

Verb-Particle Constructions, Clause-Mate Conditions, and the EPP

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- (1) I figured out it was more than 300 miles from here to Tulsa
(2) I figured it out to be more than 300 miles from here to Tulsa
Postal (1974)
(3) *I figured out it to be more than 300 miles from here to Tulsa
(4) *I figured Barbara out to be pregnant
cf. I figured out that Barbara was pregnant
(5) *I figured that out to be wrong
cf. I figured out that that was wrong
(6) The detective brought him in
(7) *The detective brought in him Chomsky (1955)
(8) The detective brought the suspect in
(9) The detective brought in the suspect
(10) Mary made John out to be a fool
(11) Mary made out that John is a fool Kayne (1985), Johnson
(1991)
(12) Mary made out John to be a fool
(13) Mary made him out to be a fool
(14) *Mary made out him to be a fool
(15) a (it seems that) everyone isn't there yet
b everyone seems [t not to be there yet] Chomsky (1995)
(16) The mathematician made every even number out not to be the sum
of two primes (*Neg>V)
(17) The mathematician made out every even number not to be the sum
of two primes (?Neg>V) Lasnik (1999), Lasnik (In
press)
(18) ?The DA proved [none of the defendants to be guilty] during any
of the trials Lasnik and Saito (1991), after Postal
(1974)
(19) a The lawyer made no witnesses out to be idiots during any of
the trials
b?*The lawyer made out no witnesses to be idiots during any of the
trials
(20) a The DA made the defendants out to be guilty during each
other's trials
b?*The DA made out the defendants to be guilty during each other's
trials

- (21) a The DA made no suspect_i out to have been at the scene of the crime during his_i trial
 b?*The DA made out no suspect_i to have been at the scene of the crime during his_i trial
- (22) a They called themselves up
 b ?They called up themselves
- (23) a They declared themselves to be wealthy
 b They made themselves out to be wealthy
 c ?*They made out themselves to be wealthy
- (24) The prosecutors questioned the same witnesses
- (25) ?*The prosecutors said that the same witnesses were lying
- (26) a The prosecutors proved the same witnesses to be lying
 b The prosecutors made the same witnesses out to be lying
 c ?*The prosecutors made out the same witnesses to be lying
- (27) a The prosecutors questioned three witnesses each
 Safir and Stowell (1988)
 b ?*The prosecutor said that three witnesses each were lying
- (28) a The prosecutors proved three witnesses each to be lying
 b ?The prosecutors made three witnesses each out to be lying
 c ?*The prosecutors made out three witnesses each to be lying

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