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. 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(i)</th>
<th>NP</th>
<th>TRANSLATION</th>
<th>TYPE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>John</td>
<td>MG: ( \lambda P[P(j)] )</td>
<td>( \langle \langle e,t \rangle,t \rangle )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>he (_n)</td>
<td>MG: ( \lambda P[P(x_n)] )</td>
<td>( \langle \langle e,t \rangle,t \rangle )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x(_n)</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>every man</td>
<td>MG: ( \lambda P[\forall x[\text{man}'(x) \rightarrow P(x)]] )</td>
<td>( \langle \langle e,t \rangle,t \rangle )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>the man</td>
<td>MG: ( \lambda P[\exists x[\forall y[\text{man}'(y) \leftrightarrow y = x] &amp; P(x)]] )</td>
<td>( \langle \langle e,t \rangle,t \rangle )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i. tx[\text{man}'(x)]</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ii. ( \lambda x[\text{man}'(x) &amp; \forall y[\text{man}'(y) \leftrightarrow y = x]] \langle e,t \rangle )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>a man</td>
<td>MG: ( \lambda P[\exists x[\text{man}'(x) &amp; P(x)]] )</td>
<td>( \langle \langle e,t \rangle,t \rangle )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i. man'</td>
<td>( e )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ii. Kamp-Heim: ( x_i )</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cond: man'(( x_i )), ( x_i ) “new”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>dogs(^2)</td>
<td>Chierchia: ^dog'</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ii. Carlson, in effect: ( \lambda P[^{\text{dog}'}] )</td>
<td>( \langle \langle e,t \rangle,t \rangle )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>iii. dog'</td>
<td>( \langle e,t \rangle )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\)See 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.

\(^2\)For 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: \[ j \mapsto \lambda P[P(j)] \] total; injective
LOWER: maps a principal ultrafilter onto its generator
LOWER(LIFT(j)) = j partial; surjective
IDENT: \( j \not\in \lambda x[x = j] \) total; injective
IOTA: \[ P \mapsto \iota x[P(x)] \] partial; surjective
IOTA(IDENT(j)) = j
NOM: \[ P \mapsto ^\forall P \ (\text{Chierchia}) \] almost total; injective
PRED: \( x \mapsto ^\exists P \ (\text{Chierchia}) \) partial; surjective
PRED(NOM(P)) = P
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.


Total: 110

B. Mystery Novels.

Hawkes, Ellen and Peter Manso. The Shadow of the Moth.
Kallen, Lucille. The Piano Bird.
Peters, Elizabeth. The Murders of Richard III.
Rendall, Ruth. Speaker of Mandarin.
Sayers, Dorothy. Unnatural Death.
Sayers, Dorothy. Murder at the Bellona Club.
Tey, Josephine. A Shilling for Candles.
Tey, Josephine. The Daughter of Time.

Total: 361

C. Newspaper Columns.

Syndicated opinion columns, Minneapolis Star and Tribune (Star and Tribune of the Twin Cities), 1987-1988.

Total: 140
D. Historical Narratives.


Total: 90

Grand Total: 701

Part II. DISTRIBUTION.

Table 1. General Speech Act Type.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aff</td>
<td>Neg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spoken</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mysteries</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TYPE TOTAL</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2. Cognitive Status of Cleft Clause.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source Type</th>
<th>Aff</th>
<th>Neg</th>
<th>Qu</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Aff</th>
<th>Neg</th>
<th>Qu</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Spoken Sources</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activated</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reactivated</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cause</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consequence</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superlative</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Familiar</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informative</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>72</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Newspaper Columns</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activated</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reactivated</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cause</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consequence</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superlative</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Familiar</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informative</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>106</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Rectification Type, Negative Clefts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source Type</th>
<th>but</th>
<th>it’s</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>…</th>
<th>(~ until)</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spoken</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mysteries</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Qualifiers, Negative Clefts.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>¬until</th>
<th>¬just</th>
<th>¬only</th>
<th>¬</th>
<th>Total NEG</th>
<th>%¬Until</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spoken</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mysteries</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Subtypes, questions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Spoken</th>
<th>Mystery</th>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>History</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indirect wh-question</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free relative clause</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wh-question</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternative question</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes-no question</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confirmation question</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
References


Allerton, D. J. 1978. The notion of ‘givenness’ and its relations to presupposition and theme. Lingua 44. 133-168.


Ball, Catherine N. 1978. It-clefts and th-clefts. Paper read at the LSA summer meeting, Champaign-Urbana, Ill.


Bresnnan, Joan and Sam A. Mchombo. Topic, pronoun, and agreement in Chichewa. Language 63. 741-782.


Declerck, Renaat. 1984. The pragmatics of it-clefts and wh-clefts. Lingua 64. 251-289.


University of Texas at Austin. Reprinted 1977, Indiana University Linguistics Club; 1989,
Garland Press.


Gundel, Jeanette. K. 1978. Stress, pronominalization and the given-new distinction. University of

Parasession on pronouns and anaphora. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society. 139-146.

97.

Moravcsik and J. R. Wirth (eds.) Studies in Syntactic Typology. Amsterdam and

Gundel, Jeanette, Nancy Hedberg and Ron Zacharski. 1988. On the generation and interpretation
of demonstrative expressions. The Twelfth International Conference on Computational
Linguistics, Budapest, Hungary, 216-221.

Gundel, Jeanette, Nancy Hedberg and Ron Zacharski. 1989. Givenness, implicature and
demonstrative expressions in English discourse. Papers from the Parasession on Language
in Context, ed. by R. Graczyk, B. Music, and C. Wiltshire. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic
Society.


Halvorsen, Per-Kristian. 1978. The syntax and semantics of cleft constructions. Texas Linguistics Forum 11, Department of Linguistics, University of Texas, Austin.


Hetzron, Robert. 1975. The presentative movement or why the ideal word order is V.S.O.P. In C. N. Li (ed.), Word order and word order change, 346-388. Austin and London: University of Texas Press.


Weil, Henri. 1844. De l’ordre des mots dans les langues anciennes comparées aux langues moderns, Paris; English translation, the order of words in the ancient languages compared with that of the modern languages. 1878, Boston.


Allerton, D. J. 1978. The notion of ‘givenness’ and its relations to presupposition and theme. Lingua 44. 133-168.


Weil, Henri. 1844. De l’ordre des mots dans les langues anciennes comparées aux langues modernes, Paris; English translation, the order of words in the ancient languages compared with that of the modern languages. 1878, Boston.

d von der Gabelenz