

THE SYNTAX OF EMPHASIS – A BASE CAMP

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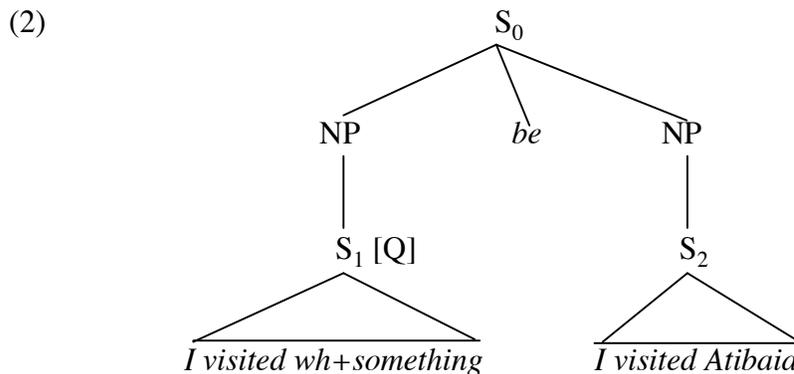
This paper is intended as a contribution to the understanding of the structure of emphatic sentences in general, in particular of those sentences which are now referred to in the English grammatical tradition as **cleft** and as **pseudocleft** sentences, as exemplified in (1a) and (1b), respectively.

- (1) a. *It was Atibaia that I visited*
 b. *What I visited was Atibaia*

I am aware of the vastness and sheerness of the slope that looms above us, and the ridiculousness of even surveying the major problems in a short paper, but one has to start somewhere, and perhaps a good place to pick up the trail is around the issue of the source of such sentences. I would like to imitate our friend and colleague Maurice in this undertaking, who only will say something about “French verbs” after having looked at each of the however many thousand of them there are, but I don’t have the foggiest idea of how many ways there are to build a syntactic structure whose rhetorical effect is that of picking out some element(s) in it for highlighting purposes. I have the general impression that it would not be hard to find more than one or two hundred of these, but I may be guesstimating far too low.

Still, in such a bind, all I know to do is to take a crack at the most obviously emphatic structures first, and fan out from them. Accordingly, I will start with a proposal for the remote structure for pseudoclefts, and, with a good deal more diffidence, I will second Adrian Akmajian’s suggestion (in A. Akmajian 1970) to the effect that cleft sentences should be derived from pseudoclefts.

I have in the past proposed (cf. J. R. Ross 1972, p. 88; cf. also J. R. Ross in press, for much more detail) a source for pseudocleft sentences which I will refer to as **the bisentential analysis**. Under this analysis, a sentence like (1b) would derive from some such structure as the one shown schematically in (2):



Necessary for any such derivation would be a rule which deletes that part of S_2 which repeats a corresponding part of S_1 – namely, in (2), *I visited*. Let us refer to this rule, which will be discussed at length presently, as Pseudocleft Formation.

A fundamental insight which (2) incorporates is due to Robert Faraci (cf. R. Faraci (1971)), who argued that the initial subordinate clause in pseudoclefts can most profitably be taken to be an embedded question (that is, a clause such as would function as the subject of a predicate like _____ is a mystery or the object of *I wonder _____*, rather than the kind of clause which would function as the subject of _____ is 72 kilometers north of São Paulo, which is a card-carrying free relative clause). Faraci observes that embedded questions can have cleft sentences as their highest clauses (as indicated by the boldface sections of (3)),

- (3) a. *What (**it was that**) I visited is a mystery*
 b. *I wonder what (**it was that**) I visited*

while free relative clauses cannot (indeed, (almost) no relative clauses can) – cf. the asterisked versions of (4a), which contains a free relative clause, and (4b), which contains a garden-variety relative clause:

- (4) a. *What (***it was that**) I visited is 72 kilometers north of São Paulo*
 b. *The city that (***it was that**) I visited is 72 kilometers north of São Paulo*

Faraci then goes on to show that pseudocleft sentences can also have cleft sentences inside of the highest clauses of the clauses that function as their subjects.

- (1) b'. *What (**it was that**) I visited was Atibaia*

Therefore, he concludes, any structure, like (2), which intends to generate the full range of pseudocleft sentences, must contain, as the subtree in the position of S_1 in (2), whatever kind of structure underlies other embedded questions. In (2), I have appended a capital “Q” to suggest this aspect of Faraci’s ground-breaking work. Naturally, therefore, whatever transformations have to apply inside of embedded questions, such as the fronting operation that I refer to as Question Formation in J. R. Ross (1972), will also apply in (2).

We can extend Faraci’s insight so that it applies to cleft sentences as well. Although there has not been the same amount of controversy surrounding the categorization of the postcopular sentence in *cleft* sentences, perhaps because these sentences are most frequently found to start with *that* or nothing (cf. *It was Eddie (that) I gave the book to*), rather than with a *wh*-word (as in *(?)It was Eddie who I gave the book to*), still the fact that *wh*- can head clauses here forces upon us the question as to what kind of *wh*-clauses such clauses as these might be – (free) relatives of some kind, or question clauses. Thus the fact that Faraci-type cleft sentences can be found seems to suggest that the embedded sentence of a cleft should also be seen as a question:

(5) *It is Eddie to whom it must have been that they gave the book*

Returning now to (2), assuming it established that Question Formation will apply in the sentence embedded to the left of the copula, what other transformations need we assume the existence of?

One of the most obvious is the rule I call Copula Switch, which is responsible for such alternations of non-emphatic sentences, such as these: *Tom is the villain* → *The villain is Tom*; *Some wine was on the table* → *On the table was some wine*; *The ones who passed were happy* → *Happy were the ones who passed*. For an excellent in-depth discussion of the problems surrounding the syntax of “inverted” copular sentences, cf. B. H. Partee (1999).

To be sure, though I have never studied the problem in any detail, I would be inclined to doubt that all of these inversions will best be analyzed as being performed by one unitary operation. I list them here in a group not in order to claim that there can be only one operation of inversion, but rather to call attention to the possibility of collapsing the rule that can be seen to be operating in (6) below with some other independently needed process(es) in the grammar.

(6) a. [(1b)] *What I visited was Atibaia* → (via Copula Switch)
 b. *Atibaia was what I visited*

The most radical of the suggestions that I wish to make in the bisentential analysis is that, aside from the obligatory movements involved in forming embedded questions and other minor operations, one of the options for a derivation from (2) is: nothing further need happen at all. If this option is chosen, sentences like (7) are produced (let us refer to them as “undeleted pseudoclefts”), sentences in which there is obviously a clause in surface structure on either side of the copula.

(7) %*[What I visited]_S was [I visited Atibaia]_S*

I have prefixed (7) with the ‘%’ sign, to indicate that not all speakers accept this sentence. A fairer way of presenting that fact would be to say that most speakers are appalled at my claim that there are any users of such structures whatsoever. Nonetheless, I continue, in fairly good cheer, to maintain the essential correctness of the bisentential analysis, because aside from speakers like myself, who do get undeleted pseudoclefts like (7), there are some sentences with all the important properties of (7) which a large majority of speakers, as far as I know, will accept, sentences the main verb of whose subject clause’s *wh*-word (*what*) is the deep object of the (pretty) empty verb *do*, as exemplified in (8):

(8) *[What I was doing]_S was [I was visiting Atibaia]_S.*

It would take me much too far afield here to recapitulate the abstract structures that I find most reasonable for such “agentive” *do*’s (cf. J. R. Ross 1972 for some details), but in any case, whether or not the abstract syntax analysis of agentive *do* that I propose stands or falls, the relevance of such sentences as (7) for the correctness of the basic

claim of the bisentential analysis – namely, that pseudocleft sentences are derived from structures in which there are embedded clauses both before (uncontroversial) and after (controversial) the verb *be* – is clear. A full analysis of pseudoclefts would then have to find ways of incorporating the observed facts – that is, that most speakers do not like sentences like (7), with two surface clauses, unless the relevant verb of the first clause is *do* – presumably to be accounted for by making obligatory the rule of Pseudocleft Formation, which sluices away those parts of S_2 in (2) which are identical to corresponding parts of S_1 , except in the presence of this *do*.

Note that undeleted pseudoclefts like (7) and (8) can also undergo Copula Switch:

- (7') %*[I visited Atibaia]_S was [what I visited]_S*
 (8') *[I was visiting Atibaia]_S was [what I was doing]_S*

An extremely interesting class of sentences, previously unreported, to the best of my knowledge, can be derived from copula-switched pseudoclefts like these by Sluicing, the rule which shortens questions when the non-question-word part of them repeats part of an earlier clause. Some examples of the operation of this rule can be seen in (9) and (10).

- (9) a. ***I visited someplace interesting: guess what I visited***
 b. ***I visited someplace interesting: guess what***
 (10) a. ***I was doing something interesting: guess what I was doing***
 b. ***I was doing something interesting: guess what***

In these sentences, since the boldface sequences are identical to each other, the second can be sluiced, as described in J. R. Ross (1969) (and now, in far greater detail, both within English and cross-linguistically, in J. Merchant 1999). Now note that (7') and (8'), under a bisentential analysis which incorporates Faraci's insight, also end with embedded questions, and that furthermore, the question word *what* is in both cases followed by a repeated sequence. If we allow Sluicing to apply here, we derive the following sentences:

- (11) *[I visited Atibaia]_S was what*
 (12) *[I was visiting Atibaia]_S was what*

To be sure, these sentences are not found in writing, and may be preferred immediately after a question, in sequences like the following:

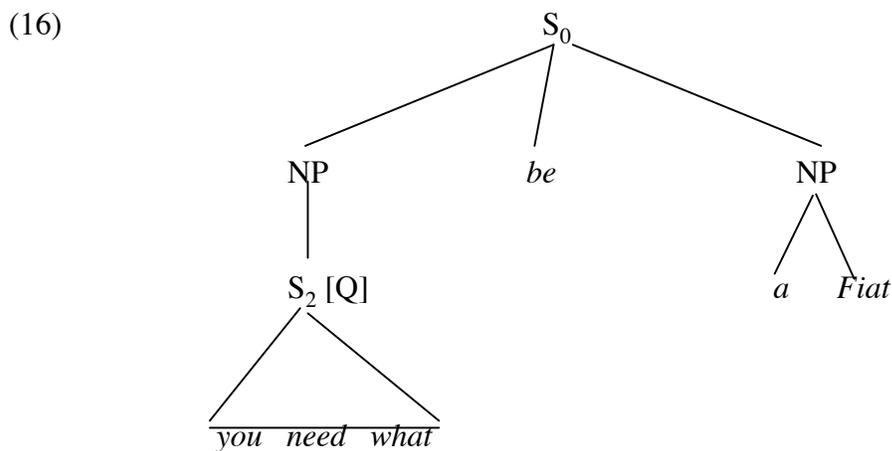
- (13) a. *Where is he going?*
 b. *He's going to Rome, is where (he's going)*
 (14) a. *Who should I talk to?*
 b. *You should talk to Paul, is who (you should talk to)*

For me, the sentences seem to require a comma intonation immediately before the copula, an oddity that I have no account for. But what is important here is the fact that such sentences exist at all, for they have a fairly natural account, given the bisentential analysis, which thus strengthens the case for it.

Moreover, they will be a real problem for any other analysis that I can think of, especially any analysis which proposes to make the deep structures of pseudoclefts be in essence their surface structure. Let us pause briefly to consider why.

Suppose that the deep structure of a sentence like (15) is roughly like the structure shown in (16).

(15) *What you need is a Fiat*



How could this structure be used, in any helpful way at all, to generate, for those speakers who accept such sentences, a sentence like (17), which is synonymous with (15)?

(17) *You need a Fiat, is what*

Sentence (17) appears to start with a plain tensed clause, presumably a subordinate one, because of the copula that follows, though there is no subordinating conjunction of any kind to indicate the role of the initial clause. And what follows is worse yet – a question word, one which does not start a clause of its own. The solidest generalization concerning *wh*-words in English is that, except for cases produced by the operation of Sluicing, such as (9b) and (10b) above, or in clauses which contain multiple *wh*-words (e.g., *who gave what to whom when?*), or in echo questions, incredulity questions, and so on, every *wh*-word starts its own clause, due to the operation of the (normally) obligatory rule of Question Formation. (17) would have to be considered an exception to this otherwise quite valid generalization. Note also that there is an alternate to (17)...

(18) *You need a Fiat, is all*

If anything like (15) is what underlies pseudoclefts, we have no explanation of the mysterious occurrence of *all*, in the place of the *wh*-word *what* (and perhaps also *who*). However, if we postulate that (17) has, at an earlier stage in its derivation, a sentence like (19),

(19) *What you need is a Fiat*

and we also know that *what* alternates with *all* [NB: only in certain contexts, of which the subject clauses of pseudoclefts are one], by processes which I have no analysis of at present (cf. (20)),

(20) *All you need is a Fiat*

we have an possible solution to the mystery of all in (18): its immediate antecedent in the derivation would be (21):

(21) *You need a Fiat, is all you need*

To this structure, Sluicing can, optionally, for me, apply, deleting the second of the identical boldface sequences, and we have a derivation for (18) as a variant of (17), a variant produced by some independently needed process, whatever it might be, which optionally converts (19) to (20). I mention in passing that there remain *is all* sentences which escape handily the net cast above, such as *I stood **there** – is all* [in the meaning “The only place I stood is there” – note the non-existence of anything parallel to (20), such as **All [that / where] I stood was there*].

To end this subtopic, it seems to me that even without a complete account of the *is all* phenomenon, the existence of sentences like (17) provides evidence of the strongest kind for the correctness of the bisentential analysis.

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Let me sum up what I have said thus far. I postulate bisentential sources, like (2), as the remote structures for pseudocleft sentences, structures which will produce a wide set of surface structures by the application of such rules as Question Formation, Pseudocleft Formation, Copula Switch, and Sluicing. Let us turn now to the other famous emphatic construction – the cleft sentence.

As I noted at the outset, despite many differences that one encounters between pseudoclefts and clefts, I find Akmajian’s 1970 arguments – to the effect that the former underlies the latter – fundamentally sound. He points out, for instance, that first-person cleftees exhibit third-person verb agreement when they function as subjects in the clauses out of which they were clefted. Thus the correct agreement in (22) is given in (22a), not in (22b), which one might have expected, had its formation really simply involved a “cleaving” of the subject pronoun *I* from the sentence *I am sick*.

- (22) a. *It is me that is sick*
 b. **It is me that am sick*

However, let us turn briefly to a set of sentences which might lead one to conclude, contra Akmajian, that there is a fundamental difference between pseudoclefts and clefts, with respect to the kinds of constituents that can be focused by the two rules. In (23), I have arrayed all of the focus types that are possible for pseudoclefts, and in (24), the focus types for clefts.

- (23) a. *NP:* *What I found was a grape*
 b. *that S:* *What I said was that you were spooty*
 c. *for NP to VP:* *What Al expected of us was for us to leave*
 d. *Q:* *What he asked was where the barn was*
 e. *Acc Ing:* *What I can't imagine is him howling*
 f. *Poss Ing:* *What they resented was Al's buying this*
 g. *(volitional) VP:* *What we were doing is moving the piano*
 h. *AP:* *What we have always been is kind to apes*
 i. *Adverb phrases*
 i. *of manner:* *How he entered was stealthily*
 ii. *of frequency:* *How often Danes eat is six times a day*
 iii. *of location:* *Where he lives is in Krum*
 iv. *of direction:* *Where we drove was to Bossington*
 v. *of time:* *When we met you was in November*
 vi. *of cause:* *Why we left was because of the rain*
 j. **Non-adverbial PP:* *(*Of) what I was thinking was of you*
 %*What I was thinking of was of you*

Now let us examine each of these focus types for the corresponding cleft sentences.

- (24) a. *NP:* *It was a grape that I found*
 b. *that S:* **It was that you were spooty that I said*
 c. *for NP to VP:* **It was for us to leave that Al expected of us*
 d. *Q:* **It was where the barn was that he asked*
 e. *Acc Ing:* *(?)It is him howling that I can't imagine*
 f. *Poss Ing:* *It was Al's buying this that they resented*
 g. *(volitional) VP:* ***It is moving the piano that we were doing*
 h. *AP:* ***It is kind to apes that we have always been*
 i. *Adverb phrases*
 i. *of manner:* **It was stealthily that he entered*
 ii. *of frequency:* *It is six times a day that Danes eat.*
 iii. *of location:* *It is in Krum that he lives*
 iv. *of direction:* *It was to Bossington that we drove*
 v. *of time:* *It was in November that we met you*
 vi. *of cause:* *It was because of the rain that we left*
 j. *Non-adverbial PP:* *It was of you that I was thinking*

I suspect that some of these differences, real enough though they are, are more superficial than they appear. One piece of evidence that this is the case comes from the rule that I have referred to as Left Deictic Dislocation (cf. J. R. Ross 1995). The difference between the more frequently discussed rule of Left Dislocation, which converts (25a) to (25b), and that of Left Deictic Dislocation, which converts (25a) to (25c), is in the type of “returning” pronoun (to borrow a term from Arabic grammar) which the rule introduces.

- (25) a. I've never heard of Jed swimming in the canal.
 b. Jed swimming in the canal – I've never heard of it.
 c. Jed swimming in the canal – I've never heard of [that / this].

While there is no space in the present work to examine the many interesting properties of the latter process, we can make use of it to deictically dislocate the foci of the sentences in (24) – with the results seen in (26).

- (26) a. *NP:* A grape – it was that that I found
 b. *that S:* That you were spooty – it was that that I said
 c. *for NP to VP:* For us to leave – it was that that Al expected of us
 d. *Q:* Where the barn was – it was that that he asked
 e. *Acc Ing:* Him howling – it is that that I can't imagine
 f. *Poss Ing:* Al's buying this – it was that that they resented
 g. *(volitional) VP:* Moving the piano – it is that that we were doing
 h. *AP:* Kind to apes – it is that that we have always been
 i. *Adverb phrases*
 i. *of manner:* Stealthily – it was [that way > ?thus] that he entered
 ii. *of frequency:* Six times a day – it is that often that Danes eat.
 iii. *of location:* In Krum – it is [in that place > there] that he lives
 iv. *of direction:* To Bossington – it was [to that place > *(?to)
there] that we drove
 v. *of time:* In November – it was [at that time > then] that we met you
 vi. *of cause:* Because of the rain – it was [for that reason / because of that] that we left
 j. *Non-adverbial PP:* Of you – it was of that that I was thinking

While the claim that there is a unitary process responsible for the conversions of the sentences in (24i) to the cognate ones in (26i) is doubtless not uncontroversial, I suspect that the claim that the left deictically dislocated sentences in (26a) – (26h) arise from their often ungrammatical cognates in (24a) – (24h) will be seen as fairly straightforward.

The conclusion, in that case, will be that the ungrammaticalities in (24a) – (24h) do not argue for any substantive distinction in source between pseudoclefts and clefts.

A second argument arises from the fact that the focused constituent can be topicalized, as we see in the conversion of (27a) to (27b):

- (27) a. *It was a T-bone steak that Rover made off with*
 b. *A T-bone steak it was that Rover made off with*

Let me remark parenthetically that I believe that whatever fronting process is at work here to quite possibly be distinct from the garden-variety topicalization of sentences like *This banana pizza I really can't eat*. Two facts underlie my uneasiness: first, this process works only in inner islands – negatives are excluded (Cf. **A T-bone steak it wasn't that Rover made off with*). Normal topicalizees can leave negative clauses with impunity. Second, there is a characteristic intonational contour which is associated with topicalizing the focus of a cleft sentence: in (27b), the word *was* bears the highest pitch of the sentence, and is followed by the “flattened” intonation which one finds after contrastively stressed elements, as in *I gave A COBRA to Donald outside the fieldhouse yesterday*.

Let us now examine how this (probably construction-specific) process of topicalization affects the grammaticalities of the ungrammatical clefts in (24b) – (24i.i) – I have inserted a ‘Ø’ to mark the original location of the topicalized phrase:

- (28) b. *that S:* *That you were spooty* it WAS Ø *that I said*
 c. *for NP to VP:* *For us to leave* it WAS Ø *that Al expected of us*
 d. *Q:* *Where the barn was* it WAS Ø *that he asked*
 e. *Acc Ing:* (?)*Him howling* it IS Ø *that I can't imagine*
 f. *Poss Ing:* *Al's buying this* it WAS Ø *that they resented*
 g. *(volitional) VP:* *Moving the piano* it IS Ø *that we were doing*
 h. *AP:* *Kind to apes* it IS Ø *that we have always been*
 i. *Adverb phrases*
 i. *of manner:* *Stealthily* it WAS Ø *that he entered*

It is clear that in each case, the topicalized version is much improved, which suggests to me that we will have to devise some kind of output condition to star the bad sentences of (24), rather than treating clefting as a process totally distinct from pseudoclefting.

There are, however, facts which I see as more threatening to an identification of the two constructions. First, while pseudoclefts can never emphasize idiom chunks, as we see in (29), clefts have fewer misgivings about doing so, as (30) indicates.

- (29) a. **What they have made on this problem is quite significant headway*
 b. **What is up is Horace's number*
 c. **What we all love to pull is the principal's leg*

- (30) a. *It is quite significant headway that they have made on this problem*
 b. *It is Horace's number that is up*
 c. *It is the principal's leg that we all love to pull*

Second, it seems never to be possible to pseudocleft a sequence of constituents that are not dominated by a single node (i. e., only constituents pseudocleft) – cf. (31):

- (31) a. [**Where / *When / *How long*] *I worked on this problem was* [*for four weeks in Munich / in Munich for four weeks*]
 b. [**When / *Where*] *I worked on peanut toxicity was* [*in Toulouse in 1999 / in 1999 in Toulouse*]

I infer that the underlined words in (31) do not form constituents, on the basis of the fact that they do not pied-pipe, as we see in (32):

- (32) a. **The weeks for which in Munich I worked on this problem were deliriously happy ones*
 b. *?*In which city in 1999 to work on peanut toxicity was a mystery*

Nonetheless, some of these do seem to be able to cleft:

- (33) a. *It was* [*for four weeks in Munich / ≥ ?in Munich for four weeks*] *that I worked on this problem*
 b. *It was* [*in Toulouse in 1999 / in 1999 in Toulouse*] *that we attacked the final section*

It should not be thought that just any old sequence of words can be clefted. For instance, while some sequences of adverbs, such as those in (33), seem cleftable, I have found no sequence that contains even one argument of a predicate that can be clefted (cf. *(34a)), to say nothing of the wretchedness of clefting both of the arguments of a predicate, even if one of them is an adverb (cf. *(34b)):

- (34) a. **It was to him in Paris that I gave the leeks*
 Indir Obj Locative
 b. ***It was the milk onto the table that we chucked*
 Dir Obj Directional

However, it is also not the case that just any sequence of two non-argumental adverbs can be clefted:

- (35) a. **It was in 1983 because of the strike that we moved*
 b. **It was during the night with a tuning fork that I cooked*

The sequences that seem to work best for me involve specifications of location and time, though I have not lived with this phenomenon long enough to know whether this frail generalization will hold much water. Even if it should, it would require the postulation of “constituentoids” – loose aggregates of adjacent adverbials of the requisite type, which can be acted upon by the rule of Cleft Sentence Formation (and perhaps other, similar rules?). This whole area seems likely to open cans of worms within other cans, all the way down.

I will mention in passing two other cleft-linked constructions, though there is space to do justice to neither. The first is produced by a rule I will refer to as Cleft Copula Zap, which, in a process suspiciously like that of the well-beloved Whiz Deletion

(which is responsible for alternations like *somebody who was [from Waco / singing in Mandarin / blasted out of his mind]* → *somebody ~~who was~~ [from Waco / singing in Mandarin / blasted out of his mind]*), gets rid of the initial *that* of a cleft and a following (auxiliary plus (?)) copula, before a *PP* or a *V+ing* (though not before an adjective phrase), to produce the truncated clefts seen in *It was Trev ~~that was~~ [in the Toyota / singing in Mandarin / *blasted out of his mind]*. These shorty clefts can have their foci topicalized (*Trev it WAS in the Toyota / singing in Mandarin*), and also left deictic dislocated: *It was the eggbeater in the soup* → *The eggbeater – it was that in the soup*. Note that Cleft Copula Zap requires that the focused element be a plain vanilla lexical NP, perhaps even only allowing concrete NP's, as we see from contrasts such as those in (36):

- (36) a. *It was Terri on duty.*
 b. *?It was her loyalty in question.*
 c. **It was whether she fell asleep in question.*

The other, more versatile, construction arises directly from clefts sentences, via the rule of Presupposition Zap, a rule which deletes the post-focal question clause under identity with a preceding clause, as we watch happen in (37) and (38):

- (37) a. *Something seems to have gotten in – I bet it was a squirrel that got in*
 b. *Something seems to have gotten in – I bet it was a squirrel ~~that got in~~*
- (38) a. *Terry stole someone's wallet, but it wasn't Bob's wallet that she stole*
 b. *Terry stole someone's wallet, but it wasn't Bob's wallet ~~that she stole~~*

There is space here to mention two quick arguments to the effect that the final copular clauses of (37b) and (38b) are indeed clefts: first, note that just as the intensifiers *even* and *also* cannot “modify” (if that is the word I should be using here – cf. Cooper and Ross 1979 for some discussion of these and other intensifiers) the focus of a (pseudo)cleft, so they cannot survive when their following presupposition has been deleted, as we see from (39):

- (39) a. **What got in was [even / also] a squirrel*
 b. **It was [even / also] a squirrel that got in*
 c. **It was [even / also] a squirrel*

Second, note that the same baffling constraints regarding the kinds of sequences of constituents which can form “constituentoids” that we glanced at fleetingly above show up in these presuppositionless “bikini clefts,” as we can see from the contrasts in (40):

- (40) a. *It was during the night [for four hours/ * with a tuning fork] that I cooked*
 b. *It was during the night [for four hours/ * with a tuning fork] ~~that I cooked~~*

I feel sure that future research on these shorties will lead us to interesting areas, but they will have to wait for another day.

I will close this brief survey of emphatic constructions here. While some of the conclusions about pseudoclefts that I have advanced would seem to me to have a strongish claim to validity (especially the bisentential analysis, though I do not know how to refute the telling arguments against it that Higgins (1979) makes), I am considerably less sanguine about anything that I have said about clefts. I have been messing about with (pseudo)clefts for far too long now, I would have thought, to remain as much in the dark as I still am. But that is well and truly where I in fact am, which I take as a kindly hint from the universe to the effect that I should be a lot more cautious about anything that I try to say emphatically.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many thanks to Paul Postal for many e-mails and conversations about how and how not to (pseudo)cleft things.

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Summary:

This paper attempts a survey of the major emphatic constructions in English, and of the processes which derive them from a proposed **bisentential source**. The source for a garden-variety **pseudocleft** sentence like *What Jeb hankers for is a smooth transition* is argued to be *What Jeb hankers for is ~~he hankers for~~ a smooth transition* – the rule of Pseudocleft Formation, which is optional for some speakers, deletes the redundant struck-through elements. Whether this ellipsis has occurred or not, a rule of Copula Switch can apply to transform the post-copular constituent into the subject of the resulting sentence: *~~He hankers for~~ a smooth transition is what Jeb hankers for*. Copula-switched or not, and deleted or not, the subjects of all such pseudoclefts can be Deictic Dislocated, freely to the left, less so to the right. The **returning pronouns** which emerge in the course of these operations are the demonstratives *that* and *this*. Some examples of the resultant structures are: *What Jeb hankers for – [that / this] is (? ~~he hankers for~~ a smooth transition)*; **[That / This] is (** ~~he hankers for~~ a smooth transition) – what Jeb hankers for*; *He ~~hankers for~~ a smooth transition – [that/ ≥ this] is what Jeb hankers for*; *[This / >?That] is what Jeb hankers for – ~~he hankers for~~ a smooth transition*. Akmajian's motion to derive **cleft** sentences from pseudoclefts is seconded, and it is argued that Deictic Dislocation can provide some evidence for the correctness of such an analysis, in the face of apparent counterexamples, as is evident from such contrasts as *It was [the pizza / *that Mildred stomped out] that Tony regretted* versus *was [The pizza / That Mildred stomped out] – it was that that Tony regretted*.