

Appendix 1

Type-Shifting

Since a formal exposition of type-shifting theory is beyond the scope of this dissertation, I offer here only a brief sketch of the principle components, as presented in Partee 1987.¹ The general motivation is roughly that Montague's 'one category: one type' restriction can be loosened to allow a single syntactic category to correspond to a family of semantic types. Partee suggests that the traditional distinction between referential, predicative, and quantificational noun phrases can be captured formally by allowing noun phrases to be interpreted, respectively, as individuals (type e), predicates (type $\langle e, t \rangle$), or generalized quantifiers (type $\langle \langle e, t \rangle, t \rangle$). She suggests specifically that particular types of referring expression can receive the translations shown in (i):

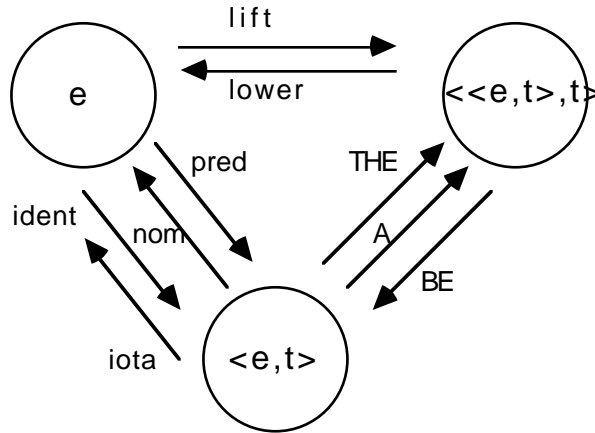
(i)	NP	TRANSLATION	TYPE
a.	John	MG: $\lambda P[P(j)]$	$\langle \langle e, t \rangle, t \rangle$
		j	e
b.	he _n	MG: $\lambda P[P(x_n)]$	$\langle \langle e, t \rangle, t \rangle$
		x _n	e
c.	every man	MG: $\lambda P[\forall x[\text{man}'(x) \rightarrow P(x)]]$	$\langle \langle e, t \rangle, t \rangle$
d.	the man	MG: $\lambda P[\exists x[\forall y[\text{man}'(y) \leftrightarrow y = x] \& P(x)]]$	$\langle \langle e, t \rangle, t \rangle$
		i. $\iota x[\text{man}'(x)]$	e
		ii. $\lambda x[\text{man}'(x) \& \forall y[\text{man}'(y) \leftrightarrow y = x]]$	$\langle e, t \rangle$
e.	a man	MG: $\lambda P[\exists x[\text{man}'(x) \& P(x)]]$	$\langle \langle e, t \rangle, t \rangle$
		i. man'	$\langle e, t \rangle$
		ii. Kamp-Heim: x _i	e
		cond: man'(x _i), x _i "new"	
f.	dogs ²	i. Chierchia: $\wedge \text{dog}'$	e
		ii. Carlson, in effect: $\lambda P[P \wedge \text{dog}']$	$\langle \langle e, t \rangle, t \rangle$
		iii. dog'	$\langle e, t \rangle$

¹See especially Partee and Rooth 1983 on type-shifting and the semantics of noun phrase coordination, and Partee 1986 on type-shifting and the semantics of pseudoclefts.

²For expository purposes, Partee defines an extensional subfragment of English, but notes that intensionality is crucially involved in Chierchia's treatment of generics.

Partee formulates the type-shifting principles assumed to represent natural mapping operations between the three type domains as shown in (ii), along with the definitions shown in (iii):

(ii)



(iii)	LIFT:	$j \rightarrow \lambda P[P(j)]$	total; injective
	LOWER:	maps a principal ultrafilter onto its generator $LOWER(LIFT(j)) = j$	partial; surjective
	IDENT:	$j \in \lambda x[x = j]$	total; injective
	IOTA:	$P \rightarrow \iota x[P(x)]$ $IOTA(IDENT(j)) = j$	partial; surjective
	NOM:	$P \rightarrow \wedge P$ (Chierchia)	almost total; injective
	PRED:	$x \rightarrow \vee P$ (Chierchia) $PRED(NOM(P)) = P$	partial; surjective

Appendix 2

Description of the corpus

Part I of this Appendix lists the sources from which the 701 full cleft tokens (with cleft clause expressed) were collected. Only tokens which were systematically collected are summarized. Interesting isolated tokens were also collected, but are not included in the summary. Part II presents tables classifying the tokens into subtypes on the basis of various criteria.

Part I. SOURCES.

A. Spoken sources.

- 20 Casual conversations recorded by Neil Frederickson and Karen Frederickson, and transcribed by Karen Frederickson. (Mostly conversations taking place among siblings and parents during holiday reunions at the parents' home.)

New Years Eve, 1975
 Christmas 1976 (cassette I and II)
 June 6, 1987 (side 1, cassette I)
 July 4, 1987 (side 2, cassette I)
 July 4, 1987 (cassette II)
 Christmas 1987 (cassette I)

- 9 McLaughlin Group, videotaped discussions by political columnists and reporters on public affairs. Transcripts were obtained from the Federal News Service. 36 half-hour episodes aired on PBS on the following dates:

1987: 2/28, 3/6, 3/13, 3/20, 3/27, 10/31, 11/14, 11/21, 11/28, 12/12, 12/19, 12/26,
 1988: 1/2, 1/9, 1/23, 2/20, 2/27, 3/1, 3/26, 4/2, 4/9, 4/16, 4/30, 5/7, 5/21, 6/4, 6/18,
 7/16, 7/23, 7/30, 8/6, 8/13, 8/20, 8/27, 9/3, 9/10.

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- 48 Geluykens, Ronald. 1984. Focus phenomena in English: an empirical investigation into cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences. *Antwerp Papers in Linguistics* 36. Examples of clefts from spontaneous conversations, collected, transcribed, and analyzed prosodically in Svartvik and Quirk 1980, *Survey of English Usage*.
- 33 Terkel, Studs. 1972. *Working*. New York: Ballantine Books (1985).

Total: 110

B. Mystery Novels.

- 28 Fitt, Mary. 1946/1984. *Death and the Pleasant Voices*. New York: Dover.
- 5 Hawkes, Ellen and Peter Manso. *The Shadow of the Moth*.
- 82 James, P. D. 1986. *A Taste for Death*. Warner Books.
- 9 Kallen, Lucille. *The Piano Bird*.
- 65 Knox, Ronald A. 1928/1983. *The Footsteps at the Lock*. New York: Dover.
- 39 Peters, Ellis. 1980. *Monk's Hood*. New York: Fawcett Crest.
- 13 Peters, Elizabeth. *The Murders of Richard III*.
- 31 Rendall, Ruth. *Speaker of Mandarin*.
- 13 Sayers, Dorothy. *Unnatural Death*.
- 14 Sayers, Dorothy. *Murder at the Bellona Club*.
- 7 Silver, Victoria. *Death of a Harvard Freshman*.
- 21 St. James, Bernard. 1978. *April Thirtieth*. Toronto: Raven House.
- 11 Tey, Josephine. *A Shilling for Candles*.
- 23 Tey, Josephine. *The Daughter of Time*.

Total: 361

C. Newspaper Columns.

- 58 Goodman, Ellen. 1985. *Keeping in Touch*. New York: Fawcett.
- 82 Syndicated opinion columns, *Minneapolis Star and Tribune* (*Star and Tribune of the Twin Cities*), 1987-1988.

Total: 140

D. Historical Narratives.

- 58 New York Times Atlas of World History. (Text portions)
- 16 Cunningham, Hilary, ed. 1988. Canada. Insight Guide Series. Singapore: APA. (Part I)
- 11 Freeburg, Janie and Diana Ackland, eds. 1988. The Pacific Northwest. Insight Guides Series. Singapore: APA. (Part I-II)
- 5 Bancroft-Hunt, Norman and Werner Forman. 1978. People of the Totem: The Indians of the Pacific Northwest. University of Oklahoma Press. (Page1-48)

Total: 90

Grand Total: 701

Part II. DISTRIBUTION.

Table 1. General Speech Act Type.

	Statement		Question		SOURCE
	Aff	Neg	Aff	Neg	TOTAL
Spoken	72	16	20	2	110
Mysteries	266	35	58	2	361
Newspapers	103	28	9	0	140
History	74	16	0	0	90
TYPE TOTAL	515	95	87	4	701

Table 2. Cognitive Status of Cleft Clause.

	Spoken Sources					Mystery Novels				
	Aff	Neg	Qu	TOTAL	%	Aff	Neg	Qu	TOTAL	%
Activated	17	3	4	24	22	44	11	11	66	18
Reactivated	13	5	4	22	20	35	11	12	58	16
Cause	13	3	3	19	17	34	5	18	57	16
Consequence	4	3	0	7	6.5	48	6	5	64	17
Superlative	5	0	2	7	6.5	14	0	2	16	4
Familiar	9	2	9	20	18	40	0	7	47	13
Informative	11	0	0	11	10	51	3	4	58	16
TOTAL	72	16	22	110	100%	266	36	59	361	100%

	Newspaper Columns					Historical Texts				
	Aff	Neg	Qu	TOTAL	%	Aff	Neg	Qu	TOTAL	%
Activated	5	2	0	7	5	2	0	0	2	2
Reactivated	14	7	0	21	15	6	2	0	8	9
Cause	19	7	2	28	20	7	1	0	8	9
Consequence	6	2	0	8	6	6	6	0	12	13
Superlative	8	0	0	8	6	8	0	0	8	9
Familiar	29	7	7	43	30	35	6	0	41	46
Informative	25	0	0	25	18	10	1	0	11	12
TOTAL	106	25	9	140	100%	74	16	0	90	100%

Table 3. Rectification Type, Negative Clefts.

	but	it's	S	...	(-until)	TOTAL
Spoken	2	6	2	4	3	17
Mysteries	5	11	3	9	9	37
Newspapers	4	7	8	5	4	28
History	2	0	2	0	13	17
TOTAL	13	24	15	18	29	99

Table 4. Qualifiers, Negative Clefts.

	¬until	¬just	¬only	¬	Total NEG	%¬Until
Spoken	3	4	0	10	17	18
Mysteries	9	0	1	27	37	24
Newspapers	4	12	4	8	28	14
History	13	0	2	2	17	76
TOTAL	29	16	7	47	99	29

Table 5. Subtypes, questions:

	Spoken	Mystery	Newspaper	History
Indirect wh-question	1	4	2	0
Free relative clause	2	1	4	0
Wh-question	8	17	0	0
Alternative question	1	3	0	0
Yes-no question	4	17	3	0
Confirmation question	6	17	0	0
TOTAL	22	59	9	0

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