the worm a tug. (815)
- c. Gerunds
  - (i) If only Superman would stop flying planes! (773)
- d. Event-wh
  - (i) What the water did to the bottle was fill it. (33)
- e. Deverbal adjectives
  - (i) His or her least known work. (95)

##### A.12.2 Rel NP (Relational Nouns)

Relational nouns are NPs with an obligatory (or existentially closed) argument. A particular relation holds between the members of the extension of NP and the argument. The argument must be a DP possessor or a PP. See [Kim and Sells \(2008, pp.82-83\)](#).

(62) Included

- a. Nouns with of-arguments
  - (i) John has a fear of dogs. (353)
- b. Nouns with other PP-arguments
  - (i) Henri wants to buy which books about cooking? (442)
- c. Measure nouns
  - (i) I bought three quarts of wine and two of Clorox. (667)
- d. Possessed relational nouns
  - (i) \*John's mother likes himself. (484)

(63) Excluded

- a. Nouns with PP modifiers
  - (i) Some people consider dogs in my neighborhood dangerous. (802)

##### A.12.3 Trans-NP (Transitive NPs)

Transitive (non-relational) nouns take a VP or CP argument. See [Kim and Sells \(2008, pp.82-83\)](#).

(64) Included

- a. VP argument
  - (i) the attempt by John to leave surprised me. (1003)
- b. CP argument
  - (i) \*Which report that John was incompetent did he submit? (69)
- c. QP argument
  - (i) That is the reason why he resigned. (313)

#### A.12.4 Complex NP

These are complex NPs, including coordinated nouns and nouns with modifiers (excluding prenominal adjectives).

(65) Included

- a. Modified NPs
  - (i) \*The madrigals which Henry plays the lute and sings sound lousy. (84)
  - (ii) John bought a book on the table. (233)
- b. NPs with coordination
  - (i) \*The soundly and furry cat slept. (871)
  - (ii) The love of my life and mother of my children would never do such a thing. (806)

#### A.12.5 NN Compound (Noun-Noun Compounds)

Noun-noun compounds are NPs consisting of two constituent nouns.

(66) Included

- a. It was the peasant girl who got it. (320)
- b. A felon was elected to the city council. (938)

#### A.12.6 Rel Adj (Relational Adjectives)

These are adjectives that take an obligatory (or existentially closed) argument. A particular relation holds between the members of the extension of the modified NP and the argument. The argument must be a DP or PP. See [Kim and Sells \(2008, pp.80-82\)](#).

(67) Included

- a. Of-arguments
  - (i) The chickens seem fond of the farmer. (254)
- b. Other PP arguments
  - (i) This week will be a difficult one for us. (241)
  - (ii) John made Bill mad at himself. (1035)

#### A.12.7 Trans- AP (Transitive Adjectives)

A transitive (non-relational) adjective. I.e. an adjectives that takes a VP or CP argument. See [Kim and Sells \(2008, pp.80-82\)](#).

(68) Included

- a. VP argument
  - (i) John is likely to leave. (370)
- b. CP argument
  - (i) John is aware of it that Bill is here. (1013)

c. QP argument

- (i) The administration has issued a statement that it is willing to meet a student group, but I'm not sure which one. (604)

#### A.13 S-Syntax (Sentence-Level Syntax)

##### A.13.1 Dislocation

These are expressions with non-canonical word order. See, for example, [Sportiche et al. \(2013, p.76\)](#).

(69) Includes

- a. Particle shift
  - (i) \*Mickey looked up it. (24)
- b. Preposed modifiers
  - (i) Out of the box jumped a little white rabbit. (215)
  - (ii) \*Because she's so pleasant, as for Mary I really like her. (331)
- c. Quantifier float
  - (i) The men will all leave. (43)
- d. Preposed argument
  - (i) With no job would John be happy. (333)
- e. Relative clause extraposition
  - (i) Which book's, author did you meet who you liked? (731)
- f. Misplaced phrases
  - (i) Mary was given by John the book. (626)

##### A.13.2 Info Struc (Information Structural Movement)

This includes topicalization and focus constructions. See [Kim and Sells \(2008, pp.258-269\)](#) and [Sportiche et al. \(2013, pp.68-75\)](#).

(70) Included

- a. Topicalization
  - (i) Most elections are quickly forgotten, but the election of 2000, everyone will remember for a long time. (807)
- b. Clefts
  - (i) It was a brand new car that he bought. (347)
- c. Pseudo-clefts
  - (i) What John promised is to be gentle. (441)

(71) Excluded

- a. There-insertion
- b. Passive

### A.13.3 Frag/Paren (Fragments and Parentheticals)

These are parentheticals or fragmentary expressions.

(72) Included

- a. Parenthetical
  - (i) Mary asked me if, in St. Louis, John could rent a house cheap. (704)
- b. Fragments
  - (i) The soup cooks, thickens. (448)
- c. Tag question
  - (i) George has spent a lot of money, hasn't he? (291)

### A.13.4 Coord (Coordination)

Coordinations and disjunctions are expressions joined with and, but, or, etc. See Sportiche et al. (2013, pp.61-68).

(73) Included

- a. DP coordination
  - (i) Dave, Dan, Erin, Jaime, and Alina left. (341)
- b. Right Node Raising
  - (i) Kim gave a dollar to Bobbie and a dime to Jean. (435)
- c. Clausal coordination
  - (i) She talked to Harry, but I don't know who else. (575)
- d. Or, nor
  - (i) \*No writer, nor any playwright, meets in Vienna. (125)
- e. Pseudo-coordination
  - (i) I want to try and buy some whiskey. (432)
- f. Juxtaposed clauses
  - (i) Lights go out at ten. There will be no talking afterwards. (779)

### A.13.5 Subord/Cond (Subordinate Clauses and Conditionals)

This includes subordinate clauses, especially with subordinating conjunctions, and conditionals.

(74) Included

- a. Conditional
  - (i) If I can, I will work on it. (56)
- b. Subordinate clause
  - (i) \*What did you leave before they did? (598)
  - (ii) \*Because Steve's of a spider's eye had been stolen, I borrowed Fred's dia-

gram of a snake's fang. (677)

c. Correlative

- (i) \*As you eat the most, you want the least. (5)

### A.13.6 Ellipsis/Anaphora

This includes VP or NP ellipsis, or anaphora standing for VPs or NPs (not DPs). See Sportiche et al. (2013, pp.55-61).

(75) Included

- a. VP Ellipsis
  - (i) If I can, I will work on it. (56)
  - (ii) Mary likes to tour art galleries, but Bill hates to. (287)
- b. VP Anaphor
  - (i) I saw Bill while you did so Mary. (472)
- c. NP Ellipsis
  - (i) Tom's dog with one eye attacked Fred's. (679)
- d. NP anaphor
  - (i) the one with a red cover takes a very long time to read. (352)
- e. Sluicing
  - (i) Most columnists claim that a senior White House official has been briefing them, and the newspaper today reveals which one. (557)
- f. Gapping
  - (i) Bill ate the peaches, but Harry the grapes. (646)

### A.13.7 S-adjunct (Sentence-Level Adjuncts)

These are adjuncts modifying sentences, sentence-level adverbs, subordinate clauses.

(76) Included

- a. Sentence-level adverbs
  - (i) Suddenly, there arrived two inspectors from the INS. (447)
- b. Subordinate clauses
  - (i) The storm arrived while we ate lunch. (852)

## A.14 Determiner

### A.14.1 Quantifier

These are quantificational DPs, i.e. the determiner is a quantifier.

(77) Included

- a. Quantifiers

2100	(i) *Every student, and he wears socks, is	lectional restrictions, polarity violations, definite-	2150
2101	a swinger. (118)	ness violations.	2151
2102	(ii) We need another run to win. (769)		2152
2103	b. Partitive	(81) Included	2153
2104	(i) *Neither of students failed. (265)	a. Violation of selectional restrictions	2154
2105		(i) *many information was provided. (218)	2155
2106	<b>A.14.2 Partitive</b>	(ii) *It tries to leave the country. (275)	2156
2107	These are quantifiers that take PP arguments, and	b. Aspectual violations	2157
2108	measure nouns. See <a href="#">Kim and Sells (2008, pp.109-</a>	(i) *John is tall on several occasions. (540)	2158
2109	118).	c. Definiteness violations	2159
2110	(78) Included	(i) *It is the problem that he is here. (1018)	2160
2111	a. Quantifiers with PP arguments	d. Polarity violations	2161
2112	(i) *Neither of students failed. (265)	(i) Any man didn't eat dinner. (388)	2162
2113	b. Numerals	<b>A.15.2 Infl/Agr violation (Inflection and</b>	2163
2114	(i) One of Korea's most famous poets	<b>Agreement Violations)</b>	2164
2115	wrote these lines. (294)	These are sentences that include a violation in	2165
2116	c. Measure nouns	inflectional morphology, including tense-aspect	2166
2117	(i) I bought three quarts of wine and two	marking, or agreement.	2167
2118	of Clorox. (667)	(82) Included	2168
2119	<b>A.14.3 NPI/FCI (Negative Polarity and Free</b>	a. Case	2169
2120	<b>Choice Items)</b>	(i) *Us love they. (46)	2170
2121	These are negative polarity items (any, ever, etc.)	b. Agreement	2171
2122	and free choice items (any). See <a href="#">Kadmon and</a>	(i) *Students studying English reads Con-	2172
2123	<a href="#">Landman (1993)</a> .	rad's Heart of Darkness while at uni-	2173
2124		versity. (262)	2174
2125	(79) Included	c. Gender	2175
2126	a. NPI	(i) *Sally kissed himself. (339)	2176
2127	(i) Everybody around here who ever buys	d. Tense/Aspect	2177
2128	anything on credit talks in his sleep.	(i) *Kim alienated cats and beating his	2178
2129	(122)	dog. (429)	2179
2130	(ii) I didn't have a red cent. (350)	<b>A.15.3 Extra/Missing Word</b>	2180
2131	b. FCI	These are sentences with a violation that can be	2181
2132	(i) Any owl hunts mice. (387)	identified with the presence or absence of a single	2182
2133		word.	2183
2134	<b>A.14.4 Comparative</b>	(83) Included	2184
2135	These are comparative constructions. See ( <a href="#">Cul-</a>	a. Missing word	2185
2136	<a href="#">cover and Jackendoff, 1999</a> ).	(i) *John put under the bathtub. (247)	2186
2137	(80) Included	(ii) *I noticed the. (788)	2187
2138	a. Correlative	b. Extra word	2188
2139	(i) The angrier Mary got, the more she	(i) *Everyone hopes everyone to sleep.	2189
2140	looked at pictures. (9)	(467)	2190
2141	(ii) They may grow as high as bamboo.	(ii) *He can will go (510)	2191
2142	(337)		2192
2143	(iii) I know you like the back of my hand.		2193
2144	(775)		2194
2145			2195
2146	<b>A.15 Violations</b>		2196
2147	<b>A.15.1 Sem Violation (Semantic Violations)</b>		2197
2148	These are sentences that include a semantic viola-		2198
2149	tion, including type mismatches, violations of se-		2199