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
   cf. I figured out that Barbara was pregnant
(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
(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 [\(\not\) not to be there yet]
     Chomsky (1995)
(16) The mathematician made every even number out not to be the sum
     of two primes  (*Neg>\(\forall\))
(17) The mathematician made out every even number not to be the sum
     of two primes  (?Neg>\(\forall\))
     Lasnik (1999), Lasnik (In press)
(18) ?The DA proved [none of the defendants to be guilty] during any
     of the trials
(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 out to have been at the scene of the crime during his trial  
b  *The DA made out no suspect to have been at the scene of the crime during his 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  

References