On Clause-Mate Conditions
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A. "Classic arguments"   Based on Postal (1974)

(1)   Within classic generative theorizing of the 1960's and early 1970's, many processes and relations were thought to obey a 'clause-mate' restriction. That is, no process or relation of this class could involve X and Y if X and Y were separated by a clause boundary. On this point of view, the following phenomena constituted strong evidence for a process of 'subject raising to object position' in what came to be called Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) constructions.

Passive
(2)   a   Jack believed Joan
          b   Joan was believed by Jack
(3)   a Jack believed Joan to be famous
          b Joan was believed to be famous by Jack

Reflexive
(4)   Jack believed himself
(5)   Jack$_i$ believed himself$_i$ to be immoral

Reciprocal
(6)   They believed each other
(7)   They believed each other to be honest

Compare:

(8)   *Joan was believed was famous by Jack
(9)   *Jack$_i$ believed himself$_i$ was immoral
(10)   *They believed each other were honest

(11)   Chomsky (1973) brought a new perspective to such phenomena, arguing that the relevant structural issue is not whether there is a clause boundary separating the two NPs, but rather what sort of clause boundary there is. An infinitival clause boundary is in the pertinent sense weaker than a finite clause boundary. This was the Tensed Sentence Condition (TSC).

B. An ECM construction with word order effects   [Kayne (1985), Johnson (1991)]

(12)   Mary made out that John is a fool
(13)   Mary made John out to be a fool
(14)   Mary made out John to be a fool
(15)   Joan was made out to be famous by Jack

(16)   a   Jack made himself out to be immoral
          b*Jack made out himself to be immoral
(17)   a   They made each other out to be honest
          b *They made out each other to be honest

(18)   ?Jack called up himself
(19)   ?They called up each other

C. A distributional constraint on [not Q n]   Postal (1974)

(20)   Not many gorillas have learned to tap-dance
(21)   ?*Joe kissed not many models

(22)   ?*They gave not many students books
(23)   ?*They talked about not many articles

(24)   (?*)Harry proved not many of those formulas to be theorems
  cf. Harry proved that not many of those formulas were theorems

(25)   ?They made out not many articles to have been published
(26)   *They made not many articles out to have been published

D. A constraint on certain Negative Polarity Items

(27)   They don't know jack/squat/dick (=They don't know anything)
(28)   *They know jack/squat/dick

     [Context: A food company has claimed to have proved that many of their products are
     healthy. A critic says:]
(29)   ?They didn't prove squat to be healthy
(30)   *They didn't prove that squat was healthy

     [Context: That same food company is being sued for allegedly trying to mislead
     consumers into thinking that many of their products are healthy. Their lawyer says:]
(31)   ?They didn't make squat out to be healthy
(32)   *They didn't make out squat to be healthy
(33)   *They didn't make out that squat was healthy

E. An 'anti-reconstruction' effect

(34)   All that glitters isn't gold
(35)   Negation can sometimes take scope over a universal quantifier that is seemingly higher
     than that negation.
(36)   a (it seems that) everyone isn't there yet

b I expected [everyone not to be there yet]
c everyone seems [t not to be there yet]

(37)   "Negation can have wide scope over the Q in [(36)a], and it seems in [(36)b] but not in [(36)c],.... reconstruction in the A-chain does not take place, so it appears." Chomsky (1995, p.327)

(38)   Negation and the universal quantifier evidently must be clause-mates.

(39)   The mathematician made every even number out not to be the sum of two primes

(40)   The only reading is the implausible one where the mathematician was engaged in the futile activity of trying to convince someone that no even number is the sum of two primes (and not the far more plausible one where she is merely trying to convince someone that Goldbach's conjecture is false).

(41)   The mathematician made out every even number not to be the sum of two primes

(42)   I believe everyone not to have arrived yet   (?Neg>∀)
(43)   I proved every Mersenne number not to be prime   (?Neg>∀)

(44)   Everyone is believed not to have arrived yet   (*Neg>∀)
(45)   Every Mersenne number was proved not to be prime (*Neg>∀)

(46)   In (45), there is strong bias towards narrow scope, but it is still not available. Only the wildly false wide scope reading exists.

F. ECM configurations and Condition B

(47)   *John$_i$ injured him$_i$
(48)   *John$_i$ believes him$_i$ to be a genius

(49)   *Mary injured him$_i$ and John$_i$ did too
(50)   ?Mary believes him$_i$ to be a genius and John$_i$ does too

(51)   Suppose Postal (1966), Postal (1974) was right (contra Chomsky (1973)) that the relevant structural configuration for such obviation is based on the notion clause-mate. (For related discussion, see Lasnik (In press).)

(52)   Weak pronouns must cliticize onto the verb.
(53)   The detective brought him in
(54)   *The detective brought in him   Chomsky (1955)

(55)   Failure to cliticize in (50) is repaired by ellipsis.
(56)   In (49), on the other hand, the pronoun and its antecedents are clause-mates independent of cliticization.

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