An automodular perspective on the frozenness of pseudoclefts

Warning: professional title. Do not attempt at home!

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This paper is a try at building a bridge between a vexing topic—the architecture of emphatic sentences in English (and by induction, to all languages)—and the automodular theory of my old pal Jerry Sadock, a theory which I understand way too little of. I beg forbearance at the outset for my misunderstandings, and I only hope that the end of the bridge about emphatic sentences will be clearly enough enunciated that people who know more about automodularity will be able to repair this first try.

So. I will start by talking about pseudocleft sentences. I will assume that the best source for them is the one that I call “the bisentential source” in Ross (2000) (cf. Schlenker (2001), for some further arguments in support of this remote structure). This source is called bisentential because it says that pseudos are derived from a structure whose main verb is the copula, be, whose subject is a wh-clause question, and whose object is a that-clause that is a syntactic answer to that question, as stated formulaically in (a).

I. A remote structure for pseudocleft sentences

(a) Question be Answer [= SQ be SA]

Thus (1b) derives from (1a).

(1) a. %[[The one who/≥ Who/WHO] killed JR]Q was [(%??that) nobody killed him]A.
   b. [[[The one who/≥ Who] killed JR]Q was (*that) nobody.
I prefix (1a) with the percent sign (%) for two reasons: first, to indicate that many speakers cannot start pseudos with who; they require them to start with the one who, and second, because most speakers cannot accept a full clause after the copula in pseudos. I will refer to sentences like (1a) as undeleted pseudos, and to sentences like (1b), which are acceptable to all speakers, as (deleted) pseudos.

The question Who killed JR? can be answered by the sentence Nobody killed him. (I indicate contrastive stress by boldface). The emphasized constituent here is the NP nothing; it functions as the direct object of killed. Most speakers cannot accept undeleted sentences unless the emphasized constituent is the VP object of the verb do, as is the case in (2). Most of the speakers I have consulted accept the longer, undeleted, version of (2); anyone who does not have in their idiolect a restriction on Pseudocleft Formation, the rule which converts (1a) to (1b), to the effect that this deletion is obligatory in all contexts.

[What Terry is doing]Q is [(she is) finishing her book]A.

Note that the wh-clause of a pseudocleft must be an embedded question, not a free relative, because free relative clauses can’t contain two wh-words bound by the same operator, while questions can. Thus from (3), we conclude that the subject clause of is cannot be a free relative clause, a discovery first made by Bob Faraci.

[Who was doing what]Q*Free Rel is Ed was editing and Whit was whittling]A.

II.

An even remoter structure for pseudoclefts:
a sentence whose main verb is the bisentential verb answer:

(?the proposition) that S_A answers the question as to S_Q

If we are doing serious semantics (and I assume we all are), the structure in (1а) doesn’t make much sense. Assuming that the semantics of the copula is something pretty close to that for some kind of predicate of identity, what could it mean to say that one sentential NP is another sentential NP? For that is what (1a) seems to be saying pretty clearly, unless we are prepared to cut loose with some pretty fancy semantic footwork. I am poor at footwork; and even if I weren’t, I would be worried about the fact that however the meaning of (1b) is to be represented, it must come out to be purty dang identical to whatever is representing the meaning of (4).

The answer to the question (as to/of) [who killed JR]_{SQ} was ([?the proposition) that] [nobody killed him]_{SA}.

In (5), I sketch a possible derivational history for the structure of this sentence (I will replace the sentences about JR’s death with S_A and S_Q.

a. [(?the proposition) that S_A]_{NP} answers_{stative} to [the question as to S_Q]_{NP} → (via the rule Lite Verb Hatching [see discussion below])
b. (the proposition) that $S_A$ is the answer to the question as to $S_Q$
\[ \rightarrow \text{(via the rule Copula Switch [see discussion below])} \]

c. the answer to the question as to $S_Q$ is (the proposition) that $S_A$
\[ \rightarrow \text{(via the rule Beheading [see discussion below])} \]

d. $[S_Q]_{NP}$ is [that $S_A]_{NP}$ (= $\alpha$)

This analysis is based on my speculations as to what an adequate semantic representation of the bisentential stative verb *answer* would be. Its subject is of course abstract; but not just any kind of abstractness will do – it appears to necessarily be an abstract linguistic entity;

(6) [The [statement/*word /*hope/*length of the carpet/*distance between here and Lake Louise]] answered_{stative} the question.

It is not clear to me what the relationship between this abstract, bisentential *answer* of (5) and (6) and the homophonous active and personal *answer* of (7) is.

(7) Al answered_{active} the question as to $[S_Q]_{NP}$ [with the statement/by stating] [that $S_A]_{NP}$.

I would hope that it could be argued that (7) in turn derives from (8)

(8) [Al's stating [that $S_A]_{NP}$ answered_{stative} the question as to $[S_Q]_{NP}$.]

via an ascension rule which would make the boldfaced NP Al in (8) into the subject of *answer*, thus chômeurizing and postposing the rest of the Poss – ing subject of *answer* in (8), which I have underlined. Such a proposal has always seemed reasonable to me, except for the necessity of converting answered_{stative} into answered_{active} in the process, which has made me feel queasy. At any rate, this is not of focal importance here, so I will leave this hot potato for some hapless future researcher.

Returning briefly to (5a), let me explain two more aspects of it. I have included a preposition, *to*, after (5a)'s *answer*, and have struck it through. This follows an ancient analysis of Postal (class lectures at MIT in 1964), which accounts for the presence of prepositions before the objects of nominalized verbs (cf. (9a)) and their absence after plain verbs (as in (9b)) by postulating their remote presence, and then deleting them unless nominalization has occurred.

(9) a. I am a lover of hambones/have trust in you.
b. I love hambones/trust you.

A further note about (5a) is the question mark preceding the proposition; at this juncture, I do not know whether this noun is deeply necessary.

The most important difference between (5a) and (α) is that the linking verb *be* in the latter has been replaced by the lexical verb *answer*. I am no semanticist, but what I would see as a minimal condition on an adequate representation of the meaning of this verb is that it specifies that the proposition in the subject NP of *answer*, when compared with the question-proposition in the object of *answer*, should differ in one NP only (or in several, if the question is one which has multiple *wb-
words). In the subject clause, there should be a specific NP (or several of them) in exactly that place in its structure as the place in the structure of the question-clause where there is a \( wh \)-word (or several of them, in the case of a multiple \( wh \)-question). And also, of course, whatever syntactic or morphological categories may be marked in the \( wh \)-word, these must also appear in “the answering NP (or NP’s).”

One can easily see the many respects in which this preliminary formulation is deficient, but the main point at issue is that regardless of how pseudoclefts are to be analyzed, there must be in the lexicon a rich enough and precise definition of the semantics of the verb *answer*. The syntactic analysis in (5) piggybacks on this richness and precision, and the present syntactician quietly leaves the table to proceed with explaining the nuts and bolts of the transformations which will apply to (5a) to convert it to (c), and after that, via such rules as *Pseudocleft Formation*, and others to be touched on below, to the large number of ways that emphatic structures can show up superficially in English.

Proceeding (unbriskly) to (5b), the rule that I have dubbed *Lite Verb Hatching* (LVH) is one that everybody has to posit somewhere in their grammar, to account for such related pairs of sentences as we see in (10).

I propose to resolutely deposit this problem too in someone else’s lap; Jerry also allows for the insertion of some lite, or dummy, verbs, such as *be*. That analytic possibility is all I need to rely on, for the suggested derivation in (5) to survive. Note, by the way, that there are some bisentential verbs which can undergo LVH; some examples appear in (11).

As far as I know, the only lite verb that is ever produced for a bisentential verb is the verb *be*. The conversion from (5b) to (5c) is unproblematic: everyone has to have some process allowing \( A \text{ is } B \) to become \( B \text{ is } A \) for certain A’s and B’s, some of which we see in (12). My name for this transformation is *Copula Switch*.

(10) a. I dance. \( \rightarrow \) I *am* a dancer.
    b. I progressed. \( \rightarrow \) I *made* progress.
    c. I objected to X \( \rightarrow \) I *took* objection to X.
    d. I pushed the jalopy. \( \rightarrow \) I *gave* the jalopy a push.
    e. I believe that S \( \rightarrow \) I *have* the belief that S.
    f. I feel nauseous \( \rightarrow \) I *have* a nauseous feeling.
    g. He awarded $1.04 to me \( \rightarrow \) I *got* an award of $1.04 from him.
    h. I researched this problem. \( \rightarrow \) I *did* research on this problem.

(11) ai. That the sun rises proves that God exists. \( \rightarrow \)
    aii. That the sun rises *is* a proof that God exists.
    bi. That Al’s voice was hoarse indicated that he had been boozing. \( \rightarrow \)
    bii. That Al’s voice was hoarse *was* an indication that he had been boozing.
    ci. Your pushing that button caused my cd to melt. \( \rightarrow \)
    cii. Your pushing that button *was* the cause of my cd melting.
    di. That Terry won answers the question as to who won. \( \rightarrow \)
    dii. That Terry won *is* the answer to the question as to who won.

(12) a. Jack is an inveterate worrier. \( \rightarrow \) An inveterate worrier is Jack.
    b. A beautiful lamp was in the corner. \( \rightarrow \) In the corner was a beautiful lamp.
    c. Sandy was president *pro tem*. \( \rightarrow \) President *pro tem* was Sandy.
d. My brother Zwit was so blotto that he could barely stand. →
   So blotto that he could hardly stand was my brother Zwit.

The final step that is necessary to demonstrate the feasibility of the
derivational trajectory sketched in (5) is the conversion of (5c) to (5d). The
foundational article for the transformation that shortens (5c) to (5d) is Borkin (1972).
This article is the first to propose the term Beheading for the process which deletes
the head noun (and any following preposition) in a compound noun, leaving the
deeply subordinate noun appearing to be the only noun in the construction. In (13) I
have arrayed a number of examples of Beheading: in each case, I have boldfaced the
head noun that takes the hit when Beheading applies.

(13) ai. Jorge’s car [ = the car of Jorge] is parked on Elm Street. →
   aii. Jorge is parked on Elm Street.

   bi. The water in the kettle is boiling. →

   bii. The kettle is boiling.

   ci. The length of his last jump was 28 feet. →

   cii. His last jump was 28 feet.

This rule is in great need of close study; it is a governed rule (cf. Lakoff (1970)
for a discussion of this term), and in addition it is sensitive to where in the sentence
the complex NP is, as we see in (14):

(14) ai. A great number of people know (*the fact) that his beard is false.
   aii. (The fact) that his beard is false is known by/to a great number of
   people.

III. The Frozenness of Pseudoclefts, a phenomenon which all who dare
these deeps must confront, morphs mysteriously into The Automodular
Unruliness of Pseudoclefts.

   Automodularists rejoice whenever they encounter lack of movement. If
nothing ever changed in its ordering in syntax, automodularity would be a far easier
row to hoe. That’s what we expect. Alas, in pseudoclefts, there are lots of ordering
possibilities, worse luck. What to do? Well, let’s check with Damage Control first,
get some notion as to how bad things are.

(15) Variants of pseudoclefts in which Questions precede Answers.

   Amazingly, there are only two constructions which have this property:

   a. The Undeleted Pseudocleft

      \[ \text{[[what Max ate]_{SQ}]_{NP} was [[Max ate }_{SA} \text{ a bagel]_{SQ}]_{NP}.} \rightleftharpoons \text{via PCF} \]
      \[
      \text{QUESTION} \quad \text{ANSWER}
      \]

   b. The Plain Vanilla Pseudocleft (formed from (15a) by the ellipting rule
   of Pseudocleft Formation [PCF], which zaps the redundant (and
   underlined) repeated part of \( S_A \), producing

      \[ \text{[[what Max ate]_{SQ}]_{NP} was [A bagel]_{NP}.} \rightleftharpoons \text{via PCF} \]
      \[
      \text{QUESTION} \quad \text{ANSWER}
      \]
and the Right Deictic Dislocated (RDD) variants of these:

c. The Undeleted Right Deictic Dislocated Pseudocleft

\[
[\{\text{what Max ate}\}_{\text{sq}}\text{NP} \text{ was } \text{Max ate } [\text{this / \text{*that}}]\text{NP} - [\text{A BAGEL}]_{\text{NP}}.]
\]

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\text{QUESTION} & \text{ANSWER} & \text{ANSWER} \\
\end{tabular}

d. The Plain Vanilla Right Deictic Dislocated Pseudocleft

\[
[\{\text{what Max ate}\}_{\text{sq}}\text{NP} \text{ was } [\text{this / \text{*that}}]\text{NP} - [\text{A BAGEL}]_{\text{NP}}.]
\]

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\text{QUESTION} & \text{ANSWER} & \text{ANSWER} \\
\end{tabular}

Note that in (15c,d), the first examples in which we have seen repeated \textbf{answers}, while both bear heavy stress, a later \textbf{answer} will bear more stress than will an earlier, a fact that I indicate by \textbf{boldfacing} AND \textbf{CAPITALIZING} the later answers. We will find that this generalization is almost always true: of two answer-constituents in a pseudocleft-based sentence, the second one always bears greater stress than the earlier one.

(16) Variants of pseudoclefts in which \textbf{Answers} precede Questions.

\begin{enumerate}
\item[a.] The Copula Switcheroo (undeleted) \{formed by a transformation of \textbf{Copula Switch (CS) – automodularly, both orders generated in syntax module}\}

\[
[\{\text{Max ate a bagel}\}_{\text{sa}}\text{NP} \text{ was } [\{\text{what Max ate}\}_{\text{sq}}\text{NP}.]
\]

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\text{ANSWER} & \text{QUESTION} \\
\end{tabular}

\item[b.] The Copula Switcheroo with deletion from S\text{a} (via PCF)

\[
[\text{A bagel}]_{\text{NP}} \text{ was } [\{\text{what Max ate}\}_{\text{sq}}\text{NP}.]
\]

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\text{ANSWER} & \text{QUESTION} \\
\end{tabular}

\item[c.] A Left Deictic Dislocation (LDD) of (16a)

\[
[\{\text{Max ate a bagel}\}_{\text{sa}}\text{NP} - [\text{THAT}]_{\text{NP}} \text{ was } [\{\text{what Max ate}\}_{\text{sq}}\text{NP}.]
\]

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\text{ANSWER} & \text{ANSWER} & \text{QUESTION} \\
\end{tabular}

\item[d.] A Left Deictic Dislocation of (16b)

\[
[\text{A bagel}]_{\text{NP}} - [\text{THAT}]_{\text{NP}} \text{ was } [\{\text{what Max ate}\}_{\text{sq}}\text{NP}.]
\]

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\text{ANSWER} & \text{ANSWER} & \text{QUESTION} \\
\end{tabular}
\end{enumerate}

Now follow 2 sentences, from (16a) and (16b), by RDDing the \textbf{ANSWER}:

(17) \begin{enumerate}
\item[a.] [\text{That}]_{\text{NP}} \text{ was } [\{\text{what Max ate}\}_{\text{sq}}\text{NP} - [\text{he ate A BAGEL}]_{\text{sa}}\text{NP}.]

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\text{ANSWER} & \text{QUESTION} & \text{RDDed ANSWER} \\
\end{tabular}

\item[b.] [\text{That}]_{\text{NP}} \text{ was } [\{\text{what Max ate}\}_{\text{sq}}\text{NP} - [\text{he ate A BAGEL}]_{\text{sa}}\text{NP}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\text{ANSWER} & \text{QUESTION} & \text{PCFed ANSWER} \\
\end{tabular}
\end{enumerate}
(18)  (Two more processes which result in clauses in which Answer precedes Question)

**Clefting (C – proposed by Adrian Akmajian in 1972):**

a. \[ ([\text{what Max ate}]_{SQ})_{NP} \text{ was [a bagel].} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{via C} \]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{QUESTION} & \text{ANSWER} \\
\end{array}
\]

b. \[ \text{It was a bagel} \quad ([\text{that Max ate}]_{SQ})_{NP}. \]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ANSWER} & \text{QUESTION} \\
\end{array}
\]

**Sluicing (S – cf. Ross (1969); (Merchant (1999)):**

c. From (16a):

\[ ([\text{Max ate a bagel}]_{SQ})_{NP} \text{ was } ([\text{what Max ate}]_{SQ})_{NP}. \rightarrow \quad \text{via S} \]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ANSWER} & \text{QUESTION} \\
\end{array}
\]

d. (the repeated and redundant underlined material in the question is sluiced)

\[ [\text{Max ate a bagel}]_{SQ} \text{ was what.} \]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ANSWER} & \text{QUESTION} \\
\end{array}
\]

e. One last process, **Presupposition ZAP (PZ)** which can remove all of the question clause of a cleft sentence:

What did J tell H?

\[ \text{It was the one about the Jew converting that J told H} \]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ANSWER} & \text{QUESTION} \\
\end{array}
\]

(19)  **Pyrotechnics:** Triple repetition of the remote structure of a pseudocleft, just to make sure the point gets made.

What Max ate was a bagel – **A BAGEL is what he ate – THAT’S what – ♦ A BAGEL!**

Let us now examine the issue of the frozenness of pseudoclefts. In Ross (2000), I (re)call attention to an observation originally due to Roger Higgins (cf. Higgins, (1979)), to the effect that pseudos do not behave like normal copular sentences; there are many [processes/constructions] that normal copular sentences [undergo/show up in] which [do not work for/are not available for] pseudoclefts. Before I exemplify this frozenness, let me point out that in Ross (op. cit.), I show that there are various degrees of frozenness, depending on the type of constituent that is pseudoclefted. In (20), I list the first four types of answers, which range from least frozen/restricted, to more frozen/restricted.
(20)

a. Type 1. The **answer** (to the question) is a lexical NP:
   What I had is **a book**.

b. Type 2. The **answer** is a complement clause:
   What I thought is **that you were a jerk**.

c. Type 3. The **answer** is a volitional verb phrase:
   What I did is **pat the cat**.

d. Type 4. The **answer** is a predicate nominal or an adjective phrase:
   What I am is **[a pro wrestler/proud of you]**.

In order to demonstrate the existence of the frozenness clearly, I will use examples of Type 3, which I will refer to as *actional pseudoclefts*. To compare with these, let us choose, as our baseline, the copular sentence *Max is a Martian*. The processes/ constructions that I will use for this comparison are referred to in Ross (op. cit.) as **Sure-ing** and **Subjunctive If-Zap**. Examples of these appear in (21).

(21)

a. Max [sure is/is sure] a Martian.

b. Were Max a Martian, . . . [From *If Max were a Martian, . . .*]

The parallel processes for the actional pseudocleft (20c) produce the less than fully grammatical sentences in (22).

(22)

a. What I did [?sure is/> ??is sure] pat the cat.

b. *Were what I did pat the cat, . . .

So. The phenomenon of frozenness lives in the comparison between (21) and (22). Let us now examine whether all of the following variants of pseudocleft sentences which I have been arguing above to be derivable from the actional remote structure of (20c) that is shown in (23).

(23)

a. \[\text{[what I did]}_{SQ}\text{NP is }[[\text{I did }\text{[pat the cat]}_{SNP}]_{SNP}\text{NP}, (parallels (15a)) →\]
   \(\text{this becomes, via Do-Gobbling (cf. Ross (1972) for details), (23a)'}\]

a'. \[\text{[what I did]}_{SQ}\text{NP is }[[\text{I patted the cat]}_{SNP}]_{SNP}\text{NP}.\]

b. \[\text{[what I did]}_{SQ}\text{NP is }[[\text{pat the cat]}_{SNP}]_{SNP}\text{NP}. \text{ (parallels (15b))}\]

c. \[\text{[what I did]}_{SQ}\text{NP is I did [this }*\text{that]}_{NP} [[\text{[PAT THE CAT]}_{SNP}]_{SNP}\text{NP}. \text{ (cf. (15c))}\]

d. \[\text{[what I did]}_{SQ}\text{NP is [this }*\text{that]}_{NP} \text{[[[PAT THE CAT]}_{SNP}]_{SNP}\text{NP}. \text{ (cf. (15d))}\]

e. \[\text{[I did [pat the cat]}_{SNP}\text{NP}_{SNP}\text{NP is }[[\text{what I did]}_{SQ}\text{NP}. \text{ (as with (23a)) →}\]

e'. \[\text{[I patted the cat]}_{SNP}\text{NP}_{SNP}\text{NP is }[[\text{what I did]}_{SQ}\text{NP}. \text{ (cf.(16a))}\]

f. \[\text{[[[pat the cat]}_{SNP}]_{SNP}\text{NP}_{SNP}\text{NP is }[[\text{what I did]}_{SQ}\text{NP}. \text{ (cf.(16b))}\]

g. \[\text{[I did [pat the cat]}_{SNP}\text{NP}_{SNP}\text{NP} \text{[THAT]}_{NP} \text{was }[[\text{what I did]}_{SQ}\text{NP}. \text{ (as with (23a)) →}\]

g'. \[\text{[I patted the cat]}_{SNP}\text{NP}_{SNP}\text{NP} \text{[THAT]}_{NP} \text{was }[[\text{what I did]}_{SQ}\text{NP}. \text{ (Cf. (16c))}\]

h. \[\text{[[[pat the cat]}_{SNP}]_{SNP}\text{NP}_{SNP}\text{NP} \text{[THAT]}_{NP} \text{was }[[\text{what I did]}_{SQ}\text{NP}. \text{ (Cf. (16d))}\]

i. \[\text{[THAT]}_{NP} \text{was }[[\text{what I did]}_{SQ}\text{NP} - [[\text{PAT THE CAT]}_{SNP}]_{SNP}\text{NP}. \text{ (cf. (17a))}\]

j. \[\text{[THAT]}_{NP} \text{was }[[\text{what I did]}_{SQ}\text{NP} - [[[\text{PAT THE CAT]}_{SNP}]_{SNP}\text{NP}_{SNP}\text{NP} \text{NP}. \text{ (cf. (17b))}\]

k. *It was [[[pat the cat]}_{SNP}]_{SNP}\text{NP} \text{[that I did]}_{SQ}\text{NP}. \text{ (cf. (18b)}\]

(ungrammatical as it stands, but can be improved somewhat by
Topicalization (cf. (23k'), and even more by subsequent LDD – cf. (23k''))

k'. ?? [[[pat the cat]_{NP}]_{S_1}]_{NP} it was [[that I did]_{S_1}]_{NP}.
k". [[[pat the cat]_{NP}]_{S_1}]_{NP} – THAT it was [[that I did]_{S_1}]_{NP}.
l. [[I did [[[pat the cat]_{NP}]_{S_1}]_{NP} was [[what I did]_{S_1}]_{NP}. (cf. 18d)] \rightarrow
   via Sluicing and Do–Gobbling
l'. [[[I patted the cat]_{NP}]_{S_1}]_{NP} was [what]_{NP}.
m. DNA [For some reason, Presupposition Zap cannot apply to actional pseudoclefts.]

The sentences in (23) are a sort of compendium of the allosentences that the transformations involved with the architecture of emphasis can generate, given (23a) as a starting point. In (24) and (25) below, I will repeat these same sentences (minus the labeled brackets), as they emerge when intersected with the two processes of Sure-ing and Subjunctive If-Zap, respectively.

(24) a. * What I did [sure is/is sure] I patted the cat.
b. * What I did [sure is/is sure] pat the cat.
c. * What I did [sure is/is sure] I did this – PAT THE CAT.
d. * What I did [sure is/is sure] this – PAT THE CAT.
e. I patted the cat [*sure is/is sure] what I did.
f. Pat the cat [*sure is/is sure] what I did.
g. I patted the cat – that [sure is/is sure] what I did.
h. Pat the cat – that [sure is/is sure] what I did.
i. That [sure is/is sure] what I did – I PATTED THE CAT.
j. That [sure is/is sure] what I did – PAT THE CAT.
k. *Pat the cat – THAT it [sure is/is sure] what I did.
l. *I patted the cat [sure is/is sure] what.

b. *Were what I did pat the cat, I’d be full of cat hair.
d. ??Were what I did this – PAT THE CAT – I’d be full of cat hair.
e. **Were I patted the cat what I did, I’d be full of cat hair.
f. **Were pat the cat what I did, I’d be full of cat hair.
g. Al patted the cat – were THAT what I did, I’d be full of cat hair.
h. ?? Pat the cat – were THAT what I did, I’d be full of cat hair.
i. ** Were that what I did – I PATTED THE CAT – I’d be full of cat hair.
j. ?? Were that what I did – PAT THE CAT – I’d be full of cat hair.
k. ** Pat the cat – were THAT it what I did, I’d be full of cat hair.

There are unexpected cases of grammaticality here, and I have no account of them (especially those in (24g–j)). Nonetheless, it appears that in general, the data are running in accord with the prediction derived from the law that pseudocleft sentences should be frozen. With respect to the obvious fact that the Sure-ing violations of frozenness are systematically less serious than are the Subjunctive If-Zap ones, there are some programmatic speculations in (Ross (2000)) which might be able to explain this fact, though it would take more space than is available here to go into the gory details.

The important thing to note here is that given any kind of (dare I say?) classical transformational treatment, one in which there are remote structures and others derived from these by optional (and perhaps also some obligatory) rules – let
us call such an analysis a derivational syntactic theory – in such a theory, there is a clear notion of what sentences are related. In particular, all of the sentences in (24) are related to each other, as are all of the sentences in (25). By contrast, if I have understood automodular theories correctly, there is no such corresponding notion. In such theories, the sentences in (23) would (perhaps?) all be synonymous, but they would not be variants of one basic remote structure. Thus it would seem to necessitate that the constraint on the frozenness of pseudoclefts being repeated many times (i.e., o horreur, an uncaptured generalization).

I will mention one more aspect of the frozenness phenomenon. In Ross (op. cit.), I attempted to show, with respect to the four types of pseudos in (20), that frozenness constrained the operations of those types lower down on the hierarchy more severely than those in the higher reaches. Thus Type 4 pseudos, in which an Adjectival Phrase is pseudoclefted, as in (26), are so frozen that they cannot even invert to form yes–no questions, as we see in (26b).

(26) a. What Perry has never been is generous.
   b. *Is what Perry has never been generous?

By contrast, Type 1 pseudoclefts are never blocked from undergoing Subject–Verb Inversion.

Similarly, while Type 1 pseudos can always appear in for–to complement clauses, such as (27),

(27) For what he ordered to be a carrot taco astounded me.

this possibility is either denied or greatly limited for Type 4 pseudos, as we see in (28).

(28) *For what he had never been to be generous made us all weep.

A general statement relating the four pseudocleft types of (20) could not be stated just once in an automodular theory, if I have understood its structure correctly. Each particular emphatic construction would have to have this implication restated, another loss of generalization.

Mention the blockage of Though–Preposing when deletion has occurred – possible explanation for frozenness,

the place he went was to London
he went to London was the *(first/last) place
we gave it to Harry Potter was the guy
He bought a radio was he first thing
We’ve gotta buy a radio is [one/the most important] thing/?an important thing/*something
The way he solved it was [he used/bought/ a computer/*he was asleep].
Almost virtually 53 further ways of practicing doing being emphatic, less or more.

a. What he ate is [he ate a bagel]_{Sa}
   b. What he ate is [he ate a bagel]_{Sa}
   c. What he ate is [this]_{Sa} = [he ate A BAGEL]_{Sa}
   d. What he ate is [this]_{Sa} = [he ate A BAGEL]_{Sa}
   e. What he ate is [this]_{Sa} = [A BAGEL is what he ate]_{Sa}
   f. What he ate is [this]_{Sa} = [A BAGEL, is what he ate]_{Sa}
   g. What he ate is [this]_{Sa} = [A BAGEL]_{Sa}
   h. ? What he ate is [this]_{Sa} = [[ THAT is what he ate]_{Sa} – A BAGEL]_{Sa}.

i. [He ate a bagel]_{Sa} is [what he ate]_{Sa}
   j. [He ate a bagel]_{Sa} is [what he ate]_{Sa}
   k. [He ate a bagel]_{Sa}, is what.
   l. [He ate a bagel]_{Sa}, is what.

m. It’s a bagel [((that he ate))]_{Sq}

n. It’s a bagel [((that he ate))]_{Sq} – what he ate is [he ate A BAGEL]_{Sa}
   o. It’s a bagel [((that he ate))]_{Sq} – what he ate is [he ate A BAGEL]_{Sa}
   p. It’s a bagel [((that he ate))]_{Sq} = [A BAGEL is what he ate]_{Sa}
   q. It’s a bagel [((that he ate))]_{Sq} = [A BAGEL, is what he ate]_{Sa}
   r. A bagel it is Ø [Ø((that he ate))]_{Sq} – what he ate is [he ate A BAGEL]_{Sa}
   s. A bagel it is Ø [Ø((that he ate))]_{Sq} – what he ate is [he ate A BAGEL]_{Sa}
   t. A bagel it is Ø [Ø((that he ate))]_{Sq} – it’s A BAGEL [((that he ate))]_{Sq}
   u. A bagel it is Ø [Ø((that he ate))]_{Sq} – A BAGEL it is Ø
   v. ? What he ate, [it’s/ ?*it is/*that is/#that’s] [he ate a bagel]_{Sa}

w. [He ate a bagel]_{Sa} – THAT [’s??is] what (he ate).
   x. A bagel is what – it’s A BAGEL (that he ate) – THAT’s what
   y. ? A bagel [’s??is] it, what he ate.
   z. A bagel – it’s [THAT/THIS/**it] [((that he ate))]_{Sq}

DAMAGE CONTROL: so there are millions of ways of emphasizing things – so what? Only very dull knife semantics would say that they are all synonymous. Automodularity can AND SHOULD look carefully at the discourse and/or PRAGMANTACTIC CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THESE ALL SHOW UP.

Problema? Não.

That’s the. What it is is THAT. It’s that it’s THAT that it is.

Bibliography


