

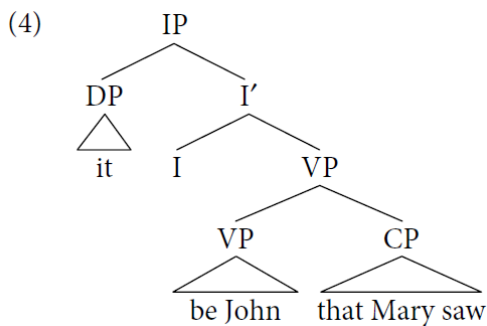
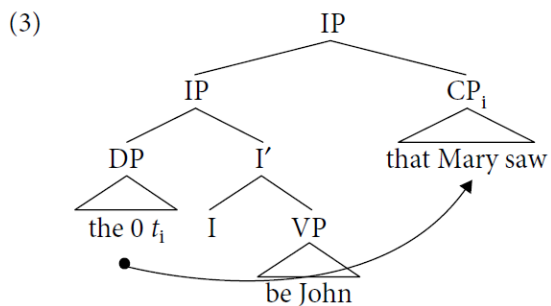
Chapter 1: Introduction

Chapter 2: The Syntax of English Clefts

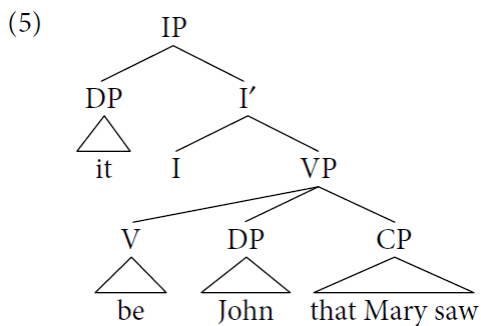
*It was ON THE MOON that Sue played golf.*

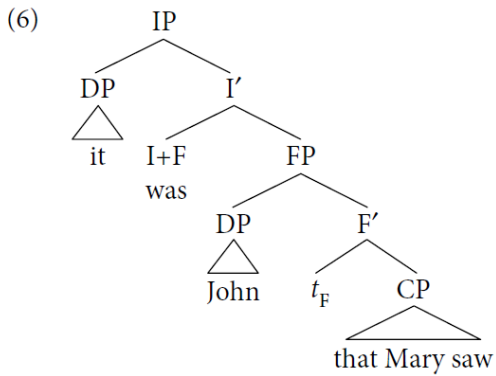
Specificational (gap + value, with presupposition) vs. expletive analyses.

Specificational: Percus (1997) vs. Hedberg (1990)



Expletive: ternary-branching VP (Delahunty 1981, 1984) vs. cleft clause as (part of) the sister of the copula (É. Kiss 1998)

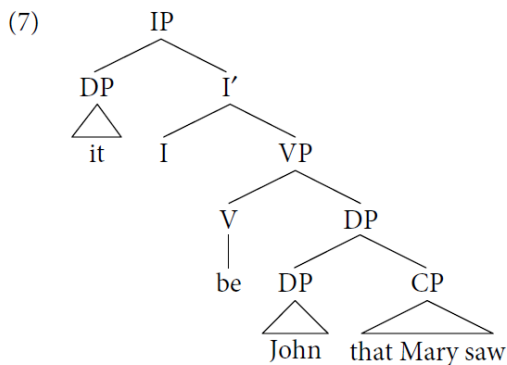




Claims of the book:

- (i) *it* is not an expletive;
- (ii) the cleft clause is a type of restrictive relative;
- (iii) cleft clause not behaving as a restrictive RC modifier in every way (modification relation justified interpretatively, but not syntactically) .

Proposed structure: cleft clause adjoined to the clefted DP



Predictions:

- the cleft clause behaves like a modifier of the clefted DP rather than the modifier of *it*;
- the cleft clause will show the same behaviour as a relative clause extraposed from an object (vs. subject) DP (postcopular position: object-like).

### Arguments against the expletive analysis:

Syntax:

- alternation with demonstratives (attested cross-linguistically)

8. a. It/This/That was John that I saw.  
b. It/\*This/\*That seems to me that you are wrong.

- control: obligatorily controlled PRO must be controlled by a DP with referential content

- (11) a. It<sub>i</sub> was THE FURNITURE that annoyed John on Sunday [despite PRO<sub>i</sub> being THE DÉCOR the day before].  
 b. On Sunday, [what annoyed John]<sub>i</sub> was THE FURNITURE [despite PRO<sub>i</sub> being THE DÉCOR the day before].

Huber (2002), Den Dikken (2009): only predicational cleft *it* can control PRO.

- (i) ???It<sub>i</sub> is Peter who is coming without PRO<sub>i</sub> being a nice man.  
 (ii) ???[The murderer]<sub>i</sub> is the butler without PRO<sub>i</sub> being a bad guy.  
 (iii) ???[Who murdered John]<sub>i</sub> was the butler without PRO<sub>i</sub> being a bad guy.

Reeve: ill-formedness due to independent reasons, corresponding sentences with *it* also bad:

- (iv) \*It is Peter who is coming without it being a nice man.  
 (v) \*[The murderer] is the butler without it being a bad guy.  
 (vi) \*[Who murdered John] was the butler without it being a bad guy.

- the obligatoriness of the cleft pronoun in V2 Germanic (closely tied to referentiality, pro cannot be referential in these languages)
- referential pro in Italian: possible in clefts
- the experiencer blocking effect in French (for referential DPs plus cleft *ce*)
- Clefts and specificational sentences pattern together in that they can be used to express both new information focus and contrastive focus.
- Presuppositions: obligatorily existential and exhaustive (=identification by exclusion)
- Clefts behave in a parallel fashion to specificational sentences in that the exhaustivity of the focus depends on the definiteness of the surface subject.

Expletive approaches miss a significant generalization.

### What specificational analyses get wrong: the behaviour of the cleft clause

Specificational analyses are correct in assigning referential status to the cleft pronoun. Wrong: extraposition relation between the cleft clause and *it*.

Adjunction to clefted XP.

The cleft clause as a restrictive relative clause (p.25)

Alternation between overt relative, complementizer *that* and zero.

Same relative operators (minus *why*)

Anti- *that*-trace effects

fn. 19!!!

adjunct extraction properties

Cleft clause as adjunct of clefted XP

VP-ellipsis (p29), raising, VP-fronting

Object relatives can be reduced vs. subject relatives: reduced relatives ok in clefts (p.39)

Clefted XP c-commands into the cleft: NPIs, quantifier scope  
 Clefted XP originating in the cleft clause (promotion analyses)  
 Matching analysis also needed

**Locality:** with XP rather than *it*

Culicover and Rochemont's (1990) Complement Principle (surface condition):

$\beta$  is a potential complement of  $\alpha$  ( $\alpha, \beta = X_{max}$ ) [i.e.  $\beta$  is an extraposed phrase which can take  $\alpha$  as its antecedent – MJR], only if  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  are in a government relation.

Features of the wh-operator: depend on the features of the clefted XP, not *it* (p.37)

### Promotion structure

Prediction: scope and binding similar to restrictive relatives.

Similarities bw specificational sentences and restrictive relatives, but where they diverge clefts pattern with rels.

Connectivity effects (p.40): arise in wh-movement and also restrictive relatives + similar movement account for clefts.

- (63) a. [Which picture of himself]<sub>i</sub> did John<sub>i</sub> like  $t_j$  best?  
 b. [Which picture of his<sub>i</sub> mother]<sub>j</sub> did every boy<sub>i</sub> like  $t_j$  best?  
 c. [Which two patients]<sub>j</sub> do you think that every doctor will examine  $t_j$ ?  
 [two>every, every> which]
- (64) a. The [picture of himself]<sub>i</sub> that John<sub>i</sub> painted  $t_j$  is impressive.  
 b. The [picture of his<sub>i</sub> mother]<sub>j</sub> that every boy<sub>i</sub> painted  $t_j$  in art class was impressive.  
 c. I phoned the [two patients]<sub>j</sub> that every doctor will examine  $t_j$ .  
 [two>every, every>two]

No movement account for specificational sentences:

- post-copular XP does not c-command its trace
- island violation (surface subject a FR or DP modified by a restrictive relative)
- at times there is simply no way to derive the post-copular XP from inside the subject:

- (65) a. Fiona's only purchase was that ancient dictionary.  
 b. \*Fiona's purchase that ancient dictionary

Specificational sentences still show connectivity (for binding conditions, variable binding, intensionality, quantifier scope):

- (66) a. What he<sub>i</sub> is is PROUD OF HIMSELF<sub>i</sub> /\*HIM<sub>i</sub>/\*JOHN<sub>i</sub>.  
 b. What no student<sub>i</sub> enjoys is HIS<sub>i</sub> FINALS.  
 c. What John seeks is A UNICORN. [i.e. no unicorn in particular]  
 d. What every dog ate was A CHICKEN. [every>a, a>every]

Same in clefts:

- (67) a. It is PROUD OF HIMSELF<sub>i</sub>/<sup>\*</sup>HIM<sub>i</sub>/<sup>\*</sup>JOHN<sub>i</sub> that he<sub>i</sub> seems to be.  
 b. It is HIS<sub>i</sub> FINALS that no student<sub>i</sub> enjoys.  
 c. It is A UNICORN that John seeks. [i.e. no unicorn in particular]  
 d. It was A CHICKEN that every dog ate. [*every*<sub>>a</sub>, *a*<sub>>every</sub>]

**Anti-connectivity effects** in some specificational sentences (movement account even less plausible, much weaker or even not present in clefts):

- (68) a. Every dog ate a chicken. [*every*<sub>>a</sub>, *a*<sub>>every</sub>]  
 b. What every dog ate was A CHICKEN. [*every*<sub>>a</sub>, *a*<sub>>every</sub>]  
 c. What ate a chicken was EVERY DOG. [<sup>\*</sup>*every*<sub>>a</sub>, *a*<sub>>every</sub>]  
 (69) a. It was A CHICKEN that every dog ate. [*every*<sub>>a</sub>, *a*<sub>>every</sub>]  
 b. It was EVERY DOG that ate a chicken. [*every*<sub>>a</sub>, *a*<sub>>every</sub>]

**NPIs:** require c-command by sentential negation.

**NPI-licensing:** connectivity effects for canonical specificational sentences. Inverse specificational sentence/topicalization: the NPI cannot head the subject (anti-c-command requirement for NPIs, the NPI c-commands its licenser):

- (71) a. What I don't have is ANY BREAD.  
 b. What wasn't available was A DOCTOR WITH ANY REAL KNOWLEDGE OF ACUPUNCTURE.  
 c. <sup>\*</sup>ANY BREAD is what I don't have.  
 d. A DOCTOR WITH ANY REAL KNOWLEDGE OF ACUPUNCTURE was what wasn't available.  
 e. <sup>\*</sup>I bought lots of textbooks, but any novels, I didn't buy.  
 f. We found various doctors, but a doctor who knew anything about acupuncture, we couldn't find.

**Clefts pattern with inverse specificational sentences and topicalization:**

- (72) a. <sup>\*</sup>It's ANY BREAD that I don't have.  
 b. It was A DOCTOR WITH ANY REAL KNOWLEDGE OF ACUPUNCTURE that wasn't available.

**Anti-connectivity with pronouns:**

- (73) a. Bill<sub>i</sub> asked Sue to wash him<sub>i</sub>/<sup>\*</sup>himself<sub>i</sub>.  
 b. It was <sup>\*</sup>HIM<sub>i</sub>/HIMSELF<sub>i</sub> that Bill<sub>i</sub> asked Sue to wash.

**Logophoricity?** Does not explain the ban on the pronoun:

- (74) Max<sub>i</sub> boasted that the Queen invited Lucie and himself<sub>i</sub>/him<sub>i</sub> for a drink.

**Reconstruction to intermediate position in spec,CP?** No similar effect for pronouns.

**Most plausible:** anti-c-command for pronoun and antecedent (similar pattern in inverse specification and topicalization):

- (76) a. (The one) who Bill<sub>i</sub> asked Sue to wash was HIMSELF<sub>i</sub>/HIM<sub>i</sub>.  
 b. HIMSELF<sub>i</sub>/<sup>\*</sup>HE<sub>i</sub>/<sup>\*</sup>HIM<sub>i</sub> was who Bill<sub>i</sub> asked Sue to wash.  
 c. Himself<sub>i</sub>/<sup>\*</sup>him<sub>i</sub>, Bill<sub>i</sub> asked Sue to wash.

If no c-command, the sentence is well-formed:

- (77) a. It was FOR HIMSELF<sub>i</sub>/HIM<sub>i</sub> that Bill<sub>i</sub> asked Sue to buy a wind chime.  
b. It was PROUD OF \*HIMSELF<sub>i</sub>/HIM<sub>i</sub> that Bill<sub>i</sub> thought Sue was.

→ clefted XP c-commands into the cleft clause

+modification by *different*: distributive reading possible for clefts (vs. pseudo-clefts) when the universal takes wide scope (*It was a different chicken that every dog ate*)

+idiom-connectivity: the verb and object of VO idioms such as *keep track* and *make headway* must be base-generated as a constituent. Restrictive relatives and clefts pattern together vs. specificational sentences.

(83) [The careful track]<sub>i</sub> that she's keeping *t*<sub>i</sub> of her expenses pleases me.

(85) It's careful track that she's keeping of her expenses.

(84) a. \*What she is keeping of her expenses is careful track.

b. \*Careful track is what she is keeping of her expenses.

#### Evidence for a matching structure

The head NP is base-generated in its surface position and associated with an operator in the relative clause. Evidence for this is based on anti-connectivity effects which arise when the relative contains an overt relative operator (occupying the gap, making it unavailable for the head NP):

- (86) a. ?\*The picture of himself which John painted is impressive.  
b. ?\*The picture of his<sub>i</sub> mother which [every boy]<sub>i</sub> painted in art class was impressive.  
c. I phoned the two patients who every doctor will examine. [*\*every > two*]  
d. ?\*The careful track which she's keeping of her expenses pleases me.

If the cleft clause is a restrictive relative whose antecedent is the clefted XP, a matching derivation should also be possible in the presence of an overt relative operator (a matching structure is forced, reconstruction impossible).

- (87) a. It's two patients who every doctor will examine. [*two > every*,  
\**every > two*]  
b. ?\*It was careful track which she kept of her expenses.

Pinkham and Hankamer (1975): DP-clefts ambiguous between a promotion and matching derivation. (Different from Reeve, where the main factor is the presence of the relative operator.)

- (88) a. i. I dislike myself/\*me.  
 ii. It's MYSELF/ME that I dislike.  
 b. i. \*Bill<sub>i</sub> asked Sue to wash himself<sub>i</sub>.  
 ii. It was HIMSELF<sub>i</sub> that Bill<sub>i</sub> asked Sue to wash.  
 c. i. \*We elected me treasurer.  
 ii. It was ME that we elected treasurer.

Clefted DP not from the cleft clause. (Reeve: contrast also accounted for, null or overt relative operator possible)

PP-clefts must be derived by promotion: evidence from matrix negation (non-contrastive) and subextraction from clefted XP (Freezing Principle: subextraction possible only if the constituent subextracted from has not itself previously been moved)

- (89) Mary went to the movies with some guy, I don't know who. All I know is...  
 a. It wasn't PAUL that she went with.  
 b. #It wasn't WITH PAUL that she went.  
 c. It wasn't WITH PAUL that Mary went to the movies, it was WITH BILL.

- (90) a. It was A PICTURE OF MARX that he decorated his door with.  
 b. ?Who was it a picture of that he decorated his door with?  
 c. It was WITH A PICTURE OF MARX that he decorated his door.  
 d. \*Who was it with a picture of that he decorated his door?

Different predictions for Reeve: PP-clefts with an operator? Sent. negation, subextraction also ok

- (92) a. ?It was IN PARIS where she stayed.  
 b. ?It was ON THIS SHELF where he put his trophies.  
 c. \*It was WITH JOHN which/who/where she went to Paris.  
 d. \*It was TO THE RESTAURANT where she wanted to go.
- (93) Mary stayed somewhere with John, but I don't know where. All I know is...  
 a. It wasn't PARIS that she stayed in.  
 b. It wasn't IN PARIS that she stayed.
- (94) John put his trophies, somewhere, but I don't know where. All I know is...  
 a. It wasn't THIS SHELF that he put them on.  
 b. It wasn't ON THIS SHELF that he put them.
- (95) a. Which city was it in that she first met John?  
 b. Which shelf was it on that he put his trophies?  
 c. ??Who was it with that she went to the cinema?  
 d. \*Where was it to that she wanted to go?

Cleft clause: a restrictive relative taking the clefted XP as its antecedent → promotion and matching analyses, the latter contingent on the availability of a relative operator. AP-clefts: no operator, no matching derivation.

### Contrastivity

DP-clefts: new information focus or contrastive focus

AP-clefts: only in contrastive contexts (99)

- (97) a. Who did Mary hit?  
 b. I think that Mary hit BILL.
- (98) a. It was JOHN that Mary hit.  
 b. The one that Mary hit was JOHN.
- (99) a. A: What colour are her eyes?  
 B: #It's GREEN that her eyes are.  
 b. A: Her eyes are green.  
 B: No, it's BLUE that her eyes are, not GREEN.

(98a): matching or promotion derivation

(99) only a promotion derivation: A-bar movement of focus makes the contrastive reading obligatory.

Any type of cleft that requires a promotion derivation will be contrastive.

Contrast bw (98) and (99) problematic for specificational and expletive analyses:

Specificational: AP-focus not obligatorily contrastive: Q-A: The color of her eyes is GREEN.

É. Kiss: focus feature not sensitive to category (DP vs AP)

Further focus-movement: iterations of the same type of A'-movement are typically disallowed.

Ok when matching derivation possible.

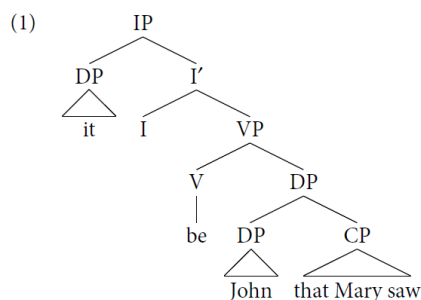
- (105) a. JOHN it was that Mary saw.  
 b. ?\*GREEN it was that her eyes were.  
 c. ?IN LONDON it was that I saw a rat.  
 d. ??To JOHN it was that I gave the vodka.

Wh-movement and focus-movement different types of A-bar movement:

- (106) a. Who was it that Mary saw?  
 b. What colour was it that her eyes were?  
 c. In which city was it that you saw a rat?  
 d. To whom was it that you gave the vodka?

Problem: clefts are parallel in interpretation to specificational copular sentences. How can the cleft clause be interpreted as restricting the reference of *it*, as would be required under a specificational interpretation? The cleft clause has two antecedents which fulfil two distinct licensing functions.

### Chapter 3: Clefts and the licensing of relative clauses





How to account for the parallels with specificational sentences?

- (2) a. What Mary saw was John.  
b. The one that Mary saw was John.

Presuppositions follow from the definite nature of surface subject. What/the one...= definite descriptions equated with post-copular XP.

How can the cleft clause semantically restrict the domain of *it* (similarly to how the relative clause restricts the domain of *the*)? No obvious syntactic way.

Non-expletive *it*: can contribute to definiteness, but XP not in an extraposition relation with it.

**Two separate but related problems:**

(i) the cleft clause must semantically modify a constituent which is not its syntactic sister at any point, and

(ii) the cleft clause seems to have two 'hosts': the constituent that it modifies semantically (*it*) and the constituent which behaves like its host syntactically (the clefted XP).

→ relaxation of the strict notion of compositionality (modifiers must be directly syntactically combined with the constituents they modify), independently needed for certain relatives

Another construction with the two-host problem: *only* with restrictive modification

- (3) a. Who did you see that you like?  
b. #I saw JOHN that I like.  
c. I only saw JOHN that I like.

→ *only* is responsible for licensing the relative clause (restrictive relatives cannot normally take proper nouns).

(4) *The only person that I saw that I like was John.*

→ restrictive modification with John as host in (3c). → RRC licenced by two distinct elements, one arguably not syntactically combined with it at any point. → modifiers are not always syntactically combined with their hosts.

**Proposal: restrictive relative clauses must satisfy two distinct licensing conditions:**

- (i) a thematic licensing condition, which determines the constituent semantically modified by the relative, and  
(ii) a syntactic licensing condition, which specifies the morphosyntactic features of the relative operator.

Typically satisfied under sisterhood, but the sisterhood relationship is not basic: it emerges from more basic non-sisterhood-based conditions (c/m-command). Same empirical effects in most cases, but deviation not excluded (clefts, *only*-relatives).

Source of asymmetry:

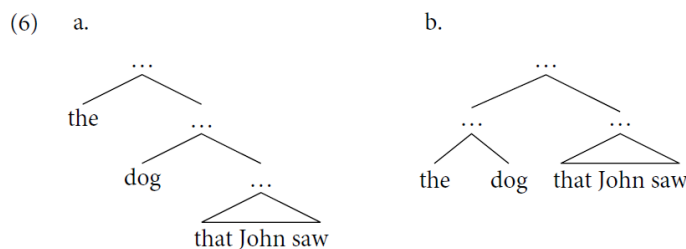
- the syntactic condition (= specifying the morphosyntactic features of the wh-operator) requires surface locality
- the thematic licensing condition (= essential for interpretation) requires underlying locality

→ syntactic licensing condition suspended in CPs with no *wh*-operator (e.g. *it*-extraposition).

- (5) a. It proved his guilt that John bought a gun.  
 b. It was obvious that Fred ate a hamburger.  
 c. It annoyed me that Mary opened the window.

### θ-binding

The correct structure for a DP containing a restrictive modifier is as in (6a), rather than the alternative structure in (6b), based on the semantics of the noun, the modifier (both set-denoting → predicates → θ-role assigners) and the determiner (selects a unique individual from their intersection):



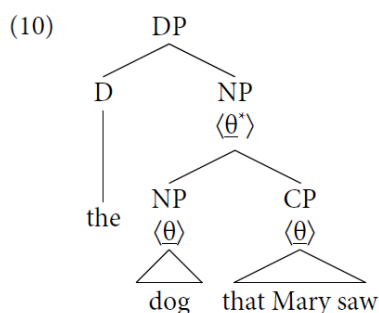
### Problems with the θ-Criterion

Higginbotham (1985): maximum generality: *dog* always an external θ-role assigner (even as an argument) → external θ-role bound by the determiner.

**θ-binding: a functional head satisfies an argument slot, under sisterhood between the determiner and a projection of the noun.**

- (9) θ-Criterion (revised):  
 a. If X discharges a thematic role in Y, then it discharges only one.  
 b. Every thematic position is discharged.

Restrictive modification as conjunction of predicates: θ-identification: two θ-assigners, one determiner: θ-role identified in the mother mode dominating them.



\*: the satisfaction of a θ-role under θ-binding

### The problem with clefts 1: modification of a non-sister (*it*)

Mechanisms by which the cleft clause could come to restrictively modify it in a strictly compositional fashion: semantically inappropriate or not independently available: subject-oriented secondary predication: not available for RCs (p.66)

Sisterhood condition needs to be relaxed.

Extraposed relatives (Culicover & Rochemont (1990)): extraposition is both more and less restricted than other A'-movements:

- extraposition from subject is possible, yet subjects are islands for other A'-movements
- extraposition is generally assumed to be clause-bounded, A'-movement is not.

Clearly no movement source: relative clause extraposition involving conjunction

- (16) a. [A man]<sub>i</sub> entered the room and [a woman]<sub>j</sub> left who<sub>i+j</sub> were quite similar.  
b. [The boy]<sub>i</sub> and [the girl]<sub>j</sub> who dated each other<sub>i+j</sub> are friends of mine.

Modification of a non-sister is part of a general problem concerning the linking of modifiers and their antecedents. Uniform account?

The problem with clefts2: two antecedents for one relative (the clefted XP and *it*)

Asymmetry in locality and feature agreement.

*Only*-relatives:

- (17) a. Which people that you like did you see at the party?  
b. #I saw JOHN that I like.  
c. I only saw JOHN that I like.

Relative clause interpreted as the modifier of *only*, restricting the domain over which the universal quantifier in the semantics of *only* operates. (Semantics of *only*: associates with focus, exhaustivity.)

Clefts have a similar function with respect to *it*.

RC: focused DP as antecedent: two hosts

A parallel analysis of clefts and *only*-relatives: non-sisterhood-based modification is possible.

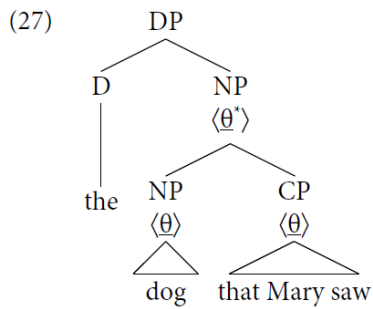
### Two licensing conditions

DP-internal relatives, extraposed relatives, cleft clauses and *only*-relatives: all licensed via  $\theta$ -binding.

DP-internal case: the relative clause must adjoin to NP and have its  $\theta$ -role (which percolates up to the NP node) bound under sisterhood by a determiner.

- (26) i. *Thematic licensing condition*: The  $\theta$ -role borne by the relative clause must be  $\theta$ -bound under sisterhood with a determiner.  
ii. *Syntactic licensing condition*: The relative clause must be adjoined to the extended nominal projection (in the sense of Grimshaw 1991) that licenses it (i.e. provides its relative operator with morphosyntactic features).

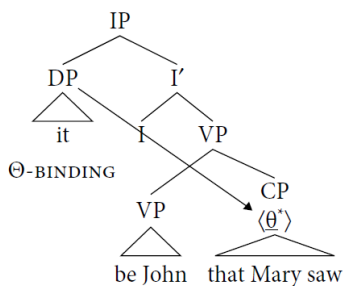
Thematic condition: D-structure, syntactic condition: S-structure



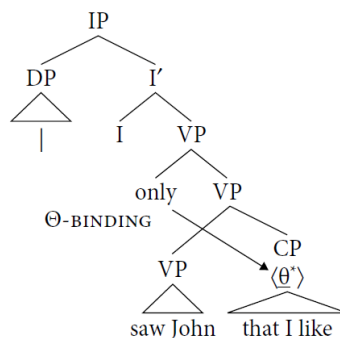
Elsewhere: c/m-command, not sisterhood (p.76).

- (28) *Syntactic licensing condition (non-sisterhood)*: The relative clause and the extended nominal projection licensing it must be immediately dominated by adjunction segments (in the sense of May 1985) of the same category.
- (31) *Thematic licensing condition (non-sisterhood)*: The  $\theta$ -role borne by the relative clause must be  $\theta$ -bound by a determiner which c-commands the relative and which the relative m-commands.

(32) a.



b.



VP-extrapolation needed both for syntactic and thematic licensing!

Problem: not any instance of *it* can thematically license a relative clause syntactically licensed by a distinct DP!

(33) \*It annoyed John that I bought. (meaning What I bought annoyed John)

A condition needed requiring the thematic licenser and the syntactic licenser to be non-distinct in some sense: a relation of semantic equation between the two licensers, specificational semantics (non-equative focus-particles ruled out).

**Consequences of the analysis:** accounts for certain empirical properties of clefts and only-relative constructions which otherwise seem mysterious.

- obligatory vs. optional extrapolation: only extrapolation to VP satisfies both conditions (p. 83). Evidence from Dutch and German: pp. 84-85. English: the clefted DP and the cleft clause never move together as a DP (but VP-fronting is fine!). Same for *only*-relatives (+*only* as a DP-adjunct with different properties, non-obligatory extrapolation)

- all and only extraposable DP-internal modifiers should be possible in clefts and only-relative constructions

The uniqueness of  $\theta$ -binding:

- restrictions on the subject

No phrasal subjects instead of *it* (two  $\theta$ -role problem: NP + clause, p. 89)

Only neuter singular pronominals + expletive *there* allowed (unmarked/default values for gender/number)

Apparent exception: predicational clefts:

- (53) a. They're just fanatics who are holding him. (Hedberg 1990)  
 b. But these are students who are rioting. (Hedberg 1990)  
 c. We are erstwhile friends and neighbours who are fighting with each other. (Bolinger 1972)  
 d. Those are real eyeglasses that Mickey is wearing. (Ball 1978)

not true clefts, extraposition from subject position (tests: pp. 92-93)

- the ban on stacking: a  $\theta$ -binder will only be able to  $\theta$ -bind a single relative clause

relative stacking possible elsewhere:

- (59) a. the girl that had blonde hair that you disliked  
 b. I saw a girl recently that had blonde hair that I disliked.

a-b, c-d not paraphrases:

- (62) a. It was JOHN that Mary hit that Bill disliked.  
 b. The one that Mary hit that Bill disliked was JOHN.  
 c. I only saw JOHN that I like that Mary hit.  
 d. The only one that I saw that I like that Mary hit was JOHN.

- movement of thematic antecedent: underlying condition, possible in principle for a relative clause thematically licensed by cleft *it* or *only* to appear indefinitely far away from its licensor, as long as the locality conditions on  $\theta$ -binding are satisfied at an underlying level (not true for syntactic licensing). You can move the thematic antecedent alone (p.98).
- movement of syntactic antecedent: relative moves with the licensor or only the licensor moves (RC locally): VP-fronting, or movement of clefted XP in VP-fronting environments.

- (77) a. ?I said that it was JOHN that Mary saw, and John that Mary saw it was.  
 b. I said that it was JOHN that Mary saw, and John it was that Mary saw.

**When it is impossible to satisfy both conditions: tough-movement**

- (84) a. It was tough to prevent it from being JOHN that Mary hit.  
 b. \*It was tough to prevent from being JOHN that Mary hit.