

*A Pseudo-biclausal Analysis of Slavonic clefts**

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Abstract

I discuss a cleft-like construction found in various Slavonic languages, and argue that it should be analysed as containing a ‘double-IP’ structure, and that the demonstrative pronominal *èto/to* appears in the specifier of the higher IP. The construction is a whole is, I claim, interpreted like an equative copular sentence. I show that this captures some properties which suggest a monoclausal structure (absence of lexical evidence for biclausality; restrictions on adverbials; clitic-climbing), as well as those which seem to favour a biclausal structure (presuppositions; Superiority in multiple *wh*-questions).

1 Introduction

In this paper I will examine a type of construction which occurs in a number of Slavonic languages, which I will refer to as the ‘S-cleft.’² Examples of Russian and Serbo-Croatian (SC) S-clefts are given in (1):³

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² ‘S’ stands for ‘Slavonic.’ ‘Cleft’ refers to the fact that this construction has often been likened to English *it*-clefts such as *It was the vodka that John drank, not the water*. S-clefts are also found in Polish (Mieszek 1979). Completists should note that Bulgarian and Czech do not appear to have S-clefts, but do have a construction closer to the *it*-cleft in structure (Catherine Rudin, p.c.; Bytel 1988). As yet I have no information on whether the other Slavonic languages (Belarusian, Macedonian, Slovak, Slovene, Sorbian and Ukrainian) have either type of cleft.

³ Unlike English *it*-clefts, S-clefts need not be associated with contrastive/exhaustive focus on a particular constituent. Thus, although in (1a) *vodku* is contrasted with some other drink or drinks in the discourse context, (1b) merely functions to identify the source of a particular sensation. As Junghanns (1997) and Progovac (1998) note, the fact that S-clefts are not inherently associated with contrastive/exhaustive focus on a particular constituent is evidence against accounts of S-clefts which involve a Focus Phrase, such as King (1993). It seems, however, that while Russian S-clefts are often used to express contrastive focus, SC S-clefts are less suitable for this purpose (Ljiljana Progovac, p.c.). For example, (1a) could be uttered in response to a speaker who has said *Ivan vypil vodu* ‘Ivan drank the water’, but (1b) would not be felicitous as a response to *Novak svira klavir* ‘Novak is playing the piano’. I have no explanation for this difference.

- (1) a. Èto VODKU Ivan vypil.
 this vodka-ACC Ivan-NOM drank
 ‘It was THE VODKA that Ivan drank(, not THE WATER).’ (Junghanns 1997:168)
- b. To Marija svira klavir.
 that Marija plays piano
 ‘That’s Maria playing the piano.’ (Halpern 1995:83)

I will argue that *èto/to* in this construction, which is homophonous with a neuter singular demonstrative pronoun, is a syntactic subject – that is, it is the specifier of an IP. The construction as a whole, I will claim, has the semantics of an equative copular sentence, but I will argue that it has no copular verb. Instead, the ‘higher’ I of which *èto/to* is the subject selects for a second IP, forming a single ‘extended verbal projection’ with it. Thus, the construction is one sense monoclausal, in that it consists of a single extended projection, and in another sense biclausal, in that it contains two separate IPs, and is interpreted as an equation of the demonstrative pronominal with a clause.

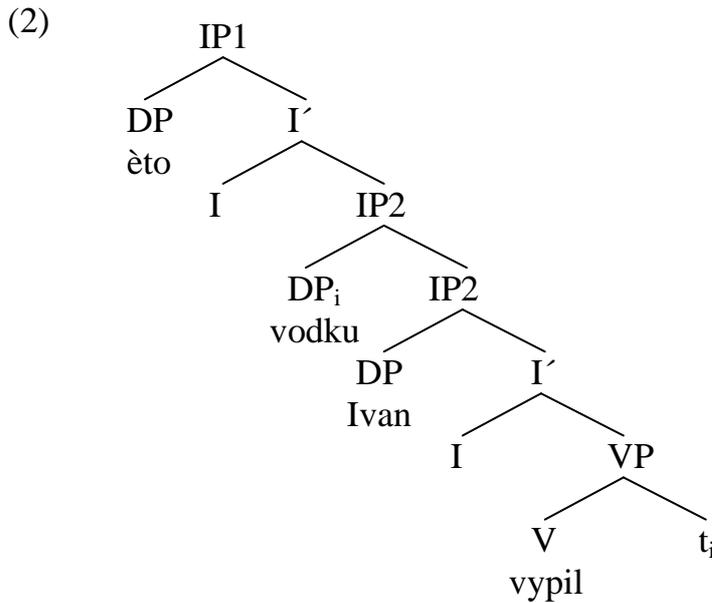
Previous accounts of S-clefts (e.g., King 1993, Halpern 1995, Junghanns 1997) have put great emphasis on the ‘monoclausal’ properties of the construction, such as the absence of an overt copula, complementiser or relative pronoun, and restrictions on what types of adverbials can directly follow *èto/to*. Furthermore, in SC, which has second-position clitics, S-clefts show clitic-climbing properties more consistent with a monoclausal structure (Halpern 1995, Progovac 1998, 1999). However, S-clefts have certain other properties which make a purely monoclausal analysis suspect. These include the fact that S-clefts in Russian, just like (biclausal) *it*-clefts, induce ‘presuppositions’ of existence and exhaustivity, and the fact that multiple *wh*-questions in SC S-clefts obey Superiority, in contrast to MWQs in root clauses.

Section 2 presents the analysis of S-clefts; sections 3 and 4 show how the analysis can account for the ‘monoclausal’ and ‘biclausal’ properties of the construction.

2 A Pseudo-biclausal Analysis of S-clefts

2.1 Basics of the analysis

The basic claim of this paper is that S-clefts involve a single extended verbal projection in the sense of Grimshaw (1991), but that this extended projection contains two instances of the functional category I(nflection) rather than one. Thus, for example, in (1a) the ‘higher’ IP (henceforth IP1) contains the demonstrative pronoun *èto* in its specifier, while the ‘lower’ IP (henceforth IP2) is simply a tensed IP in which the DP *vodka* has undergone leftward focus-movement. This analysis as applied to (1a) is illustrated in (2):



Some clarification of the basic assumptions I make about clause structure in Russian and SC is necessary. I assume that tensed clauses normally contain a single instance of the functional category I, which is normally not realised by lexical material (either via base-generation or via verb-raising), and which normally selects for VP.⁴ In (2), then, we have an exception to this: a null I selecting for another IP, which in turn selects for a VP.⁵ Under the theory of ‘extended projection’ advanced by Grimshaw (1991), this type of clause structure is licit in principle. Grimshaw defines ‘head’ and ‘(extended) projection’ as follows:

⁴ Of course, since Pollock (1989) it has generally been assumed that I should be split into several inflectional heads, including Tense, Mood and Aspect. Indeed, Mezhevich (2008) proposes that the Russian IP layer consists of separate Tense and Aspect phrases, while Progovac (2005) argues for separate Pol(arity), Agr(eement), T(ense) and Asp(ect) projections in SC, each of which occurs twice per IP (one ‘subject’ version and one ‘object’ version). However, these structures are not easily motivated on positional grounds. In SC, those elements that might be assumed to be base-generated in the IP layer, notably the auxiliaries *je* and *će*, are second-position clitics, and thus apparently surface in various positions (including inside DPs). Notably, though, the full forms of auxiliaries are not clitics, and these may follow low adverbs (see 3.1), suggesting auxiliaries in general may originate in a VP-internal position. Similarly, Russian auxiliaries, which are not clitics either, may follow low adverbs, suggesting they do not need to leave the VP. Finally, the subjunctive particle *by*, another candidate for generation in I, may appear multiple times in colloquial speech (Franks and King 2000:192), suggesting that it does not simply realise a single functional head position. If auxiliaries really are generated as Vs, then this means that the analysis in (2) does not incorrectly predict the generation of auxiliaries in the head of IP1.

⁵ This is reminiscent of proposals in the literature to analyse ‘restructuring’ verbs as realising categories in the ‘functional hierarchy’ or IP-domain (e.g., Cinque 2004). Indeed, the present proposal captures the ‘monoclausal’ properties of S-clefts in a similar manner to how Cinque’s proposal captures the ‘monoclausal’ properties of restructuring configurations.

- (3) X is a head of YP, and YP is a projection of X, iff:
- a. YP dominates X
 - b. The categorial features of YP and X are consistent
 - c. There is no inconsistency in the categorial features of all nodes intervening between X and Y (where a node N intervenes between X and YP if YP dominates X and N, N dominates X, and N does not dominate YP).

Categorial features are as follows: V, I and C are [+V -N], while P, D and N are [-V +N]. In addition to categorial specifications, the lexical and functional categories are assigned 'functional specifications' indicating their hierarchical level in the extended projection: V and N (i.e., the lexical categories) are *F0*, I and D are *F1* and C and P are *F2*. X and YP in (3) must also conform to the requirement in (4):⁶

- (4) The *F*-value of X is not higher than the *F*-value of YP.

If we take the IP1 node in (2) to be YP, and the V node to be X, then all the conditions in (3)-(4) are satisfied. IP1 dominates V; both IP1 and V are [+V -N]; all of the intervening nodes (I', IP2, IP2, I') are also [+V -N]; and the *F*-value of V (*F0*) is not higher than the *F*-value of IP (*F1*). Thus, IP1 can be considered part of the extended projection of V.

The analysis in (2) raises a question about overgeneration. That is, if a double-IP structure is the correct one for S-clefts, would we not expect to find it elsewhere in Russian and SC? A plausible answer to this question is that there are sharp restrictions on the kind of elements that may appear in the specifier of IP1. This is because theta-roles, Case and agreement will all be assigned within IP2, which means that the normal mechanisms for licensing argumental DPs will not be available for the specifier of IP1.⁷ Thus, only DPs which do not need to be assigned a theta-role and which do not need to be licensed by Case or agreement may appear in this position. Some evidence for this comes from transitive expletive constructions (TECs), as found in German and Icelandic:⁸

⁶ In fact, Grimshaw considers another option – 'The *F*-value of X is lower than the *F*-value of YP' – but argues that there is more evidence in favour of (4). She notes that the choice between the two determines whether or not combinations such as I-IP, where a functional head selects a head with the same categorial features and *F*-value, should be possible.

⁷ Although in standard GB and Minimalism it is assumed that nominative Case may license argumental DPs for the purposes of theta-role-assignment, authors such as Bittner and Hale (1996) and Neeleman and Weerman (1999) have argued that nominative DPs are in fact licensed by verbal agreement.

⁸ Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998) argue that if a language has a 'simple' (i.e., single) IP, then it cannot have transitive expletive constructions, while if it has a 'split' IP, it can. If Russian and SC have the option of a split IP, then, the question arises why they should not also have TECs. Given that Slavonic languages do not seem to have overt expletives (though cf. Franks 1995; see Perlmutter and Moore 2002 on the existence of covert expletives), however, any higher IP

- (5) a. Es hat jemand einen Apfel gegessen.
 therehas someone an apple eaten
 ‘Someone has eaten an apple.’
 b. Það hafa margir jólasveinar borðað búðing.
 therehave many Santa-Clauses eaten pudding
 ‘Many Santa Clauses have eaten pudding.’

Although TECs are not always analysed as having a double-IP structure like (2), they consist of a single extended verbal projection which apparently contains more than one ‘subject’. The ‘lower’ subject (*jemand/margir jólasveinar*) receives the single external theta-role of the verb (external theta-roles being unique), and is licensed by nominative Case. As expected, therefore, only expletives such as *es* and *það*, which by definition do not receive theta-roles, and which do not need to be Case-licensed, may appear in this position.

If this restriction also holds in S-clefts, under the analysis in (2), then it must be the case that *èto* and *to* do not receive a theta-role and also do not need to be Case-licensed. I have proposed that IP1 in (2) is interpreted with the semantics of an equative copular sentence. As Rapoport (1987) observes, it is likely that, even if the DPs in an equative bear theta-roles, they are not assigned these by a lexical head. She notes that the copular verb is unlikely to be a theta-role-assigner in Russian, since no copular verb appears in equatives in the present tense, as shown in (6a). Furthermore, there is unlikely to be a null copular verb in such cases, since the complement of overt copular verbs in Russian can be in the instrumental case, yet non-verbal copular sentences do not allow instrumental case to appear on the second DP; compare (6b) and (6c):

- (6) a. Ivan èto tot sam čelovek.
 Ivan this this-NOM very-NOM man-NOM
 ‘Ivan is this very man.’
 b. *Ivan èto tem samym čelovekom.
 Ivan this this-INST very-INST man-INST
 c. Ivan byl tem samym čelovekom.
 Ivan was this-INST very-INST man-INST

If the copula is not a theta-role-assigner, however, it is doubtful whether equatives involve theta-role-assignment at all (see Pereltsvaig 2001, Rothstein 2001 for non-thematic analyses of equatives). Furthermore, if the DPs of an equative receive a theta-role (say, a ‘theme’ role, as Rapoport suggests), it is not clear how to express

structure would be invisible, and hence no evidence for TECs would be available in data. Alternatively, as Koenen and Neeleman (2001) propose, the absence of TECs in Russian and SC could be related to the lack of V-to-I movement or V2 in those languages.

the fact that one does not find equative copular constructions in which more than two XPs are equated.⁹

Thus, we have established that SpecIP1 in (2) need not be a thematic position if IP1 is to be interpreted as an equative. As for Case-licensing, it seems that *èto* and *to* are exceptional among Russian and SC DPs in that they may appear in Caseless positions. For example, in (7a) (from Junghanns 1997) *èto* may be translated as the sentential modifier ‘on this point’, and hence plausibly occupies an IP-adjoined position (as in Junghanns’ analysis), and therefore a non-Case position. Similarly, in (7b) (from Progovac 1998), *to* plays what Progovac calls a ‘bound-variable’ role, since it appears to be bound by quantification over events in the first clause. Again, *to* here is presumably not in a Case position:¹⁰

- (7) a. [È]to zavisit i ot temperamenta i ot vsego. Èto ja
s toboj soglašus’. [Ru]
this depends and from temperament and from everything this I
with you agree
‘It depends on temperament and everything. (On this point) I agree
with you.’
- b. Novak je pročitao knjigu, i to brzo. [SC]
Novak AUX read book and that quickly
‘Novak read the book, and quickly.’

The functions fulfilled by *èto* and *to* in (7) cannot be fulfilled by other DPs. This suggests that *èto/to*, unlike other DPs, do not require Case-licensing, and that this is what allows them to appear in high adjunct positions.

Furthermore, since *èto* and *to* in equatives appear in characteristically nominative positions, and verbs agree with nominative DPs in Russian and SC, one might expect *èto* and *to* to be able to induce verbal agreement, yet this is not possible: the verb must agree with the postcopular DP; (8) illustrates for Russian:

⁹ Despite these concerns, Rapoport does argue that the DPs in an equative bear theta-roles, but that these are not assigned by any head. Rather, they are licensed under government by a functional head (I). She argues that the identity relation is ‘listed’ in the lexicon and projected onto a construction. Although this avoids having to make the copular verb a theta-role-assigner, it does not account for the restriction on the number of DPs that can be equated. It also seems independently unmotivated.

¹⁰ In fact, Progovac (1998) analyses *to*, in both this usage and the S-cleft usage, as occupying the specifier of an Event Phrase located high in the IP domain (Progovac 2005 rechristens the Event Phrase as Pol_SP, a ‘subject polarity phrase’). However, given the clause structure I am assuming, an adjunct analysis is more appropriate, since *to* in (b) does not seem to be an argument. In any case, the point about Case-licensing stands, since SpecEP/Pol_SP is not a Case-licensing position in Progovac’s analysis.

- (8) a. Èto byl Ivan.
 this-3.SG.N was-3.SG.M Ivan
 ‘This/it was Ivan.’
 b. *Èto bylo Ivan.
 this-3.SG.N was-3.SG.N Ivan

These facts suggest that *èto* and *to* are exceptional among Russian/SC DPs in not requiring Case-licensing. This, together with the plausible idea that the DPs in an equative are not lexically assigned a theta-role, means that *èto* and *to*, unlike other DPs, may appear in SpecIP1.

In the next two sections I go on to show how the ‘double-IP’ structure can account for the apparently contradictory properties of S-clefts.

3 ‘Monoclausal’ Properties of S-clefts

3.1 No lexical evidence for biclausality

The most obvious reason to assign S-clefts a monoclausal structure is the absence of any overt lexical items indicating a biclausal structure. That is, unlike English *it*-clefts, S-clefts never feature an overt form of the copula, a lexical complementiser or a relative pronoun. (9) illustrates for Russian (the facts are parallel for SC):

- (9) a. *Èto byl/budet VODKU Ivan vypil.
 this was/will-be vodka Ivan drank
 b. *Èto VODKU, što Ivan vypil.
 this vodka that Ivan drank
 c. *Èto VODKU, kotoruju Ivan vypil.
 this vodka which Ivan drank

However, given that present tense copular sentences in Russian typically lack an overt copula, as shown in (10a), one might argue that S-clefts are biclausal, but that the matrix clause is obligatorily present tense. That is, one could claim that in both standard copular sentences and S-clefts there is a null copula of category V, and that in S-clefts this null V selects for IP. However, this analysis will not carry over to SC, in which standard copular sentences require an overt copula, even in the present tense; compare Russian (10a) with SC (10b):

- (10) a. Moj drug - Ivan.
 my friend Ivan
 ‘My friend is Ivan.’
 b. To *(je) Marija.
 that is Marija
 ‘That is Marija.’

Assuming that we want to analyse Russian and SC S-clefts along the same lines, then, we must disregard the idea that there is a null copula in S-clefts.

If copular verbs are of category V, then the present analysis of S-clefts correctly rules out an overt copula in both languages, since the higher I selects for IP rather than VP.¹¹ Of course, there is another possibility: the copula could be base-generated in I. However, this seems unlikely, for two reasons. First, in Russian, the copula may appear after ‘lower’ adverbs (i.e., adverbs that occupy a VP-adjoined position or, according to Cinque 1999, appear in the specifier of an aspect-related functional projection), which suggests that the copula does not raise out of the VP.¹²

- (11) Bliny medlenno byli s’edeny.
pancakes slowly were eaten
‘The pancakes were eaten slowly.’

Determining the origin of the copula in SC is more difficult, since it is normally a second-position clitic, which of course never surfaces in any position other than second in its clause. However, there are also non-clitic forms of the copula, and these, like the Russian copula, can follow manner adverbs. One such form is the so-called ‘second future’ auxiliary *budem*, which appears exclusively in subordinate clauses. As shown in (12), adapted from Browne and Alt (2004: 40), *opat* ‘again’, which belongs to the hierarchically lowest class of adverbs in SC according to Cinque (1999: 37), may precede this form of the copula:

- (12) Kad opat budemo govorili s Marijom, sve će biti jasno.
when again we-will spoke with Marija all will be clear
‘When we speak with Marija again, everything will be clear.’

I thus conclude that the double-IP structure correctly captures the obligatory absence of overt copulas in S-clefts.

3.2 Adverbs and negation

King (1993) proposes a monoclausal analysis of Russian S-clefts. As evidence for the monoclausality of the construction, she claims that in Russian S-clefts, adverbials may not intervene between *èto* and the clefted XP, citing the following examples:

¹¹ As for what forces the absence of a higher VP, this presumably follows from a selectional restriction: namely, there are no examples in Russian or SC of V selecting for I.

¹² On the other hand, the fact that manner adverbs may also follow the copula in (11) is not conclusive, since the participle *s’edeny* ‘eaten’ might head its own VP, which could be independently modified by the adverb without the copula having to raise.

- (13) a. *Èto vseгда BORIS p'ët vsju vodku.
 this always Boris drinks all vodka
 'It is always Boris who drinks all the vodka.'
 b. *Èto obyčno BORIS p'ët vsju vodku.
 this usually Boris drinks all vodka
 'It is usually Boris who drinks all the vodka.'

She further claims that the only material which may appear between *èto* and the clefted XP is the negation particle *ne*, as in (14):

- (14) Èto ne IVAN vypil vodku.
 this not Ivan drank vodka
 'It wasn't Ivan who drank the vodka.'

She asserts that *ne* in this position represents constituent negation of the clefted XP rather than sentential negation, though she provides no evidence for this.

Indeed, if the claim that only constituent negation can appear in the post-*èto* position were true, this would be a strong argument for true monoclausality. However, the claim can easily be shown to be false. Junghanns (1997), in arguing against King's analysis, provides examples in which topics precede the focused XP, such as the following:

- (15) Èto ja vas včera vstretil na ulice?
 this I you yesterday met on street
 'Was it you I met outside yesterday?'

As for the claim about adverbials, it seems that the restriction is more selective than King implies. The examples she uses, *vseгда* 'always' and *obyčno* 'usually', both belong to the category of lower adverbs (Cinque 1999). If lower adverbs adjoin to VP, then the present analysis of S-clefts accounts for the impossibility of (13a-b), since there is no appropriately located VP to which the adverbials could adjoin.¹³ Note that the ban on matrix VP-adverbs in S-clefts cannot simply be reduced to semantic restrictions, since in English many lower adverbs (e.g., *usually*, *no longer*,

¹³ Alternatively, under Mezhevich's split-IP analysis, lower adverbs could be argued to adjoin to Asp, following the Cinquean proposal that the boundary between 'lower' and 'higher' adverbs corresponds to the boundary between tense/mood-related functional projections and aspect-related functional projections. The present analysis of S-clefts could be adapted so that they have a TP>TP>AspP>VP structure, which would exclude lower adverbs from the post-*èto* position. Note that this would still be compatible with the view that S-clefts form a single extended projection, since there would be no violation of the requirement for a functional projection to select for a projection with the same or a lower *F*-value (i.e., T selects for T).

always) can occur in the matrix clause of clefts. This, I suggest, is because English copular clauses always contain a VP projected by the copular verb.¹⁴

On the other hand, the present analysis predicts that higher adverbs, which are generally assumed to adjoin to a projection of I, may appear in the post-*èto* position. This appears to be correct, as shown in the following examples:¹⁵

- (16) a. Èto k sčast'ju BORIS vypil vodku.
 this to happiness Boris drank vodka
 'Fortunately, it was Boris that drank the vodka.'
- b. Èto jakoby BORIS vypil vodku.
 this allegedly Boris drank vodka
 'It was allegedly Boris that drank the vodka.'
- c. Èto verojatno BORIS vypil vodku.
 this probably Boris drank vodka
 'It was probably Boris that drank the vodka.'
- d. Èto odnaždy BORIS vypil vodku.
 this once Boris drank vodka
 'Once, it was Boris that drank vodka.'

By contrast, those higher adverbs that cannot generally follow a subject in Russian are correctly excluded from the post-*èto* position:

- (17) a. *Boris čestno vypil vodku.
 Boris frankly drank vodka
 'Frankly, Boris drank the vodka.'
- b. *Boris možet byt' vypil vodku.
 Boris may be drank vodka
 'Perhaps Boris drank the vodka.'
- c. *Èto čestno BORIS vypil vodku.
 this frankly Boris drank vodka
 'Frankly, it was Boris that drank the vodka.'
- d. *Èto možet byt' BORIS vypil vodku.
 this may be Boris drank vodka
 'Perhaps it was Boris that drank the vodka.'

The same pattern occurs in equative copular sentences, supporting the parallel between S-clefts and equatives: higher adverbs may appear after *èto* (as in (18a-c)),

¹⁴ However, a semantic explanation seems appropriate for certain other representatives of the lower adverb class (e.g., *uže* 'already', *bol'se ne* 'no longer', *soveršenno* 'completely', *xorošo* 'well'), which appear to be ungrammatical in the matrix clause of English *it*-clefts as well as in the post-*èto* position of Russian S-clefts.

¹⁵ Again, certain other higher adverbs can be independently excluded for semantic reasons (e.g., *umno* 'wisely').

apart from those that cannot appear after subjects in general (as in (18d-e)), while lower adverbs may not appear there (as in (18f-g)):

- (18) a. Napitok, kotoryj ja p'ju, èto k sčast'ju vodka.
 drink which I drink this to happiness vodka
 'Fortunately, the drink that I am drinking is the vodka.'
- b. Napitok, kotoryj ja p'ju, èto jakoby vodka.
 drink which I drink this allegedly vodka
 'The drink that I am drinking is allegedly the vodka.'
- c. Napitok, kotoryj ja p'ju, èto verojatno vodka.
 drink which I drink this probably vodka
 'The drink that I am drinking is probably the vodka.'
- d. *Napitok, kotoryj ja p'ju, èto čestno vodka.
 drink which I drink this frankly vodka
 'Frankly, the drink that I am drinking is the vodka.'
- e. *Napitok, kotoryj ja p'ju, èto možet byt' vodka.
 drink which I drink this may be vodka
 'Perhaps the drink that I am drinking is the vodka.'
- f. *Napitok, kotoryj ja p'ju, èto vseгда vodka.
 drink which I drink this always vodka
 'The drink that I drink is always the vodka.'
- g. *Napitok, kotoryj ja p'ju, èto obyčno vodka.
 drink which I drink this usually vodka
 'The drink that I drink is usually the vodka.'

Finally, King's claim that *ne* immediately following *èto* is constituent negation seems to be false as well. This is because there may be 'double negation' in an S-cleft, just like in an English *it*-cleft. This is not possible in cases of constituent negation.

- (19) a. *Ivan ne vypil ne VODKU(, a VODU).
 Ivan not drank not vodka but water
 '*Ivan didn't drink not vodka(, but water).'
- b. Èto ne VODKU Ivan ne p'ët(, a VODU).
 this not vodka Ivan not drinks
 'It wasn't vodka that Ivan didn't drink(, but water).'

If the higher *ne* in (19b) is not constituent negation, then it must be sentential negation. In Russian, sentential negation is unique per IP, but since there are two IPs in S-clefts, the present analysis accounts for the possibility of double negation.

3.3 Clitic-climbing

SC (but not Russian) has a class of elements known as second-position clitics, which must appear either after the first constituent or after the first word of a clause. Compare (20a), in which the auxiliary clitic *je* follows the subject, and (20b), in which it precedes the subject and follows the complementiser *da* (examples from Halpern 1995:15/22):

- (20) a. Čovek je voleo Mariju.
 man AUX love-PART Marija
 'The man loved Marija.'
- b. Ja mislim da je ona kupila šešir.
 I think C AUX she buy-PART hat
 'I think that she bought the hat.'

Second-position clitics in SC are generally restricted to the CP or extended projection in which they originate (Halpern 1995, Franks and King 2000), although subjunctive complements allow clitics to climb into the next highest CP (Progovac 1993). Given this, then, the fact that clitics must appear in second position in an S-cleft, rather than in a lower position, suggests that S-clefts are monoclausal, as Halpern (1995) argues:

- (21) a. To je ova devojka svirala klavir.
 that AUX that girl play-PART piano
 'It's that girl that's playing the piano.'
- b. Ko je to koga udario?
 who-NOM is that who-ACC hit
 'Who is it that hit whom?'

Whether the domain in which clitics must appear in second position is CP (as in Halpern 1995) or the extended verbal projection (as in Franks and King 2000), the present analysis of S-clefts captures the clitic placement in (21), since there is only a single CP/extended projection.

This analysis also compares favourably with that of Halpern (1995). He initially proposes that clitics, cleft *to* and focus-moved XPs all adjoin to IP. Thus, he assigns the sentence in (21b) the analysis in (22):

- (22) [_{CP} ko_i [_{IP} je [_{IP} to [_{IP} koga_j [_{IP} t_i udario t_j]]]]]]

Here, the *wh*-words *ko* and *koga* are focus-moved, adjoining to IP, and *ko* subsequently undergoes *wh*-movement to SpecCP. The clitic auxiliary *je* and cleft *to* also adjoin to IP. Halpern then rejects this analysis, since it does not predict the fact that *je*, *to* and *koga*, all adjuncts to IP, must appear in this order. In order to

capture this, he proposes a functional projection CleftP, headed by a null element, which appears between CP and IP. Cleft *to* appears in SpecCleftP, while clitics adjoin to CleftP. Focus-moved XPs, on the other hand, adjoin to IP as before. As (23) shows, this automatically gives the correct ordering of *je*, *to* and *koga*:

(23) [CP ko_i [CleftP je [CleftP to [Cleft' Cleft⁰ [IP koga_j [IP t_i udario t_j]]]]]]]

However, there are problems with this analysis, not the least of which is that there is no independent motivation for CleftP, and Cleft⁰ is never lexically filled. Furthermore, the only overt evidence for clitics adjoining to CleftP rather than to IP comes from cases like (21b). Compare the structure of (21a), which would be as in (24) given the assumptions Halpern makes:

(24) [CleftP je [CleftP to [Cleft' Cleft⁰ [IP ova devojka [IP svirala klavir]]]]]

In order to locate the clitic *je* in second position, Halpern would presumably assume either that *je* undergoes ‘prosodic inversion’ with *to*, or that *to* moves over *je* to some higher position.¹⁶ Either way, the structure in (24) would be obscured by subsequent operations. It is thus not clear on what basis the learner could infer the presence of CleftP in SC. This is especially clear given that under this analysis, *to* appears to be doing no semantic work, so it seems more suited to an adjunct position rather than a specifier position. The analysis in (2), on the other hand, captures the clitic placement facts without positing an unmotivated extra functional projection.

4 ‘Biclausal’ Properties of S-clefts

4.1 Pronouns and presuppositions

The starting point for this section is the observation that the element which introduces S-clefts (*èto* in Russian; *to* in SC) is identical in form to a standalone neuter singular demonstrative pronoun. King (1993) and Halpern (1995) take this to be evidence for analysing the cleft pronoun as a DP occupying a specifier

¹⁶ Halpern introduces the notion of prosodic inversion to handle the well-known fact that clitics sometimes appear after the first *word* rather than after the first phrasal constituent:

- (i) Taj je čovek voleo Mariju.
 that AUX man loved Maria
 ‘That man loved Maria.’

Halpern claims that in (i), *je* is base-generated in clause-initial position (as an adjunct to IP) and changes places with *taj* in the phonological component in order to get into second position. As for cases where clitics appear after the second phrasal constituent, Halpern takes this to be syntactically determined, arguing that the phrasal constituent moves over the clitic.

position. Junghanns (1997) argues that the cleft pronoun also has deictic or anaphoric properties, just like a demonstrative pronoun. However, unlike King and Halpern (and the present analysis), he analyses it as being a base-generated adjunct to IP (Agr_SP in his terminology), interpreted as a ‘topic’. The present analysis of S-clefts follows King and Halpern in locating the cleft pronoun in a specifier position, but unlike them identifies this as the subject position of an equative copular construction. I will argue that this analysis accounts for the fact that Russian S-clefts give rise to ‘presuppositions’ of existence and exhaustivity, just like English *it*-clefts.

The presuppositional properties of English *it*-clefts have been extensively discussed in the literature (see, e.g., Akmajian 1970, Horn 1981, Percus 1997, Rooth 1999, Geurts and van der Sandt 2004). The claim that is usually made is that an *it*-cleft like (25a) ‘presupposes’ that John drank something, and that sherry was the only thing he drank, while in situ focus (25b) and focus-movement (25c) do not give rise to these ‘presuppositions’:

- (25) a. It was THE SHERRY that John drank.
 b. John drank THE SHERRY.
 c. THE SHERRY, John drank.

The presence of an existential presupposition in focus constructions can be diagnosed by focusing a bare negative quantifier (Percus 1997). As (26) shows, this is acceptable for in situ focus and focus-movement, but not in *it*-clefts:

- (26) a. *It was NOTHING that John drank.
 b. John drank NOTHING.
 c. NOTHING, John drank.

The reason for the unacceptability of (26a) is that a bare negative quantifier is incompatible with an existential presupposition. That is, the assertion of (26a) that John drank nothing is in conflict with the presupposition that he drank something.

Exhaustivity can be diagnosed with adverbials which are incompatible with exhaustive focus, such as *also* and *even* (É. Kiss 1998). As (27) shows, *also* and *even* are compatible with in situ focus and focus-movement, but not with *it*-clefts:

- (27) a. It was ??also/*even THE SHERRY that John drank.
 b. John also/even drank THE SHERRY.
 c. Also/even THE SHERRY, John drank.

Another test for exhaustivity suggested by É. Kiss involves focusing bare universal quantifiers. Again, this is possible for in situ focus and focus-movement, but not for *it*-clefts:

- (28) a. *It was EVERYTHING that John drank.
 b. John drank EVERYTHING.
 c. EVERYTHING, John drank.

Though it has not to my knowledge been observed in the literature, a similar contrast exists between Russian S-clefts and their simple sentence counterparts. That S-clefts give rise to existential presuppositions can be shown by comparing a sentence with a focus-moved negative quantifier with its S-cleft counterpart, which is unacceptable:

- (29) a. NIKOGO ja ne videl.
 nobody I not saw
 ‘Nobody, I saw.’
 b. *Èto NIKOGO ja ne videl.
 this nobody I not saw

That S-clefts express a stronger version of exhaustive focus than their simple sentence counterparts can be shown by the fact that adverbs like *takže* ‘also’ and *daže* ‘even’ may not precede a clefted DP, though they may precede a focus-moved DP, and that universal QPs like *vse šljapy* ‘every hat’ may not be clefted, though they may be focus-moved:

- (30) a. Takže/daže ŠLJAPU Maria sebe kupila.
 also even hat-ACC Maria-NOM self-DAT bought
 b. VSE ŠLJAPY Maria sebe kupila.
 all hats-ACC Maria-NOM self-DAT bought
 c. *Èto takže/daže ŠLJAPU Maria sebe kupila.
 it also even hat-ACC Maria-NOM self-DAT bought
 d. *Èto VSE ŠLJAPY Maria sebe kupila.
 it all hats-ACC Maria-NOM self-DAT bought

It has been argued by various authors (e.g., Akmajian 1970, Wirth 1978, Percus 1997) that the presuppositions of *it*-clefts should be derived in the same way as the presuppositions of specificational copular sentences with a definite description subject. Under this view, (25a) is in some sense structurally equivalent to (31):

- (31) The thing that John drank was THE SHERRY.

One way of capturing the similarities between sentences like (31) and (25a) with respect to presuppositions is to claim that they have similar underlying syntactic structures. For example, Percus (1997) claims that *it*-clefts involve extraposition of a relative clause from a definite description subject, plus spell-out of the remnant as the pronoun *it*. Another possibility is to take the presuppositions of *it*-clefts and

sentences like (31) to be due to the presence of a definite singular subject, which means that clefts need not be analysed as containing underlying definite descriptions. I suggest that the presence of a definite singular subject in S-clefts is what gives rise to presuppositions. The construction is interpreted as an equative sentence asserting that the referent of *èto* and the referent of the ‘lower’ IP are identical. As Geist and Błaszczak (2000) observe, this approach favours a semantic analysis of S-clefts in which they are interpreted as ‘question-answer pairs’, a type of analysis which has often been applied to English pseudoclefts such as *What Ivan drank was the vodka* (e.g., Ross 1972, Higgins 1973, den Dikken et al. 2000, Schlenker 2003).¹⁷ On this view, in (1a), *èto* denotes the question *What did Ivan drink?*, and the ‘lower’ IP denotes the answer *Ivan drank the vodka*. As Schlenker (2003) notes, a type mismatch arises on this theory if questions are taken to be sets of propositions (as in Hamblin 1973 and Karttunen 1977), since a set of propositions cannot be equated with a proposition. The alternative he proposes is to adopt Groenendijk and Stokhof’s (1997) semantics for questions, according to which the denotation of a question $[[Q]](w)$ is the unique exhaustive true answer Q in the world w. Given this, the exhaustivity property of S-clefts follows. As for the presupposition of existence, it is less clear how the Groenendijk-Stokhof semantics could derive this, but note that the problem is identical to that posed by English pseudoclefts. One piece of evidence for the question-answer analysis of pseudoclefts is that the postcopular XP may be a full IP corresponding to the answer to the question expressed by the precopular XP, as in (32a). But even in this case, the part corresponding to the ‘new’ part of the answer (i.e., the focus) cannot be an unrestricted negative quantifier, as shown in (32b):

- (32) a. What John did was he bought some wine.
 b. *What John did was he did nothing.

Thus, whatever rules out (32b) will also rule out (29b).

Another advantage of the question-answer analysis is that it correctly rules out the occurrence of contrastive topics in S-clefts. An example of a contrastive topic is found in the following question-answer pair, where it is presupposed that there are a number of people and a number of things to eat, and that various people ate various things (contrastive topics are in *italics*):¹⁸

¹⁷ The main motivation for the question-answer analysis of pseudo-clefts is that it accounts for connectivity effects involving binding, negative polarity items and *de dicto/de re* ambiguities without invoking syntactic reconstruction. Also, as originally observed by Faraci (1971), there are striking similarities between the restrictions on the *wh*-phrase of pseudoclefts and indirect questions. Schlenker (2003) makes similar observations for French. Unfortunately, these types of evidence are unavailable for S-clefts, since they do not feature a *wh*-phrase.

¹⁸ In English, the contrastive topic normally bears a so-called ‘B-accent’ (rise-fall-rise), while the contrastive topic bears an ‘A-accent’ (rise-fall). In Russian, a contrastive topic-contrastive

- (33) a. What about FRED? What did HE eat?
 b. Well, I don't know about Fred, but *Bill* ate THE BEANS.

Thus, in the context of a discussion in which the 'main question' is *Who ate what?*, contrastive topics correspond to the focus of 'sub-questions' to this question, such as *What did FRED eat?*, *What did BILL eat?*, and so on, and they presuppose that there is more than one such sub-question. (See Büring 1997, 2003, Neeleman and van de Koot 2007 for more discussion and analysis of contrastive topics.)

In a context in which there are a number of people and a number of drinks, and various people drank various drinks, one might answer the Russian question in (34a) as in (34b). However, it is infelicitous to answer using an S-cleft, as in (34c):

- (34) a. Čto MASHA vypil?
 what Masha drank
 b. Nu, ja ne znaju nasčët Mashì, no Ivan VODKU vypil.
 well I not know about Masha but Ivan vodka drank
 c. #Nu, ja ne znaju nasčët Mashì, no èto Ivan VODKU vypil.
 well I not know about Masha but this Ivan vodka drank

If *èto* denotes a single *wh*-question, and the answer to that question is required to be exhaustive, then that requirement will be violated in (34c), since by definition, a contrastive topic presupposes more than one sub-question to the main question, and each sub-question will have its own unique answer (Büring 2003).¹⁹ Presumably, *èto* in (34c) will denote the question *Kto čto vypil?* 'Who drank what?', in which case the semantics of the cleft require *Ivan vodku vypil* to be an exhaustive answer to this question. But if *Ivan* is a contrastive topic, this presupposes subquestions such as *Čto Masha vypil?*, *Čto Boris vypil?* and so on, and thus presupposes other answers to the main question *Kto čto vypil?*. Therefore, the requirement for the denotation of the lower IP to be an exhaustive answer, plus the above restriction on conjoined clauses, means that the only way to felicitously answer a question under discussion like (34a) with an S-cleft is with multiple foci (e.g., *Èto IVAN vypil VODKU*), which do not presuppose alternative subquestions.

focus structure akin to (33b) bears the so-called 'IC-5' intonation pattern, which consists of a rise on the topic and a fall on the focus (Pereltsvaig 2008).

¹⁹ One might imagine that it should still be possible to conjoin two or more 'lower' IPs in a single S-cleft, but it turns out that this is independently ruled out by a constraint requiring *èto* to precede each conjoined clause, as shown in (i) (compare the well-formed (ii)):

- (i) Q: Kto čto vypil?
 A: *Nu, èto [Ivan vodku vypil i Boris vodu vypil].
 (ii) Q: Who drank what?
 A.: Well, it was John who drank the vodka and Bill who drank the water.

In conclusion, the fact that Russian S-clefts apparently give rise to ‘presuppositions’ of existence and exhaustivity, like *it*-clefts, supports the idea that they are interpreted as equatives, and more specifically as ‘question-answer pairs’, since such ‘presuppositions’ are also characteristic of pseudoclefts, which are also plausibly interpreted as question-answer pairs.

4.2 Superiority in Serbo-Croatian

The second piece of evidence for the double-IP structure of S-clefts has to do with Superiority phenomena. The Superiority Condition of Chomsky (1973) prevents a *wh*-phrase from undergoing *wh*-movement if there is a structurally higher (in terms of c-command) *wh*-phrase which could do so. It has long been known that although Superiority applies fairly strictly in English, in other languages it may be violated in some or all syntactic environments. For example, SC allows Superiority violations in matrix multiple *wh*-questions, but not in embedded questions (illustrated here in the form of correlatives), long-distance questions and questions with a lexical complementiser, in which the highest *wh*-phrase obeys Superiority (Rudin 1988, Bošković 1997).

- (35) a. Ko koga vidi?
 who-NOM who-ACC sees
 ‘Who sees who(m)?’
- b. Koga ko vidi?
 who-ACC who-NOM sees
- c. Ko koga voli, taj o njemu govori.
 who-NOM who-ACC loves that-one about him talks
 ‘Everyone talks about the person they love.’
- d. *Koga ko voli, taj o njemu govori.
 who-ACC who-NOM loves that-one about him talks
- e. Ko si koga tvrdio da je istukao?
 who-NOM you-are who-ACC claimed that is beaten
 ‘Who did you claim beat who(m)?’
- f. *Koga si ko tvrdio da je istukao?
 who-NOM you-are who-ACC claimed that is beaten
- g. Ko li je koga istukao?
 who-NOM PRT is who-ACC beaten
 ‘Who beat who(m)?’
- h. *Koga li je ko istukao?
 who-ACC PRT is who-NOM beaten

In Russian, on the other hand, Superiority may be violated in any of these environments (Rudin 1988, Stepanov 1998):

- (36) a. Kto kogo videl?
 who-NOM who-ACC saw
 ‘Who saw who(m)?’
- b. Kogo kto videl?
 who-ACC who-NOM saw
- c. Kto kogo uvidit, tot togo i uznaet.
 who-NOM who-ACC will-see that-NOM that-ACC and recognises
 ‘If someone sees someone, he will recognise him.’
- d. Kogo kto uvidit, togo tot i uznaet.
 who-ACC who-NOM will-see that-ACC that-NOM and recognises
- e. Kogo kogda ty xočeš’, čtoby ja priglasil?
 who-ACC when you want that-SUBJ I invited
 ‘Who do want me to invite when?’
- f. Kogda kogo ty xočeš’, čtoby ja priglasil?
 when who-ACC you want that-SUBJ I invited

Bošković (1997) accounts for the SC facts as follows. He notes that the contexts in which SC obeys Superiority are identical to those in which *wh*-phrases must move overtly in French. By contrast, those in which Superiority may be violated in SC are those in which *wh*-phrases need not move in French. Thus, he argues that overt *wh*-movement to SpecCP, which obeys Superiority universally, should be differentiated from focus-movement of *wh*-phrases, which adjoins them to IP, and which does not obey Superiority. In both French and SC, overt *wh*-movement need not take place in matrix questions because matrix interrogative C, not being selected, need not be merged overtly. The difference between French and SC matrix MWQs is that SC *wh*-phrases are inherently focused, and so must undergo focus-movement adjoining them to IP. In embedded MWQs, by contrast, interrogative C, being selected, must be merged overtly. This forces a single *wh*-phrase to undergo overt *wh*-movement to satisfy the interrogative feature on C; since this is *wh*-movement proper, it must observe Superiority. The same holds of matrix questions with the lexical complementiser *li* (see below for long-distance questions). Stepanov (1998) applies Bošković’s analysis to Russian, arguing that it has no overt *wh*-movement at all, but that the obligatory movement of *wh*-phrases is focus-movement.²⁰

²⁰ It seems unlikely, however, that *wh*-phrases undergo obligatory focus-movement in Russian. First, in Russian S-cleft MWQs such as (38), only one *wh*-phrase normally crosses *èto*, the rest remaining in a lower position. If all *wh*-phrases were undergoing movement for the same reason, we would expect the *wh*-phrases to cluster together, as they normally do in Russian MWQs. Second, *wh*-phrases do not inherently express contrast, and so it is unclear why they should need to be contrastively focused. Furthermore, they do not bear the characteristic ‘IC-2’ intonational pattern associated with contrastive focus in Russian. On the other hand, if the relevant type of focus were new information focus, then we would not expect *wh*-phrases to need to move at all (É. Kiss 1998). Thus, while I accept that *wh*-phrases obligatorily move for some reason not

Given the SC Superiority facts illustrated in (35), a monoclausal analysis of S-clefts would predict that in SC, Superiority may be violated in S-cleft MWQs. However, this is not the case: the single *wh*-phrase that moves over *to* must be the highest *wh*-phrase:

- (37) a. Ko je to koga udario?
 who-NOM is this who-ACC hit
 ‘Who was it that hit whom?’
 b. *Koga je to ko udario?
 who-ACC is this who-NOM hit

MWQs in SC S-clefts thus pattern with embedded, long-distance and complementiser MWQs rather than matrix MWQs. Note that in Russian, Superiority is not obeyed in S-clefts:

- (38) a. Kto èto kogo udaril?
 who-NOM this who-ACC hit
 ‘Who was it that hit whom?’
 b. Kogo èto kto udaril?
 who-NOM this who-ACC hit

This suggests that the fact that Superiority holds in SC S-clefts is not due to some independent property of S-clefts themselves.

The Superiority facts lead to one of two conclusions: either S-clefts are biclausal in some sense, or they contain a lexical complementiser. The second of these possibilities is very unlikely, since the only candidate is *to/èto*, which is not restricted to questions. Furthermore, clefts may themselves be embedded under a complementiser, suggesting that *to/èto* is lower than C (Halpern 1995, Junghanns 1997). We are thus left with the possibility that S-cleft MWQs are parallel to long-distance MWQs.

There is an important difference, however, between the structures of long-distance questions like (35e) and S-clefts like (37a): the former consist of two CPs, while the latter consists of a single CP. In long-distance questions, therefore, the *wh*-phrases cross at least one CP boundary, while the *wh*-phrases in S-clefts cross no CP boundaries. If the fact that both constructions obey Superiority is to be explained in the same way, therefore, an account will have to be given that does not make reference to crossing CP boundaries. This rules out Bošković’s (1997) explanation for why Superiority is observed in long-distance questions. He argues that if no *wh*-phrase raises overtly to check the *wh*-feature on C, then it must be checked at LF. He adopts Chomsky’s (1995) assumption that LF-movement is

necessarily connected with movement to SpecCP (perhaps for scope reasons), I do not assume that this is focus-movement. (I have not checked the facts for SC.)

feature-movement, and that this is head-movement rather than phrasal movement. This means that if all *wh*-phrases in a long-distance question remained in situ, the relevant features would at some point have to undergo LF head-movement from C to V (because of the Head Movement Constraint), which is generally agreed to be impossible. Under the present analysis of S-clefts, however, there is no intervening C which could block head-movement, so Bošković's account would incorrectly predict that Superiority can be violated in S-clefts.

I therefore propose that SC requires Superiority to be respected in two environments: (i) when interrogative C must be merged overtly (i.e., in embedded questions and *li*-questions), as in Bošković's analysis; and (ii) when *wh*-phrases move out of an IP.²¹ In long-distance questions, movement of the highest *wh*-phrase must cross the embedded IP. In S-clefts, on the other hand, movement of the highest *wh*-phrase must leave the lower IP in order to adjoin to the higher IP. Note that this condition, unlike Bošković's, does not require merger of a root interrogative C in long-distance questions and S-clefts, and so naturally preserves Bošković's insight with regard to matrix MWQs without unnecessarily complicating the account of the long-distance and S-cleft cases.

To conclude, I have shown in this section that Superiority facts argue in favour of the present analysis of S-clefts, since they suggest that S-clefts contain more than one clause, where 'clause' here means 'IP'.

5 Conclusion

I have argued that S-clefts in Russian and SC involve a single extended verbal projection consisting of two instances of the functional category I (or T under the T-Asp analysis), and that the element *èto/to* occupies the specifier of the higher I. S-clefts, under this analysis, are interpreted as equative copular sentences equating the denotation of a deictic/anaphoric pronominal with the denotation of a clause (the lower IP). I have suggested that the double-IP-structure is restricted to clefts in these languages because of the exceptional nature of *èto/to*, which, unlike other DPs, does not require Case-licensing, as well as the fact that equatives do not seem to involve theta-role-assignment by a lexical head. I have shown that this 'pseudo-biclausal' analysis of S-clefts accounts for various properties which have been claimed to favour a monoclausal structure (lack of lexical evidence for biclausality; restrictions on adverbials; clitic-climbing properties) while also accommodating data that would be problematic for a monoclausal analysis (presuppositions; Superiority effects).

²¹ The definition of 'move out of' would have to exclude cases where a *wh*-phrase adjoins to IP, of course. It would therefore be necessary to make reference to the distinction between segments and categories, such that a constituent XP 'moves out of' an IP only if it c-commands all the segments of that IP from its landing site.

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