

dangling modifiers from handbooks – 3/7/00
from MWDEU (1989), dangling modifiers, 314f.

(p. 315) Conclusion: dangling modifiers are common, old, and well-established in English literature. When the meaning is not ambiguous, Bryant 1962 allows them to be “informal standard usage.” The evidence in Hall 1917 and other sources shows they are not infrequent in literature of a more elevated sort.

MW1. Drake continued his course for Porto Rico; and riding within the road, a shot from the Castle entered the steerage of the ship. [Thomas Fuller, *The Holy State and the Profane State*, 1642 (in Hall 1917)]

MW2. Speaking as an old friend, there has been a disturbing tendency in statements emanating from Peking to question the good faith of President Reagan. [Richard M. Nixon (cited by William Safire, *N.Y. Times Mag.*, 19 June 1983)]

From Gregory Stump’s *The Semantic Variability of Absolute Constructions* (1985):

“Unrelated adjuncts show extremely diverse control properties. An unrelated adjunct may, as in (25)-(28), be controlled by some contextually salient individual who may or may not be referred to in the superordinate clause; it may be controlled by the speaker(s), as in (31) and (32); it may be controlled by the fact or event described by the superordinate clause, as in (33) and (34); or it may express an epistemic condition in whose light the superordinate clause is or would be true, as in (29) and (30).”

GS1. (25) Having received only an elementary education, the simple teachings and colourful ritual had appealed to her.

GS2. (26) Having done either of the above his turn is ended unless he uses all tiles on his rack... or if he accumulates 9 points in one stack.

GS3. (27) Her mother too had expressed incredulity, but being the sort of woman she was, that was only to be expected.

GS4. (28) I want them to vote their conscience on the great issues of the platform and then on the nomination, and I’m still very confident that, voting on their conscience, well gain the nomination and go on.

GS5. (29) Considering the enemies of citrus as a whole, it is no wonder that the trees people keep in their yards for ornamental effect seemed--to me, at least--to be the sorriest-looking trees in the state.

GS6. (30) A number of people, including some of Kennedy's friends, and even some of his staff, have become puzzled about what he thinks he is doing. Leaving aside the style in which he is doing it, the question is not so puzzling.

GS7. (31) The laird simply has no wish to be the animated exchequer of an insular, private, picayune welfare state--or, to give the situation its full setting, a welfare state within a welfare state.

GS8. (32) The Carter people insisted then, as they insist now, that the interest groups assembled were not and are not reflective of the Party as a whole, to say nothing of the country.

GS9. (33) ... now it has almost three million, making it the largest city in the country after New York and Chicago.

GS10. (34) With daily flossing, bleeding should stop, indicating that gums are getting healthier.

entered 4/3/01 – other examples

AZ1.1. [e-mail list, 3/6/00] He seems a somewhat sinister, charismatic character...(a joker, one of his books is called "Venus's Penises"...)

AZ1.2. [Publishers Weekly, 3/20/00] Ever the boisterous class clown, the company's proudest marketing moment comes when...

AZ1.3. [Stanley Peters, In Memoriam Jon Barwise, 2000] As a linguist, what struck me especially about his work on meaning in natural language was his belief that...

AZ1.4. [e-mail list, 5/30/00] Having formerly worked in book conservation, here's some advice on your grandmother's hymnal...

AZ1.5. [interviewee on KALW, 6/1/00] Being six feet, a lot of people assumed I was aloof or arrogant.

AZ1.6. [e-mail to me, 6/3/00] I really enjoyed the word picture you painted of the cy[m]bidium garden. That is hard to imagine, having lived all my gardening life here in Ohio.

AZ1.7. [e-mail list, 7/6/00] As a straight woman, it's the most comfortable environment ever, on a personal level.

AZ1.8. [NPR story on Cubans whose plane crashed and who were brought to Florida, 9/22/00] Once there, the more favorable Cuban Adjustment Act took precedence.

AZ1.9. [All Things Considered report, 12/14/00] Besides being neat,...geologist [NN] says that hydrothermal vents...

AZ1.10. [Keith Devlin, AAAS meeting, 2/17/01] As a mathematician, people often ask me...

AZ1.11. [W.H. Brewer, Up and Down California in 1860-1864, p. 11] As first assistant, the company was placed in my charge, a heavy responsibility I would like to have had placed on someone else.

entered 11/7/02 and thereafter – still more examples

AZ2.1. [New York Times, 4/20/01, p. A1, story by Jennifer Steinhauer on nightclubs hiring ambulances for overdoses, quotation attributed to Deputy Mayor Rudy Washington] “By using private ambulances, it makes it more difficult for us to keep track of how many people are going to the hospital and it keeps it difficult for the police to find out what is going on because they are never called with these companies,” he said.

AZ2.2. [Brewer, p. 105, on whales] Last year they caught one ninety-three feet long which made over a hundred barrels of oil. After stripping off the blubber, the carcasses are towed out into the bay, and generally drift up on the southeast side.

[cf. non-dangling, p. 129] On striking the valley that leads up to Monterey for about sixteen miles we had hotter air, but not much dust.

AZ2.3. [Brewer, p. 93] In passing over this country, every hill and valley presents a new view of these trees. [the paragraph is about oak trees]

AZ2.4. [Brewer, p. 129] I took one of the team mules to ride, being stronger than my little one.

AZ2.5. [adv. for Nova program on KTEH-TV, 5/10/01] By inserting just one gene, our food can grow bigger.

AZ2.6. [science reporter on NPR, 10/26/01] Unlike earthquakes, geologists usually can give advance notice of volcanic eruptions.

AZ2.7. [Will Parsons e-mail to friends, 10/30/01] When addressing invitations to a husband and wife whose name is supposed to go first?

AZ2.8. [Berg & Associates tv commercial, seen 11/01] As a lawyer, people ask me for advice all the time.

AZ2.9. [dialogue in a Matlock episode] As a screenwriter, I guess you know why I have to ask. [you is controller]

AZ2.10. [KQED commentary, 1/21/02] As a child growing up in Mexico, my parents always told me...

AZ2.11. [Wm. A. McNamara, "Making a Last Stand: Acer pentaphyllum", Pacific Horticulture 63.2 (Apr.-June 2002), p. 35] Like many enthusiastic nurserymen, maples caught my attention early on.

AZ2.12. [local opinion piece on KQED Morning Edition, 7/30/02, about the end of the life of a beloved pet dog - not quite verbatim] Unable to stand on his own legs, I carried him to the beach...

AZ2.13. [Laura Flanders, Working Assets Radio, KALW, 8/7/02] Tara, listening to you this last hour, you're not alone...

AZ2.14. [Emma Moore, NWAV talk at Stanford, 10/11/02] By choosing to smoothe out her style, we find that Kim is also...

AZ2.15. [Julie Aigner-Clark, Parents' Guide for the Baby Einstein Language Discovery Cards (collected 11/02)] As a former English teacher, nothing could be sweeter than to hear my little girls begin to speak.

AZ2.16. [David V. Milligan. "Reflections", in Princeton Class of 1962 40th Reunion Yearbook (2002)] Reflecting on my life, accomplishments and the future, it is clear to me that these are the best of times personally.

AZ2.17. [local opinion piece on KQED, 11/7/02] Like any child, my one goal in life was to...

AZ2.18. [film maker interviewed on NPR, KQED, 11/7/02] As a movie producer, what you try to do is anything that makes you feel...

AZ2.19. [David Rockefeller, in interview on NPR's Saturday Morning Edition, 11/23/02] By giving out shiny dimes,... it gave him [John D. Rockefeller] an excuse to meet them [ordinary people]...

entered 4/4/04 and thereafter, still more examples

AZ3.1. [from GKP, restaurant reviewer Josie Cowden in Good Times (Santa Cruz), 9/28/02] Served with the most marvellous risotto of velvety smooth rice and artichokes, I savored every bite.

AZ3.2. [from GKP, Cowden again, 10/3/02] But is the food any good? Yes it is. Meandering in at about 11:30 a.m. on a Sunday -- somewhere between breakfast and brunch -- the place was packed.

AZ3.3. [from GKP, letter writer "Henry Root", in The Complete Henry Root Letters] I read recently that Miss Mary Kenny is doing you a book on God. That's one to look forward to! Well

done! Will it be in the shops in time for Christmas? That's always a good idea. Catch the mugs with money in their pockets and long shopping-lists. Promoted with verve I can see this one being as big a stocking-filler as Ronnie Barker's 'Book of Bedtime

AZ3.4. [from GKP, “from a memo by a man of fastidious grammatical tastes” on the UCSC staff, reported 1/24/03]

In order to get the special DSL provider pricing from DSLx go to their website [. . .] and follow these steps to get the \$39.95/mo. package:

1. Select SBC as your phone company [. . .]
2. Agree to the terms and you should be directed to a sign up page [. . .]

[. . .]

16. Put the words UCSC PROMO in the "additional notes" field. [. . .]

Put your name in the bottom field and "Submit Order"

Once submitted a new web page will give you a "thank you for placing your order" screen with a charge of about \$160.

AZ3.5. [from RH. “From the weekly movie sheet of synopses (13-19 Feb 03) put out by our local [Brisbane, Australia] cinema, concerning ‘Maid in Manhattan’”] Jennifer Lopez stars as Marisa, a maid in a fancy New York City Hotel. While trying on a wealthy woman's dress, a handsome and rich politician mistakes her for a society woman. Marisa goes through a transformation when she falls in love with the man.

AZ3.6. [letter in Palo Alto Daily News, 2/19/03, p. 8] Dear Editor: I would like to express my support for the City Council's adoption of an anti-war resolution. Like many cities across California and the nation, I believe the Council is a legitimate forum for the expression of public opinion.

AZ3.7. [Aaron Kipnis, *Angry Young Men* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1999), p. 130. Kipnis is describing his bad-boy time on the streets, in jails, etc. here, it's the Visalia County (CA) Jail] After more than a month in jail, my mother posted bond, bless her soul. The first round of trials...

AZ3.8. [from Chris Potts, from Angelika Kratzer, “The lumps of thought”, *Linguistics and Philosophy* 12.607-53 (1989)] Hence the proposition expressed by (9a) is lumped by the proposition expressed by (9d) in our world. (9a), however is not compatible with the antecedent of the counterfactual expressed by (10a). Seen in this way, we cannot consistently add the proposition expressed by (9d) to the antecedent of our counterfactual.

AZ3.9. [*Angry Young Men*, p. 203. It's at the very beginning of a section] At age nineteen, a successful jazz musician, Emil Richards, who was active in SIMS [Student's International Meditation Society, at UCLA], took me in to live with his family.

AZ3.10. [review on NPR's Fresh Air, 3/21/03, of the rapper Fifty Cent; a fair amount of intro discussion about him immediately preceded this] Signed by Columbia Records in 1999, his first album was never released.

AZ3.11. [from RH, Noosa Weekender, 2/21/03, editor's note] Born and bred in Brisbane, the Sunshine Coast was always my preferred destination to recharge and socialise from my teenage years

AZ3.12. [from EDZ, from The World on PRI, 2/26/03, speaker Richard Engel] And after beating him for ten days and promising him a pardon, Rannam confessed to being an informer. [I assume there was previous mention of the persecutors. Still...]

AZ3.13. [from CP, from Keith Devlin, Mathematics: The New Golden Age (NY: Columbia U P, new and rev. ed., 199), p. 292] Having decided on the Turing machine as the basic computing device for the theory, the idea is to measure the efficiency of an algorithm by the number of steps (i.e., Turing-machine steps) taken to complete the calculation.

AZ3.14. [KQED radio, 3/11/03, a child abduction report, beginning with a description of the car involved and its license plate number, followed by:] If seen, contact Richmond police at... [and then a description of the two children and their abductor]

AZ3.15. [approximate - heard on car radio in the dark, 12/27/02, California Report on KQED] Like other Californians who died during the year, Chuck Jones's accomplishments will be...

AZ3.16. [Aaron Lawrence, Suburban Hustler (Warren NJ: Late Night Press, 1999), p. 171. No, the writer is not some semi-literate dumbo] Like hundreds of cocks before Nicks, I lean toward him and take it into my mouth.

AZ3.17. [Aaron Lawrence, The Male Escort Handbook (Warren NJ: Late Night Press, 2000), p. 25] As an escort, clients will often count on you to serve as their outlet in the gay world.

AZ3.18. [Morning Edition, KQED, 11/27/02, a (presumably scripted) announcement of a program. There was a previous mention of the actor involved.] After appearing in two films set in the Vietnam War era, the government there has declared him to be...

AZ3.19. [opinion piece on childhood obesity, KQED, 3/19/03. No explicit 1st person pronoun in this sentence.] As someone who works to relieve childhood hunger, its ironic... to have to explain to legislators...

AZ3.20. [Law and Order episode. The intended reading is "enough is enough for me".] She still parties... Unlike Karen, enough is enough.

AZ3.21. [Veronica Gerassimova handout for dissertation research report, Stanford, 11/26/02. A speaker-oriented adverb] What is the function of the marking in the highest clause? Tentatively, it signals the left edge of a nominalized relative clause-type syntactic constituent.

AZ3.22. [from NPR's Morning Edition, 3/25/03, story about a prisoner of war] Like most of America, there are conflicting feelings about the war in Valley Center.

AZ3.23. [from New York Times obit for actress Peggy Conklin, 3/25/03, p. A17 (a fair amount of context is needed)] In 1941 she originated a role on Broadway that was to remain popular for decades on radio and television: Pam North, the amiably ditzy wife of Jerry North in Owen Davis's 1941 adaptation of Richard Lockridge's detective story "Mr. and Mrs. North." Playing opposite Albert Hackett, the urbane New York couple stumble into a murder mystery: a corpse in their closet.

[just to be *absolutely* clear: Hackett played Jerry North]

AZ3.24. [from RH, from well-known linguist David Crystal, in a review of CGEL] it is the Quirk grammar which (having compiled its index) has occupied a worryingly large proportion of my own life...

AZ3.25. [from a randomized .sig file belonging to Jess Anderson (Madison WI), from soc.motss poster Ro Reid] When catching fireflies, the mouth of the jar must be large enough to encompass the past, present, and future of the firefly.

AZ3.26. [in an Animal Planet channel video, seen 4/27/03, though undoubtedly of some vintage] After rubbing it with blankets, it was carried away.

[The it is a fawn, after being rescued from a frozen lake. The rescuers were, of course, referred to in the preceding discourse.]

AZ3.27. [beginning of an interview in Lambda Book Report, January 2003, p. 22] Contradiction: It's a word that seems created with novelist Juliet Sarkessian in mind. A practicing attorney, her first novel, *Trio Sonata*, is not a legal thriller à la John Grisham, but a complicated psychological study. An out and proud lesbian, she writes of...

AZ3.28. [from GKP: British-accented reporter, NPR program "Morning Edition", 4/23/03, in an anecdote as part of a story about how new technique for quick bandaging of wounds could dramatically reduce the death rate among wounded ground forces] Pinned down by gunfire and unreachable by medical evacuation teams, the main cause of death was loss of blood.

AZ3.29. [from GKP: Nina Totenberg, NPR "Morning Edition", 4/30/03, in a story about a man who was only able to prove he was American (he was a Dutch immigrant who had become a US citizen while in the military) after spending five months under detention as a presumed non-citizen immigrant accused of a crime (hence ineligible for bail under standard policies, which in this case the judge overruled).] After five months in detention, a judge released him on bail.

AZ3.30. [letter to the NYT, 6/23/03] As a Canadian expatriate, it is apparent to me that many Americans look upon Canada as an easily controlled and unrebelling younger sibling.

AZ3.31. [Brady Zack Clark, oral tribute to Elizabeth Closs Traugott, 6/5/03] As her advisee, she's had to do this for me many times...

AZ3.32. [Bengal cat breeder on BBC News Hour, heard on KQED, 8/26/03] If they pass away, which, being a breeder, they sometimes do...

AZ3.33. [Mike McKinley, on soc.motss. 8/28/03] As a ballerina, such food items [doughnuts] are forbidden to me.

AZ3.34. [on a bottle of mineral water, Aylesbury, reported in Verbatim 27.2.20] Purified using naturally occurring ceramic earths, coco nut and anthracite carbons, ion exchange and ultra-violet light, this bottle contains water that has a clarity and taste that are unbeatable.

AZ3.35. [from a letter to the Palo Alto Daily News, 7/27/03, p. 8] As vice-chair, his words reflect the distorted thinking so evident in the political structure of Palo Alto.
[now, this is a pretty common type, involving a subject with a possessive modifying some noun of "low referentiality" (yes, I know, not a great term). Even in isolation, these aren't bad. But in fact this is the beginning of the third paragraph of the letter. The second paragraph begins:] As vice-chair of Palo Alto's Public Art Commission, Gerald Brett (in his guest opinion piece last Sunday) assumes the mantel of the holier-than-thou righteousness...
[the whole letter is about Gerald Brett, and Brett as a discourse referent is well established before the putative dangler comes up]

AZ3.36. [from a KQED Morning Edition piece, 7/25/03] If passed, California would be the fourth state in the nation with such a law.
[(the law would ban discrimination on the basis of transgendered status.) Presented like this, the sentence sounds just dreadful. But in fact everything that led up to it was about the law, which had been mentioned several times. Probably only someone hot on the dangler trail, like me, would even have noticed it.]

AZ3.37. [from Rodney Huddleston, from a letter in The Australian, 8/22/03] The jailing of Pauline Hanson and David Etridge for dishonesty represents a double standard. While inexcusable, other politicians lie and cheat on a daily basis.

AZ3.38. [KQED Sunday Morning Edition, commentator talking about moving to the U.S. from Scotland] Arriving here in '94, a new colleague said to me...

AZ3.39. [from review of several books, including *Collected Writings of Walter Thurman* (ed. by Amritjit Singh & Daniel M. Scott III), by Martha E. Stone, *Gay & Lesbian Review*, May-June 2004, p. 41] The editors state that "Thurman lived a self-described 'erotic, bohemian' lifestyle," and "his close friends and roommates knew him to be bisexual." Although married, it was apparently a marriage of convenience, and divorce proceedings quickly ensued. His lover...

[this section of the review is about the thurman book, and it's pretty much all thurman, all the time. thurman is mentioned by name and referred to twice by pronouns in the preceding sentence, and the following sentence begins with a pronoun referring to thurman. but there's no overt reference to him in the sentence in question, and that was enough to make me very edgy about the example. but it got by the G&LR [formerly the Harvard G&LR] editors ok.]

[From: pullum@ucsc.edu

Date: May 7, 2004 11:52:07 AM PDT

...If divorce proceedings quickly ensued, it wasn't all that convenient, was it? But it's a nice

example. I find the "although" adjunct dangles so badly that without question I would have reached for the red pen, and issued a stern reprimand, if I had been the editor.]

AZ3.40. [e-mail to AMZ, body of message reproduced in its entirety]
Date: Mon, 6 Oct 2003 12:57:58 -0700 (PDT)
From: Mail System Internal Data <MAILER-DAEMON@csl.stanford.edu>
Subject: DON'T DELETE THIS MESSAGE -- FOLDER INTERNAL DATA

This text is part of the internal format of your mail folder, and is not a real message. It is created automatically by the mail system software. If deleted, important folder data will be lost, and it will be re-created with the data reset to initial values.

AZ3.41. [e-mail from a friend who turned 40 today]

From: Amanda Walker <amanda@alfar.com>
Date: June 19, 2004 8:04:51 AM PDT

...ObGettingOlder: I've been amused recently that in normal engineer attire, hotel clerks usually call me "Ms. Walker", but in a suit & heels, it's now usually "Mrs. Walker". These kids, getting younger every year.

AZ3.42. [from the Palo Alto Daily News, 7/14/04, p. 12, letter to the editor from Nancy A. Friedland of Palo Alto] Dear Editor: I was pleased to read your profile on our postmaster John Kelly in Sunday's Daily News. Having experienced uneven delivery service for many years, his leadership has definitely impacted the quality of our mail service.

[the letter is "about" John Kelly. but it's also about Nancy Friedland and her experiences.]

AZ3.43. [from GKP, from The Economist, 10/11/03, p. 85, "in a book review about a biography of John Clare, a poet who was the untutored son of an agricultural laborer."] Being desperately poor, paper was always scarce -- as was ink.

AZ3.44. [from GKP, 10/28/03, with the following intro: "Larry Hyman guessed that the reason I was asking him a certain question had something to do with my being local arrangements chair for the 2005 LSA meeting, and I complimented him on being sharp enough to have guessed that correctly. He said [by e-mail:"] Right--as a member of the LSA executive committee, there's [sic] wasn't very much sharpness involved!

AZ3.45. [from "ACE Self-Adhering Bandage Wrapping Instructions", last paragraph (I provide a good bit of context), posted 1/16/04] Remove the bandage before retiring. For best results, unwrap the bandage carefully. As you unwrap the bandage, re-roll it onto its cardboard core. This will prevent wrinkling. By removing the bandage in this manner, it will be ready for re-use.

AZ3.46. [from GKP, 1/31/04, with his intro: "An interesting case here, where there is a controller, provided you're prepared to delve into a non-antecedent subject NP and peel the 's off a genitive for it. So it marries the dangling modifier issue with the possessive antecedent

proscription! From Peter Obourne, *The Spectator*, 1/31/04 <<http://www.spectator.co.uk/>>.] And then, 24 hours ahead of publication, Lord Hutton sent copies to Tony Blair. Within hours of doing so, the law lord's conclusions were splashed all over the front and centre pages of the Sun newspaper.

AZ3.47. [from GKP, from *The Economist*, 3/20/04, p. 92, book review of Karen Armstrong's *The Spiral Staircase*.] She almost starved herself as a postgraduate student at Oxford, yet had by today's standards a generous grant. Despite getting a congratulatory first in her undergraduate degree, her doctoral thesis was failed on a whim, thus ending any chances of an academic career there.

AZ3.48. [from Susie Bright, *Mommy's Little Girl* (NY: Thunder's Mouth Press, 2003), p. 157] I was at a university lecturer's hall, signing books at the back of an auditorium. He came up to me at the very end: the end of a glorious night, a crowd of five hundred readers, and about the same number of autographs on both breasts and books. While on my ninth glass of iced tea, he walked up to the table.

AZ3.49. [NYT 8/10/04, p. D5 (Health & Fitness): Annette Racond, "Seeking the Beauty of Stillness"]

[1st par.] Certain moments in my life are like sharply focused snapshots that never fade... [Two such moments are described.]

[2nd par.] On April 1, 2004, I had another such moment: My mother called to tell me that Jeff Matovic, a 31-year-old husband and father from Lyndhurst, Ohio, had become the first person with Tourette's syndrome in the United States to be treated with deep brain stimulation...

[3rd par.] As a fellow Tourette's syndrome sufferer, Mr. Matlovic's story has given me hope that I, too, can be freed from my tics, twitches, bobs, nods, grunts, squirms, hiccups and jolting motions.

AZ3.50. [from Barbara Neely, *Blanche Among the Talented Tenth* (Penguin, 1994), a murder mystery set in an exclusive, all-black resort in Maine, p. 19]

The woman reached up and brushed back her hair again. With her sandy blond hair and old ivory skin, Blanche had thought the woman was white; a closer look revealed that some of that lack of color was due to skillfully applied makeup that made her face a shade or two lighter than her arms.

AZ3.51. [Meredith Small, *Kids* (Anchor, 2001), p. 117-8] In a series of experiments, chimpanzees, gorillas, and monkeys were set up to see if they had a concept of self. A mirror was placed in their cages and they were allowed to get used to the figure in the mirror. Then while asleep, researchers painted a bright red spot on the forehead of each animal...

AZ3.52. [Colt Spencer, "Nip/Fuck", *Unzipped* Oct. 2004, p. 21]

[After a page describing nipple stretching exercises with a buddy...] Having incorporated nipple

stretching into our play on a regular basis, my nipples started to get bigger. And tougher.

AZ3.53. [from the weekly local history column in PADN, by Michael Svanevik and Shirley Burgett, 9/27/04, p. 14]

Crocker's mother-in-law, Adeline Mills Easton, moved in accepting the responsibility for raising Mary, Charles Templeton and Jennie, Crocker's three minor children.

[paragraph about Jennie's debutante ball]

Ultimately, having achieved his majority, ownership of the house passed to C. Templeton Crocker. Accounts agree that the young man loved the property but despised the old house. Thus, in 1915, he sold it...

AZ3.54. ["Great white sets captivity record", wire service report in PADN 10/2/04, p. 4] Unlike dozens of past attempts around the world to keep the great whites in captivity, this predatory fish continues to eat and shows no signs of stress.

AZ3.55. sci.lang

From: Keith GOERINGER <verbivore@comcast.net>

[1] ...but not, apparently, to construct a decent sentence

Date: Thu Oct 14 14:58:51 PDT 2004

In today's (14OCT04) Washington Post, there was a half-page ad for a local bank (Riggs, for those local or formerly local folks), with a large lead-in that reads:

AS BANKERS, YOU'D EXPECT US TO BE ABLE TO MULTIPLY.

(They were promoting some new branches they'd opened.)

AZ3.56. [another instance of the extremely common "by Ving" type... Ron Suskind, "Without a Doubt", NYT Magazine, 10/46/04, p. 47] As Bush himself has said any number of times on the campaign trail, "By remaining resolute and firm and strong, this world will be peaceful."

AZ3.57. [from the Ask the Doc column "The human genome, promise and caution" by Peter Alperin, M.D., in the 10/25/04 Palo Alto Daily News, p. 36; insurance companies are locally topical here] [beginning a new paragraph] The concern arises from misuse of our genetic information. Insurance companies are in the business of managing risk. Left unregulated, sound business practices dictate that they use all available information to evaluate their risk.

AZ3.58. [from Verbatim 29.2.8 (2004), one of their "Sic! Sic! Sic!" items]

From the Summer 2004 issue of Art & Antiques:

"Art mogul Charles Saatchi considers the works consumed in the East London Momart warehouse fire irreplaceable in the history of British art. 'Hell,' 2000, a 28-square-foot installation with hundreds of toy Nazis, by Jake and Dinos Chapman, is one of many pieces that set the world aflame. Now a glob of burnt plastic, Saatchi reportedly spent \$9000,000 for the piece."

AZ3.59. From: "Dennis R. Preston" <preston@MSU.EDU>

Date: November 5, 2004 12:50:46 PM PST
To: ADS-L@LISTSERV.UGA.EDU
Subject: Re: Burgoo

... It is the state dish. A stew y'all would call it, I reckon. See the recipe on p. 167 of The United State Regional Cookbook, ed. by Ruth Berolzheimer. Chicago: Culinary Arts Institute, 1939. Here is the list of ingredients:

600 lbs lean soup meat
200 lbs fat hens
2000 lbs potatoes, peeled and diced
5 bushels cabbage, chopped
200 lbs onions
60 #10 cans tomatoes
24 #10 cans puree of tomatoes
24 #10 cans of carrots
18 #10 cans of corn
Red pepper and salt to taste
Season with Worcestershire, Tabasco, or A-1 sauce

In season, add one dozen squirrels to each 100 gallons.

AZ3.60. [from the 2004 www.grandtheftendo.com site (written by Brian Provinciano), as recommended 11/18/04 by Mark Liberman on LL:]

It all started in late 2002 / early 2003 when I whipped up some simple graphics and wrote a very basic engine to make sure the NES could pull off what I wanted. It wasn't much, but laid things out. Being a spare time project, other projects took priority, but by mid 2003, it began in full (spare time) force!

AZ3.61. [ditto:] Developed for the fans by a fan, I've taken the time to make it as comfortable as possible.

AZ3.62. [Jennifer Diglio of Lake Worth FL writing to *Out* magazine (Dec. 2004, p. 26):] [beginning of letter:] As the "Mommy"... of two,... I spend a great deal of time figuring out gay-friendly ways to entertain them. As a Florida couple, cruises are an old favorite...

AZ3.63. [ditto:] Although this may have been the vacation of a lifetime, it would have cost us a lifetime of savings to go on it. Having recently moved to and from California for the sole purpose of adopting children,... our savings were all but gone.

AZ3.64. [footnote from a draft of Bruno Estigarribia's second qualifying paper (on the acquisition of English polar interrogatives), oral exam 11/22/04. the footnote is attached to a display of RPIs (reduced polar interrogatives) from the child Sarah in Roger Brown's data.] Although unrelated, I also included in this excerpt the previous adult RPI to caution readers against judging the child's performance too harshly.

AZ3.65. [from *Instinct* magazine, Dec. 2004, p. 63, editor Parker Ray on "Best Tech Toy: Apple iPod", a review that begins:] Accept no imitators. Now in its fourth generation, I remember how I held out on getting an iPod until this latest version came out, one that is compatible with both Macs and PCs.

AZ3.66. [Joe Murphy in *sci.lang*, 11/25/04, about David Costa's book on the Miami language] Hockett apparently interviewed a Peoria and a Miami the same day in Oklahoma in 1938 and compiled a list of 328 words. While meager, Costa says Hockett's data was of very high quality.

AZ3.67. [from Christopher Lisotta, "Chapter 13: Gay Gatherings", in Richard Andreoli (ed.), *mondohomo* (LA: Alyson Books, 2004), pp. 169-70] Long before his death and well after Mattachine was up and running, [Harry] Hay decided he and his friends needed to address their own spirituality and community. In 1979, Hay, along with his partner, John Burnside, and a small group of friends founded the Radical Faeries... Like the word "fag," Hay and his brothers decided to take back "Faerie" and make it celebratory...

AZ3.68. [Susie Jones, Palo Alto Police Community Liaison, in her Heads Up newsletter of December 2004] There have been a number of reports of gardening/landscaping vehicles being stolen while working at homes in Palo Alto.

AZ3.69. [from "The Applesauce Project" by Raymond Lesser, *Funny Times* Jan. 2005, p. 23] The kids in my son's class had come up with the idea of making and selling applesauce to raise money for cancer research, after finding out that one of their classmate's moms was fighting the disease. Being a Montessori school, the teacher and staff agreed that this would be an excellent learning project, and that all the kids should have a chance to participate in as many of the steps of making applesauce as possible. ["this being a Montessori school" would have been fine...]

AZ3.70. [1/12/05, NPR Morning Edition, reporter Wendy Kaufman about the mother of Christine Gregoire, the new governor of Washington (State)] As a short-order cook, there wasn't much money.

AZ3.71. [From GKP, 1/12/05: Printed on the brown paper bag in which I took away my egg and bacon croissant from Burger King on Saturday morning was a little joke:]

RUNNING ON FUMES

It's not always easy to plan out your next meal. So hold onto this bag. When properly sealed there are still enough fumes trapped inside --- even when empty --- to keep a person going until the next visit.

[GKP: Notice that there are TWO danglers in there, one of them a supplement. And although "inside it" would have provided an intrasentential antecedent, this was omitted, so it's definitely leaning on the discourse.

Notice, this little passage was probably carefully thought out and rewritten and double-checked and approved by an advertising agency and a team of copywriters who were paid tens of

thousands of dollars for the campaign. This is not a tendency that shows up only in carelessly composed text we are talking about. This can go past many layers of review without being noticed by anyone.]

AZ3.72. [omnipresent tv commercial, collected by AMZ 1/17/05] This is Bob... Since taking Enzyte for natural male enhancement, it's a confident Bob.

AZ3.73. [USA Today, 1/6/05, "Fallujans reluctant to go home, despite aid" by Steven Komarow] The U.S. military has said the city is safe now. The offensive is completed and insurgents have been driven away. But what's left of the city, even more than a month after fighting ended, is far from inviting. Driving through the streets, it's nearly impossible to pick out a structure that isn't damaged, including the mosques.

AZ3.74. [Mark Leno, re domestic partnerships, on NPR's *Morning Edition*, 2/4/05] As a gay man, that is disparaging my very identity.

AZ3.75. [from Greg Walker in Palo Alto, letter to the PADN, 2/26/05, p. 12] After shopping at Albertsons [a supermarket] at Alma Plaza for 28 years, it is sad to see it close.

[a few sentences later there's a puzzling sentence whose problem seems not to be with zero anaphors and antecedents, but with something else, i'm not entirely sure what: For years, there have been attempts to renovate the store, only to be fought by residents.]

AZ3.76. [NPR Morning Edition, 3/1/05, Ivan Watson reporting on the Iraqi Kurds] Without Washington's support, however, Saddam Hussein quickly crushed the revolt.

[The piece is clearly about the Kurds and their revolts against governments in Baghdad. Saddam Hussein had not been recently mentioned (by name) in the piece. Apparently, Watson felt that the Kurds and their leaders were so topical in the discourse that hearers would understand that it was they, and not Saddam Hussein, who lacked Washington's support. But he was wrong. I didn't catch it, but then I was only half-listening; I was lying in bed musing on which examples to use in my lecture that morning. But Geoff Pullum caught it, and phoned me immediately.]

AZ3.76. [3/2/05 NPR Morning Edition, a BBC news summary that didn't come around again and that I couldn't find on the website, so this is not quite accurate, though I have the relevant bit right] A week after being admitted to the Gemelli Hospital, the Vatican says the Pope is...

AZ3.77. [3/5/05, NPR Weekend Edition Saturday, re Italian journalist Giuliana Sgreni in Iraq] Instead of celebrating her return, an anti-war rally is now planned.

AZ3.78. [in a story about the Palo Alto Toyota dealership probably having to move to a larger site outside of P.A., the PADN (3/5/05, p. 69) says:] Generating \$66 million in sales revenue last year, Kopacz [the manager] estimates that a larger dealership with a freeway billboard could generate \$130 to \$140 million in sales.

[The immediately preceding story is all about plans for the new dealership, and there's no way

you can get the sentence-initial modifier to be about the current dealership. The new dealership, maybe, but not the current one. Meanwhile, it's hard not to think that Kopacz is generating that sales revenue. Really stunningly inept.]

AZ3.79, 80. [from the February-March 2005 issue of the Stanford *Lively Arts Magazine*, in the write-up for the Prazak Quartet concert 3/13/05, by Keith Horner (keith.horner@sympatico.ca): two danglers, one routine and probably not troublesome to most readers, the other spectacular...]

AZ3.79. p. 48, the routine example: Smetana had already come face to face with tragedy in his life. After marrying his childhood sweetheart, Katerina Kolárová, in 1847, three of their four daughters died in infancy before Katerina herself succumbed to tuberculosis.

AZ3.80. p. 47, the spectacular one [supply hacek on r and acute accent on a in Dvorak]: (Eight years later, however, Dvorak again fell in love, this time with Josefa's younger sister, Anna and, four months pregnant, they were married. It was the beginning of a long and comfortable marriage.)

AZ3.81. [e-mail from hifi@hifirecords.com (Hi-Fi Records, Lincoln Park IL), 3/15/05] Though rare, CDs, DVDs, videos and books may take up to 21 days to arrive when shipped within the continental United States...

AZ3.82. [from an interview with neurological pediatrician Huda Zoghbi, "Researchers Toil With Genes on the Fringe of a Cure", by Claudia Dreifus, NYT Science Times, 3/22/05, p. D2]

While I was still a resident, I met Ashley, a 5-year-old...

Her parents said she had started life as a perfectly normal girl and then at the age of 18 months, all of this [Rett syndrome] became manifest. Knowing that Ashley started out as a healthy child, she was hard to get out of my mind.

[These paragraphs are about Ashley, but of course they're about the speaker too.]

AZ3.83, 84. [two routine danglers from the November/December 2004 *Lambda Book Report*]

p. 5, letter from Dennis Rhodes of Provincetown, Mass.: As a writer, poet and amateur philosopher, it concerns me that the gay rights "movement" has, in my view, no sustained collective conscience.

p. 37, review by Susan Stinson of *Life Mask*, by Emma Donoghue: The novel teems with compelling secondary characters. Horace Walpole [serving as a character in this novel] is credited with having written the first Gothic novel, but even without having read it, it's easy to fall in love with his extravagantly fussy ways here...

AZ3.85. From: arendse@US.IBM.COM [Arendse Bernth]

Subject: eh?

Date: April 4, 2005 8:45:11 AM PDT

To: ADVISORS@LISTSERV.LINGUISTLIST.ORG

The following statement appears on the web page where LL shows the "free gifts" donors may qualify for:

As a donor to LINGUIST, we would like to thank you from the bottom of our hearts.

If the LL crew are making donations, why does everybody else need to? :-)

From: carnie@linguistlist.org [Andrew Carnie]
Subject: Re: eh?
Date: April 4, 2005 10:02:08 AM PDT
To: ADVISORS@LISTSERV.LINGUISTLIST.ORG

Actually I can't get that coindexing at all! Because of the number difference between "a donor" and "we".

Z3.86. [PADN, 4/9/05, Chaddus Bruce, "Bikes on Baby Bullet petition goal", p. 7]

Kunz said the Caltrain will consider a proposal on April 22 to increase the number of Baby Bullet runs a day from 10 to 24.

If approved, Caltrain would have to use some of their older trains thato have 32 spaces [rather than 16] for bicyclists.