

Two Types of Predicate Doubling in Russian

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1 Outline

1. Review of the phenomenon and previous analyses
2. Predicate Doubling/Clefting in Russian
3. Analysis
4. Questions for future research

2 Introduction

2.1 Basic Examples

Predicate Doubling (AKA Predicate Clefting):

- Predicate is fronted, usually occurs in CP-domain;
- Verb in the “cleft” is non-finite;
- Either only V is fronted or an entire VP is fronted (*Landau generalization*, Landau, 2006).

(1) *Verb-doubling constructions (Verb-Doubling)*: only verb is fronted:

- a. *čitat'-to*, Ivan knigu čitaet, no ničego ne ponimaet. (Ru, Abels 2001)
read_{INF}-TO Ivan book reads, but nothing not understands
“Ivan does read the book, but he doesn’t understand a thing”
- b. *Leer*, Juan ha leído un libro. (Spanish, Vicente 2009)
read_{INF} Juan has read a book
“As for reading, Juan has read a book”
- c. *Liknot*, hi kanta et ha-praxim. (Hebrew, Landau 2006)
buy_{INF} she bought ACC the-flowers
“As for buying, she bought the flowers”

- d. *Essen est Maks fish*. (Yiddish, Cable 2004)
eat_{INF} eats Max fish
“As for eating, Max eats fish”

(2) *Verb phrase-doubling constructions (VP-Doubling)*: entire VP is fronted (sources of the examples are the same as above in (1)):

- a. *čitat' knigu-to*, Ivan čitaet, no ničego ne ponimaet. (Russian)
read_{INF} book-TO Ivan reads, but nothing not understands
“Ivan does read it, but he doesn’t understand a thing”
- b. *Leer el libro*, Juan lo ha leído. (Spanish)
read_{INF} the book Juan CL has read
“As for reading the book, Juan has indeed read it”
- c. *Liknot et ha-praxim*, hi kanta. (Hebrew)
buy_{INF} ACC the-flowers she bought
“As for buying, she bought the flowers”
- d. *Essen fish est Maks*. (Yiddish)
eat_{INF} fish eats Max
“As for eating, Max eats fish”

2.2 Previous Approaches

- Several analyses of predicate doubling (or clefting; PD below) were proposed in the recent literature for various languages:
 - Yiddish, Russian, Polish, Spanish, Gungbe, and others (see Abels, 2001; Cable, 2004; Landau, 2006; Aboh and Dyakonova, 2009; Bondaruk, 2009, 2012; Vicente, 2009 a.o.).
- Two major approaches:
 1. Movement analysis
 2. Base-generation analysis

(3) *Proposal of this paper*: Russian uses different strategies for Verb-Doubling and VP-Doubling.

- **VP-Doubling**: *Base Generation*
- **Verb-Doubling**: *Movement*

3 Data Description

3.1 Particle -TO in Russian

The particle -TO marks the topic phrase and is optional. It usually marks a **contrastive topic**, (4), and can be attached to any constituent (DP, PP, VP below).

- (4) a. Pivo(-to) ja ljublju, a vodu net.
beer-TO I like but vodka not
'As for beer, I like it, but not vodka.'
- b. S Ivanom(-to) on ljubil guljat', a s Petrom net.
with I-TO he likes walk_{INF} but with P. not
'As for Ivan, he likes walking with him, but not with Peter.'
- c. Privotovit' rybu(-to) on xočet, no peč' pirog ne budet.
cook_{INF} fish-TO he wants but bake pie not will
'As for cooking fish, he wants to do it, but he won't bake a pie.'

3.2 Basic Properties of PD in Russian

- Two types of Predicate Doubling in Russian:
 - Bare V fronting (**Verb-Doubling**) (5-a)
 - Entire V and its arguments fronting (**VP-Doubling**) (5-b)
- Argument of the verb cannot be repeated in both locations (5-c)
- The topic marker -TO can optionally be used, similar to other topic constructions (see above).
- Prosodic break is necessary after the clefted constituent.

- (5) a. *kupit'-to*, Ivan piva kupit, no pit' ne budet (Verb-D)
buy_{INF}-TO I. beer buy_{FUT} but drink_{INF} not will
'As for buying beer, Ivan will buy beer, but won't drink it.'
- b. *kupit' piva-to*, Ivan kupit, no pit' ne budet (VP-D)
buy_{INF} beer-TO I. buy_{FUT} but drink_{INF} not will
'As for buying beer, Ivan will buy beer, but won't drink it.'
- c. *kupit' piva-to*, Ivan (*piva) kupit (*piva), ...
buy_{INF} beer-TO I. (beer) buy_{FUT} (beer)

3.3 Issues of Identity

- Usually it has been claimed that both instances of the verb must be identical, however:
 - This is indeed the case in case of Verb-D, (6-b), (7-b)

- No strict identity requirement on verbs in case of VP-D, see contrast between (6-a), (7-a) and (6-b), (7-b)

- (6) a. ?*s'ezdit' v Ameriku-to*, ja zavtra tuda poleču (VP-D)
go_{INF} to America-TO I tomorrow there fly_{FUT}
'As for going to the USA, I'm flying there tomorrow.'
- b. **s'ezdit'-to*, ja zavtra v Ameriku leču (Verb-D)
go_{INF}-TO I tomorrow in America fly
'As for going, I'm flying to the USA tomorrow.'
- (7) a. ?*najti deneg-to*, on v dolg voz'mët. (VP-D)
find_{INF} money-TO he borrow_{FUT}.
'As for finding money, he will borrow some.'
- b. **najti-to*, on deneg v dolg voz'mët. (Verb-D)
find_{INF}-TO he money borrow_{FUT}.
'As for finding, he will borrow some money.'

3.4 Long-Distance Predicate Doubling

- (8) **Long Distance effects** are different for VP-D and Verb-PD:

	VP-Doubling	Verb-Doubling
<i>Indicative</i>	✓	✗
<i>Subjunctive</i>	✗	✗
<i>Control</i>	✗	✗

- (9) *Indicative complements*

- a. ?*kupit' piva-to*, on думаet čto Boris kupit (VP-D)
buy_{INF} beer-TO he thinks that B. buy_{FUT}
'As for buying beer, he heard that Boris will buy it'
- b. **kupit'-to*, on slyshal čto Boris piva kupit (Verb-D)
buy_{INF}-TO he heard that B. beer buy_{FUT}
'As for buying, he heard that Boris will buy beer'

- (10) *Subjunctive complements*

- a. **kupit' piva-to*, Ivan xočet čtoby Boris kupil (VP-D)
buy_{INF} beer-TO I. wants that_{SUBJ} B. buy_{SUBJ}
'As for buying beer, Ivan wants Boris to buy it.'
- b. **kupit'-to*, Ivan xočet čtoby Boris piva kupil (Verb-D)
buy_{INF}-TO I. wants that_{SUBJ} B. beer buy_{SUBJ}
'As for buying beer, Ivan wants Boris to buy it.'

(11) *Control complements*

- a. **kupit'* *piva-to*, Marina *xočet kupit'* (VP-D)
 buy_{INF} beer-TO M. wants buy_{INF}
 'As for buying beer, Marina wants to buy it'
- b. **kupit'-to*, Marina *xočet piva kupit'* (Verb-D)
 buy_{INF}-TO M. wants beer buy_{INF}
 'As for buying beer, Marina wants to buy it'

- **Puzzle:** this behavior is unexpected compared to other long-distance effects:
 - Long-distance extraction is degraded out of indicative complements compared to subjunctive and control complements, (12)
 - Long-distance binding is possible into infinitival complements, (13)
 - Obviation effects into subjunctive complements.

(12) *Long-distance extraction*

- a. ??*čto ty skazal čto Ivan vypil?* (Indicative)
 what you said that Ivan drank
 "What did you say that Ivan had drunk?"
- b. *čto ty xočeš čtoby Ivan vypil?* (Subjunctive)
 what you want that_{SUBJ} Ivan drank
 "What do you want for Ivan to drink?"

(13) *Long-distance binding*

- a. **Ivan_i skazal čto Maša l'ubit sebja_i.* (Indicative)
 Ivan said that Maša loves self
 "Ivan said that Maša loves him."
- b. **Ivan_i skazal čtoby Maša narisovala sebja_i.* (Subjunctive)
 Ivan said that_{SUBJ} Maša draw self
 "Ivan told Maša to draw him."
- c. *Ivan_i skazal Maše narisovat' sebja_i.* (Control)
 Ivan said Maša_{DAT} draw_{INF} self
 "Ivan told Maša to draw him."

3.5 *Island Effects*

- Verb-Doubling: in general, sensitive to islands/constraints
- VP-Doubling: in general, not sensitive to islands/constraints
- Some speakers find examples marked with "?" as degraded, however, majority of my informants agree about the contrast in the examples below.

- A strong prosodic pause is necessary after the clefted constituent in all examples marked with "?".

(14) *wh-island*

- a. ?*kupit' piva-to*, ja ne znaju kogda on kupit (VP-D)
 buy_{INF} beer-TO I not know when he buy
 "As for buying beer, I don't know when he will do so."
- b. **kupit'-to*, ja ne znaju kogda on piva kupit (Verb-D)
 buy_{INF}-TO I not know when he beer buy
 "As for buying, I don't know when he will buy beer"

(15) *Complex NP Constraint*

- a. ?*kupit' piva-to*, ja znaju človeka, kotoryj kupit (VP-D)
 buy_{INF} beer-TO I know person which buy
 "As for buying beer, I know a person who will buy it."
- b. **kupit'-to*, ja znaju človeka, kotoryj kupit piva (Verb-D)
 buy_{INF}-TO I know person which buy beer
 "As for buying, I know a person who will buy beer."

(16) *Adjunct Island Constraint*

- a. ?*vypit' piva-to*, on ušel tak kak Maša vypila. (VP-D)
 drink_{INF} beer-TO he left because Maša drank
 "As for drinking beer, he left because Maša drank it."
- b. **vypit'-to*, on ušel tak kak Maša piva vypila. (Verb-D)
 drink_{INF}-TO he left because Maša beer drank
 "As for drinking, he left because Maša drank beer."

- One of the constraints which does not show contrast is the Coordinate Structure Constraint.
- Both Verb-D and VP-D are good:

(17) *Coordinate Structure Constraint*

- a. *kupit' piva-to*, on kupit i vodki vyp'et (VP-D)
 buy_{INF} beer-TO he buy and vodka drink
 "As for buying beer, he will buy it and drink some vodka"
- b. *kupit'-to*, on piva kupit i vodki vyp'et (Verb-D)
 buy_{INF}-TO he beer buy and vodka drink
 "As for buying, he will buy beer and drink vodka"

- CSC seems to be violated in both examples in (17).
- It might not be actual instance of extraction of the coordinate structure: alternative analysis of the construction with *pro*-dropped subject predicts both examples in (17) to be grammatical.

- However, with extraction out of the second conjunct, we get the same effects:

(18) *Coordinate Structure Constraint*

- a. ?*kupit' piva-to*, on seĭčas vodki vyp'et i kupit (VP-D)
 buy_{INF} beer-TO he now vodka drink_{FUT} and buy_{FUT}
 "As for buying beer, he will now drink vodka and buy some."
- b. **kupit'-to*, on seĭčas vodki vyp'et i piva kupit (Verb-D)
 buy_{INF-TO} he now vodka drink_{FUT} and beer buy_{FUT}
 "As for buying, he will now drink vodka and buy some beer."

3.6 Summary of the Data

	VP-Doubling	Verb-Doubling
LD-Doubling with:		
<i>Indicatives</i>	✓	✗
<i>Subjunctives</i>	✗	✗
<i>Control</i>	✗	✗
Constraints:	✗	✓
Identity Effects:	✗	✓

4 Analysis

To analyze the data one needs to answer the following questions:

1. What triggers the predicate doubling process?
2. Is the upper instance of the doubled constituent base-generated or moved?
3. Why does doubled verb exhibit infinitival morphology?
4. Why is identity necessary in the case of Verb-Doubling and optional in the case of VP-Doubling?
5. Why is long-distance Verb-D prohibited, while VP-D is allowed out of indicatives?
6. How to account for the observed behavior of predicate doubling with respect to islands?

4.1 Interpretation of PD-constructions and Structural Position

- Interpretation of PD-construction: contrastive topic (see Abels 2001), see for example the gloss of (5).

- Structural position of -TO: Head of the TopP (precise nature of the position is not crucial for the analysis, as long as this position is in the CP-domain of the clause).
- Speaking in terms of features (I assume Pesetsky and Torrego, 2007 feature system):
 - $\langle i_{Top} -val \rangle$ feature on the -TO
 - $\langle u_{Top} +val \rangle$ feature on the head of the doubled constituent *v*
 - Agree relation between Top-head and *v* drives the Merge (*internal* or *external*) of the topicalized element into the TopP projection
- Note, that this analysis can be reformulated in any theory of Topic we assume, no need to follow this particular framework.

4.2 Movement or Base-Generation?

- Previous analysis of Russian (Abels 2001): movement analysis
- However, summary of the data points to two different analyses behind Verb-Doubling and VP-Doubling
- VP-Doubling: base-generation of the topicalized VP (*vP*) in the Spec,TopP position
 - No islands effects
 - No identity requirement
 - Possibility with indicative complements
- Verb-Doubling: head-movement to the Top-head
 - Islands effects
 - Identity requirement
 - Impossible with embedded clauses

4.3 Long-Distance Effects and Islands

- **Movement vs. Base-generation** analyses explains some basic facts about Islands and Long-Distance effects:
 - Long-Distance head movement is not allowed out of finite clauses, therefore Long distance Verb-Doubling is ungrammatical
 - VP-Doubling involves base-generation, therefore no island effects
- How to explain the difference between indicative complements and subjunctive/control complements?
 - Assume: Doubled *vP* is generated in the embedded Spec,CP.
 - It further has to move to the matrix Spec,CP

- Embedded contrastive topics are ungrammatical for subjunctive (19-b) and control (19-c) complements, but grammatical for indicative complements (19-a).
- The explanation for this fact is beyond the scope of this paper.

(19) *Embedded Topic position only exists in indicative complements, but not in subjunctive or control complements:*

- a. Maša skazala [čto Sergeja-to Ivan vstretil], a Petra net. (Ind)
 Maša said that Sergej-TO Ivan met but Peter not
 ‘Maša wants Ivan to meet Sergei, but not Peter.’
- b. *Maša xočet [čtoby Sergeja-to Ivan vstretil], a Petra net. (Subj)
 Maša wants that_{SUBJ} Sergej-TO Ivan meet_{SUBJ} but Peter not
 ‘Maša wants Ivan to meet Sergei but not Peter.’
- c. *Maša xočet [piva-to kupit’], a vodki net. (Control)
 Maša wants beer-TO buy_{INF} but vodka not
 ‘Maša wants to buy beer, but not vodka.’

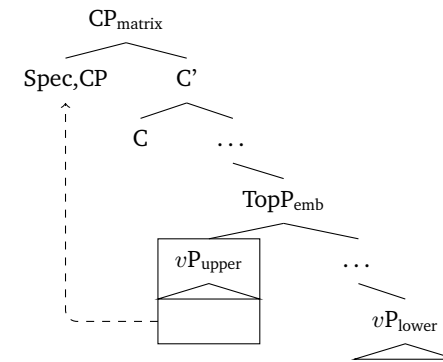
- Since it is impossible to generate topic VP in the embedded CP-domain of subjunctive and control clauses (20-b)-(20-c), the VP-Doubling is impossible in such cases.
- Note that the upper instance of VP does not obligatory move to the matrix Spec,TopP, and can stay in the embedded Spec,TopP (20-a).

(20) *Embedded VP-Doubling in indicatives subjunctives, and control clauses:*

- a. Maša skazala čto [vstretit’ Annu]-to Ivan vstretil, a Petra net.
 Maša said that [meet_{INF} Anna]-TO Ivan met but Peter not
 ‘Maša said that as for Anna, Ivan met her, but didn’t meet Peter.’
- b. *Maša xočet čtoby [vstretit’ Annu]-to Ivan vstretil, a Petra net.
 Maša wants that_{SUBJ} [meet_{INF} Anna]-TO Ivan met but Peter not
 ‘Maša wants Ivan to meet Anna, but not Peter.’
- c. *Maša xočet [vstretit’ Annu]-to PRO vstretit’, a Petra net.
 Maša wants [meet_{INF} Anna]-TO meet_{INF} but Peter not
 ‘Maša wants to meet Anna, but not Peter.’

- Thus, sentences with the long-distance predicate doubling are impossible to derive, since there is no possibility to generate the cleft in the embedded clause.
- Question: Why can’t the cleft be generated in the matrix clause directly? Possibly, locality. . .

(21) *Base-generation of vP in the embedded Spec,TopP and subsequent movement into the matrix clause:*



4.4 Identity Effects

- VP-Doubling analysis involves base-generation, and therefore identity is not required.
- There are some constraints on the verbs in the upper and lower position:

- It is not a syntactic requirement in case of VP-Doubling, but a semantic condition on Topic, cf. (22):

- (22) a. As for **fruits**, I like **apples**.
 b. *As for **apples**, I like **fruits**.

- Similar identity conditions hold on verb arguments in the doubled predicate, see contrast in (23-a) and (23-b)

- (23) a. ?*najti deneg-to*, on 100 rublej najdet
 find_{INF} money-TO he 100 rubles find_{FUT}
 ‘As for finding money, he will find 100 rubles.’
- b. **najti 100 rublej-to*, on *deneg* najdet
 find_{INF} 100 rubles-TO he money find_{FUT}
 ‘As for finding money, he will find 100 rubles.’

- Verb-Doubling analysis involves movement, therefore identity between lower and upper instances of the verb is required.
- Similar effects (‘genus-species’ predicate clefts) observed in Yiddish, Korean, (Cable, 2004) Spanish, and Brazilian Portuguese (Vicente, 2009):

(24) **Yiddish**

- a. ?Essen **fish** est Maks **hekht**.
to-eat fish eats Max pike
'As for eating fish, Max eats pike.'
- b. ?**Forn** keyn amerike bin ikh **gefloygn** keyn amerike.
to-travel to Amerika am I flown to America
'As for traveling to America, I have flown to America.'

(25) **Spanish**

- a. %Leer **un tebeo japonés**, Juan ha leído **Akira**.
read_{INF} a comic-book Japanese Juan has read Akira
'As for reading a Japanese comic book, Juan has read Akira.'
- b. %**Viajar**, Juan ha **volado** a Amsterdam.
travel_{INF} Juan has flown to Amsterdam
'As for traveling, Juan has flown to Amsterdam.'

- Vicente, 2009, fn. 14, pg. 169 mentions that exactly those speakers who accepted examples in (25), also allowed V-D out of coordination islands. More research is needed in order to establish whether this correlation actually hold in Spanish.

(26) **Korean**

- A: Ne-nun etilo ka-ss-ni? (Kuriko) Mwues-ul hay-ss-ni?
You-TOP where go-PAST-Q? (And) what-ACC do-PAST-Q
'Where did you go? (And) What did you do?'
- B: %**Ka-ki-nun** New York-ulo **nalaka-ss-ko**, **ha-ki-nun**
go-NOM-TOP New York-to fly-PAST-and, do-NOM-TOP
konsetu-lul **po-ass-e**.
concert-ACC see-PAST-DEC
'Go, I flew to New York, and do, I saw a concert.'

- Judgement for (26) given in Cable, 2004 is "?", however, some of my informants find this sentence completely ungrammatical, and "%" is a reflection of this; I assume it's a dialectal variation.

4.5 **Infinitival Morphology**

- Finite form of the verb bears uninterpretable valued T-features $\langle uT +val \rangle$ which need to be checked by T, which has interpretable unvalued T-features $\langle iT -val \rangle$ (Pesetsky and Torrego 2007).
- Doubled VP is base generated in the CP-domain, higher than T.

- As a result, V in the doubled VP is never probed by T, and as a result cannot have finite morphology, and must be uninflected.
- Possibly, it enters the derivation as a bare stem, and since bare stems are prohibited in Russian, it surfaces in its default infinitival form (see Nunes and Zocca, 2005).

4.6 **Deletion of Arguments**

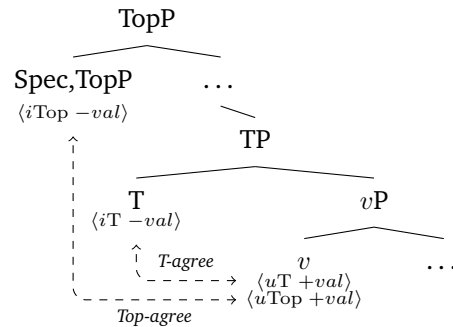
- In the VP-Doubling the arguments of the verb cannot be repeated in the upper and lower copies
- Analysis: deletion under identity, similar to ellipsis
 - Ellipsis doesn't respect islands as well!
- Verb does not delete, because featural content is different (and not because of different morphology).
- Upper instance of the verb lacks T-feature, as nothing can check it, and is therefore spelled out as infinitive
 - Infinitive is a default form in which a bare stem of the verb surfaces.
- Lower instance of the verb has an instance of T-feature
- Difference in featural content of verbs prevents ellipsis; note that in the previous example both elided and not-elided instances of the verb *do* have a T-feature.
- This is reminiscent of conditions on VP-ellipsis proposed by Nunes and Zocca, 2005.
- Further evidence: if the lower instance of the verb is non-finite, the lower instance of the verb undergoes deletion as well:

- (27) a. **Čitat' knigu-to*, Ivan budet čitat', no vsě ravno polučit F.
read_{INF} book-TO I. will read_{INF} but anyway get_{FUT} F
'As for reading a book, Ivan will do it, but will get an F anyway.'
- b. *Čitat' knigu-to*, Ivan budet čitat', no vsě ravno polučit F.
read_{INF} book-TO I. will but anyway get_{FUT} F
'As for reading a book, Ivan will do it, but will get an F anyway.'

4.7 **Verb-Doubling as Head Movement**

To derive the verb-doubling through head-movement, I adopt an approach along the lines of Aboh and Dyakonova, 2009, through the creation on two chains, and pronunciation of different positions in them.

(28) Two chains: *Top-v* and *T-v*:



Formalizing the Analysis

- Feature content of *v*: Topic feature $\langle u_{Top} +val \rangle$; T-feature $\langle u_T +val \rangle$
- Feature content of T: T-feature $\langle iT -val \rangle$ – triggers T to probe *v*
 - No EPP on T in Russian, *v/V* does not move to T, stays within the *vP*
- Feature content of Top: Topic feature $\langle i_{Top} -val \rangle$ – triggers Top to probe *v*.
 - Strong Topic feature, triggers movement of *v/V* into the Top position
- Assume following Chomsky 2008, that T and C/Top probe simultaneously
- Two chains are created: C-*v/V* (Top-feature) and T-*v/V* (T-feature)
 - C-*v/V* chain: *v/V* is raised to C uninflected, since Top does not agree with its T-feature; upper copy will be pronounced (Top needs to be pronounced)
 - T-*v/V* chain: T (in Russian) is weak, the lower instance of *v/V* will be pronounced; the lower instance of V will have finite morphology

Vicente (2009) Analysis

- Vicente (2009) dismisses with chain-uniformity constraint (following Matushansky, 2006) and proposes an analysis of predicate doubling constructions in Spanish where the head of *vP* raises to Spec,TopP position.
- This analysis can potentially be applied to Russian as well, as properties of V-Doubling in Russian and similar to its properties in Spanish.
- More research is needed to be able to differentiate between these analyses in case of Russian.

5 Alternative Analysis for VP-D and Speaker Variation

- It is also possible to derive the VP-D constructions through a movement of VP to Spec,TopP position (see Abels, 2001; Vicente, 2009).
- This approach will not predict the effects shown above, i.e. island insensitivity, possibility of identity violation, etc.
- In fact, some speakers disallow VP-D out of islands, as well as require identity in case of VP-D.
- Speaker variation: Such speakers do not allow base-generation analysis of VP-D constructions.
- Similarly, some of my informants find Korean and Spanish examples in (26) and (25) bad: they also do not allow base-generation analysis of such constructions.
- More cross-linguistic research is needed to establish these correlations.

6 Further Questions

This analysis raises a number of theoretical questions about the nature of several theoretical assumptions:

- Questions on the Copy Theory of Movement:
 - How is the upper copy of the *vP* created? Are the *vP*-internal elements doubled in the numeration?
 - If so, are they exactly the same, but occur in the numeration twice, or are they different in their feature content?
 - Can we deal with the proposed Base-Generation analysis within the copy theory of movement directly? Is it possible that the upper copy of the *vP* is internally merged, but is not subject to movement constraints from the lower position?
- Question on the Morphology and the structure of Infinitives:
 - What is the featural content of the infinitival form of the verb, and can different instances of infinitives be different in featural content?
 - Is it possible that it lacks T-features at all, or they are unvalued and such verbs are spelled out as infinitives?
 - Are bare stems spelled out at infinitives?
 - While ellipsis is not in general sensitive to morphology, there are certain restrictions (as in the proposed analysis). What is their nature?

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