

A monoclausal approach to cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences

André Meinunger

ZAS, Berlin: *andre@fas.ag-berlin.mpg.de*

1. Introduction

Cleft constructions are linguistic structures which serve to encode special discourse theoretic devices. One distinguishes between (true) cleft sentences - also called it-clefts - on the one hand, and pseudo-clefts or wh-clefts on the other. In English and many other languages it-clefts have the structure ... it (expletive) + copula + focused constituent + relative clause (1). Pseudo-clefts have the form: ... (a so-called) free relative clause + copula + focused constituent (2).

- (1) It was Peter { who / that / Ø } Mary invited.
- (2) What I read was a book.

As is obvious from the structural characterizations, in both types a focused constituent is involved. It will be one aim of this paper to argue that the focused constituent occupies the same position in both cleft types. Furthermore I will propose that both types of sentences are in a certain sense monosentential, i.e. although there are two finite, tensed verbs (a full verb in the wh-clause and a copula in what seems to be the matrix clause) both cleft types are an instance of the extended projection of only one verb, namely the full verb contained within the wh-clause. The surface form of the respective cleft is achieved by overt movement operations which are triggered by the discourse theoretic status of the involved constituents (focus movement and topicalization).

2. Arguments for a monoclausal analysis

The idea that pseudo-cleft sentences with the so-called specificational reading¹ are derived from simplex sentences is by no means new. It is even the first analysis that was given to these sentences before Higgins (1973) tried to show that such sentences are copula sentences in the first place. All the wh-cleft pioneers (Peters and Bach 1968, Ross 1973), and especially Akmajian (1970), argued for approaches that derived pseudo-clefts from the corresponding simplex sentences by the prevailing transformations of their time. A reason for their analysis was the phenomenon which is called connectedness. Pseudo-cleft sentences display binding effects which cannot be explained on the basis of their surface syntax:

¹ Henceforth I will use the term 'wh-cleft' or 'pseudo-cleft' unambiguously, i.e. I will always refer to pseudoclefts under their specificational reading if not indicated otherwise.

- (3) a. What Mary saw was a picture of herself in the mirror.
- b. What John is is important to himself.
- c. *What he_i claimed was that John_i is innocent.
- d. What he refused was ever talk to her again.

In 3a. and 3b. we have anaphora which are not c-commanded by an appropriate antecedent as required by principle A of the binding theory. A naive tree over 3c. cannot explain the ungrammaticality. The pronoun does not c-command the R-expression, hence the latter is free and the sentence should have the grammaticality status of an ordinary sentence containing a cataphoric pronoun. Similarly in 3d: there is no c-commanding licenser for the polarity item *ever*.

All these mysteries could be explained if the underlying structure of these pseudo-clefts are unclefted simplex sentences:

- (4) a. Mary saw a picture of herself.
- b. John is important to himself.
- c. *He_i claimed that John_i was innocent.
- d. He refused to ever talk to her again.

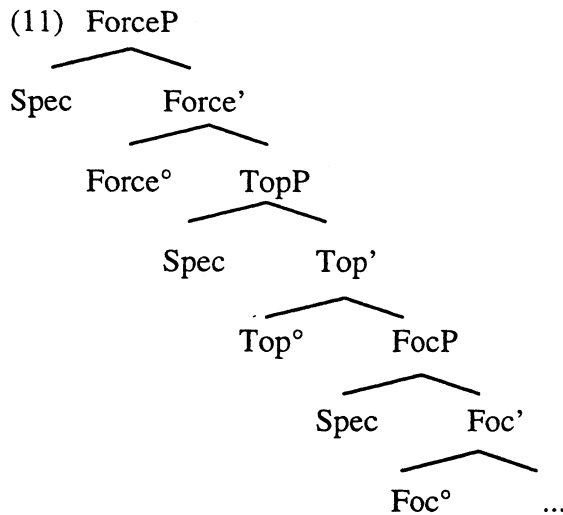
Solely to explain these facts, it is highly desirable to propose an analysis which links wh-clefts to simplex structures at some level of representation.

Another unexplained phenomenon is the following: for a specificational interpretation to emerge, the tense of the copula and the tense of the full verb inside the wh-clause must be identical (called Tense Harmony, also Higgins (1973)).

- (5) What John read was a book about syntax.
- (6) What John read is a book about syntax.
- (7) What John_i is was important to ^{ok}him_i / *himself.

While (5) is ambiguous between the predicational and the specificational reading, in the case of a tense mismatch as in (6), the specificational reading is lost. This pattern is confirmed by the licensing of anaphora in (7). Thus, in specificational pseudo-clefts the tense of the embedded sentence seems to determine the temporal interpretation of the whole construction. If this were so, tense harmony would be a grammatically unexpected phenomenon. Normally relative clauses are known to be temporally independent constructions. In some sense the phenomenon of Tense Harmony must be considered as a violation of Ross' influencer constraint (1973) forbidding such a 'scope perlocation'.

Additionally, apart from temporal setting any other functional information for the interpretation of the whole complex structure comes from inside the apparent wh-clause as well. A specificational reading can only arise if the modal or emphatic information is syntactically integrated into the dependent wh-clause although its scope stretches over the whole construction. (Coreference with the pronoun indicates predicative reading, coreference with the anaphora triggers the specificational reading). Examples from Drubig (1996, p. 125/126)



The reasons for Rizzi to come up with such a splitting are classical. They are based especially on word order, i.e. on the (relative) linearization of items and constituents. Less attention is spent on the semantic site. To some extent my proposal is based on Rizzi's syntactic reflections. However, in some respects I will diverge from him. What is carried over to my analysis is the [_{Top} Top [_{Foc} Foc ...]] part. In contrast to Rizzi I will assume that under these shells we find some traditional CP layer. I do not want to label it. What is important for me is that there we find complementizer elements like *that*.

3.1. The structure of *it*-clefts

As for *it*-clefts, the proposed derivation can be illustrated as follows. The sentence starts with the simple form.

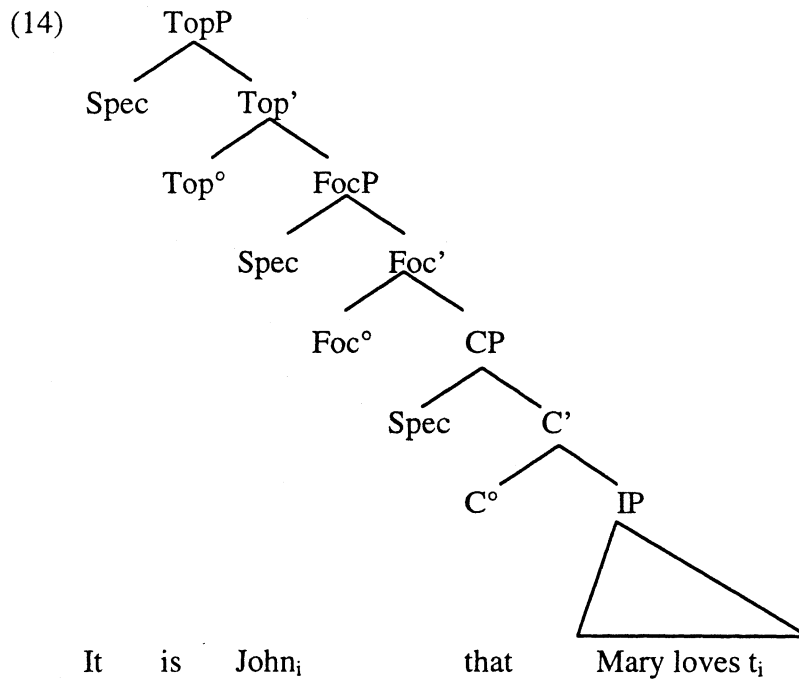
(12) Mary loves John_F.

If focus movement is overt, *John* is moved to [Spec,Foc].

(13) John_F, Mary loves.

Another possibility is to derive the unambiguous *it*-cleft 'It is John that Mary loves'². My proposal is encoded in the tree in (14).

² I am aware of the fact that despite similarities there are important (syntactic and) semantic differences between ordinary focus preposing structures as in (13) and *it*-clefts as in (14). For a detailed comparison see Kiss (1996).



The result is very close to an LF-representation (focus criterion, see Brody 1995 drawing on earlier work). See also Kiss (1996) for a very similar proposal. Note that the tree in (14) is not bi-clausal.

The semantic site looks as follows. The movement of the focal constituents outside the domain of CP (whatever the status of CP is in this analysis) transfers the formerly closed term into an open proposition, i.e. the saturated sentence. Thus, 'Mary loves John' is transformed into an open expression containing a gap filled by a variable (trace): 'Mary loves x'. This entity then could be considered the syntactic realization of the focus semantic value of the sentence, i.e. $\| [{}_S \text{ Mary likes } [John]_F] \| ^f$ (cf. Rooth 1992). The focus semantic value refers to a set of alternative propositions from which the ordinary semantic value is drawn. Thus, the meaning of the CP in (14) then is a set of propositions. According to Rooth and to work of my own (Meinunger 1995), these propositions can be thought of as forming a partial order. Other elements of the lattice would contain statements about other people Mary could possibly love. In this respect the focus semantic value is related to Hamblin's Answer-Set (Hamblin 1973). Interestingly focus structures are very similar to question-answer pairs. I propose that one can identify the focus semantic value of a focus:background partition (15) with the 'meaning' of the question (16). The ordinary semantic value (or maybe only the setting of the variable) can be viewed as parallel to the meaning of the answer.

- (15) Focus semantic value of 'Mary loves JOHN.'
 $\| [{}_S \text{ Mary likes } [John]_F] \| ^f = \{ \text{LIKE} (m,x) \mid x \in E \}$ with $E = \text{domain of individuals}$
- (16) The question 'Who does Mary love?' is associated with:
 $\lambda x \text{ LIKE} (m,x)$

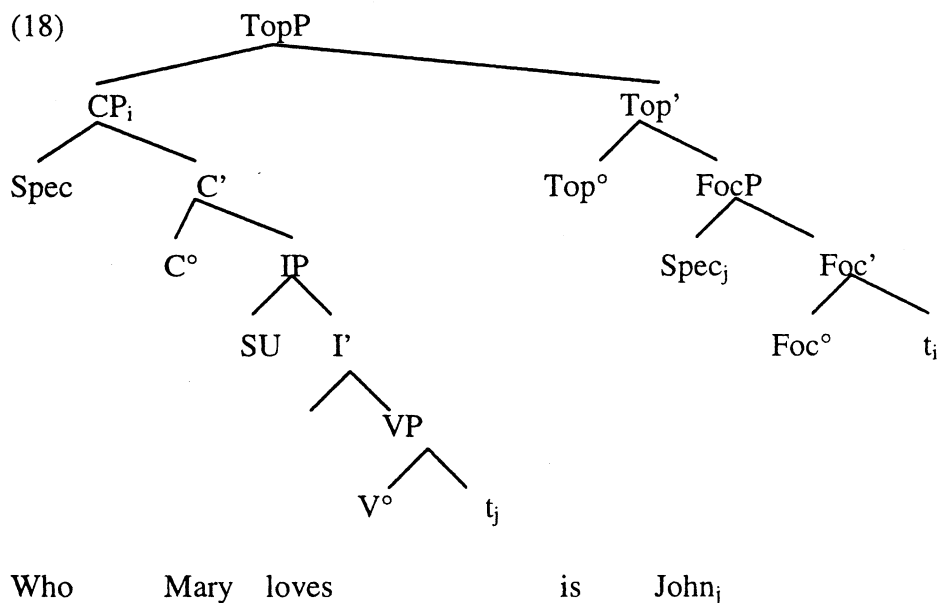
To summarize this section, the proposal is the following: the constituent labeled CP in (14) has the semantics of an open proposition. Being so the interpretation of the CP part in the tree (14) is not different from the semantics of a question. The interrogative character of the CP will play the key role for the further argumentation. More evidence for this is given in section 4. Please, note that the object in focus constructions has moved out of the relevant domain. In questions, the wh-constituent may still be / is inside that CP.

3.2. Pseudo-clefts: it-cleft plus topicalization

In the present analysis pseudo-clefts are distinct from it-clefts in one more transformational step. This step consists in the movement of the lower CP into the specifier position of TopP. In a certain sense we are dealing here with a sort of overt expletive replacement. The complement of Foc° (i.e. CP) moves into the position which in it-clefts is occupied by the element *it*. The result is an ordinary wh-cleft.

(17) (14) + it-replacement (=sentence topicalization) ⇒

[_{TopP} [_{CP} who(m) [_{IP} Mary loves t_j]]]_i is [_{FocP}[_{Spec,Foc} John_j] t_i]]



This derivation gives us the relation between it-clefts and pseudo-clefts in a very simple way. The non-focal part, which is topical (see below) moves into a syntactic position where topichood is structurally encoded.

However, although it-clefts and wh-clefts are very similar, there is more to the distinction than just the order of focus phrase : 'free relative'. In English it-clefts may come in three varieties: the 'free relative' may be introduced by the complementizer *that*, by a null complementizer(\emptyset), by a wh-word, or sometimes even by a whole wh-constituent.

- (19) It is John that Mary loves.
 (20) It is John \emptyset Mary loves.
 (21) It is John who(m) Mary loves.

Crosslinguistically, and by definition, *wh*-clefts always start with a *wh*-word³ (or in order to also capture pied-piping constructions with a *wh*-constituent). Thus, *it*-replacement goes together with *wh*-morphology of the preposed clause. Hence only (21) is a valid input for the derivation of a pseudo-cleft. The reason for this restriction is not entirely clear to me. The bare IP (20) is a bad candidate because a sentence-initial subordinate clause (topicalized or subject) sentences must start with an element from the CP layer. This might be due to reasons of parsing. Perhaps the interrogative character of the topicalized CP forces it to appear in the shape of an embedded question (21) rather than in the neutral subordinate form starting with the complementizer *that* (19). (Note that *that* is not the marker for a relative clause as many linguists tried to convince me of. It is merely an element signaling the subordinate character of the CP, no matter what its status is: declarative (for complement clauses), interrogative, relative...)

The strongest evidence for the proposed topicalization analysis comes from the semantics of information packaging. Uncontroversially, the position to the right of the copula is a focus position. As for the pre-copula position, Drubig (1996) has convincingly shown that this position is a topic position, and moreover that it is a derived position, i.e. in representational terms the constituent occupying it is linked to a *c*-commanded trace/variable. Evidence comes from the intonational pattern in English (the so-called hat contour or bridge accent which is typical for topic constructions) or from the obligatory presence of the topic particle *wa* in Japanese.

- (22) [Mado watta no] **wa** Taro da
 window broke wa Taro was
 'Who broke the window was Taro.'

Also, semantically we are dealing here with constructions similar to Buring's (1996) field of investigation. It seems to me that the meaning of these sentences can be computed in the way Buring proposes for (topic) constructions of the form:

- (23) All the /FEMALE pop stars were wearing dark CAFTANS. as
 (23') All the [female]_T pop stars were wearing [dark caftans]_F

As a matter of fact pseudo-clefts exhibit a parallel behavior. Under flat intonation (one pitch accent only) and without topic preposing, no such interpretation arises. There is only one focus associated with alternatives.

- (24) A book about SYNTAX was what John bought

³ Unless we are dealing with a language displaying *wh* in-situ, of course.

Pseudo-clefts have the characteristic intonational contour and trigger a complex focus-topic-value matrix.

(25') What John /_T[BOUGHT] was a book about [SYNTAX]_F\⁴

4. Pseudo-clefts as self-answering questions

4.1. A restriction on the post-copular focus position

Drubig (1996) quotes Carlson (1983) suggesting that wh-clefts are self-answering questions. My syntactic proposal takes the term and what it suggests very seriously. The correctness of the proposal, which is a syntactic implementation of Carlson's suggestion, is also corroborated by a number of facts. The range of what sort of constituent may appear in the focus position (i.e. Spec,Foc) is not unrestricted. One can find there only constituents which may as well figure as answers in a question : answer sequence. Thus, what is licensed in focus position is: existential indefinites (26), (27); proper names and definites which may get the interpretation of so-called novel definites (28), (29) (Heim 1982, in accordance with Hawkins (1978), labels them novel definites; Jäger (1996) chooses the term referential definites). Excluded are topics in the sense of Jäger (1996) or Meinunger (1996); for example, definite NPs when used as anaphoric expressions. Unstressable pronouns are completely impossible in the coda of pseudo-clefts.

- (26) What I have always wanted to see is a volcano.
- (27) Was ich schon immer mal sehen will, ist ein Vulkan.⁵
- (28) What I have always wanted to see is the Aetna.
- (29) Was ich schon immer mal sehen will, ist der/den Ätna.
- (30) ??What I have always wanted to see is the volcano.
- (31) ??Was ich schon immer mal sehen will, ist der/den Vulkan.
- (32) *What I have always wanted to see is it.
- (33) *Was ich schon immer mal sehen wollte is'es.

(30), (31) are not very felicitous. The sentences can only be uttered in a scenario where the speaker is in an area with only one volcano, which (s)he has not yet had the pleasure to visit (although) the person has been to the area several times before). Under this use, the context is restricted in such a way that 'the volcano' has the use of a referential definite. Both speaker and hearer have access to the referent without the need of introducing the volcano into the discourse frame before. As (32) and (33) show, unstressed pronouns, which are necessarily anaphoric, are clearly ungrammatical. Another possibility of making a sentence with a definite, possibly anaphoric noun phrase acceptable in a pseudo-cleft is to use it contrastively. (This is the unmarked role of narrow focus anyway.)

⁴ Focus spreading seems to me to be possible, if not even required. Thus, the bracketing only indicates the exponent. However, spreading as such does not affect anything here. What matter is that we have two sources for alternatives.

⁵The odd-number examples are translations of the preceding English sentences, having the same status of grammaticality.

- (34) What I have always wanted to see is the volcano, and not the sea.
- (35) Was ich schon immer mal sehen will, ist der/den Vulkan und nicht das Meer.
- (36) Whom I was angry about was her, not him
- (37) Über wen ich mich geärgert habe war (über) sie, nicht er / (über) ihn

Considering these data the conclusion can be drawn that the class of forbidden constituents in pseudo-cleft post copula positions is identical to those which undergo scrambling. Since topics (in the sense of the quoted work) are old information, they can never bring new information by themselves. Hence, they cannot act as an answer and are thus excluded in wh-clefts. A theory which base generates the wh-sentence as a relative clause of the constituent which ends up in the post-copula position has no (direct) explanation for the observed fact.

4.2. Ross' evidence

Another piece of evidence is provided by Ross (1985). He shows that the pre-copular wh-construction behaves like an (embedded) question rather than a free relative in the following respects. Specificational pseudo-clefts license a *what-else*-phrase (40), which is only allowed in interrogative contexts (38) and not in canonical free relatives (39).

- (38) I know [what else she cooked].
- (39) *I ate [what else she cooked].
- (40) [What else she is going to cook] is spaghetti flambé.

The same is true for *which*-phrases:

- (41) I knew [which book he read].
- (42) *I lifted [which book he read].
- (43) [Which book he will read] will be War and Peace.

On the other hand *whatever*-phrases are licensed in non-interrogative contexts, i.e. in ordinary free relatives (45), and not in questions (44), (46):

- (44) *I know [whatever she cooked].
- (45) I ate [whatever she cooked].
- (46) [What (*ever) she cooked] might not be stuffed peas.

These data also show that there is something wh-clauses in specificational pseudo-clefts have in common with questions and they are distinct from ordinary free relatives.

4.3. Multiple constructions and case mysteries in German

Another argument is the following. A crucial difference between relative and interrogative clauses lies in the number of possible *wh*-constituents. A relative clause - if it contains a *wh*-constituent at all - may contain only one. On the other hand, the number of *wh*-constituents in questions is unrestricted. Basically all constituents can be questioned and hence appear as *wh*-constructions. Crucially, in German (and other languages) pseudo-clefts are also possible with more *wh*-constituents, ((49) stems from Ross (1985).

- (47) Wer_i hier wem_j Rechenschaft schuldig ist, sind immernoch die
 who_{nom} here whom_{dat} account due is, are still the_{acc}
 Untergebenen_i dem Chef_j !
 subordinates the_{dat} boss
 'If there is someone who is answerable to someone else, then it is the
 subordinates who are answerable to the boss.'
- (48) Wer hier wen verführt hat, war die Susanne den Hans...
 Who here whom seduced has, was the Susan_{nom} the John_{acc} (similar pattern)
- (49) [Who ordered what] is Tom ordered a beer and Jim - a watermelon flip

These constructions are a big challenge for all traditional theories. Any biclausal analysis in which the main clause is headed by the copula is faced with the problem of the status the two more or less independent post-copular NPs have (i.e. whether they act as subject or as predicate). The number of possible constituents is basically unrestricted. In the present theory, these NPs are just focused constituents and hence moved into the spec of recursive FocP(s).

The next data, which is related to the construction just discussed, is the best empirical proof for my proposal. Rohrbacher suggested in personal communication to Iatridou and Varlokosta (1995), that in some constructions in German the ambiguity of pseudo-clefts can be dissolved by case morphology. It is argued that in (50) accusative on the focused constituent triggers an unambiguously specificational reading, i.e. the reading we are interested in. Nominative morphology gives rise to the predicational reading (41) only⁶.

- (50) Was Hans essen wollte, war einen Apfel.
 What Hans eat wanted, was an_{acc} apple
 'What Hans wanted to eat was an apple.' (specificational)
- (51) Was Hans essen wollte, war ein Apfel.
 What Hans eat wanted, was an_{nom} apple
 'What Hans wanted to eat was an apple.' (predicational / ambiguous)

Further clear examples for non-nominatives in post-copular position are:

⁶ For me, however, (51) is still ambiguous. A specificational reading is possible.

- (52) Wem sie geholfen haben, war ihr, nicht ihm
 Whom they helped have, was her_{dat} not him_{dat}
 ‘Whom they helped was her, not him.’
- (53) Was er gegessen hat, war die Birne, nicht den Apfel.
 What he eaten has, was the pear_{acc}, not the apple_{acc}
 ‘What he eat was the pear, not the apple.’

In the current debate, where pseudo-clefts are analyzed as copular sentences, one of the central issues is whether the post-copular constituent is the subject or the predicate. This questions seems to make no sense if applied to (51) through (53). A bare DP carrying dative or accusative case can neither act as the subject of a copular sentence, nor as an independent predicate. For me this data clearly shows that specificational pseudo-clefts are not ordinary copular sentences. In no other construction is a copula able to assign accusative or dative case to its arguments. Yet, as the data shows we find such case-marked DPs in pseudo-clefts. In my theory, the given pattern is even predicted. The focused, and hence clefted constituents are case-marked in their base position. After movement into the specifier of FocP, nothing changes. The original case and theta-role are preserved as with any other A'-movement.

5. A single common focus position for both cleft types

Another advantage of the present analysis is the identification of a unique focus position for both clefts, i.e. it-clefts and pseudo-clefts [Spec,Foc]. The focal constituent does not exhibit the very same properties in pseudo-clefts and it-clefts in every respect. However, the similarities are most striking, and an analysis that treats them as independent constructions misses an obvious link. (Note that the relationship between clefts and pseudo-clefts was tried to be realized derivationally as early as 1970 by Akmajian.)

The derivation I propose explains the following curiosity. I don't know why, but languages behave differently with respect to what they allow to (overtly) move into the focus position. So it comes that in English this position is much less restricted than in German, for example. Whereas adjectives, adverbs and other non-nominal projections can pretty naturally occur in English clefts (it has wrongly been claimed that there are no restrictions at all), this is impossible in German.

- (54) It was sad that he seemed.
 (55) It was sadly that he left
 (56) It was shave themselves that they finally did.
- (57) *Es war traurig, daß / wie er schien.⁷
 (58) *Es war traurig, daß / [?]wie er wegging. (at least in the relevant reading)
 (59) *Es war sich (^{??}zu) rasieren, daß / was sie endlich getan haben.

⁷ The German sentences are attempts to translate the grammatical English counterparts. So (57) corresponds to (54) and so on.

The it-clefts are associated with grammatical or ungrammatical pseudo-clefts respectively.

- (60) How he seemed was sad.
- (61) How he left was sadly.
- (62) What they finally did was shave themselves.

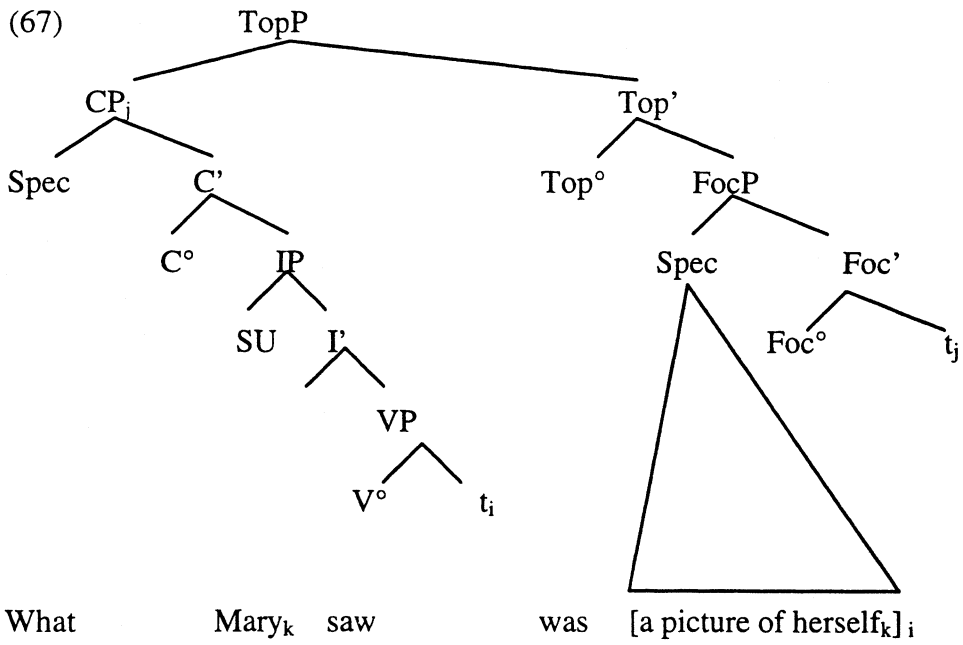
- (63) *Wie er schien war traurig
- (64) *Wie er wegging war traurig
- (65) ??/*Was sie endlich getan haben, war sich (zu) rasieren.

Although I have no account for this very fact itself, the phenomenon seems to underline the proposal that the focus position in it-clefts and pseudo-clefts is the same.

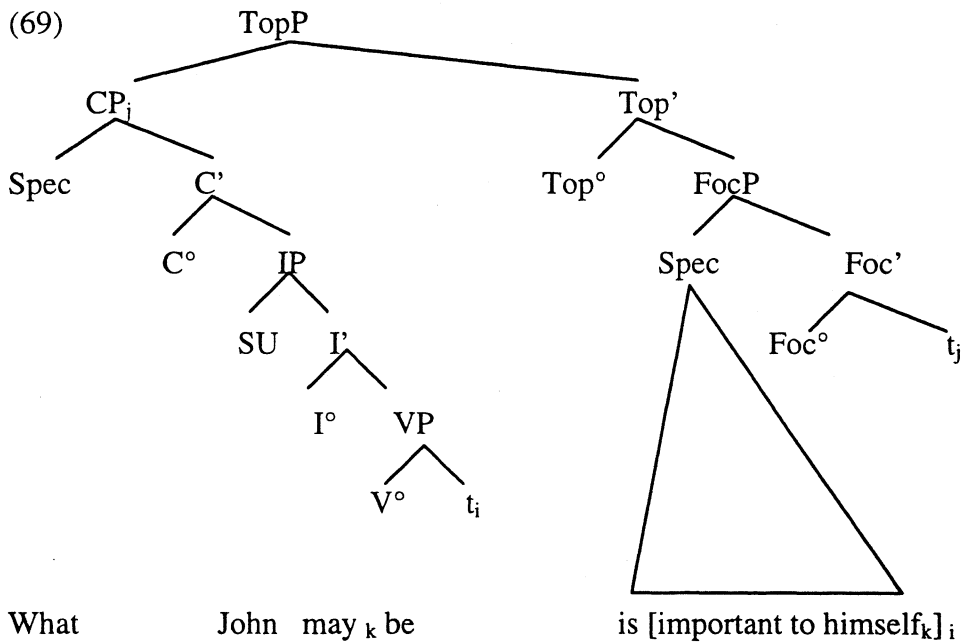
6. Summary:

It has been shown that cleft sentences are best analyzed as monosentential constructions. It-clefts are derived from simplex sentences by extracting a focus phrase out of the projection of C° into some higher focus projection within the splitted comp area. Wh-clefts are the result of an additional movement step, namely the topicalization of the remnant into Spec,Top plus an obligatory wh-marking of the preposed constituent. Thus, wh-clefts are not simply copula sentences with a free relative in subject or topic position, but self-answering questions whose base are simplex structures with ordinary tense interpretation, binding effects, operator scope and focus projection. The following trees encoding the derivation of the surface syntax illustrate that under reconstruction all the apparently mysterious binding facts and modification pattern dissolve into ordinary noun phrase licensing. Reconstruction of all moved material ends up in configurations with all phrases correctly licensed.

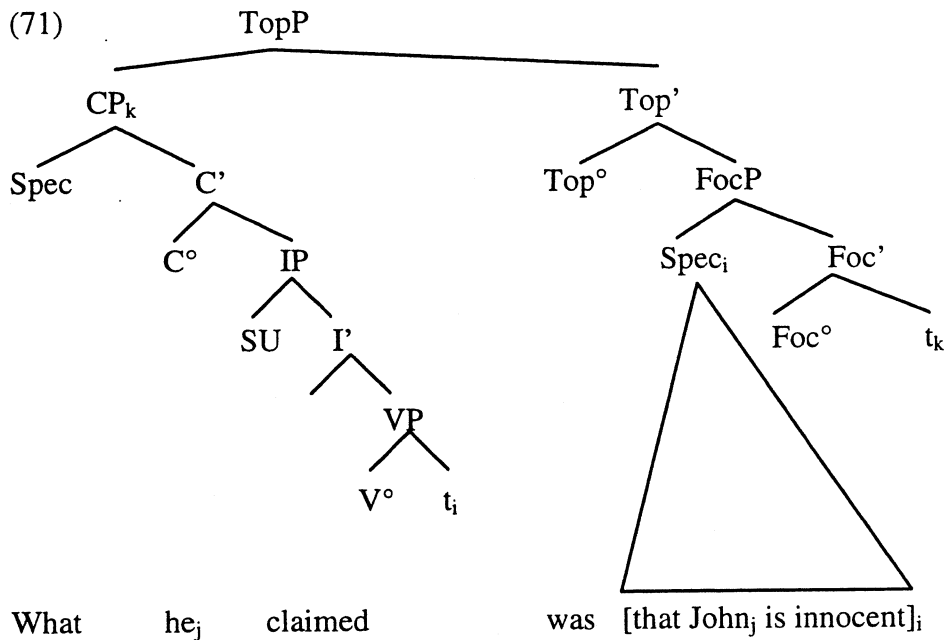
- (66) What Mary_i saw was a picture of herself_i.



(68) What John may be is important to himself. (modal interpretation)



(70) *What he_k claimed was that John_k is innocent



Appendix: The staus of the copula and the double appearance of the clefted phrase

Something should be said about the status of the copula within the present theory. As the reader can see from the given trees, the relevant form of BE ends up under Top°. I would claim, however, that it is not base generated there. My tentative claim is the following: in cleft constructions BE acts a Foc°, heading a focus phrase (FocP). Thus it is a functional category signaling narrow focus. Obligatory head movement forces it to move to the next c-commanding head position which is Top°.

This proposal is based on two considerations. First, in some languages (e.g. German, Italian) the copula may or must agree with the phi-features of the focal constituent if it is a noun phrase and acts as the subject.

- (72) Wer kommen wollte, war*(en) die Meyers.
 Who come wanted *was/ were the Meyers.
 'Who wanted to come was the Meyers.'

Under general assumptions, agreement of any sort emerges between heads and their specifiers (spec-head agreement). Thus, at some point in the derivation, there must have existed a spec-head relationship between the copular and the focus phrase. Under minimal assumptions this is done within FocP. The second argument is the following. In a number of languages there is a close relation between copular forms appearing in ordinary predicational sentences on the one hand and focus markers on the other. In languages with

overt focus markers, these particles very often develop from copular forms. One example is Chinese. In this language, the element *shì* has (at least) two functions: it acts as a copular verb (73), and it may act as a focus marker (74). As such it also appears in pseudo-clefts (75), (under the given analysis, see Gasde 1996). Traditional analyses assume two homophonous, but different forms.

- (73) Ta shi laoshi.
 he shi teacher
 'He is a teacher.'
- (74) Shi Zhang San mai de zhe ben shu.
 shi Zhang San buy part this classifier book
 'It is Zhang San who bought the book.'
- (75) Wo zai shudian li maidaoshi zhe ben shu
 I in bookshop inside purchased-part shi this classifier book
 'What I purchased in the book shop was this book.'

Thus, the Chinese data suggests that there is something common to focus and copula constructions, making a base generation of the copular(like) element under Foc° more likely than under Top° .

In their intensive typological research Heine and Reh (1982) have shown that focus particles (most likely Foc° elements) are systematically (diachronically) linked to copular elements from clefts. They describe the way of grammaticalization from verbal copulas to pure focus markers in many typologically different languages. This corroborates the proposal to base-generate the copular form in cleft sentences in a position hosting focus.

If I want to uphold the claim that clefts are monosentential, then there is more to be said about the double presence of the focused constituent. It appears as the focused constituent and, additionally, it may appear in the form of a relative or interrogative constituent. Thus, it seems that under my analysis there is a violation of the theta-criterion.

- (76) What I purchased in the book shop was this book.
- (77) It was this book, what/which I purchased in the book shop.

Both underlined constituents should be analyzed as objects of the verb *purchased*. In paragraph 3 I have tried to show that only the focused constituent is the actual moved 'deep structure' object. The wh-constituent only appears to signalize that the CP is an open proposition (question). The proposal is (based on Kiss 1996) that the wh-pronoun (or constituent) in [Spec,CP] is not an independent phrase, but acts as a sort of resumptive pronoun (which agrees with its antecedent in any morphological respect). In this sense the resumptive pronoun gets coindexed with the moved focal constituent. This gives a representation with a chain consisting of the focal constituent, a resumptive element and a variable (trace). And it is only this chain which absorbs the one involved theta-role. This way there is no violation of the theta-criterion anymore.

As a matter of fact wh-dependencies very often make use of a doubling strategy (whether by resumptive elements, expletive scope markers or partial movement and what Riemsdijk calls 'regeneration', Riemsdijk (1989).

References

- Akmajian, A. (1970) *Aspects of the grammar of focus in English*. Unpublished MIT doctoral dissertation.
- Barrs, A. (1986) *Chains and Anaphoric Dependence*. Phil. diss. MIT.
- Brody, M. (1995) Focus in Hungarian and Bare Checking Theory. In Kohlhoff, I. S. Winkler and B. Drubig: *Sprachtheoretische Grundlagen für die Computerlinguistik*: 197-210.
- Büiring, D. (1996) *The 59th Street Bridge Accent*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Tübingen.
- Carlson, L. (1983) *Dialogue Games: An Approach to Discourse Analysis*. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Drubig, B. (1996) *Fokusstruktur und Fokuskonstruktion im Englischen*. Manuscript, University of Tübingen.
- Gasde, H.-D. (1996) *Clefting or Focus Movement in Mandarin Chinese?* ZAS manuscript.
- Gasde, H.-D. (1997) *Topics, Foci and Sentence Structure in Mandarin Chinese*. (this volume)
- Ginzburg, J. (1996) Interrogatives: Questions, Facts and Dialogue. In Lappin Sh. (ed.) *The Handbook of Contemporary Semantic Theory*. pp. 385-422.
- Hamblin, C. L. (1973) Questions in Montague Grammar. *Foundations of Language*, 10, 41-53.
- Hawkins, J. (1978) *Definiteness and Indefiniteness*. London, Croom Helm.
- Heim, I. (1982), *The Semantics of Definite and Indefinite Noun Phrases*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Heine B & M. Reh (1982) *Patterns of grammaticalization in African Languages* (Arbeiten des Kölner Universalienprojektes, 47). University of Köln.
- Heycock, C. and A. Kroch (1996) *Identity, predication and connectivity in pseudoclefts*, GLOW Newsletter 36, Spring 96. 40-41.
- Heycock, C. and A. Kroch (1997), forthcoming as LI paper: Pseudocleft connectivity: Implications for the LF interface level.
- Higginbotham, J. (1996) The Semantics of Questions. In Lappin Sh. (ed.) *The Handbook of Contemporary Semantic Theory*. pp. 361-384.
- Higgins, R. F. (1979) *The Pseudocleft Construction in English*. New York: Garland Press.
- Iatridou, S. and S. Varlokosta (1995) *Pseudoclefts Crosslinguistically*. NELS Hand out.
- Jäger, G. (1996) *Topics in Dynamic Semantics*. Doctoral dissertation, Humboldt-University. Appeared in CIS-Bericht-96-92. Centrum für Informations- und Sprachverarbeitung, Universität München.
- Kiss, Katalin E. (1996) *The Focus Operator and Information Focus*. In Working Papers in the Theory of Grammar, Vol. 3. No. 2, Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

- Meinunger, A. (1996a) *Discourse Dependent DP (De-) Placement*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Potsdam. Appeared as *Groninger Arbeiten zur Germanistischen Linguistik* 39.
- Meinunger, A. (1996b) Speculations on the syntax of (pseudo-) clefts. Manuscript.
- Moro, A. (1990) *The Raising of Predicates: Copula, Expletives and Existence*. In: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics, More Papers on WH-Movement, 119-181.
- Peters, S. and E. Bach (1968) *Pseudo-cleft sentences*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Riemsdijk, H. v. (1989) Movement and Regeneration. In: Benincà, P. (ed.) *Dialectal Variation and the Theory of Grammar* 105-136. Foris: Dordrecht.
- Rizzi, L. (1995) *The fine structure of the left periphery*. Ms. Université de Genève.
- Rooth, M. (1992) A Theory of Focus Interpretation. *Natural Language Semantics* Vol.1, No.1, 75-116.
- Ross, J.R. (1973) Slifting. In M. Gross, M. Halle and M. P. Schützenberger (eds.) *The Formal Analysis of Natural Language*. The Hague, Mouton 133-169.
- Ross, J. R. (1985 (&1996)) The Source of Pseudo-cleft Sentences, Chatty pseudo-relatives. Handouts (UPenn?).
- Srivastav, V. (1991) The Syntax and Semantics of Correlatives. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 9: 637-686.
- Wilder, Ch. et al (1995) Project proposal for the project 'Nichtkanonische Komplementation' at the FAS/ZAS institute.
- Williams, E. (1994) *Thematic Structure in Syntax*. LI monograph 23. MIT press.