TWO KINDS OF IT-CLEFTS:
EVIDENCE FROM UZBEK*

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1 Introduction

The central aim of this paper is to revive the Pinkham and Hankamer (1975) analysis of it-clefts as instantiating two distinct structures, by using novel evidence from Uzbek, an under-investigated Turkic language.[1]

(1) a. U siz e-di-ngiz,   men ko'r-gan.
         it you COP-PST-2SG me   see-PTCP
         'It was you who/that I saw.'

     b. {U}   {siz}   {edingiz}, {men ko'rgan}.
         {PRONOUN} {PIVOT} {COPULA} {CLEFT CLAUSE}
         'It was you who/that I saw.'

(2) ◇Siz-ni   e-di,   men ko'r-gan-im.
   you-ACC COP-PST.3SG I   saw-PTCP-1SG.POSS
      'It was you that I saw.'

[1]Abbreviations: ABL ablative, ACC accusative, COMP complementizer, COP copula, DAT dative, EVID evidential, FUT future, GEN genitive, HAB habitual, LOC locative, NEG negation, NOM nominative, PL plural, POSS possessive, PRS present, PRF perfect, PROG progressive, PST past, PTCP participle, Q polar question, SG singular.

I argue that the examples in (1–2) instantiate two possible cleft-like structures in Uzbek;[2] each structure has its own trademark characteristics, corresponding to one of two prominent analyses often discussed in the literature on it-clefts.

Two dominant generative analyses of clefts originate with Jespersen 1927 and Jespersen 1937, respectively.[3] In the 1927 proposal and its descendants (Akmajian, 1970; Schachter, 1973; Emonds, 1976; Gundel, 1977; Wirth, 1978; Percus, 1997),[4] the clefted clause originates in subject position as a free relative or part of a definite description; it extraposes to the end of the clause, leaving behind a pronoun in its place. A version of this view is illustrated in (3) (Percus, 1997, via Reeve, 2012). The 1937 proposal and its descendants (Chomsky, 1977; Halvorsen, 1978; Delahunty, 1982; Rochemont, 1986, Heggie, 1993; Kiss, 1998; Merchant, 1998) take the pivot of the cleft structure to be part of the same constituent as the cleft clause. The pronoun is purely an expletive, inserted as the result of an EPP requirement in [Spec IP]. It makes no semantic contribution and is not linked to the cleft clause at all. One version of this account, taken from Kiss 1998, is illustrated in (4).

(3)

(4)
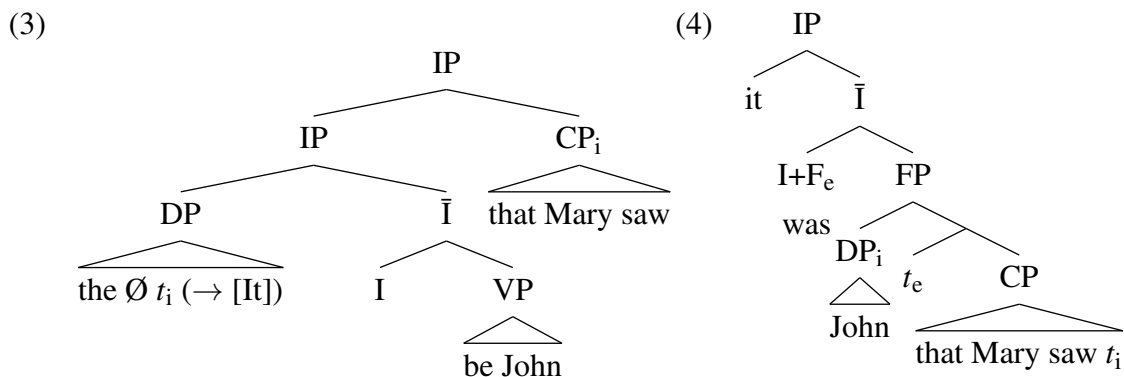
These two approaches have frequently been pitted against each other as competing analyses of what appears in English to be a single structure. But there is no reason to assume that both structures cannot be at play within one language: such a dual analysis was proposed by Pinkham and Hankamer (1975), but the specifics of English made this distinction difficult to establish (see Gundel 1977). Because it is significantly different in its syntactic behavior, Uzbek provides a clearer empirical picture, supporting the idea that *both* types of approach are correct within this one language, though for different types of cleft structures.

The picture that emerges allows us to address two theoretical questions that have been the subject of much debate. The first concerns the nature of the pronominal element in the subject position of it-clefts: is it an expletive (Chomsky, 1977; Delahunty, 1982; Heggie, 1993; Kiss, 1998; Büring, 1998), associated semantically with the pivot (den Dikken, 2009; Adger, 2010), or associated semantically with the cleft clause (Akmajian, 1970; Percus, 1997)? Because Uzbek has no overt expletive pronouns, the appearance of a proform, or a ban on a proform in the two different

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[2](2) has a special notation next to it in the form of a diamond. This is meant to reflect and track, throughout the paper, a variety of cleft which is not available to all speakers. More discussion follows in §4.

[3]For the sake of brevity and concreteness, I compare only these two strands of analysis in the course of the discussion, setting aside numerous prominent analyses of clefts that differ significantly from the two outlined here (den Dikken, 2009; Adger, 2010, *inter alia*).

[4]These proposals differ significantly in many of their details, but these differences are not immediately relevant for our purposes.

cleft types is very informative. Second, what is the status of the cleft clause: is it extraposed, or a complement of the copula? Uzbek's robust head-finality helps us to understand what the position of the extraposed clause indicates about its syntactic point of attachment.

In the remainder of the paper, I present some preliminary background on Uzbek and outline the proposal (§2). §3 and §4 are dedicated to establishing the empirical differences between the two types of cleft, which I call expletive (EXPL) and extraposition-from-subject (EFS) clefts. Finally, §5 devotes some discussion to two theoretical issues which the Uzbek facts shed some light on: extraposition and expletives. §6 concludes.

2   The proposal

2.1   Uzbek: Some Preliminaries

Uzbek is an SXOV language, with a total speaker population of about 18.8 million; it is estimated that 16.5 million of those speakers reside within Uzbekistan's borders. It is understudied, and with the exception of a few descriptive grammars (Sjoberg, 1963; Bodrogligeti, 2003), very little work on Uzbek exists in English, and almost no research has taken place within the generative tradition.

Uzbek has two predication strategies: an SXOV strategy in which the verb is in final position (5), and a subject predicate structure, in which the predicate is an XP, suffixed with agreement morphology (6).

(5)   Umida universitet-da   O'zbek til-ni   o'qi-y-di.
      Umida university-LOC Uzbek language-ACC learn-PRS-3SG
      'Umida learns Uzbek at the university.'

(6)   a. Men O'zbekiston-dan-man.
          I   Uzbekistan-ABL-1SG
          'I'm from Uzbekistan.'
      b. Siz talaba-siz.
          you student-2SG
          'You're a student.'
      c. U   och.
          he/she hungry.3SG
          'He is hungry.'

A way of thinking about the copular clauses in (6) is that the "missing" final verb is a copula, which happens in Uzbek not to be pronounced. In fact, the copula in Uzbek is defective (Sjoberg, 1963) and appears only when it has an appropriate morphological host. For example, in the past tense, if the predicate is not a verb, a copula will obligatorily appear, hosted by the past tense morphology.

(7)   a. Men-ga qovoq   kerak e-di.
          Me-DAT pumpkin needed COP-PST.3SG
          'I needed a pumpkin.'   (Azimova, 2010)
      b. Men o'qituvchi e-di-m.
          I   teacher   COP-PST-1SG
          'I was a teacher.'

2.2 The Proposal

The central claim of this paper is that Uzbek clefts come in two varieties — *expletive* (EXPL) and *extraposition-from-subject* (EFS) — each with its distinguishing features.

(8) Uzbek Clefts
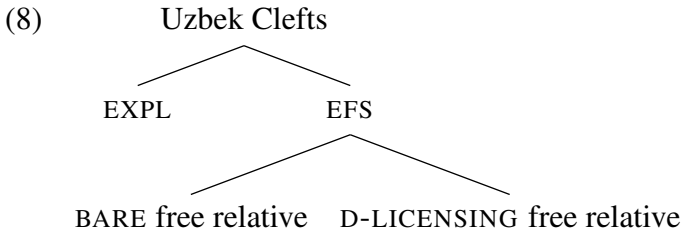
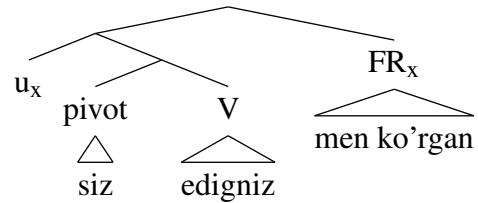The EFS cleft variety is derived from a pseudocleft; its subject is a free relative (one of two types) which may optionally extrapose. If extraposition occurs, an optional pronoun is left behind (10).

(9) Men ko'r-gan, siz e-di-ngiz.
     I   see-PTCP you COP-PST-2SG
     'Who I saw was you.'

(10) (U) siz e-di-ngiz,   men ko'r-gan.
      (it) you COP-PST-2SG I   see-PTCP
      'It was you, who I saw.'

By contrast, EXPL clefts involve a null expletive subject, and a cleft clause which is the complement of the copula and obligatorily extraposes to clause-final position. The pivot originates within the cleft clause and is extracted, leading to an order in which the pivot still precedes the copula, while the cleft clause follows the copula (because of extraposition).

(11) a. ◇Siz-ga e-di,   men pul
         you.DAT COP-PST.3SG I   money
         ber-gan-im.
         give-PTCP-1SG.POSS
         'It was to you that I gave money.'
      b. ◇Siz-ni   e-di,   men
         you-ACC   COP-PST.3SG I
         ko'r-gan-im.
         saw-PTCP-1SG.POSS
         'It was you that I saw.'
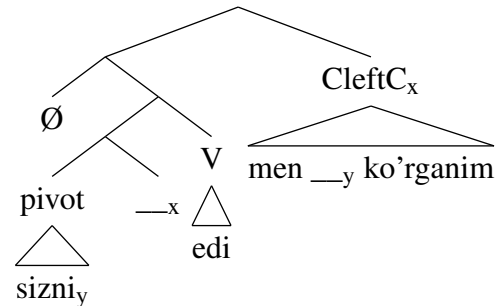
The two types of cleft are different along a number of parameters, summarized in the table below and discussed more in depth in following sections.

Extraposition	Expletive
the copula agrees with the most accessible DP	the copula bears default agreement
no case connectivity on the pivot	case connectivity on the pivot
the pivot is an argument	the pivot is an argument or adjunct
subject position contains a free relative, or a 3 person pronoun	no overt element fills the subject position; null expletives only
extraposition of the free relative in subject position is optional	extraposition of the cleft clause from object position is obligatory
the free relative is a genuine headless relative clause (one of two types)	the cleft clause is not a traditional relative clause

Figure 1: The distinctive properties of EXPL and EFS clefts

3 Extraposition-from-Subject Clefts

3.1 Free Relatives and Extraposition

The primary claim for the EFS cleft is that it is derivationally related to a pseudocleft, and therefore shares all its properties (modulo word order) with pseudoclefts. This entails that the cleft clause of an EFS cleft is actually an extraposed free relative – in Uzbek, free relatives are identical to relative clauses, but without pronunciation of a head noun.[5] The internal structure of free relatives and relative clauses may be of two types, which I call BARE and D-LICENSING.

(12)   a. Men ko'r-gan kishi
             I   see-PTCP person
             'The person that I saw'   BARE RC

         b. Men(-ing) ko'r-gan kishi-m
             me(-GEN) see-PTCP person-1SG.POSS
             'The person that I saw'   D-LICENSING RC[6]

The BARE strategy uses no inflection, while the D-LICENSING strategy uses optional genitive marking on the subject and exhibits possessor agreement on the head noun. The free relatives corresponding to the relative clauses above are just the same, modulo the missing head noun:[7]

(13)   a. Men ko'r-gan ~~kishi~~ → Men ko'r-gan
             I   see-PTCP ~~person~~ → I   see-PTCP
             'Who I saw'   BARE FR

         b. Men(-ing) ko'r-gan ~~kishi-~~m   → Men(-ing) ko'r-gan-im
             I(-GEN)   see-PTCP ~~person-~~1SG.POSS → I(-GEN)   see-PTCP-1SG.POSS
             'Who I saw'   D-LICENSING FR

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[5]For further evidence in favor of this claim, see Gribanova under review.

[6]Crucially, when the strategy in (12b) is employed, genitive marking is optional, but always permitted.

[7]The paper uses free relatives with the BARE strategy throughout, but the claim is that the D-LICENSING strategy will pattern identically with respect to the relevant properties discussed.

The free relative in Uzbek pseudoclefts may be optionally dislocated to the end of the clause, yielding an optional overt third person pronoun in its place.

(14) a. Men ol-gan,   kitob e-di.
          I   take-PTCP book COP-PST.3SG
          'What I took was a book.'   pseudocleft

      b. (U)   kitob e-di,   men ol-gan.
          (3SG) book COP-PST.3SG I   take-PTCP
          'It was a book, what I took.'   EFS

3.2 The Copula and Agreement

Verbal agreement in clauses with full verbs invariably tracks the subject, but the agreement pattern in copular clauses differs: it is controlled by the features of the most 'accessible' DP in the clause, regardless of its structural position. 'Accessibility' here is measurable via two factors: whether a DP is case-marked, and its person features. Case-marked DPs are low on the accessibility scale and will not control agreement on the copula if there is a bare DP in the same clause.

(15) a. Siz Toshkent-dan e-di-ngiz   (*e-di).
          you Tashkent-ABL COP-PST-2SG (*COP-PST.3SG)
          'You were from Tashkent.'

      b. Toshkent-dan siz e-di-ngiz   (*e-di)
          Tashkent-abl you COP-PST-2SG (*COP-PST.3SG)
          'You were from Tashkent.'

First and second person are more accessible than third person; if the two DPs are both bare, a first/second person DP will control agreement, regardless of structural position, if the other DP has third person features.

(16) a. Men o'sha o'qituvchi e-di-m   (*e-di).
          I   that   teacher   COP-PST-1SG (*COP-PST.3SG)
          'I was that teacher.'

      b. O'sha o'qituvchi men e-di-m   (*e-di).
          that   teacher   I   COP-PST-1SG (*COP-PST.3SG)
          'That teacher was me.'

Pseudoclefts/EFS clefts follow this pattern: agreement on the copula tracks the most accessible DP:

(17) a. Farhod ko'r-gan, siz e-di-ngiz.
          Farhod see-PTCP you COP-PST-2SG
          'Who Farhod saw was you.'   FR pseudocleft

      b. (U)   siz e-di-ngiz,   Farhod ko'r-gan.
          (3SG) you COP-PST-2SG Farhod see-PTCP
          'It was you, who Farhod saw.'   FR EFS

(18) a. Farhod ko'r-gan, biz e-di-k.
          Farhod see-PTCP we COP-PST-1PL
          '(The ones) who Farhod saw were us.'   FR pseudocleft

    b. (U)   biz e-di-k,   Farhod ko'r-gan.
         (3SG) we COP-PST-1PL Farhod see-PTCP
         'It was us, (the ones) who Farhod saw.'   FR EFS

Violations of this agreement pattern — i.e., default third person singular agreement when there is a more accessible DP available — yield ungrammaticality:

(19)   a. *Farhod ko'r-gan, siz e-di.
       Farhod   see-PTCP you COP-PST.3SG
       intended: 'The one who Farhod saw was you.'   FR pseudocleft
    b. *(U) siz e-di,   Farhod ko'r-gan.
       (3SG) you COP-PST.3SG Farhod see-PTCP
       intended: 'It was you, the one who Farhod saw.'   FR EFS

3.3 The Pivot

EFS clefts are restricted in their range of pivots, permitting only arguments, and never case-marked arguments.

(20)   a. *Biz bu kino-ni   ko'r-gan, yoz-da   e-di.
       we   this movie-ACC see-PTCP spring-LOC COP-PST.3SG
       intended: 'When we saw the movie was in summer.'
    b. *Siz pul   bekit-gan, stol-ning tag-i-da   e-di.
       you money hide-PTCP table-GEN under-3SG.POSS-LOC COP-PST.3SG
       intended: 'Where you hid the money was under the table.'

(21)   a. Farhod pul   ol-gan,   Hasan(*-dan) e-di.
       Farhod money take-PTCP Hasan(*-ABL) COP-PST.3SG
       'Who Farhod took money from was Hasan.'
    b. Farhod pul   ber-gan, Hasan(*-ga) e-di.
       Farhod money give-PTCP Hasan(*-DAT) COP-PST.3SG
       'Who Farhod gave money to was Hasan.'

3.4 Summary: EFS clefts

To summarize, EFS clefts appear to be derived from pseudoclefts, their properties aligning with those of pseudoclefts in all relevant respects: agreement on the copula is with the most accessible DP, and the pivot (or the DP that is not the free relative) is an argument that may not be case-marked. EFS clefts differ from simple pseudoclefts in that the free relative in an EFS cleft has been extraposed to the end of the clause, leaving a third person pronoun behind in subject position.

4 Expletive Clefts

EXPL clefts differ from EFS clefts along all the parameters just described. It is important to note that not all speakers seem to accept EXPL clefts. The source of this variation is unknown, but

the relevant examples are marked with a diamond to reflect that the contrasts discussed below are relevant only to speakers who accept EXPL clefts to begin with.

4.1   The Cleft Clause

4.1.1   The Cleft Clause: internal structure

I conclude that the cleft clause of EXPL clefts is not a free relative, because it does not use either the D-LICENSING or the BARE strategy normally associated with free relatives, including those found in EFS clefts. First, the subject inside the cleft clause of EXPL clefts can never bear genitive marking, but rather must be bare/nominative:

(22)   ◇Men-ni e-di,   siz(***-ning**) ko'r-gan-i.
       me-ACC COP-PST.3SG you(*-GEN) see-PTCP-3SG.POSS
       'It was me that you saw.'   EXPL

This makes the EXPL cleft clause differ from the free relative D-LICENSING strategy, which allows optional genitive marking on the subject. Second, the cleft clause of EXPL clefts must bear possessive agreement:

(23)   ◇Men-ni e-di,   siz ko'r-gan-***(-i)**.
       me-ACC COP-PST.3SG you see-PTCP*(-3SG.POSS)
       'It was me that you saw.'   EXPL

This makes the EXPL cleft clause differ from the free relative BARE strategy, in which the participle bears no possessive marking. Thus, whatever the structure of the EXPL cleft clause, it is clearly distinct from both BARE free relatives and D-LICENSING free relatives.

4.1.2   The Cleft Clause: external distribution

The external distribution of the EXPL cleft clause also differs from that of free relatives in EFS clefts. A major difference between the two is that there may never be a third person subject pronoun in EXPL clefts (while this is routine in EFS clefts):

(24)   a.   ◇(*U) Hasan bilan e-di,   u-lar gaplash-gan-i.
            (*3SG) Hasan with COP-PST.3SG they talk.PTCP-3.POSS
            'It was with Hasan that they spoke.'   EXPL
       b.   ◇(*U) Toshkent-ga e-di,   Farhod bor-gan-i.
            (*3SG) Tashkent-DAT COP-PST.3SG Farhod go-PTCP-3SG.POSS
            'It was Tashkent that Farhod went to.'   EXPL

I take this effect to arise from the observation that Uzbek overt pronouns must always be contentful; there is no semantically felicitous way to understand (24a,b) if the pronoun may only be interpreted as contentful (*e.g.*, 'He was with Hasan that they spoke'). Furthermore, the EXPL cleft clause can never appear in subject position (another contrast with EFS clefts):

(25)   ◇*Men ko'r-gan-im,   siz-ni   e-di.
       I   see-PTCP-1SG.POSS you-ACC COP-3SG.POSS

Take together, his evidence folds in neatly with the analytical claim that what occupies subject position in EXPL clefts is actually a null expletive, since Uzbek has no known overt expletives, and overt pronouns appear to be necessarily semantically contentful.

Finally, if the cleft clause in EXPL clefts is projected as the complement of the copula, and Uzbek is SOV, then the cleft clause must obtain its final position via obligatory extraposition.

4.2 The Pivot

The pivot of EXPL clefts can be of a much broader range of categories than that of EFS clefts. Pivots may bear case-marking of all kinds, and may be non-arguments.

(26) a. °(*U) **yoz-da** e-di, biz bu kino-ni ko'r-gan-imiz.
(*3SG) summer-LOC COP-PST.3SG we this movie-ACC see-PTCP-1PL.POSS
'It was in summer that we saw the movie.' EXPL

b. °(*U) **Hasan-dan** e-di, Farhod pul ol-gan-i.
(*3SG) Hasan-ABL COP-PST.3SG Farhod money take-PTCP-3SG.POSS
'It was Hasan who Farhod took money from.' EXPL

c. °(*U) **Siz-ni** e-di, men ko'r-gan-im.
(*3SG) you-ACC COP-PST.3SG I see-PTCP-1SG.POSS
'It was you that I saw.' EXPL

d. °(*U) **Siz-ga** e-di, Farhod pul ber-gan-i.
(*3SG) you-DAT COP-PST.3SG Farhod money give-PTCP-3SG.POSS
'It was to you that Farhod gave money.' EXPL

This is consistent with the idea that the pivot is actually extracted from the cleft clause, yielding case connectivity effects as one of the pivot's properties.

4.3 The Copula and Agreement

As should be clear from the preceding examples (*e.g.*, 26), Uzbek EXPL clefts only involve one kind of agreement on the copula, and that is third person singular; any other type of agreement is illicit.

(27) a. °*Siz-ni e-di-ngiz, men ko'r-gan-im.
you-ACC COP-PST-2SG I see-PTCP-1SG.POSS
intended: 'It was you that I saw.'

b. °*Siz-lar-ni e-di-lar, men ko'r-gan-im.
you-PL-ACC COP-PST.3-PL I see-PTCP-1SG.POSS
intended: 'It was you (pl) that I saw.'

This, too, is quite different from EFS clefts, in which agreement is with the most accessible DP. In EXPL clefts, the only candidates for agreement are a null expletive, presumably with third person features, or a pivot (which has been extracted from the cleft clause) that is typically case-marked; neither of these would be expected to trigger anything other than third person agreement.

4.4   Summary: EXPL Clefts

Taken together, the evidence distinguishes EXPL clefts from EFS clefts in a number of ways: there is case connectivity in pivots of EXPL clefts, while EFS cleft pivots bear no case; there is default agreement in EXPL clefts, while there is agreement with the most accessible DP in EFS clefts; and the cleft clause of EXPL clefts is not a free relative, and does not extrapose from subject position, as we find in EFS clefts. All of this is consistent with an analysis of the sort sketched in (11), where the pivot is extracted from the cleft clause, which itself obligatorily extraposes.

5   Expletives and Extraposition

This discussion is meant to bear on two important questions in the literature on existing analyses of it-clefts. First, what is the nature of the pronominal element in the subject position of more well-known it-clefts (*i.e.*, in Germanic)? Second, is the cleft clause extraposed in more familiar it-clefts? I discuss each question in turn below.

5.1   Expletives

Both the EFS and the EXPL analyses face difficulties in accounting for the full range of behavior of 'it' in Germanic. In the EXPL account, the proform that appears in it-clefts is semantically vacuous; its presence merely satisfies a formal syntactic requirement (EPP on T, or the equivalent). As pointed out by Fiedler (2010), this predicts that the behavior of the 'it' of clefts will be consistent with the overall behavior of expletives in a given language. For both German (Fielder, 2010) and Icelandic (Reeve, 2007), this prediction is violated: the 'it' of clefts is consistently obligatory for both languages, but the expletive 'it' is optional in certain environments. In the EFS analysis, the 'it' is generated as a sister of the free relative, and is stranded when the free relative is extraposed. This analysis faces several difficulties (Fiedler, 2010); one of these is that the English 'it' is always singular, though the pivot may be plural (e.g., *(The ones) who drank all the beer were John and Mary* vs. *It was John and Mary who drank all the beer*).

Though these problems remain unsolved for English, it is worth noticing that *none* of them are concerns for the Uzbek data, if two analyses are adopted. For Uzbek, the 'expletive' is something like a null pronoun, which is not pronounced in clefts or existential constructions.

(28)   a. (*U)   Kompyuter-da virus bor.
          (*3SG) computer-LOC virus exist
          'There's a virus on the computer.'

       b. (*U)   Shahringiz-da   nech-ta   muzey   bor?
          (*3SG) city.2SG.POSS-LOC how.many-SPEC museum exist
          'How many museums are there in your city?'

For Uzbek, then, there is nothing inconsistent about the expletive account for EXPL clefts: there is no overtly pronounced subject in EXPL clefts just as there is no overtly pronounced subject anywhere where an expletive might be expected to appear.

Turning to the second concern, the pronoun that appears 'in place of' the extraposed free relative in Uzbek EFS clefts may also be plural, if the free relative itself is plural. For an pseudocleft like (29a), then, its corresponding extraposed form will be (29b).

(29)   a. Men ko'r-gan-lar, siz-lar e-di-ngiz-lar.
           me   see-PTCP-PL you-PL COP-PST-2PL
           'Who I saw were you-all.'   BARE FR, pseudocleft

        b. U(-lar) siz-lar e-di-ngiz-lar, men ko'r-gan-lar.
           3(-PL) you-PL COP-PST-2PL me   see-PTCP-PL
           'It was you-all, who I saw.   BARE FR, EFS

That the pronoun in EFS clefts matches the extraposed free relative in plural features is in fact exactly what is predicted by an extraposition-from-subject account like Akmajian's (1970). I also take the number matching between the pronoun and free relative in EFS clefts as a piece of support for the claim that pseudoclefts and EFS clefts are derivationally related.

5.2   Extraposition

For English, a question for the EXPL analysis of clefts is whether there is any extraposition of the cleft clause: as an adjunct or as a complement to the copula, its linear order would be identical. This question becomes more interesting in head-final languages like German, in which the embedded clause word order is verb-last: one might expect a difference in position between complement and extraposed CPs. This is not the case, however, because German complement CPs linearize to the right of the verb even in embedded clauses (Fiedler, 2010).

(30)   a. Hans hat gesagt, daß Maria das Bier getrunken hat.
           Hans has said   that Maria the beer drunk   has
           'Hans has said that Maria has drunk the beer.'

        b. *Hans hat daß Maria das Bier getrunken hat gesagt.
           Hans   has that Maria the beer drunk   has said

Even for a head-final language like German, it is difficult to tell what the structural position of the cleft clause is. Here, too, Uzbek offers a simpler set of data: canonical complement CPs are always to the left of the complement-taking verb, but the cleft clause is always to the right of the copula.

(31)   *[Siz-ni [men ko'r-gan-im]]   e-di.
        you-ACC me   see-PTCP-1SG.POSS COP-PST.3SG

Given that the cleft clause behaves nothing like other complements, we can safely conjecture that it has in fact been extraposed. In this way, Uzbek presents a clearer answer to questions that have long troubled cleft analyses in other languages; this is largely because the particulars of Uzbek are sufficiently different, in the relevant ways, from the languages for which the EXPL and EFS cleft analyses were first developed.

6   Conclusion

The lesson to be learned from this discussion, although it is necessarily inconclusive about certain details, is, first, that there are clearly two distinct structures involved in Uzbek, and that, second, the difficulty in understanding the English cases has to do with the language-specific facts of English — for example, that its expletive and non-expletive referential pronoun are the same in certain cases. What remains clear is that Uzbek may serve as a model case for a two-analyses approach to clefts, reviving Pinkham and Hankamer's 1975 idea in a significantly different linguistic context.

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