Formal analysis of *èto*-clefts in Russian: syntax and semantics

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Evgeniya Shipova

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Betreuer:
Prof. Dr. Malte Zimmermann
Universität Potsdam

Prof. Dr. Edgar Onea
Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz

Universität Potsdam
Department Linguistik

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Introduction

This thesis focuses on the examination of *èto*-initial cleft constructions in Russian, utilizing both theoretical and experimental frameworks. Specifically, I aim to investigate the information-structural, syntactic and semantic properties of cleft structures in Russian and to evaluate the predictions made by various theoretical models.

Structure of *èto*-clefts

In general, clefts are a cross-linguistic phenomenon, and quite often clefts tend to exhibit similar properties in different languages. For example, commonly used *it*-clefts in English and *es*-clefts in German share the same structure: sentence-initial demonstrative *it*/*es* + a copula + the focused constituent + a restrictive relative clause, see (1). All structures in (1) are biclausal. They serve as a tool to convey information in an unusual order and to highlight a certain part of the conveyed message (the fronted constituent under focus is in square brackets):

(1) a. It was [John]$_F$ who broke the window.
b. It was [two weeks ago]$_F$ that I tried beer for the first time.
c. Es war [Stephan]$_F$, der das Fenster gebrochen hat.
'It was Stephan who broke the window.'

In the existing literature, *èto*-initial focus structures in Russian are usually called "*èto*-clefts". However, in some aspects they look different from clefts in English and German, and therefore they are of particular interest for linguists. See a canonical SVO structure in Russian (2a) and *èto*-clefts (2b)-(2c).

(2) a. Vanja razbil okno.
Vanja broke window
'Vanja broke a/the window.'
b. Èto [Vanja]$_F$ razbil okno.
èto Vanja broke.*Sg.m.Past* window
'It is Vanja who broke the window.'

c. Èto [sejčas]$_F$ on vstaët na rassvete, a kogda-to on
èto now he wakes-up on sunrise but once he
ljubil ne spat' nočami naprolët.
liked not to-sleep all-night through
'Now he usually gets up at sunrise, but back then he used to stay awake the whole night.'

The peculiarities of an *èto*-cleft can already be seen from (2). What distinguishes a Russian cleft from the English and German clefts in (1) is the following:

1) the absence of a copula after *èto*,
2) the absence of an overt relativizer,
3) the agreement in gender and number between the clause subject and the only available verb: *Vanja* and *razbil* "broke" in (2b), *on* "he" and *vstajot* "wakes up" in (2c).

In contrast to English or German, the syntax of Russian copular sentences does not require an overt copula in present tense. Moreover, there is no grammatical possibility to realize a copula or an overt relative clause in an *èto*-cleft, see the following hypothetical constructions:

(3) a. *Èto byl/est'/budet Petja razbil okno.
èto was/is/will-be Petja broke window
b. Èto byl Petja, [kotoryj razbil okno]$_{Rel}$.
èto was Petja which/who broke window
'This was Petja, the one who broke the window.' ≠ It was Petja who broke the window.
c. ?Èto est' Petja, [kotoryj vsegda vsë razbivaet]$_{Rel}$.
èto is Petja which/who always everything breaks
'This is Petja, who always breaks everything.' ≠ 'It is Petja who always breaks everything.'

While (3a) does not allow for any licit interpretation, the structures presented in (3b)-(3c) are possible, although their meaning is completely different from potential English clefts. Examples (3) cannot be interpreted as clefts, even if they might look structurally much more similar to English *it*-clefts.

Literature overview

So far, Russian *èto*-clefts have been investigated occasionally, mostly from the syntactic perspective, rarely from the semantic or pragmatic point of view, and only once (in Shipova 2014) in the scope of an experimental setting.

The existing research on *èto*-clefts started with the biclausal analysis by Gundel (1977). This view presented Russian clefts as syntactically parallel to *it*-clefts but was rejected already by King (1993).

A brief and still quite detailed analysis was done by Junghanns (1997). He interpreted the underlying semantics of *èto*-clefts as focus fronting, and *èto* itself as a base-generated topic expression.

Some interesting ideas regarding underlying covert questions in *èto*-clefts were expressed by Geist & Błaszczak (2000), as well as Markman (2008).

Kimmelmann (2009) in his article briefly touched *èto*-clefts, as well as Russian thetic clefts, accepting Junghanns' analysis for thetic clefts but not for *èto*-clefts.

Reeve (2010) gave an extended syntactic analysis of Slavonic clefts, including Russian *èto*-clefts.

Additionally, Shipova (2014) focused more on the semantic and pragmatic sides of *èto*-clefts based on theoretical discussions and experimental results.

Finally, a recent paper by Burukina & den Dikken (2020) continues the investigation of Russian clefts as question-answer pairs (following Geist & Błaszczak 2000 and Markman 2008) with the omitted question part.

Known features of *èto*-clefts

I would like to especially highlight the results presented in Shipova (2015) and their relevance for the current dissertation.

Shipova's research shed light on some important phenomena related to *èto*-clefts that are further investigated in this dissertation.

1) The first feature of canonical *èto*-clefts relates to the information structure, namely, the new and important information in is in focus and located (typically, but not obligatory) sentence-initially followed by backgrounded information.

2) The second feature of canonical *èto*-clefts relates to syntax. *Èto*-clefts are syntactically different from English and German clefts, although more investigation and tests are needed to proof this hypothesis.

3) The third aspect is the semantic behavior of Russian *èto*-clefts which looks in a great degree similar to the one shown by *it*-clefts and *es*-clefts.

i. First, experimental evidence was found that *èto*-sentences also exhibit **existence presupposition.** An example to this is given under (4). Note that the cleft in (4a) is not plausible in a context where existence of any visitors is explicitly negated. Importantly, a canonical sentence (4b) is false but still grammatically acceptable in the same context.

(4) Context: "I live together with my brother. Yesterday we both were at home and we had no guests. Today my brother tells me:"

a. *Èto [Petja]$_F$ prixodil k nam včera. (CLEFT)
èto Petja came to us yesterday
'It was Petja who came to visit us yesterday.'

b. [Petja]$_F$ prixodil k nam včera. (CANONICAL)
Petja came to us yesterday
'Petja came to visit us yesterday.'

ii. The second important finding is the **exhaustivity inference** in *èto*-clefts**.** Experiments in Shipova (2014) showed that clefts in contexts with explicit exhaustivity violation were rated higher than exhaustivity violation for structures with the exclusive *tol'ko* 'only' but lower than exhaustivity violation for canonical structures. Examples (5) and (6) (see below) give contexts with an explicitly expressed existence meaning and cleft structures followed by violating sentences, with and without *èto*. Two clefts in a row, like in (7), were rated worst of all by native speakers.

Context: "I live with my brother in the same flat. Yesterday I wasn't at home but I knew that my brother had some guests. Today I ask my brother who visited him yesterday. My brother tells me:"

(5) Èto [Petja]$_F$ prixodil ko mne včera.
èto Petja came to me yesterday
'It was Petja who came to visit me yesterday.'

(6) *Èto [Petja]$_F$ prixodil ko mne včera. Krome togo, [Maksim]$_F$ prixodil ko mne včera.
èto Petja came to me yesterday. furthermore Maksim came to me yesterday
'It was Petja who came to visit me yesterday. Furthermore, Maksim came to visit me yesterday.'

(7) *Èto [Petja]$_F$ prixodil ko mne včera. Krome togo, èto [Maksim]$_F$ prixodil ko mne včera.
èto Petja came to me yesterday. furthermore èto Maksim came to me yesterday
'It was Petja who came to visit me yesterday. Furthermore, it was Maksim came to visit me yesterday.'

Thetic clefts and definite pseudo-clefts

There are two more cleft types, less common but still important for this research: thetic clefts and definite pseudo-clefts.

Thetic clefts are *èto*-initial structures with sentential focus. I assume that, in terms of syntactic structure, thetic clefts are identical to basic *èto*-clefts, however, the information structure is different. The background part that was present in basic *èto*-clefts is now empty while the focused part is extended to the whole sentence. Therefore, the context or prosody is required to identify the cleft type. See (8a) for a thetic cleft and (8b) for a basic *èto*-cleft with narrow focus in corresponding contexts. The focused part is in square brackets.

(8) a. A: What is this huge box in the storage room?
B: Èto [ja narisoval kartinu dlja novoj vystavki]$_F$. (THETIC)
èto I painted painting for new exhibition
'I did a painting for the new exhibition.'

b. A: I went to the new art exhibition today and I saw such a beautiful painting there. I wish I knew who it was!
B: Èto [ja]$_F$ narisoval kartinu dlja novoj vystavki. (BASIC)
èto I painted painting for new exhibition
'It was me who did a painting for the new exhibition.'

Definite pseudo-clefts, in turn, are different from *èto*-clefts but similar to English definite pseudo-clefts, cf. (9) and (10).

(9) The one who planted a tree was Max.

(10) Tem, kto posadil derevo, byl Maks.
the-one.*Sg.masc.Instr* who planted tree was Max
'The one who planted a tree was Max.'

Definite pseudo-clefts appear ungrammatical in "out of the blue" contexts, as they seem to exhibit existence presupposition just like *èto*-clefts. A suitable context for (10) would be, for example: "We just finished planting the greenery. Now we have ten bushes and one plum tree in the garden". Thus, the presupposition of the existence of a single tree in the garden would be explicitly encoded in the context.

Definite pseudo-clefts, as definite descriptions, are used as one of the conditions in the experiments presented in this thesis.

Motivation for further research

The apparent syntactic differences and semantico-pragmatic similarities between Russian *èto*-clefts and their counterparts in other languages raise many discussions concerning the status of *èto*-clefts, their syntactic structure and pragmatic functionality. The existing findings serve as a solid background to continue the research on *èto*-clefts in various directions: semantics, pragmatics, usage patterns, and syntax. Following the direction of research initiated in Shipova (2014), the aim of this thesis is to extend its findings.

I start with exploring the distinct features of Russian information structure. The goal is to identify its fundamental characteristics and distinguish cleft constructions from other focus structures, in order to gain a deeper understanding of the role that clefts play in conveying focus in Russian discourse.

Second, I delve deeper into the syntactic properties that distinguish Russian cleft constructions from those used in other languages, as these differences have sparked considerable discussion across the linguistic literature.

Third, I investigate the source and status of of exhaustivity in *èto*-clefts.

Furthermore, my analysis encompasses both thetic and definite pseudo-clefts, allowing for a comprehensive examination of the full range of cleft structures in Russian.

Dissertation structure

This dissertation consists of five chapters.

In **Chapter I** I introduce canonical (most common stressed-focus) *èto*-clefts, as well as thetic clefts and definite pseudo-clefts, as linguistic phenomena. I will examine how information structure is encoded in Russian structures on the whole and in Russian clefts particularly. Although Russian is often characterized as having free word order, the actual ordering of words in a sentence is not arbitrary and is a powerful tool for conveying specific information structures.

Next, I proceed to the notion of focus. I demonstrate that there are various options for realizing focus in Russian sentence structures, with syntactic restructuring being only one of them and typically not the first choice. I present the focus-background bipartition in *èto*-clefts, and finally I show *èto*-clefts used in typical contrastive focus contexts.

In **Chapter II** I discuss the syntactic features of *èto*-clefts in comparison to the syntax of clefts in other languages, English and German in the first place. I give an overview of the existing literature on this topic showing that there is a wide variety of approaches and theories regarding the underlying syntactic structure of *èto*-clefts and, particularly, their mono- or biclausality. Next, I undertake a series of syntactic tests aimed at proving is cleft constructions in Russian are mono- or biclausal. The test results are in favor of monoclausality of *èto*-clefts. Additionally, this chapter provides evidence in favor of movement of the cleft pivot to the left-peripheral position in the sentence.

The topic of **Chapter III** is familiarity, a notion that covers anaphoric and deictic properties and allows to distinguish between strong familiarity and weak familiarity. I show how familiarity inherent in the demonstrative *èto* is transferred to *èto*-clefts and explain the connection between *èto*-clefts and their context.

Chapter IV summarizes the knowledge from all previous chapters and presents my own syntactic and information-structural analysis of Russian *èto*-clefts and thetic clefts.

On the syntactic level, my analysis for both cleft types is monoclausal and interprets *èto* as TopP, which makes it similar to the analysis from Junghanns (1997).

On the level of information structure, a cleft structure gets divided into Topic and Comment, while the latter in its turn consists of Focus and Background.

I show that *èto* as a Topic expression with inherent familiarity establishes a strong link from the *èto*-structure to the preceding context. This facilitates the usage of *èto* while the usage of Topics is generally not obligatory in Russian sentences. This analysis comes in line with the common observation that Topics (and particularly, Russian Topics) usually appear sentence-initially.

In this chapter, I also state that the focused part undergoes A'-movement in *èto*-clefts but it does not necessarily become contrastive, unlike what can usually be observed during focus fronting.

Chapter V starts with a brief theoretical part which introduces the notions of exhaustivity nature and (not-)at-issueness (its status). Various linguistic structures may exhibit semantic or pragmatic exhaustivity inferences which are in turn cancellable or non-cancellable. Correspondingly, there are semantic and pragmatic accounts that make respective predictions regarding the source and the strength of exhaustivity inferences in clefts.

In Section 2 of this chapter, I introduce previous experimental evidence from Shipova (2014) regarding the two cross-linguistically verified properties of clefts - exhaustivity and existence presupposition. As I noted in the first half of this introduction, these properties are inherent in *èto*-clefts, too. The exhaustivity effects in Russian clefts, however, are not as strong as in structures with the exclusive Russian *tol'ko* 'only' and yet they are stronger than the exhaustivity effects in canonical sentences. The reason for this will be further analyzed in the current dissertation.

Two new experiments on exhaustivity in Russian clefts[1] constitute the most important part of Chapter V in Section 3. They are designed as a picture verification task with auditory stimuli. The first experiment checks the strength of exhaustivity. The second part examines the nature of exhaustivity: if it is semantic or pragmatic. In both

[1] I wish to thank Joseph De Veaugh-Geiss, Malte Zimmermann and Edgar Onea for their assistance in setting up the experiments as well as for the advice regarding experimental design and valuable help in solving technical issues. The experimental part of this research, including a trip to Russia, data collection and compensations for the participants, was financially supported by the German Science Foundation (DFG) as part of the SPP1727 "XPrag.de: New Pragmatic Theories based on Experimental Evidence", sub-project "Exhaustivity in Clefts" (PIs: Onea & Zimmermann). All raw experimental data and results are accessible under https://github.com/blixaketzer/PhD_Shipova_Exhaustivity_experiments.

experiments, *èto*-clefts are compared to *only*-sentences (as a baseline for the strong semantic at-issue exhaustivity inference), structures with plain intonational focus (as a baseline for the weak pragmatic and not at-issue exhaustivity inference), and definite pseudo-clefts. Significant statistical difference between the cleft and focus conditions, as well as between clefts and exclusives was found. However, the exhaustivity effects in *èto*-clefts are not as robust as expected. I assume that speakers accommodate different strategies during the processing of *èto*-clefts and therefore treat them either exhaustively or non-exhaustively. Hence, statistically, Russian *èto*-clefts show an exhaustivity rate that lies between *tol'ko*-structures on the exhaustive side and canonical sentences on the non-exhaustive side. In terms of exhaustivity effects, it brings *èto*-clefts at the same level as definite pseudo-clefts.

Weak pragmatic exhaustivity inferences, explored in this chapter, are derived from the existence presupposition inherent in *èto*-clefts. At the same time, the existence presupposition comes from the interaction of an anaphoric Topic (pointing at a situation) and the backgrounded part of the cleft. Herewith, the theoretical proposal from Chapter IV is connected to the experimental results presented in Chapter V.

On the whole, the behavior of *èto*-clefts was proved similar to the behavior of German *es*-clefts. The experimental results show that across different languages, there is a consistent pattern in the way exhaustivity effects are manifested by cleft structures, even though the syntax of such structures may differ. This remarkable evidence finalizes the cross-linguistic analysis as well as the chapter itself.

Open issues, conclusion, references, and appendices follow at the end.

"Without structure, focus is impossible."
(from the internet article "5 Reasons
You Can't Focus And What To Do About It")

Chapter I

Information structure

To begin, we get acquainted with *èto*-clefts in Russian and introduce their subtypes: canonical clefts, thetic clefts, and definite pseudo-clefts. Later in this chapter, I explore how information-structural phenomena, especially focus and contrast, are realized in Russian: a special "free word order" language. Finally, I show how the required information structure is encoded in *èto*-clefts. The clear focus-background bipartition aligns Russian clefts with clefts in other languages, like English or German, in terms of information structure.

1.1 *Èto*-clefts: background

In this section, I outline the basic information about Russian clefts: what they look like, which types of clefts exist in the language, and some other nuances that will serve as a background and starting point for the whole dissertation.

1.1.1 Clefts in Russian

I start with a short introduction of *èto*-clefts. The most typical structure of an *èto*-cleft in Russian is shown below[2]:

(1) a. Èto [ty]$_F$ večno zabyvaeš' pomyt' posudu.
èto you always forget to-wash dishes
'It is [you]$_F$ who always forgets to wash the dishes.'
b. Èto *byl/*est'/*budeš' [ty]$_F$ večno zabyvaeš' pomyt' posudu.
èto was/is/will-be you always forget to-wash dishes

[2] Unless the origin of an example is provided in the text explicitly, examples are either taken from fiction books, open mono- and bilingual corpora and articles from the Internet, or artificially constructed for the purposes of this dissertation.

Here, the demonstrative *èto*[3] 'it, this' is followed by a constituent which carries intonationally marked focus. This constituent is also called the cleft pivot. The additional constituents that follow form a canonical SVO sentence in Russian. It is apparent that such clefts do not contain a copula after *èto*, in fact, inserting a copula would make the structure ungrammatical, see (1b). Despite the requirement of a copula in Russian copular sentences in past or future tense, *èto*-clefts which are constructed in the past or future tense like (2) do not take a copula, similar to a present tense copular sentence in Russian. Instead, the main (overt) verb of the structure must take the inflectional tense marking. In (1) we saw a cleft in the present tense, now cf. examples in the past and future tenses:

(2) Èto [ty]$_F$ zvonil?
èto you called
'Was it you who called?'

(3) Èto [ja]$_F$ dolžen budu s toboj svjazat'sja.
èto I must be.*Fut* with you get-in-contact
'It is me who will need to contact you.'

It is clear that all necessary grammatical features, including tense, are realized in the verb ("forget" in (1), "call" in (2), "be" in (3)), which can explain the absence of a copula in these structures. Apart from the copula, the absence of a relative pronoun (and, as it might seem, a relative clause itself[4]) is also typical for the basic type of Russian *èto*-clefts, as seen in the previous examples.

In fact, we should not treat *èto*-clefts exactly as we treat English or German clefts and we should not expect them to be the same in every aspect, e.g., the presence or absence of a copula. As previous research (Shipova 2014) has already demonstrated, Russian clefts and English clefts are different in their structure but similar in their semantics. In this research I dive deeper into why this is the case and which specific grammatical features in Russian cause these differences.

[3] The status of *èto* will be discussed in Section 3.2 where I will show that this function word appears, in certain contexts, not as a demonstrative but as a particle or a discourse connector. Till then I settle on the term "demonstrative", but no translation will be given for *èto* in the glosses.

[4] The syntactic structure of *èto*-clefts will be discussed in detail in Chapter II.

1.1.2 Thetic clefts

Quite often, the only visible difference between a cleft structure and the corresponding basic non-cleft structure is the presence of *èto* in the sentence-initial position. The result is an ambiguity of such *èto*-initial structures. In so-called thetic clefts, not a single constituent, but the whole structure following *èto* is in focus. To distinguish a canonical cleft from a thetic cleft, context or prosody (in spoken language) is required.

Compare the following two ways of interpreting example (2). There is narrow focus on *ty* 'you' in (4) and sentential focus in (5). The examples are given in the form of a question which, in this case, differs from the corresponding affirmative form in the prosody only, not in the structure. The main pitch accent is indicated by capital letters in examples (4) and (5).

(4) Context: Somebody called me yesterday, but I couldn't answer. I guess it was a friend of mine. I ask him today:

U menja byl neprinjatyj zvonok. Èto [TY]$_F$ zvonil?
by me was missed call. *èto* you called
'I got a missed phone call. Was it [you]$_F$ who called me?'

(5) Context: I just heard a strange noise in our flat. I assumed it was my father making a phone call from the other room. I go and ask him:

Ja slyšala strannye zvuki. Èto [ty zvoNIL]$_F$?
I heard strange sounds. *èto* you were-calling
'I just heard a strange noise. Was it [you making a phone call]$_F$?'

As already mentioned, usage in spoken language allows disambiguation, and a short study in Shipova (2014) has shown that, according to judgements from native speakers, spoken *èto*-clefts are better accepted than written *èto*-clefts although both usages are possible. Later on in this dissertation, I give examples both from written and spoken Russian language corpora.

1.1.3 Typology of clefts

The typology of *it*-clefts in discourse (see Prince, 1978; Delin & Oberlander, 1995; Fischer, 2009), distinguishes between two types of *it*-clefts: stressed-focus clefts (6) and informative-presupposition clefts (7). These two types differ in terms of stress allocation,

and also how the new/old information is being conveyed.

In stressed-focus *it*-clefts, the first part (the cleft pivot) is under focus and bears primary stress. According to Prince, this part conveys information that is new and might be contrastive. The second part (the remnant) is unstressed and conveys old information, or information that is supposed to be known or accommodated by the listener. E.g., in (6), the listener knows that some books might not be in a good condition, and the speaker lays emphasis on the condition of the book covers.

In informative-presupposition clefts (7), on the other hand, the remnant (the *that*-clause) bears regular stress and contains information that is not supposed to be known by the intended hearer, even though it might be a generally known fact.

Both examples are from Prince (1978).

(6) So I learned to sew books. They're really good books. It's just the covers that are rotten.

(7) It was just about 50 years ago that Henry Ford gave us the weekend.

Following the mentioned typology, Shipova (2014) claimed that common Russian *èto*-clefts belong to the type of stressed-focus clefts where new information comes under focus first and old information follows, while informative-presupposition cleft structures are relatively rare in Russian.

On the one hand, there might be structural restrictions, e.g. see (8b) which is ungrammatical due to the clefted AdvP.

On the other hand, according to Fischer, informative-presupposition *it*-clefts often appear as a narrative tool in formal discourse, e.g., in newspapers or formal speeches.

At the same time, Russian clefts tend to be used in informal speech, either spoken or written, and spoken clefts appear to be even more preferable[5]. As such, we would generally expect *èto*-clefts to appear less often in formal discourse than English clefts. I can conclude that there are certain stylistic restrictions that prevent Russian clefts from

[5] A small experiment has been conducted (see Shipova, 2014) with the help of two groups of native speakers of Russian. The first group was given a set of clefts written on paper and was asked to judge the acceptability of each cleft on a scale from 1 to 7 (1 for "very bad", 7 for "very good"). For the second group, the task was the same, but the stimuli were auditory. All clefts were of the most typical contrastive form, e.g., "It was me who gave you this book". The experiment showed mean rate 5.38 for written clefts and 5.99 for spoken clefts.

the informative-presupposition usage.

(8) (At the beginning of the text)
a. It was just about 50 years ago that Henry Ford gave us the weekend.
b. *Èto [okolo 50 let nazad] [Genri Ford dal nam vyxodnye].
èto about 50 years ago Henry Ford gave us weekend
c. A ty znal, čto èto [Nikola Tesla]$_F$ izobrël radioupravlenie?
and you knew that *èto* Nikola Tesla invented radio-control
'Did you know that it was Nikola Tesla who invented radio control?'

Note that the structure shown in (8b) would be ungrammatical both as a stressed-focus cleft and as an informative-presupposition cleft. The reason must be the AdvP that is in focus. Cf. (8c) where an NP takes the same position, making the structure licit both as a stressed-focus cleft and as an informative-presupposition cleft. As such, under certain circumstances, the usage of a structure like (8c) as a conversation starter can in fact be justified. In this case, the reader or the hearer is not expected to be thinking about radio control at that moment, nor does this matter need to have been mentioned in the preceding context. The part of the meaning which follows the focused constituent (in a relative clause in the English counterpart) is logico-semantically presupposed and in example (8c) belongs to the common knowledge of the speaker and the hearer, e.g., the hearer knows that there exists such a thing as radio control, and that it was invented by somebody some time ago. What follows is usually an elaboration on the topic. In spite of the absence of any salient context preceding the cleft, the common knowledge between the communicating people serves as such context.

Note that, in comparison to stressed-focus clefts, when saying (8c) the speaker does not have the intention to shed light on the mystery "who invented radio control", nor do they choose an NP from an imaginary or contextually reconstructable set of possible alternatives. The NP "Nikola Tesla" is also a part of the shared background, where both the speaker and the hearer know who Nikola Tesla is and that he made many important inventions. Thus, the main purpose of such an utterance is to say: "The great Tesla was so great, that he himself even invented radio control, among other things".

Still, stressed-focus clefts remain the most common cleft type, therefore, unless specified, the following research will deal with and examine stressed-focus clefts. They will be denoted as basic, regular or canonical clefts.

1.1.4 Definite pseudo-clefts

Following the structural typology, other types of clefts can also be found in Russian, e.g., *wh*-clefts, inverted pseudo-clefts, *all*-clefts, or *if-because*-clefts. In Chapter V, I present experiments on exhaustivity where one more cleft type comes into play: definite pseudo-clefts[6]. In the scope of the experiments, they are compared to regular clefts, *only*-structures and plain intonational focus structures. Considering its later significance, let us examine this structure.

A definite pseudo-cleft in English is a specificational[7] sentence starting with the definite determiner "the one" followed by a relative clause, see (9).

(9) The one who planted a tree is Max.

A definite pseudo-cleft in Russian[8] (in the form that has been chosen for the experiments) has the similar structure, see (10). It starts with the distal demonstrative pronoun *tot* 'that' / 'the one' taking the instrumental case form *tem*, followed by a relative clause. Note the explicit copula *byl* 'was' in the main clause. For the sake of consistency between stimuli during the experiments in Chapter V, I take definite pseudo-clefts in the past tense, as the other stimuli types also come in the past tense.

(10) Tem, kto posadil derevo, byl Maks.
the-one.*Sg.masc.Instr* who planted tree was Max
'The one who planted a tree is Max.'

As the subject of (10) is *Maks*, we can say that (10) is an inverted version of the structure with the canonical SVO word order[9] (11a) aiming to put the known information first. See also (11b) where *tot* stays in the nominative case. Both examples in (11) are now predicational sentences.

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[6] As defined by De Veaugh-Geiss et al. (2018).

[7] According to the classification from Higgins (1973) and Akmajian (1979). Note that, in the referenced paper, Akmajian states that English pseudo-clefts are always specificational.

[8] See, e.g., Pereltsvaig (2001, 2007), Geist (2008), Partee (2010) on predicational, specificational and equative sentences in Russian.

[9] See Geist (2008) on specificational sentences being - in certain cases - analyzed as inversions of predicational sentences.

(11) a. Maks byl tem, kto posadil derevo.
Max was the-one.*Sg.masc.Instr* who planted tree
'Max is the one who planted a tree.'
b. *Maks byl tot, kto posadil derevo.
Max was the-one.*Sg.masc.Nom* who planted tree
'Max is the one who planted a tree.'

The acceptability of (11b) is questionable, and the reason for that is explained by Geist (2008)[10]. In general, in Russian predicational sentences, in the past tense, the predicate can occur either in the instrumental case or in the nominative case. The semantic difference between these usages is as follows[11]: "the predicate occurs in the Instrumental if the situation described is temporally bounded, while the Nominative occurs otherwise". Since "planting a tree" is a temporally bounded situation, the predicate in the nominative case, like in (11b), is not quite suitable for the situation. Therefore, an inverted structure (12) also remains unacceptable.

(12) *Tot, kto razbil okno, byl Saša.
the-one.*Sg.masc.Nom* who broke the-window was Sasha
'The one who broke the window was Sasha.'

Hence, the stimuli set for the experiment presented in Chapter V will include definite pseudo-clefts of the same structure: the demonstrative in the instrumental case followed by a relative clause, a copula in the past tense and, finally, a proper name.

As a final note, definite pseudo-clefts appear ungrammatical in an "out of the blue" context, so there must exist a certain context for this structure to be acceptable, cf. (13a) and (13b). See how a definite pseudo-cleft cannot be used in the situation described in (13a). On the whole, in terms of semantics and the usage, Russian pseudo-clefts are quite similar to their English counterparts.

[10] For more detail, she refers to Nichols (1981), Wierzbicka (1980), Geist (1999, 2006), Matushansky (2000), Pereltsvaig (2001).

[11] From Geist (2008), p. 83.

(13) a. Context: An unknown guy approaches me on the street and says:

*Tem, kto razbil okno, byl Saša.
the-one.*Sg.masc.Instr* who broke window was Sasha
'The one who broke the window was Sasha.'

b. Context: Somebody has broken a window in our house. Yesterday, it became clear who it was. So, my mother is telling me today:

Tem, kto razbil okno, byl Saša.
the-one.*Sg.masc.Instr* who broke window was Sasha
'The one who broke the window was Sasha.'

1.1.5 Clefting of different constituents

On the whole, when talking about clefts, we need to take constituent-related restrictions into consideration. The important factor here, is the grammatical type of a constituent – PP, AdvP, DP, etc – but also the more trivial features, such as its length, or "heaviness".

The idea of "heaviness" refers to the way that different types of clefts allow different constituent types to be clefted, or tend to be used more or less often for clefting certain phrases. For example, definite pseudo-clefts (Russian, as well as English or German pseudo-clefts) work well to put big, "heavy" constituents under focus, thereby separating old information in the relative clause from new information at the end. In the case of Russian, this is fully reasonable in terms of both information structure (to be discussed in detail in the next subsection) and prosodic convenience.

Compare the following examples in block (14) below with a PP in focus. The focused phrase in (14a) is short, whereas the one in (14b) - *(by) your former boss* - is quite long. Furthermore, if (14b) is used in speech, the stress falls on the last word of the phrase (*boss*) making the whole construction inconvenient for a native speaker to produce. The longer the phrase, the more inconvenient it becomes. Moreover, the nuclear accent falls on the last word of the phrase (I will discuss why this is important in Section 1.3). The definite pseudo-cleft in (14c) is more acceptable in terms of convenience.

(14) a. Èto [u tebja]$_F$ my otmečali Novyj god.
èto by you we celebrated new year
'We celebrated New Years at [your]$_F$ place.'

b. ?Èto [u tvoego byvšego bossa]$_F$ byl jubilej v prošlom godu.
èto by your former boss was anniversary in last year
'It is your previous boss who had an anniversary last year.'

c. Tem, u kogo byl jubilej v prošlom godu, byl [tvoj byvšij boss]$_F$.
the-one by whom was anniversary in last year was your former boss
'The one who had an anniversary last year was your former boss.'

The restrictions become much more flexible if there is a DP as the clause subject and it is therefore already located at the beginning of the clause. In this case, no changes in the canonical word order (no reordering) are required, and even *èto*-clefts with a longer phrase under focus are generally accepted. For example:

(15) a. Èto [on]$_F$ vo vsëm vinovat.
èto he in everything is-guilty
'It's all his fault.'

b. Context: Our neighbors have a little son. Today my bicycle vanished from the courtyard. I thought somebody had stolen it. But my wife is telling me:
Èto [tot malen'kij sosedskij mal'čik]$_F$ vzjal tvoj velosiped pokatat'sja.
èto that little neighbor's boy took your bicycle to-ride
'[That little boy who lives next door]$_F$ has taken your bicycle for a ride.'

Now, we might assume that the AdvP *okolo 50 let nazad* 'about 50 years ago' from the example (8b) was simply too big to be clefted using *èto*. However, consider the next examples in (16) which include shorter AdvPs of time and manner, yet are still ungrammatical inside a cleft.

(16) a. A: You told me that you didn't get enough sleep recently, but I forgot when it was exactly.
B: *Èto [včera]$_F$ ja ne vyspalsja.
èto yesterday I not slept-enough
'It was [yesterday]$_F$ that I didn't get enough sleep.'

b. Context: I'm late for a meeting with a friend of mine. When I arrive, my friend is angry and claims that, apparently, I've not been running fast enough to be there in time. I object:

*Nepravda, èto [bystro]$_F$ ja bežal!
not-true *èto* fast I run
'It was fast that I was running!'

Clearly, it is not just the "heaviness" that influences the availability of a constituent for clefting. On the whole, as mentioned previously by Shipova (2014), with reference to Gast & Wiechmann (2011), clefts with DPs and PPs are very welcome in Russian, but the usage of clefted AdvPs or adjectives is usually unacceptable, no matter how "heavy" they are.

1.1.6 The initial position of èto

It might seem trivial, but it is still worth noting that Russian clefts are *èto*-initial and do not involve the matrix vs. relative clause bipartition typical for English clefts. At least, that is how they appear on the surface. Although *èto* looks like a particle because it is small, mobile, unstressed and emphatic, it cannot be moved to the middle of the clause in order to put focus on a constituent which does not take the initial position in the clause. To demonstrate, the following examples are ungrammatical:

(17) a. *Vazu razbil èto [Miša]$_F$.
vase broke *èto* Misha
b. *Vazu èto [Miša]$_F$ razbil.
vase *èto* Misha broke
c. Èto [Miša]$_F$ razbil vazu.
èto Misha broke vase
'It was Misha who broke the vase.'

Èto, and typically the clefted phrase, must appear in the beginning of the sentence, and if it is not the subject that is being clefted then the original structure of the sentence, the one that would be used without a cleft, often has to change. Therefore, possible restrictions on clefting might be caused not by the nature of the cleft itself but by the restrictions on changes to word order in Russian sentences or by the restrictions on the reordering freedom of a certain phrase. This will be an important issue to consider in Section 1.2, where I will talk about information structure in Russian, and later in Section 1.3, where we shall see how clefts convey and emphasize certain parts of information

included in the sentence.

1.1.7 Conclusion

In this section, I introduced different Russian clefts: stressed-focus *èto*-clefts, thetic clefts with *èto*, and definite pseudo-clefts. The basic properties of *èto*-clefts include the clause-initial position of *èto* and the clefted constituent, the absence of a copula and preference for clefting short DPs and PPs.

1.2 Information structure and focus in Russian

Russian, as a language known to have a free word order, has long been an attractive field for dozens of researchers investigating its information structure (IS). The main question, which proves to be quite complex, is how lexical, syntactic, and prosodic tools are applied for IS purposes, and if the "free" word order in Russian is actually free.

In this section, I concentrate mainly on declarative sentences and their IS. I operate the notions of word order, old (given) and new information, fronting (or reordering), topic and focus. I primarily investigate the differences between neutral and emphatic sentences (structures with focus). Additionally, I claim that the word order in Russian, showing a wide variety, is in fact significantly restricted by the requirements of the information structure and the interpretation of the context.

Several authors (Krylova & Khavronina, 1988; Brun, 2001; Rodionova, 2001; Kallestinova, 2007; Jasinskaja, 2013 and others) provide representative descriptive and experimental overviews of linguistic phenomena related to IS in Russian and other Slavic languages. In such overviews, IS is considered in terms of intonation (characteristics of pitch accent) and syntax, where clefting is presented as one of the relevant processes.

It is also important to notice the structural possibilities allowed by free word order in Russian. One of the most important issues is focus realization, in other words, how exactly focus is represented in the language, if two main types of focus - informative and contrastive - are distinguished. Since the experiments described in Chapter V deal both with clefts and structures with contrastive intonational focus, these overviews are in line with the needs of the present dissertation. I start with general IS processes in Russian before moving to the specific case of *èto*-clefts in the following section.

1.2.1 Information structure in Russian

To begin, let us define what should be considered a canonical sentence structure in Russian. Kallestinova (2007) investigates broad possibilities of the so-called "free word order" in Russian and shows that, although all permutations of the elements in the simple structure "subject + verb + object" are theoretically possible, native speakers tend to consistently produce certain structures in certain contexts.

In a "neutral" context, e.g., when describing a situation, Russian and English share the

basic word order SVO, like in (18a) (example from Jasinskaja, 2013). Examples (18b-f) give all possible permutations of the subject, the verb and the object. They remain grammatical and are all semantically equal, but a native speaker would consider them "unusual", or non-neutral, as they carry additional pragmatic information.

(18) a. Marina slušala muzyku.
Marina.*Nom* listen.*Imperf.Past* music.*Acc*
'Marina listened to music.'
b. Marina muzyku slušala.
c. Slušala Marina muzyku.
d. Slušala muzyku Marina.
e. Muzyku slušala Marina.
f. Muzyku Marina slušala.

As it can be seen from the glosses, the name *Marina* is the subject and stands in the nominative case, whilst *muzyka* 'music' is the object in the accusative case. Different syntactic roles in a Russian sentence are marked with different cases. In that way, Russian benefits from its rich declension paradigms which allow a user to recognize syntactic roles of constituents independently of their linear order.

So, what is the difference between all these constructions with a different word order but the same semantics? Consider the responses in the examples (19) which have identical syntactic components but different IS. Both utterances share the same subject, predicate and direct object, but in case of (19a) the DP *ètu knigu* 'this book' takes the final position and is therefore introduced as new information, whereas in (19b) the DP *moja podruga* 'my friend' performs this function. The usage of each utterance depends on the context as this determines which piece of information will be new.

(19) a. A: Čto podarila tebe tvoja podruga?
what gave you.*Dat* your friend
'What did your friend give you?'
B: Moja podruga podarila mne ètu knigu.
my friend gave me this book
'My friend gave me this book.'

b. A: Kto podaril tebe ètu knigu?
who gave you this book
'Who gave you this book?'
B: Ètu knigu podarila mne moja podruga.
this.*Acc* book.*Acc* gave me my friend
'It was my friend who gave me this book.'

At the same time, English shows different behavior. Due to the lack of morphology, English structures must stick to a certain word order and involve lexical units like prepositions to represent connections between words, otherwise the meaning will change. Moreover, even when all syntactic roles in a sentence are unambiguously marked, syntactic rules in the language often prevent changes in the sentence structure.

Compare the three English and two Russian examples (20a-e) below. Sentence (20a), depending on the context, has two possible counterparts in Russian presented in (20d) and (20e). Sentence (20d) represents the OVS word order and (20e) is SVO. Both Russian sentences (20d) and (20e) are equally grammatically correct even when being used out of the blue. At the same time, the English sentences (20b) and (20c) represent a reversed word order, and their acceptability status is different.

(20) a. [Polish, Yugoslav and Albanian ports] [are now available] [to Soviet ships].
b. ?[To Soviet ships] [Polish, Yugoslav and Albanian ports] [are now available].
c. *[To Soviet ships] [are now available] [Polish, Yugoslav and Albanian ports].
d. [Sovetskim korabljam] [teper' dostupny dlja zaxoda] [porty Pol'ši,
soviet.*Dat* ships.*Dat* now available for stopping ports Poland.*Gen*
Jugoslavii i Albanii].
Yugoslavia.*Gen* and Albania.*Gen*
e. [Porty Pol'ši, Jugoslavii i Albanii] [teper' dostupny
ports Poland.*Gen* Yugoslavia.*Gen* and Albania.*Gen* now available
dlja zaxoda] [sovetskim korabljam].
for stopping soviet.*Dat* ships.*Dat*

It is interesting that only (20a) is indubitably grammatically correct in English.

For (20b) to be licit, I need to create a context to justify the reordering of the PP *to Soviet ships*, which carries emphasis in this case. For example: "You can't even imagine

whom Poland, Yugoslavia and Albania opened their ports for! To SOVIET SHIPS these ports are now open". Thus, example (20b) is marked (non-neutral).

Finally, (20c), where the VP precedes the subject, is unacceptable, most likely because of the significant deviation from the canonical word order SVO. In an English sentence, when one constituent gets fronted, the other constituents keep the word order in the SVO pattern.

At the same time, while both Russian examples (20d) and (20e) are licit, the emphasis will be on the last phrase in both sentences, making the two examples suitable for different contexts. (20d) is suitable for a context where it is important that the Soviet Union is expanding its influence in the world. Conversely, (20e) works better in a context where these specific countries (Poland, Yugoslavia and Albania) have decided to open their ports to the Soviet Union only, and not another country. This means that, in a Russian sentence, the new information typically comes at the end. Note that reordering is the reason for the emphasis in the English utterance in (20b), but the same reordering does not invoke emphasis in any of the Russian utterances and does not induce the reader to interpret the information in the sentence-initial position as new information.

It is important to understand at this point, that reordering in Russian essentially demonstrates emphasis-prone behavior but reordering on its own is not sufficient to move the focus from the end of an utterance to its beginning. I can put it as an empirical generalization: new information focus in Russian is normally expressed sentence-finally and does not trigger focus movement to the initial position[12].

The principle that new, important, or somehow highlighted information usually comes at the end of the sentence, is a general convention also mentioned by Prince (1978) and many others. In fact, this principle holds for English and German as well. The difference is that Russian (to a greater extent) allows the order of the constituents in a sentence to be changed depending on which of them carries the new information so that this new information still comes sentence-finally. In simpler terms, there is no need to front[13] a

[12] A reviewer pointed out that having NIF at the end of a Russian sentence is in fact the most frequent linearisation; however, particularly, focus movement often occurs for minimal NIF on the object:

(i) Q: What did you lose?
A: Ja poterjal [časy]$_{NIF}$. / [Časy]$_{NIF}$ ja poterjal.
I lost watch / watch I lost
'I lost my watch.'

[13] Here, and later on in this dissertation I am using a vague notion of fronting for structures where a certain constituent appears clause- or sentence-initially, therefore violating the canonical word order in the respective language. In cases where it is important if a constituent is base-generated or moved to the clause-

phrase if this phrase can appear at the end of the sentence and thus attract more attention.

One final example represents the syntactic restrictions related to IS in Russian and English. (21b) is the Russian counterpart of the English (21a)[14].

(21) a. Always code as if the guy who ends up maintaining your code will be a violent psychopath who knows where you live.

b. Vsegda pišite kod tak, kak budto soprovoždat' ego budet sklonnyj k
always write code so as if to-maintain it will prone to
nasiliju psixopat, kotoryj znaet, gde vy živëte.
violence psychopath who knows where you live

Let us investigate the difference between the two structures. The beginning of the sentence, *always code as if,* as well as the final part, *who knows where you live*, are similar; the interesting section is in between, and is underlined in (21a-b). Note that new and focused information in the sentence is conveyed by the DP and the relative clause attached to it (*a violent psychopath who knows where you live*). Therefore, this piece of information should appear at the end of the sentence, meaning the DP *a violent psychopath* should be moved towards the final position in the highlighted clause. To do this, an English speaker must form a definite pseudo-cleft by replacing the subject with a dummy (*the one*). At the same time, a Russian speaker would use a simple reordering by moving the subject phrase with the relative clause to the end of its matrix clause.

This indicates that Russian uses opportunities of reordering to avoid building bulky syntactic constructions whilst changing the IS, and it is less likely to resort to dramatic structural changes than English. In cases where a monoclausal English utterance would become biclausal, a Russian utterance would most probably change the word order or, if necessary, add focus particles or any other available IS-related solutions. Specific focus realization possibilities in Russian will be discussed a bit later.

1.2.2 Focus

Now let us proceed to the notion of focus, including its uses and marking strategies in the languages under discussion. Zimmermann & Onea (2011), among others, argue that focus is a universal category of information structure. At the same time, focus realization

initial position, it will be mentioned explicitly.

[14] The original English sentence is a quote by John F. Woods.

differs from one language to another.

I would like to see how focus behaves in Russian, and to check where it is similar to English and where it is not, as I believe that it will help better understand the behavior of Russian clefts. Based on what we already know about Russian IS and free word order, I can suppose that the most interesting differences in the focus strategies that will be discussed are connected to syntactic and lexical manifestations.

According to the definition given by Krifka (2008) and accepted by Zimmermann & Onea (2011), "focus indicates the presence of alternatives that are relevant for the interpretation of a given linguistic expression". This means that focus enriches the canonical IS of the utterance with some additional information, namely, a hypothetical set of alternative options and a contrastive or emphasising connection between the realized and unrealized elements from this set. Consider examples in (22).

(22) a. A: What happened? / What did Mark eat?
B: Mark ate an [apple]$_F$. (EN)
Mark s'jel [jabloko]$_F$. (RU)
Mark ate apple
b. A: Mark ate a banana.
B: Mark ate an [APple]$_F$. (EN)
Mark s'jel [JABloko]$_F$. (RU)

Russian, as an intonation language, uses pitch accenting as a prosodic focus tool, just like English and German. The reply in (22a) shows an utterance in two languages in its default form, with stress on *apple*. Such an utterance would constitute an answer to the questions "What happened?" or "What did Mark eat?" The reply in example (22b), on the other hand, has a much stronger pitch accent and focus on *apple* (the syllable carrying special prosodic accent is marked with capital letters in the examples). I would expect to see (22b) as a correction or a contradiction after *Mark ate a banana*, stressing the fact that Mark ate an apple and not something else from a salient or a hypothetical set of reasonable alternatives: a banana, a carrot, a pizza. I can say that in both cases the last word takes the scope of focus, but in the first case it marks new information, and in the second case it puts one piece of information against another one; that is, the final word in (22b) exhibits contrastive meaning.

One important observation, however, is that Zimmermann & Onea would consider any

focus, by default, to carry contrastive meaning. For the purpose of this dissertation, I would rather stick to the notions of contrastive and non-contrastive focus.

A relevant reference for this issue would be Neeleman et al. (2009) who, inter alia, provide a syntactic typology of focus and contrastivity. Their general concept of focus - "the information highlighted on a proposition" - is less rigid than the one given by Krifka and accepted by Zimmermann & Onea. Neeleman et al, as well as their contemporaries[15], present different types of topics and foci as phenomena that bear the syntactic features of [topic] and [focus] correspondingly and can carry or not carry the feature [contrast]. For example, the feature combination [+focus, -contrast] results in what is called new information (non-contrastive) focus, and the feature pair [+focus, +contrast] is active for contrastive focus[16]. While new information focus corresponds to the prominent information in an utterance, contrastive focus provides a reference to a contextually given set of alternatives out of which one element is chosen (thereby taking the scope of focus) and the other elements are excluded.

Neeleman et al. provide data from Dutch, Japanese and Russian where contrastive elements (topics or foci) consistently tend to appear in the clause-initial position, whereas non-contrastive ones do not. In case of foci, strictly speaking, it is claimed that both foci share the same launching site at the end of the clause. New information focus remains in this position and contrastive focus undergoes movement to the beginning of the clause.

Thus, for the purpose of this dissertation I find it useful to distinguish between new information focus (NIF), like in (22a), and contrastive focus (CF), like in (22b). Various research regarding focus in Russian provides an idea, in particular, that NIF and CF are allowed to take different positions in a clause. These nuances will be important for the discussion on *èto*-clefts. Moreover, structures with prosodically marked CF form one of the stimuli groups in the experiments in Chapter V.

I would not claim that there exist some focus types which do not bear any contrastive meaning at all; however, I would like to separate between focus encoding new information and focus encoding information that contradicts the presupposition of the

[15] According to Neeleman et al. (2009), several other researchers express similar ideas in their works, e.g., Kiss (1998), Vallduví and Vilkuna (1998), Molnár (2002), McCoy (2003), Giusti (2006) and Selkirk (2008).

[16] Zimmermann & Onea (2011) make a reference to Dik (1997) where more focus types are distinguished, like information focus, corrective focus, selective focus, contrastive focus, etc. In this dissertation I will be satisfied with distinguishing just two types of focus.

dialogue participant. As mentioned by Roberts (1996) and Beaver & Clark (2008) and referred to by Zimmermann & Onea (2011), in declarative utterances, focus can be considered a tool used "to specify the questions that can be answered by these utterances". As such, NIF appears in question-answer pairs, as seen in (22a), and CF appears in corrections, like (22b).

The focus domain can be located in any part of the utterance and cover single words as well as phrases or even the whole utterance. Languages across the world use a variety of grammatical means for focus indication, and it is different in each language. The way these means are used in a certain language is called focus realization. It includes prosodic (pitch accenting), morphological (focus markers) and syntactic means (focus movement, clefting).

Interestingly, as mentioned by Zimmermann & Onea (2011), focus realization is often ambiguous, meaning that one particular focus realization might correspond to more than one possible focus-background partition (creating or indicating such a partition is actually the purpose of focus). We have seen this already in example (22a).

Consider an example typical for intonation languages like English, German and Russian where focus is realized using prosodic means. Here, in the English example, the pitch accent falls on the sentence-final constituent, or, to be more precise, on the most deeply embedded element. In this case, three interpretations of the focus domain are possible. In precise terms, example (23a) shows narrow focus, (23b) shows VP focus and (23c) shows all-new focus (for more, see Selkirk, 1984, 1995; Jacobs, 1991).

(23) a. Mark bought [a guiTAR]$_F$.
b. Mark [bought a guiTAR]$_F$.
c. [Mark bought a guiTAR]$_F$.

Pitch accenting is an easy tool for placing any part of the utterance in focus without changing its syntactic or morphological structure.

Speaking of morphological tools, Zimmermann & Onea (2011), referring to Hartmann and Zimmermann (2009), give the following example of the focus marker *a* in Gùrùntùm (West Chadic) which precedes the focused constituent:

(24) Q: WHO is chewing the colanut?
A: **Á** fúrmáyò bà wúm kwálíngálá.
FOC fulani PROG chew colanut
'THE FULANI is chewing colanut.'

Syntactic solutions for focus realization include reordering (25a) and clefting (25b).

(25) a. [John]$_F$ I saw.
b. It was [John]$_F$ whom I saw.

The strategies used for focus marking can be mixed. Zimmermann & Onea (2011) provide an example from Hungarian, where the focus constituent is moved to the preverbal position, as allowed for by the syntax, and the focused element carries a pitch accent that is actually the main pitch accent of the clause.

(26) Q: What kind of car did Peter buy?
A: Péter [egy PIRos autót] vett.
Peter a red car bought
'Peter bought a RED car.'

I expect to find the same focus realization strategies in Russian as well. They will be now discussed in more detail.

1.2.3 Focus realization in Russian

As I mentioned before, focus is a universal grammatical category across languages, and the phenomena mentioned above manifest themselves in a very similar way in Russian. We know already that new information appears clause-finally in Russian, and the same position is the launching site for all foci in Russian sentences, including subject focus (see Neeleman & Titov, 2009). In utterances with canonical word order and neutral intonation, new information focus remains in the clause-final position and just like in English, provokes focus ambiguity between narrow, predicate and sentence focus (see also Rodionova, 2001 for the connection between different types of focus and Russian word order).

Compare the following examples, where the answers in the question-answer pairs are

structurally the same and differ in focus type only. Note that in all three cases the stress will fall on the last constituent, namely, the object DP *knigu* 'book'. Although, this holds not only for sentence-final direct objects, see (27d) with equivalent focus ambiguity.

(27) a. Q: What did you give Masha as a present?
A: Ja podaril Maše [knigu]$_F$.
I gave Masha.*Dat* book
'I gave Masha a book.'
b. Q: What did you do when you came to Masha's birthday party?
A: Ja [podaril Maše knigu]$_F$.
c. Q: Why is Masha so happy?
A: [Ja podaril Maše knigu]$_F$.
d. Ja byl v teatre [včera]$_F$. / Ja byl [v teatre včera]$_F$. / Ja [byl v teatre včera]$_F$. /
I was in theater yesterday
[Ja byl v teatre včera]$_F$.
'I went to a theater yesterday.'

As mentioned by Neeleman & Titov (2009), non-clause-final new information focus appears ungrammatical, cf.:

(28) Q: What did you give Maša as a present?
A: ?Ja podaril [knigu]$_F$ Maše.
I gave (a) book Maša.*Dat*
'I gave Masha a book.'

The contrastive quality of focus licenses its move toward the clause-initial position and a number of researchers agrees that the constituent carrying CF is typically fronted[17] in a Russian clause. To be precise, the movement of a contrastive constituent is licensed by the [contrast] feature, however, clause-initial allocation is not obligatory, and a contrastive constituent can be found in any position in the clause, e.g. see again example (22b). Based on data from Japanese, Dutch and Russian, Neeleman et al. (2009) argue that A'-movement is licensed by [contrast] in these languages. Cf. the following examples

[17] See Krylova and Khavronina (1988), King (1995), Brun (2001), Neeleman and Van de Koot (2008), Neeleman et al. (2009) for detailed discussion.

showing non-contrastive focus in (29a) and contrastive focus in (29b).

(29) a. Ja prosila tebja kupit' [moloko]$_{F}$. Počemu ty ne kupil?
I asked you to-buy milk why you not bought
'I asked you to buy milk. Why didn't you buy it?'
b. [Moloko]$_{CF}$ ja prosila tebja kupit'. A ty kupil syr.
milk I asked you to-buy and you bought cheese
'It was milk that I asked you to buy. And you bought cheese.'

Apart from marking with fronting, different intonational contours are assigned to different focus types. And here I come to the first and most prominent tool used in Russian for focus realization: prosody, or pitch accenting. The usage of different prosody for different foci is in line with our knowledge about English where contrastive foci and topic expressions are stressed using distinctive prosody. NIF in Russian receives a falling tone (denoted in the literature as IK1), and CF receives a similar contour, but it is higher in tone and more intense (IK2)[18]. This knowledge will be important when I come to Chapter V, since one stimuli group used in the experiments described there includes utterances with clause-initial contrastive prosodic focus.

The focus pitch accent is the primary accent of an intonational phrase, and it falls on one of the words in the focused constituent. If the clause-final constituent is in focus then, again, we encounter focus ambiguity. See the example block (30) below for different foci cases where the object is in focus in (30a), the verb in (30b) and the subject in (30c). Uppercase letters mark pitch accent in the words (words on which the accent in the focused constituent is realized, are called focus exponent), and the focus scope is marked in (30b) and (30c) only, because in (30a) it is ambiguous between narrow, predicate and sentence focus. Note that in Russian, like in English and German, "in an SVO sentence, nuclear accent (main sentence accent) on S[ubject] or V[erb] does not "project" focus to VP or the whole sentence" (Jasinskaja, 2013).

(30) a. Ja kupil moloKO.
I bought milk
'I bought milk.'

[18] See Bryzgunova (1971, 1981), Yokoyama (1987), Krylova & Khavronina (1988), Jasinskaja (2013) and others for more information about the Russian intonation system.

b. Ja [kuPIL]$_F$ moloko.

c. [JA]$_F$ kupil moloko.

The distribution of focus pitch accenting in a clause is connected to the IS of this clause.

First, as Jasinskaja reports, constituents representing given information do not carry a nuclear accent as long as it is possible, i.e., unless a clause only contains given material. If the focused constituent contains both new and given information, the focus exponent must belong to the part with new information. In the answer in example (31) below, the word *krasnuju* 'red' is new information and *mašinu* 'car' is old, and when *krasnuju mašinu* 'red car' is in focus, the nuclear accent must be placed on *krasnuju* 'red'.

(31) Q: Kakuju mašinu ty kupil?
which car you bought
'Which car did you buy'?
A: Ja kupil [KRASnuju mašinu]$_F$.
I bought red car
'I bought a RED car.'
A': *Ja kupil [krasnuju maŠInu]$_F$.

Second, in Russian, additional to the nuclear accent, a clause might include a prenuclear accent. This may be realized on a contrastive topic or a continuing aboutness topic, but a postnuclear accent is not possible even if the information following the focus exponent is new (regarding these issues, Jasinskaja refers to Mehlhorn & Zybatow, 2000, and Yanko, 2001). Naturally, there are IS-related phenomena that tend to realize prenuclear accents more often, like contrastive topics, and less often, like continuing topics or any kind of given information.

Syntactic tools that are available for focus realization in Russian include reordering of constituents and clefting. Regarding reordering, there is not much to add at this point. In order to place new material at the end of a clause and put it in NIF, the old material in the clause is moved to the left.

(32) Q: Who bought this milk?
A: Moloko kupil [ja]$_F$.
milk bought I
'[I]$_F$ bought the milk.'

If a constituent is moved to the left in a clause, there are two reasons that might explain why.

First, a constituent that would otherwise be located at the end of the clause is moved to avoid being in clause-final focus or carrying the nuclear accent, like in (32).

Second, a constituent can move together with the nuclear accent. This most often leads the utterance to contrastive and narrow foci realizations (see Kondrashova, 1996; Junghanns & Zybatow, 1997; Arnaudova, 2001; Jasinskaja, 2013 for more details. This is also in line with the discussion provided by Neeleman et al., 2009, and mentioned earlier in this chapter).

As I already argued, a simple reordering might not be enough to move focus in a sentence in written language. For example, if the object is moved to the clause-initial position and the subject stays at the end of the clause, then the nuclear stress might as well remain on the last constituent which is now the subject, while the object turns into a topic expression. Let us consider some more tools that can be used to move focus.

One more available syntactic solution is clefting. Clefts, by definition, represent a clear bipartition between focus and background (I discuss this in more details in the next section). Putting aside discussions about bi- or monoclausality of clefts for now, we observe the same information-structural bipartition in Russian clefts. The focus part is fronted, and the background follows[19]. The focused part can be contrastive, but it also can give new information, cf. the examples:

(33) a. Q: Who broke the window?
A: Èto [ja]$_{NIF}$ razbil okno. (NEW INFORMATION)
èto I broke window
'It was me who broke the window.'

[19] Other Slavic languages exhibit such clefts as well. See e.g., Reeve (2008, 2012) for Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian, and Tabakowska, 1989, for Polish. For more detail on usage and semantics, see Padučeva (1982), Progovac (1998) and Kimmelman (2009).

b. Q: We actually had a nice time at Masha's birthday party yesterday, didn't we?
A: Èto [u menja]$_{CF}$ včera byl den' roždenija (a ne u Maši). (CONTRAST)
èto by me yesterday was birthday (and not by Masha)
'It was me who had a birthday yesterday (and not Masha).'

While, as we know, contrast typically licenses focus fronting, *èto* in Russian clefts can apparently serve to express focus fronting of new information.

Jasinskaja provides an example of an interesting *wh*-cleft in Russian, a type we have not yet seen. The CF falls here on the sentence-final constituent. Note that the utterance conveys scalar meaning: it states that Oleg is the one who definitely works, as it should be. In such a cleft, the focus-background bipartition is linearly ordered in a different way than in an *èto*-cleft, but it is much more overt.

(34) Už kto rabotaet tak èto [Oleg]$_{CF}$.
part who works so this Oleg
'Oleg works, if anyone'.

A Russian *èto*-cleft superficially looks like a single clause with a clause-initial demonstrative *èto*, as if *èto* were just a focus particle. In the light of this fact, let us look at actual focus particles and other focus-sensitive expressions in Russian.

Certain lexical units typically appear close to the focused constituents in utterances. The list of focus-sensitive expressions in Russian include, inter alia: focus particles (*daže* 'even', *ved'* 'after all', *imenno* 'exactly', *kak raz* 'just'), negation (*ne*), restrictive adverbs (*tol'ko* 'only') and quantificational adverbs (*vsegda* 'always').

It is typical for prepositional focus markers, such as *imenno* 'exactly' and *tol'ko* 'only', to immediately precede the focused constituent. If they are clause-initial, then the constituent needs to follow directly afterwards even if it requires movement. If the constituent was base-generated clause-initially, *imenno* and *tol'ko* indicate CF on this constituent. No further structural changes are needed in this case. Cf. the examples where the focus is at the end in the original sentence (35a) but moves to the clause-initial PP in (35b). If *imenno* or *tol'ko* takes the first position in a clause, only a narrow focus is possible on the first constituent in the clause; other foci would be ungrammatical.

(35) a. U menja byl velosiPED. (ambiguous focus)
by me was bicycle
'I had a bicycle'.

b. Imenno/tol'ko [u meNJA]$_F$ byl velosiped. (narrow focus)
exactly/only by me was bicycle
'I was the (only) one who had a bicycle.'

c. *Imenno/tol'ko u menja byl velosiPED. (any focus with nuclear accent at the end)

d. *Imenno/tol'ko u menja [BYL]$_F$ velosiped. (narrow focus on VP)

I claim that clause-initial *imenno* and *tol'ko* show similar behavior to *èto*, in terms of their relationships with focus and contrastivity. But, unlike the latter, these markers can be located before any constituent inside a clause to indicate narrow focus. See examples below with narrow focus on the post-copular subject.

(36) a. U menja byl imenno [velosiPED]$_F$ (a ne motocikl).
by me was exactly bicycle and not motorcycle
'I had a bicycle (and not a motorcycle).'

b. U menja byl tol'ko [velosiPED]$_F$ (a motocikla ne bylo).
by me was only bicycle and motorcycle not it-was
'I only had a bicycle (but not a motorcycle).'

From the English translation of (36b), it is notable that *only* in English does not immediately precede the affected constituent. As for *imenno*, this particle is often not translated at all in the English sentence, or sometimes the verb is emphasized while *imenno* precedes another constituent type in the Russian sentence[20].

[20] Here are some examples from a parallel corpus. Examples (i) and (ii) are Russian sentences from "Crime and Punishment" by F. Dostoevsky translated into English. Example (iii) is from "The Scions of Shannara" by T. Brooks translated into Russian. In (i) *imenno* is not translated at all. In (ii), *imenno* emphasizes *tam* ("he stood there and not somewhere else"), while in the English sentence the verb is emphasized by auxiliary focus on *did*. In (iii), *imenno* is used in the Russian translation to add emphasis on *you* in the absence of prosody.

Both these markers are relevant for this research. *Tol'ko*, being an exclusive adverb, shows the semantic behavior that makes it very similar to *only*. One group of stimuli used in the experiments described in Chapter V contains utterances with clause-initial *tol'ko*. As for *imenno*, it will be compared with clause-initial *èto* at a later point.

The negative particle *ne* in Russian negates the whole utterance (37a) or a VP (37b), if attached to the VP, but it negates a single constituent (37c) if attached to this constituent. In the second case, we identify a clear contrastive or corrective focus. The scope of negation is denoted by square brackets. Note that in order to get a narrow focus on *prinës* 'brought' in (37b), an explicit contraposition is required. Note also, that the negated narrow focus in (37c) realizes existence presupposition therefore implying the existence of a set of possible alternative candidates. In a dialogue we would expect the interlocutor to ask: "Who was it then, if not you?"

(37) a. [Ja ne prinës vodku]$_F$.
I not brought vodka
'I didn't bring vodka.'

b. Ja ne [prinës]$_F$ vodku, a zakazal eë v onlajn-magazine.
I not brought vodka but ordered it in online-shop
'I didn't [bring]$_F$ vodka, I ordered it online.'

c. Vodku prinës [ne ja]$_F$.
vodka.*Acc* brought not I
'It wasn't me who brought the vodka.'

Mixed strategies also take place in Russian. Changing the word order often comes together with pitch accenting. See also, example (38) which represents three strategies -

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(i) Kak ty mog naperëd uznat', čto provališsja **imenno** v etot pogreb v pripadke, esli
how you could beforehand know, that you-will-fall exactly in this cellar in fit, if
ne pritvorilsja v padučej naročno?
not you-shammed in fit on-purpose
'How could you tell that you would fall down the cellar stairs in a fit, if you didn't sham a fit on purpose?'

(ii) Korobka že jasno dokazyvajet, čto on **imenno** tam stojal.
box *emph* clearly proved, that he exactly there stood
'The jewel-case is conclusive proof that he did stand there.'

(iii) No počemu **imenno** ty?
but why exactly you
'But why you?'

reordering, prosody and a lexical focus marker (the particle *ved'*) - in the same clause:

(38) Q: Why do you wash your new car so often?
A: Ja ved' [BEluju mašinu]$_F$ sebe kupil. A ona bystro pačkajetsja.
I actually white car (my)self bought and it quickly gets-dirty
'Well, I bought myself [a WHITE car]$_F$. And it gets dirty very quickly.'

1.2.4 The enclitic **-to**

In the next section, I will take a close look at the lexical unit *èto* by examining its status, the role it plays and the restrictions on its usage. However, to elaborate further on IS in Russian and, more specifically, on the notion of contrast, I will first discuss one curious particle which is etymologically related to *èto*: the emphatic enclitic *-to*.

This particle belongs to the group of morphological tools which are relevant for discourse structure and contrast in Russian. In her work about colloquial Russian particles, McCoy (2001 and 2003) uses the notion of "kontrast" (introduced by Vallduví & Vilkuna, 1998) meaning "the ability of certain linguistic expressions to generate a set of alternatives". Namely, *-to* is analysed by McCoy as an unambiguous "kontrastive marker". Additionally, *-to* serves as a discourse tool to recall certain information in the hearer's mind: the information that is already familiar to them but not activated in their mind at that moment.

The enclitic *-to* does not carry stress, it comprises a single phonological word and the focused word or the focused phrase. It cannot be used independently, apart from the phrase which is marked by this enclitic. The compatibility of this enclitic is quite universal because it can be attached to DPs, VPs, AdvPs, as well as adjectives, as shown in the following examples.

In (39), *-to* is attached to *otpusk* 'vacation' to recall an old but familiar topic for a discussion. The interlocutors have already talked about the hearer's plans for vacation but have not been discussing it in the immediately preceding conversation.

(39) V otpusk-**to** kogda edeš?
on vacation-**to** when leave.2Sg
'What about your vacation, when are you leaving?'

The enclitic *-to* can also mark a shifted topic expression:

(40) Čto my vsë o rabote? V otpusk-**to** kak s''ezdil?
why we all about work? in vacation-**to** how went.2Sg
'Why are we only talking about work? How was your VACATION?'

Lastly, *-to* can be used in contexts with explicit contrast between two topics:

(41) [Ja]$_{CT}$-**to** prišël, a vot [ty]$_{ST}$ vsë propustil.
I-**to** came and *emph* you all missed
'As for me, I came, and you missed everything.'

Another emphatic particle, *vot* (literal meaning: 'here'), which is also seen in this example, is an indicator of a secondary topic ("ST" in the glosses). Yet, a secondary topic can also be marked with *-to*. Note that in English translations such contraposition is often expressed by an explicit reference to the topic: *as for me, I...*

The usage of *-to* as a contrastive topic marker, to some extent resembles the Japanese postposition *-wa* which serves as a contrastive topic marker if attached to clause-initial phrases (see Neeleman et al., 2009; Tomioka, 2010a). The enclitic *-to* is also typically attached to the phrase which is located at (or has been moved to) the clause-initial position. While in Russian this is not obligatory, Japanese is a so-called topic-prominent language. As such, the topic-comment partition is emphasized in the structure of the Japanese sentence, and topic marking is obligatory.

(42) Sono yashi-**wa** happa-ga ookii.
'That palm tree *(topic)* leaves *(subject)* are big.'

It is important to note that if a structure including a phrase or a word marked with *-to* deviates from the canonical SVO word order, then fronting of this phrase or word occurs in recognition of the general fronting restrictions. For example, in (40) *-to* is technically attached to *otpusk* 'vacation' but the whole PP *v otpusk* 'on vacation' needs to move to the clause-initial position. This restriction also occurs if *otpusk* is fronted without *-to*. In anticipation of the discussion about *èto*, remember that *èto* also typically requires the focused constituent to be fronted.

In some cases, lexical reduplication is possible (*zanjat* 'busy' in (43B) below):

(43) A: Ja dumal, ty sejčas zanjat.
I thought you now busy
'I thought you were busy right now.'
B: Zanjat-**to** ja zanjat, no dlja tebja vremja vsegda najdu.
busy-**to** I busy but for you time always will-find
'Indeed, I'm busy but for you I can always find time.'

If *-to* is marking a verb, then reduplication is also frequent, and the first occurrence of the verb might as well be infinitive. If this is the case, the second occurrence stays as it was (see Aboh & Dyakonova, 2009, for predicate doubling):

(44) a. Prišël-**to** ja prišël, a vot prinesti podarok tebe zabyl.
came-**to** I came but *emph* to-bring p resent you forgot
'I did come but what I forgot is to bring you a present.'
b. Prijti-**to** ja prišël, a vot prinesti podarok tebe zabyl.
to-come-**to** I came but *emph* to-bring present you forgot
'I did come but what I forgot is to bring you a present.'

In modern standard Russian, particles are indeclinable. The postpositive *-to* comes[21] from the Old Slavonic declinable demonstrative *mъ*, *ma*, *mo* (masculine, feminine and neutral respectively). In the old source books of Slavic writing this pronoun can be used with nouns that have already been named in the text, indicating well-known, specific things, events and concepts; that is, its meaning is related to the meaning of the definite article in English, German or French. Later, this demonstrative developed into the Bulgarian postpositive affix which is, in fact, the definite article in this language, cf. the following in Bulgarian: *dom* 'house' and *domъt* 'the house'; *zemja* 'land' and *zemjata* 'the land'; *pero* 'feather' and *peroto* 'the feather'.[22]

[21] According to Vasmer (1986-1987).

[22] At the same time, Olaf Broch (1911) reported that in north-eastern and eastern dialects of Russian the postposition *-to* gets attached to nouns, as well as other parts of speech, and functions as the definite article by showing morphological agreement in case, gender and number with the element it is attached to. See examples below. In (i) *te* and *ruki* 'hands' agree in number as they are both plural. In (ii) *tjati* 'dad' and *Roman* are both masculine singular but *dad* stays in genitive and *Roman* in nominative, therefore we can observe different forms *to* and *ot*.

In Russian, this lexeme remained in the form of the demonstrative pronoun *tot* 'that'. It is declinable, like in the Old Russian, and its declension paradigm is of the adjective type: *to* (Sg.Neut.Nom), *ta* (Sg.Fem.Nom), *tot* (Sg.Masc.Nom), *te* (Pl.Nom), *temi* (Pl.Instr) etc. You might have noticed that the singular neutral nominative form *to* is identical to the enclitic *-to* and yet, the demonstrative can constitute the entire DP while the enclitic clearly cannot.

The distal demonstrative *to* 'that' in Russian is typically opposed to the proximal form of the demonstrative *èto* 'this'. See some examples:

(45) a. Tot dom (vdaleke) byl postroen v načale 50x.
that house (remote) was built in beginning 1950s.*Gen*
'That house (remote) was built in the 1950s.'

b. Èto dom (v kotorom my sejčas) byl postroen v načale 50x.
this house (in which we (are) now) was built in beginning 1950s.*Gen*
'This house (we are in now) was built in the 1950s.'

Note also, that in some other Slavic languages the counterpart for Russian *èto* is *to*, like in modern Polish. In the examples below, the Polish *to* has the same functions as *èto*, particularly in specificational sentences, such as (46), or in *to/èto*-initial clefts, like (47) (example (46) is from Geist & Błaszczak, 2000, with glosses changed to English, and example (47) for Polish, is from Tajsner, 2015, the Russian adaptation is mine).

	(Polish)	(Russian)
(46)	Jan to mój przyjaciel.	Ivan èto moj drug.
	Jan *to* my friend	Ivan *èto* my friend
	'Jan is my friend.'	'Ivan is my friend.'
(47)	*To* Tomek rozpoczął bójkę.	Èto Foma načal draku.
	To Tomek started fight	*èto* Foma started fight
	'It was Tomek who started the fight.'	'It was Foma who started the fight.'

Lastly, the following curious examples from the Russian corpus of spoken language

(i) Što ty ruki-te ne vymyla?
why you hands-*te* not washed
'Why didn't you wash your hands?'

(ii) U menja vot u tjati-to otec Roman-ot - žili v etoj derevne.
by me *emph* by dad-*to* father Roman-*ot* lived in this village
'So, my dad's father, Roman - they lived in this village.'

show that in some rare cases, mostly in colloquial language, *èto* can be reduced to *to*. I find evidence that in such cases, *to* typically serves as a reference to something remote in space or time, whether it is a subject or an event. Optionally, *to* can add the semantics of irrelevance of the event ("it happened a long time ago and is not important anymore").

(48) a. Nu tak ved' **to** ž Lev Tolstoj.
emph emph emph that *emph* Lev Tolstoj
'Well, he is Lev Tolstoj.'

b. Tak... **to** ž ja.
emph that *emph* I
'Well, it is me.'

c. Tak **to** ž bylo nočju! A... teper' oni menja dnëm b'jut.
emph that *emph* was at-night and now they me by-day beat
'Well, that was at night! And... now they beat me in the daytime.'

d. A: No ljudi-to ezdjat!
but people-*to* drive
'But people, they drive!'

B: Tak **to** ž dnëm!
emph that *emph* by-day
'Well, but they do it in the daytime!'

e. A: Ty ž mal'čiškoj byl // na fronte čudesa pokazyval. Čo ty
you *emph* as-a-boy was on battlefield miracles showed why you
sejčas-to rasterjalsja?
now-*to* got-confused
'You were a young boy and you performed so well on the battlefield! Why are you now so confused?'

B: Nu tak **to** ž na fronte!
emph emph that *emph* on battlefield
'Well, that was on the battlefield!'

Moreover, again quite rarely and in common speech, *to* can replace *èto* in clefts. The semantic component of remoteness presumably remains in such utterances (see Chapter III about the deictic properties of *èto*-clefts). See example (49) below.

(49) A: I had a call from an unknown number yesterday, I can't understand who that was.

B: Tak to ž [ja]$_F$ tebe zvonil!
so that *emph* I you.*Dat* called
'Well, that was me, I called you!'

Later in this research, clefts with *to* are not going to be considered. At present, it is difficult to give a detailed analysis of the behaviour of *to* or express any judgements, in view of the fact that the material is dialectical, and often conversational and is therefore hardly documented. In short, this matter requires further study.

1.2.5 Conclusion

The word order in Russian is known to be free, but, as we saw in this section, it, in fact, serves for information-structural purposes, among others, for focus realization. New information focus typically remains clause-finally, while contrastive focus goes along with fronting. Apart from movement, Russian has different syntactic, prosodic and lexical focus tools that can be applied together. An interesting tool is the enclitic *-to*, which I will return to later when I talk about *èto* in *èto*-clefts.

1.3 Information structure and contrast in *èto*-clefts

In this section, I investigate what happens to the IS when one chooses to use *èto*-clefts instead of canonical structures. In other words, I determine which desired changes in the IS motivate native speakers to choose an *èto*-cleft and not a canonical structure. Taking English *it*-clefts into consideration as well, I discuss the extent to which Russian clefts and focus come together. As it is well-known from the literature that English and German clefts demonstrate a focus-background bipartition, it would be logical to expect Russian clefts to behave in a similar way. Additionally, I discuss the pragmatic nuances that put restrictions on the usage of *èto*-clefts.

Also in this chapter, I take into account that *èto*-clefts typically require the focused constituent to appear at the leftmost position, just after *èto*, and recall from Neeleman et al. (2009) that focus movement to the beginning of a Russian clause is often licensed by the feature [contrast]. Therefore, I expect to find some connection between *èto*-clefts and the notion of contrastivity.

1.3.1 Focus-background bipartition in èto-clefts

As we already know, both Russian and English prefer to put new information at the end of the clause. But, as we saw in previous examples, Russian exhibits more variability in this respect. Russian morphology allows speakers to change the order of constituents whilst keeping their sentential functions. We even saw examples where constituents are "heavy" and can still undergo reordering. Consider now a similar, though shorter, example.

(50) Mark s''el jabloko.
Mark ate apple
'Mark ate an/the apple.'

It has already been discussed that this structure, depending on the intonation, might correspond to different focus realizations, such as sentential focus, clause-final narrow NIF or any narrow CF (this is why *apple* is either definite or not in the English translation; since there are no articles in Russian, the hearer gets the information regarding

definiteness from the context). If we want to change the possibilities of focus realization, e.g., to put NIF on the subject, it is easy to achieve by moving all the other constituents to the left, leaving *Mark* in the final position. What we get, is the following:

(51) Jabloko s''el Mark.
apple ate Mark
'The apple was eaten by Mark.'

Based on what we already know about word order flexibility in Russian, its IS and focus realization strategies, I assume that combinations of constituent reordering, prosody and lexical markers are usually enough to represent any focus type on any element in a sentence. Therefore, less economical strategies like (biclausal) clefting are applied less often than they are in English. Additionally, they are applicable to a much smaller number of constituents, avoiding the heavy ones in particular. Apparently, for a speaker, it is less costly to move the information linearly than to divide it between separate clauses[23].

See an example from an English-Russian parallel corpus of official documents where an inverted pseudo-cleft in English (52a) corresponds to a Russian clause-initial CF (52b) which is lexically marked by the particle *imenno* 'exactly'.

(52) a. He was the one, who, as the Chairman of the Management Board, had determined the bank's development strategies and policies.

b. Imenno on, vozglavljaja Pravlenie v tečenie semi
exactly he while-being-the-head-of Management-Board during seven
let, opredeljal strategiju i politiku razvitija banka.
years was-defining strategy and policy development.*Gen* bank.*Gen*

At the same time, as we have already seen, syntactic restrictions in English do not

[23] See e.g., Saur (2013) for similar observations: "In order to minimize processing costs however, alternative focus-prosody alignment devices (if available) could turn out to be preferred over clumsy clefting because of their easier monoclausal structure." (Saur 2013, p. 3). As I turn to the syntactic aspect in Chapter II, I would not claim, at this point, that Russian clefts are definitely biclausal, but if they are not, it would be in line with the above-mentioned preference for processing costs minimization. In fact, even if they were monoclausal, they would contain one (possibly ambiguous and anaphoric) word more (*èto*), thereby making them more costly than the basic structures.

allow the speaker to manipulate the IS so easily using exclusively word order, but there is another solution. As noted by Prince (1978), a stressed-focus *it*-cleft is an effective tool to present information in an unusual order. This way, parts of the content are kept separately in the main and the relative (RC) clauses, and the hearer can easily understand which piece of information comes where: new (or focused) in the main clause, and old (or non-focused) in the RC. For a piece of information to be considered "old", the hearer must already know this piece of information from the preceding context or can deduce it. In other words, the RC contains the presupposed part.

Èto-clefts typically behave in a similar way in terms of information separation, see the following examples.

(53) a. It was me who robbed the bank.
NEW OLD

b. Èto ja ograbil bank.
èto I robbed bank
NEW OLD

In comparison to (53a), the informational partition in (53b) is not overt, as there is no structural (clausal) partition in the structure of the Russian sentence. Instead, *èto* is followed by a monoclausal[24] canonical sentence *Ja ograbil bank* 'I robbed the bank'. In fact, if we ignore or do not have access to the prosody, the utterance is ambiguous, with regard to which part of it is in focus. As mentioned by Zimmermann & Onea (2011), the grammatical realization of focus is often underspecified. Even though (53b) represents the most probable interpretation, the hearer (in case of spoken language) usually gets additional prosodic information, and the reader (in case of written language) requires pragmatic means to be able to distinguish between possible meanings, of which there are three in this case (see (54)). The main stress can be either on *me*, as in (53b), on *that house*, or even on *burgled*, thereby specifying certain details of the described situation. Cf. the contexts that license the corresponding focus marking. Note that usually the focused constituent is adjacent to *èto*, like in (54a), but sometimes, other elements might be located between *èto* and the focused part.

[24] For now, I consider *èto*-clefts monoclausal. Chapter II will provide an overview of the literature on the syntax of Russian clefts, as well as syntactic tests to investigate this issue.

(54) a. A: Let's talk about the incident last week. Who was the guy that burgled that house?

B: Èto [ja]$_F$ ograbil tot dom.

èto I burgled that house

'[I]$_F$ burgled that house.'

b. A: Let's talk about the incident last week. What exactly did you do in that house?

B: Èto ja [ograbil]$_F$ tot dom.

'I [burgled]$_F$ that house.'

c. A: Let's talk about the incident last week. What exactly was it that you burgled back then?

B: Èto ja ograbil [tot dom]$_F$.

'I burgled [that house]$_F$.'

Let us figure out how it works. In all three cases we observe focus-background bipartition. Some information is already known, but it changes for each example as it is explicitly given in the corresponding *wh*-questions. The answers provide new information that is in focus (answers to *wh*-questions are used as a common diagnostic for focus, see Zimmermann & Onea, 2011).

When prosodic tools can be used - namely, in spoken language - the utterances remain acceptable and keep the same interpretations without *èto*. It is no surprise that focus realization strategies are mixed (prosody and clefting in this case) and can sometimes overlap or be redundant. This is what we get if narrow focus is realized prosodically without a cleft:

(55) a. [Ja]$_F$ ograbil tot dom.

'[I]$_F$ burgled that house.'

b. Ja [ograbil]$_F$ tot dom.

'I [burgled]$_F$ that house.'

c. Ja ograbil [tot dom]$_F$.

'I burgled [that house]$_F$.'

Still, it would be a mistake to say that *èto* has no influence on the allocation of focus, or that there is no correlation between the focus and *èto*. From the observations regarding the usage of *èto* in different contexts and in various corpora, I draw the conclusion that

the advantages and peculiarities of *èto*-clefts with narrow focus on any constituent in comparison to bare prosodic narrow focus, are the following.

Firstly, *èto* attracts the hearer's attention indicating that there is a focused part in the utterance which probably contains some important information. In the written language, it is crucial to attract the reader's attention by adding a special lexical unit, taking the absence of prosody into account. At the same time, as a short study from Shipova (2014) showed, there is a tendency for native speakers to prefer *èto* in clefts in speech more than in written text. This leads to an assumption that the most (or one of the most) attractive usage domains for *èto*-clefts must be written direct speech. Indeed, writers often use focus and contrastive structures with *èto* in fictional dialogue as they look for the best method of representing spoken language in writing, in particular, to make it less formal.

Second, there are some constituents that are especially short and tend to bear no stress in a clause, like the personal pronouns *ja* 'I', *on* 'he', and *ty* 'you'. Although they are just one short syllable phonetically, they still become focused quite often. In this case, adding the stressless focus marker *èto* facilitates focus realization on *I* or other pronouns or lexical units that are similarly inaccessible for prosodic focus.[25]

Third, *èto* can be interpreted as different parts of speech, but most often it is a demonstrative pronoun, and in Chapter III I will discuss the anaphoric potential of *èto*-clefts. Without going into further detail just yet, I can say that *èto*-clefts tend to appear in contexts where an explicit reference to a certain event or situation is present.

Fourth, the usage of sentence-initial *èto* is justified when contrastivity is needed rather

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[25] Another evidence that short personal pronouns in Russian are less accessible for clause-initial focus, is the fact that they can appear between *èto* and the focused constituent, and the utterance remains licit even though *èto*-clefts typically prefer to keep the focused part as much to the left as possible, e.g.:

(I) (A just came to B using a magic trick.)

B: Ux ty, a èto vy [Tëmnym putëm]$_F$ prišli? So storony tak udivitel'no vygljadit!
wow *emph* *èto* you Dark.*Instr* Way.*Instr* came? from side so wonderful looks!
Tol'ko čto nikogo na ulice ne bylo, i vdrug - op! - uže est'.
just now nobody on street not was, and suddenly - oops! - already there-is

'Wow, did you just come by the Dark Way? It looks so amazing from the outside! There was just no one on the street, and suddenly - oops! - there is someone.'

In fact, personal pronouns can even appear clause-initially serving as a kind of a topic expression in *wh*-questions in colloquial speech, cf.:

(II) a. Kogda ty domoj vernëšsja?
when you home come-back
'When will you come back home?'

b. Ty kogda domoj vernëšsja?
you when home come-back
'When will you come back home?'

than NIF. Example (56b) below shows how contrastive focus is moved from the clause-final position to the left (we know that such movement is licensed by contrastivity), and *èto* appears at the beginning of the clause. In the absence of prosodic tools, both manifestations support each other. If the focused constituent stayed clause-finally, the usage of *èto* would be less appropriate, and vice versa. Without *èto*, the reader might rather interpret the utterance as the one with NIF in the end.

(56) a. Q: What did you lose?
A: Ja poterjal [časy]$_{NIF.}$ / [Časy]$_{NIF}$ ja poterjal.
I lost watch / watch I lost
'I lost my watch.'
b. Q: You always lose things! What was is that you lost last week? Your keys?
A: *Net, èto ja togda poterjal [časy]$_{CF.}$ / Net, èto [časy]$_{CF}$ ja togda poterjal.
no *èto* I then lost watch / no *èto* watch I then lost
'No, it was my watch that I lost back then.'

It is important to notice that, in case of *èto*-clefts, there is a strong tendency to interpret the leftmost constituent as the one within the scope of *èto*-related focus. Moreover, within one constituent the leftmost word (if there are several) is preferred. Here, I bring back examples (14a-c) from Section 1.1 of this chapter. The cleft from (14a) with a short PP is licit, the cleft from (14b) with a long PP is bad, and the definite pseudo-cleft in (14c), where the focused phrase comes sentence-finally, is fine again. The fact that the last word in the phrase *u tvoego byvšego bossa* 'by your former boss' is the focus exponent makes this phrase plausible if it appears at the end of the sentence but inconvenient for a regular cleft. However, cf. the cleft in (14d) which has a focus on the leftmost word in the fronted constituent. The focus is now linearly closer to *èto* and the cleft is acceptable again.

(14) a. Èto [u tebja]$_F$ my otmečali Novyj god.
èto by you we celebrated new year
'We celebrated New Years at [your]$_F$ place.'
b. ?Èto u [tvoego byvšego bossa]$_F$ byl jubilej v prošlom godu.
èto by your former boss was anniversary in last year
'It is [your previous boss]$_F$ who had an anniversary last year.'

c. Tem, u kogo byl jubilej v prošlom godu, byl [tvoj byvšij boss]$_F$.
those by whom was anniversary in last year was your former boss
'The one who had an anniversary last year was your former boss.'

d. Èto u [tvoego]$_F$ byvšego bossa byl jubilej v prošlom godu (a ne u
èto by your former boss was anniversary in last year and not by
moego).
mine
'It is [your]$_F$ previous boss who had an anniversary last year (and not mine).'

The fact that *èto* serves as some kind of a magnet which attracts focus to the left side of the sentence, confirms that this lexical element changes the IS, or at least strongly correlates to IS phenomena such as focus-background bipartition.

Now, remember example (54c): *Èto ja ograbil [tot dom]$_F$* 'I actually burgled [that house]$_F$'. An *èto*-initial sentence with clause-final stress reminds us of the thetic clefts that I previously mentioned (see also Junghanns, 1997; Kimmelman, 2009; Shkapa, 2012, among others). As I said in Section 1.1, in thetic clefts the whole clause after *èto* is in focus. To be more precise, the whole clause conveys new information and realizes basic NIF with a clause-final nuclear pitch accent. See examples.

(57) Q: They are coming to put you under arrest. What is going on?

a. [Ja ograbil bank]$_{NIF}$.
I robbed bank

b. Da èto [ja ograbil bank]$_{NIF}$.
emph èto I robbed bank
'Well, I robbed a bank.'

Both the canonical structure (57a) and the thetic cleft (57b) are acceptable, and both share the same prosodic marking, namely, a pitch accent on *bank*. The whole statement in the clause *ja ograbil bank* 'I robbed a bank' is new for the hearer and serves as an explanation for them, answering the question "What is going on?" I could even put *because* between *èto* and the rest of the sentence, see (58a). This corresponds to the observations mentioned by Kimmelman (2009) who claims that Russian thetic clefts can only have a causal relation to the preceding context. Note that I cannot add *because* after *èto* in a narrow focus *èto*-cleft, see examples (58b-c). In this way, I can distinguish

between thetic clefts and canonical clefts which might look and sound exactly the same.

(58) a. Q: They are coming to put you under arrest.
A: Èto potomu čto [ja ograbil bank]$_{NIF}$.
èto because I robbed bank
'It's because I robbed a bank.'
b. Q: Let's talk about the incident last week. Who burgled that house?
B: *Èto potomu čto [ja]$_{F}$ ograbil tot dom.
èto because I burgled that house
'Because [I]$_{F}$ burgled that house.'
c. Q: Let's talk about the incident last week. What did you burgle then?
B: *Èto potomu čto ja ograbil [tot dom]$_{F}$.
èto because I burgled that house
'Because I burgled [that house]$_{F}$.'

In existing corpora, we can find examples where the information expressed in the whole thetic cleft is contraposed to, or corrects, some other piece of information. In this case, we deal not with NIF, but with sentential CF, see (59). In the example, we do not have a selected element from a set of alternatives that is being contraposed to the other elements. Instead, the proposition *he had a heart attack* is contrasted with the proposition *he stumbled*. Narrow CF is incompatible with a thetic cleft (see Junghanns, 1997; Kimmelman, 2009). The new contrastive information in (59) is in square brackets.

(59) On ne potomu upal, čto spotknulsja, èto [u nego serdce ot straxa
he not because fell that stumbled *èto* by him heart from fear
prixvatilo]$_{CF}$.
(it-)caught
'He didn't fall because he stumbled, he actually had a heart attack.'

In fact, we see the same patterns in thetic clefts as we saw in canonical clefts. On the one hand, we can have a NIF expressed in the whole sentence in a context where a single unique answer to the question "what happened" is expected. On the other hand, we can easily observe an explicit contrast between the focused part of a thetic cleft and some information from the previous context. The difference is that not a single constituent but

the whole sentence is in focus and is contraposed to an alternative.

In this section, I also want to discuss certain pragmatic issues restricting the usage of *èto*-clefts. Some researchers (Junghanns, 1997; Kimmelman, 2009) claim that the new information interpretation of Russian clefts is not possible, and that *èto*-clefts are always contrastive. Still, following the NIF/CF dichotomy à la Neeleman et al. (2009), I assume that NIF *èto*-clefts are possible if the pragmatics allow for it.

First, remember (from Section 1.2) that minimal NIF can be realized on constituents that undergo focus fronting.

Second, consider some examples from existing corpora. The focused constituents provide new information for the reader, there is no explicit contraposition or correction, and in my terms, the foci are not contrastive since there are no contextual sets of alternatives.

(60) Da, èto [ja]$_F$ - Princ-Polukrovka.
yes *èto* I prince-half-blooded
'Yes, [I]$_F$ am the Half-Blood Prince.'

(61) - Nu i kak by ja èto ob''jasnila v policii? Žit' v čužix domax
well and how would I this explain in police? to-live in other's houses
nel'zja!
(is-)not-allowed
'Well, but how would I have explained it to the police? You can't live in other people's houses!'

- Tak èto [ty]$_F$ tam živëš'? - izumljenno peresprosil ja.
so *èto* you there live wonderingly asked-again I
'So, it's you who lives there? - I asked in amazement.'

Let me provide you with some context.

The utterance in (60) comes from one of the final scenes in the film "Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince". Throughout the story, both the characters and the audience are aware of the existence of a mysterious "Half-Blood Prince", but nobody knows who he or she is; not a single guess is made. In the end, one character gives himself away and admits: "Yes, it's me."

Next, the dialogue in (61) takes place between a guy looking for a person living illegally in a house while the owners are away, and the girl who turns out to be this person.

Again, at the moment of this dialogue, the guy has no suspects and no clues about who it could be. As such, both examples contain an unfilled slot (the person's identity) and imply no overt or contextually recoverable set of alternatives (it could be anybody). Therefore, we cannot speak about contrastivity here.

But now look at the next example. The NIF answer in (62a) is not acceptable while the NIF answer in (62b) is licit.

(62) Q: Who congratulated you on your birthday?

a. A: *Èto [Mark]$_F$ pozdravil menja.
èto Mark congratulated me
'It was Mark who congratulated me.'

b. A: [Mark]$_F$ pozdravil menja.
Mark congratulated me
'Mark congratulated me.'

The crucial difference between (62) and the two previous examples is that the contexts in (60)-(61) presuppose an existence of one single unknown element, while (62) allows for an answer in the form of a list where, choosing one option does not automatically reject the alternatives. In (60), if Severus Snape is claimed to be the Half-Blood Prince, Albus Dumbledore cannot have this title (occupy this slot) anymore, and neither can anyone else. In (62), Mark congratulated me on my birthday, but Peter, Anja and all other people in the world could have done so as well. Moreover, from our experience we can say that in a typical situation the birthday boy or girl gets wishes from many people, not just from one person.

As discussed in Shipova (2014), exhaustiveness effects are strong in *èto*-clefts, and violations like *It was me who fed a koala. Also, my brother fed a koala* are not always accepted by native speakers. In cases like (62), exhaustiveness in clefts contradicts the conditions that have been set pragmatically.[26]

[26] Not every constituent can be clefted even if the pragmatics allows for it. Consider an AdvP again. I build a context where a certain situation is discussed, and a singleton answer is expected (a person cannot attend a party at different times).

Q: When exactly did you come to the party yesterday? I didn't notice when you showed up.

A: *Èto srazu posle tebja/v 8:30 ja prišël.
èto just after you/at 8:30 I came
'It was just after you/at 8:30 that I came.'

The pragmatics that propose a unique atomic answer can be defined by the common knowledge of the interlocutors or by the context. E.g., if we ask: "Who was elected president this year?", we expect a singleton answer, such as "Rihanna", but not "Rihanna and Kim Kardashian", because the common knowledge tells us that only a single person can become a president, although the pronoun "who" allows for single as well as multiple answers. A cleft with "Rihanna" would therefore be expectedly licit.

If the common understanding tells us that we might expect a list of matches, we can manipulate the context to restrict it in order to make a cleft possible. Let us modify the dialogue from (62) and see how the cleft becomes acceptable:

(63) Q: Who congratulated you on your birthday with such a nice postcard?
A: Èto [Mark]$_F$ pozdravil menja.
èto Mark congratulated me
'It was Mark who congratulated me.'

Here the uniqueness is defined by the situation where the second interlocutor has received a postcard. Now, the common knowledge tells us that a postcard most probably comes from one sender or - as the pronoun *who* does not restrict us in number - from a group of people that are unified by some feature and can be called by one name, e.g. they are a family (*It's the Smiths that congratulated me*) or a group of colleagues working together (*It's Microsoft that congratulated me*).

Let us restrict the context further. In (64), uniqueness and singularity are proposed by the definite description in the question which now allows for a singleton answer and for a cleft, but not for a group answer (*It was the Smiths who...):*

(64) Q: Who was the guy who came to you at 1 am to congratulate you on your birthday?
A: Èto [Mark]$_F$ prixodil pozdravit' menja v čas noči.
èto Mark came to-congratulate me in one-o'clock in-the-morning
'It was Mark who came to congratulate me at 1 am.'

Surprisingly, AdvP clefts become possible if they are contrastive. We will see this a bit later in Section 1.3.3.

Lastly, if plurality is explicitly set by the context (*Who were the people that came to you at 1 am...),* a single answer in a cleft (like *It was Mark who came at 1 am*) is again implausible.

As you see, *èto*-clefts are highly sensitive to pragmatic and contextual conditions. The usage of sentence-initial *èto* is tightly connected with the focus-background bipartition in the IS of the sentence. Still, not every focus-background bipartition is acceptable for an *èto*-cleft. In general, *èto*-clefts can express both CF and NIF as long as maximalization to a singleton or a maximal group is obeyed. At the same time, with CF this is more often the case, and probably this is the reason why *èto*-clefts seem to be restricted to CF.

The phenomena that we have just observed also bring us a bit closer to the notion of anaphoricity or familiarity in *èto*-clefts. I assume that the more specific and fixed in place and time the situation referred to by a cleft is, the less space we have for unfilled slots and the higher the chance for a singleton answer, meaning there is a chance for a cleft to come into play.

1.3.2 Èto-clefts and contrastivity

We have observed that *èto*-clefts and the notion of contrastivity correlate to some extent. Remember the fact that elements under the scope of contrastive focus tend to be located on the left side of the clause. At this point, it will be useful to conduct a few tests using a number of typical contrastive contexts, in which we can try to place *èto*-clefts. If Russian clefts appear naturally in contexts where CF gets manifested, we can claim that clefts can serve as a contrast tool in the language.

So, what are these contrastive contexts? As we know from the literature (see e.g., Rooth, 1985; Lee, 1999; Molnár, 2002; Zimmermann, 2008; Tomioka, 2010b, and others), CF typically appears in corrections (Steube, 2001), exhaustive answers in question-answer pairs (Wollermann & Schröder, 2008; Brody & Szendrői, 2010), contrastive statements, utterances with focus-sensitive adverbs like *only* and *always*, and clefts. We can skip the last option, since we have already seen *èto*-clefts with CF.

Let us consider the other contexts one by one and see if *èto*-clefts come into effect. Due to the fact that some clefts can appear unacceptable not because of the chosen context but because of certain syntactic or semantic restrictions, for the tests I mostly stick to the clefts that raise no doubts about their acceptability outside of the given context. Namely, I will use the most common clefts with the subject in focus and, if possible, with pragmatics accepting a unique atomic focused element.

First, consider corrections in the form of a cleft with CF which function well. In fact, correction works even with non-subject clefts: cf. the example I used earlier in Section 1.2, with a PP, here under (65b).

(65) a. A: Masha brought vodka.
B: Èto [Petja]$_{CF}$ prinës vodku.
èto Petya brought vodka
'It was Petya who brought vodka.'
b. A: Petya had a birthday yesterday.
B: Èto [u menja]$_{CF}$ včera byl den' roždenija.
èto by me yesterday was birthday
'It was me who had a birthday yesterday.'

Let us proceed to contrastive statements. Again, the example is licit.

(66) Èto [Mark]$_{CF}$ ne sdal matematiku, a ja sdal.
èto Mark not passed maths and I passed
'It was Mark who failed the maths exams, and I passed.'

The next contrastive context includes exhaustive answers in question-answer pairs. Note the difference between the licit cleft in (67a) and the illicit one in (67b) below. The situation of breaking a window in (67a) typically involves one certain person (or a group that can be treated as one unit) who broke the window. So, the answer given in the cleft is exhaustive due to pragmatic reasons and not because of the properties of a cleft.

At the same time, in (67b) we have a situation where it is more likely that more than one person congratulated the speaker. Moreover, choosing one alternative does not exclude the others (if Peter congratulated the speaker, some other people could have congratulated the speaker as well). A cleft here, if it can serve as an exhaustive answer, is supposed to highlight one alternative for which the statement is true. But the usage of *èto*-clefts is generally unacceptable in the given context. So, I conclude that this contrastive context is unavailable for Russian clefts.

(67) a. A: Who broke the window?
B: Èto [Petja]$_{CF}$ razbil okno (a ne kto-to drugoj).
èto Peter broke window (and not somebody else)
'It was Peter who broke the window (and not somebody else).'
b. A: Who congratulated you on your marriage?
B: *Èto [Petya]$_{CF}$ pozdravil menja (i bol'še nikto).
èto Petya congratulated me (and more nobody)
'Petya congratulated me (and nobody else).'

Lastly, focus-sensitive adverbs like *only* and *always* show association with CF. Usage of a cleft in (68b) is justified by the overt uniqueness marker as the exclusive *tol'ko* 'only' shows that there can be only one active alternative.

(68) a. Èto [Petja]$_{CF}$ vsegda zabyvaet pomyt' posudu.
èto Peter always forgets to-wash dishes
'It is Peter who always forgets to wash the dishes.'
b. Èto tol'ko [narod]$_{CF}$ možet rešit', kakaja forma gosustrojstva emu podxodit.
èto only people can decide which form government.*Gen* them suits
'It is only the people who can decide which form of government suits them.'

As we see, *èto*-clefts in corrections and contrastive statements function well, while exhaustive answers in question-answer pairs do not work. Focus-sensitive adverbs *only* and *always* also often accompany *èto*-clefts. From this I can draw a preliminary conclusion that the usage of *èto*-clefts apparently is often connected to explicit contrastivity and contraposition rather than to representation of exhaustivity (as experimentally shown by Shipova, 2014, exhaustivity effects in *èto*-clefts are not strong and can be violated). The next section provides a few examples supporting the idea regarding this connection.

1.3.3 More on the power of contrast

In Section 1.1 I discussed the possibilities of clefting different constituent types. I mentioned, inter alia, that *èto*-clefts with AdvPs in focus are usually unacceptable. It is also not common for AdvPs to undergo fronting (reordering) or focus. See again the example block (69) below.

(69a) shows the neutral word order and the neutral intonation in a sentence (the nuclear accent at the end).

In (69b) there is prosodic focus on *včera* 'yesterday', the word order remains the same, and even reordering is not required.

(69c) is a cleft where *včera* is in focus.

Both (69b) and (69c) do not sound natural even if I put them in a suitable context. I can conclude that an easier solution in Russian is to license clause-final contrastive focus (in A') rather than to cleft it and move an AdvP to the clause-initial position.

(69) a. Q: How did you feel yesterday?
A: Včera ja ne vyspalsja.
yesterday I not slept-enough
'Yesterday I didn't get enough sleep.'

b. Q. When exactly didn't you sleep well?
A: ?[Včera]$_F$ ja ne vyspalsja.
A': Včera. / Èto bylo včera.
'Yesterday.' / 'It was yesterday.'

c. Q. Wasn't it two days ago that you didn't get enough sleep?
A. ?Net, èto [včera]$_{CF}$ ja ne vyspalsja.
no *èto* yesterday I not slept-enough
'No, it was yesterday that I didn't get enough sleep.'
A': Net, èto bylo [včera]$_{CF}$.
'No, it was yesterday.'

However, an interesting detail is that even an adverbial cleft and focus can be justified if there is an explicit correction and contraposition. For example, in (70) below *včera* 'yesterday' is in a cleft and in focus and also gets contraposed to *segodnja* 'today'. An interlocutor separates two situations and finds it important to correct or specify the information expressed by the second member of the dialogue (the fact that he slept badly yesterday but not today, and that today something else happened that affected his state of health). In the first part of the sentence, such usage of a cleft is possible because *včera* 'yesterday' is new information that requires emphasis, and *ja ne vyspalsja* 'I didn't sleep enough' is given information. This information structure corresponds to the IS-related principles that justify constructing a cleft. In the second part, *segodnja* 'today' is old

information and *mnogo sidel v dušnom ofise* ‘spent too much time in a stuffy office’ is new, and as we know, this corresponds to the basic IS principle in Russian: new information goes at the end.

(70) Q: Ja dumal, u tebja bolit golova, potomu čto ty segodnja noč’ju ploxo
I thought by you aches head because you today at-night bad
spal.
slept
‘I thought, you had a headache because you’d slept bad today.’
A: Net, èto [včera]$_F$ ja ne vyspalsja, a [segodnja]$_F$ prosto mnogo
no *èto* yesterday I not slept-enough but today just much
sidel v dušnom ofise.
stayed in stuffy office
‘No, it was [yesterday]$_F$ that I didn’t sleep enough, but today I’ve just spent too much time in a stuffy office.’

One more example, this time with a PP, again, with a contraposition, therefore contrastive and acceptable:

(71) The birthday reminder in my calendar is showing me a name, but I don’t remember who this person is. This might be a former boss of a friend of mine. So I am asking my friend.
a. ?Èto [u tvoego byvšego bossa]$_F$ segodnja den’ roždenija?
èto by your former boss today birthday
‘Is it your previous boss who has birthday today?’
b. Èto [u tvoego byvšego bossa]$_F$ segodnja den’ roždenija, ili ja s
èto by your former boss today birthday or I with
kem-to ego pereputal?
somebody him confused
‘Is it your previous boss who has birthday today or am I confusing him with somebody else?’

It is not just syntactic restrictions that we can bypass by using more explicit contrast, correction, or contraposition. Sometimes a cleft is inappropriate due to semantic reasons,

as we have seen before. The example that I present here is a cleft which does not allow a NIF interpretation (72). Structurally, nothing prevents us from having such a cleft but pragmatically we can hardly imagine a situation where the hearer knows that somebody loved them but does not know who exactly it was. This means that in this case the part that is put in focus (*I*) can hardly be taken as new while the rest of the information is known.

(72) A: Somebody loved me but I don't know who.
B: *Èto ja tebja ljubil.
èto I you loved
'It was me who loved you.'

Consider another context where the same cleft would be a corrective one where *I* is under the scope of contrastive focus. The example in (73a) is not completely unacceptable but creates a flavor of incompleteness. The first interlocutor might ask then: "So what? And what about the second one?" The extended sentence in (73b) provides a decent correction and contraposition and is appropriate.

(73) A: Vy oba menja ljubili.
you both me loved
'You both loved me.'
a. B: ?Èto [ja]$_{CF}$ tebja ljubil.
b. B: Èto [ja]$_{CF}$ tebja ljubil, a [on]$_{F}$ prosto ispol'zoval tebja radi delovyx svjazej tvoego otca.
èto I you loved and he just used you for business connections your.*Gen* father.*Gen*
'It was me who loved you, and he just used you for your father's business connections.'

I can draw certain conclusions regarding the usage of *èto*-clefts as a contrast tool from the observed fact that some clefts become grammatically more acceptable in contrastive contexts with explicitly expressed contraposition (see e.g., Delin, 1992, for a discussion about the contrastive relationship between *it*-clefts and the preceding discourse, and Junghanns, 1997, for the observation that Russian clefts get a contrastive reading rather

than a NIF interpretation).

One more example related to contrast and contraposition in *èto*-clefts demonstrates the observation that *èto*-clefts quite often involve negation, e.g., *It's not me, who...* A typical negative subtype of Russian clefts looks as follows:

(74) Čto vy, èto [ne ja]$_F$ šuču. Èto šutka velikogo matematika
what you *èto* not I joke this joke great.*Gen* mathematician.*Gen*
Davida Gilberta.
David.*Gen* Hilbert.*Gen*
'No, it's not me who is joking. It's a joke from the great mathematician, David Hilbert.'

(75) Znaete, èto [ne ja]$_F$ ego priglašala. Moë delo vstretit' gostej.
you-know *èto* not I him invited my business to-meet guests
'You know, it wasn't me who invited him. My job is to welcome the guests.'

The negative particle *ne* is located just before the negated constituent, so its scope covers only the subject. Together they undergo clefting, that is, *not me* is in focus and new for the hearer in both examples. Note how visible existence presupposition - the feature inherent in *èto*-clefts (see Shipova, 2014) - appears in this case: the hearer gets the explicit information that there is somebody responsible for the situation, but they still do not know who it was, and they are often motivated to ask further. Therefore, we can identify contraposition again, in (74) where the right alternative is provided ("the joke is not mine and it belongs to the mathematician David Hilbert"), and in (75) where the speaker contraposes what they are in charge of and what they are not. Both examples of contraposition represent typical contexts for Russian *it's not X*-clefts.

As a final note on the power of contrast and contraposition related to *èto*-clefts, I present a table below. Here, I compare basic clefts (BC), like in (76a), and contrastive focus clefts (CFC), as in (76b), under certain conditions. The difference for CFC is that the [contrast] feature is supported by the presence of an explicit contraposition.

See example (76) below. The cleft part *It was me who painted Mona Lisa* is the same for both (76a) and (76b). Note the second part in (76b) where the contrastive topic *ty* 'you' introduces the contraposition.

(76) a. (Mona Lisa is a famous painting by an unknown painter. John says:)

Èto [ja]$_F$ narisoval Mona Lizu.

èto I painted Mona Lisa

'It was me who painted Mona Lisa.'

b. (Peter claims that he painted Mona Lisa, although in fact John did it. John also believes that Peter is not even capable of painting at such a high level. John says to Peter:)

Èto [ja]$_{CF}$ narisoval Mona Lizu, a [ty]$_{CT}$ tol'ko karikatury i umeeš' risovat'.

èto I painted Mona Lisa and you only cartoons *emph* can paint

'It was me who painted Mona Lisa, and you are only capable of painting cartoons.'

Each cleft type (BC and CFC) will be examined under two conditions.

The first condition is *tense*, which in Russian can be past, present or future. Remember that there is no copula in Russian clefts, so the tense is realized in the main verb (e.g., past tense in *painted* in the examples above).

The second condition is *set size* which defines the size of the set denoted by the backgrounded predicate, and can contain one unique element or more than one element. It refers to the issue mentioned previously in Section 1.3.2, where I suggested that canonical clefts are not allowed in question-answer pairs if the set contains more than one element. E.g., **It was Mark who congratulated me* vs. *It was Mark who won the race*. If Mark won the race yesterday, nobody else could have won the same race (*singleton set*), whereas if Mark congratulated me, other people could have congratulated me as well (*non-singleton set*).

In total, I have six combinations of the manipulated conditions (3 x *tense*, 2 x *set size*) and each of the six combinations is represented by one cleft-based structure. For example, the structure *Èto ja narisoval Mona Lizu* 'It was me who painted Mona Lisa', which forms the first line on the table, is in the past tense, and the painter must be unique (set size = 1). For the condition where "set size > 1", I will use the structure *It was me who painted (some) landscapes*, as everybody can paint landscapes independently.

On the right-hand side of the table, I mark whether the corresponding structure (BC or CFC) is licit ("+") or not ("-") under the given condition[27]. Of course, to make these

[27] The judgments are confirmed by nine native speakers.

judgments it was assumed that each example appears not out of the blue, but in a suitable context.

Table 1 provides a representative graphic illustration of the different usage between basic focus clefts and contrastive focus clefts. I can draw two important conclusions from the presented judgments.

First, note that an explicitly realized contrastive focus structure justifies the usage of a cleft structure in the future tense. Basic clefts prefer to be used in the past or in the present tense. I will discuss why this is the case in Chapter III, where I will talk about familiarity effects in *èto*-clefts.

Second, as I have already discovered in this section, basic clefts are consistently used in contexts with one possible unique answer (singleton set), but not in contexts with non-singleton sets. This means, they seem to exhibit exhaustivity effects that will be further

Tense	**Set size**	**Base structure**	**BC**	**CFC**
past	1	Èto ja narisoval Mona Lizu (a ty tol'ko karikatury i umeeš' risovat'). 'It was me who painted Mona Lisa (and you are only capable of painting cartoons).'	+	+
past	>1	Èto ja narisoval pejzaži (a ty narisoval natjurmorty). 'It was me who painted (some) landscapes (and you painted some still lifes).'	-	+
pres	1	Èto ja risuju Mona Lizu (a ty tol'ko karikatury i umeeš' risovat'). 'It is me who is painting Mona Lisa (and you are only capable of painting cartoons).'	+	+
pres	>1	Èto ja risuju pejzaži (a ty risueš natjurmorty). 'It is me who is painting (some) landscapes (now) (and you are painting still lifes).'	-	+
fut	1	Èto ja narisuju Mona Lizu (a ty vsju žizn' budeš risovat' karikatury). 'It is me who will paint Mona Lisa (and you'll be painting cartoons for the rest of your life).'	-	+
fut	>1	Èto ja narisuju pejzaži (a ty narisueš natjurmorty). 'It is me who will paint (some) landscapes (and you will paint some still lifes).'	-	+

Table 1. Three cleft-based structures under different conditions.

investigated in Chapter V. At the same time, these effects are weaker or absent in contrastive focus clefts, as they are equally good in both conditions (singleton set vs. non-singleton set).

1.3.4 Conclusion

Clefts are often referred to as a phenomenon that represents a bipartition between focus and background. This notion is information-structural and does not concern the mono- or biclausality of a cleft. Therefore, in terms of IS, Russian *èto*-clefts can be called proper clefts just like English *it*-clefts, as long as they are used as a tool to realize this bipartition. We saw in this section that focus realization is closely connected to *èto*.

Èto-clefts and contrastivity also work together. Quite often, implausible clefts might become acceptable when used within a contrastive context. So, in addition to facilitating focus manifestations, *èto*-clefts can serve as a contrast tool.

Next, although it is often claimed that *èto*-clefts are always contrastive, I propose that NIF realization is also possible in Russian clefts.

Last but not least, *èto*-clefts coincide with uniqueness. In contexts where one empty slot is under discussion and filling it with one alternative immediately excludes the others for pragmatic reasons, *èto*-clefts are especially useful. In this case they do not have to be contrastive but can convey new information.

"See first, think later, then test."
Douglas Adams

Chapter II

Syntax

The aim of this chapter is to investigate the syntactic structure of *èto*-clefts. There is still no agreement between linguists regarding this especially problematic issue. I consider the existing analyses and argue that none are indisputable. In addition to theoretical reasoning, I present several syntactic tests known from the literature. We will see that these tests consistently provide evidence of a monoclausal structure behind *èto*-clefts. This knowledge will provide the basis for my original proposal presented later in Chapter IV.

2.1 Syntactic structure of *èto*-clefts: literature overview

In this section, I give an overview of the existing analyses of the syntactic structure of Russian clefts. In this overview, I refer to works by Gundel (1977), King (1993), Junghanns (1997), Ross (1972), Geist and Błaszczak (2000), Markman (2008), Kimmelmann (2009), and Reeve (2010). The analyses differ in the following aspects: the syntactic status of *èto* in *èto*-clefts, the mono- or biclausality of the structure, and its semantic and information-structural interpretation.

2.1.1 Gundel: the early analysis

The early analysis of Russian clefts by Gundel (1977) takes *èto*-clefts to be essentially syntactically parallel to English clefts and semantically synonymous to specificational sentences. Namely, a cleft is claimed to be derived from a pseudo-cleft, where the *wh*-clause is moved to the sentence-final position, and the pronoun *èto* takes its place in the initial position, cf. the pseudo-cleft in (1a) and the corresponding cleft in (1b). As a result, I have a copular sentence without an overt copula and with *èto* as the subject. The copula drop is left unaccounted for in this analysis.

(1) a. (To,) čto menja udivilo, byla ego mudrost'.
(that) what me surprised was his wisdom
'What surprised me was his wisdom.'
b. Èto ego mudrost' menja udivila.
èto his wisdom me surprised
'It was his wisdom that surprised me.'

Most linguists agree that the view proposed by Gundel is not supported by evidence from Russian data. The main objection is that no copula in any tense can intervene between *èto* and the clefted XP, which would be expected according to the biclausal view. Additionally, as the above examples demonstrate, the syntactic relations between the constituents changes: in (1a) the VP *surprised* takes the neutral gender (*udivilo*) because it agrees with the clause-initial *that*, and in (1b) (*udivila*) it agrees with the DP *his wisdom* which is feminine. This fact is also left unexplained in Gundel's analysis. Therefore, I cannot assume movement alone to be the phenomenon behind *èto*-clefts.

It is also important that the assumed syntactic parallelism between Russian and English clefts implies the existence of a relative clause. However, no relative operator is present in Russian clefts, though they cannot be omitted in Russian relative clauses, cf. a cleft in (2a) and an ordinary relative clause in (2b)[28]:

(2) a. Èto ego mudrost', (*kotoraja) menja udivila.
èto his wisdom (*that) me surprised
'It was his wisdom that surprised me.'
b. On snova prodemostriroval svoju mudrost', *(kotoraja) menja vsegda udivljaet.
he again showed his wisdom that me always surprises
'Once again he showed his wisdom that always surprises me.'

As remarked by Reeve (2010), all subsequent analyses still use the notion of a "cleft" and the "clefted XP", even though researchers after Gundel usually consider Russian clefts non-copular and monoclausal with the "clefted XP" actually undergoing "focus-fronting to a high specifier or adjunct position in the "cleft clause"" (Reeve, 2010, p. 147).

[28] Russian relative clauses will be discussed further in Section 2.2, where I conduct syntactic tests to check mono-/biclausality of *èto*-clefts.

2.1.2 Geist & Błaszczak, Markman, Burukina & den Dikken: QA structure

Another view on Russian clefts is presented in the works of Geist and Błaszczak (2000), Markman (2008), Burukina and den Dikken (2020) who claim that there is an underlying question-answer structure behind each cleft. The two views differ in that, Geist and Błaszczak's work, as well as the paper by Burukina and den Dikken (2020), define the underlying question in clefts as a *wh*-question, but according to Markman, it is a *yes/no*-question. In that way, the structure of an *èto*-cleft resembles the structure of a specificational copular sentence where a question is equated with its exhaustive answer.

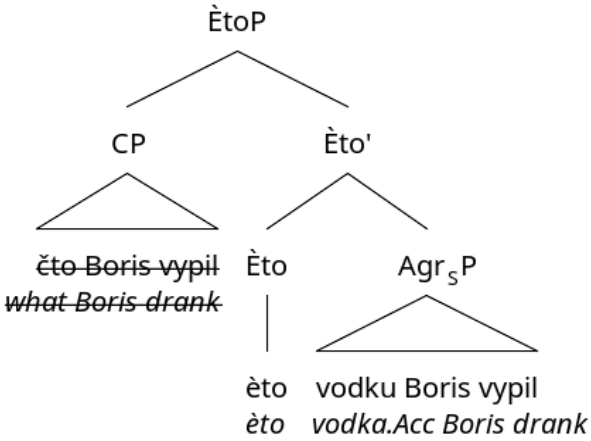
Example (3) below shows the cleft *It was vodka that Boris drank* and the corresponding proposed syntactic structures [29] with (3a) according to the original approach by Geist and Błaszczak, supported by Burukina and den Dikken, and (3b) according to Markman's approach. The common part *vodku Boris vypil* ('vodka.*Acc* Boris drank') serves as an answer to the hypothetical *wh*-question *what did Boris drink* in (3a) and to the *yes/no*-question *did Boris drink water* in (3b). As a result, I deal with two IPs: a question IP and an answer IP. In both approaches, the proposed syntactic structure takes *èto* as a functional head, the question phrase as its specifier and the answer phrase as the complement. Note that the whole CP, which contains the "question", is fully omitted in the surface structure in both cases[30].

(3) Èto vodku Boris vypil.
èto vodka.*Acc* Boris drank
'It was vodka that Boris drank.'

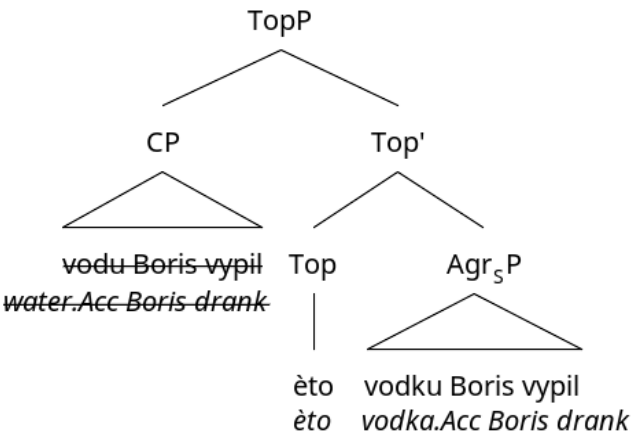
[29] As they are given in Reeve (2010, p. 150).

[30] An alternative would be to say that the pronoun *èto* is a variable over question meanings (= alternatives), playing the same role as the variable C in Rooth (1992).

a. (Geist and Błaszczak)



b. (Markman, Burukina and den Dikken)



Specifically, Markman takes *èto* to be the topic head, and not just in clefts, but also in pseudo-clefts and presentational constructions, like *Èto (byl) Dima* / *This (was) Dima*. In terms of discourse structure, the CP in a cleft is topicalized, and the complement is in focus. Markman notes that although the CP is omitted, its content must be "contextually salient, i.e. part of the shared information" (Markman, 2008, p. 373).

Geist and Błaszczak, in turn, propose a uniform syntactic structure for *èto*-clefts, pseudo-clefts and copular sentences in Russian. They also say that a cleft cannot appear out of the blue, and the usage of a cleft is justified by the question presupposed in the preceding context and answered by the cleft. If confronted with the sentence *It was Ivan who drank the vodka*, Geist and Błaszczak would assume the presupposed question to be "Who drank the vodka?", while Markman would assume the question was "Did Peter drink the vodka?"

I draw a parallel between these approaches and the observation from Chapter I of this dissertation, where it was shown that *èto*-clefts can exhibit new information focus, as well

as contrastive focus, depending on the context. I assume that a NIF cleft involves an underlying *wh*-question structure, and a CF cleft involves a *yes/no*-question. Moreover, given the distribution and interpretation of *èto*-clefts as NIF and CF clefts, neither of the two accounts is sufficient independently, but they would need to be unified: the antecedent could be either a polar question (CF) or a *wh*-question (NIF).

Consider the examples below which justify a NIF cleft in (4a) and a CF cleft in (4b) (but not vice versa). Indeed, I can easily imagine such clefts to be answers to a *wh*-question and a *yes/no*-question respectively. Such a question can be explicit or implied by the preceding context. Note, however, that not every *wh*-question or *yes/no*-question could serve as an underlying structure for an *èto*-cleft. As discussed in Section 1.3, *èto*-clefts are not good in exhaustive answers to questions with more than one potential answer. Examples (4) below satisfy the singleton set requirement (only one person called).

(4) a. Explicit:

Kto zvonil včera tak pozdno? - Èto [Vanja]$_{NIF/*CF}$ zvonil.
who called yesterday so late - *Èto* Vanja called
'Who called so late yesterday? - It was Vanja who called.'

Implied:

Ne mogu ponjat', kto zvonil včera tak pozdno. - Èto
not can understand who called yesterday so late - *Èto*
[Vanja]$_{NIF/*CF}$ zvonil.
Vanja called
'I cannot understand who called so late yesterday. - It was Vanja who called.'

b. Explicit:

Kto vyigral gonku, Furkad? - (Net.) Èto [Loginov]$_{*NIF/CF}$ vyigral gonku.
who won race Fourcade? - (No.) *Èto* Loginov won race
'Who won the race, (was it) Fourcade? - (No.) It was Loginov who won the race.'

Implied:

Mne skazali, Furkad vyigral gonku. - (Net.) Èto [Loginov]$_{*NIF/CF}$
me they-said Fourcade won race - (No.) *Èto* Loginov
vyigral gonku.
won race
'I was told Fourcade won the race. - (No.) It was Loginov who won the race.'

The clefted element with CF will be accompanied by higher and more intense (contrastive) prosody than its counterpart with NIF.

The analyses mentioned in this sub-section quite neatly correspond to the two cleft types. Indeed, my observations also confirm the claims by Geist and Błaszczak that *èto*-clefts do not appear out of the blue and that they have a certain connection to the preceding context. In Chapter III, I will examine this connection in detail, and in Chapter IV I will present my syntactic and information-structural proposals which allow to avoid adding and omitting extra IPs but preserve the relations between a cleft and its context.

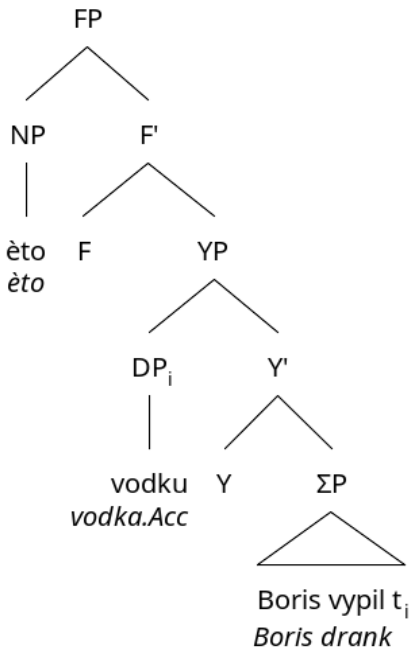
2.1.3 King, Junghanns, Kimmelman: towards focus-fronting

Under the analyses presented by King (1993) and Junghanns (1997) it is claimed that *èto*-clefts are both structurally equal and synonymous to sentences with focus-fronting, except with the presence of the pronoun.

See (5b) for the proposed structure of (5a) according to King. Here, *èto* takes the position of the specifier of the focus head, while the clefted (focus-fronted) XP occupies the specifier of a lower functional head. The focus expressed in such structures is considered contrastive and no special information-structural attributes are assigned to *èto*. The focused XP must come immediately after the pronoun.

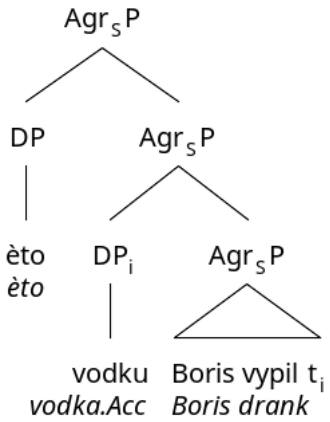
(5) a. Èto [vodku]$_F$ Boris vypil.
èto vodka Boris drank
'It was vodka that Boris drank.'

b.



Junghanns argues against King's analysis and proposes an alternative structure, where *èto* occupies an IP-adjoined position above the focus. This structure is shown in (6) below. Under this analysis *èto* additionally takes information-structural functions as it is a base-generated topic and not a cleft pronoun or a focus marker. The reason that *èto* appears in the clause-initial position is that no other topic is available in this structure.

(6)



In his work, Junghanns discusses clear inaccuracies in King's proposal. First of all, King's analysis requires the focused XP to appear immediately after *èto*, but this is, in fact, not always the case. *Èto*-structures with the non-adjacent focused element are also possible (see 7a below), although *èto* can only appear clause-initially (see 7d). Additionally, in contrast to King's assertions, we already know that the focus expressed in an *èto*-cleft is not necessarily contrastive.

King also claims that the only material that can appear between *èto* and the clefted XP is the negative particle *ne*, while Junghanns shows that different constituents can also intervene, see (7a-c). Similar observations have already been mentioned in Section 1.3 (e.g., personal pronouns can easily appear between *èto* and the focused constituent).

Furthermore, the whole IP (or TP) can be in focus in thetic clefts, which is not foreseen by King's analysis. Junghanns proposes the same structure for Russian thetic clefts, as well as for clefts where a single constituent is focus-fronted, see (7e).

(7) a. Èto Boris vypil [vodku]$_F$. (examples (a-c) from Junghanns, 2007, p. 14)
èto Boris drank vodka
'It was vodka that Boris drank.'
b. Èto Boris [vodku]$_F$ vypil.
èto Boris vodka drank

c. Èto [vodku]$_F$ Boris vypil.
èto vodka Boris drank
d. *Boris vypil èto [vodku]$_F$.
Boris drank *èto* vodka
e. Èto [Boris vypil vodku]$_F$.
'(It is because) Boris drank the vodka.'

It is important however, that *èto* is not a focus marker but the highest adjunct to Agr_SP, as the pronoun must appear higher than the syntactically minimal clause but lower than C^0. Thus, Junghanns proposes the topic position for *èto*, as long as the deictic and anaphoric properties of *èto* fully allow for it. At the same time, focus appears in the sentence independently of *èto* and can be realized on any constituent. Junghanns agrees with King that focus in *èto*-clefts must be interpreted contrastively. Taking into account the association between CF and the leftward movement of a focused constituent (as mentioned in Chapter I), we can expect that in most cases the elements under focus will take the adjacent position to *èto*, although it is indeed not obligatory.

Finally, Kimmelman (2009) argues against Junghanns regarding the semantic interpretation of *èto* in focus clefts and thetic clefts, indicating that there is a crucial difference between these two types of clefts. Kimmelman claims that focus clefts express CF and require an overtly contraposed alternative in the preceding context, while the corresponding canonical construction without *èto* does not have these properties. Hence, *èto* is a contrast marker and it need not be considered a topic expression. On the other hand, according to Kimmelman, thetic clefts are not contrastive, and they do not require an alternative in the context. In such clefts, *èto* bearing the topic function expresses a reference to a situation and marks a causal relation between the cleft and the context, see (8) (from Kimmelman, 2009, p. 2).

(8) Naša Tanja gromko plačet. Èto (potomu čto) [ona uronila v rečku mjačik]$_F$.
our Tanja loudly cry *èto* (because) she dropped in river ball
'Our Tanja is crying loudly. (That's because) she has dropped a ball into the river.'

The causal relation is supported by the possibility of adding the conjunction *because* after *èto*, as already mentioned in Section 1.3. Therefore, as Kimmelman concludes, in terms of semantic interpretation, Junghanns' analysis is correct for thetic clefts (where *èto* is a topic expression) but not for focus clefts (where it is not).

Taking the linguistic evidence and argumentation from Chapter I into consideration, I cannot agree with Kimmelman's claim that *èto*-clefts are always contrastive and thetic clefts are never contrastive. First, consider again example (56) from Chapter I, with a contrastively opposed thetic cleft:

(56) On ne potomu upal, čto spotknulsja, èto [u nego serdce ot straxa
he not because fell that stumbled *èto* by him heart from fear
prixvatilo]$_{CF}$.
(it-)caught
'He didn't fall because he stumbled, he actually had a heart attack.'

Second, *èto*-clefts do not have to be contrastive; that means, they need not always have an explicit alternative in the context. See the following example:

(9) Context: A woman finds out that a window in her house has been broken. She doesn't know who it was and is very disappointed. Her son feels guilty, and after a while he decides to confess:

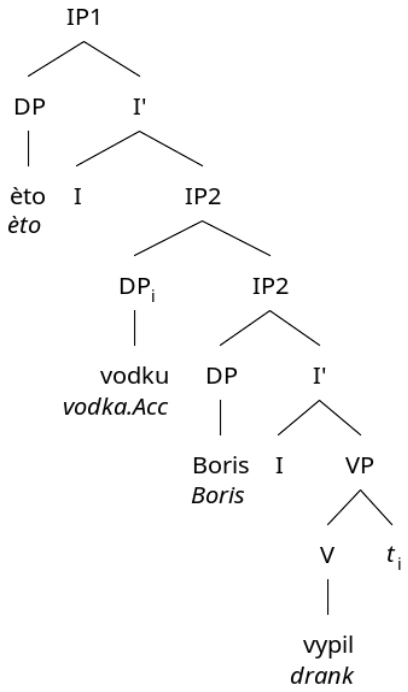
A: Mama, èto [ja]$_F$ razbil okno.
mom *èto* I broke window
'Mom, it was me who broke the window.'

2.1.4 Reeve: focus-fronting with specificational interpretation

The last analysis that will be discussed in this section comes from Reeve (2010). He similarly proposed a monoclausal underlying structure of Russian clefts which is identical to focus-fronting, where both *èto* and the subject of the clause take SpecIP positions. He also states that, "Slavonic clefts really are clefts in the sense that the 'background' of the focus semantically restricts the reference of the demonstrative pronoun, and that this is achieved by the mechanism of non-sisterhood-based θ-binding" (p. 146). In this view, *èto*-clefts are syntactically different from English, but they are semantically identical, particularly, in their specificational interpretation. See the proposed syntactic structure (10) below.

The structure contains two IPs and, as we can see, the part *vodku Boris vypil* 'vodka.*Acc* Boris drank' is a standard IP without any relative clause. The difference between this structure and the monoclausal analysis proposed in the sources mentioned earlier, is that Reeve places *èto* in a SpecIP position.

(10)



Reeve provides an impressive list of structural parallels between *èto*-clefts and constructions with focus-fronting (FF). Let us consider and discuss his observations here.

In line with the proposals by King and Junghanns, the first similarity between *èto*-clefts and FFs is the actual absence (and theoretical impossibility) of a relative operator and, therefore, the absence of a relative clause, since a relative operator or a complementizer is obligatory in Russian restrictive relative clauses, cf. (11).

(11) a. Èto [olenja]$_F$, (*kotorogo/*čto) ja podstrelil. (CLEFT)
èto deer (*which/*that) I shot
'It was a deer that I shot.'

b. [Olenja]$_F$ (, *kotorogo/*čto) ja podstrelil. (FF)
deer (*which/*that) I shot
'I shot a DEER.'

Second, in contrast to English *it*-clefts, it is impossible both in Russian *èto*-clefts and FFs to omit the "cleft clause", or, respectively, the rest of the clause following the focused part[31]. Example (12) is given from Reeve (2010, p. 157), slightly changed to be

[31] From my point of view, the claim about the possibility (and necessity) of omitting the clause remnant after the focus-fronted element in (12a) is questionable. The truncated sentence *Net, Maria skazala, čto vodku* ('No, Maria said that (it was) vodka') in fact sounds like a licit correction. On the other hand, the full

grammatically correct:

(12) a. Maria skazala, čto Maša vypila vodu. Net, Maria skazala, čto VODKU
Maria said that Masha drank water no Maria said that vodka
*(Maša vypila).
Masha drank
'Maria said that Masha drank the water. No, Maria said that Masha drank THE VODKA.'

b. Maria skazala, čto Maša vypila vodu. Net, Maria skazala, čto èto VODKU
Maria said that Masha drank water no Maria said that this vodka
*(Maša vypila).
Masha drank

Third, there are cases where connectivity effects can be found in *èto*-clefts and FFs but not in specificational sentences. In particular, when connectivity for quantifier scope involves a focused universal and when quantifier scope involves obligatory distributivity. Reeve argues that this might be evidence for the suggestion that Russian clefts are based on A'-movement of the clefted phrase (see Section 2.2 for syntactic tests proving the same), while specificational sentences do not involve A'-movement. See examples (13)-(14) (from Reeve, p. 160, and slightly changed to be grammatically correct).

(13) a. (Èto) KAŽDAJA SOBAKA s''ela kuricu. (cleft / FF)
èto every dog ate chicken
'(It was) EVERY DOG (that) ate a chicken.'

clause would provide redundant information since it has already been mentioned in the question that Masha drank something. Finally, in (12b) Reeve puts an *èto*-cleft inside a complement *that*-clause. This is not a typical usage of *èto*-clefts, and it might entail unpredictable effects. Therefore, I would create simpler examples instead, e.g.:

(i) a. Vanja podstrelil losja? *Net, èto [olenja]$_F$ (Vanja podstrelil). (cleft)
Vanja shot elk no *èto* deer Vanja shot
'Did Vanja shoot an elk? No, it was a DEER that Vanja shot.'

b. Vanja podstrelil losja? Net, [olenja]$_F$ *(Vanja podstrelil). (focus fronting)
Vanja shot elk no deer Vanja shot
'Did Vanja shoot an elk? No, Vanja shot a DEER.'

Here, the short correction *Net, olenja* 'No, (it was) a deer' would still be acceptable, while the truncated cleft *Net, èto olenja* is indeed bad.

b. (Èto) PO ODNOJ KURICE každaja sobaka s''ela.
èto a-different chicken every dog ate
'(It was) A DIFFERENT CHICKEN (that) every dog ate.'

(14) a. *To, čto s''ela kuricu, èto KAŽDAJA SOBAKA. (specificational)
that that ate chicken *èto* every dog
'What ate a chicken was EVERY DOG.'

b. *To, čto každaja sobaka s''ela, èto PO ODNOJ KURICE.
that that every dog ate *èto* a-different chicken
'What every dog ate was A DIFFERENT CHICKEN.'

Fourth, both *èto*-clefts and FFs cannot have a predicational interpretation or be derived from predicational canonical sentences. In order to make sure that we definitely deal with predicational structures, Reeve tries to apply the *consider*-test to Russian clefts, where, at least in English, predicational clefts can be embedded under the verb *consider* and specificational clefts cannot, see (15).

(15) a. I consider it (to be) an interesting meeting that I went to last night.
b. *I consider it (to be) John that Mary saw.

In Russian, predicational clauses can be embedded under the verb *sčitat'* 'consider', see (16) (the second DP must be Instrumental in this case):

(16) Ja sčitaju Ivana xorošim učitelem.
I consider Ivan.*Acc* good.*Instr* teacher.*Instr*
'I consider Ivan a good teacher.'

Reeve claims that it is impossible to embed an *èto*-cleft under *sčitat'*. He provides an example, which you can see below.

(17) *Ja sčitaju èto interesnym čelovekom ja vstretil včera večerom.
I consider *èto* interesting.*Instr* person.*Instr* I met yesterday evening
'I consider it an interesting person that I met last night.'

Unfortunately, this example is not usable since it is grammatically incorrect for reasons unrelated to clefting. In the presented structure, *èto* intervenes between *I consider* and *an*

interesting person. The first problem here is that, syntactically, *èto* can only be the direct object of the verb *consider* resulting in the following meaning: "I consider THIS to be an interesting person". This is clearly an incorrect interpretation.

Second, *èto*-clefts are *èto*-initial structures, which means that no other element can appear in the same clause before *èto* (except some conjunctions and particles). So, no matter if the structure in (17) is based on a predicational clause or not, it is illicit.

Still, I can claim that Russian clefts, as well as focus-fronting structures, are mostly acceptable on the basis of specificational clauses, rather than predicational clauses, cf. (18). Apparently, the usage of *èto*-clefts is connected with focusing on a unique object (*Vanja*), but not on a property (*a teacher*). Since there is no overt copula in Russian in the present tense, I use sentences in the past tense for more clarity.

(18) a. Vanja byl učitelem. (predicational)
Vanja was teacher.*Instr*
'Vanja was a teacher (by profession).'

b. Moim učitelem byl Vanja. (specificational)
my.*Instr* teacher.*Instr* was Vanja
'My teacher was Vanja.'

c. *(Èto) UČITELEM byl Vanja. (predicational cleft / FF)
èto teacher.*Instr* was Vanja
'It was a teacher that Vanja was.' / 'Vanja was A TEACHER .'

d. (Èto) VANJA byl moim učitelem. (specificational cleft / FF)
èto Vanja was my.*Instr* teacher.*Instr*
'It was Vanja who was my teacher.' / 'My teacher was VANJA.'

We should also expect that the same types of XPs must be able to be clefted with *èto* and focus-fronted without *èto*; that is, to be A'-moved to an IP-adjoined position. As we saw in Chapter I, there is a distinct asymmetry in the possibility of clefting different types of phrases. At the same time, different phrases are also not equal in terms of availability for focus-fronting. For example, PPs are less preferable for clefting and focus-fronting than DPs, while short PPs are more preferable in both processes than long ones.

Reeve also argues for monoclausality of Russian clefts. First, as already mentioned, no overt copula and no relative clause structure can be found in *èto*-clefts. Second, in contrast with King's analysis, some adverbs may appear between *èto* and the clefted phrase, namely, IP-adverbs but not VP-adverbs. See examples (19a-c) for the difference.

Note that (19b) is illicit, while (19c) is fine.

(19) a. Èto verojatno BORIS vypil vodku. (from Reeve, 2010, p. 168)
this probably Boris drank vodka
'It was probably Boris that drank the vodka.'
b. *Èto obyčno BORIS p'ët vsju vodku. (from King, 1993, p. 159)
this usually Boris drinks all vodka
'It is usually Boris who drinks all the vodka.'
c. Èto BORIS obyčno p'ët vsju vodku.
this Boris usually drinks all vodka
'It is usually Boris who drinks all the vodka.'

The third piece of evidence for the monoclausal analysis is that Russian clefts can contain imperative verbs, while imperative verbs in Russian, just like in English, can usually only appear in the matrix clause.

(20) Molči. Net, èto TY molči. (from Reeve 2010, p. 169)
be-quiet no this you be-quiet
'Be quiet. No, you be quiet.'

See the next section of this chapter for syntactic tests regarding assumed monoclausality of *èto*-clefts.

According to Reeve, there is extensive evidence in favor of *èto* being a DP and occupying a SpecIP position in a syntactic structure which "contains two functional categories with the same F-value" (Reeve calls it "IP-recursion"). In this aspect, his analysis differs from the monoclausal analyses by King, Junghanns, Geist and Błaszczak, and Markman. Reeve proposes a generalization of *èto* as a DP not just in clefts and in standard demonstrative contexts, but also in bare copular sentences (21).

(21) a. Ciceron èto Tullij.
Cicero this Tully
'Cicero is Tully.'

The presence of two IPs in the structure is supported by possibility of having both sentential and constituent negation in one sentence, namely in clefts only, while canonical

structures cannot host such double negation (see examples below from Reeve, 2010, p. 173).

(22) a. #Ne VODKU Ivan ne vypil(, a VODU).
not vodka Ivan not drank but water
'#Ivan didn't drink not vodka(, but water).'
b. Èto ne VODKU Ivan ne vypil(, a VODU).
this not vodka Ivan not drank but water
'It wasn't vodka that Ivan didn't drink(, but water).'

Here are some observations regarding Reeve's example in (22).

First, it is possible to have both a sentential and a constituent negation in a monoclausal Russian sentence, see the canonical structure and the corresponding cleft:

(23) a. Ja ne prišël ne iz-za tebja.
I not came not because-of you
b. Èto ne iz-za tebja ja ne prišël.
èto not because-of you I not came
'It wasn't because of you that I didn't come.'

Second, I believe that the acceptability of such double negation in a Russian sentence often depends on the presence or absence of a contrast. The judgments from example (24) suggest that the judgments in (22) could be revisited.

(24) a. *Mne ne nravitsja ne ryba.
me not is-liked not fish
'Whatever isn't fish, I don't like it.' (lit. "I don't like not fish")
b. A: I thought you said you don't like fish.
B: Mne ne nravitsja ne ryba, a to, skol'ko v nej kostej.
me not is-liked not fish but this how-many in it bones
'It's not fish that I don't like, but the amount of bones in it.'

Next, according to Reeve, while the proposed syntactic structure of Russian clefts is close to focus-fronting, their semantic interpretation is specificational, which makes them similar to English clefts. Note that King (1993) and Junghanns (1997) interpret *èto*-clefts

as being similar to focus-fronting sentences both syntactically and semantically. Reeve claims that both views fail to assign any significant meaning to *èto*. In particular, King does not specify any functions of *èto* apart from the syntactic role of a specifier of a focus phrase. At the same time, Junghanns's analysis treats *èto* as a filler in the absence of any other topic, while Reeve notes that having an explicit topic is not obligatory in a Russian sentence[32]. Finally, focus-fronting sentences do not require an anaphoric connection to the previous context, which is supposedly provided by *èto* in clefts, since the mentioned structures already imply certain references to the context.

Reeve notices that *èto*-clefts can be interpreted closer to focus-fronting sentences in one important aspect: that they tend to express contrast and are not typically used with new information focus. This effect is caused by the A'-movement. Still, other properties of *èto*-clefts make them similar to specificational sentences. These include exhaustivity and existential presupposition expressed by Russian clefts, as has already been presented in Chapter I and will be developed based on experiments in Chapter V. One more common property of specificational sentences and clefts is the impossibility of conjoining two structures with different foci and the same background:

(25) a. *Èto ŠLJAPU Maria obyčno pokupaet i èto KURTKU ona obyčno
this hat Maria usually buys and this coat she usually
pokupaet.
buys
'*It was A HAT that Maria bought and it was A COAT that she bought.'

b. *To, čto Maria obyčno pokupaet – èto ŠLJAPA, i èto KURTKA.
that C Maria usually buys this hat and this coat
'*What Maria bought was A HAT and it was A COAT.'

[32] In fact, Junghanns does not claim that topics are obligatory in Russian, but he noted that *èto* as a topic is used for cohesion between sentences. Topics are indeed not obligatory, but they are very common, especially in colloquial speech where *èto*-clefts are also typically encountered. Short elements, like personal pronouns or adverbs of time, easily appear sentence-initially even in *wh*-questions, thereby ensuring coherence and serving as a reference to a point in time or place or to a certain situation:

a. Ty začem vazu vykinul?
you why vase threw-out
'Why did you throw the vase in the garbage?'

b. Včera ja pošël v teatr.
yesterday I went in theatre
'I went to the theatre yesterday.'

2.1.5 Conclusion

Understanding the underlying syntactic structure behind Russian clefts has been a challenge for linguists in recent decades. Several researchers address this issue by proposing different hypotheses, which are summarized in Table 2 below. Most of them see Russian clefts as a monoclausal structure, but the syntactic and information-structural status of *èto* is not always clear. I investigate the structure of *èto*-clefts in the next section and the status of *èto* in the next chapters.

Author	Clauses	Status of *èto*	Interpretation
Gundel (1977)	biclausal; syntactically parallel to English clefts		specificational
King (1993)	monoclausal	specifier of a focus phrase/head	contrastive focus-fronting
Junghanns (1997)	monoclausal	occupies an IP-adjoined position above the focus, is a base-generated topic	focus-fronting
Geist & Błaszczak (2000)	biclausal (question part omitted)	specifier of ÈtoP	QA pairs (*wh*-question)
Markman (2008)	biclausal (question part omitted)	specifier of a topic head	QA pairs (*y/n*-question)
Kimmelmann (2009)	= Junghanns' analysis for thetic clefts only		
Reeve (2010)	monoclausal; double-IP structure	SpecIP (specifier of the higher IP)	The syntactic structure of focus-fronting sentences, and the semantics of specificational sentences. In Reeve (2012): equative copular sentence
Burukina & den Dikken (2020)	biclausal (question part omitted)	specifier of a topic head	QA pairs (*wh*-question)

Table 2: A comparative overview of existing approaches: the syntactic structure of èto-clefts, the status of èto and the interpretation of the cleft structure.

2.2 Syntactic tests

In this section, I provide the results of novel syntactic tests conducted in order to examine the actual structure of *èto*-clefts. Two related questions are relevant here: first, if an *èto*-cleft should be considered a monoclausal or a biclausal structure, and second, if the cleft pivot is base-generated in the left-peripheral position or moved there from its canonical position. Tests like these are commonly used as diagnostics for the syntax of focus constructions in non-Indo-European languages, such as Bura (Hartmann & Zimmermann, 2012), Wolof (Torrence, 2013) and Ga (Renans, 2016), but so far, they have not been applied to Russian *èto*-clefts. We will see that, even though some of these tests are not applicable for Russian, the valid tests show evidence for the monoclausality of Russian clefts, as well as for the movement of the clefted constituent.

2.2.1 Movement vs. base-generation

The first issue that I examine in this section is whether the focused cleft pivot in *èto*-structures is base-generated in the left-peripheral position or moved from the canonical position. The available literature on this subject is quite enriched. For more detail, see Rizzi (1997) and his "cartography of syntactic structures" and the study of the left periphery of the clause, Horvath (1986) and Brody (1990) for focus movement in Hungarian. See also Hartmann & Zimmermann (2012), Hole & Zimmermann (2013), Renans (2016) for base-generation, and Kayne (1994), Kiss (1998), Torrence (2013) for the movement of the focused constituent in clefts in different languages. The recent paper by Burukina and den Dikken (2020) provides evidence in favor of movement, specifically for Russian *èto*-clefts. Let us take a closer look.

The first group of tests is based on island sensitivity. Initially proposed by Ross (1967) for English, islands are a cross-linguistic phenomenon; see, e.g., Rojina (2011) and Belova et al. (2021) about *wh*-questions and *wh*-islands in Russian.

On the one hand, extraction is relatively limited in Russian, although extraction from a subjunctive relative clause is possible, see (26).

(26) Èto tebja$_i$ Maša xočet, čtoby Boris ždal t_i.
èto you Maša want that Boris waits
'It is you, whom Masha wants, that Boris waits for.'

On the other hand, extraction from *wh*-islands, adjunct islands and complex NP-islands is impossible in Russian either (see again Belova et al., 2021). Hence, we can use clefting into such an island to check the status of the cleft pivot: if the resulting structure is grammatical, we can assume the cleft pivot to be base-generated; otherwise, we have evidence for A'-movement.

Let us start with an example of a *wh*-island. The resulting structure (27b) is indeed ungrammatical. Since clefting of certain types of phrases is restricted in Russian, I provide an additional example to show that the ungrammaticality of (27b) is not caused by the ungrammaticality of the basic cleft in (27c).

(27) a. Maša sprosila, počemu ja ždal tebja.
Masha asked why I waited you
'Masha asked why I was waiting for you.'
b. *Èto tebja$_i$ Maša sprosila, počemu ja ždal t_i.
èto you Masha asked why I waited
'It was for you that Masha asked why I was waiting.'
c. Èto tebja ja ždal.
èto you I waited
'It was you that I was waiting for.'

The next example shows the impossibility of clefting into an adjunct island[33]. Again, (28c) shows that the basic cleft itself is possible.

(28) a. Ja ušël domoj, potomu čto mne nado bylo pozvonit' mame.
I went home because I.*Dat* needed it-was to-call mother
'I went home because I had to call my mother.'
b. *Èto mame$_i$ ja ušël domoj, potomu čto mne nado bylo pozvonit' t_i.
èto mother I went home because I.*Dat* needed it-was to-call
'It was my mother that I went home because I had to call.'
c. Èto mame mne nado bylo pozvonit'.
èto mother I.*Dat* needed it-was to-call
'It was my mother that I had to call.'

[33] See also Van Gelderen (2003) on adjunct islands in Russian.

Finally, clefting into complex NP-islands is forbidden, just like all previous types of islands.

(29) a. Anja verit sluxu, čto ja ubil enota.
Anja believes rumor that I killed racoon
'Anja believes the rumor that I killed a racoon.'
b. *Èto enota Anja verit sluxu, čto ja ubil t_i.
èto racoon Anja believes rumor that I killed
'It was a racoon that Anja believes the rumor that I killed.'
c. Èto enota ja ubil.
èto racoon I killed
'It was a racoon that I killed.'

I will return to relative clause islands (complex NPs) in the next sub-section.

Another argument in favor of movement, is the availability of reconstruction effects when reflexive pronouns and reciprocals are clefted. According to Principle A of the binding theory (Chomsky, 1981), a reflexive pronoun must be locally bound, which cannot happen if the clefted reflexive is base-generated outside the antecedent domain. However, if movement is assumed, the moved reflexive should be able to reconstruct into its base-generated position. The examples below show that both reflexives and reciprocals can be clefted, and the resulting structures are acceptable.

(30) a. Èto svoju sobaku každyj pokormil včera.
èto his dog everybody fed yesterday
'It was his dog that everybody fed yesterday.' (with different people feeding their different dogs)
b. Èto sebja ja uvidel na toj fotografii v gazete.
èto myself I saw on that picture in newspaper
'It was myself that I saw on that picture in the newspaper.'
c. Èto drug drugu my obeščali vsegda pomogat'.
èto each other we promised always to-help
'It was each other that we promised to always help.'

The third common test for movement is clefting parts of idiomatic expressions. As parts of such expressions must form a constituent in order to be interpreted idiomatically

as one unit (or one meaning), I expect clefting to be possible in the case of movement. On the other hand, for base-generation I predict no idiomatic interpretation since the parts of the idiom do not form a constituent at any stage of the derivation.

An interesting example in this respect are clefts in Wolof (Torrence, 2013). In this language, clefted parts can reconstruct into the original VP, thus allowing the metaphorical interpretation of an idiom. Example (31a) shows the non-clefted version of an idiom, and (31b) shows a clefted version. Torrence takes the possibility of (31b) as evidence for movement of the focused constituent.

(31) a. Sa jaan wàcc-na. [Wolof]
your snake descend-FIN
'You have finished your work.'

b. Sa jaan mu a wàcc. [Wolof]
your snake 3Sg COP descend
'YOU have finished your work.'
(Literally: "It is your snake that has descended.")

However, this test appears inapplicable for *èto*-clefts. Any transformation of an idiom in Russian, such as changing the word order or inserting additional words inside the idiom, results in the loss of its idiomatic interpretation. See the examples below. The hash sign marks where the idiomatic interpretations are impossible in cases (32b-d).

(32) a. On vyletel v trubu. (canonical)
he flew into tube
'He went bankrupt.' / 'He flew out into the tube.'

b. On vyletel v širokuju trubu. (adding a modifier)
he flew into wide tube
*'He went bankrupt.' / 'He flew out into the wide tube.'

c. V trubu on vyletel. (PP fronting)
into tube he flew
*'He went bankrupt.' / 'He flew out into the tube.'

d. Èto v trubu on vyletel. (PP clefting)
èto into tube he flew
*'It is bankrupt that he went.' / 'It was the tube that he flew out into.'

Apart from the restrictions on structural changes in Russian idioms, I also see semantic reasons why clefting parts of idioms would be unacceptable. As discussed earlier, *èto*-clefts express focus and sometimes represent contrastive contexts, implying either a contextually recoverable set of alternatives or an overt contraposition. However, when producing or hearing a cleft like (32d), a native speaker cannot have any alternatives to *the tube* in mind on the idiomatic interpretation. Moreover, one cannot encounter a context where the cleft pivot is unknown ("I know that he flew out of something, but what exactly was it?").

Still, based on the results of the first three tests, I can assume that the cleft pivot in Russian clefts undergoes movement to the left-peripheral position in the sentence.

2.2.2 Extraction from a cleft

Next, I check if extraction from a cleft is possible in order to test the mono-/biclausality of the cleft structure.

Let us assume that we are dealing with an *èto*-cleft that involves a biclausal structure. Importantly, in this case, the lower clause is a relative clause. For such a cleft, we would expect its relative clause to form an island for extraction. E.g., an English biclausal cleft does not allow the extraction of an element from its relative clause, see (33).

(33) a. I read the book$_i$ that Anna wrote t_i.
b. *I read the book$_i$ that it was Anna who wrote t_i.

The problem we observe regarding extraction from the biclausal cleft in (33b), involves the crossing of a CP boundary; see (34) with the corresponding syntactic structures explicitly presented for better clarity. In (34a), the covert Operator, which is coindexed with the head NP, moves to SpecCP, and there is no extraction across the CP. On the other hand, in (34b) the Operator crosses a CP boundary with the lower SpecCP filled by the overt relative operator *who*. This results in an ungrammatical sentence.

(34) a. I read [$_{DP}$ the [$_{NP}$[$_{NP}$ book$_i$] [$_{CP}$ Op_i that Anna wrote t_i]]
b. *I read [$_{DP}$ [the book$_i$ [$_{CP}$ Op_i that it was Anna [$_{CP}$ who wrote t_i]

As such, the impossibility of extraction from a Russian cleft in a similar manner might be evidence of its biclausality. Example (35a) shows a Russian structure with a simple relative clause, and (35b) shows a structure with object extraction from an *èto*-cleft.

(35) a. Ja pročital knigu$_i$, kotoruju Anna napisala t_i.
I read book which.*f.Acc* Anna wrote
'I read the book$_i$ that Anna wrote t_i.'
b. *Ja pročital knigu$_i$, kotoruju **èto** Anna napisala t_i.
I read book which.*f.Acc* ***èto*** Anna wrote
'I read the book$_i$ that it was Anna who wrote t_i.'

The structure in (35b) is unacceptable, as expected. However, I claim that the sentence boundary violation is not the reason for that.

Let us consider an example where the relative clause does not contain any other embedded clauses. See example (36), where the particle *imenno* 'exactly' precedes the subject instead of *èto*. We have seen this particle before in Chapter I, therefore, we already know that *imenno* is a particle that marks focus and contrast, which makes it semantically similar to *èto*. However, *imenno* can be attached directly to different constituents in a sentence, so it does not have to appear sentence-initially. Most importantly, *imenno* draws focus onto the constituent it is attached to without making the structure biclausal. In this respect, example (36) is very close to (35b) semantically, but grammatically it resembles (35a).

Since *imenno* is often not translated directly, I marked the focus on the relative clause subject using square brackets.

(36) *Ja pročital knigu, kotoruju **imenno** Anna napisala.
I read book which.*f.Acc* exactly Anna wrote
'I read the book that [Anna]$_F$ wrote.'

However, example (36) shows that object extraction from a relative clause with *imenno* is not allowed in the same way that it was not possible in (35b). Since there is no reason to consider the structure with *imenno* biclausal, I suggest another interpretation of the implausibility of (36) and (35b). Syntactically, the extraction of an object should be achievable, but there are still certain structural and information-structural reasons that cause the resulting structures to be unacceptable[34]. These reasons concern the relative clause.

[34] This looks similar to the so-called "focus intervention effects" discussed, e.g., in Beck (2006) and Beck & Kim (2007).

First, with regards to information structure, there is a general problem with putting new or contrastive information immediately after *which* in Russian. If *Anna napisala* 'Anna wrote' is known information, then this word order in a relative clause can stay, but without *imenno*, *èto* or any other focus or contrast markers. However, if *Anna* is a piece of new, focused or contrastive information, it should take its place in the clause-final position that is typical for NIF, see the examples:

(37) a. Context: The book is written by Anna (old information), and I read it (new information).

Ja pročital knigu, kotoruju Anna napisala.
I read book which.*f.Acc* Anna wrote
'I read the book that Anna wrote.'

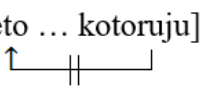
b. Context: I read a book that is written by Anna (new or contrastive information) and not by somebody else.

Ja pročital knigu, kotoruju napisala [Anna]$_{F/CF}$.
I read book which.*f.Acc* wrote Anna
'I read the book that [Anna]$_F$ wrote.'
*Ja pročital knigu, kotoruju [Anna]$_{F/CF}$ napisala.
I read book which.*f.Acc* Anna wrote
'I read the book that [Anna]$_F$ wrote.'

In both contexts, there is no reason to use a cleft in the relative clause. In (37a), all information in the relative clause is old and not in focus, and in (37b) the focused information comes clause-finally and cannot be fronted.

Second, if we try to use an *èto*-structure inside a relative clause, it seems that the relative pronoun *kotoruju* ('which.*f.Acc*') and the focus phrase led by *èto*, structurally compete for the clause-initial operator position, since both of them must appear clause-initially. In terms of Chomsky's analysis of relativization, the relative operator movement to SpecCP is blocked since this position is already taken by another element, namely, the focus constituent[35].

[35] Besides English and Russian, restrictions on focus inside relative clauses also apply in more exotic languages, see e.g., Hartmann & Zimmermann (2012) for Bura and Schwarz (2008) for Kikuyu.

(38) 

This assumption complements the analysis of *èto* as a topic by Junghanns (1997). Additionally, I come to an interesting conclusion: even though this island test fails, the evidence we gathered can be interpreted as the movement idea provided in the previous section being compatible with a mono-clausal account.

2.2.3 Mono- vs. biclausality

Last, but not least, I present several observations regarding the potential mono- or biclausal structure of *èto*-clefts.

First, we need to remember the most apparent observation of what distinguishes Russian clefts from English and German clefts on the surface level: no relativizer is present in *èto*-clefts. As we know, canonical sentences in English and Russian both have the SVO word order. Note that both languages also form relative clauses in a similar way, involving a relative pronoun. An important difference, however, is that a relative pronoun can never be omitted in the surface structure of a Russian sentence, unlike in an English sentence, see example (39) below. I use two possible relativizers in the Russian example. The pronoun *čto* 'that' is indeclinable, while the pronoun *kotoruju* 'which' agrees in case and gender with the noun it substitutes in the relative clause - *knigu* 'book'. The two relativizers are interchangeable in this example, and none of them can be omitted.

(39) I read the book (that) you gave me. (English)
Ja pročital knigu, *(čto/kotoruju) ty mne dal. (Russian)
I read book.*Acc* (that/which.*f.Acc*) you me gave

In *èto*-clefts, there are no overt syntactic or morphological signs of a biclausal structure. Since omitting a relativizer is not allowed in Russian, I cannot assume that the cleft structure we observe is a result of such an omission. Moreover, adding a relative pronoun on the surface makes the cleft structure ungrammatical, cf. (40). Finally, as mentioned in the beginning of the chapter, the overt verb (*stole* in (40)) agrees in gender and number with *I* but neither with *èto*, nor with something omitted on the surface but present in the deep structure.

(40) Èto ja (*kto/*kotoryj) ukral enota.
èto me.*Nom* (*who/*which.*m.Nom*) stole racoon
'It was me who stole a racoon.'

I can take these observations, as well as those presented below, as evidence in favor of monoclausality.

Remember the point taken from Reeve (2010) and mentioned in Section 2.1: omitting the cleft clause makes the sentence ungrammatical, see (41).

(41) Net, èto [olenja]$_F$ *(Vanja podstrelil).
no *èto* DEER Vanja shot
'No, it was a deer that Vanja shot.'

The problem with (41) is that the remnant of the ellipsis (*èto* + XP_{Foc}) does not form a constituent to the exclusion of the rest. We can assume that the moved XP_{Foc} adjoins to the TP and impose a constraint that the TP must be either elided as a whole or not at all, see (42)[36]. In any case, (41) shows that the structure of an *èto*-cleft is different from the structure of English clefts.

(42) a. [*Èto* [$_{TP}$ $XP_{FOC,i}$ [$_{TP}$ … t_i ...]]]]
b. *[*Èto* $XP_{FOC,i}$]

Finally, I can refer back to two valid points from Reeve (2010) that also argue for monoclausality of Russian clefts. First, that IP-adverbs may appear between *èto* and the clefted phrase, while VP-adverbs cannot (see example (19) from the previous sub-section). Second, that Russian clefts can contain imperative verbs, which can usually only appear in the matrix clause (see example (20)).

2.2.4 Conclusion

Not all cross-linguistically used tests are applicable for Russian clefts. Still, from the ones that can be applied I can assume that *èto*-clefts are monoclausal, and the clefted constituent undergoes movement from the canonical position to the left-peripheral position. As a final overview, I summarize the different tests, as well as their applicability

[36] See also Merchant (2005) for the theory of ellipsis.

to Russian clefts and the results, in Table 3.

Test	Result	Evidence for
Using a relativizer between the cleft pivot and the background information	impossible	monoclausality
Omitting the cleft clause	impossible	monoclausality
Adding IP- or VP-adverbs after *èto* (Reeve)	IP-adverbs allowed only	monoclausality
Using imperative verbs in clefts (Reeve)	allowed	monoclausality
Extracting an element from a cleft	N/A	N/A
Clefting into a *wh*-island	impossible	movement
Clefting into an adjunct island	impossible	movement
Reconstruction of reflexives and reciprocals	possible	movement
Clefting parts of idiomatic expressions	N/A	N/A

Table 3: An overview of the results of common syntactic tests when applied to èto-clefts.

"Proximity bred familiarity,
and familiarity bred comfort."
Nicholas Sparks, "The Lucky One"

Chapter III

Familiarity in *èto*-clefts

In this section, I introduce the notion of familiarity that I later use for the analysis of Russian data. I also examine the differences between Russian *èto* as a particle and as a pronoun. I observe in which contexts *èto* can be deictic or anaphoric and what *èto* can refer to. I show that it is problematic to unambiguously categorize *èto* in clefts as a pronoun or a particle because it shares properties of both parts of speech. It is also difficult to describe the cleft *èto* in terms of anaphora vs. deixis. Therefore, I analyze *èto* in terms of familiarity and claim that it can manifest different kinds of familiarity.

3.1 Familiarity

Since the definitions and the interpretations of anaphora and deixis vary dramatically across the literature, and the boundary between these terms is subject to fluctuation, in this research I stick to the most basic and traditional sense of the terms. Namely, I take anaphora as "reference to something already introduced in the text or in the discourse, which is independent of the communicative situation", and deixis as a "reference that changes as soon as the communicative situation changes"; see, e.g., Lyons, 1979; Heim, 1982; Fillmore, 1997; Huang, 2000 for an introduction to anaphora and deixis.

Still, for the discussion of *èto* below I will need a special term that can generalize the above-mentioned phenomena. The term "anaphoricity" itself is often used in its broad sense when possible interpretations of expressions are reconstructed based on other expressions, salient objects or events in the context; that is, for any manifestations of anaphora or deixis. "Anaphoricity", or "anaphora", in its narrow sense is often opposed to "deixis" or "cataphora", which may lead to a confusion.

For this reason, during the analysis of *èto* in Russian clefts I will be using the term "familiarity", as described by Hawkins (1978) and Roberts (2002; 2003). Additionally - and this feature will be very useful for the analysis of Russian data - familiarity, in contrast

to anaphoricity, also comes with degrees of intensity: it can be strong or weak.

Firstly, making a reference to Heim (1982), Roberts notes that "familiarity is determined by whether there already exists information about a corresponding discourse referent in the local context of interpretation, the context being a file of information held in common by the interlocutors in the discourse" (Roberts, 2003, p. 7). She also points out that such familiarity requires the referent (usually in the form of a DP) to be mentioned in the discourse. Such reference can be anaphoric or deictic, and Roberts calls this relation "strong familiarity". The notions of anaphora and deixis are well known, so I assume that strong familiarity does not require any examples or further explanations at this point.

Additionally, Roberts introduces the notion of "weak familiarity" which can be realized by having references to entities that have not been explicitly mentioned, i.e., these entities do not have to be introduced using linguistic means. Instead, they are "entailed in the context", and accommodation of the referent is required for weak familiarity to be licensed. For example, a potential referent could be something perceptually accessible to all participants; it is something they all see, hear, or perceive in any way while being aware that the others perceive it too. Cf. (1), where *it* takes the outside noise as its referent.

(1) A and B are having an unrelated conversation. Suddenly there is some noise coming from the construction works across the road.

A: My god, it is so loud!

The weakly familiar referent could also be a known entity from the common background (world knowledge) of the speakers, see (2) from Roberts (2003).

(2) This car has a statue on the dashboard.

The shared knowledge that facilitates the correct interpretation of (2) is that cars have dashboards, specifically, just one dashboard per car. Thus, the referent of *the dashboard* is weakly familiar to the reader.

The background used to accommodate the referent might include not only general facts about the world but also local situations that everybody has recently heard of (or at least, the speaker expects the other participants of the conversation to share this background), like scandals involving presidents, see (3), also from Roberts (2003).

(3) Isn't it shocking that he's been impeached for lying about consensual sex?

Roberts also notes the connection between presuppositions and weak familiarity. She considers definite NPs as elements triggering familiarity presuppositions. Particularly, as accommodation is usually required for the processing of presuppositions, it is no surprise that familiarity is also accompanied by accommodation. As soon as there is an existence entailment, we observe weak familiarity as its effect.

More on this topic, specifically applied to clefts, can be found in Delin (1992), where she investigates how existence presuppositions in English *it*-clefts is connected to familiarity[37]. Delin provides evidence for this, which I briefly present below. I also provide Russian data to illustrate that the same connection can be found in *èto*-clefts. This will give us a solid background for understanding the familiarity-related potential of Russian clefts. All English data given below are from Delin (1982) and all Russian data are mine.

The first point, according to Delin, is that elements that can express both familiarity and emphasis, like *such* and *so*, can be interpreted only in terms of familiarity when they are inside a cleft remnant (that is, included in the cleft presupposition). Cf. the English (4a) and Russian (4b-c) examples below. The corresponding ambiguous Russian elements are *takoj* and *tak*.

(4) a. Then there was the Test Act which insisted that all civil and military officers should take the oath of supremacy and allegiance and receive the Holy Communion according to the Church of England rite. **It was** such legalistic hamfistedness which was to make the life of the Church of England such an artificial observance for so many in the following century.

b. Typically emphatic reading:
Pëtr postupil tak grubo s toboj. On predal tebja.
Pëtr behaved so rough with you he betrayed you
'Pëtr treated you so bad. He betrayed you.'

[37] To be more precise, Delin says that "*it*-cleft presuppositions… appear to display characteristics typical of anaphoric environments" (Delin 1992, p. 290). She does not specify if "anaphoric" is used in its narrow sense (e.g., as opposed to "deictic") or not, but it is clear from the data and examples she provides that "anaphoricity" is meant as a general term. Since familiarity is a broader notion, I will stick to it.

c. Familiar reading:

Vot ty vinil Stepana, a zrja. **Èto** Pëtr tak grubo postupil s toboj.
here you blamed Stepan but in-vain *èto* Pëtr so rough behaved with you
'See, you were blaming Stepan, but you were wrong. It was Pëtr who treated you so bad.'

The second observation mentioned by Delin is that the *it*-cleft presupposition comes along with familiarity that licenses contrast to some part of the preceding context. Importantly, a simple non-cleft structure would not have the same effect. Cf. again examples in English (5a-b) and Russian (5c-d).

(5) a. Doubling the selling space to 700 square feet was not to be the greatest expense. **It was** the new fixtures and fittings to fill this space that would be costly.

b. ?Doubling the selling space to 700 square feet was not to be the greatest expense. The new fixtures and fittings to fill this space would be costly.

c. Paša ne byl samym problemnym rebënkom. **Èto** Vanja ne spal do trëx
Paša not was most troubled child *èto* Vanja not slept until three
noči i plakal po malejšemu povodu.
in-the-morning and cried for smallest cause
'Paša wasn't the most troubled child. It was Vanja who didn't sleep until three in the morning and was crying at the drop of a hat.'

d. ?Paša ne byl samym problemnym rebjonkom. Vanja ne spal do trëx noči i plakal po malejšemu povodu.
'Paša wasn't the most troubled child. Vanja didn't sleep until three in-the-morning and was crying at the drop of a hat.'

Finally, note the difference between the communicative functions of the following cleft and non-cleft examples. In each pair, both structures convey the same information, but the non-cleft is there to inform, and the cleft is there to remind, thus referring to the preceding discourse or to the knowledge shared by the interlocutors.

(6) a. B: To be frank, I've heard from a number of sources that when you were interviewed for a job here that you think that you didn't get the job because of me
A: Oh no, I never said that... I went to great pains to tell people that you were the

one supporting me. In fact, **it was** VERY shortly AFTER that INTERVIEW that I sent my circular letter AROUND to various scholars and I sent YOU a copy

A'. In fact, VERY shortly AFTER that INTEVIEW I sent my circular letter AROUND to various scholars and I sent YOU a copy

b. B: Ja slyšal, tebja vzjali na postdok, pozdravljaju.
I heard you.*G* they-took on postdoc congratulations
'I heard you got a postdoc position, congratulations.'

A: Spasibo. **Èto** Paša togda poznakomil menja s moim buduščim
thanks *èto* Paša back-then introduced me to my future
naučnym rukovoditelem.
supervisor
'Thanks. It was Paša who introduced me to my future supervisor back then.'

A': Spasibo. Paša togda poznakomil menja s moim buduščim
thanks Paša back-then introduced me to my future
naučnym rukovoditelem.
supervisor
'Thanks. Paša introduced me to my future supervisor back then.'

When we say that cleft presuppositions show familiarity effects, it implies that they require an antecedent (cf. Delin 1992, p. 296: "the presupposed proposition is seen as requiring an antecedent in the discourse context in order to be felicitous"). Delin also asserts that such an antecedent does not have to be expressed explicitly in the preceding discourse and therefore it should be accommodated. This statement connects Delin's observations with the notion of weak familiarity by Roberts, and this overview allows us to move on to Russian data.

3.2 What èto *can be*

I begin with *èto* and an examination of this term as a separate lexical unit. For the purposes of this research, it is useful to remember which part of speech *èto* can belong to, in different contexts, as well as when it typically shows familiarity-related (anaphoric or deictic) properties and when it does not. These properties depend on which part of speech *èto* may be defined as: a particle or a pronoun.

As typically described in Russian grammar books and relevant articles (see Padučeva, 1979, 1982; Ivanova, 1982; Rosental' et al., 1994), *èto* as a **particle** expresses neither

deixis nor anaphora (that is, it triggers no strong familiarity). As a particle, *èto* is in most cases unstressed and must be prosodically attached to another XP or a word. It is quite important that this particle alone does not form a constituent. It is often used to express emphasis in contexts with focus fronting, for example, *èto* can emphasize a *wh*-question (7a). Padučeva (1982) also considers *èto* to be a particle in clefts and pseudo-clefts (7b-c). Interestingly, without going into detail, she considers *èto* "a limiting particle which is mostly used with DPs". Also, for cleft examples, like (7c), she claims that "its semantic role is presumption of existence and uniqueness of the object" (that is, of the clefted constituent). Even though Padučeva does not provide any experimental evidence, her observations correspond to the findings described in this dissertation.

(7) a. Kto **èto** zvonit v dver' tak pozdno?
who *èto* rings in door so late
'Who is the one ringing our doorbell so late?'

b. Čto menja ogorčajet - **èto** to, čto ty ploxo sebja vedëš'.
what me hurts *èto* that that you badly yourself behave
'What hurts me is that you behave so badly.'

c. **Èto** ja [vas]$_F$ včera vstretil na ulice?
èto I you yesterday met on street
'Was it you whom I met yesterday on the street?'

Note that, even though strong familiarity is not attested with *èto* as a particle, Padučeva's claim regarding "presumption of existence" hints at weak familiarity, at least in clefts (I will investigate this in detail in the next section). However, we can also find traces of existence presupposition (and therefore, weak familiarity) in typical particle usages like (7a). In this example, *èto* would then refer to the one ringing the bell at the moment of the conversation. Indeed, the example would clearly become illicit in a context when no bell ringing can be heard.

At the same time, *èto* as a **pronoun** manifests strong familiarity. It can be deictic (it points to referents depending on the communicative situation), like in (8a), or anaphoric (it has an explicit antecedent), like in (8b). As a pronoun, it forms an independent XP and is often stressed. In contrast to *èto* in canonical clefts, Padučeva (1982) considers *èto* to be a pronoun in thetic clefts (8c).

(8) a. (Pointing at the sky)
Čto **èto** tam?
what this there
'What is that up there?'

b. V maje ja byl v Avstralii, i **èto** lučšee, čto slučilos' so mnoj za
in May I was in Australia and this the-best that happened with me in
ves' god.
whole year
'I visited Australia in May, and it was the best thing that happened to me this year.'

c. Každyj počti večer vidno zarevo dalëkix požarov: èto
each almost evening one-can-see glow distant.*Gen* fires.*Gen èto*
[turki žgut bolgarskie derevni].
Turks burn Bulgarian villages
'The glow of distant fires can be seen almost every evening. It is the Turks who are burning Bulgarian villages. '

Note (8b) which is an important example of *èto* referring to non-individual entities, e.g., events or situations: *èto* = the event of "me visiting Australia in May". The fact that *èto* does not have to refer to individual entities, objects or people, but can also denote more abstract and broad phenomena, like events, is crucial for this section's analysis of *èto*-clefts in terms of familiarity.

Also note the colon after the first clause in (8c). The colon makes it explicit that the following *èto*-cleft serves as an explanation, while *èto* anaphorically refers to a perceived situation including distant fires. I could even easily add *because* between *èto* and the rest of the clause which is placed in square brackets (we previously discussed the possibility of adding *because* in Section 1.3 when I talked about thetic clefts).

As mentioned by Shipova (2014), an important property of the Russian pronoun *èto*, which distinguishes it from the English pronoun *it*, is that *èto* cannot be a dummy word, e.g. it must have an antecedent and cannot be used in typical impersonal contexts, like *It's raining* or *It's cold*. This means, if we consider *èto* a pronoun (an element triggering familiarity) in a given clause, we should be looking for its antecedent.

(9) a. Idët dožd'.
goes rain
'It's raining.' (literally: "Rain is going", no similarly impersonal structure is possible in Russian)
b. (*Èto) xolodno.
(*èto*) cold
'It's cold.'

Finally, the indeclinable particle or the pronoun *èto* should not be confused with the homonymous declinable determiner *ètot* 'this' in its singular neuter form, as in (10):

(10) (Pointing a finger)
Vidiš' èto derevo?
see.*2sg* this.*n.Sg* tree.*n.Sg*
'Do you see this tree?'

There are also cases where Padučeva (1982) finds it problematic to identify the status of *èto*. Padučeva points out that in the following contexts *èto* has a clear antecedent (specified in brackets for each example), as if it were a pronoun. Still, Padučeva cannot assign *èto* any syntactic role in the sentence, and such an effect is typical for particles. So, here again we have evidence that *èto* can trigger (weak) familiarity and refer to an abstract entity or an event. However, as a situation or event-referring proform, *èto* does not have to be realised in an argument position but could be an adjunct. Thus, *èto* can still be interpreted as a pronoun even in the examples provided below (from Padučeva):

(11) a. - Začem ty eë berëš'?
why you it.*f* take
'Why are you taking it?'
- **Èto** ja na vsjakij slučaj[38]. (*èto* = "the fact that I'm taking this thing")
èto I for any case
'This is just in case.'

[38] Actually, this structure can be interpreted as a combination of two propositions: [*èto*] [ja na vsjakij slučaj] which stand in a casual relation. In this case, *èto* is a pronoun, but I indeed do not expect it to occupy an argument position in the second proposition.

b. Opjat' kuriš'? **Èto** ty zrja.[39] (*èto* = "smoking")
again smoking? *èto* you for-nothing
'Are you smoking again? It's so wrong.'

c. - Ja dolžna ot vas s''exat', Mixajlo Ivanovič.
I must from you move-away Mixajlo Ivanovič
'I must leave you, Mixajlo Ivanovič.'
- **Èto** začem?[40] (*èto* = "leaving the man")
èto why
'Why is that?'

To summarize the knowledge from above, I constructed the following examples. The NP *jabloko* 'apple' follows *èto* in all of them, although *èto* has different properties in different examples, e.g., it can be deictic (12b, 12c) or anaphoric (12a, 12e); declinable (12c) or indeclinable (12a, 12b, 12d, 12e); a pronoun (12a, 12b, 12e) or a particle (12d). Additionally, in (12c) *èto* forms one constituent with *apple*, but in other cases it does not. The properties of *èto* in each case are listed in brackets. The noun *jabloko* 'apple' is chosen deliberately, as it agrees with *èto* in number and gender in cases when *èto* is declinable.

(12) a. Ja vižu čto-to zelënoe. Èto jabloko. (pronoun, anaphoric, indeclinable)
I see something green *èto* apple (*èto* = "something green")
'I see something green. It's an apple.'

b. (Pointing at the apple) Èto jabloko. (pronoun, deictic, indeclinable)
èto apple (*èto* = the object I am pointing at)
'This is an apple.'

c. Počemu èto jabloko ležit na stole? (determiner, deictic, declinable,
why *èto.n* apple.*n* lies on table forms one constituent with *jabloko*)
'Why is this apple lying on the table?'

---

[39] Here *èto* could be a nominalized VP-pronoun. One can also say:
(i) Ty zrja kuriš'.
you for-nothing smoke
'It's so wrong that you smoke.'

[40] Here the analysis might be the same as for (11a).

d. Počemu èto jabloko ležit na stole? (emphatic particle, indeclinable)
why *emph* apple lies on table
'Why on earth is an apple lying on the table?'

e. To, čto ležit na stole, - èto jabloko. (pronoun, anaphoric, indeclinable, connector in equative or specificational sentences)
that what lies on table *èto* apple
'What is lying on the table is an apple.'

f. Èto [jabloko]$_F$ ležit na stole. (unclear unit in a canonical cleft, indeclinable)
èto apple lies on table
'It's an apple that is lying on the table.'

g. Èto [jabloko ležit na stole]$_F$. (unclear unit in a thetic cleft, indeclinable)
èto apple lies on table
'There is an apple lying on the table.'

As you can see, the simple two-words sequence *èto jabloko* allows for many possible usage variations. At the same time, I cannot draw any conclusions regarding the status of *èto* in clefts (12f) and thetic clefts (12g) judging from the surface structures only.

In the following sections, I will investigate *èto* in more detail and discuss familiarity effects indicated with *èto*-clefts.

3.3 Familiarity in èto*-clefts*

As we already know, *èto* in clefts is multifunctional:

i. it is a focus attractor that draws the focused element to the left periphery of the clause,

ii. it is a focus marker,

iii. it makes the clefted XP longer for better comprehension.

Now I can use the new findings to add more information to this list of functions in terms of familiarity.

Among the linguists who propose analyses of *èto* and its status in Russian clefts, only a few authors make arguments about which part of speech *èto* could be defined as. In most works, *èto* is called a pronoun or a demonstrative without further investigation or reasoning. I admit that the categorization of parts of speech might be problematic, and in the end, this is a matter of terminology. Yet, if we declare *èto* a demonstrative, we should then assume that *èto* must trigger (strong) familiarity, since demonstratives are known anaphors. I would rather not draw quick conclusions about any familiarity-related

properties of *èto* based solely on the fact that *èto* often functions as a demonstrative. Actually, I will not be concentrating on the "part of speech" issue at all, instead I will be looking for attestable familiarity effects.

At the same time, regardless of the part of speech, different linguists claim that *èto* in Russian clefts is anaphoric (Junghanns, 1997), deictic (Junghanns, 1997; Geist and Błaszczak, 2000; Shkapa, 2012) or neither (Padučeva, 1982; Reeve, 2010). So, clearly, the familiarity phenomenon in Russian clefts requires more attention, as the opinions of the researchers are inconsistent.

In order to take a closer look at familiarity effects in *èto*-clefts, I bring back the two *èto*-initial structures that we saw in example (73) in Section 1.3. The first one is the basic cleft (or BC) with focus-fronting and pitch accent on *me*, in (13a). The second example (13b) is a cleft that involves a contrastive focus and an explicit contraposition with a contrastive topic in the second part of the structure (in short, CFC). The prosodic features of this sentence include different pitch accents on the focused element and on the contrastive topic[41]. In addition to the examples that I take from Section 1.3, I also add a third structure type which is the thetic cleft (or TC), in (13c). I expect each of these structures to have slightly different semantic connections to the context.

(13) a. (Mona Lisa is a famous painting of an unknown painter. John says:)

Èto [ja]$_{F}$ narisoval Mona Lizu. (BC)

èto I painted Mona Lisa

'It was me who painted Mona Lisa.'

b. (Peter claims that he painted Mona Lisa, although in fact John did it. John also believes that Peter is not even capable of painting at such a high level. John says to Peter:)

Èto [ja]$_{CF}$ narisoval Mona Lizu, a [ty]$_{CT}$ tol'ko karikatury i umeeš' risovat'. (CFC)

èto I painted Mona Lisa and you only cartoons *emph* can paint

'It was me who painted Mona Lisa, and you are only capable of painting cartoons.'

[41] See Büring (2003) for focus vs. contrastive topics and their prosodic features in English, which are similarly attested in Russian. Also, see Mehlhorn (2013), Jasinskaja (2013).

c. Čto za kartina visit v gostinoj? - Èto [ja narisoval Mona
what for painting is-hanging in dining-room *èto* I painted Mona
Lizu]$_F$. (TC)
Lisa

'What is this painting that is hanging in the dining room? - (This is) I painted Mona Lisa.'

Table 4 below is the one we have already seen in Section 1.3 with the addition of judgements for thetic clefts. What I will show is that I can draw certain conclusions about familiarity effects in *èto*-initial structures based on the usage patterns that are illustrated by this table.

I manipulate the same two conditions as in Section 1.3: *tense* (past, present, future) and the *size of the set* denoted by the backgrounded predicate (singleton set, like in *It was John who won the race*, or non-singleton set, like *It was John who came to the party*).

Each of the six combinations is represented by one cleft-based structure. For example, the structure used in (13), *Èto ja narisoval Mona Lizu* ('It was me who painted Mona Lisa') which forms the first line of the table, is in the past tense, and the painter must be unique ("set size" = 1). On the right-hand side of the table, I mark whether the structure is licit ("+") or not ("-") under the given condition of a basic cleft with focus (BC), a cleft with contrastive focus (CFC), or a thetic cleft (TC)[42]. As in Section 1.3, judgments were made on the assumption that each example appears not out of the blue but in a suitable context.

Let us remember the important points taken from this table earlier and extend my conclusions to the new data.

First, regarding tense, it is still only the cleft structures with an explicitly realized contrastive focus that are allowed in the future tense. Both basic clefts and thetic clefts behave in the same way under this condition, namely, they could be used in the past or in the present tense.

Second, regarding the set size: basic clefts are consistently used in contexts with one possible unique answer (a singleton set), which reminds us that *èto*-clefts exhibit exhaustivity effects (these will be further investigated in Chapter V). At the same time, it might seem that these effects are weaker or absent in contrastive focus clefts and thetic clefts, as they are equally good in both conditions (singleton set vs. non-singleton set).

[42] The judgments are confirmed by several native speakers.

Tense	Set size	Base structure	BC	CFC	TC
past	1	Èto ja narisoval Mona Lizu (a ty tol'ko karikatury i umeeš' risovat'). 'It was me who painted Mona Lisa (and you are only capable of painting cartoons).'	+	+	+
past	>1	Èto ja narisoval pejzaži (a ty narisoval natjurmorty). 'It was me who painted (some) landscapes (and you painted some still lifes).'	-	+	+
pres	1	Èto ja risuju Mona Lizu (a ty tol'ko karikatury i umeeš' risovat'). 'It is me who is painting Mona Lisa (and you are only capable of painting cartoons).'	+	+	+
pres	>1	Èto ja risuju pejzaži (a ty riseš natjurmorty). 'It is me who is painting (some) landscapes (now) (and you are painting still lifes).'	-	+	+
fut	1	Èto ja narisuju Mona Lizu (a ty vsju žizn' budeš risovat' karikatury). 'It is me who will paint Mona Lisa (and you'll be painting cartoons for the rest of your life).'	-	+	-
fut	>1	Èto ja narisuju pejzaži (a ty narišeš natjurmorty). 'It is me who will paint (some) landscapes (and you will paint some still lifes).'	-	+	-

Table 4. Three cleft-based structures under different conditions.

In fact, I think there are simply different aspects being restricted by the [exhaustivity] feature in BC, CFC and TC. In basic clefts, the answer to the covert question "Who painted Mona Lisa?" should be exhaustive: "It was me and nobody else". Thetic clefts are exhaustive in the sense that, regarding the current situation, the whole focused statement is true but not something else ("There is a painting in the dining room because I've painted Mona Lisa and put it there, and there is no other reason"). As for contrastive clefts, it seems presupposed (note that the presupposition is realized by the usage of *èto*) that there is a limited set of alternatives which contrapose to each other in terms of the quality of painting, in this case: {I, you}. Additionally, the exhaustive meaning of the contrastive cleft is the following: "Out of the accessible two alternatives, I painted Mona Lisa and you definitely did not". Returning to thetic clefts, it is somehow expected that

their exhaustivity is realized on a completely different level, as the scope of the focus also differs from the other clefts (one constituent in BC vs. the whole structure in TC). At the same time, it is remarkable how differently exhaustivity is realized in basic clefts and contrastive clefts, even though the same constituent is in focus in both cases.

The existence presupposition triggered by *èto* in all three cleft structures should be the connecting link to familiarity. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, my understanding of familiarity is directly based on the information about the existence of a potential discourse referent. Since the presuppositions are different in each case, we might expect the degrees of familiarity to differ as well.

The expected familiarity effects can certainly explain the unacceptability of basic clefts in the future tense. Taking into account that basic *èto*-clefts are most often used by native speakers to refer to a single event in the past, *èto* may easily refer to some object or phenomenon that has already been instantiated at the moment of the conversation. As no instantiated situation can take place in the future, such usage of canonical *èto*-clefts is restricted. Also, since the hearer should draw their knowledge of the existence of the situation from the context (it most probably would not be explicitly described), I conclude that basic *èto*-clefts manifest weak familiarity.

The next point concerns clefts with contrastive focus which, unlike the other two structural types, are equally possible in all tenses. We should assume that CFCs imply no relation to any instantiated event, but as just discussed, there is a certain, quite specific existence presupposition realized by *èto*. In this case, accommodation of the presupposition is also required, and we again speak about a case of weak familiarity.

Finally, thetic clefts cannot exist in the future tense, just like canonical clefts. Presumably, *èto* in thetic clefts should also relate to a situation or an event which is known from the context and has already happened or is happening. Indeed, thetic clefts are often used as an explanation of some perceptible phenomena (*What are these paint stains on the floor? - It was [me painting my new masterpiece].*) This resonates well with the analysis of thetic sentences in Erteschik-Shir (1997), in which thetic sentences are analyzed as predications on a discourse-given salient situation. Non-instantiated future situations then cannot serve as argument for thetic predications. In this respect, thetic clefts are closer to canonical clefts. However, since the event that thetic clefts refer to is "perceptible", or often even explicitly described in the preceding context, I assume strong familiarity to take place.

Note that Reeve (2010) argues against anaphoric or deictic properties of canonical *èto*-

clefts pointing out that, on the whole (hence including canonical clefts), constructions with focus-fronting exhibit existence presupposition and cannot be used out of the blue. In fact, not all focus-fronting structures fall under the same restrictions as *èto*-clefts, cf. the examples below. *Èto* is replaced with the focus particle *imenno* in the non-cleft examples, but the rest of the sentences remain the same. Both past tense examples are acceptable, see (14a-a'), but cleft example (14b) does not exist in the future tense, while focus structure (14b') does.

(14) There is a parcel on the table. Somebody has already opened it. John admits:

a. Èto [ja]$_F$ vskryl posylku.
èto I opened parcel

a'. Imenno [ja]$_F$ vskryl posylku.
exactly I opened parcel
'It was me who opened the parcel.'

There is a parcel on the table that just arrived. John, Peter and Mark are deciding who will open it. John claims that it must be him who will open this parcel:

b. *Èto [ja]$_F$ vskroju posylku.
èto I will-open parcel

b'. Imenno [ja]$_F$ vskroju posylku.
exactly I will-open parcel
'It is me who will open the third box.'

The difference in acceptability of (14b) and (14b') must be explained by the difference between *èto* and *imenno*. The impossibility of (14b) implies that something prevents *èto* from being used in a context with focus-fronting in the future tense. Were *èto* just a focus particle like *imenno*, I would not expect to see such a difference between them. As such, it is highly probable that the semantic properties of *èto* are broader and include a reference to existence - not in an imaginary situation in the future, but in the real world. In any case, I cannot agree with Reeve who considered the usage of *èto* in clefts to be semantically redundant.

Apparently, the connection between *èto* and existence also holds in questions like (15a) below that correspond to cleft questions in English. Here, *èto* is also unstressed and prosodically attached to the *wh*-word. The information that follows *èto* is known. Note

that restrictions on fronting certain XP types apply consistently both to clefts and this type of question. Cf. (15b) with a fronted AdvP and (15c) with the corresponding *wh*-question, both unacceptable.

(15) a. Kto èto zvonit v dver' tak pozdno?
who *èto* rings in door so late
'Who is the one ringing our doorbell so late?'
b. *Èto [bystro]$_F$ ja bežal.
èto fast I ran
'It was fast that I ran/was running.'
c. *Kak èto ja bežal?
how *èto* I ran
'How was I running?'

Here is the final but still significant argument for the familiarity-related nature of *èto* in clefts and thetic sentences. It is the evidence of the behavior of *èto* in comparison to the demonstrative *to* 'that', which has already been mentioned in Chapter I, that is particularly important. *Èto* as a proximal demonstrative and *to* as a distal demonstrative often come together to distinguish between objects or phenomena, in terms of physical proximity (16a), temporal proximity (16b), or importance (16c). As mentioned by Berger (1991), another important factor is the position of the speaker ("Zugehörigkeit oder Nichtzugehörigkeit zum Sprecherraum"). For example, when the speaker is physically closer to door A than to door B but can only see door B but not door A, they would use *èto* to speak about door B and *to* for door A (see also Apresyan, 1983). This factor is often even more important than physical proximity.

(16) a. (pointing a finger)
Ètot dom krasnyj, a **tot** dom zelënyj.
this house red and that house green
'This house (which is close) is red and that house (which is far) is green.'
b. V **to** vremja ženščinam nel'zja bylo daže polučat' obrazovanie.
in that time women.*Dat* not-allowed was even to-get education
'Back then women were not allowed even to get an education.'

c. Ob **ètom** parne ja zabočus', a do **togo** mal'čika mne dela
about this guy I care and to that boy me.*Dat* business
net.
there-isn't
'I care about this guy, but that boy doesn't mean anything to me.'

The same distal vs. proximal contraposition, which is typical for demonstratives, can be noticed if we examine *èto* and *to* in and around clefts.

A very representative example with a contraposition of time references is given below. We can see a clefted adverb of time at the beginning, and another time reference as an explicit contraposition ("now" vs. "then") later in the sentence. The distal demonstrative in the second part of the contraposition is used as a modifier, similar to the examples (16a-c) above. The proximal part is realized by *èto* in the cleft and supported by the adverb of time.

(17) **Èto** POTOM ja ix vymuštroval tak, čto ljubo-dorogo gljadet', a V
èto LATER I them drilled so that excellent to-see but IN
TU PORU rebjatam prixodilos' ograničivat'sja vozmožnost'ju prislat' mne
THAT TIME guys needed restrict.*Refl* opportunity.*Instr* to-send me
zov i polučit' tolkovyj sovet.
call and get sensible advice

'It was only later that I trained them so that they became really professional, but back then the best thing the guys could do was to give me a call and get sensible advice.'

As previously mentioned in Chapter I, *to* can sometimes replace *èto* in clefts, mostly in colloquial speech. The usage of *to* is common in contexts when the described situation took place earlier in time and is considered unimportant by the speaker at the moment of the conversation, cf. examples (18)-(19) below. At the same time, the usage of *èto* emphasizes the relevance or salience of the situation. This relevance condition also seems to play a role in the use of the present perfect tense in English. Indeed, (19a) and (19b) may be translated using the present perfect and the past tense respectively.

(18) A: I can't understand, who called me yesterday.

B: a. Da **èto** ja zvonil! Xotel priglasit' tebja v kino segodnja.
emph èto I called wanted to-invite you in cinema today
'It was me who called you! I wanted to invite you to the cinema later today.'

b. (waving his hand)
Da **to** ja zvonil! No vopros uže rešën.
emph **to** I called but question already solved
'It was me who called you! But the problem has already been solved.'

(19) a. Èto ja razbil okno.
èto I broke window
'It is me who has broken the window. (Implying: I admit I am guilty)'

b. To ja razbil okno.
to I broke window
'It was me who broke the window. (Implying: It was a long time ago and it's not important anymore)'

3.4 Conclusion

In contrast to Reeve (2010), I propose that *èto* in clefts is not semantically empty but conveys familiarity and anaphorically refers to an event or a situation, therefore triggering an existence presupposition[43]. The existence of a situation might be obvious for the speaker, in case, when the situation is perceptually accessible or already instantiated in the context. This is typical for thetic *èto*-clefts in which I assume strong familiarity. At the same time, in some cases the existence of a situation must be accommodated, as the situation is not introduced explicitly. This can happen in basic *èto*-clefts, where familiarity is weak.

[43] Cf. Delin (1992), p. 295: "Presupposed information is in general non-negotiable. I suggest that non-negotiability arises from anaphoricity because anaphora implies the existence of prior references to the same information."

"Consider the scope of your topic."
(from the internet article "How can I choose a good topic for my research paper?")

Chapter IV

Proposal and analysis of *èto*-clefts

To finalize the theoretical part of this research, I present my own analysis of *èto*-clefts. Based on the evidence and issues described in the first three chapters, I propose the underlying structures on both syntactic and information-structural levels. I give an interpretation of *èto* as TopP functioning as a base-generated Topic expression. I give some background on the relevant terms (Topic/Comment, Focus/Background) and explain why my proposal is plausible. I also consider previously mentioned examples and facts in terms of the new proposal.

4.1 Proposal

I propose the following underlying syntactic structures for Russian *èto*-clefts, see (I)-(IV). In canonical clefts (I), *èto* as a TopP comes sentence-initially, the focused constituent is moved into the FocP, and the rest forms a TP. In order to cover other possible cleft cases, I add analysis for two more structures. In rare but still possible cases of non-adjacent focus (specific cases are mentioned as counterexamples to King's analysis in Chapter II) the FocP stays and can take any position inside the TP, see (II) and (III). For thetic clefts (IV), the FocP takes over the whole TP.

Canonical clefts:

(I) **[$_{TopP}$ *èto* [$_{FocP}$ XP$_{FOC}$ [$_{TP}$ .... t$_{XP}$ ...]]**

Clefts with non-adjacent focus:

(II) **[$_{TopP}$ *èto* [$_{FocP}$ [$_{TP}$ .... XP$_{FOC}$ …]]**

or

(III) **[$_{TopP}$ *èto* [$_{FocP}$ [$_{TP}$ .... XP$_{FOC}$ … t$_{XP}$ ...]]**

Thetic clefts:

(IV) **[TopP *èto* [FocP [TP ....]FOC]**

This analysis is monoclausal, and is therefore in line with most of the previous analyses, except Gundel (1977) which has already been widely criticized in the literature. All relevant details have been discussed in previous chapters, especially in Chapter II.

In short, the proposed view is supported by the following facts:

i. non-elision of everything but *èto* and the focused XP;

ii. it is impossible to have a relative operator (and hence, a relative clause) in the structure;

iii. it is impossible to have a copula between *èto* and the focused XP;

iv. some adverbs may appear between *èto* and the clefted phrase, namely, IP-adverbs but not VP-adverbs[44] (see Reeve, 2010);

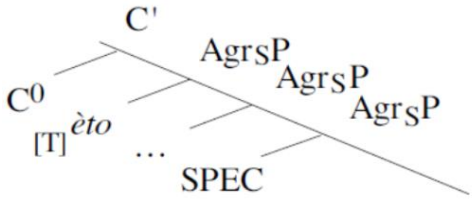
v. *èto*-clefts can contain imperative verbs, even though imperative verbs in Russian, as in English, can usually only appear in the matrix clause (see Reeve, 2010);

vi. removing *èto* does not make the rest of the sentence ungrammatical.

As for the syntactical status of *èto*, the proposed analysis is different from many of the others. *Èto* does not belong to the specifier of the Focus Phrase, as it was suggested by King, as this would contradict the cases where *èto* and the focused XP are not adjacent. Similarly, *èto* is placed in SpecCP for reasons mentioned in Junghanns (1997). Junghanns places *èto* as an adjunct to Agr_SP so that *èto* always stays higher than the Agr_SP (the syntactically minimal clause), and in order to avoid adding more phrases to the clause structure (see the tree below). I consider *èto* a TopP, since *èto* is claimed to be a topic expression (see the proposal for the information structure below). The syntactic proposal given in this chapter is very similar to the one given by Junghanns, although I prefer to explicitly introduce TopP and FocP, since their structural positions and information-structural roles are important for the further analysis. Again, like Junghanns, I make one proposal for both canonical clefts and thetic clefts.

(1) The syntactic structure of an *èto*-cleft according to Junghanns (1997), where *èto* is considered a base-generated Topic:

[44] We will see which elements are allowed to intervene between *èto* and the focused constituent a bit later in this chapter.



The proposed information structure of canonical *èto*-clefts is the following:

(V) [TOPIC] [COMMENT [FOCUS] [BACKGROUND]]

Again, to include cases of thetic clefts and *èto*-clefts with non-adjacent Focus, I can generalize the IS structure as follows:

(VI) [TOPIC] [COMMENT [BACKGROUND ... [FOCUS] …..]],
where Focus strongly tends to appear on the left, and Background is optional

The current analysis, again, sounds partly in line with the reasoning of Junghanns (1997). *Èto* is treated neither as an expletive pronoun, nor as a focus marker. Junghanns also mentions the anaphoric and deictic properties of *èto* which can make it a "good candidate for a topic", and I will discuss the relevant familiarity effects below.

At this point, the main objection to Junghanns's view would be that *èto* appears in the sentence due to certain information-structural reasons, and not just because "no other topic is available in this structure". I consider *èto* a topic expression which sets up an important familiarity-related connection between the cleft and the context of the utterance. This approach significantly differs also from the one given by Reeve (2010), where *èto* is considered redundant and the rest of the sentence is treated equal to focus fronting. The usage of topics is not obligatory in Russian, so filling the topic position with a placeholder is not required. And yet, *èto*-initial structures do exist.

4.2 Discussion

4.2.1 Topic-Comment vs. Focus-Background

Cross-linguistically, cleft structures represent a clear bipartition between Focus and Background. Hence, the presence of this layer in the analysis of *èto*-clefts is unsurprising.

Russian clefts typically manifest the Focus-Background bipartition in a similar manner to English clefts; that is, most often the focused XP is moved towards the beginning of

the sentence and directly follows *èto*, see (2a) below.

Additionally, there are also instances of *èto*-clefts where certain elements might intervene between *èto* and the focused piece of information, see (2b). In such cases, the focused part is still located inside the Background part, although not at its left border. Note that the intervening elements are frame-setting or also topical in nature, like the emphatic particle *ved'* and *včera* 'yesterday' from (2b).

Finally, thetic clefts (2c) are the marginal case where the Background part is empty because the whole comment is under the scope of Focus. Still, I can say that all described cases are covered by the same information-structural pattern:

i. the Focus part is located inside the Comment part;

ii. the Focus part is strongly attracted to the left periphery;

iii. the Focus part might sometimes be quite extended which leaves the Background part empty.

(2) a. [Èto]$_{TOP}$ [[iz-za tebja]$_F$ [ja načal pisat' stixi]$_B$]$_{COM}$.
èto because-of you I started to-write poems
'Because of you I started writing poetry.'

b. [Èto]$_{TOP}$ [ved' včera [ne ty]$_F$ begal po gorody s
èto *emph* yesterday not you was-running around city with
fakelom]$_B$]$_{COM}$?
torch
'The situation last night, it wasn't you who was running around the town with a torch in their hands, was it?'

c. Q: Why is there so much snow left on your boots?
A: [Èto]$_{TOP}$ [[ja vsju noč' pomogal Santa Klausu razvozit'
èto I whole night helped Santa Claus to-deliver
podarki]$_F$ [Ø]$_B$]$_{COM}$.
gifts
'I've been helping Santa Claus with delivering gifts the whole night long.'

We already know a lot about the notion and the peculiarities of Focus in Russian (see Chapter I). An interesting observation worth mentioning here is that the known tendency "new information focus comes sentence-finally, while A'-movement is typically connected to the feature [contrast]" does not hold for *èto*-clefts. The focused information

may become fronted, but it does not have to become contrastive, as we can have both contrastive and non-contrastive *èto*-clefts. The difference between contrastive and new information focus in Russian clefts will then be marked by the pitch accent (higher and stronger on contrastive focus).

The fact that the focused part undergoes A'-movement might be the reason why some researchers (e.g., Kimmelman, 2009) consider *èto*-clefts to always be contrastive. Apparently, the usage of this structure allows speakers to move new information focus clause-initially without adding the feature [contrast] to it.

The most interesting part of this discussion is the status of *èto* as a carrier of the Topic function in terms of information structure and semantics, and hence, the proposed Topic-Comment[45] layer of *èto*-clefts. Jacobs (1984) admits that the Topic-Comment and the Focus-Background layers are often confused, especially in Middle and East European linguistic traditions, since the two IS layers are connected by the vague idea of a contraposition between old and new information. However, they are different and independent layers of information structure (see Jacobs, 1984, 2001; Krifka, 2008, and others) and their scopes in a sentence may vary and overlap.

For example, Focus and Background can be inside Comment, just like in *èto*-clefts[46]:

(3) [Der Willy]$_{TOP}$, [[der war es]$_{F}$, [dessen Votum den Ausschlag gegeben hat]$_{B}$]$_{COM}$.
'The Willy, he was the one whose vote turned the scale.'

On the other hand, Focus can even appear inside Topic:

(4) [Was nun die [jüngste]$_{F}$ Schwester von Gerda betrifft]$_{TOP}$...
'As for Gerda's YOUNGEST sister...'

Let us understand how the notions of Topic and Comment are usually interpreted and how I can bring this knowledge into the upcoming discussion about Topic and Comment in Russian.

In their research, V. Mathesius and J. Firbas referred to Topic and Comment as Theme

[45] Topic and Comment are often referred to as Theme and Rheme in Russian linguistic tradition. Originally these terms were introduced and studied, inter alia, by V. Mathesius, J. Firbas and other members of the Prague school.

[46] Examples (3) and (4) from Jacobs (1984).

and Rheme (Mathesius, 1947; Firbas, 1959, 1964, and others). They point out that Topic should not be associated with a certain structural position in a sentence, but rather it represents something known or evident, or something that serves as a starting point for the communication[47]. At the same time, Topic is not supposed to introduce new information[48] (which is often the function of Focus). On the contrary, Topic conveys the known information in order to establish connection between the previous context and the new assertion.

According to Jacobs (1984) (who also refers to Chafe, 1976 and Magretta, 1977), Topic is an element that sets a framework for the interpretation of the rest of the sentence. Comment, in its turn, is the second part of the sentence which gets interpreted using this framework. In this respect, Topic and Comment are complementary (Jacobs, 1984, p. 46). This statement is illustrated by the following example:

(5) [Was Peter betrifft]$_{TOP}$, [so wird er dieses Jahr wohl kaum verreisen]$_{COM}$.
'As for Peter, it's unlikely that he'll be travelling much this year.'

Note that in (5), the Topic part determines that we are talking about Peter, and the Comment part specifies about Peter.

As for the position of Topic in the sentence, again, the general view is that there is no fixed position preserved for Topic. Still, cross-linguistically, researchers observe a strong preference for Topic in the sentence-initial position (e.g., Jacobs, 1984), while the Comment profits from a relative topological freedom. The position at the left side of the utterance allows Topic to maintain coherence in the speech. The marking of Topic can vary across languages, often the topic expression gets marked by a special morpheme, prosody and/or indeed by taking a certain untypical structural position, e.g. through left dislocation.

[47] A definition of Topic in similar terms - "what sentence is about" is given in Reinhart (1981).

[48] However, strictly speaking, this is not true, see e.g. Endriss & Hinterwimmer (2008) for indefinite topics which actually introduce new information (example from Endriss & Hinterwimmer, 2008, p. 303):

(i) Ein Bild von sich, das hat jeder Schüler mitgebracht.
a picture of himself rp-neut.acc.sg has every pupil brought-with-him
'Every pupil has brought a certain picture of himself.'

4.2.2 Topic in Russian

The notion of Topic and some facts about topics in Russian were briefly mentioned in Section 1.2, when I talked about information structure in Russian. On the whole, Russian Topic follows the same rules as Topic in other languages, namely: Topic usually appears sentence-initially [49], the independence of Focus-Background/Topic-Comment layers holds, and Topic serves for the interpretation of Comment.

As we already know from Chapter I, the so-called free word order in Russian allows for various constituents to take the sentence-initial position more easily, without involving any complex syntactic adjustments. Topic expressions are no exception. Cf. the Russian and English examples below, where English speakers must either use the passive voice or restructure the sentence syntactically, while plain word rearrangements are sufficient for restructuring in Russian. In examples (6a) and (6d) the topic expression is "the boy" / *mal'čik*, but in (6b), (6c) and (6e) it is "the villain"/ *zlodej*. Note that (6e) is not ambiguous between topic fronting and (contrastive) focus fronting: the prosody of the structures would be different. In the case of topic fronting, the tone will stay high and fall on *mal'čik*, while in the case of focus fronting, the tone will fall already on *ubil*.

(6) (ENG)
a. The boy killed the villain.
b. The villain was killed by the boy.
c. As for the villain, the boy killed him.
(RUS)
d. Mal'čik ubil zlodeja.
boy.*Nom* killed villain.*Acc*
e. Zlodeja ubil mal'čik.
villain.*Acc* killed boy.*Nom*

We can consider it a general rule that if a Russian sentence contains a topic expression, then it starts with this expression, while the changes in the remaining structure remain minimal. This would be the first important observation. Note that even a contrastive focus expression follows the sentence-initial topic expression when used in the same structure, cf. (7a-b).

[49] See, for example, Geist (2008).

(7) a. A: Včera ja byl trezv.
yesterday I was sober
'Yesterday I was sober.'
B: Net, [včera]$_T$ ty byl [p'jan]$_{CF}$.
no yesterday you were drunk
'No, you were drunk yesterday.'
b. A: Mnje kažetsja, Mark ljubit rybalku.
me.*Dat* it-seems Mark likes fishing
'I think, Mark enjoys fishing.'
B: [Mark]$_T$ [oxotu]$_{CF}$ ljubit. A rybalku on terpet' ne možet.
Mark hunting likes and fishing he to-stand not can
'Mark enjoys hunting. He hates fishing.'

Of course, the usage of a topic expression in general is not obligatory in Russian. In contrast to languages that build sentences based on the topic-comment structure, like Chinese or Japanese, Russian is characterized by subject-predicate sentences. Nevertheless, quite often the topic-comment structure might be used for certain communicative purposes and for speech cohesion, especially in spoken language. Note that, in the case of left-dislocation topics, for example, the topic expressions often do not take any syntactic role in the main clause. See examples below (from Ivanov-Petrov, 2010).

(8) a. Vsjo, čto vy govorite / na kakie informacionnye istočniki vy
all that you say on which information sources you
opiraetes'?
rely-on
'All that you're saying, which sources do you rely on?'
b. Včerašnee pis'mo / Vam kto ego domoj prinës?
yesterday's letter to-you who it home brought
'Regarding the letter from yesterday, who brought it to your house?'
c. A razmery / vse u vas est'?
and sizes all you-have?
'As for the sizes, do you have all of them?'

d. Dobroe slovo, ono i koške prijatno.
kind word it *emph* cat.*Dat* pleasant
'A kind word, even a cat would like it.'

In every example in (8) the topic expression and the comment are independent of each other, as they do not require syntactic agreement. At the same time, just like in example (5) from Jacobs (1984), the topic expression provides a basis for the interpretation of the comment and especially of the anaphoric expressions, e.g., "it" = "the letter from yesterday" in (8b).

To draw a parallel, you might remember from Chapter I that *èto*-clefts are also commonly used in the spoken language. It might be that in such communicative situations, speakers feel a greater need to include topics in order to add coherence to their speech and appeal to the general knowledge or the discourse knowledge of the listener. In cases when the speaker does not have a specific discourse subject in mind (like, "the villain" or "yesterday's letter"), they might refer to a broader context, or a situation in the past using a simple demonstrative. The active usage of topics in spoken language to focus the listener's attention on a certain phenomenon is the second point that is relevant for this discussion.

Another interesting observation is related to one of the usages of the adversative connector *a*. In Russian, the connector *a* can appear sentence-initially to mark contraposition between two statements, different views on the same issue or to switch to a new topic in the dialogue[50]. Used out of the blue, it attracts the listener's attention to the topic that the speaker intends to discuss, see examples:

[50] A. Zaliznjak (in his online talk "The history of the Russian language": https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uzzjnpPmEDQ) states that in XI-XV centuries it was typical to start sentences with "a", judging from the birch bark manuscripts found near Veliky Novgorod, see, for example:

(i) A ja poslal tebe desjat' griven.
and I sent you ten grivnas
'Actually, I sent you ten grivnas'.

(ii) A ja znaju, čto ty uezžal.
and I know that you were-away
'By the way, I know that you've been away.'

These manuscripts reflect the usage of language across the common people who spoke Old Slavonic. Apparently, this "a" would have to be interpreted as "and now I'm going to tell you the following". As already mentioned, this tendency remains in contemporary spoken language. Much of the lexical and stylistic differences between spoken and written Russian are caused by the fusion of Old Slavonic and Church Slavonic.

(9) a. Ja včera vernulsja iz Korei, a Katja zavtra uletaet v Japoniju.
I yesterday came-back from Korea and Katja tomorrow flies to Japan
'I came back from Korea yesterday, and Katja goes to Japan tomorrow.'

b. (Two friends meet on a street. One of them starts the dialog:)
A ja znaju, kuda ty xodiš' každoe voskresen'e!
and I know where you go each Sunday
'By the way, I know where you go each Sunday!'

Cf. also the examples in the block (10) below. In (10b), the connector *a* introduces an explicit topic expression that takes the sentence-initial position immediately after *a*. In contrast, the *a* in (10a) is absent and the topic expression remains in the sentence-final position. Note also the unacceptability of (10c) where *a* precedes the topic expression which remains sentence-final:

(10) a. Začem tebe [ja]$_{Top}$?
what-for you.*Dat* I
'Why do you need me?'

b. A [ja]$_{Top}$ tebe začem?
and I you.*Dat* what-for
'As for myself, why do you need me?'

c. *Začem tebe a [ja]$_{Top}$?
what-for you.*Dat* and I

Finally, cf. the next examples. They show that the sentence-initial connector *a* can be easily combined with *èto*-clefts where it precedes *èto*. The resulting structures sound very natural in a spoken dialogue[51].

(11) a. Èto [ty]$_{F}$ pokrasil moju košku v zelënyj?
èto you painted my cat in green
'Was it you who painted my cat green?'

[51] According to the judgments of ten native speakers.

b. A èto [ty]$_F$ pokrasil moju košku v zelënyj?
and *èto* you painted my cat in green
'By the way, was it you who painted my cat green?'

Note that the sentence becomes less acceptable if *èto* is excluded and a focus-fronting structure remains, see (12a). However, if we shift the focus to *pokrasil* "painted" and turn *ty* "you" into a topic expression (12b), the sentence is judged better again.

(12) a. ?A [ty]$_F$ pokrasil moju košku v zelënyj?
and you painted my cat in green
'By the way, was it you who painted my cat green?'
b. A [ty]$_{TOP}$ [pokrasil]$_F$ moju košku v zelënyj?
and you painted my cat in green
'By the way, did you paint my cat green?'

The correlation between the usage of the sentence-initial connector *a* with explicit topic expressions and the compatibility of *a* with *èto*-clefts is in line with the interpretation of *èto* as Topic.

Finally, remember the emphatic enclitic *-to* which I discussed in Chapter I. This enclitic marks topic expressions, including contrastive topics. *-To* and *èto* are historically related (I give more detail on this a bit later in this chapter), and they both are typical for the spoken language. While *èto* appears sentence-initially, *-to* often requires fronting of the constituent it gets attached to.

Remember the example we saw in Section 1.2.4. In (13a), putting *otpusk* "vacation" sentence-initially is in fact already enough to mark Topic. Adding *-to* makes this Topic familiar ("so, what about the vacation we talked about before..."). Cf. (13b) which represents a *wh*-question with the same meaning but a neutral word order involving no topic expressions.

(13) a. V otpusk-to ty kogda edeš?
in vacation-*to* you when leave.*2Sg*
'What about your vacation, when are you leaving?'

b. Kogda ty edeš v otpusk?
when you go in vacation
'When do you go on vacation?'

I assume that in the case of *èto*-clefts there is no explicit, meaningful fronted topic expression, and at the same time, there is an apparent communicative need for referring to a topic situation. This might be the reason that the use of the demonstrative is warranted in order to fill in the gap.

4.2.3 **Èto** *as Topic*

Now let us use the last example from above to see the difference between the usages of the topic marker *-to* and *èto*. Consider the next structures which all include *on vacation* as the fronted constituent. (14a) and (14b) are *wh*-questions with *-to* and *èto* respectively, while (14c) and (14d) are *yes/no*-questions with *-to* and *èto*.

(14) a. V otpusk-to ty kogda edeš?
in vacation-*to* you when leave
'What about your vacation, when are you leaving?'
b. *Èto v otpusk ty kogda edeš?
èto in vacation you when leave
c. V otpusk-to ty edeš?
in vacation-*to* you are-going
'What about your vacation, are you going (there)?'
d. Èto v otpusk ty edeš?
èto in vacation you are-going
'Is it on vacation that you're going?' / *'What about your vacation, are you going somewhere?'

In (14a), there is an explicit topic (*on vacation*), but, as the *wh*-question suggests, no situation is taking place yet (the listener has not yet been on vacation and is probably not going there right now, at least, the speaker does not have any reliable information on this matter). At the same time, note that (14b) with *èto* is illicit, and it is even difficult to provide a suitable (potential) English translation for this example.

(14c) is a similar structure in the form of a *yes/no*-question with *on vacation* as a topic

expression. Again, no vacation-related situation is taking place at the moment of the utterance. This time, however, the corresponding structure with *èto* in (14d) is valid, namely, it should be interpreted as follows: *on vacation* is not a topic expression anymore but a focused constituent, while *ty edeš* ("you are leaving") has to be interpreted as background or known information. The presence of the known part implies some common knowledge shared between the participants. E.g., a suitable context for such a cleft would be the following:

(15) A: Would you drop by my place next week? I'm gonna celebrate my birthday.
B: No, sorry, I'll be abroad in the coming couple of weeks. I've told you already.
A: Ah, right.
A: Èto [v otpusk]$_F$ ty edeš?
èto in vacation you are-leaving
'Is it on vacation that you're leaving?'

Even the prosody of the cleft in (14d) differs from the prosody in the *-to*-structures (14a) and (14c). In (14d), typically for a cleft, the main stress is on the focused constituent, and the backgrounded part is unstressed. In both *-to*-structures, there is prenuclear stress on the topic expression and the focus pitch accent is on the question, e.g., *kogda* ("when") in (14a) and *edeš* ("you are going") in (14c).

At this point, a question might arise: why is (14b) unacceptable? Why does replacing *-to* with *èto* result in an appropriate structure in (14c) and (14d), but not for the example pair (14a) and (14b)? Apparently, there is an important difference between (14b) and (14d). In (14b), the remaining part after "vacation" cannot be interpreted as background because of the contained *wh*-question, therefore no cleft interpretation is possible. This difference suggests – and in fact we already know it about focus-background *it*-clefts[52] – that the presence of a "known" part is necessary for a cleft to exist, e.g., a situation of the listener leaving on vacation which the cleft can refer to as known information. For example, it can be clearly seen in (15) how a situation has already been introduced in the discourse.

At the same time, the impossibility of the topic interpretation of *v otpusk* ("on vacation") in (14d) suggests that the sentence-initial presence of *èto* somehow blocks topic expressions from appearing later in the sentence. So, if *v otpusk* is not a topic

[52] A thetic interpretation is not possible for (14b).

expression in the cleft, I assume either that there is no Topic in this sentence anymore, or *èto* must be one. Let us consider again the Mona Lisa example from Chapter III to see how the usage of *èto* and the information structure of the sentence interact with each other.

(16) (Peter claims that he painted Mona Lisa, although in fact John did it. John also believes that Peter is not even capable of painting at such a high level. John says to Peter:)

[Èto]$_{T}$ [[ja]$_{F}$ [narisoval Mona Lizu]$_{B}$]$_{COM}$, a [ty]$_{CT}$ [tol'ko karikatury i umeeš' risovat']$_{F}$.

èto I painted Mona Lisa and you only cartoons *emph* can paint

'It was me who painted Mona Lisa, and you are only capable of painting cartoons.'

Now I can finally provide the full analysis of this structure. The first clause here is a canonical focus *èto*-cleft, where *ja* "I" is in focus, *narisoval Mona Lizu* "painted Mona Lisa" is the background and *èto* is a topic expression. In the second clause, *ty* ("you") is a topic expression and the rest of the clause is new information in focus.

Consider now a multiple *wh*-question and two potential answers, one with *èto* and one without. The square brackets and subscripts represent the possible IS-related interpretations for both variations.

(17) Q: There are some paintings and drawings here. Who painted what?

A: *Èto [ja]$_{T}$ [narisoval Mona Lizu]$_{F}$, a [ty]$_{T}$ [tol'ko karikatury i umeeš' risovat']$_{F}$.

èto I painted Mona Lisa and you only cartoons *emph* can paint

'It was me who painted Mona Lisa, and you are only capable of painting cartoons.'

A': [Ja]$_{CT}$ [narisoval Mona Lizu]$_{F}$, a [ty]$_{CT}$ [tol'ko karikatury i umeeš' risovat']$_{F}$.

I painted Mona Lisa and you only cartoons *emph* can paint

'I painted Mona Lisa, and you are only capable of painting cartoons.'

In comparison to (16), the second clause has not changed but in the first clause, the focus of the answer to (17) shifts to *painted Mona Lisa*, and *I* becomes a topic expression. Note that there still exists an instantiated situation of "somebody having painted something" in the context, so the condition for the appearance of *èto* as a topic expression is fulfilled. Nevertheless, we should stick to the canonical answer structure presented in (17A'), while (17A) is unacceptable. In comparison to (16), the information structure of (17) has changed and does not allow for sentence-initial *èto* anymore because the Topic position in the clause is already taken by *ja* "I". Similarly, it would not be possible to use *èto* in the second clause ("it was you who painted cartoons"), as *ty* "you" is already a topic expression.

Remember that, on the whole, *èto*-clefts can serve as answers to *wh*-questions, so it is not the QA-context that is causing the unacceptability here:

(18) Q: The window has been broken. Who did it?!
A: Èto [ja]$_F$ razbil okno.
èto I broke window
'It was me who broke the window.'

Thinking about the visual similarity of *èto* and *-to*, we may believe that this similarity is not a coincidence. Indeed, etymological sources confirm the connection between these two words: according to the dictionaries by Vasmer[53] and Shansky[54], *èto* is derived from the deictic particle *e* and **tъ* (*tot* "those.*m*", an Old Slavonic declinable demonstrative, already mentioned in Section 1.2.4, which later developed into Bulgarian postpositive articles and the Russian postpositive particle *-to* seen above).

From this historic evidence, I come to an interesting conclusion: *èto* must be a topic expression which does not carry any lexical meaning by itself but, as a demonstrative, it contains a familiarity-related[55] reference. This sounds plausible, as Topics are indeed most often "familiar" (see e.g., Gundel, 1985[56]), and in Chapter III I discovered the weak

[53] "Etymological online dictionary of the Russian language" by M. Vasmer (https://lexicography.online/etymology/vasmer/)

[54] "Etymological online dictionary of the Russian language" by N. M. Shansky (https://lexicography.online/etymology/shansky/)

[55] I avoid using the terms "anaphoric" or "deictic" for the reasons mentioned in the previous chapter.

[56] According to Gundel, Topic must either be known by both the speaker and addressee, or uniquely

familiarity effects of *èto* in *èto*-clefts.

As a reminder, weak familiarity does not require entities that are referred to by a linguistic object to be explicitly introduced by linguistic means, it is enough if the reference is implied in the context. This sounds like the typical usage of canonical *èto*-clefts where the situation might not be mentioned but is somehow accessible for all participants. From the information-structural point of view, while I treat *èto* as a topic expression, the situation it refers to should be called the topic situation[57]. In other words, we can call *èto* a situation pronoun which takes the topic situation as its value. The clause remnant would then be a comment or specification on this previously established situation (i.e., an answer to the question what is S_{Top} like?) with a contrastive focus (answering an additional *wh*-subquestion).

Importantly, this situation or event should already be instantiated or "activated" in the speaker's mind, so a non-activated situation, e.g., one taking place in the future, can hardly serve as a referent for *èto*. Remember the example from Chapter III:

(19) *Èto ja vskroju posylku.
èto I will-open box
'It is me who will open the box.'

This approach remains valid if I consider not only canonical focus *èto*-clefts, but also thetic clefts. These clefts could be analysed in the same manner as in Erteschik-Shir (1997), namely, as predications on a discourse-given salient situation, cf. (20).

(20) Q: Why are you so drunk today?
A: Èto ja otmečal zaščitu svoej dissertacii.
èto I celebrated defence my.*Gen* dissertation.*Gen*
'It's because I've been celebrating my thesis defense.'

In fact, according to Erteschik-Shir's pragmatic approach, each sentence has a Topic which by definition takes scope over the rest of the sentence. If I have a structure with a stage level predicate, there might exist either an individual Topic, or an overt or covert

identifiable. However, familiarity also includes the option of the object being uniquely identifiable if given an appropriate description. So, in the end, topichood and familiarity come in parallel.

[57] See e.g. Schwarz (2009) and Kratzer (2011) for the concept of topic situations.

stage Topic. This means, that even a sentence like (21)[58] contains an implicit stage Topic indicating that there was a single event of arresting, at a certain location in space and time.

(21) Two girls arrested three boys.

Following this approach, we might say that in the case of (thetic) *èto*-clefts we only make the Topic explicit to add a flavor of familiarity to the event we want to talk about.

This reasoning also gives us an understanding as to why certain cleft structures in English do not have licit cleft counterparts in Russian. We might expect it to be possible, as a specific type of information-structural bipartition should be preserved in both structures, and yet (22b) below is unacceptable. Russian *èto* cannot be expletive, in contrast to English *it*, but in this example, there is no instantiated event *èto* could refer to as a situation pronoun. Example (22c) is the same as (22b), but without *èto* and is totally acceptable.

(22) a. It was only after I arrived at home that I realized that I forgot my sister in the forest.

b. *Èto tol'ko po priezde domoj ja ponjal, čto zabyl svoju sestru v
èto only by arriving at-home I understood that I-forgot my sister in
lesu.
forest

c. Tol'ko po priezde domoj ja ponjal, čto zabyl svoju sestru v lesu.
only by arriving at-home I understood that I-forgot my sister in forest

A slightly similar phenomenon may be observed in *es ist dies*-sentences with the prefield *es* used in southern dialects of German and studied by Fricke (2020), see example (23)[59]. In German, the pronoun *es* usually fills the prefield if no other element could be moved to this position. *Es ist dies*-structures are peculiar, first, because *dies* would easily take the prefield position, but it does not, and second, because *es* and *dies* appear in immediate proximity to one another.

[58] Example from Erteschik-Shir (1997).

[59] From Fricke (2020, p. 42).

(23) Es ist dies der schwerste Fall von Marktmanipulation, den wir je gesehen
it is this the worst case of market-manipulation that we ever seen
haben.
have
'This is the worst case of market manipulation that we have ever seen.'

Still, in such an arrangement, *es ist dies* makes the structure a bit different from the typical *dies ist-* / "this is"-structure. Based on experimental evidence, Fricke points out that *es ist dies*-sentences are characterized by the following features.

First, they have a longer distance to the antecedent than *dies ist*-sentences, where *dies* is the anaphoric element, and the expletive *es* should apparently be considered "a disruptive signal that the antecedent of *dies* is not easily accessible".

Second, there is a tendency for *es ist dies*-sentences to be used to refer to larger antecedents. Remarkably, these antecedents can be not only explicitly introduced DPs, but also whole situations described in the previous context. When referring to a situation, the sentence often has the form "It is this the n^{th}..." producing, in Fricke's terms, a summarizing strategy. As long as the expletive *es* blocks *dies* from appearing in the prefield, it also prevents *dies* from referring to some topic from the domain of individuals. Hence, the demonstrative *dies* is still present in the structure to express familiarity, although it is not taking a salient nominal referent.

The overall impression from Fricke's study is that *es ist dies*-constructions seem to have a similar function to *èto*-clefts.

4.2.4 Discussion

As a final remark, let us summarize how the proposed analysis correspond to the theoretical knowledge about *èto*-clefts that I presented earlier in this dissertation.

First, as I already said in this chapter, the interpretation of *èto* as a topic expression corresponds to the fact that *èto*-clefts are quite often used in the spoken or informal language. The usage of topics brings coherence to the conversation, and *èto* allows the speaker to make references to broader situations that have already been instantiated in the context or belong to the common background of the speaker and the listener.

Logically, if the speaker is using a structure with a topic expression to refer to an instantiated situation or event, this would not happen out of the blue. The mentioned situation already forms the context. Utterances involving a reference to the common

background or the general knowledge that have not been mentioned in the previous conversation are presumably much less common. Therefore we, indeed, see *èto*-clefts that appear naturally when used not out of the blue, but in a suitable context (as I mentioned in Chapter I).

An important inherent property of clefts - existence presupposition - was only briefly mentioned in Chapter I with regard to *èto*-clefts, but it became topical in Chapter III where I discovered weak familiarity effects in *èto*-clefts. Now I can claim that an existence presupposition is triggered by the interaction between *èto* being an anaphoric topic expression and the presence of the backgrounded part of the cleft. The presupposition is satisfied by weak familiarity in canonical *èto*-clefts and strong familiarity in thetic clefts.

The second commonly described cross-linguistic property of clefts is exhaustivity. According to the presented proposal, I would expect exhaustivity effects to arise from the fronted focus which might be contrastive but does not have to[60]. To run a few steps forwards, plain intonational focus is indeed connected with exhaustivity inferences that are pragmatic in nature. I take it as a prediction that I take over to the final chapter. I will start Chapter V with detailed insights regarding the nature of exhaustivity before coming to experimental examination of exhaustivity effects in clefts.

4.3 Conclusion

Èto-clefts in Russian are not simply a manifestation of a focusing strategy. Moreover, they may be contrastive but do not have to be as the feature [contrast], if present, is licensed by the A'-movement of the focused XP but not by *èto* itself. Based on the observed facts, I claim that the usage of *èto*-clefts is caused by the need to have a reference to a situation or an event that is previously instantiated in the discourse. *Èto* then serves as a topic expression pointing to the topic situation. The XP, which usually immediately follows *èto* (although, again, it does not have to) is under the scope of Focus and the clause remnant is Background. In the case of thetic clefts, the whole clause is in Focus. Thus, the current analysis is consistent for different types of Russian clefts and specifies the conditions of their usage.

[60] I discussed it in Section 1.3.

"Being exhausted is serious enough
to talk to your doctor about."
(from the internet article "4 alarming signs
your exhaustion is something way more serious")

Chapter V

Cross-linguistic evaluation of *èto*-clefts

After the theoretical part of this dissertation, we now know a great deal about the semantic and pragmatic properties of Russian clefts. In this final experimental section, I take a closer look at exhaustivity in *èto*-clefts and its nature.

It is generally proposed that clefts across languages exhibit exhaustivity (see, e.g., Halvorsen 1976, 1978; Horn 1981; Declerck 1988; Delin and Oberlander 1995; É. Kiss 1998, 1999; Hedberg 2000), and the only existing experiments regarding exhaustivity effects in Russian clefts are conducted by Shipova (2014). Exhaustivity effects are indeed observed in *èto*-clefts, although they are shown to be weaker than exhaustivity effects in sentences with the exclusive focus particle *only*, and yet stronger than in prosodic focus structures. Thus, we come to the question if exhaustivity in clefts and *only*-structures have different nature.

The current chapter introduces a new experimental approach that allows us to get a deeper understanding of exhaustivity effects in *èto*-clefts.

In 5.1, I present theoretical accounts regarding the nature and the status of exhaustivity.

Section 5.2 gives an overview of the existing experimental findings from Shipova (2014).

Finally, in Section 5.3 I present a new pair of experiments to examine the strength and the nature of the exhaustivity effects in *èto*-clefts and make a cross-linguistic comparison. The experiments show evidence for cross-linguistic similarity of German clefts and Russian clefts in terms of exhaustivity effects. Namely, in both languages, the exhaustivity inference is stronger in clefts and definite pseudo-clefts, in comparison to structures with plain intonational focus, and weaker in comparison to *only*-structures. The judgments made by participants were non-robust and non-systematic. This inconsistency poses a challenge in accepting any established theoretical account for the interpretation strategies used during the processing of cleft sentences.

5.1 Nature and status of exhaustivity

When talking about exhaustivity effects in clefts, we cannot ignore the fact that exhaustivity is not always robust and systematic across linguistic expressions. Depending on the nature (or source) of exhaustivity, its violation can be acceptable or inacceptable for native speakers. Generally, in terms of how exhaustivity is encoded in a given structure, it has semantic or pragmatic nature.

A *semantic exhaustivity* inference is part of the truth conditions of the sentence, in other words, it is conventionally coded. This is the case in structures with the exclusive *only* or in definite descriptions where the exhaustivity inference is uncancellable.

On the other hand, *pragmatic exhaustivity* effects, like ones in structures with plain intonational focus, are derived pragmatically and are therefore cancellable.

However, if we try to examine certain structures like clefts or definite pseudoclefts keeping this dichotomy in mind, we find out that different researchers classify exhaustivity inferences in such structures sometimes as semantic and sometimes as pragmatic. This classification is, however, not fully unproblematic. From the point of view of the pragmatic approach, the problem is that the exhaustivity inference in clefts is not easily cancellable. Whereas, in terms of the semantic approach, cleft exhaustivity violation in clefts is surprisingly more acceptable than for *only*-structures. These observations are confirmed by Drenhaus, Zimmermann & Vasishth (2011) who suggest that the nature of exhaustivity effects in clefts and *only*-structures is different. Similar findings are shown by Shipova (2014) for Russian *èto*-clefts (see 5.2 for more detail), by Onea & Beaver (2009) for Hungarian pre-verbal focus constructions that are semantically similar to clefts, by De Veaugh-Geiss et al. (2018) and others.

This evidence gives us another motivating factor for further study, namely, to answer the question: do Russian clefts and clefts in other languages exhibit the same interpretive properties despite differences in their underlying syntax? The suggested experimental design allows me to conclude the chapter, as well as the whole dissertation, with a cross-linguistic comparison in such tiny semantic and pragmatic aspects: the strength, robustness, nature and status of exhaustivity effects in different languages.

Before I proceed to the specific case of clefts and how their exhaustivity inference is treated in the scope of different approaches, I need to introduce another phenomenon relevant for this chapter: *(not-)at-issueness*. When we speak about the status of exhaustivity, we consider it being at-issue or not at-issue. At-issue content is often

introduced as "the proffered content", or the main intention of an utterance. An intuitive understanding of this notion can be gained by checking if a given piece of information is directly relevant in the given context (then it is at-issue) or is it "not the main point" (then it is not at-issue). At-issueness is also often defined through its relevance to the Question Under Discussion (QUD). QUD, following the definition from Roberts (1996) and Roberts et al. (2009), is the "question has most recently been accepted as the immediate goal of the discourse" (Roberts, 2009, p. 4). In this respect, at-issue content helps the speakers to achieve the goal of their conversation, while not-at-issue content does not. More formally, at-issueness can be tested, e.g., using the "Hey, wait a minute" test (see Shannon 1976, von Fintel 2004, 2008). The notion of at-issueness and its relevance to QUD is further explained, e.g., in Roberts (1996), Roberts et al. (2009), Simons et al. (2011) and Tonhauser (2012).

In Section 5.3 I will present two pairs of experiments which particularly address the nature and status of exhaustivity in German and Russian clefts. The German pair of experiments have been conducted by De Veaugh-Geiss et al. (2018), and the Russian experiments are new and done in the scope of this dissertation. Importantly, the nature and status of exhaustivity are separate phenomena, that is, e.g., both at-issue and non-at-issue exhaustivity inferences can be semantic in nature (Destruel et al., 2015). We are interested in both phenomena, since in the experiments, clefts and definite pseudoclefts are compared with *only*-structures (where exhaustivity is semantic and at-issue) and plain accent focus structures (where exhaustivity is pragmatic and not at-issue). At the same time, it was proposed that exhaustivity inferences in clefts are not at-issue (Destruel et al., 2015; De Veaugh-Geiss et al., 2015), while they sometimes are still claimed to be semantic.

It is all the more important to separate the nature and status of exhaustivity, as they are easy to confuse. E.g., one of the experiments conducted by Shipova (2014) on Russian *èto*-clefts is the "Yes, but" test from Onea & Beaver (2009) (more detail come in Section 5.2). Onea & Beaver interpret the results of the test as the evidence for the pragmatic nature of Hungarian pre-verbal focus constructions. However, Destruel et al. (2015) claim that the "Yes, but" test is in fact a method to check if the corresponding exhaustivity inferences are at-issue or not at-issue, that is, not the nature, but the status of exhaustivity. I will come back to it again in Section 5.2.

Now, let us go deeper into the existing approaches regarding semantic or pragmatic nature of exhaustivity. We are especially interested in how clefts are treated in the scope of each theoretical account. Depending on that, we should expect different outcomes in

the experiments. Experimental results will allow me to make claims in favor of one or another account or find evidence to contradict both.

One account, or rather, a group of accounts, which assume the semantic nature of cleft exhaustivity, derives this position from definiteness in clefts. Following the terminology used in De Veaugh-Geiss et al. (2018), I call this the semantic definite account (see Akmajian, 1970; Szabolcsi, 1994; Percus, 1997; Büring & Križ, 2013). This approach draws a semantic parallel between clefts and definite descriptions which presumably share some determiner elements or can possibly be structurally derived from each other. The exhaustive meaning exists in a cleft as a maximality presupposition or as a homogeneity presupposition.

Another semantic account (supported by Velleman et al., 2012; Destruel et al., 2015; Beaver & Onea, 2015), called the inquiry-terminating construction analysis, proposes that exhaustivity is motivated by a conventional interaction between clefts and the question under discussion. In this account, exhaustivity is conventionally coded in the cleft structure, but remains not at-issue.

The opposite is claimed in the scope of pragmatic accounts. For example, Horn (1981, 2014) claims that the exhaustivity inference is not conventionally coded in the structure of clefts but might rather be a conversational implicature derived from the non-canonical structure of clefts and from the fact that clefts exhibit existence presupposition. Remember my conclusions regarding existence presupposition in *èto*-clefts from Chapter IV. In the next section I present experimental evidence confirming this claim. The exhaustivity inference in clefts is sometimes also assumed to be derived from their anaphoric potential (Pollard & Yasavul 2015) or from the focus marking in the cleft pivot (De Veaugh-Geiss et al. 2015). Both hypotheses are, again, in line with the proposal from Chapter IV. It is also not unlikely that exhaustivity inferences in *èto*-clefts might arise from the combination of the aforementioned factors.

Finally, a couple of words should be said about the notion of exhaustivity strength. Here we observe if the way the cleft is used by participants, as well as in different experimental conditions, demonstrates consistency and regularity. Expected level of strength in the exhaustivity inference of clefts is directly connected to the predictions of the theoretical accounts mentioned above. In case of the pragmatic account, we expect to see a lack of strength, while the semantic account predicts exhaustivity in clefts to be robust and systematic across conditions and speakers. I will go into more details regarding this in Section 5.3.

5.2 Previous experimental findings

According to the experimental results obtained by Shipova (2014), Russian clefts exhibit existence presupposition and exhaustivity effects, while exhaustivity effects are not as strong as those shown by structures with the exclusive *only*. However, the exact understanding of the exhaustivity strength and nature is not fully clear.

The findings I present in this section serve as a starting point and an additional motivation for two more experiments coming in Section 5.3. Two experiments from Shipova (2014) dealing with exhaustivity inferences are presented in 5.2.1. The experiment on existence presupposition follows in 5.2.2.

5.2.1 Previous findings on exhaustivity

Consider the focus-background cleft in (1). Following the example of a German *es*-cleft, De Veaugh-Geiss et al. (2018) neatly presented three inferences that can be derived from the cleft. The same inferences are available for the Russian cleft in (1). The canonical part of the meaning is an at-issue semantic inference, and the existential inference is considered an obligatory presupposition in the literature (Horn, 1981; Rooth, 1996; Delin, 1992; Hedberg, 2000 via De Veaugh-Geiss et al., 2018). At the same time, the status of the exhaustivity inference is still open for discussion.

(1) Èto Dima razbil okno.
èto Dima broke window
'It was Dima who broke the window.'

Canonical inference: Dima broke the window.
Existential inference: Somebody broke the window.
Exhaustivity inference: Nobody other than Dime broke the window.

The two experiments presented in this section examine exhaustivity effects from slightly different aspects: Experiment 3 (the original numeration from Shipova, 2014) deals with exhaustivity itself, involving the choice of a discourse continuation, and Experiment 4 deals with the (im)possibility of exhaustivity violation, involving acceptability judgements.

The design of Experiment 3 is based on an experiment previously conducted by Onea

& Beaver (2009) for immediately pre-verbal focus constructions in Hungarian. I provide the description and the evaluation of the experiment as it is given in Shipova (2014). Every experimental item includes a context and a partial description of the situation. The task of the participants is to choose the most acceptable (from their point of view) continuation of the description from the following three options: "No, ...", "Yes, but..." and "Yes, and...". The target sentences are of three types: a canonical sentence, a cleft and a sentence with the exclusive *tol'ko* "only". See the examples.

(2) Context: Masha and Petja were in the market. Both of them bought their favorite sorts of apples.

Targets:	**Èto** Maša kupila jabloki.	('It was Masha who bought apples.')	(cleft)
	Maša kupila jabloki.	('Masha bought apples.')	(canonical)
	Tol'ko Maša kupila jabloki.	('Only Masha bought apples.')	(exclusive)

Choices:	**Net**, Petja tože kupil jabloki.	('**No,** Petja also bought apples.')
	Da, no Petja tože kupil jabloki.	('**Yes, but** Petja also bought apples.')
	Da, i Petja tože kupil jabloki.	('**Yes, and** Petja also bought apples.')

By choosing one of the three continuations, the participants were able to reveal their level of acceptance. If they consider a target sentence to carry a higher degree of exhaustivity, they are more likely to object by choosing the answer "No" or at least "Yes, but". Similarly, if a target is judged less exhaustive, Shipova expects higher acceptance from the participants, namely, the answers "Yes, and" or "Yes, but". Note that the different levels of exhaustivity assigned to the stimuli have consequences in terms of their truth value. In a context like (2), where it is explicitly stated that both Masha and Petja bought apples, the exclusive statement with strong exhaustivity (*Only Masha bought apples*) is false, while the canonical statement (*Masha bought apples*) is true but somehow incomplete or pragmatically misleading. The status of a cleft sentence, in this case, depends on if the participants consider clefts exhaustive or non-exhaustive.

The results of this experiment are shown in Table 5 below (from Shipova, 2014, p. 50). 30 native speakers participated and each of them gave responses for 12 targets (4 *èto*-clefts, 4 *only*-sentences and 4 plain focus sentences), so the table represents the resulting 360 responses divided between the three conditions.

Firstly, as we know, exclusive particles are explicit exhaustificational operators, and

therefore, structures with exclusives exhibit strong exhaustivity at the level of truth conditions. As expected, the targets with *only* consistently instigated the choice of the contradicting continuation "No" (except for 2.5% of the cases which must be considered erroneous). The results for this control condition verify that the participants gave their answers honestly and paid attention.

Secondly, also as expected, more than half of the participants answered "Yes, and" in the canonical condition which was intended to show the weakest exhaustivity of all three. These results verify that the experimental design was plausible.

At the same time, responses in the cleft condition were distributed between all available options so that nearly half of the total responses (51.67%) were "Yes, but". Of the remaining participants, half chose the interpretation of clefts with weaker exhaustivity (25.83% of the responses were "Yes, and"), and the other half treated clefts as structures with stronger exhaustivity inferences, similar to *only*-utterances (22.5% of the responses "No").

	cleft	canonical	only
No	27 (22.5%)	6 (5%)	**117 (97.5%)**
Yes, but	**62 (51.67%)**	30 (25%)	2 (1.67%)
Yes, and	31 (25.83%)	**84 (70%)**	1 (0.83%)

Table 5. Experiment 3 results in absolute numbers and percentages per condition

The results show that cleft sentences in fact motivated the participants to give the contradicting answers "No" and "Yes, but" much more often than canonical sentences but still much less often than *only*-structures. Shipova concludes that the exhaustiveness effect associated with clefts is stronger than one associated with canonical sentences but weaker than the exhaustiveness effect associated with exclusives.

Interestingly, the results obtained for *èto*-clefts are in line with the observations made by Onea & Beaver (2009) for pre-verbal focus constructions. Namely, both research claim that the exhaustivity effects in the constructions under discussion are weaker than the exhaustivity effects in *only*-structures, and yet stronger than the exhaustivity effects in constructions with plain focus (e.g. in German)[61]. Based on this evidence, Onea & Beaver

[61] See Onea & Beaver (2009) for a detailed discussion of focus structures in Hungarian. See also

claim that the nature of exhaustivity in Hungarian pre-verbal focus constructions is not semantic, but rather pragmatic, that is, the exhaustivity is not part of the truth condition of Hungarian focus structures. However, remember Destruel et al. (2015) that claim that the "Yes, but" test shows not the nature of exhaustivity, but its status: (non-)at-issueness.

Taking these claims into consideration, I come to an interesting conclusion. Namely, even if this experiment does not cast light on the nature of exhaustivity in *èto*-clefts, instead, I can assume that the exhaustivity inference in Russian *èto*-clefts is not-at-issue, like in English clefts, see De Veaugh-Geiss et al. (2015).

Still, there is one more experiment on exhaustivity. In Experiment 4 (Shipova, 2014), following Drenhaus et al. (2011) and Saur (2013), exhaustivity is examined from another angle: the participants make their judgements of acceptability on the 5-point Likert scale (1 for very bad, 5 for very good) for contexts where exhaustivity is violated or not violated in subsequent discourse. Each target item consists of two consecutive sentences. Each sentence contains an assertion "Somebody did something" (e.g., *Sasha washed up the plates*). Truth-functionally and at-issue exhaustive *only*-utterances are used as controls.

The 2x2 experimental design manipulates the conditions CLEFT (±c) and VIOLATION (±v).

The CLEFT condition assumes that each sentence in a target item can be either a cleft or a default (canonical) sentence. If there is one cleft in a pair, this stimulus is denoted as [+c], if both sentences are clefts, the stimulus is denoted as [++c], and if both sentences are default, then the stimulus is denoted as [-c].

The VIOLATION condition refers to a target pair of sentences as a whole and deals with the violation of the exhaustivity inference exhibited by the first sentence in a pair. If the agents in two consecutive sentences perform different actions, and so exhaustivity is not affected, the stimulus is marked with (-v). If they perform the same action, then the exhaustivity effect shown by the first sentence is violated by the second sentence and the stimulus is marked with (+v). Assuming that exhaustivity effects in clefts are stronger than in default sentences, Shipova denotes exhaustivity violation in pairs consisting of two clefts with [++v].

See the examples of target sentences below.

Shipova (2014) for an extended comparison of the experimental results for Russian and Hungarian.

(3) **Èto** Lëša pomyl posudu. Krome togo, Tolja pomyl posudu. (+c, +v)
èto Lëša washed dishes furthermore Tolja washed dishes
'**It was** Lëša who washed up the plates. Furthermore, Tolja washed up the plates.'

Èto Lëša pomyl posudu. Krome togo, **èto** Tolja pomyl posudu. (++c, ++v)
èto Lëša washed dishes furthermore *èto* Tolja washed dishes
'**It was** Lëša who washed up the plates. Furthermore, **it was** Tolja who washed up the plates.'

Èto Lëša pomyl posudu. Krome togo, Lëša vynes musor. (+c, -v)
èto Lëša washed dishes furthermore Lëša took-away trash
'**It was** Lëša who washed up the plates. Furthermore, Lëša took the trash out.'

Lëša pomyl posudu. Krome togo, Tolja pomyl posudu. (-c, +v)
Lëša washed dishes furthermore Tolja washed dishes
'Lëša washed up the plates. Furthermore, Tolja washed up the plates.'

Lëša pomyl posudu. Krome togo, Lëša vynes musor. (-c, -v)
Lëša washed dishes furthermore Lëša took-away trash
'Lëša washed up the plates. Furthermore, Lëša took the trash out.'

Tol'ko Vladimir byl moim drugom. German tože byl moim drugom.
only Vladimir was my friend German also was my friend
(*only*-controls)
'**Only** Vladimir was a friend of mine. German was also a friend of mine.'

As the participants were asked to judge the acceptability of exhaustivity violation for every target pair of sentences, the acceptability rate is expected to be different across the conditions. The 5-point Likert scale allowed the participants to make more precise decisions and not just binary judgements (good/bad). Since the exhaustivity effects in clefts are considered stronger than in canonical sentences but weaker than in sentences with exclusives, Shipova expects exhaustivity violation in stimuli containing clefts to be partially acceptable and the violation of exhaustivity in sentences without clefts to be totally acceptable. Lastly, the control *only*-sentences and the strongest exhaustivity effects are evidently expected to show the lowest violation acceptability rate.

The results of Experiment 4 are presented in Figure 1 below (from Shipova, 2014, p. 55). As expected, the controls (the pairs of *only*-sentences) with exhaustivity violation are rated close to 1, that is, the participants mostly considered them unacceptable. This means, that the participants were able to recognise and react accordingly to a context with at-issue exhaustivity violation. As such, the selected experimental design was suitable for the research purposes. A linear regression analysis discovered a significant difference between conditions [+c,+v] and [-c,+v], as well as between [+c,+v] and the control conditions. This means that a violated exhaustivity inference in a cleft is rated significantly worse than violated exhaustivity in a canonical sentence but still significantly better than exhaustivity violation in contexts with the exclusive.

The question regarding the nature of exhaustivity in *èto*-clefts remains open. However, it is already clear that the exhaustivity effects in Russian clefts are different from ones in *only*-structures or in canonical sentences.

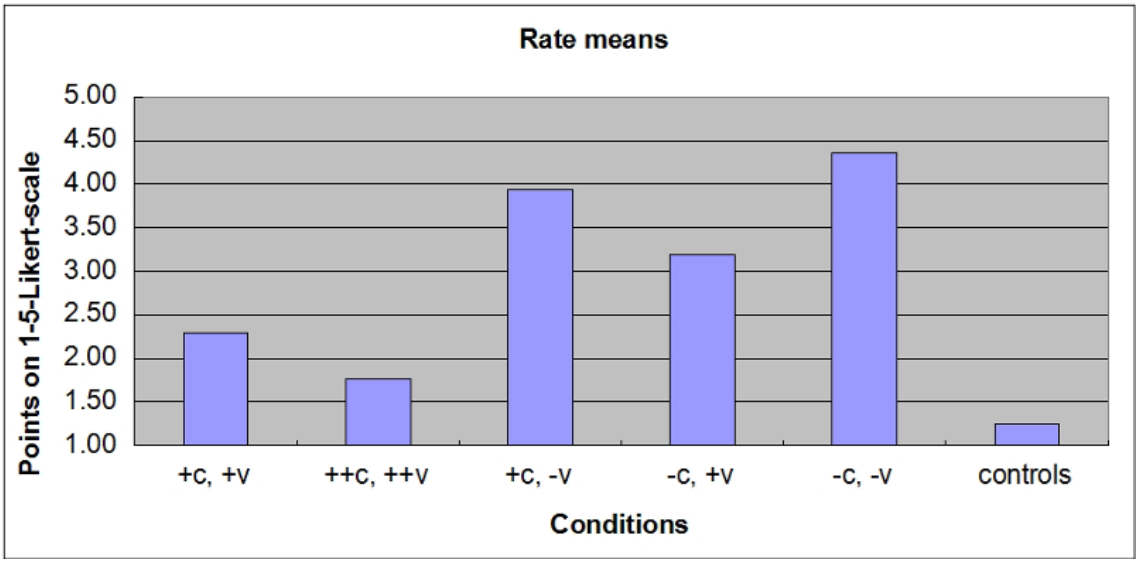


Figure 1. Experiment 4 rating means per condition

5.2.2 Previous findings on existence presupposition

Another experiment presented in Shipova (2014) deals with existence presupposition in *èto*-clefts. Let us see how the experimental results correspond to the conclusion of Chapter IV.

The "Family of sentences test" used by Roberts et al. (2009, referring to Langendoen & Savin, 1971; Karttunen, 1974 and Chierchia & McConnell-Ginet, 1990) was adapted for Russian material to check if Russian clefts convey existential presuppositions.

Each stimulus consists of a context and a target sentence. The participants were asked to rate the suitability of each target sentence in the given context using the 5-point Likert scale (from 1 for very bad to 5 for very good). The 2x2 experimental design manipulates two conditions: EXISTENCE and CLEFT. Firstly, the context in each target describes a situation so that the existence (marked as "+e") or absence (marked as "-e") of an agent is clearly stated (e.g., "+e": "Only one person passed the exam" or "-e": "Nobody passed the exam"). Second, a target sentence can include either a cleft ("+c") or a default ("-c") structure (e.g., "-c": "Max passed the exam", or "+c": "It was Max who passed the exam"). Finally, a target sentence can be interrogative or conditional.

In example (4) you can see two alternative contexts followed by clefted or default targets.

(4) (Context with overtly mentioned existence: +e)

Kontekst: Tri dnja nazad byl ekzamen po fizike. Ja znaju, čto **tol'ko odin čelovek sdal ego s pervoj popytki**. Vozmožno, èto byl Maksim, a vozmožno, i net. Segodnja ja interesovalsja u prepodavatelja nasčet ekzamena:

'Context: Three days ago, we had a physics exam. I know that **only one guy passed it on the first try**. Maybe it was Maxim or maybe not. Today, I asked my professor about the exam:'

(Context with overtly mentioned absence: -e)

Kontekst: Tri dnja nazad byl ekzamen po fizike. No ja znaju, čto **ego nikto ne smog sdat' s pervoj popytki**. Segodnja moj drug interesovalsja nasčet ekzamena:

'Context: Three days ago, we had a physics exam. But I know that **nobody passed it on the first try**. Today, my friend asked me about the exam:'

(Clefted targets: +c)

a) (interrogative)

Èto Maksim sdal fiziku s pervoj popytki?

èto Maxim passed physics with first try

'Was it Maxim who passed the physics exam on the first try?'

b) (conditional)

Esli **èto** Maksim sdal fiziku s pervoj popytki, mne est' čemu u nego poučit'sja.
if *èto* Maxim passed physics with first try, me there-is something by him to-learn

'If it was Maxim who passed the physics exam on the first try, there is something I should learn from him.'

(Default targets: -c)

a) (interrogative)

Maksim sdal fiziku s pervoj popytki?
Maxim passed physics with first try

'Did Maxim pass the physics exam on the first try?'

b) (conditional)

Esli Maksim sdal fiziku s pervoj popytki, mne est' čemu u nego poučit'sja.
if Maxim passed physics with first try, me there-is something by him to-learn

'If Maxim passed the physics exam on the first try, there is something I should learn from him.'

As it is supposed that *èto*-clefts behave in a similar way to *it*-clefts, Shipova assumes that *èto*-clefts also convey existence presuppositions. Therefore, it is expected to see a significant difference between the acceptability rates for clefts in the [+e] condition and the [-e] condition. Namely, in contexts with the explicit existence of an agent, the usage of a cleft should be rated as acceptable, and in contexts with the absence of an agent, a cleft is expected to sound weird and be rated as bad. Furthermore, the default targets are expected to be rated good, and no difference is expected to be revealed between interrogative and conditional types.

The results of Experiment 2 are summarized in Table 6 and Figure 2 (from Shipova, 2014, p. 47) below. The numbers in Table 6 are the average ratings for the corresponding targets. Figure 2 presents the average ratings of both sentence types (interrogatives and conditionals together) for each condition. The merge of the lexicalizations is justified by the fact that there was indeed no significant difference found between the ratings of interrogatives and conditionals in every condition.

Conditions	+c, +e	+c, +e	+c, -e	+c, -e	-c, +e	-c, +e	-c, -e	-c, -e
Test environments	inter	cond	inter	cond	inter	cond	inter	cond
Rating means	4.82	4.58	1.8	1.79	4.42	4.16	3.87	3.44

Table 6. Experiment 2 rating means per condition

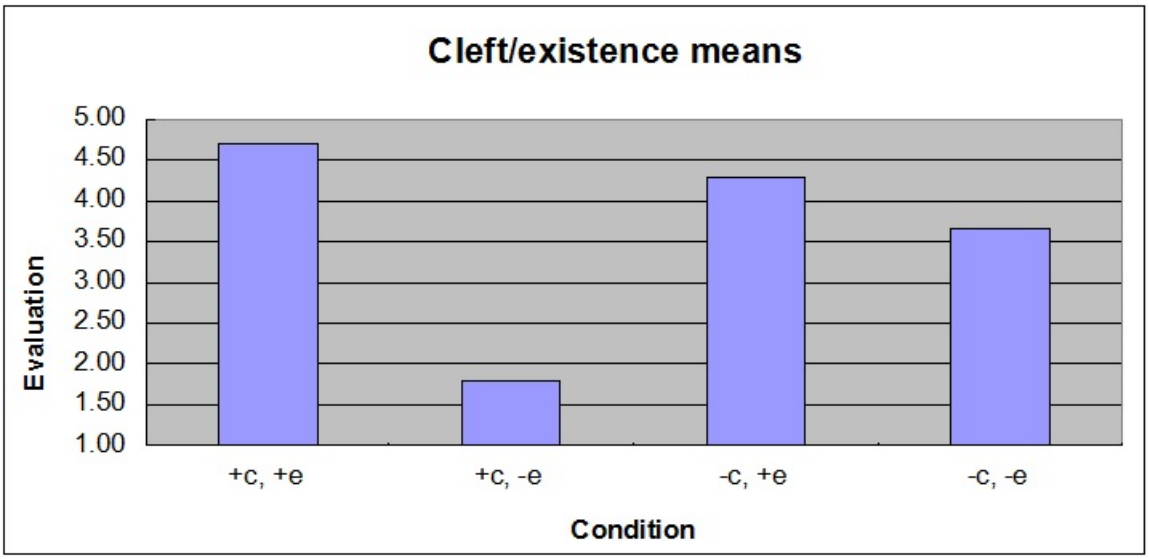


Figure 2. Experiment 2 rating means per condition with lexicalization average rates merged

The linear regression analysis performed by Shipova (2014) confirms the impression given from looking at Figure 2. Clefts in the contexts where overt existence was stated (+c, +e), were rated significantly more acceptable than clefts in the contexts without existence (+c, -e). Default targets with and without stated existence were rated good and also significantly better than targets under the [+c, -e] condition.

In this way, the predictions I made in Chapter IV regarding existential presuppositions have been confirmed experimentally. I can claim with confidence that Russian clefts convey existence presupposition. The usage of clefts was rated as unacceptable in contexts where it was overtly stated that no agent performed the action. Essentially, this means that if a speaker says, “It was Max who passed the exam”, the fact that there was somebody who passed the exam must be true and non-negotiable.

It is noteworthy that the usage of a cleft under the [+e] condition is rated slightly better

than the usage of a default sentence under the same condition. This might have been influenced by two factors.

First, remember that the existence of an agent is explicitly mentioned in the context, while the "slot" is left empty ("Someone passed the exam, but we don't know who"). Additionally, remember the observation from Chapter I, that *èto*-clefts tend to be used to talk about unique atomic objects or persons; that is, these are the contexts where Russian clefts most naturally come into play.

The second possible factor is how the participants interpreted the information structure of the clefts and the default sentences. When reading a sentence like *Èto Maxim sdal ekzamen s pervoj popytki?* ("Was it Maxim who passed the exam on the first try?"), a participant would certainly understand that "passed the exam on the first try" is old information, and the question is, if it was Maxim or not. This interpretation is possible in written language because of the structure of the cleft: *Maxim* is in focus. At the same time, the canonical *yes/no*-question *Maxim sdal ekzamen s pervoj popytki?* ("Did Maxim pass the exam on the first try?"), just like its affirmative counterpart (which has the same surface structure in Russian, just without the question mark), represents the default structure that typically exhibits sentence-final nuclear accent. So, a reader might think that the question refers to the amount of attempts it took Maxim to pass the exam, while in fact it is not known if Maxim passed the exam at all. As such, in terms of the information structure, a cleft indeed fits slightly better to the [+e] context.

5.2.3 Discussion

The findings of the above-mentioned experiments can be summarized as follows.

First, in semantic aspects, *èto*-clefts behave similarly to cleft and focus structures in Finno-Ugric, Germanic, Greek and Romance languages[62]. Experiment 2 from Shipova (2014) presented evidence that Russian clefts exhibit existence presuppositions. Experiment 3 (ibid.) used the same design that Onea and Beaver (2009) applied to examine Hungarian preverbal focus constructions, and the results for the material from the two languages are very similar. Experiment 4 (ibid.), on the other hand, discovered that, in terms of exhaustivity violation, the acceptability of Russian and German clefts, again, showed similar behavior.

[62] See Halvorsen (1978), Horn (1981), Delin (1992), Rooth (1996) for English; De Veaugh-Geiss et al. (2018) for German; Destruel (2012), Destruel & DeVeaugh-Geiss (2018) for French; Pavlou (2015) for Cypriot Greek; Szabolcsi (1994), Bende-Farkas (2009) for Hungarian.

The second finding is that *èto*-clefts trigger exhaustivity, however, cleft exhaustivity effects are not strong. Or to be more precise, clefts are not truth-conditionally exhaustive on a par with *only*. Exhaustivity violation in contexts with clefts is more acceptable than in contexts with the exclusive particle, but less acceptable than violation of exhaustivity in canonical sentences. This means that I cannot simply conclude that *èto*-clefts are exhaustive or that they are not, but I must consider this phenomenon on a continuous scale.

The third conclusion is that Russian clefts give rise to not-at-issue exhaustivity inferences.

Despite all the evidence seen so far, there are a few issues that remain unclear. An interesting challenge would be to see if we can measure the strength of exhaustivity effects in *èto*-clefts. Some other types of constructions that typically trigger weaker exhaustivity effects than exclusives, such as focus constructions or other types of clefts, could be compared with *èto*-clefts for this purpose.

Another question would be whether all native speakers treat *èto*-clefts and their inherent features like exhaustivity in the same way. Remember the results of Experiment 3 presented in Table 5 earlier in this section. Even though most of the participants voted for "Yes, but", a significant amount of them (22.5%) chose "No", while 25.83% answered "Yes, and". I can assume that some speakers consider *èto*-clefts exhaustive, like *only*, and some speakers treat them as non-exhaustive. It might be the case that different participants choose different linguistic strategies, thus the choice of strategy could be an interesting issue.

One more question is whether the mentioned effects have a semantic or pragmatic nature; that is, is the exhaustive part of the meaning inherently encoded in the structure of *èto*-clefts, or is it rather a conversational implicature derived from other features, such as focus marking or existence presupposition?

Finally, the experimental design by Shipova (2014) involved certain inaccuracies during the preparation of the stimuli which concerns all the experiments. For example, there were used such contexts as "It was Peter who came to the party", while, as I discussed in Chapter I, the interpretation of a Russian cleft might be affected in contexts which do not propose a unique atomic answer or a unique agent which automatically excludes all the other alternatives. Clearly, in the mentioned context, we do not expect a unique agent since a party typically involves more than one guest. Therefore, such a cleft might have appeared less acceptable on its own.

It is not fully clear to what extent these occurrences had an influence on the

experimental results in Shipova (2014), and still, as we will see in the next section, the exhaustivity effects in *èto*-clefts have been reproduced in the new experiments.

5.2.4 Conclusion

The prediction that *èto*-clefts exhibit existence presupposition was confirmed experimentally. The findings regarding exhaustivity effects brought us valuable insights and give grounds for further investigation. In the final section, I explore exhaustivity effects in *èto*-clefts by presenting two new mouse-driven verification/falsification experiments followed by a cross-linguistic comparison.

5.3 Experiments on exhaustivity

The two experiments[63] on exhaustivity in Russian clefts described in this section are inspired by the investigation of exhaustivity in German *es*-clefts by De Veaugh-Geiss et al. (2018, hereafter referred to as DVG in this section). I present the original pair of experiments first, then I proceed to the experiments on the Russian material. Here I focus on the nature and the strength of exhaustivity effects in *èto*-clefts. Finally, I make a cross-linguistic comparison of *èto*-clefts, considering the results found in DVG for German *es*-clefts.

Remarkably, clefts in both languages show similar behavior. Namely, the exhaustivity effects are not robust and vary across speakers who presumably tend to accommodate either the exhaustive or the non-exhaustive interpretation strategy. Statistically, both clefts and definite pseudo-clefts fall in the middle of the baseline conditions with *only* and plain intonational focus.

5.3.1 German: Participants and procedure

Two experiments are conducted in DVG to investigate the strength and the nature of exhaustivity in German *es*-clefts. During the experiments, participants get an auditory input, they use their mouse to open pictures and written sentences on the screen, and they are asked to make a judgment by pressing a button at a certain point. The experiments are designed to allow the participants to retrieve information step by step, deciding each time how much information they need to decide. Instead of making judgements on a gradient scale, the participants are free to uncover new information, interpret it and make binary "true"/"false" decisions. All texts that the participants hear and read during the experiments are in German. The procedure and the stimuli in both experiments are the same. In each experiment, 32 native speakers of German took part (distinct for Experiments I and II).

The full procedure is the following. The participants take their place in front of a laptop and put headphones on. At the very beginning of the experiment the participants are given instructions - oral, as well as written on the screen. They are told that during the

[63] All raw experimental data and results are accessible under https://github.com/blixaketzer/PhD_Shipova_Exhaustivity_experiments.

experiment they get a series of tasks, and each task corresponds to one situation. The same four agents - Tom, Max, Jens and Ben - take part in each situation and their actions will be described on the screen. Every agent performs only one action in each situation; however, different agents can perform the same action, e.g., mixing a cocktail. In each task, the participants hear an auditory stimulus in the headphones, e.g., *It was Max who mixed a cocktail*. They are asked to uncover just enough boxes to decide if the auditory stimulus was true or false. On the screen, they see four empty grey boxes which they can open by moving the mouse. After the participants hear the auditory stimulus, they are allowed to start uncovering the boxes by moving the mouse. If the mouse is moved over a box, the box opens; that means, a picture of an agent and a piece of text describing the action of this agent appears in this box, e.g., a picture of Max, his name and the text *I mixed a cocktail*. As soon as the mouse has left the box, the text disappears, but the picture and the name remain visible (see the screenshot on Figure 3 below[64]). At any moment, the participant is free either to uncover the next box (if there are still uncovered ones left), to reopen the old boxes, or to make a decision by pressing a button. If at some point the participant is ready to make a decision, they press the button "R", if the audio sentence

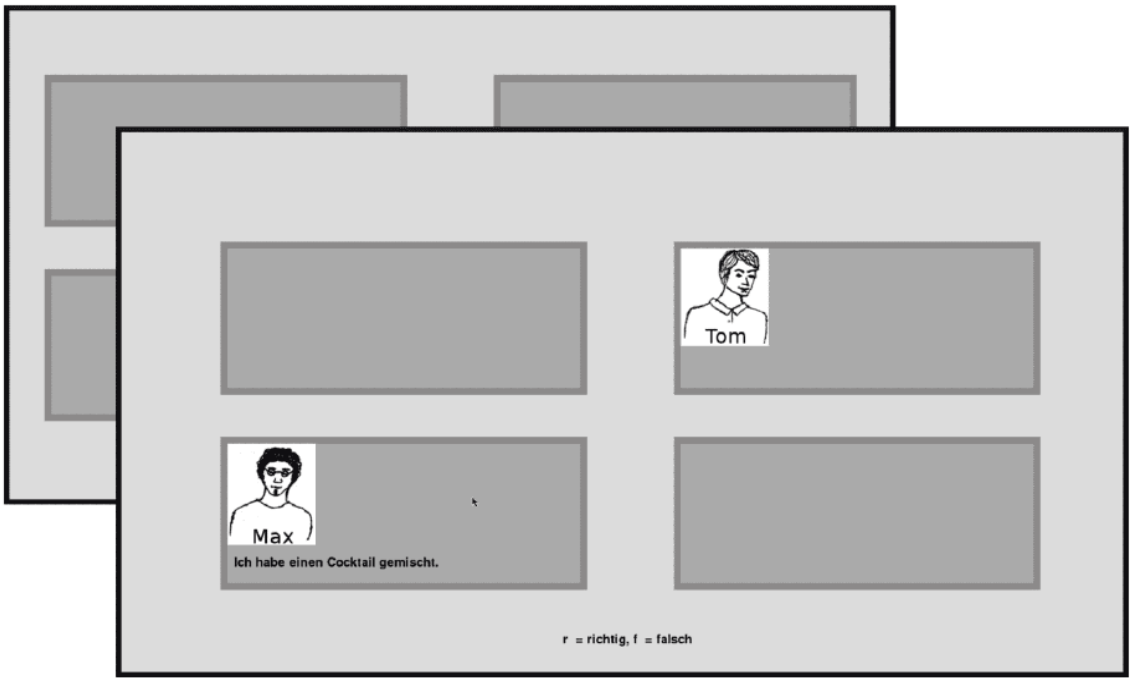


Figure 3: (background) The beginning of each trial (front) Uncovering Box 2 A possible auditory stimulus: "It is Max who mixed a cocktail."

[64] The screenshot is presented as it is given in De Veaugh-Geiss et al. (2018), p. 15.

appeared to be true, or the button "F", if it was false. Then, all boxes are re-covered and the participants get the next task with an identical procedure but with new stimuli.

In further analysis, the box that was opened first (independently of its location on the screen) is then referred to as Box 1, the box that was opened next is called Box 2, etc. The participants are free to open boxes in any order. The text and the pictures appear in a pre-programmed order, although the participants are not aware of it.

At the beginning of each experiment there is a practice trial where the participants encounter three situations. After they have made their decision, they see the correct solution and the reasoning for it on the screen. This is possible, because the practice items have been designed so that a cooperative participant could only make one specific choice. E.g., if the auditory stimulus is *Only Max went home*, and the text in Box 2 says that Ben went home, the participant is expected to answer "false", since truth-conditional exhaustivity of the exclusive has been violated[65]. During the practice, the participants can get used to the procedure, and it is also checked that they understand how to move the mouse and that they should not open more boxes than needed, etc. At this stage it is still not too late for them to ask any questions.

Afterwards, during the main part of the experiment, each participant gets 32 targets and 32 fillers in a pseudo-randomized order. There are no correct answers anymore: after a participant has opened some boxes and made a decision, they receive the next auditory stimulus and four newly covered boxes.

Some incentives are used to motivate the participants to uncover as few boxes as possible and to avoid thoughtless mousing over all the boxes.

First, after uncovering a box there is a 2000 ms delay, during which it is impossible to move the cursor out of the box. This is supposed to prevent the participants from opening all the boxes quickly, at once.

Second, as I already mentioned, after the mouse has been moved outside a box, the text in the box disappears and only the picture with the agent's name remains visible. As a result, the more boxes a participant opens, the more difficult it becomes for them to hold all the information in their memory.

Using these tricks, it is ensured that the participants only open enough boxes to make

[65] I expect this behavior from German participants based on our knowledge about exhaustivity from Section 5.1, and I will expect the same behavior from Russian participants based on the evidence from the experiment regarding exhaustivity violation from Section 5.2 where *only*-structures were used as controls as well.

a decision as the purpose of the incremental information retrieval setting is to allow us to know not just which decision the participants make, but also at what point the decision is made.

Box 2 is especially important for this experimental setting and forms the main difference between the two experiments. In Experiment I, the canonical inference is verified in Box 2, while in Experiment II, Box 2 falsifies the exhaustivity inference. For example, if the target sentence is *Only Max washed the dishes*, then Box 2 in Experiment I would say *Max: I washed the dishes* (verifying that Max indeed washed the dishes) whereas Box 2 in Experiment II would say *Ben: I washed the dishes* (violating exhaustivity by claiming that somebody else washed the dishes).

So, in both experiments we are interested in the participants' judgements at Box 2: if they press "true", "false", or they proceed to open further boxes.

In Experiment I, we check if the knowledge that the canonical inference is true is enough for participants to give a "true" judgement for a cleft, or they prefer to check the exhaustivity inference as well. If they do, this indicates that the exhaustivity inference is of some importance for the judgment.

In Experiment II, on the other hand, we check if the knowledge that the exhaustivity inference is false suffices for the participants to judge the target sentence as "false", or if the canonical inference also matters for them.

5.3.2 German: Stimuli and fillers

The audio sentences that the participants hear in the headphones consist of 32 stimuli and 32 fillers. A target sentence can be one of four types: *es*-clefts, sentences with focus realized by a pitch accent, sentences with the exclusive *nur* ("only") and definite pseudo-clefts, as shown in (5)-(8). Plain focus sentences, exhibiting pragmatic exhaustivity, serve as the control for non-exhaustive responses, while truth-conditionally exhaustive exclusive sentences are the controls for exhaustive responses. In this way, clefts and the other structure types are being explicitly compared in order to evaluate the source of exhaustivity in clefts as well as in definite pseudo-clefts. Additionally, as plain focus sentences and *only*-sentences come with a clear prediction regarding participants' decision, these two structures will be used to validate participant's responses as accurate.

Here are examples of German target sentences:

(5) Es ist JOHN, der getanzt hat. (CLEFT)
it is John who danced has
'It is John who danced.'

(6) JOHN hat getanzt. (PLAIN FOCUS)
John has danced
'John danced.'

(7) Nur JOHN hat getanzt. (EXCLUSIVE)
only John has danced
'Only John danced.'

(8) Derjenige, der getanzt hat, ist JOHN. (DEFINITE PSEUDO-CLEFT)
the-one who danced has is John
'The one that danced is John.'

Another four types of sentences are used as fillers aiming to distract participants' attention from the targets, namely, they are utterances containing: the universal quantifier *jeder* ("everybody"); the expletive expression *es ist klar* ("it is clear"); two conjoined proper nouns as the subject; or the scalar expression *weniger als* ("fewer than"). Moreover, all four types of fillers serve as additional controls, as the predictions for these structures are straightforward as well. See examples (9)-(12) (I provide them as they are given in DVG, p. 19).

(9) Jeder hat ein Buch ausgeliehen. (UNIVERSAL)
everyone has a book borrowed
'Everyone borrowed a book.'

(10) Es ist klar, dass Ben eine Geschichte erfunden hat. (EXPLETIVE)
it is clear that Ben a story invented has
'It is clear that Ben invented a story.'

(11) Ben und Max haben einen Fehler korrigiert. (CONJUNCTION)
Ben and Max have a mistake corrected
'Ben and Max corrected a mistake.'

(12) Weniger als drei Leute haben ein Bankkonto eröffnet. (SCALAR)
fewer than three people have a bank-account opened
'Fewer than three people opened a bank account.'

Each sentence type for targets and fillers came in 8 lexicalizations. The 32 (in total)

target lexicalizations were distributed in a Latin square design across 4 lists, as were the 32 filler lexicalizations. All sentences were randomized during the presentation.

5.3.3 German: Factorial design and dependent variables

The two factors involved in the 4*2 factorial design of Experiment I are SENTENCE TYPE and EXHAUSTIVITY. The four levels of the factor SENTENCE TYPE are the same in both Experiments I and II. The factor EXHAUSTIVITY has two levels: [+EXH] and [-EXH]. In the [+EXH] condition, the exhaustivity inference is not violated by any of the Boxes 1, 3 and 4, meaning that these three agents perform actions different from the one performed by the agent showed in Box 2. On the other hand, in the [-EXH] condition an agent in Box 3 or 4 performs the same action as the agent in Box 2 thus violating the exhaustivity inference. In both experiments, Box 1 never contains information that allows participants to make a decision after uncovering it.

In Experiment II, the 4*2 factorial design remains, but the two factors are SENTENCE TYPE and CANONICAL. In the [+CAN] condition, the canonical inference triggered by the target sentence is proved to be true in Box 3 or 4, and in the [-CAN] condition the canonical inference is proven to be false.

The dependent variables in Experiments I and II are the same, however, their evaluation will be different. The first variable is called EARLY RESPONSE (following the terminology in DVG, for convenience), and it corresponds to the decision made by the participant after uncovering Box 2. At this point, they can either decide to continue, or choose “true” or “false”, therefore the variable EARLY RESPONSE has three possible values. If the participant decided to open the other box(es), meaning that they make their decision after uncovering Box 3 or Box 4, I take this response as the second variable and I call it LATE RESPONSE. Obviously, it has two possible values: “true” or “false”.

For a better overview of the information contained in the Boxes and the nuances of the experiments, I provide the table from DVG, p. 18, see Table 7 below.

5.3.4 German: Predictions

In Experiment I, if a participant gave an Early True Response at Box 2 (the verifier), I conclude that proving the exhaustivity inference was not important for making a decision, instead it was important and sufficient that the canonical inference is true. If a participant continued to check the exhaustivity inference, I expect them to choose “true” in the [+EXH] condition and “false” in the [-EXH] condition as their Late Response.

	Exp. I (verifier)	**Exp. II (falsifier)**
Box 1	(*irrelevant information*) Jens: "I opened a bottle."	
Box 2 (EARLY RESPONSE)	(***canonical verified***) Max: "I mixed a cocktail."	(***exhaustivity falsified***) Ben: "I mixed a cocktail."
Box 3 / Box 4 (LATE RESPONSE)	**[+EXH]** (*exh. verified*) Tom/Ben: "I fetched a straw." or **[–EXH]** (*exh. falsified*) Tom/Ben: "I mixed a cocktail."	**[+CAN]** (*can. verified*) Max: "I mixed a cocktail." or **[–CAN]** (*can. falsified*) Max: "I fetched a straw."

Table 7. Conditions of Experiment I (verifier) and Experiment II (falsifier).

Regarding Early Responses in Experiment II, I check if violating the exhaustivity inference in Box 2 still allows a participant to judge the stimulus as "true" or not. If a participant continued, their late judgement depends on the canonical inference only and is expected to be "true" in the [+CAN] condition and "false" in the [-CAN] condition.

Regardless of the theoretical account, plain intonational focus is predicted to trigger a weak pragmatic exhaustivity inference, and exclusives are expected to be strongly exhaustive. For these reasons, I can consider the plain focus condition as the baseline for non-exhaustive responses, and the exclusive condition as the baseline for exhaustive responses.

Regarding definite pseudo-clefts, the literature generally agrees that they, being definite descriptions, carry uniqueness implications (even though it is sometimes claimed that the nature of such implications is not semantic, see Szabo, 2000; Ludlow & Segal, 2004). Therefore, exhaustivity in definite pseudo-clefts is expected to be strong and consistent across conditions and speakers.

Concerning clefts, the differences between the existing theoretical approaches will be evaluated from two aspects.

The first aspect is the strength of exhaustivity effects, which means the consistency and regularity of the cleft usage across participants, as well as across experimental conditions.

The second aspect is the parallel behavior of *es*-clefts and definite pseudo-clefts in terms of exhaustivity. The choice of this parameter is motivated by the common claim in the literature that cleft exhaustivity follows from an underlying definite structure and that clefts presumably are structurally related to definite pseudo-clefts (see again Section 1.1 for the background regarding clefts and definite pseudo-clefts).

The pragmatic account by Horn (1981, 2014) proposes an implicature analysis. It is claimed that exhaustivity, as a conversational implicature, is derived from the existence presupposition (that clefts always exhibit) and cleft structure, which is non-canonical and therefore less economical. The pragmatic account predicts exhaustivity to be weak, meaning that it may vary or be cancelled across participants and experimental conditions. In DVG's experimental design, this means that a verifier at Box 2 in Experiment I will presumably suffice for the participants to make a true judgement, while a falsifier at Box 2 in Experiment II will not systematically trigger a false judgment. Horn's account does not take definite pseudo-clefts specifically into consideration. Still, Horn & Abbott (2016) claim that definite pseudo-clefts as definite descriptions convey uniqueness as their conventional part, therefore exhaustivity is expected to be encoded in the structure of definite pseudo-clefts, which should lead to different behavior if compared to *es*-clefts.

One of the two semantic accounts that I have already mentioned, is the semantic definite account (supported by Percus, 1997; Büring & Križ, 2013; Križ, 2017 and others). In this approach it is stated that both clefts and definite pseudo-clefts share the syntax and semantics of a definite description, which make them semantically (inherently) exhaustive. Therefore, they are expected to show strong and systematic exhaustivity in a parallel way.

By the second semantic account, proposed by Velleman et al. (2012), clefts are treated as "IT (inquiry terminating) constructions". Namely, the meaning of cleft constructions is considered on two levels. At the at-issue level, the semantics of a cleft and its canonical counterpart are identical. But at the not-at-issue level, the cleft structure excludes all stronger focus alternatives than the one asserted by the cleft. Interestingly, it is exactly the opposite from what we observe in exclusive constructions with *only*, where exclusion of the alternatives is at-issue, but the canonical assertion is not-at-issue. Hence, in Experiment I, if exhaustivity is considered to have a semantic nature, clefts are expected to trigger the same responses as the semantic definite account predicts ("continue" at Box 2), but since exhaustivity remains not-at-issue, a "true" judgement in the early measure is still possible. At the same time, in Experiment II, where exhaustivity is made at-issue under the falsification, "false" judgements are expected.

The Early Responses, that I expect to observe for clefts according to each theoretical account, are presented in Table 8 below (adapted from DVG, p. 22, Table 3).

As reported in DVG, experimental results from numerous studies (Onea & Beaver, 2009; Destruel, 2012; Byram-Washburn et al., 2013; Destruel et al., 2015; DeVeaugh-Geiss et al., 2015) generally support the pragmatic nature of cleft exhaustivity, although

Theory	Strength	Parallel to def. pse.	Experiment	Early Response at Box 2
Pragmatic	-	-	I (verifier at Box 2) II (falsifier at Box 2)	true continue
Semantic definite	+	+	I (verifier at Box 2) II (falsifier at Box 2)	continue false
Semantic IT	+	+/-	I (verifier at Box 2) II (falsifier at Box 2)	continue or true false

Table 8. Theoretical predictions for the early responses for clefts.

the evidence provided is not conclusive. At the same time, the studies confirmed that the exhaustivity in clefts is different from at-issue exhaustivity in structures with exclusives. Certain gaps and uncertainties in the existing studies provided an additional motivation for the more systematic and detailed study conducted in DVG.

Please refer to DVG for a more detailed discussion regarding the theoretical approaches, existing experimental studies, and an analysis of the status of definite pseudo-clefts.

5.3.5 Russian: Participants and procedure

The results of the experiments for German *es*-clefts will be presented a bit later during a cross-linguistic comparison. But first, I introduce the experiments conducted for Russian *èto*-clefts. Afterwards, I provide the results for Russian in comparison with the German findings.

In total, 32 participants took part in Experiment I (17 female, 15 male, age range 15-69, average age 31.2). Another 32 participants, distinct from the ones involved in Experiment I, took part in Experiment II (24 female, 8 male, age range 15-54, average age 28.5). The participants were high school students and high school teachers from different regions of Russia. The experimental data were collected in Russia in laboratory conditions under supervision, using a Python script kindly provided by DVG's team. The participants received compensation for their time.

The procedure is identical to the one in the German experiments. The participants hear an audio stimulus through their headphones and see four grey empty boxes on the screen.

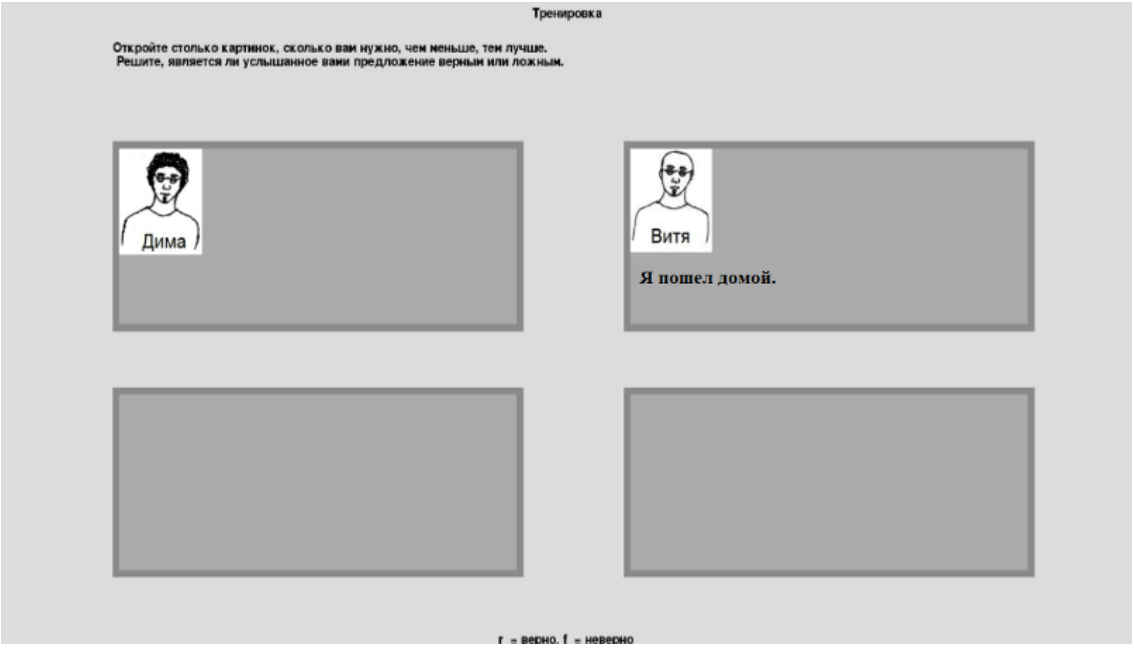


Figure 4: Uncovering Box 2. A possible auditory stimulus: "Only Dima went home". The text in Russian says: (above) "Practice. Open as many boxes as you need, the less, the better. Decide if the utterance you've just heard is true or false. (Box 1) Dima (Box 2) Vitja: I went home", (below) "r = right, f = wrong"

The participants are told that the same four agents - Dima, Vitja, Kolja and Sasha - take part in each situation and that their actions are described in the boxes (one agent for each box). See the screenshot in Figure 4 above, where Vitja in Box 2 says: *Ja pošol domoj* "I went home". The participants use a mouse to uncover boxes until they can make a decision if the audio sentence was true or false. All sentences that the participants hear or read during the experiments are in Russian.

5.3.6 Russian: Stimuli and fillers

Each participant hears a total of 64 auditory input audio utterances during the experiment, including 32 stimuli and 32 fillers in Russian. The target sentences appear as one of four types: an *èto*-cleft, a definite pseudo-cleft (in the form introduced at the beginning of Chapter I), an exclusive and a plain intonational focus. See examples of each sentence type:

(13) Èto Dima zakryl okno. (CLEFT)
èto Dima closed window
'It was Dima who closed the window.'

(14) Tem, kto zakryl okno, byl Dima.
the-one.*Sg.masc.Instr* who closed window was Dima
(DEFINITE PSEUDO-CLEFT)
'The one who closed the window was Dima.'

(15) Tol'ko Dima zakryl okno. (EXCLUSIVE)
only Dima closed window
'Only Dima closed the window.'

(16) [Dima]$_F$ zakryl okno. (PLAIN FOCUS)
Dima closed window
'DIMA closed the window.'

Each sentence type comes in 8 lexicalizations, and 32 lexicalizations in total were distributed in a Latin square design across 4 lists and randomized during the presentation.

The subject of each target sentence is one of 4 proper names, all of which are masculine, as well as prosodically and orthographically uniform: each name consists of four letters, two syllables, and the first syllable is stressed. The subject is followed by a verb in perfective aspect[66] and then an object. In that way all lexicalizations are equal in terms of memorizing and interpretation.

Note that the initial demonstrative *tot* ("the one") in definite pseudo-clefts can be declined by gender. But since all the proper names are masculine, each pseudo-cleft lexicalization contains the same form of the demonstrative.

There are 4 sentence types used as fillers, and also 8 lexicalizations for each sentence type. The types are very similar to the ones used in the experimental design in DVG. Namely, the types involve utterances containing: the universal quantifier *každyj* ("everyone"), the expletive *očevidno* ("clearly"), two conjoined proper nouns as the subject (*Vitja and Sasha*), and the collective numeral *dvoe* ("two people"). See examples of each sentence type:

[66] In the English glosses, the verbs are translated using the simple past tense, but in Russian there is a difference between perfective and imperfective aspects. A perfective verb denotes a finished action, or its result. In contrast, imperfective verbs denote ongoing or repetitive actions. In this way, the experiment participants receive information about each agent and a single finished action performed by this agent in the past.

(17) Každyj pomyl mašinu. (UNIVERSAL)
each washed car
'Everyone washed a car.'

(18) Očevidno, čto Vitja otpravil otčët. (EXPLETIVE)
(it is) clear that Vitja sent report
'It is clear that Vitja sent the report.'

(19) Vitja i Saša ispravili ošibku. (CONJUNCTION)
Vitja and Sasha corrected mistake
'Vitja and Sasha corrected a mistake.'

(20) Dvoe pročitali gazetu. (COLLECTIVE NUMERAL)
two people read newspaper
'Two people read a newspaper.'

During the presentation, the lexicalizations come in a randomized order mixed with the target lexicalizations, and each participant hears the same 32 filler sentences.

5.3.7 Russian: Factorial design and dependent variables

The factors and dependent variables are also identical to the ones involved in the German experiments.

Both experiments involve a 4*2 factorial design. One factor in both experiments is SENTENCE TYPE which has four levels according to the four stimulus types presented above.

The second factor in Experiment I - EXHAUSTIVITY - has two levels: [+EXH] and [-EXH]. In the [+EXH] condition, the exhaustivity inference is not violated, and in the [-EXH] condition, it is violated in Box 3 or Box 4.

The second factor in Experiment II – CANONICAL - has two levels: [+CAN] and [-CAN]. In the [+CAN] condition, the canonical inference triggered by the target sentence is proved to be true in Box 3 or 4, and in the [-CAN] condition the canonical inference is proved to be false.

The dependent variables in Experiments I and II are EARLY RESPONSE (the decision made by the participant after uncovering Box 2) and LATE RESPONSE (the decision at Box 3 or Box 4). The variable EARLY RESPONSE can take the values "true"/"false"/"continue", and the variable LATE RESPONSE can take the values "true"/"false".

5.3.8 Russian: Predictions

Overall, for Russian I take the same theoretical accounts into consideration and stick to the same prediction as for German. Concerning experimental studies, evidence was already found that Russian *èto*-clefts show similarities to German *es*-clefts and clefts in general. In Section 5.2, we saw previous experimental results from Shipova (2014), showing that exhaustivity effects in Russian clefts are not as strong as in structures with exclusives, and that exhaustivity violation in clefts is generally more acceptable than the violation of exhaustivity in sentences with exclusives. On this basis, as well as the theoretical background presented in Chapter I, I assume that in the new experiments presented below clefts will trigger weaker exhaustivity effects than utterances with *only*, but stronger exhaustivity effects than sentences with plain intonational focus.

The last remark I need to make concerns the possible parallel behavior of clefts and definite pseudo-clefts, which is expected in the semantic definite account because of their possible structural relation. The structures evidently have something in common as both construction types contain a demonstrative element, but I cannot claim that they are also structurally related. Still, I strongly assume that definite pseudo-clefts introduce existence presupposition just like *èto*-clefts. See Chapter I again for the introduction of definite pseudo-clefts and, particularly, the fact that they are not used in "out of the blue" contexts. Moreover, they share the anaphoric structural element with German definite pseudo-clefts, in particular, German sentences contain the demonstrative element *jene-*, while Russian ones include the sentence-initial demonstrative *tot* ("those", "the one"). Finally, I still expect exhaustivity in pseudo-clefts to be strong as Russian pseudo-clefts are definite descriptions.

5.3.9 Russian: Results

During the data preparation for Experiment I, 5 responses were treated as errors and removed. There was one "false" response on Box 2, even though the participant had no reason to give such a response, and there were 4 responses at Box 1, although there was no reason at all to make a decision at this point.

I start with the Early Responses which have been summarized for both experiments in Figure 5. The Early Responses in Experiment I showed that plain intonational focus was mostly considered non-exhaustive: 77% of participants (197/255) chose "true". The sentences with *only* exhibited strong exhaustivity effects: just 6% of the participants (15/254) made a decision at Box 2. Clefts and definite pseudo-clefts were nearly identical and fell in the middle. Clefts elicited a judgement 54.9% (140/255) of the time, and

definite pseudo-clefts 55.7% (142/255) of the time.

A generalized linear mixed effects model showed no significant difference between clefts and definite pseudo-clefts (ˆβ = 0.07356, SE = 0.23105, z = 0.318, p = 0.750); by contrast, focus was significantly more likely to elicit "true" judgements (ˆβ = 1.61971, SE = 0.25297, z = 6.403, p = 1.53e-10).

I continue with the Late Responses which are summarized for both experiments in Table 9. Remember, these are the responses given by the participants at Box 3 or Box 4, if they decided to continue at Box 2. As we can see in the results of Experiment I, in the [+EXH] condition the participants consistently responded "true" for all sentence types. I can take these results as a quality control measure. The participants were expected to respond "true" in the [+EXH] condition, so they did. This shows that they paid attention and made their decisions reasonably. Note, however, that in the [-EXH] condition, where exhaustivity was violated, only for exclusives 100% of the judgements were "false". The other sentence types evoked a significant number of "true" responses. For plain focus sentences, the distribution looks especially remarkable (only 58% of "false" responses).

During the data preparation for Experiment II, 14 responses were treated as errors and removed: there were 13 "true" responses on the falsifier box, and 1 erroneous judgement at Box 1.

The results of Experiment II at Box 2 - Early Responses - are as follows: exclusives elicited 91.7% of "false" judgements (233/254), and at sentences with plain focus participants mostly continued uncovering, though the advantage of this is not significant ("false" answers were given 42.3% of the time, or 107/253 cases). Clefts elicited "false" responses in 57.3% of the cases (145/253), and definite pseudo-clefts fell not far away with 63.6% of "false" responses (159/250). See Figure 5 for a graph with the observed proportions of Early Responses in Experiment II.

A generalized linear mixed effects model, again, showed no significant difference between clefts and definite pseudo-clefts (ˆβ = 0.4021, SE = 0.2222, z = 1.809, p = 0.0704). By contrast, exclusives were significantly more likely to elicit "false" judgements (ˆβ = 2.9407, SE = 0.3257, z = 9.030, p = 2e-16), while focus was significantly more likely to elicit a "continue" response (ˆβ = -0.9464, SE = 0.2245, z = -4.215, p = 2.49e-05).

Late Responses in Experiment II, as shown in Table 9 below, are again consistent in the [-CAN] condition where the participants responded "false", as expected. The percentage of the "true" responses for the [+CAN] condition is not so high, even though most participants still made this decision. The percentage for exclusives is the only one

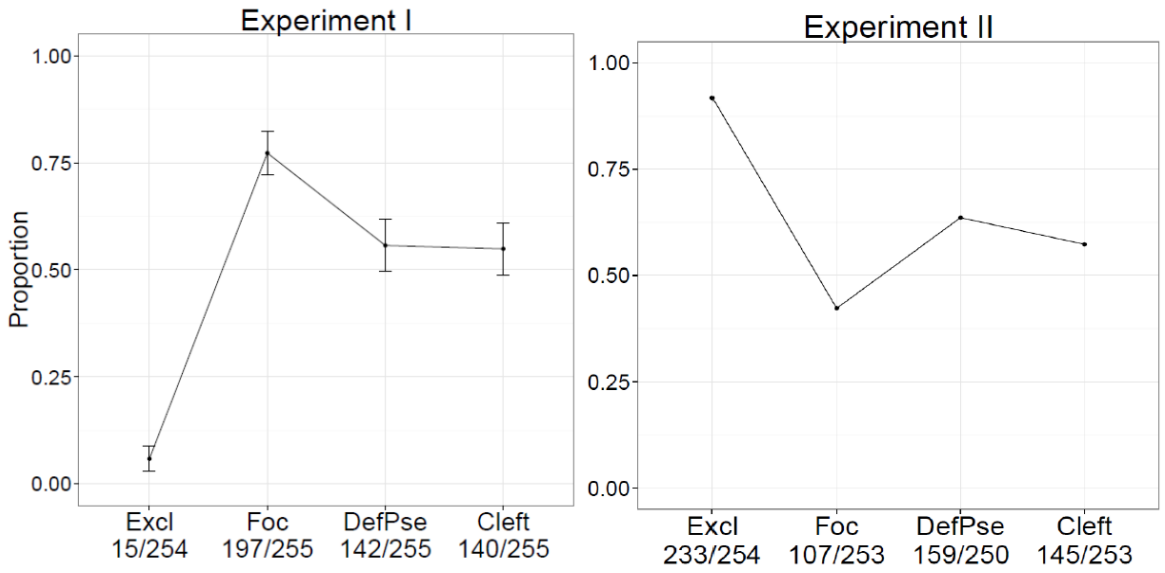


Figure 5. Early responses in Experiment I and Experiment II for Russian.

	Response	Exclusive	Focus	Def. Pse.	Cleft
Experiment I (verifier)	[+EXH] true	98% (117/119)	100% (27/27)	98% (54/55)	98% (56/57)
	[-EXH] false	100% (120/120)	**58% (18/31)**	**79% (46/58)**	**83% (48/58)**
Experiment II (falsifier)	[+CAN] true	27% (3/11)	**81% (60/74)**	**72% (34/47)**	**60% (33/55)**
	[-CAN] false	90% (9/10)	100% (72/72)	89% (39/44)	98% (52/53)

Table 9: Late responses in percentages and fractions for Experiment I ([±EXH] conditions) and Experiment II ([±CAN] conditions) for Russian.

which is very low, however, it cannot be considered representative, since, as we can see from the low number of the data points, most of the participants had already made their choice at Box 2.

5.3.10 Russian: Post-hoc analysis

In both experiments on Russian material, the ratio of "continue" and "true"/"false" judgements as an Early Response for clefts and definite pseudo-clefts was about 50/50, instead of the predicted 0/100 or 100/0. Such results do not correspond to any of the theoretical accounts that I considered in Section 5.1. An initial assessment of the data seems that we do not observe exhaustive interpretations of *èto*-clefts or definite pseudo-clefts, nor are they interpreted similar to plain intonational focus structures.

However, during further analysis (following the post-hoc analysis by De Veaugh-Geiss,

2018) I discovered that these results were obtained not because all participants behaved in different ways during the experiments, and not because some stimuli triggered exhaustive or non-exhaustive judgements from the participants. In fact, just like in the analysis of German experiments described by De Veaugh-Geiss, the participants fell into two groups: some participants treated clefts and pseudo-clefts closer to exclusive sentences in terms of exhaustivity effects, while the others treated them more non-exhaustively, closer to plain focus. The number of participants in the groups is more or less equal in both experiments. This is why the full picture shows that the strength of exhaustivity inferences in clefts and definite pseudo-clefts is equally far from exclusives and plain focus.

For Experiment I, the participants who responded “true” for clefts at least 60% of the time, were included in the non-exhaustive group, and the ones who responded “true” at most 40% of the time, were included in the exhaustive group.

For Experiment II, on the other hand, the participants who responded “false” for clefts at least 60% of the time were included in the exhaustive group, and the ones who responded “false” at most 40% of the time were included in the non-exhaustive group.

See Figures 6 and 7 below for the proportions in each group in both experiments. Note that the groups were separated according to the judgements regarding clefts, and, as you can see on the graphs, definite pseudo-clefts were judged accordingly - more exhaustively by the participants from the exhaustive group and less exhaustively by the non-exhaustive group.

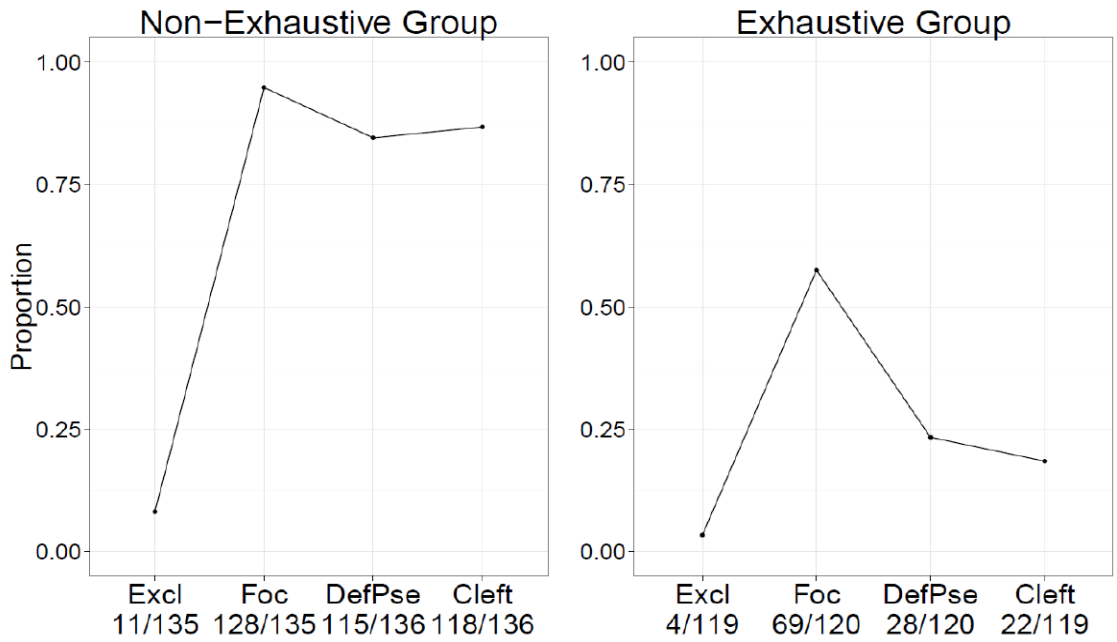


Figure 6: Early responses for non-exhaustive and exhaustive groups in Experiment I for Russian.

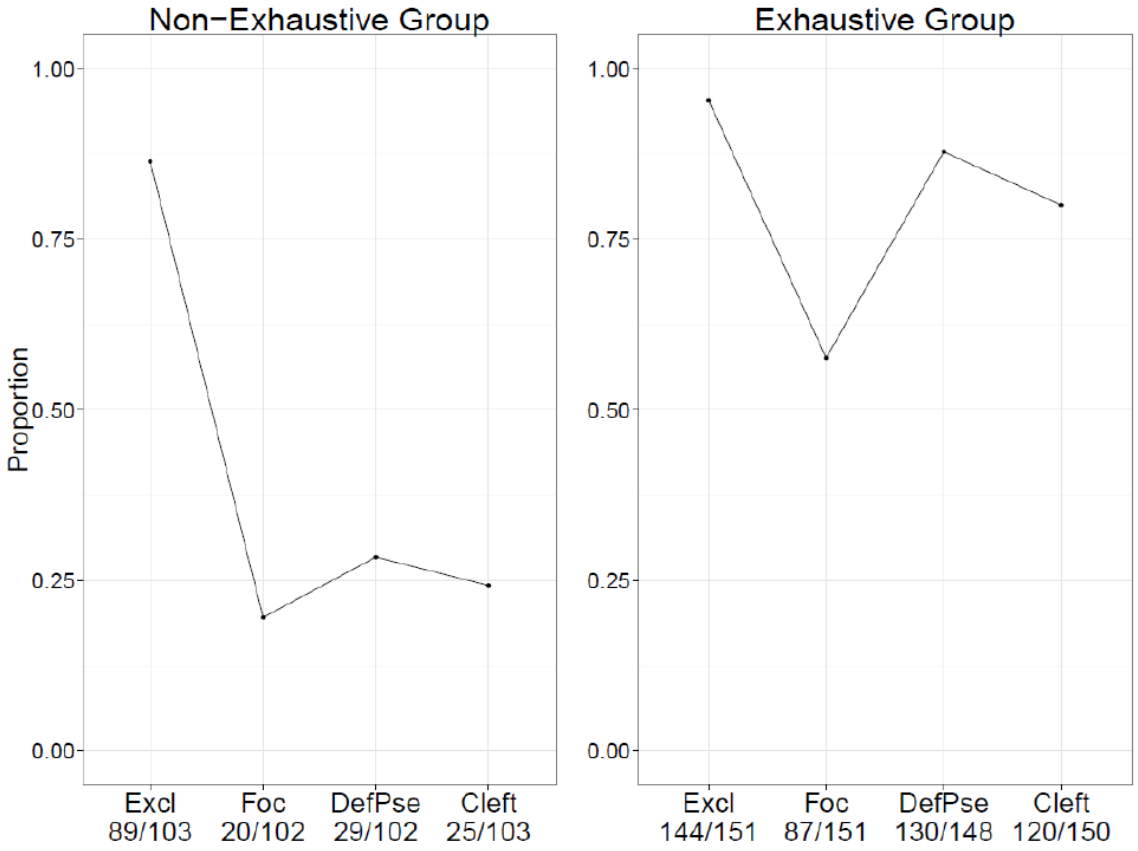


Figure 7: Early responses for non-exhaustive and exhaustive groups in Experiment II for Russian.

5.3.11 Cross-linguistic comparison

On the whole, the results of Experiments I and II for Russian *èto*-clefts show the same tendencies as the results obtained in DVG for German *es*-clefts.

First of all, for both languages there was a 50/50 ratio of "continue" and "true"/"false" judgements for clefts and definite pseudo-clefts as an Early Response (see Figure 8 below[67]). At first sight, none of the three theoretical accounts found support in the evidence drawn from the experimental results. The overall picture was that the exhaustivity inferences in clefts and definite pseudo-clefts seemed to be weaker than the exhaustivity inference in exclusives and stronger than the exhaustivity inference in plain intonational focus structures.

It is remarkable, though, that in both pairs of experiments clefts and definite pseudo-clefts did not trigger consistent judgements across participants. During the data processing in DVG, the participants were divided between exhaustive and non-exhaustive groups, and the same was possible during the processing of the Russian material. This is where we see half of the participants treating clefts almost like exclusives and the other half judging clefts like plain focus.

Following the discussion in DVG, I can first try to assume that the observed strategy choice can be explained by dialectal differences between participants. Namely, it might be the case that one half of the participants speak a "dialect" of Russian where clefts and definite pseudo-clefts exhibit strong exhaustivity, and another half speaks another dialect of Russian where these structures are non-exhaustive. As argued in DVG, in such a case we would expect consistent understanding failures between the two groups of people. Other than that, considering that we observe this tendency not just for German, but also for Russian, which is different from German, I consider it rather improbable that Russian also breaks into identical dialects, so that in each experiment we observe an equal number of speakers of each dialect.

Therefore, an alternative proposal is made in DVG instead, namely, that the nature of exhaustivity in clefts and definite pseudo-clefts is pragmatic, such that some participants accommodate a [+EXH] environment while others accommodate a [-EXH] environment. In the absence of explicit context, the general observation would be that speakers make this choice randomly, guessing with a 50/50 chance.

[67] The figure representing the German results is taken from DVG, p. 24.

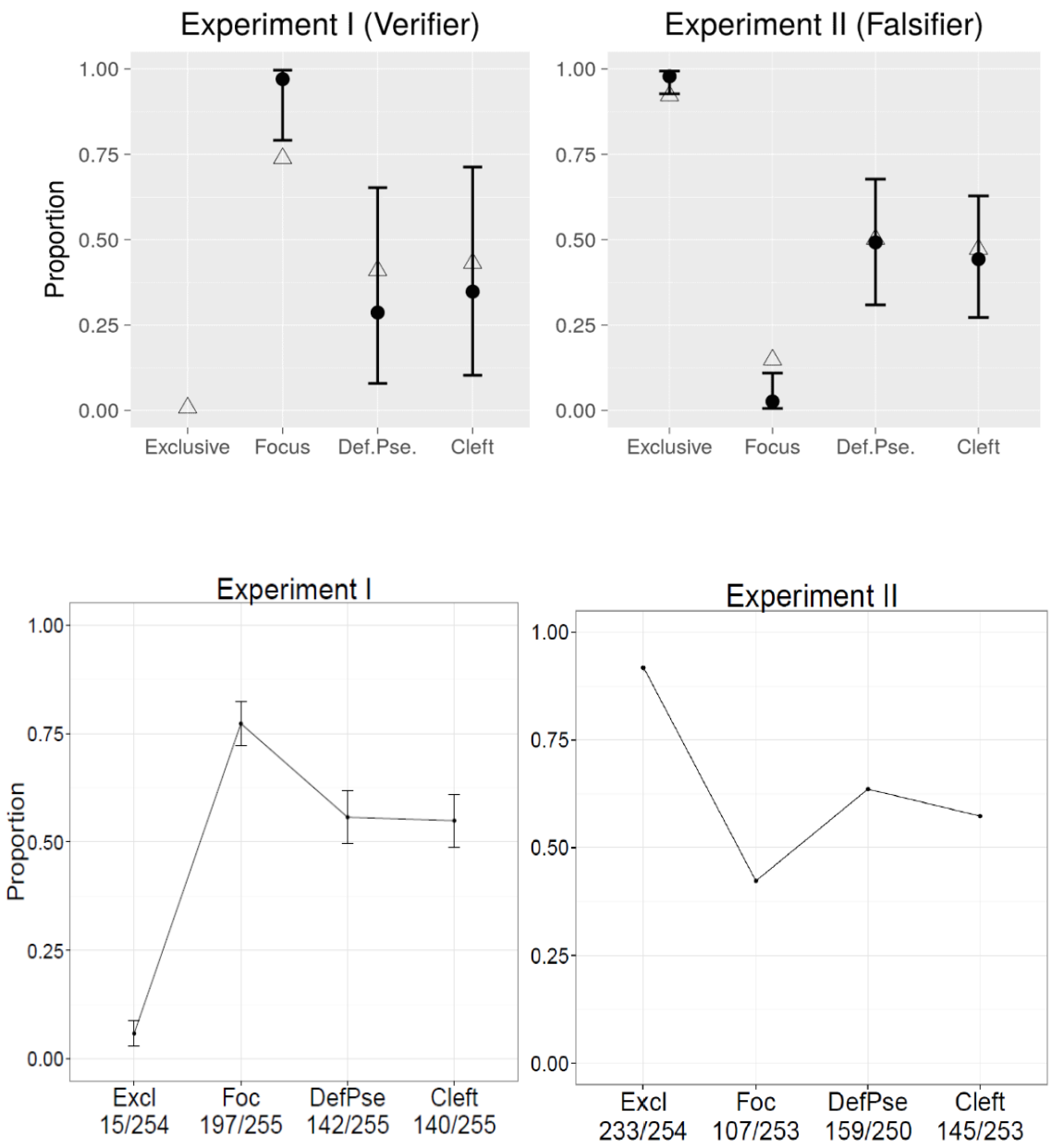


Figure 8. Early Responses in Experiments I and II in German (above) and Russian (below)

A remarkable difference between the Russian and German results can be found in the Late Responses in the [-EXH] and [+CAN] conditions. Compare the Late Responses for Russian and German in Table 10 (the Russian results are copied from Table 9 above, and the German results are from DVG, p. 25). Note the percentages in bold - three sentence types except exclusives, in the [-EXH] and [+CAN] conditions. Considering, that the Early Responses for Russian and German are quite similar, these percentages are

strikingly different.

Let us first investigate the [-EXH] condition from Experiment I. Imagine that the target sentence claims: *The one who cooked the dinner was Tom*, and Box 2 (verifier) says *Tom cooked the dinner*. In this condition, the exhaustivity of the target sentence is violated, which means that when a participant continues at Box 2 (Late Responses are only available if participants continue at Box 2), they see a sentence like *Ben cooked the dinner* in Box 3 or Box 4. The fact that a participant is not able to make a "true"/"false" decision based on the verifier alone, suggests that exhaustivity must play a role in their decision making process. Therefore, I would expect them to give the Late Response "false" in the [-EXH] condition. This is what we observe in the results for German, where most of the participants (91-93%) responded "false" when exhaustivity was violated. In the Russian results, however, a relatively large number of participants (17-42%, depending on the sentence type) changed their strategy at the Late Response and responded "true", most of them in the plain focus condition.

A similar situation is evident in the [+CAN] condition in Experiment II. The Russian participants continue at the falsifier in Box 2, presumably because they want to check if the canonical inference is true. In Box 3 or Box 4 the canonical inference is confirmed, and most of the Russian participants respond "true", but a significant number (19-40%) still responded "false".

	Response	Exclusive	Focus	Def. Pse.	Cleft
Experiment I (verifier)	[+EXH] true	98% (117/119)	100% (27/27)	98% (54/55)	98% (56/57)
	[-EXH] false	100% (120/120)	**58% (18/31)**	**79% (46/58)**	**83% (48/58)**
Experiment II (falsifier)	[+CAN] true	27% (3/11)	**81% (60/74)**	**72% (34/47)**	**60% (33/55)**
	[-CAN] false	90% (9/10)	100% (72/72)	89% (39/44)	98% (52/53)

	Response	Exclusive	Focus	Def. Pse.	Cleft
Experiment I (verifier)	[+EXH] true	98% (123/126)	100% (32/32)	99% (76/77)	99% (71/72)
	[-EXH] false	99% (127/128)	**91% (30/35)**	**91% (67/74)**	**93% (68/73)**
Experiment II (falsifier)	[+CAN] true	14% (1/7)	**96% (105/109)**	**85% (53/62)**	**87% (58/67)**
	[-CAN] false	92% (12/13)	99% (108/109)	100% (65/65)	97% (65/67)

Table 10: Late responses in percentages and fractions for Experiment I ([±EXH] conditions) and Experiment II ([±CAN] conditions) for Russian (above) and German (below)

One more similarity between the Russian and the German experiments is that clefts were interpreted in parallel to definite pseudo-clefts. Although definite pseudo-clefts are definite descriptions, they still failed to exhibit strong exhaustivity effects for the non-exhaustive group of participants. It is noted in DVG (p. 37) that definite descriptions are usually considered to trigger a uniqueness presupposition, therefore their exhaustivity inferences are strong. But it might be the case that definite pseudo-clefts fall into a different category of definite descriptions. As such, definite pseudo-clefts obtain an exhaustivity which is derived from familiarity. According to DVG, an anaphoric reference in the form of an existence presupposition is a part of the conventional meaning of definite pseudo-clefts. The claim is supported by example (21) below (example (25) in DVG) that shows that definite pseudo-clefts are illicit in an out-of-the-blue context and another type of definite description is licit because of its easy accommodation. Such unacceptability of definite pseudo-clefts can be observed in Russian as well, as shown in example (7) in Chapter I. See example (22) for Russian[68].

(21) (out of the blue)

a. *Derjenige, der den Lord umgebracht hat, war der Gärtner.
the-one who the lord murdered has was the gardener
'The one who murdered the lord was the gardener.'

b. Der Mörder des Lords war der Gärtner.
'The murderer of the lord was the gardener.'

(22) (out of the blue)

a. *Tem, kto ubil lorda, byl sadovnik.
the-one.*Instr* who murdered lord was gardener
'The one who murdered the lord was the gardener.'

[68] Note that Russian is an articleless language, hence definiteness is expressed in a slightly different way. E.g., in example (22a), there is a demonstrative which functions as a definite noun phrase. At the same time, (22b) does not contain any relevant lexical means, and definiteness is expressed by the means of information structure. According to Czardybon 2017 (p. 39), "Due to the fact that topics represent presupposed information, they are interpreted as definite or generic", while the post-verbal material can be either definite or indefinite. Therefore, I can assume that the pre-verbal material ("the murderer of the lord") is also definite in Russian. See also numerous sources regarding definiteness in Russian (Christian, 1961; Dončeva-Mareva, 1966; Gladrow, 1972; Birkenmaier, 1979; Chvany, 1983; Hauenschild, 1985, 1993; Mehlig, 1988; Steube & Späth, 1999; Friedrich, 2009).

b. Ubijcej lorda byl sadovnik.
murderer.*Instr* lord.*Gen* was gardener
'The murderer of the lord was the gardener.'

Remember the familiarity effects in canonical *èto*-clefts that I investigated in Chapter III. As we have just seen, definite pseudo-clefts are apparently definite descriptions that manifest familiarity which in turn triggers exhaustivity effects. This fact makes definite pseudo-clefts semantically and pragmatically similar to *èto*-clefts, which derive familiarity from existence presupposition. In this case, we should expect *èto*-clefts and definite pseudo-clefts to show exhaustivity effects in a similar manner, and in fact, that is exactly what we saw in the experiments presented above.

These observations give motivation for further investigation of Russian definite pseudo-clefts, their place among definite descriptions, as well as the other aspects in which they are similar or distinct from canonical *èto*-clefts.

5.3.12 Conclusion

To finalize the cross-linguistic evaluation, here are some general remarks regarding the exhaustivity-related comparison of Russian and German clefts.

I did not conduct any experiments that directly compare Russian and German clefts in the scope of one experimental design. Still, I can draw certain conclusions from the experiments presented in this chapter and the ones presented in DVG.

Since exclusives trigger strong exhaustivity effects and plain intonational focus structures trigger weak exhaustivity effects in both languages, and also taking into account that both German and Russian clefts statistically fell in the middle of these two conditions, I assume these clefts behave in a cross-linguistically similar way. Remember again Experiment 4 on exhaustivity violation from Shipova (2014), based on the experiment on German data in Saur (2013), where the results for Russian and German, again, turned out to be very similar. Specifically, both Russian and German clefts showed equal acceptability ratings for exhaustivity violation when compared to canonical structures and exclusives. This is in line with my claims about similar behavior of Russian and German clefts in terms of exhaustivity inferences and their strength.

Generally, I conclude that the behavior of focus-background partitioning structures is cross-linguistically uniform: a strong existence presupposition triggered by anaphoricity and weaker (pragmatic) exhaustivity inferences that follow from whether the existence presupposition is presented as satisfied by one or more individuals in the context. It is

remarkable how the interpretive similarities are obtained despite differences in the underlying syntactic structures.

Open issues

Before I proceed to the conclusion, I want to outline some points that were not considered in the current dissertation and which are beyond its scope, but nevertheless are relevant and of interest. These include questions concerning both *èto* and Russian clefts themselves.

The first point concerns the usage of *èto* and *èto*-clefts in the spoken language. In writing, it is more formal lexical and syntactic means that are usually used to express focus, to introduce Topic and to make a reference to the preceding context. *Èto* as a particle, in cases where it is not the demonstrative pronoun "this" which bears prosodic stress, is highly colloquial. As we remember from Shipova (2014), some informants reported that *èto* looked or sounded strange while filling out the questionnaires, despite the fact that the participants received written texts during the experiments. At the same time, in speech, the same native speakers definitely used *èto* in appropriate contexts. It might be useful to study the peculiarities of Russian speech; however, such investigation would require audio recordings of casual speech. This challenge is further complicated by the fact that *èto* is still not that popular even in spoken language, so a qualitative study would require many hours of speech recording. Additionally, for experimental purposes, the speakers should not know that they are being recorded. Finally, participants would need to be unaware of the aim of the experiment itself, as I am interested in the natural usage of *èto*-clefts and *èto*, even the question whether it could be just a filler particle or a demonstrative, etc. If we had such an investigation, it would also be interesting to analyze the pitch and intensity of stress on *èto* using special applications, so that the possible differences between different conditions and usages could be clearly seen on a graph.

The next important topic is the restrictions on clefting, as it is still not fully clear why certain parts of speech or constituent types can or cannot be clefted, as I mentioned at the beginning of Chapter I. For example, why is it ungrammatical to say in Russian *It was fast that I was running*, or why does *It was me who was running* sound worse than *It was me who broke the window*? Clearly, there are certain restrictions in the language, and they are imposed on a variety of things: on the length of the clefted constituent, on its syntactic role in the sentence, on its semantics, as well as on the structure and the meaning of the sentence as a whole, both alone and in the surrounding context.

Next, the cross-linguistic comparison could be continued. Russian clefts could be

compared with their counterparts in other languages, such as Hebrew, Haitian Creole or Pulaar (see Heller, 1999; Deprez, 2000; Cover, 2006; Markman, 2008). Clefting, focus and familiarity are quite wide-spread phenomena, therefore, it is definitely worth paying attention to languages with different syntactic and information-structural restriction, other than English and German. The functionality of Russian clefts could then be compared with clefts in these languages.

Once again, as I stated in Chapter V, more investigation is needed for Russian definite pseudo-clefts to understand their place among definite descriptions, as well as the other ways in which they are similar or distinct from canonical *èto*-clefts.

Last but not least, I have consistently analyzed already produced *èto*-clefts in connection with the situation or the event explicitly or implicitly unfolding in the context. Actually, in a real communicative act, the context motivates the speaker to produce an utterance, which might be a cleft but does not have to be. The speaker is just as likely to use another focus / contrast tool or another syntactic construction. As such, it might be useful to investigate which contexts and other conditions invite speakers to prefer clefts over other available tools.

General conclusion

When we talk about so-called *èto*-clefts in Russian, we need to dive deep into various linguistic domains which are broad and important for this research.

First of all, the usage of *èto*-clefts is directly connected with the properties of the demonstrative *èto* itself. *Èto* is a very common and a quite sophisticated unit in Russian. It can appear in different contexts as a pronoun or as a particle, at various positions in a sentence, performing different semantic, syntactic and pragmatic functions. *Èto* can be used both in written and spoken language.

Next, it is crucial to know how information structure is encoded in Russian sentences, how the free word order works, how focus is realized, and finally, how syntactic, lexical and prosodic tools are used in Russian. I considered all of it in Chapter I. We saw that Russian differs in these aspects from English and German, the languages where cleft constructions are well studied and are quite similar both semantically and syntactically. On the one hand, Russian allows for more variability in the word order and mobility freedom of constituents that is connected to information structure realization. On the other hand, Russian clefts (namely, stressed-focus *èto*-clefts) are semantically close to English and German clefts, as they also exhibit exhaustivity inferences and existence presupposition. The initial research on these phenomena was started by Shipova (2014) and continued in the current dissertation. In Chapter V, I checked the nature and status of exhaustivity inferences in Russian clefts and found exhaustivity effects in clefts to be cross-linguistically similar as well.

I used this knowledge through the next chapters to look closer at relevant phenomena: usage conditions, syntax, exhaustivity, existence presupposition, familiarity and topics. Let us summarize the most important findings here.

First of all, we observed *èto*-clefts in all their varieties, in different and quite specific contexts. We realized that the structural differences between English and Russian lead to the difference in the usage of linguistic tools in both languages. In particular, clefting is not the main tool used for expressing focus and contrast in Russian. Quite often, a Russian counterpart of an *it*-cleft would be a structure which uses a non-canonical word order or specific lexical units, such as focus particles, contrast particles or topic markers. As shown by examples in Chapter I, syntactic tools for realizing information structure patterns are less preferred in Russian, in contrast to English. This implies that **the usage of *èto*-clefts**

is limited in comparison with *it*-clefts, as *èto*-clefts require more specific usage conditions.

For example, *èto*-clefts are often used in spoken language. Moreover, *èto*-clefts are especially useful in **written spoken language**, e.g. in dialogs. In fact, written language is lacking the prosodic level of information, and intonational focus cannot be used as a tool anymore. Therefore, the writer must find a compromise between structural solutions and their heaviness. Short lexical units, like *imenno*, *kak raz* 'exactly' or *èto* allow to express narrow focus without significant syntactic changes. Such structures mimic spoken language, and at the same time, they help the reader to get the right intepretation.

Another important observation, also from Chapter I, is the usage of *èto*-clefts when a **singleton answer** to the implied question is expected. For example, one cannot say "It was Max who came to the party" as there are multiple guests expected on a typical party, but one can say, "It was Max who came to the party dressed in a dinosaur costume" or "It was Rihanna who won Eurovision this year".

Next, in terms of **information structure**, Russian clefts function on par with English and German clefts. Namely, *èto*-clefts encode **focus-background bipartition**, and we saw in Chapter I that the speaker's need to express such bipartition is an important condition for the usage of *èto*-clefts.

Another interesting fact regarding the information structure of Russian clefts concerns focus realization. It is sometimes claimed (e.g. by Junghanns, 1997; Kimmelman, 2009) that *èto*-clefts only encode contrastive focus, although, in Chapter I, I discussed that this claim is arguable. In fact, Russian clefts can express **new information focus** when used in a suitable context. Thus, although focus fronting usually comes together with contrastive meaning, it is possible, but not compulsory in *èto*-clefts.

As it is commonly assumed in the recent literature (King, 1993; Junghanns, 1997; Geist and Błaszczak, 2000; Markman, 2008; Kimmelman, 2009; Reeve, 2010), the syntactic structure of Russian clefts, indeed, is different from the syntactic structure of English and German clefts. Judging from various syntactic tests presented in Chapter II, I conclude that *èto*-clefts are **monoclausal**. Syntactic restructuring is not required due to the flexibility of the constituent order in Russian. In Chapter IV, I propose a monoclausal analysis of *èto*-clefts. According to my proposal, *èto* is a TopP followed by the fronted FocP and a TP. In rare cases, the FocP is not fronted. Additionally, the analysis of thetic clefts assumes merger of the FocP and the TP.

Now let us consider the conclusions I can draw regarding the semantic and pragmatic sides of Russian clefts. Shipova (2014) showed that **exhaustivity** effects (inherent, e.g.,

in *it*-clefts in English and *es*-clefts in German) manifest also in *èto*-clefts, although their strength and nature required further examination. In Chapter V, I presented a new pair of experiments and found out that exhaustivity effects varied across speakers. Namely, one group of speakers considered *èto*-clefts and definite pseudo-clefts exhaustive, while the other group treated them as non-exhaustive. The observed weak pragmatic exhaustivity inferences in *èto*-clefts are in line with the results of the experiments on German *es*-clefts reported by De Veaugh-Geiss et al. (2018).

Next, as already mentioned, *èto*-clefts manifest an **existence presupposition**, which can also be observed in English and German clefts. The existence presupposition is especially noticeable in *èto*-clefts with negation, e.g. *Èto ne ja ukral tvoj velosiped* "It wasn't me who stole your bicycle" implying the existence of somebody who stole the bicycle of the listener.

As I discussed in Chapter III, the existence presupposition in Russian clefts is triggered by **familiarity**. The term "familiarity" (as introduced by Hawkins, 1978 and Roberts, 2002, 2003) is used to generalize over the notions of deixis and anaphora. Familiarity effects manifest both in canonical clefts and in thetic clefts, but in different degrees. Familiarity in thetic clefts is strong, which means that there should be an anaphoric or a deictic referent in the discourse, introduced using linguistic means. At the same time, familiarity in canonical clefts is weak, that is, the referent might not be explicitly mentioned but can be entailed in the context. Namely, there often exists a reference to an instantiated situation which should be either previously mentioned or perceptually accessible.

Quite important here is the function of *èto* which serves as a **topic expression** pointing to the situation (I call it a topic situation). The usage of Topics is generally not obligatory in Russian structures, but if there is a Topic, it most often appears sentence-initially and serves, inter alia, as a tool for coherence, especially in spoken language (which, as we know, is an important domain of *èto*-clefts). I talked about Topics in Chapter IV.

On the whole, *èto* in clefts is a **multifunctional** unit. In addition to its topic functions, *èto* is a focus marker and a "focus attractor" that draws the focused element to the left periphery of the clause. In other words, even though the focused element might generally take any position in a cleft, there is a strong tendency for it to directly follow *èto*. *Èto* also allows a cleft structure to realize A'-movement without adding the feature 'contrast' to it. That is, *èto*-clefts do not have to be contrastive while the identical structure without *èto* would typically be interpreted contrastively. The anaphoric nature of the demonstrative triggers weak familiarity for canonical clefts and strong familiarity in thetic clefts. Finally,

as short linguistic expressions like personal pronouns *ja* 'I', *on* 'he', *ty* 'you', etc. often get clefted, *èto* makes the clefted XP longer for better comprehension.

To conclude, I can say that speakers of different languages have similar communicative needs, e.g., to convey certain information in a certain order, at-issue and not-at-issue information, both on semantic and pragmatic levels, and to connect this information to the context. Their needs are met by the usage of focus-background partitioning structures called clefts. And, as we can see, despite variations in syntactic rules among languages, the way clefts behave is **cross-linguistically consistent**.

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Appendix

Russian target trials: Experiments I and II

Item 1

Canonical Dima zashil sviter. Dima sewed-up sweater 'Dima sewed up a sweater.'	Definite pseudo-cleft Tem, kto zashil sviter, byl Dima. the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who sewed-up sweater was Dima 'The one who sewed up a sweater was Dima.'
Cleft Èto Dima zashil sviter. Èto Dima sewed-up sweater 'It was Dima who sewed up a sweater.'	Exclusive Tol'ko Dima zashil sviter. only Dima sewed-up sweater 'Only Dima sewed up a sweater.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Vitja Ya zavyazal galstuk. I tied tie 'I tied my cravat.'	Box 2: Dima (+VER) Ya zashil sviter. I sewed-up sweater 'I sewed up a sweater.'
Box 3: Sasha Ya nadel zhiletku. I put-on vest 'I put on a vest.'	Box 4: Kolja (+EXH) Ya zastegnul kurtku. I buttoned-up jacket 'I buttoned up my jacket.'

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Sasha Ya zavyazal galstuk. I tied tie 'I tied my cravat.'	Box 2: Kolja (+FAL) Ya zashil sviter. I sewed-up sweater 'I sewed up a sweater.'
Box 3: Dima (-CAN) Ya zastegnul kurtku. I buttoned-up jacket 'I buttoned up my jacket.'	Box 4: Vitja Ya nadel zhiletku. I put-on vest 'I put on a vest.'

Item 2

Canonical Vitya smeshal koktejl'. Vitya mixed cocktail 'Vitya mixed a cocktail.'	Definite pseudo-cleft Tem, kto smeshal koktejl', byl Vitya. the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who mixed cocktail was Vitya 'The one who mixed a cocktail was Vitya.'
Cleft Èto Vitya smeshal koktejl'. Èto Vitya mixed cocktail 'It was Vitya who mixed a cocktail.'	Exclusive Tol'ko Vitya smeshal koktejl'. only Vitya mixed cocktail 'Only Vitya mixed a cocktail.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Dima Ya prolil vino. I spilled wine 'I spilled wine.'	Box 2: Vitja (+VER) Ya smeshal koktejl'. I mixed cocktail 'I mixed a cocktail.'
Box 3: Kolja Ya prigubil viski. I tried whiskey 'I tried whiskey.'	Box 4: Sasha (+EXH) Ya vzboltal martini. I shaked martini 'I shaked martini.'

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Kolja Ya prolil vino. I spilled wine 'I spilled wine.'	Box 2: Sasha (+FAL) Ya smeshal koktejl'. I mixed cocktail 'I mixed a cocktail.'
Box 3: Vitja (-CAN) Ya vzboltal martini. I shaked martini 'I shaked martini.'	Box 4: Dima Ya prigubil viski. I tried whiskey 'I tried whiskey.'

Item 3

Canonical Kolya nakachal koleso. Kolya pumped-up wheel 'Kolya pumped up a wheel.'	Definite pseudo-cleft Tem, kto nakachal koleso, byl Kolya. the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who pumped-up wheel was Kolya 'The one who pumped up a wheel was Kolya.'
Cleft Èto Kolya nakachal koleso. Èto Kolya pumped-up wheel 'It was Kolya who pumped up a wheel.'	Exclusive Tol'ko Kolya nakachal koleso. only Kolya pumped-up wheel 'Only Kolya pumped up a wheel.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Sasha Ya proter steklo. I wiped glass 'I wiped the glass.'	Box 2: Kolja (+VER) Ya nakachal koleso. I pumped-up wheel 'I pumped up a wheel.'
Box 3: Vitja Ya otpoliroval kapot. I polished hood 'I polished the hood.'	Box 4: Dima (+EXH) Ya pochistil motor. I cleaned engine 'I cleaned the engine.'

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Vitja Ya proter steklo. I wiped glass 'I wiped the glass.'	Box 2: Dima (+FAL) Ya nakachal koleso. I pumped-up wheel 'I pumped up a wheel.'
Box 3: Sasha Ya otpoliroval kapot. I polished hood 'I polished the hood.'	Box 4: Kolja (-CAN) Ya pochistil motor. I cleaned engine 'I cleaned the engine.'

Item 4

Canonical Sasha prigotovil uzhin. Sasha cooked dinner 'Sasha cooked dinner.'	Definite pseudo-cleft Tem, kto prigotovil uzhin, byl Sasha. the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who cooked dinner was Sasha 'The one who cooked dinner was Sasha.'
Cleft Èto Sasha prigotovil uzhin. Èto Sasha cooked dinner 'It was Sasha who cooked dinner.'	Exclusive Tol'ko Sasha prigotovil uzhin. only Sasha cooked dinner 'Only Sasha cooked dinner.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Kolja Ya nalil sup. I poured soup 'I poured some soup.'	Box 2: Sasha (+VER) Ya prigotovil uzhin. I cooked dinner 'I cooked dinner.'
Box 3: Dima Ya dostal vilki. I got forks 'I got the forks.'	Box 4: Vitja (+EXH) Ya nakryl na stol. I covered on table 'I set the table.'

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Dima Ya nalil sup. I poured soup 'I poured some soup.'	Box 2: Vitja (+FAL) Ya prigotovil uzhin. I cooked dinner 'I cooked dinner.'
Box 3: Kolja Ya dostal vilki. I got forks 'I got the forks.'	Box 4: Sasha (-CAN) Ya nakryl na stol. I covered on table 'I set the table.'

Item 5

Canonical Kolya raspechatal listovku. Kolya printed flyer 'Kolya printed a flyer.'	Definite pseudo-cleft Tem, kto raspechatal listovku, byl Kolya. the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who printed flyer was Kolya 'The one who printed a flyer was Kolya.'
Cleft Èto Kolya raspechatal listovku. Èto Kolya printed flyer 'It was Kolya who printed a flyer.'	Exclusive Tol'ko Kolya raspechatal listovku. only Kolya printed flyer 'Only Kolya printed a flyer.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Sasha Ya priglasil didzheya. I invited DJ 'I invited a DJ.'	Box 2: Kolja (+VER) Ya raspechatal listovku. I printed flyer 'I printed a flyer.'
Box 3: Vitja (-EXH) Ya raspechatal listovku. I printed flyer 'I printed a flyer.'	Box 4: Dima Ya ukrasil tancpol. I decorated dancefloor 'I decorated the dancefloor.'

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Vitja Ya priglasil didzheya. I invited DJ 'I invited a DJ.'	Box 2: Dima (+FAL) Ya raspechatal listovku. I printed flyer 'I printed a flyer.'
Box 3: Kolja (+CAN) Ya raspechatal listovku. I printed flyer 'I printed a flyer.'	Box 4: Sasha Ya ukrasil tancpol. I decorated dancefloor 'I decorated the dancefloor.'

Item 6

Canonical Sasha pokormil koshku. Sasha fed cat 'Sasha fed a cat.'	Definite pseudo-cleft Tem, kto pokormil koshku, byl Sasha. the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who fed cat was Sasha 'The one who fed a cat was Sasha.'
Cleft Èto Sasha pokormil koshku. Èto Sasha fed cat 'It was Sasha who fed a cat.'	Exclusive Tol'ko Sasha pokormil koshku. only Sasha fed cat 'only Sasha fed a cat.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Kolja Ya pogladil shchenka. I stroked puppy 'I stroked a puppy.'	Box 2: Sasha (+VER) Ya pokormil koshku. I fed cat 'I fed a cat.'
Box 3: Dima (-EXH) Ya pokormil koshku. I fed cat 'I fed a cat.'	Box 4: Vitja Ya napugal krolika. I scared rabbit 'I scared a rabbit.'

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Dima Ya pogladil shchenka. I stroked puppy 'I stroked a puppy.'	Box 2: Vitja (+FAL) Ya pokormil koshku. I fed cat 'I fed a cat.'
Box 3: Sasha (+CAN) Ya pokormil koshku. I fed cat 'I fed a cat.'	Box 4: Kolja Ya napugal krolika. I scared rabbit 'I scared a rabbit.'

Item 7

Canonical Dima pogladil rubashku. Dima ironed shirt 'Dima ironed a shirt.'	Definite pseudo-cleft Tem, kto pogladil rubashku, byl Dima. the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who ironed shirt was Dima 'The one who ironed a shirt was Dima.'
Cleft Èto Dima pogladil rubashku. Èto Dima ironed shirt 'It was Dima who ironed a shirt.'	Exclusive Tol'ko Dima pogladil rubashku. only Dima ironed shirt 'Only Dima ironed a shirt.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Vitja Ya slozhil futbolku. I packed T-shirt 'I packed a T-shirt.'	Box 2: Dima Ya pogladil rubashku. I ironed shirt 'I ironed a shirt.'	(+VER)
Box 3: Sasha Ya zashnuroval botinki. I laced-up boots 'I laced up my boots.'	Box 4: Kolja Ya pogladil rubashku. I ironed shirt 'I ironed a shirt.'	(-EXH)

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Sasha Ya slozhil futbolku. I packed T-shirt 'I packed a T-shirt.'	Box 2: Kolja Ya pogladil rubashku. I ironed shirt 'I ironed a shirt.'	(+FAL)
Box 3: Vitja Ya zashnuroval botinki. I laced-up boots 'I laced up my boots.'	Box 4: Dima Ya pogladil rubashku. I ironed shirt 'I ironed a shirt.'	(+CAN)

Item 8

Canonical Vitya procitiroval poemu. Vitya quoted poem 'Vitya quoted a poem.'	Definite pseudo-cleft Tem, kto procitiroval poemu, byl Vitya. the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who quoted poem was Vitya 'The one who quoted a poem was Vitya.'
Cleft Èto Vitya procitiroval poemu. Èto Vitya quoted poem 'It was Vitya who quoted a poem.'	Exclusive Tol'ko Vitya procitiroval poemu. only Vitya quoted poem 'Only Vitya quoted a poem.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Dima Ya sdelal fotografiyu. I made photo 'I made a photo.'	Box 2: Vitja Ya procitiroval poemu. I quoted poem 'I quoted a poem.'	(+VER)
Box 3: Kolja Ya vzyal avtograf. I took autograph 'I took an autograph.'	Box 4: Sasha Ya procitiroval poemu. I quoted poem 'I quoted a poem.'	(-EXH)

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Kolja	Box 2: Sasha (+FAL)
Ya sdelal fotografiyu.	Ya procitiroval poemu.
I made photo	I quoted poem
'I made a photo.'	'I quoted a poem.'
Box 3: Dima	Box 4: Vitja (+CAN)
Ya vzyal avtograf.	Ya procitiroval poemu.
I took autograph	I quoted poem
'I took an autograph.'	'I quoted a poem.'

Item 9

Canonical	Definite pseudo-cleft
Kolya kupil laminat.	Tem, kto kupil laminat, byl Kolya.
Kolya bought laminate	the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who bought laminate was Kolya
'Kolya bought laminate flooring.'	'The one who bought laminate flooring was Kolya.'
Cleft	Exclusive
Èto Kolya kupil laminat.	Tol'ko Kolya kupil laminat.
Èto Kolya bought laminate	only Kolya bought laminate
'It was Kolya who bought laminate flooring.'	'Only Kolya bought laminate flooring.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Sasha	Box 2: Kolja (+VER)
Ya otremontiroval vannuyu.	Ya kupil laminat.
I renovated bathroom	I bought laminate
'I renovated the bathroom.'	'I bought laminate flooring.'
Box 3: Vitja	Box 4: Dima (+EXH)
Ya podognal gruzovik.	Ya podmel v koridore.
I got truck	I swept hallway
'I got a truck.'	'I swept the hallway.'

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Vitja	Box 2: Dima (+FAL)
Ya otremontiroval vannuyu.	Ya kupil laminat.
I renovated bathroom	I bought laminate
'I renovated the bathroom.'	'I bought laminate flooring.'
Box 3: Kolja (-CAN)	Box 4: Sasha
Ya podmel v koridore.	Ya podognal gruzovik.
I swept hallway	I got truck
'I swept the hallway.'	'I got a truck.'

Item 10

Canonical	Definite pseudo-cleft
Sasha svaril kartoshku.	Tem, kto svaril kartoshku, byl Sasha.
Sasha cooked potatoes	the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who cooked potatoes was Sasha
'Sasha cooked potatoes.'	'The one who cooked potatoes was Sasha.'
Cleft	Exclusive
Èto Sasha svaril kartoshku.	Tol'ko Sasha svaril kartoshku.
Èto Sasha cooked potatoes	only Sasha cooked potatoes
'It was Sasha who cooked potatoes.'	'Only Sasha cooked potatoes.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Kolja	Box 2: Sasha (+VER)
Ya prigotovil omlet.	Ya svaril kartoshku.
I cooked omelette	I cooked potatoes
'I cooked omelette.'	'I cooked potatoes.'
Box 3: Dima	Box 4: Vitja (+EXH)
Ya zapek svininu.	Ya potushil ovoshchi.
I baked pork	I stewed vegetables
'I baked pork.'	'I stewed vegetables.'

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Dima	Box 2: Vitja (+FAL)
Ya prigotovil omlet.	Ya svaril kartoshku.
I cooked omelette	I cooked potatoes
'I cooked omelette.'	'I cooked potatoes.'
Box 3: Sasha (-CAN)	Box 4: Kolja
Ya potushil ovoshchi.	Ya zapek svininu.
I stewed vegetables	I baked pork
'I stewed vegetables.'	'I baked pork.'

Item 11

Canonical	Definite pseudo-cleft
Dima zakryl okno.	Tem, kto zakryl okno, byl Dima.
Dima closed window	the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who closed window was Dima
'Dima closed the window.'	'The one who closed the window was Dima.'
Cleft	Exclusive
Èto Dima zakryl okno.	Tol'ko Dima zakryl okno.
Èto Dima closed window	only Dima closed window
'It was Dima who closed the window.'	'Only Dima closed the window.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Vitja Ya zahlopnul vorota. I closed gate 'I closed the gate.'	Box 2: Dima (+VER) Ya zakryl okno. I closed window 'I closed the window.'
Box 3: Sasha Ya zapravil postel'. I made bed 'I made my bed.'	Box 4: Kolja (+EXH) Ya zaryadil batareyu. I charged battery 'I charged the battery.'

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Sasha Ya zahlopnul vorota. I closed gate 'I closed the gate.'	Box 2: Kolja (+FAL) Ya zakryl okno. I closed window 'I closed the window.'
Box 3: Vitja Ya zapravil postel'. I made bed 'I made my bed.'	Box 4: Dima (-CAN) Ya zaryadil batareyu. I charged battery 'I charged the battery.'

Item 12

Canonical Vitya vyrastil kaktus. Vitya grew cactus 'Vitya grew a cactus.'	Definite pseudo-cleft Tem, kto vyrastil kaktus, byl Vitya. the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who grew cactus was Vitya 'The one who grew a cactus was Vitya.'
Cleft Èto Vitya vyrastil kaktus. Èto Vitya grew cactus 'It was Vitya who grew a cactus.'	Exclusive Tol'ko Vitya vyrastil kaktus. only Vitya grew cactus 'Only Vitya grew a cactus.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Dima Ya sorval pomidor. I picked tomato 'I picked a tomato.'	Box 2: Vitja (+VER) Ya vyrastil kaktus. I grew cactus 'I grew a cactus.'
Box 3: Kolja Ya posadil rozy. I planted rose 'I planted a rose.'	Box 4: Sasha (+EXH) Ya vynes musor. I took-out trash 'I took out the trash.'

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Kolja Ya sorval pomidor. I picked tomato 'I picked a tomato.'	Box 2: Sasha (+FAL) Ya vyrastil kaktus. I grew cactus 'I grew a cactus.'
Box 3: Dima Ya posadil rozy. I planted rose 'I planted a rose.'	Box 4: Vitja (-CAN) Ya vynes musor. I took-out trash 'I took out the trash.'

Item 13

Canonical Dima podkoval loshad'. Dima shod horse 'Dima shod a horse.'	Definite pseudo-cleft Tem, kto podkoval loshad', byl Dima. the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who shod horse was Dima 'The one who shod a horse was Dima.'
Cleft Èto Dima podkoval loshad'. Èto Dima shod horse 'It was Dima who shod a horse.'	Exclusive Tol'ko Dima podkoval loshad'. only Dima shod horse 'Only Dima shod a horse.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Vitja Ya pojmal pticu. I caught bird 'I caught a bird.'	Box 2: Dima (+VER) Ya podkoval loshad'. I shod horse 'I shod a horse.'
Box 3: Sasha (-EXH) Ya podkoval loshad'. I shod horse 'I shod a horse.'	Box 4: Kolja Ya podoil kozu. I milked goat 'I milked a goat.'

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Sasha Ya pojmal pticu. I caught bird 'I caught a bird.'	Box 2: Kolja (+FAL) Ya podkoval loshad'. I shod horse 'I shod a horse.'
Box 3: Dima (+CAN) Ya podkoval loshad'. I shod horse 'I shod a horse.'	Box 4: Vitja Ya podoil kozu. I milked goat 'I milked a goat.'

Item 14

Canonical Vitya svyazal sharf. Vitya knitted scarf 'Vitya knitted a scarf.'	Definite pseudo-cleft Tem, chto svyazal sharf, byl Vitya. the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who knitted scarf was Vitya 'The one who knitted a scarf was Vitya.'
Cleft Èto Vitya svyazal sharf. Èto Vitya knitted scarf 'It was Vitya who knitted a scarf.'	Exclusive Tol'ko Vitya svyazal sharf. only Vitya knitted scarf 'Only Vitya knitted a scarf.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Dima Ya kupil noski. I bought socks 'I bought socks.'	Box 2: Vitja (+VER) Ya svyazal sharf. I knitted scarf 'I knitted a scarf.'
Box 3: Kolja (-EXH) Ya svyazal sharf. I knitted scarf 'I knitted a scarf.'	Box 4: Sasha Ya podshil shtany. I sewed-up pants 'I sewed-up my pants.'

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Kolja Ya kupil noski. I bought socks 'I bought socks.'	Box 2: Sasha (+FAL) Ya svyazal sharf. I knitted scarf 'I knitted a scarf.'
Box 3: Vitja (+CAN) Ya svyazal sharf. I knitted scarf 'I knitted a scarf.'	Box 4: Dima Ya podshil shtany. I sewed-up pants 'I sewed-up my pants.'

Item 15

Canonical Kolya prines lestnicu. Kolya brought ladder 'Kolya brought a ladder.'	Definite pseudo-cleft Tem, kto prines lestnicu, byl Kolya. the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who brought ladder was Kolya 'The one who brought a ladder was Kolya.'
Cleft Èto Kolya prines lestnicu. Èto Kolya brought ladder 'It was Kolya who brought a ladder.'	Exclusive Tol'ko Kolya prines lestnicu. only Kolya brought ladder 'Only Kolya brought a ladder.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Sasha Ya povesil shtory. I hung-up curtains 'I hung up the curtains.'	Box 2: Kolja Ya prines lestnicu. I brought ladder 'I brought a ladder.'	(+VER)
Box 3: Vitja Ya vymyl tualet. I cleaned toilet 'I cleaned the toilet.'	Box 4: Dima Ya prines lestnicu. I brought ladder 'I brought a ladder.'	(-EXH)

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Vitja Ya povesil shtory. I hung-up curtains 'I hung up the curtains.'	Box 2: Dima Ya prines lestnicu. I brought ladder 'I brought a ladder.'	(+FAL)
Box 3: Sasha Ya vymyl tualet. I cleaned toilet 'I cleaned the toilet.'	Box 4: Kolja Ya prines lestnicu. I brought ladder 'I brought a ladder.'	(+CAN)

Item 16

Canonical Sasha skazal nepravdu. Sasha told lie 'Sasha told a lie.'	Definite pseudo-cleft Tem, kto skazal nepravdu, byl Sasha. the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who told lie was Sasha 'The one who told a lie was Sasha.'
Cleft Èto Sasha skazal nepravdu. Èto Sasha told lie 'It was Sasha who told a lie.'	Exclusive Tol'ko Sasha skazal nepravdu. only Sasha told lie 'Only Sasha told a lie.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Kolja Ya zadal vopros. I asked question 'I asked a question.'	Box 2: Sasha Ya skazal nepravdu. I told lie 'I told a lie.'	(+VER)
Box 3: Dima Ya zametil problemu. I noticed problem 'I noticed a problem.'	Box 4: Vitja Ya skazal nepravdu. I told lie 'I told a lie.'	(-EXH)

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Dima	Box 2: Vitja (+FAL)
Ya zadal vopros.	Ya skazal nepravdu.
I asked question	I told lie
'I asked a question.'	'I told a lie.'
Box 3: Kolja	Box 4: Sasha (+CAN)
Ya zametil problemu.	Ya skazal nepravdu.
I noticed problem	I told lie
'I noticed a problem.'	'I told a lie.'

Item 17

Canonical	Definite pseudo-cleft
Dima polil cvetok.	Tem, kto polil cvetok, byl Dima.
Dima watered flower	the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who watered flower was Dima
'Dima watered a flower.'	'The one who watered a flower was Dima.'
Cleft	Exclusive
Èto Dima polil cvetok.	Tol'ko Dima polil cvetok.
Èto Dima watered flower	only Dima watered flower
'It was Dima who watered a flower.'	'Only Dima watered a flower.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Vitja	Box 2: Dima (+VER)
Ya propolol gryadku.	Ya polil cvetok.
I weeded garden	I watered flower
'I weeded the garden'.	'I watered a flower.'
Box 3: Sasha	Box 4: Kolja (+EXH)
Ya peresadil geran'.	Ya sorval gvozdiku.
I transplanted geranium	I picked carnation
'I transplanted a geranium.'	'I picked a carnation.'

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Sasha	Box 2: Kolja (+FAL)
Ya propolol gryadku.	Ya polil cvetok.
I weeded garden	I watered flower
'I weeded the garden'.	'I watered a flower.'
Box 3: Dima (-CAN)	Box 4: Vitja
Ya sorval gvozdiku.	Ya peresadil geran'.
I picked carnation	I transplanted geranium
'I picked a carnation.'	'I transplanted a geranium.'

Item 18

Canonical	Definite pseudo-cleft
Vitya napisal pis'mo.	Tem, kto napisal pis'mo, byl Vitya.
Vitya wrote letter	the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who wrote letter was Vitya
'Vitya wrote a letter.'	'The one who wrote a letter was Vitya.'
Cleft	Exclusive
Èto Vitya napisal pis'mo.	Tol'ko Vitya napisal pis'mo.
Èto Vitya wrote letter	only Vitya wrote letter
'It was Vitya who wrote a letter.'	'Only Vitya wrote a letter.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Dima	Box 2: Vitja (+VER)
Ya proiznes rech'.	Ya napisal pis'mo.
I said speech	I wrote letter
'I made a speech.'	'I wrote a letter.'
Box 3: Kolja	Box 4: Sasha (+EXH)
Ya oformil podpisku.	Ya prinyal priglashenie.
I issued subscription	I accepted invitation
'I made a subscription.'	'I accepted an invitation.'

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Kolja	Box 2: Sasha (+FAL)
Ya proiznes rech'.	Ya napisal pis'mo.
I said speech	I wrote letter
'I made a speech.'	'I wrote a letter.'
Box 3: Vitja (-CAN)	Box 4: Dima
Ya prinyal priglashenie.	Ya oformil podpisku.
I accepted invitation	I issued subscription
'I accepted an invitation.'	'I made a subscription.'

Item 19

Canonical	Definite pseudo-cleft
Kolya brosil myach.	Tem, kto brosil myach, byl Kolya.
Kolya threw ball	the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who threw ball was Kolya
'Kolya threw a ball.'	'The one who threw a ball was Kolya.'
Cleft	Exclusive
Èto Kolya brosil myach.	Tol'ko Kolya brosil myach.
Èto Kolya threw ball	only Kolya threw ball
'It was Kolya who threw a ball.'	'Only Kolya threw a ball.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Sasha Ya zabil gol. I hit goal 'I scored a goal.'	Box 2: Kolja Ya brosil myach. I threw ball 'I threw a ball.'	(+VER)
Box 3: Vitja Ya provel trenirovku. I organized training 'I organized a training.'	Box 4: Dima Ya obbezhal stadion. I ran-around stadium 'I ran around the stadium.'	(+EXH)

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Vitja Ya zabil gol. I hit goal 'I scored a goal.'	Box 2: Dima Ya brosil myach. I threw ball 'I threw a ball.'	(+FAL)
Box 3: Sasha Ya provel trenirovku. I organized training 'I organized a training.'	Box 4: Kolja Ya obbezhal stadion. I ran-around stadium 'I ran around the stadium.'	(-CAN)

Item 20

Canonical Sasha zabralsya na skalu. Sasha climbed on rock 'Sasha climbed the rock.'	Definite pseudo-cleft Tem, kto zabralsya na skalu, byl Sasha. the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who climbed on rock was Sasha 'The one who climbed the rock was Sasha.'
Cleft Èto Sasha zabralsya na skalu. Èto Sasha climbed on rock 'It was Sasha who climbed the rock.'	Exclusive Tol'ko Sasha zabralsya na skalu. only Sasha climbed on rock 'Only Sasha climbed the rock.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Kolja Ya pereplyl reku. I swam-across river 'I swam across the river.'	Box 2: Sasha Ya zabralsya na skalu. I climbed on rock 'I climbed the rock.'	(+VER)
Box 3: Dima Ya prygnul s parashyutom. I jumped with parachute 'I jumped with a parachute.'	Box 4: Vitja Ya poborol medvedya. I beat bear 'I beat the bear.'	(+EXH)

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Dima Ya pereplyl reku. I swam-across river 'I swam across the river.'	Box 2: Vitja (+FAL) Ya zabralsya na skalu. I climbed on rock 'I climbed the rock.'
Box 3: Kolja Ya prygnul s parashyutom. I jumped with parachute 'I jumped with a parachute.'	Box 4: Sasha (-CAN) Ya poborol medvedya. I beat bear 'I beat the bear.'

Item 21

Canonical Kolya prodal komp'yuter. Kolya sold computer 'Kolya sold a computer.'	Definite pseudo-cleft Tem, kto prodal komp'yuter, byl Kolya. the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who sold computer was Kolya 'The one who sold a computer was Kolya.'
Cleft Èto Kolya prodal komp'yuter. Èto Kolya sold computer 'It was Kolya who sold a computer.'	Exclusive Tol'ko Kolya prodal komp'yuter. only Kolya sold computer 'Only Kolya sold a computer.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Sasha Ya ustanovil programmu. I installed program 'I installed a program.'	Box 2: Kolja (+VER) Ya prodal komp'yuter. I sold computer 'I sold a computer.'
Box 3: Vitja (-EXH) Ya prodal komp'yuter. I sold computer 'I sold a computer.'	Box 4: Dima Ya razbil smartfon. I broke smartphone ' I broke a smartphone.'

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Vitja Ya ustanovil programmu. I installed program 'I installed a program.'	Box 2: Dima (+FAL) Ya prodal komp'yuter. I sold computer 'I sold a computer.'
Box 3: Kolja (+CAN) Ya prodal komp'yuter. I sold computer 'I sold a computer.'	Box 4: Sasha Ya razbil smartfon. I broke smartphone ' I broke a smartphone.'

Item 22

Canonical Sasha zasolil rybu. Sasha salted fish 'Sasha salted the fish.'	Definite pseudo-cleft Tem, kto zasolil rybu, byl Sasha. the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who salted fish was Sasha 'The one who salted the fish was Sasha.'
Cleft Èto Sasha zasolil rybu. Èto Sasha salted fish 'It was Sasha who salted the fish.'	Exclusive Tol'ko Sasha zasolil rybu. only Sasha salted fish 'Only Sasha salted the fish.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Kolja Ya vyzhal limon. I squeezed lemon 'I squeezed a lemon.'	Box 2: Sasha (+VER) Ya zasolil rybu. I salted fish 'I salted the fish.'
Box 3: Dima (-EXH) Ya zasolil rybu. I salted fish 'I salted the fish.'	Box 4: Vitja Ya zamarinoval griby. I pickled mushrooms 'I pickled mushrooms.'

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Dima Ya vyzhal limon. I squeezed lemon 'I squeezed a lemon.'	Box 2: Vitja (+FAL) Ya zasolil rybu. I salted fish 'I salted the fish.'
Box 3: Sasha (+CAN) Ya zasolil rybu. I salted fish 'I salted the fish.'	Box 4: Kolja Ya zamarinoval griby. I pickled mushrooms 'I pickled mushrooms.'

Item 23

Canonical Dima pozharil myaso. Dima fried meat 'Dima fried the meat.'	Definite pseudo-cleft Tem, kto pozharil myaso, byl Dima. the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who fried meat was Dima 'The one who fried the meat was Dima.'
Cleft Èto Dima pozharil myaso. Èto Dima fried meat 'It was Dima who fried the meat.'	Exclusive Tol'ko Dima pozharil myaso. only Dima fried meat 'Only Dima fried the meat.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Vitja Ya porezal salat. I cut salad 'I cut the salad.'	Box 2: Dima Ya pozharil myaso. I fried meat 'I fried the meat.'	(+VER)
Box 3: Sasha Ya svaril yajco. I boiled egg 'I boiled an egg.'	Box 4: Kolja Ya pozharil myaso. I fried meat 'I fried the meat.'	(-EXH)

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Sasha Ya porezal salat. I cut salad 'I cut the salad.'	Box 2: Kolja Ya pozharil myaso. I fried meat 'I fried the meat.'	(+FAL)
Box 3: Vitja Ya svaril yajco. I boiled egg 'I boiled an egg.'	Box 4: Dima Ya pozharil myaso. I fried meat 'I fried the meat.'	(+CAN)

Item 24

<u>Canonical</u> Vitya organizoval vecherinku. Vitya organized party 'Vitya organized a party.'	<u>Definite pseudo-cleft</u> Tem, kto organizoval vecherinku, byl Vitya. the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who organized party was Vitya 'The one who organized a party was Vitya.'
<u>Cleft</u> Èto Vitya organizoval vecherinku. Èto Vitya organized party 'It was Vitya who organized a party.'	<u>Exclusive</u> Tol'ko Vitya organizoval vecherinku. only Vitya organized party 'Only Vitya organized a party.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Dima Ya zaplaniroval otpusk. I planned vacation 'I planned a vacation.'	Box 2: Vitja Ya organizoval vecherinku. I organized party 'I organized a party.'	(+VER)
Box 3: Kolja Ya pouchastvoval v diskussii. I took-part in discussion 'I took part in a discussion.'	Box 4: Sasha Ya organizoval vecherinku. I organized party 'I organized a party.'	(-EXH)

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Kolja Ya zaplaniroval otpusk. I planned vacation 'I planned a vacation.'	Box 2: Sasha (+FAL) Ya organizoval vecherinku. I organized party 'I organized a party.'
Box 3: Dima Ya pouchastvoval v diskussii. I took-part in discussion 'I took part in a discussion.'	Box 4: Vitja (+CAN) Ya organizoval vecherinku. I organized party 'I organized a party.'

Item 25

Canonical Kolya narisoval kartinu. Kolya painted painting 'Kolya did a painting.'	Definite pseudo-cleft Tem, kto narisoval kartinu, byl Kolya. the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who painted painting was Kolya 'The one who did a painting was Kolya.'
Cleft Èto Kolya narisoval kartinu. Èto Kolya painted painting 'It was Kolya who did a painting.'	Exclusive Tol'ko Kolya narisoval kartinu. only Kolya painted painting 'Only Kolya did a painting.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Sasha Ya sochinil pesnyu. I wrote song 'I wrote a song.'	Box 2: Kolja (+VER) Ya narisoval kartinu. I painted painting 'I did a painting.'
Box 3: Vitja Ya vypustil al'bom. I released album 'I released an album.'	Box 4: Dima (+EXH) Ya nachertil skhemu. I drew diagram 'I drew a diagram.'

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Vitja Ya sochinil pesnyu. I wrote song 'I wrote a song.'	Box 2: Dima (+FAL) Ya narisoval kartinu. I painted painting 'I did a painting.'
Box 3: Kolja (-CAN) Ya nachertil skhemu. I drew diagram 'I drew a diagram.'	Box 4: Sasha Ya vypustil al'bom. I released album 'I released an album.'

Item 26

Canonical	Definite pseudo-cleft
Sasha ukral ruchku.	Tem, kto ukral ruchku, byl Sasha.
Sasha stole pen	the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who stole pen was Sasha
'Sasha stole a pen.'	'The one who stole a pen was Sasha.'
Cleft	Exclusive
Èto Sasha ukral ruchku.	Tol'ko Sasha ukral ruchku.
Èto Sasha stole pen	only Sasha stole pen
'It was Sasha who stole a pen.'	'Only Sasha stole a pen.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Kolja	Box 2: Sasha (+VER)
Ya uronil stepler.	Ya ukral ruchku.
I dropped stapler	I stole pen
'I dropped a stapler.'	'I stole a pen.'
Box 3: Dima	Box 4: Vitja (+EXH)
Ya poteryal bloknot.	Ya vyronil pasport.
I lost notebook	I dropped passport
'I lost a notebook.'	'I dropped a passport.'

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Dima	Box 2: Vitja (+FAL)
Ya uronil stepler.	Ya ukral ruchku.
I dropped stapler	I stole pen
'I dropped a stapler.'	'I stole a pen.'
Box 3: Sasha (-CAN)	Box 4: Kolja
Ya vyronil pasport.	Ya poteryal bloknot.
I dropped passport	I lost notebook
'I dropped a passport.'	'I lost a notebook.'

Item 27

Canonical	Definite pseudo-cleft
Dima spolosnul tarelku.	Tem, kto spolosnul tarelku, byl Dima.
Dima washed plate	the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who washed plate was Dima
'Dima washed a plate.'	'The one who washed a plate was Dima.'
Cleft	Exclusive
Èto Dima spolosnul tarelku.	Tol'ko Dima spolosnul tarelku.
Èto Dima washed plate	only Dima washed plate
'It was Dima who washed a plate.'	'Only Dima washed a plate.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Vitja Ya podvinul divan. I moved sofa 'I moved a sofa.'	Box 2: Dima Ya spolosnul tarelku. I washed plate 'I washed a plate.'	(+VER)
Box 3: Sasha Ya razogrel makarony. I warmed-up pasta 'I warmed up the pasta.'	Box 4: Kolja Ya ispachkal salfetku. I dirtied napkin 'I dirtied a napkin.'	(+EXH)

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Sasha Ya podvinul divan. I moved sofa 'I moved a sofa.'	Box 2: Kolja Ya spolosnul tarelku. I washed plate 'I washed a plate.'	(+FAL)
Box 3: Vitja Ya razogrel makarony. I warmed-up pasta 'I warmed up the pasta.'	Box 4: Dima Ya ispachkal salfetku. I dirtied napkin 'I dirtied a napkin.'	(-CAN)

Item 28

Canonical Vitya privyazal lodku. Vitya tied boat 'Vitya tied the boat.'	Definite pseudo-cleft Tem, kto privyazal lodku, byl Vitya. the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who tied boat was Vitya 'The one who tied the boat was Vitya.'
Cleft Èto Vitya privyazal lodku. Èto Vitya tied boat 'It was Vitya who tied the boat.'	Exclusive Tol'ko Vitya privyazal lodku. only Vitya tied boat 'Only Vitya tied the boat.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Dima Ya arendoval motocikl. I rented motorbike 'I rented a motorbike.'	Box 2: Vitja Ya privyazal lodku. I tied boat 'I tied the boat.'	(+VER)
Box 3: Kolja Ya snyal komnatu. I rented room 'I rented a room.'	Box 4: Sasha Ya zabroniroval otel'. I booked hotel 'I booked a hotel.'	(+EXH)

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Kolja Ya arendoval motocikl. I rented motorbike 'I rented a motorbike.'	Box 2: Sasha (+FAL) Ya privyazal lodku. I tied boat 'I tied the boat.'
Box 3: Dima Ya snyal komnatu. I rented room 'I rented a room.'	Box 4: Vitja (-CAN) Ya zabroniroval otel'. I booked hotel 'I booked a hotel.'

Item 29

Canonical Dima vypil chaj. Dima drank tea 'Dima drank tea.'	Definite pseudo-cleft Tem, kto vypil chaj, byl Dima. the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who drank tea was Dima 'The one who drank tea was Dima.'
Cleft Èto Dima vypil chaj. Èto Dima drank tea 'It was Dima who drank tea.'	Exclusive Tol'ko Dima vypil chaj. only Dima drank tea 'Only Dima drank tea.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Vitja Ya zarezerviroval stolik. I booked table 'I booked a table.'	Box 2: Dima (+VER) Ya vypil chaj. I drank tea 'I drank tea.'
Box 3: Sasha (-EXH) Ya vypil chaj. I drank tea 'I drank tea.'	Box 4: Kolja Ya ostavil chaevye. I left tip 'I left a tip.'

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Sasha Ya zarezerviroval stolik. I booked table 'I booked a table.'	Box 2: Kolja (+FAL) Ya vypil chaj. I drank tea 'I drank tea.'
Box 3: Dima (+CAN) Ya vypil chaj. I drank tea 'I drank tea.'	Box 4: Vitja Ya ostavil chaevye. I left tip 'I left a tip.'

Item 30

Canonical Vitya zaper dver'. Vitya locked door 'Vitya locked the door.'	Definite pseudo-cleft Tem, kto zaper dver', byl Vitya. the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who locked door was Vitya 'The one who locked the door was Vitya.'
Cleft Èto Vitya zaper dver'. Èto Vitya locked door 'It was Vitya who locked the door.'	Exclusive Tol'ko Vitya zaper dver'. only Vitya locked door 'Only Vitya locked the door.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Dima Ya pozvonil v policiyu. I called in police 'I called the police.'	Box 2: Vitja (+VER) Ya zaper dver'. I locked door 'I locked the door.'
Box 3: Kolja (-EXH) Ya zaper dver'. I locked door 'I locked the door.'	Box 4: Sasha Ya poluchil telegrammu. I received telegram 'I received a telegram.'

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Kolja Ya pozvonil v policiyu. I called in police 'I called the police.'	Box 2: Sasha (+FAL) Ya zaper dver'. I locked door 'I locked the door.'
Box 3: Vitja (+CAN) Ya zaper dver'. I locked door 'I locked the door.'	Box 4: Dima Ya poluchil telegrammu. I received telegram 'I received a telegram.'

Item 31

Canonical Kolya nadul vozdushnyj shar. Kolya blew-up balloon 'Kolya blew up a balloon.'	Definite pseudo-cleft Tem, kto nadul vozdushnyj shar, byl Kolya. the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who blew-up balloon was Kolya 'The one who blew up a balloon was Kolya.'
Cleft Èto Kolya nadul vozdushnyj shar. Èto Kolya blew-up balloon 'It was Kolya who blew up a balloon.'	Exclusive Tol'ko Kolya nadul vozdushnyj shar. only Kolya blew-up balloon 'Only Kolya blew up a balloon.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Sasha Ya vybral fotografa. I chose photographer 'I chose a photographer.'	Box 2: Kolja Ya nadul vozdushnyj shar. I blew-up balloon 'I blew up a balloon.'	(+VER)
Box 3: Vitja Ya razvernul podarok. I unwrapped gift 'I unwrapped the gift.'	Box 4: Dima Ya nadul vozdushnyj shar. I blew-up balloon 'I blew up a balloon.'	(-EXH)

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Vitja Ya vybral fotografa. I chose photographer 'I chose a photographer.'	Box 2: Dima Ya nadul vozdushnyj shar. I blew-up balloon 'I blew up a balloon.'	(+FAL)
Box 3: Sasha Ya razvernul podarok. I unwrapped gift 'I unwrapped the gift.'	Box 4: Kolja Ya nadul vozdushnyj shar. I blew-up balloon 'I blew up a balloon.'	(+CAN)

Item 32

Canonical Sasha uvidel svin'yu. Sasha saw pig 'Sasha saw a pig.'	Definite pseudo-cleft Tem, kto uvidel svin'yu, byl Sasha. the-one.*Sg.m.Instr* who saw pig was Sasha 'The one who saw a pig was Sasha.'
Cleft Èto Sasha uvidel svin'yu. Èto Sasha saw pig 'It was Sasha who saw a pig.'	Exclusive Tol'ko Sasha uvidel svin'yu. only Sasha saw pig 'Only Sasha saw a pig.'

Experiment I (verifier)

Box 1: Kolja Ya polyubovalsya na poni. I admired on pony 'I admired a pony.'	Box 2: Sasha Ya uvidel svin'yu. I saw pig 'I saw a pig.'	(+VER)
Box 3: Dima Ya osedlal loshad'. I saddled horse 'I saddled a horse.'	Box 4: Vitja Ya uvidel svin'yu. I saw pig 'I saw a pig.'	(-EXH)

Experiment II (falsifier)

Box 1: Dima Ya polyubovalsya na poni. I admired on pony 'I admired a pony.'	Box 2: Vitja (+FAL) Ya uvidel svin'yu. I saw pig 'I saw a pig.'
Box 3: Kolja Ya osedlal loshad'. I saddled horse 'I saddled a horse.'	Box 4: Sasha (+CAN) Ya uvidel svin'yu. I saw pig 'I saw a pig.'