

A Note on Appositive Relatives (I)

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Chapter I Introduction

In general, it's a well-known fact that relative clauses have completely different usages; restrictives, appositives. Between restrictive relatives and appositive relatives, there exist numerous differences to be accounted for, so that lots of constraints over variables seem to have to be set up. Concerning the differences among these two different relative clauses, lots of problems seem to remain unsolved. But, in this short paper, I want to concentrate upon the peculiarity of appositive relative clauses.

Concerning the recent literature of generative grammar, it seems to be clear that there are two different hypotheses for the deep structure of appositive relatives; one is called the bar notion suggested by Jackendoff,¹⁾ and later Emonds has called this notion the Subordinate Clause Hypothesis,²⁾ abbreviated SCH, and the other is called the Main Clause Hypothesis, abbreviated MCH, which Emonds is the first to find out after his notion of the Parenthetical Formation Transformation.

I want to manifest the recent notion—Main Clause Hypothesis, comparing with the Subordinate Clause Hypothesis whether MCH has truly effective merits in the derivation of appositives or not.

Chapter II General Survey of Subordinate Clause Hypothesis

Jackendoff's recent theory of appositive relative clauses seems to need lots

1) Ray Jackendoff, *\bar{X} Syntax: A Study of Phrase Structure*, Linguistic Inquiry Monograph 2, MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1977, pp. 169—198.

2) Joseph Emonds, "Appositive Relatives Have No Properties," *Linguistic Inquiry* Vol. 10, No. 2, 1979, pp. 211—243.

3) Joseph Emonds, *A Transformational Approach to English Syntax*, Academic Press, New York, 1976, pp. 43—60.

of explanation.

In the first place, Jackendoff pointed out the order between appositives and restrictives to exclude the deviant sentences like these:

- (1) The man that came to dinner, who was drunk, fainted. (Jackendoff)
- (2) *The man, who was drunk, that came to dinner fainted. (*Ibid.*)

But NP may take appositives when these appositives are conjoined with each other.

- (3) the man who came to dinner who hated lox (*Ibid.*)
- (4) *the man, who came to dinner, who hated lox (*Ibid.*)
- (5) the man, who came to dinner and who hated lox (*Ibid.*)

Jackendoff pointed out the principle to exclude the deviant sentences that appositives are introduced by the complementizer *that* like this: "appositives can occur in any

$\left[\begin{array}{c} X''' \\ +\text{Comp} \end{array} \right]$, whereas restrictives can occur only in NP."⁴⁾

To prove this principle, he mentions sentences as follows:

- (6) Relative clause formation is obligatory in NPs, $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{which} \\ * \text{that} \end{array} \right\}$ accounts for the difference in surface shape. (in V''') (Jackendoff)
- (7) That Shelia was beautiful, $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{which} \\ * \text{that} \end{array} \right\}$ she was, was not realized until later. (in A''') (Jackendoff, and Ross⁵⁾)
- (8) Solving the problem will take from now until doomsday, $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{which} \\ * \text{that} \end{array} \right\}$ is more time than we've got. (in P''') (Jackendoff)

To explain the acceptability of multiple appositives, Jackendoff formulates the following phrase structure.

- (9) $N''' \rightarrow \dots N''' \dots (\bar{S})$ (Jackendoff (7.11))

Under the above formulation of phrase structure, appositives may recursively appear, so that the sentences which have multiple appositives are acceptable; on the contrary, restrictives cannot contain the element (\bar{S}) recursively.

Furthermore, concerning the concatenation of appositives, only conjunction is permitted, so that in S, AP, or PP, appositives cannot concatenate with each other

4) Ray Jackendoff, *X Syntax; A Study of Phrase Structure*, P. 171.

5) John Robert Ross, "Adjectives as Noun Phrases," *Modern Studies in English*, David Reidel and Sanford Schane eds., Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1969, P. 357.

as follows:

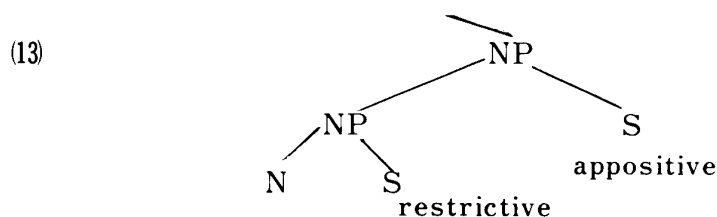
- (10) Relative clause formation is obligatory in NPs, which accounts for the difference in surface shape, $\{ \begin{smallmatrix} * & \phi \\ & \text{and} \end{smallmatrix} \}$ which only your theory predicts.
(Jackendoff (7.12a))
- (11) That Shelia was beautiful which she was, $\{ \begin{smallmatrix} * & \phi \\ & \text{and} \end{smallmatrix} \}$ which she hadn't been two years previously, was not realized until later.
(Jackendoff (7.12b))
- (12) Solving this problem will take from now until doomsday, which is longer than most problems take, $\{ \begin{smallmatrix} * & \phi \\ & \text{and} \end{smallmatrix} \}$ which is more time than we've got.
(Jackendoff (7.12c))

The base position of relative clauses can be accounted for very roughly by Jackendoff as follows:

The difference in base position of the two kinds of relatives also implies that they have different grammatical relations in the sentence, that is, they are interpreted by different projection rules. Two different types of projection rules are involved: the general rules for N'' or N''' complements, and the rules for interpreting relative pronouns in N'' relatives and in X''' relatives...

Restrictives, like other X'' complements, can be focused and negated, but appositives, like other X''' complements, cannot... The second kind of projection rule deals with the relationship between the relative pronoun and the head...⁶⁾

In short, the difference between these two completely different relatives seems to be described as shown in the following structure; restrictives are attached as high in the NP.

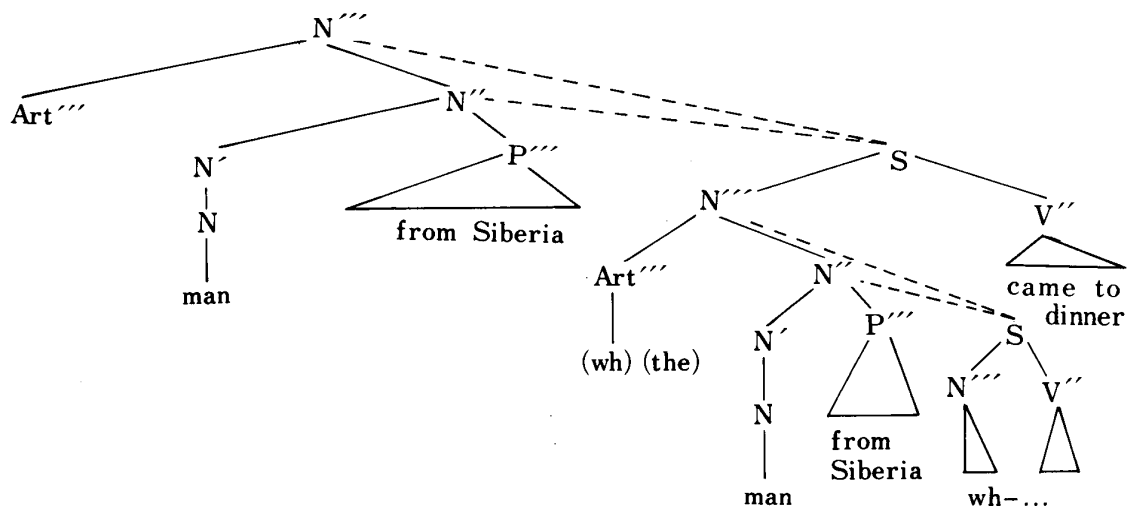


6) Ray Jackendoff, *X' Syntax: A Study of Phrase Structure*, pp. 172-173.

Though the difference in the deep needs lots of discussions, I want to put aside the very complicated problems to be solved.

I want to concentrate upon the interpretation of the appositive relative clauses. According to the analysis of Chomsky,⁷⁾ the interpretation of a relative pronoun was considered inside the NP; the deep structure of a relative pronoun is taken to be a copy of its antecedent. However, Jackendoff points out that NP-complement theory⁸⁾ seems to be an ad-hoc theory as follows:

...if the relative clause is inside the NP, the relative pronoun cannot originate as a copy of the head, for, with either N'' or N''' attachment of the head, an infinite regress results:
(7.14)



Only syntactic points of view, we cannot explain the interpretation of a relative pronoun, so that we must adopt an interpretive theory: when we consider the interpretation of a relative pronoun, we must consider the semantic structure as well as the syntactic structure. The interpretive theory of the relative pronoun, which is very similar to the theory of definite pronouns by Jackendoff,⁹⁾ Wasow,¹⁰⁾ is very effective to

7) Noam Chomsky, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1965, pp. 136-137.

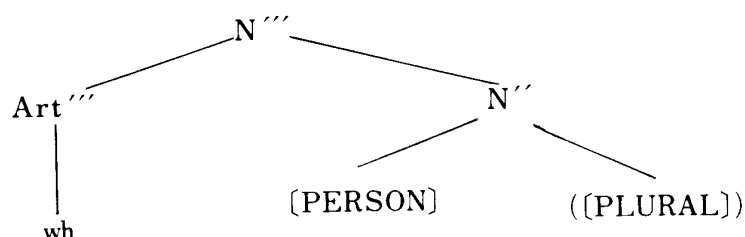
8) Ray Jackendoff, *\bar{X} Syntax: A Study of Phrase Structure*, p. 173.

9) Ray Jackendoff, *Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar*, 1972, MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, pp. 108-177.

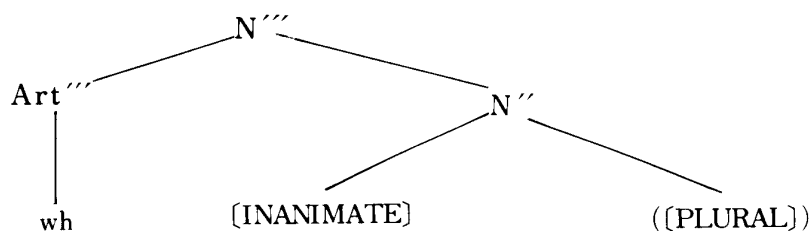
10) T. Wasow, *Anaphoric Relations in English*, unpublished Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1971.

solve the problem to the NP-complement theory. In the interpretation of relative pronouns based upon the interpretive theory, the relative pronoun is not a more specific NP form, but a relative pronoun in the deep structure; namely a relative pronoun has a semantic structure in the base. To explain this character of relative pronoun, Jackendoff¹¹⁾ finds out a figure like this: if it were composed of separate elements syntactically.

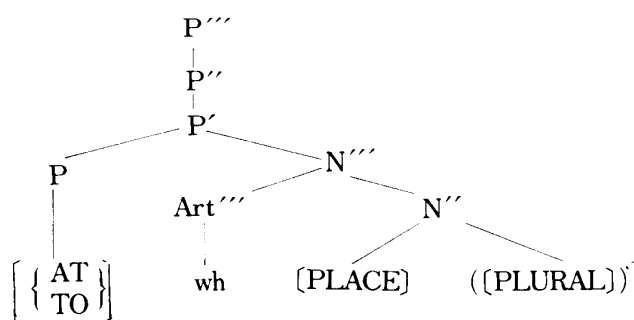
a. who



b. which



c. where



In the above figures, the relative pronoun has a semantic marker of the usual sort to manifest the contradiction of the NP-complement theory.

By the very simple rule of anaphora, the relative pronoun may be marked anaphoric to the entire dominating NP. The interpretive theory of relative pronouns

11) Ray Jackendoff, *X Syntax: A Study of Phrase Structure*, p. 174.

that relative pronoun has an internal semantic structure seems to make it possible to exclude the infinite regress.

Jackendoff points out a new definition available only for the appositive relative pronouns, but for the restrictive pronouns. His definition on the appositive relative pronouns is as follows:

(14) *Appositive Wh-Interpretation*

$\left[\begin{array}{c} X \\ +wh \end{array} \right]'''$ is anaphoric to Y''' , in the configuration

$\{Y''' \dots Y'' [\text{S} [\text{comp} \dots X''' \dots] \text{S}]]\}$ (Jackendoff (7.16))¹²⁾

He explains the above formulation as follows:

Rather, two NPs are simply designated as coreferential, and one happens to dominate the other... (7.16) has been stated in its most general form, so as to account for appositives in V''' , A''' , and P''' as well as in N''' . The proper notion of anaphora for N''' appositives is obviously coreference; but in other Y''' the proper interpretation of the notion "anaphoric" is less clear. Whatever that notion may be, it is in any event independently motivated, since the demonstratives *it* and/or *that* exhibit exactly the same kind of anaphora as *which*.

Furthermore, he mentions the following sentences to prove the above statement.

- (15) John likes your idea, *but* it's crazy.

John likes your idea, *which* is crazy. (Jackendoff (7.17a))

- (16) Bill came late, and that bothered Susan.

Bill came late, *which* bothered Susan. (Jackendoff (7.17b))

- (17) Bill is drunk all the time—is that how you'd like to be?

Bill is drunk all the time, *which* is probably how you'd like to be.

(Jackendoff (7.17c))

- (18) Bill went into the tree, and that's where I'd like to go too.

Bill went into the tree, *which* is where I'd like to go too.

(Jackendoff (7.17d))

12) *Ibid.*, P. 175

As is shown in the above sentences, appositives can be applied in V''', A''', P''', as well as in N''': namely, Sentence (15) has in N''', Sentence (16) in V''', Sentence (17) in A''', and Sentence (18) in P'''. However, besides appositive relative clauses, the *Appositive Wh-Interpretation* rule can be applied to proper names. If we go so far as to the application of quantifiers such as *everyone*, and *no one*, lots of difficult problems must be considered to exclude the application of anaphora of the pronoun is within an appositive:

- (19) *Everyone* there had a wife who loved *him*. (Jackendoff (7. 20a))
- (20) *No one* wanted Sue to waken *him*. (Jackendoff (7. 20b))
- (21) *Everyone* got from Boston to a place *he* had been to before.
(Jackendoff (7. 20c))
- (22)* *Everyone* there had a wife, who loved *him*. (Jackendoff (7. 21a))
- (23)* *No one* wanted Sue to leave, which suited *him*. (Jackendoff (7. 21b))
- (24)* *Everyone* got from Boston to Cincinnati, which seemed to *him* like a long
way. (Jackendoff (7. 21c))

The difference of acceptability between Sentence (19) and Sentence (22) seems to depend upon the general fact that such anaphora is impossible when the pronoun is within the appositive and *that* the appositives have some relations to the scope of quantifiers and negation. This fact will be shown much clearly when we consider the sentences which involve *some-any* type alternations.

- (25) I didn't see a man who had had any drinks.
I didn't see Bill, who had had { ^{some} / _{*any} } drinks.
(Jackendoff (7. 22a))
- (26) That Shelia isn't nervous to any appreciable extent surprises me.
That Shelia isn't nervous, which she { ^{sometimes} / _{*ever} } is, surprises me.
(Jackendoff (7. 22b))
- (27) We couldn't get from Boston to a place any of us had been. We couldn't
get from Boston to Cincinnati, which seemed to { ^{some} / _{*any} } of us like a
short way. (Jackendoff (7. 22c))

The difference of acceptabilities among Sentence (25), (26), and (27) will show that a negation outside an appositive cannot condition *some-any* type alternations within the appositive.

According to the original remarks on appositives, Jackendoff claims that his

theory still lacks a viable underlying form. Ross in his dissertation¹³⁾ proposes that appositive relative clauses may be main clauses in the deep structure, and that transformations give them the status of parentheticals and then the surface appearance of (Wh-introduced) relative clauses. Furthermore, the deriving appositives from underlying conjoined clauses Ross proposes can well show that lots of differences between appositives and restrictives can be captured in terms of the underlying forms or the derivations of the two kinds of clauses.

Chapter III General Survey of the Main Clause Hypothesis

The recent paper by Emonds seems to claim the Main Clause Hypothesis may derive appositive relatives from clauses which are deep structure coordinate right sisters to the clause containing the modified antecedent. I want to consider whether the Main Clause Hypothesis Emonds very recently considered has a very powerful effect on the derivation of appositives or not.

It seems necessary that when we consider the derivation of appositives, we have to look into the character of parentheticals which partly share the some common properties with appositives, so that I want to look into the character of parenthetical formation suggested by Emonds, very briefly. In the very simple way, the definition on the parenthetical formation is as follows: "this rule is exactly the rule used to form "sentence-oriented" (and perhaps all) parentheticals; it moves a constituent from a lefthand clause *to the right* around a constituent exterior to that clause."¹⁴⁾ He describes the definition as follows:

(28) *Parenthetical Formation*

$$X - C^{\max} - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \bar{S} \\ PP \end{array} \right\} - Y \Rightarrow 1 - \phi - 3 + 2 - 4$$

where 1-2 is a root \bar{S} , and C^{\max} is a phrasal constituent that is a maximal projection of a lexical category in the bar (prime) notion. Throughout,¹⁵⁾ \bar{S} will refer to $COMP + S$.

13) John Robert Ross, *Constraints on Variables in Syntax*, Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts; published by Indiana University Linguistics Club, Bloomington, Indiana, 1967.

14) Joseph Emonds, "Appositive Relatives Have No Properties," p. 212.

15) *Ibid.*, p. 212.

The definition of the Parenthetical Formation has become very simple and brief in the recent paper of Emonds, but concerning the particular character of Parenthetical Formation Transformation seems to need lots of explanations by looking into the previous papers by Emonds and the others.

In the framework of transformational grammar, Rardin¹⁶⁾ was the first to consider the sentence-final parentheticals as follows:

(29) John came later than Sue, I think. (Emonds(53))

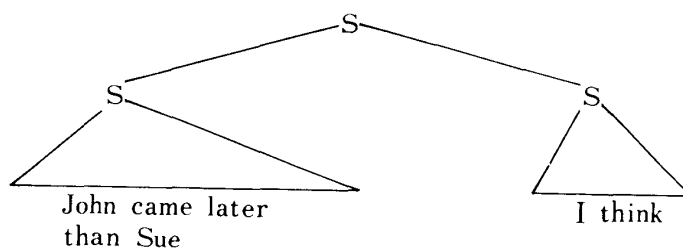
(30) The books have already arrived, you realize. (*Ibid.*)

(31) The volunteers must realize the dangers involved, it seems to me.

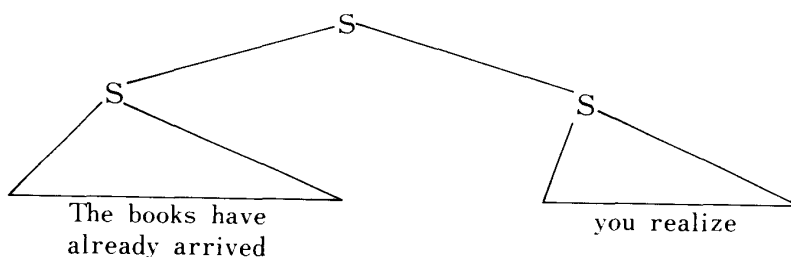
(*Ibid.*)

In the above sentences, sentence-final parentheticals such as *I think*, *you realize*, *it seems to me* are dominated by root S, according to the claim of Rardin. In terms of his opinion the above sentences must have the following surface structure that all the S's are root S.

(32)

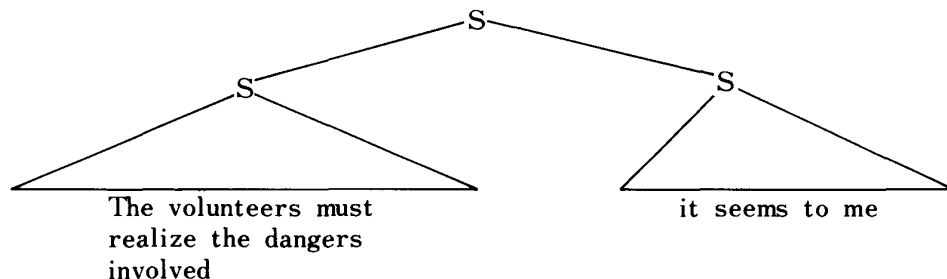


(33)



16) Robert Rardin, *Sentence Raising and Sentence Shift*, unpublished manuscript, MIT, 1968.

(34)



Beside the sentence-final parentheticals, parentheticals are inserted into the first clause like these:

(35) John came, I think, later than Sue. (Emonds (56))

(36) The books, you realize, have already arrived. (*Ibid.*)

(37) The volunteers must realize, it seems to me, the dangers involved.

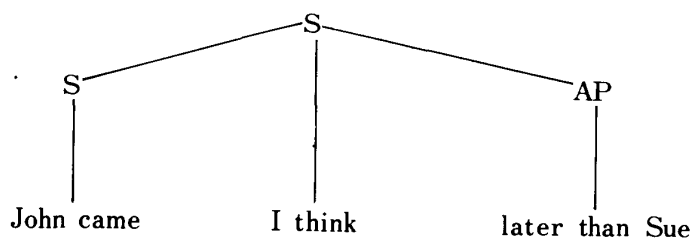
(*Ibid.*)

(38) Was John here, do you think, at that time? (*Ibid.*)

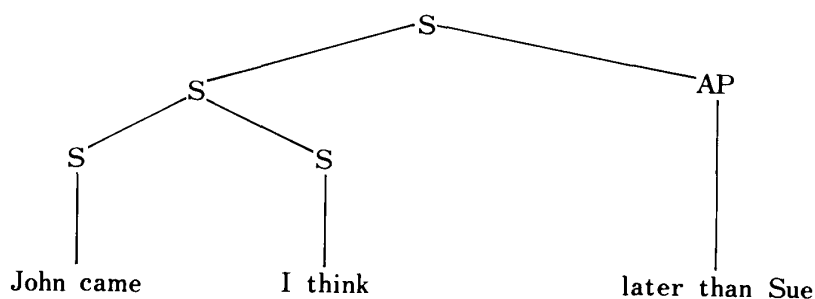
(39) "That radio," exclaimed Mary, "I don't want!" (*Ibid.*)

Very roughly, the surface structures of the above sentences can be considered as the following possible three structures based upon the interpretation of Emonds.

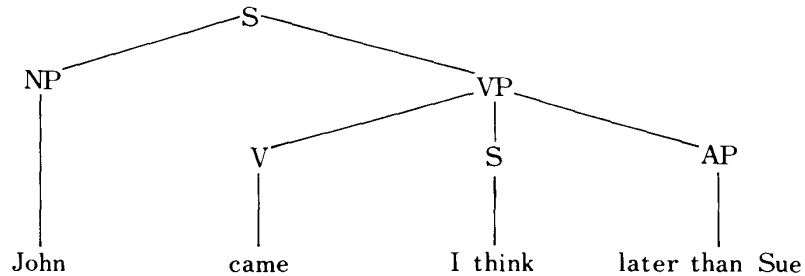
(40)



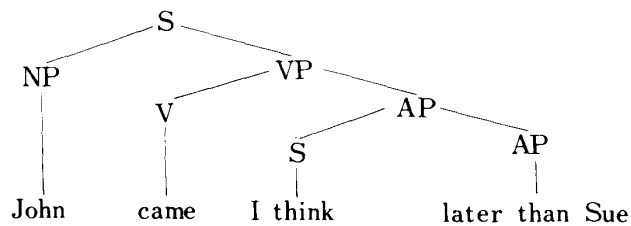
(41)



(42)



(43)



To select the best plausible structure among the all possible structures shown above, lots of conditions have to be applied. The comma intonation rule suggested by Emonds that "A root S (immediately) dominated by another S is set off by commas"¹⁷⁾ can well show that the derived structure of (42) and (43) is not possible because these derived structures violate the conditions. Therefore, the derived structures of (40) and (41) seems to be correct, for in this derived structures the obligatory comma intonation that sets off parentheticals may be permitted. To exclude the possible derived structures as shown above, it seems to me that the concept of comma intonation is a very effective and powerful condition, but only from the syntactic point of view, some other conditions to select the best plausible derived structures seem to exist; Emonds has pointed out from the syntactic point of view as follows:

John Ross has pointed out to me that the second alternative is a counter-example to the constraint proposed in Chomsky (1965)¹⁸⁾, which prohibits transformations from moving morphological material into a clause from a higher sentence. On the other hand, the first alternative moving the second term

17) Joseph Emonds, *A Transformational Approach to English Syntax*, p. 43.

18) Noam Chomsky, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*.

of (61)¹⁹⁾ to the right does not violate Chomsky's proposed restriction on operations performed by transformations. Thus the constraint, motivated on other grounds, indicates that the first alternative is the correct one...

The structure-preserving constraint on transformations also decides in favor of the first alternative... Parenthetical formation as in (61) interchanges two phrase nodes, so it violates one of the restrictions defining a local transformation (the only type of non-structure-preserving rule permitted by this constraint that does not attach constituents to a root sentence). The second alternative (moving the parenthetical itself) does not attach a constituent to a root sentence, so it is not a root transformation; it does not move the parenthetical S to positions where S can be generated by the base rules, so it is not a structure-preserving transformation either. One must conclude that the second alternative is ruled out by the structure-preserving constraint; only the first alternative is consistent with the constraint. In particular, this parenthetical formation is a typical case of a root transformation.²⁰⁾

According to the above statement which support that the derived structures of (40), and (41) are correct, the syntactic theory helps to exclude the deviant derived structures like (42) and (43) besides comma intonation. However, it is indeed true that the structure-preserving constraint on transformations plays a very important function to strengthen the comma intonation to select the correct among other derived structures, and the structure-preserving constraint leads to a very simple conclusion that parenthetical formation moves a constituent over the parenthetical clause to the right. But the very convenient and clear constraint to select the correct derived structure seems to be something like comma intonation transformation that a root S (immediately dominated by another S is set off by commas) not only upon the syntactic point of view.

Concerning the derived structures of appositives, lots of discussions must be made to find the more logical and more powerful theory to support the most plausible derived structures.

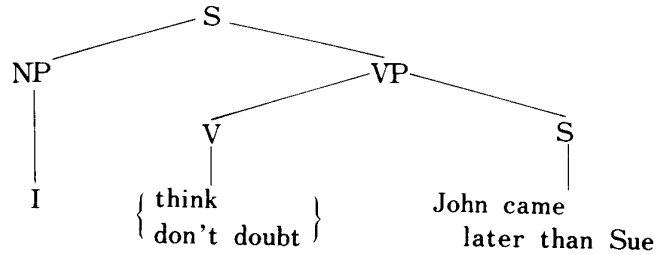
Concerning the deep source of parentheticals what kinds of structures can be considered? Among some parentheticals to be found, sentence-final parentheticals

19) Joseph Emonds, *A Transformational Approach to English Syntax*, p. 45.

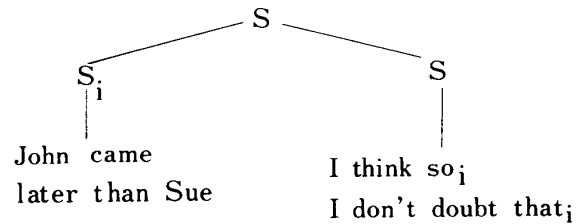
20) *Ibid.*, p. 48

seem to be the base; sentences with “internal” parentheticals are transformationally generated from those with “final” parentheticals. Emonds proposes two intuitively plausible analyses as follows: ²¹⁾

(44)



(45)



In the analysis of (44), the sentence-final parenthetical is a main clause in the deep structure, and the surface structure is derived by a transformation, which Ross called *Slifting* that fronts the complement S. Furthermore Emonds points out that if this analysis is correct, the complement-fronting rule is a root transformation, since the following sentences should not be transformationally related:

(46) They didn't take into account the fact that I thought John came later than Sue.

≠ They didn't take into account the fact that John came later than Sue,
I thought. (Emonds (75))

(47) Bill fears that it appears to us that he doesn't deserve the job.

≠ Bil fears that he doesn't deserve the job, it appears to us.

(*Ibid.*)

(48) Mary assumes that we don't doubt she'll get the job.

21) *Ibid.*, p. 51.

≠ Mary assumes that she'll get the job, we don't doubt. (*Ibid.*)

Such pairs in the above sentences, the relation between them exist in the transformation. Therefore, we can say that the complement-fronting rule is a root transformation. Then, the deep structure which applies the complement-fronting rule may not have a very powerful one to derive the surface form.

On the contrary, in the analysis of (45), the surface structure is relatively close to its deep structure; the deep structure has two successive independent clause S's concatenated without a coordinating conjunction, the second of which contains a proform referring to the first. Furthermore, Emonds mentions the following sentences connected by semicolons, because the following sentences have the same type of deep structure.

(49) John came later than Sue; this bothers me. (Emonds (77))

(50) John came later than Sue; I think so anyway. (*Ibid.*)

(51) John came later than Sue; he warned us ahead that he would do so to avoid meeting her uncle. (*Ibid.*)

(52) John came later than Sue; an event of such magnitude can't be overlooked. (*Ibid.*)

The analysis of (45) postulates a "proform deletion" rule. Concerning the problem which is the best possible underlying deep structure or not, the analysis of (45) seems to be plausible; the structure (45) underlies the derived structure (32) and that the proforms (45) are transformationally derived from fully specified S's.

Then, I want to turn to the very recent theory to consider whether the Main Clause Hypothesis has an effective theory or not. Compare the following sentences:

(53) a. Too much sun made these tomatoes, and we paid a lot for them, rot on the vine. (Emonds (2a))

b. She works in that city, and her parents have never been there, for \$ 300 a month. (*Ibid.*)

c. The girls, and their father claimed they had all passed, couldn't even spell. (*Ibid.*)

d. John—he was arrogant—and Mary—she was intensive—was quite similar. (*Ibid.*)

- (54) a. Too much sun made these tomatoes, which we paid a lot for, rot on the vine. (Emonds (3a))
- b. She works in that city, where her parents have never been, for \$300 a month. (*Ibid.*)
- c. The girls, whose father claimed they had all passed, couldn't even spell. (*Ibid.*)
- d. John, who was arrogant, and Mary, who was intensive, were quite similar. (*Ibid.*)

Very roughly, the changes to get Sentence (54a, b, c, d) from Sentence (53a, b, c, d) on the condition of the MCH can be described as the following statement by Emonds:²²⁾

- (55) In (53) (=Emonds (2)), the parenthetical coordinate clause is asserted, whereas in (54) (=Emonds (3)), the appositive relative is presupposed. (Emonds (6))
- (56) A coordinating conjunction is allowed in (53) but not in (54). (Emonds (7))
- (57) A personal pronoun coreferential with the antecedent can occur in (53), but not (without an appropriately placed Wh-form) in (54). (Emonds (8))
- (58) A Wh-form coreferential with the antecedent is excluded in (53), but permitted in the Comp(lementizer) position in (54).

Concerning the statement (55), Emonds adds like this:

...the difference in presuppositions and assertions between appositive relatives and their deep structures will of course lead to different appropriateness conditions in discourse for transformationally related pairs like the following one, cited from Jackendoff.²³⁾ These differences need not detain us here.

- (i) a. That man who came dinner, sneezed.
b. That man sneezed, and he came to dinner.

Related to the point in the text that appositive relatives are presupposed rather than asserted is the fact that in Deutch and German, the finite verb in appositive clauses is in final (i. e. dependent clause) position.²⁴⁾

22) Joseph Emonds, "Appositive Relatives Have No Properties," p. 215.

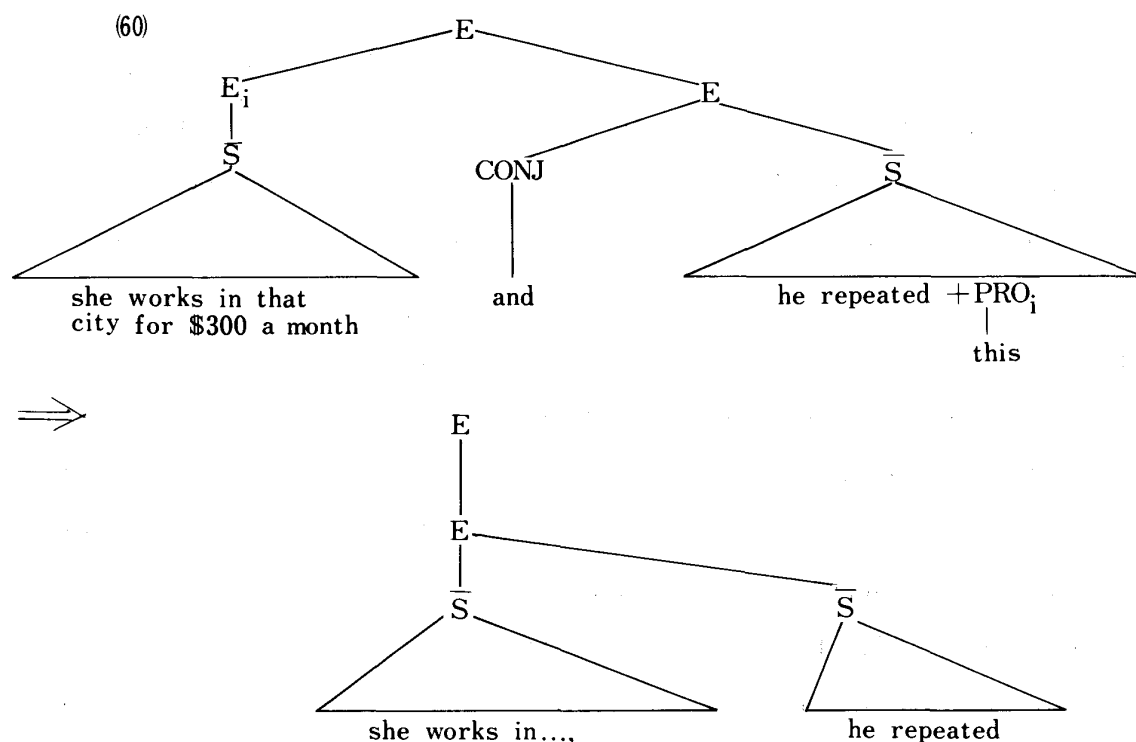
23) Ray Jackendoff, *X Syntax: A Study of Phrase Structure*.

24) Joseph Emonds, "Appositive Relatives Have No Properties," pp. 215-216.

Concerning the statement that in (53), the parenthetical coordinate clause is asserted, whereas in (54), the appositive relative is presupposed, Banfield²⁵⁾ gives arguments that appropriate parentheticals are derived by a rule that moves S from under the second of two conjoined Es and attaches to the first. Emonds calls the condition necessary to this operation *Proform Deletion* as follows:²⁶⁾

$$(59) E_i \text{---} \text{CONJ} \text{---} [\bar{S} X \text{---} \text{PRO}_i \text{---} Y] \Rightarrow 1+3+5 - \phi - \phi - \phi - \phi$$

The following structure will well show the derivation of *Proform Deletion*.



Concerning the explanation by using the above diagram, Emonds pointed out that such a formulation as (59) does not refer to the very important similarity between appositives and parentheticals, so that a formulation has to share the common property with each other; appositives can be regarded as one part of parentheticals, which are commonly used in the sentence-internal parentheticals. Therefore, Emonds has found out a very powerful notion *S-attachment* which can be applied for both parentheticals and appositive. The

25) Ann Banfield, "Narrative Style and the Grammar of Direct and Indirect Speech," *Foundations of Language* 10, 1973, pp. 1-39.

26) Joseph Emonds, "Appositive Relatives Have No Properties," p. 215.

27) *Ibid.*, p. 216.

new revised formation is like this: ²⁷⁾

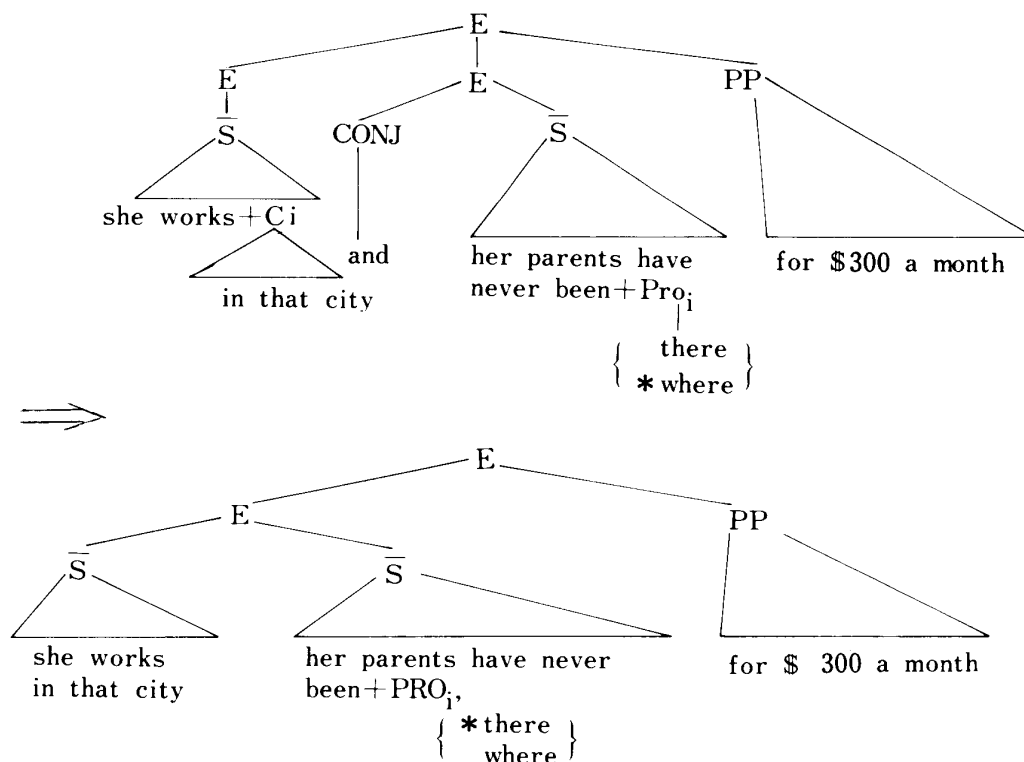
(61) \overline{S} -Attachment

$$C_i \text{---} \text{CONJ} \text{---} S \implies 1 + 3 \text{---} \emptyset \text{---} \emptyset$$

where \overline{S} contains PRO_i .

The operation of $\bar{S}^-Attachment$ can be described as follows:

(62)



It's very clear that *S-Attachment* has a common formulation not only for appositives but also for parentheticals. Concerning the statement (53) to support the Main Clause Hypothesis, this statement seems to apply all the appositives; namely, this statement peculiar to the appositives, so that the Main Clause Hypothesis is not necessarily obligatory.

Then, I want to look into the statement (56), *\overline{S} -attachment* can directly account for the necessary absence of a coordinating conjunction by the structure-preserving constraint; which is defined only for movement and insertions.

Concerning the statement (57), and (58), we have to consider lots of complicated problems unsolved, so that I want to consider these problems in the following paper.

(To be continued)

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