It's Hebrew clefts that this paper is about

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In this paper a new analysis is proposed for Modern Hebrew (*ze*-) clefts. Evidence is provided for analyzing clefts as copular sentences containing a maximalizing free relative adjunct with a null head. Thus, the exhaustivity and uniqueness presuppositions of clefts are explained, as they follow from the operation of maximalization in the RC. The RC is argued to have a Raising structure and to be merged in situ, contra extraposing it from subject position. The initial cleft pronoun *ze* is then argued to be a non-expletive subject, while the constituent in focus is the predicate of the copula, and not the head of the relative clause raised to its left periphery.

1. Introduction

1.1. Data

Cleft sentences have received much attention in the literature since the pioneering work of Jespersen (1927), dealing primarily with English and other European languages in various frameworks. Unfortunately, no attempt has been made to analyze clefts in Semitic languages, including Modern Hebrew, in the generative framework of Chomsky (1981, 1993, 1995). It is this lacuna that this paper intends to fill. Modern Hebrew, unlike other Semitic languages, exhibits two main types of cleft sentences, namely *ze*-clefts and focus-initial clefts, exemplified in (1), (2) respectively:[1]

(1) ze AVIV še ohev lir'ot hisardut.
it Aviv that likes to-see Survivor
'It's Aviv who/that likes to watch 'Survivor'.'

(2) AVIV hu (ze) še ohev lir'ot hisardut.
Aviv is it that likes to-see Survivor
'Aviv is the one who/that likes to watch 'Survivor'.'

1 As far as I know, other Semitic languages have only focus-initial clefts.

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Ze-clefts superficially resemble English it-clefts and have the following structure: initial pronoun *ze*, followed by the copula in past or future tense or a null copula in the present, then a focused constituent of almost any category[2], followed by a CP. Any position of the verbal counterpart of the clefts (e.g. *Aviv ohev lir'ot hisardut* 'Aviv likes watching Survivor' in (1)) can be focused, i.e. subject, object, adjunct, etc. These clefts are not found in other Semitic languages and are presumably an influence from Germanic and Slavic substrates.

Focus initial clefts have a focused DP in initial position. This DP can only correspond to the subject of the verbal counterpart of the cleft. After the DP in focus follows an obligatory copula (pronominal in the present tense), an optional *ze*-pronoun and a CP. These clefts can be found in other Afro-Asiatic languages as well (see Frascarelli 2010). In this paper I will discuss only *ze*-clefts and leave focus-initial clefts for further research, hoping to extend the analysis provided here for *ze*-clefts also to focus-initial clefts.

1.2. Previous analyses

Clefts are employed by languages as a focalization strategy (Belletti 2010 and ref. therein) and while most of the analyses agree that clefts involve a constituent in focus[3], not all of them agree on the origin or the underlying derivation of clefts. Different analyses of primarily it-clefts, as discussed in the literature, can be roughly divided into two approaches, the extraposition analysis and the expletive analysis, which I will briefly review (cf. also Hedberg 1990).

The extraposition analysis was first introduced by Jespersen (1927), then followed by Akmajian (1970), Emonds (1976), Gundel (1977) among others, and was recently revived by Percus (1997). Although these analyses differ one from another, they all discuss it-clefts and share several major features. First, the initial pronoun has semantic content and forms a definite description with the CP. The CP is then extraposed to the right from subject position. While the it-pronoun and the CP constitute the subject of a copular sentence, the constituent in focus is the predicate. These analyses assume clefts to be an instance of specificational copular sentences (Higgins 1973, Declerck 1988, Den Dikken 2006)[4] and thus they are not derived from their verbal counterparts. For example, an analysis of Percus (1997) is given in (3):

(3) a. It is $[\alpha]_F$ that has property Π.

b. $[_{IP}\ [_{DP}$ the $\emptyset\ [_{CP}\ Op_i$ that t_i has property $\Pi\ ]_k\ ]_j\ [_{VP}\ t_j$ is $\alpha]]$ (k)

c. $[_{DP}\ D_{def}\ [_{NP}\ \emptyset\ ]]$ spells out as *it*

The expletive analysis was the later analysis of Jespersen (1937), and was adopted by Chomsky (1977), and afterwards by Williams (1980), Delahaunty (1982), Rochemont (1986), Heggie (1993), Kayne (1994), Rizzi (1997), Kiss (1998, 1999), Ambar (2005), Belletti

2 cf. § 3.4, ex. (38).

3 Presumably a contrastive focus.

4 Specificational copular sentences are interpreted as 'headed lists'; the precopular XP contains a variable and the postcopular XP provides a value for this variable:

(i) The one that Mary saw was John

(ii) What Bill drank was water

(iii) The place where we met was at the university.

(2008), int.al. According to these approaches, taking into account the differences between them, the initial pronoun and the copula are expletive.[5] The copula takes the rest of the cleft as its predicate, where the focused constituent has raised to the left periphery of the CP and occupies a focus/topic projection. Thus, no extraposition takes place here, but rather the CP is base-generated in situ as a complement to the copula with the focused constituent as the head of the CP. Thus, clefts are derived from their verbal counterparts and their resemblance to specificational copular sentences is accidental. As an example, an analysis of Kiss (1999) is given in (4):

(4) a. It is EACH OTHER that they trust the most.
b.[$_{IP}$ it [$_{I}$ 3SG [$_{FP}$ each other$_i$ [$_{F}$ BE [$_{CP}$ t$_i$ [$_{C}$ that [$_{IP}$ they [$_{I}$ [$_{VP}$ trust t$_i$ the most]]]]]]]]]

There are also mixed analyses in the recent literature, which combine certain key elements from both the expletive and the extraposition approaches (Hedberg 2000, Reeve 2010, Frascarelli 2010, Frascarelli and Ramaglia in press). For example, Frascarelli and Ramaglia assume that clefts have the form of a SC with the focused constituent as its main predicate, and the CP is a free relative[6], merged in subject position. The free relative is a definite description headed by either a *pro* or a generic NP of a restricted class ('person', 'thing', etc.), which has been dislocated to the right periphery via IP-inversion. The exact derivation is given in (5):[7]

(5) a. It is ME that you saw.
b. [$_{FocP}$ **[$_{NP}$ *ME*]** [$_{FamP}$ [$_{DP}$ [$_{SC}$ [$_{NP}$ pro] [$_{CP}$ *that you saw*]]] [$_{IP}$ *it is* [$_{SC}$ t$_{it}$ **t$_{NP}$**]]]]

c.[$_{GP}$ **[$_{IP}$ *it is* [$_{SC}$ t$_{it}$ t$_{NP}$]]** [$_{FocP}$ **[$_{NP}$ *ME*]** [$_{FamP}$ [$_{DP}$ [$_{SC}$ [$_{NP}$ pro] [$_{CP}$ *that you saw*]]] **t$_{IP}$**]]]

My analysis is in the spirit of Frascarelli (2010), Frascarelli and Ramaglia (in press), notwithstanding significant differences. In this paper I focus primarily on *ze*-clefts, as in (1). I will present evidence in favor of a non-expletive status of the initial pronoun *ze*. After showing that *ze* is the subject of the copular sentence, I will argue that the XP in focus does not belong to the CP and is in fact a predicate of the SC. The CP, in turn, is argued to be a maximalizing free relative, merged in situ. The presuppositions of clefts, to be presented in the next sections, follow from the maximalizing status of the relative clause (henceforth RC) for free, without assuming the CP to form a constituent (a definite description) with the initial pronoun at any level of representation. This goes against extraposition of the CP from subject position. Subsequently, the analysis of e.g. ze-cleft in (1) will receive the derivation (6):[8]

5 Merged on top of the large CP as 'focus markers', i.e. in order to allow the focalization strategy of the cleft.

6 On the raising relative clause analysis, the CP is actually a DP relative with CP as a complement of D (cf. Kayne 1994).

7 Frascarelli and Ramaglia assume the cartographic approach to phrase structure (Rizzi 1997), which posits various functional projections in the left CP periphery, such as GP (Ground Phrase) and FamP (Familiar Topic Projection). They assume that right-hand topics are merged in the left periphery, and their position on the right is derived via 'IP-inversion'. Thus, in (5a), the clefted *ME* moves to Spec FocP and followed, in (5b) by IP raising to Spec GP to derive the right dislocation of the relative clause, which is assumed to be the right hand topic.

8 A detailed tree is given in ex. (56).

(6) $[_{IP}\ [_{IP}\ ze_i\ BE\ [_{SC}\ t_i\ AVIV]][_{DP}\ [_{CP}\ pro_k\ še\ [_{IP}\ t_k$ ohev lir'ot hisardut]]]]]
ze Aviv that likes to-watch Survivor

2. Semantic facts

It has been noted in the literature (cf. Rooth 1995, Percus 1997, Kiss 1999, Frascarelli 2010, int. al.) that clefts carry presuppositions. First, there is a presupposition of existence of the element in focus, i.e. the existence of an individual such that Dana saw ((7a) presupposes (7b)), which is preserved under negation and question (8):

(7) a. ze ET DAN še Dana ra'ata
it ACC Dan that Dana saw
'It was Dan that Dana saw.'
b. Dana saw somebody.

(8) a. ze LO ET DAN še Dana ra'ata
it NEG ACC Dan that Dana saw
'It wasn't Dan that Dana saw.'
b. ha'im ze ET DAN še Dana ra'ata?
Q it ACC Dan that Dana saw
'Was it Dan that Dana saw?'

Frascarelli and Ramaglia (in press) also show that no NPIs are licensed in focused position, since they contradict the existence presupposition of clefts:

(9) a. haim hu haya šam ey pa'am?
Q he was there ever?
'Was he ever there?'
b. *haim ze EY PA'AM še hu haya šam?
Q it ever that he was there
'Was it ever that he was there?'

Second, clefts carry presupposition of uniqueness/exhaustivity of the element in focus (Rooth 1995, Percus 1997, Kiss 1999). Thus, clefts are incompatible with adverbs such as *even* and *also* (Rooth 1995) and redundant with *only*.[9] Note that these adverbs are usually compatible with focus, so it must be something about clefts:

(10) a. It was even/also/only the case that JOHN saw Mary.
b. ??it was even/??also/?only the case that it was JOHN who saw Mary.

9 Edit Doron (p.c.) notes that in modal contexts, *rak* 'only' is perfectly acceptable, although I find it redundant :
(i) ze rak Dani še haya xayav la'asot ši'urim
it only Dani that was obligated to-do homework
'It was only Dani who had to do homework.'

(11) a. afilu/gam/rak IM RUTI dibarti al ha-mesiba
even/also/only with Ruti spoke.I about the-party
'Even/also/only with Ruti I spoke the party.'
b. ze *afilu/*gam/?rak IM RUTI še dibarti al ha-mesiba
it even/also/only with Ruti that spoke.I about the-party
'It was even/also/only with Ruti that I spoke about the party.'

The existence and uniqueness presuppositions will follow naturally by the analysis presented in this paper. Namely, I will show that they are derivable from the operation of maximalization in the RC.

Third, it has been noted by Percus (1997) that clefts exhibit certain 'semantic partition effects'. Thus, in structures in which there is an indefinite in subject position (even when it is focused) and an individual level predicate (Kratzer 1995), the interpretation is generic (12). However, this is not the case in clefts (13):

(12) a. kabai hu tamid xaxam
fireman.is always intelligent
'A fireman is always intelligent.'
b. tamid kabai hu xaxam
always fireman is intelligent
'It is always the case that a fireman is intelligent.'
c. KABAI hu tamid xaxam
fireman. is always intelligent
'[A FIREMAN] is always intelligent.'
=
d. kol ha-kabaim xaxamim
all the-firemen intelligent
'All the firemen are intelligent.'

(13) a. ze tamid KABAI še xaxam
it always fireman that intelligent
'It is always [A FIREMAN] who is intelligent.'
b. tamid ze KABAI še xaxam
always it fireman that intelligent
'It is always the case that it's [A FIREMAN] who is intelligent.'
=/=
c. kol ha-kabaim xaxamim
all the-firemen intelligent
'All the firemen are intelligent.'
==
d. tamid ze še xaxam hu KABAI
always that that intelligent is fireman
'It is always the case that the one who is intelligent is [A FIREMAN].'

This is predicted by the analysis proposed in this paper, since it shows that *xaxam* 'intelligent' is not predicated of *kabai* 'fireman', but a predicate in the relative clause which modifies the null head. In other words, this goes against the claim that *kabai* has raised from the relative clause.

A full analysis of clefts should be able to capture these presuppositions. In the next sections I will show how the analysis proposed here is able to derive these presuppositions by analyzing the relative CP[10] as a maximalizing free relative with a null head.

3. The CP of clefts

3.1.Maximalization

As was shown in (1), clefts contain a CP with a gap. In this section I will argue that this CP is best analyzed as a maximalizing relative, following the typology of Grosu and Landman (1998). This analysis enables us to explain the semantic facts outlined in the previous section and to account for the presuppositions of clefts previously assumed to arise from features of the focus (e.g. Kiss 1999), or from the definiteness of the initial pronoun (Percus 1997), by assuming that exhaustivity and uniqueness follow from the properties of the CP itself. This line of analysis is advantageous in that it spares the postulation of a separate FocP projection for clefts, a desired step by Economy of Interpretation (Chomsky 1995).

The typology of restrictive/non-restrictive relative clauses has been extended by Grosu and Landman (1998) to a third type of RC (cf. Bianchi 2002): *Restrictive relatives* are interpreted as intersective modifiers of the nominal head and contribute to determining the restriction of the determiner. *Non-restrictive relatives* modify the whole NP head, not contributing to the restriction. *Maximalizing relatives* do not modify the head; the head is interpreted within the RC, where it provides a degree variable and an operation of maximalization applies at the level of CP:

(13) The books that there were *e* on the table
MAX [λd.there were [d many books] on the table]

According to Grosu and Landman, the class of maximalizing relatives includes amount relatives, correlatives, free relatives and internally headed relatives. Although superficially maximalizing relatives look like restrictive relatives, the distinction is semantic; they all are characterized by application of maximalization at the CP level, where the head is interpreted CP-internally and the relative CP denotes the maximal degree or amount that satisfies the property described within the CP. The set of degrees can be turned also to the set of maximal individuals, i.e. maximalization can be applied not only to amounts or degrees.

More specifically, Grosu (2002) argues that in maximalizing RCs, the complementizer bears 3 features: [REL], which is responsible for the CP being a proposition with a free variable which needs to have value from the matrix. [PRED] indicates that the variable needs to be abstracted over, so that the CP will denote a property, and [DEF], which has an import of a definite article, i.e. a uniqueness operator MAX which maps a set to its unique maximal member. As Grosu further claims, the CP itself cannot be a definite description – an individual, since external determiners would be unable to bind into CP because they apply to sets. Thus, he proposes that the CP is not interpreted as an output of MAX, but as a singleton set whose unique member is the output of MAX. i.e. the CP is a singleton predicate (cf. also

10 Cf. fn. 3.

Jacobson 1995). Instead of shifting a set into an individual, as the definite article does, [DEF] maps the set into a singleton set, preserving the type input.[11]

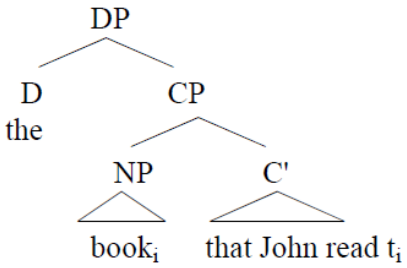
Grosu and Landman (1998) also maintain that if the head is semantically CP-internal, no semantically independent CP-external material is allowed. Maximalization, then, is an operation which allows syntactically CP-external material to occur, while satisfying this constraint. A head NP, a numerical and a definite determiner can be CP-external, since they can be recovered from the CP meaning due to maximalization.

The semantic motivation to analyze the CP of clefts as a maximalizing relative is that semantically, clefts carry presuppositions of uniqueness and exhaustivity of the individual bearing the property of the CP. This straightforwardly follows from the application of maximalization which turns the CP into a singleton set, with unique maximal individual, thus deriving exhaustivity and uniqueness of clefts, without the need in focus projection. Moreover, there is also independent syntactic evidence in favor of the maximalization analysis, which will now be presented.

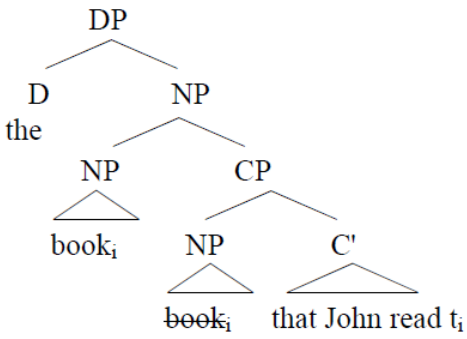
3.2. The CP is a Raising RC

As Sauerland (2002), Hulsey and Sauerland (2006), show, restrictive relatives can be associated with Matching or Raising[12] structures:

(15) Raising: the head NP is interpreted only in the relative clause internal trace position.



(16) Matching structure: the head NP is interpreted inside and outside of the relative clause:



11 In other words, the operation of determiner binding of a variable is broken into two steps, one internal and one external to CP.

12 In the sence of Kayne (1994).

There are several diagnostics to show that a relative has indeed a Raising structure. Restrictive relatives with a Raising structure (17) and clefts (18) exhibit similar behavior in terms of interpretation of the head inside the RC, i.e. 'connectivity' phenomena (cf. Akmajian 1970, Higgins 1979. int.al.); namely Principle A, variable binding, scope reconstruction and *de dicto* reading in intensional contexts respectively:

(17) a. [ha-tmuna šel acmo$_i$]$_k$ še Dani$_i$ ciyer t$_k$ maršima meod
the-picture of himself that Dani painted impressive very
'The picture of himself that Dani painted is very impressive.'
b. [ha-tmuna šel ima šelo$_i$]$_k$ še kol yeled$_i$ ciyer t$_k$ maršima meod
the picture of mother his that every boy painted impressive very
'The picture of his mother that every boy painted is very impressive.'
c. dibarti im šney metupalim$_i$ še kol rofe yivdok t$_i$ ∃>∀/∀>∃
spoke.I with two patients that every doctor will-examine
'I spoke with two patients that every doctor will examine.'

(18) a. ze et ha-tmuna šel acmo$_i$ še hu ciyer t$_i$
it ACC the-picture of himself that he painted
'It was the picture of himself that he painted.'
b. ze [et ha-yeled šela$_i$]$_k$ še kol ima$_i$ ohevet t$_k$
it ACC the-boy her that every mother loves
'It's her child that every mother loves.'
c. ze xad keren še Ron mexapes *de re / de dicto*
it unicorn that Ron searches
'It's a unicorn that Ron is looking for.'
d. ze haya axbar še kol xatul axal ∃>∀/∀>∃
it was mouse that every cat ate
'It was a mouse that every cat ate.'

However, restrictive relatives do not always allow reconstruction for Condition C. In cases where there is no expected violation of Condition C, the structure of the relative cannot be Raising, but only Matching (Sauerland 2002). Sichel (2011) shows that Hebrew is similar in this respect:

(19) a. This is the picture of John$_i$ that he$_i$ likes.
b. zot ha-tmuna šel Dani$_i$ še hu$_i$ cilem.
this the-picture of Dani that he photographed
'This is the picture of Dani that he took.'

Thus, the absence of Condition C violation in relatives is a diagnostic for the Matching structure, while relatives which violate Condition C can only have the Raising structure (Hulsey and Sauerland 2006). Notice that clefts do violate Condition C, pointing towards a Raising analysis:

(20) *ze et ha-kelev šel Dani$_i$ še hu$_i$ ohev
it ACC the-dog of Dani that he likes
'It's Dani's dog that he likes.'

I will follow Sichel (2011), who arrives at the generalization that maximalizing Relatives are Raising relatives. This follows from the definition of maximalizing RC as a relative whose head is interpreted inside the CP.

Another diagnostic for a Raising maximalizing RC comes from the distribution of resumptive pronouns. It is known that in Hebrew there exist optional resumptive pronouns and obligatory resumptive pronouns (Doron 1982, Borer 1984, Shlonsky 1992, Bianchi 2004, Sichel 2011). Optional resumptive pronouns alternate with traces and appear in object relativization (21). Obligatory resumptive pronouns appear when the relativization is out of PP (22):

(21) a. raiti et ha-yeled še/ašer Rina ohevet **oto**
saw.I ACC the-boy that Rina loves him
b. raiti et ha-yeled še/ašer Rina ohevet
saw.I ACC the boy that Rina loves
'I saw the boy that Rina loves' (Borer 1984)

(22) a. raiti et ha-yeled še Rina xolemet al-*(av)
saw.I ACC the-boy that Rina dreams about-him
b. raiti et ha-yeled še Rina xolemet
saw.I ACC the boy that Rina dreams
'I saw the boy that Rina dreams about.'

Bianchi (2004) shows that in Hebrew, optional resumptive pronouns are allowed in restrictive and non-restrictive relatives, but not in maximalizing ones, where the amount/free head is interpreted inside the RC:

(23) ha-ben dod šeli, še Rina ohevet (oto), haya baxur nexmad. *NRRC*
the-cousin my, that Rina loves him was guy nice
'My cousin, that Rina loves (him), was a nice guy.'

(24) ha-iš še Rina ohevet (oto) haya ha-ben dod šeli. *RRC*
the-man that Rina loves him was the-cousin my
'The man that Rina loves (him) was my cousin.'

(25) a. ani micta'er al ha-zman še bizbazti (*oto) *Maximalizing*
I sorry about the-time that wasted.I it
'I regret the (amount of) time I wasted.'
b. samti ba-kis et kol ha-kesef še yaxolti lasim (*oto)
put.I in-the-pocket ACC all the-money that could.I to-put it
'I put in my pocket all the (amount of) money that I could.'
c. kaniti et ma še rait (*oto)
bought.I ACC what that saw.you it
'I bought what you saw.'

Maximalizing RCs allow obligatory resumptive pronouns:

(26) ata lo yaxol leta'er et ha-mekomot še hu biker *(bahem)
you NEG can imagine ACC the-places that he visited in-them
'You can't imagine the (amount of) places that he visited.' (Sichel 2011)

This is exactly what happens in clefts. They allow only obligatory resumptive pronouns:[13]

(27) a. *ze DANI še raiti oto /še oto raiti /oto raiti *optional*
it Dani that saw.I him/ that him saw.I/ him saw.I
b. ze ET $DANI_i$ še raiti t_i
it ACC Dani that saw.I
'It was Dani that I saw.'

(28) a. ze RUTI še xašavti aley-ha *obligatory*
It Ruti that thought.I about-her
b. ze AL RUTI še xašavti
it about Ruti that thought.I
'It was Ruti that I thought about.'

As noted by Sichel (2011), obligatory resumptive pronouns allow reconstruction. This being so, it is unsurprising that they can be found in Raising maximalizing RCs. As shown in (27), (28), clefts show the same distribution of resumptive pronouns, strengthening the maximalization analysis.

Yet another diagnostic for the maximalization analysis of clefts comes from Grosu and Landman (1998), who show that restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses can be stacked but maximalizing relatives cannot. This is predicted by the singleton status of the CP, since if singletons contain distinct members, their intersection is vacuous:

(29) a. # The one sailor that there was on the boat that there had been on the island died in the explosion.
b. The one sailor who was on the boat who had been on the island died in the explosion.

Clefts cannot stack either:

(30) *ze DANA še haya la se'ar blondini še hegi'a la-mesiba
It Dana that was to-her hair blond that came to-the-party
'It was Dana that had blond hair that came to the party.'

3.3. Against extraposition

The evidence presented show that the relative clause of clefts is indeed a Raising maximalizing RC. Now it is important to establish whether it can be reconciled with either the extraposition analyses or the raising analyses, namely, has it been extraposed from subject position or merged in situ. Hulsey and Sauerland (2006), following Fox and Nissenbaum

13 According to Postal (1994), clefts are associated with a (null) resumptive pronoun at the 'extraction cite', i.e. the position of the gap inside the RC.

(1999), claim that relatives which force the Raising derivation cannot be extraposed, since extraposition blocks reconstruction:

(31) a. *I saw the picture of himself$_i$ yesterday [that John$_i$ liked *e*].
b. *Mary discovered the book about himself$_i$ yesterday [that Bob$_i$ wrote *e*].

Fox and Nissenbaum (1999) show that with extraposed adjuncts there is no Principle C violation, supporting a Matching analysis for RC extraposed adjuncts:

(32) I gave him$_i$ [an argument t_k] yesterday [that supports John's$_i$ theory]$_k$.

However, clefts do obey Principle C, and are asuumed to have a Raising structure, as was shown earlier:

(33) *ze ha-kelev šelo$_k$ [še sone et Dani$_k$]
it the-dog his that hates ACC Dani
'It's his dog that hates Dani.'

On these grounds, the extraposition analysis of clefts (cf. section 1), in which the relative clause is extraposed from the subject position to the right periphery, must be rejected. Extraposition is incompatible with the behavior of clefts in terms of principle C and other reconstruction phenomena.

3.4. XP$_{FOC}$ and RC is not a constituent

After establishing the status of the CP of clefts as a maximalizing Raising relative, I will now show that the focus of clefts is not a head risen from the, contra the expletive analyses (cf. section 1). I will argue, following Frascarelli (2000), Frascarelli and Ramaglia (in press) that the focused constituent and the relative clause do not form a constituent, thus the constituent in focus is not the head of the RC. I will further argue that the RC of Hebrew clefts is a free relative with a null head[14], further supporting Frascarelli and Ramaglia's observations.

There are number of arguments that show the lack of agreement or feature matching between elements inside the relative clause and the constituent in focus. First, the verb inside the relative can agree or, alternatively, have a default 3RD.PRS. agreement with the focused constituent, when the latter is 1ST.PRS. personal pronoun (cf. also Frascarelli and Ramaglia in press):

(34) a. ze ANI še axalti /axal et ha-orez
It 1SGL that ate.1SGL/3SGL.MASC ACC the-rice
'It is me who ate the rice.'
b. ze ANAXNU še axalnu /axlu et ha-orez
it 1PL that ate.1PL /3PL ACC. the-rice
'It's us who ate the rice.'

14 I will not discuss here various theories of free relatives.

Also, pronouns and reflexives inside the RC can optionally not agree with the focused constituent, making it implausible to have risen from inside the relative (cf. also Frascarelli 2000):

(35) a. zot AT še eyn lax/ la sigariyot
it.FEM 2.FEM.SGL that NEG to-you/to-her cigarettes
'It's you who doesn't have cigarettes.'
b. ze LO ANI še mistakel al acmi/ acmo ba-mar'a
it NEG 1SGL that look.SGL.MASC on myself/ himself in-the mirror
'It's not me who looks at himself in the mirror.'

Secondly, the relative itself can be elided, while the constituent in focus remains (Frascarelli and Ramaglia in press).[15] Given the Raising structure that I am adopting for the CP of clefts, it is impossible that the head would be separated from the RC when the RC is elided, once again supporting the idea that the element in focus is not the head of the RC:[16]

(36) A: tagidi, ze haya HURIKAN še paga be-yapan?
Say, it was hurricane that hit in-Japan
'Say, was it a hurricane that hit Japan?'

B: lo, ze haya CUNAMI (elided: še paga be-yapan)
No, it was tsunami that hit in-Japan
'No, it was a tsunami (that hit Japan).'

Another argument from Frascarelli and Ramaglia concerns negation. They claim that since the focused XP does not belong to the CP, it is possible to have negation scoping over a focus and negation scoping over the relative-clause verb. Hebrew clefts confirm this observation:

(37) ze LO HA-YELED HA-ZE še lo medaber ivrit
it NEG the-boy the-that that NEG speaks Hebrew
'It is not that boy who doesn't speak Hebrew.'

Interestingly, in Hebrew, the focused XP can be of almost any category and also a proper name. This would be an argument against analyzing the CP of clefts as a restrictive relative (as in e.g. Reeve 2010), since it is redundant to further restrict a proper name with this type of relative clause. For now it is implausible to assume that these categories can constitute a head of maximalizing relative clause, especially with clefts whose RC does not involve a gap (e.g. an adverbial in focus):[17]

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15 According to Frascarelli and Ramaglia (in press), the RC receives a low tone and can be elided, confirming that it is a given/presupposed information, i.e. a right-hand Topic.

16 An anonymous reviewer points out that in German, RCs can undergo ellipsis independently of their head XPs:

(i) A: Hast du einen MANN getroffen der eine Katze hatte?
have you a man met that a cat had
B: Nein, eine FRAU (die eine Katze hatte)
No a woman

17 Although it is possible that clefts involving focused categories other than NP/DP would end up receiving a different analysis.

(38) a. ze ČARLI še pacu'a kaše ve-lo yod'im ma yeš lo
it Charlie that hurt hard and-NEG know what exist to-him
'It's Charlie who's severely hurt and it's unknown what's with him.'
b. ?ze MUŠXETET še ani mesarevet lihyot, aval eyn li beaya im i-musariyut[18]
it corrupted that I refuse to-be but NEG to-me problem with immorality
'It's corrupted that I refuse to be, although I don't have a problem with immorality.'
c. ze LE'EXOL XAVITA še raciti ha-boker
it to-eat omelet that wanted.I the-morning
'It was to eat an omelet that I wanted this morning.'
d. ze KI BA LI še ani yocet ito
it because comes to-me that I go-out with-him
'It's because I want to that I date him.'
e. ze PIT'OM še hu po loveš adom
it suddenly that he here wearing red
'It's suddenly that he's here wearing red.'
f. ze ME-HA-RUAX še dom'ot li ha-eynayim
it from-the-wind that tear to-me the-eyes
'It's from the wind that my eyes tear/water.'

In Hebrew there are clefts with NegP in focus. Once again, it is strange to assume that NegP is the head of a maximalizing relative clause:

(39) ze LO še raciti lalexet la-mesiba, aval hayiti xayevet.
it neg. that wanted.I to-go to-the-party but was.I obligated
'It's not that I wanted to go to the party, but I had to.'

Another point comes from the distribution of adverbs. It is possible to realize right-dislocated adverbials between the focused XP and the CP (Frascarelli and Ramaglia in press). On the analysis of a Raising structure for the relative clause of clefts, it is impossible to have an 'interfering' adverbial between the head and the rest of the clause:

(40) a. ze ANI, ba-sof, še holexet.
it me in-the-end that goes
'Eventually it's me who goes.'
b. ze DANI, be-ecem, še diber im Rina.
it Dani in-fact that spoke with Rina
'In fact, it was Dani who spoke with Rina.'

To sum up, the evidence presented above forces me to conclude that the head of the CP of clefts has not risen from the relative clause. In the next section I will argue that the head of the RC is a null head of a free relative.

18 Although not all speakers accept APs in the focused position of clefts, some APs are much better than others. It seems that stage level predicates are more acceptable than individual level predicates (cf.Kratzer 1995), although other factors might be involved, such as a ban on focusing an AP which is interpreted in a postcopular predicative position of the embedded copular RC. I leave this issue for further research.

3.5. The RC of cleft is a free relative

Recall that Grosu and Landman (1998) include free relatives in the class of maximalizing RCs. The relative of clefts has been analyzed before as a free relative (Den Dikken 2006, 2008, Frascarelli 2010, etc.). With the data we have up until now, it is indeed plausible to analyze the RC of cleft as a maximalizing free relative merged in situ, which involves a null head. Independent support for this analysis comes from Hebrew, in which clefts pattern with free relatives[19], as opposed to restrictives and appositives, in terms of choice of the complementizer:

(41) a. ha-yeled ha-xamud še/ašer hegia la-hofa'a nehena me'od *RRC*
the-boy the-cute that came to-the-show enjoyed very much
'The cute boy that came to the party had a great time.'
b. ha-yeled ha-xamud, še/ašer hegi'a la-hofa'a, nehena me'od *NRRC*
the-boy the-cute that came to-the-show enjoyed very much
'The cute boy, who came to the party, had a great time.'
c. mi še/*ašer hegi'a la-hofa'a nehena me'od *free RC*
who that came to-the-party enjoyed very much
'The one who/whoever came to the party had a great time.'
d. ze HA-YELED HA-XAMUD še/*ašer hegi'a la-hofa'a *cleft*
it the-boy the-cute that came to-the-show
'It was the cute boy that came to the show.'

Hebrew RRCs and NRRCs may use the complementizer *ašer* instead of *še* in high registers (cf. Borer 1984). However, free relatives may not use *ašer*[20] and nor do clefts.

So far I have shown that the head of the RC is not the focused constituent, but rather a null head. I will follow Frascarelli and Ramaglia's (in press) proposal to treat this null head as pro. However, this null head needs to match in features and semantic content to the focused constituent, which can be achieved via co-indexing, following Frascarelli (2000).

4. The pronoun ze and the relative clause

In this section I will tie up the different parts of the analysis argued for so far and present a complete picture of *ze*-clefts. I will argue that the relative clause is an adjunct and not a

19 Prima facie, the CP of clefts may appear as a complement, since in Hebrew both CP complements and relatives have the complementizer *še* (cf. also Kiss 1999). However, it appears that Hebrew clefts pattern with RCs and not with CP complements in allowing complementizer deletion:

(i) ha-yalda še / ∅ ota raiti *RC*
the-girl that her saw.I
'The girl (that) I saw.'
(ii) ani yode'a še / *∅ hu kan *CP complement*
i know that he here
'I know that he's here.'
(iii) ze biglalxa še / ∅ hu yošev ba-kele *cleft*
it because.you that he sits in-the-prison
'It's because of you (that) he is in prison.'

20 Free relatives also exhibit an overt wh-word *mi* in addition to the complementizer *še*. I am not analyzing *mi-še* as one word in C, as would also be possible.

complement of the copula, as confirmed by the thematic status of the pronoun *ze* and extraction. Thus, the analysis that emerges will include *ze* and the focused XP as a copular sentence with *ze* as the subject and the focused constituent as the predicate, with a free relative maximalizing adjunct merged in situ.

After reaching the conclusion that the CP of clefts is a maximalizing free relative, the question that remains is the attachment site of this CP/DP. There are two options: i) The relative clause is an argument of the copula, extraposed from subject position. Since the copula must take two semantic arguments, one of them is the relative clause and the other is the constituent in focus, the pronoun *ze* must be expletive. ii) The RC is an adjunct, while the arguments of the copula are the pronoun *ze* and the constituent in focus. On this analysis, *ze* is not expletive, but thematic or referential. The RC, in turn, is an adjunct to the pronoun *ze*, extraposed to the right, or an adjunct to the whole matrix clause *ze* XP_{FOC}, adjoined in situ. I will argue for the latter option, in which the pronoun *ze* is not expletive and the RC is an adjunct. Furthermore, relying on what I have already shown, I will argue that the RC cannot be the adjunct to the pronoun *ze*, since extraposition and Raising RCs cannot go hand in hand (cf. section 3.3).

4.1. The RC is an adjunct

First, the CP of clefts is an adjunct and not a complement of the copula, as confirmed by extraction (cf. also Reeve 2010). If the CP is a relative adjunct, it is a strong island for argument and adjunct extraction. If the CP is a complement, it is a weak island, permitting argument but not adjunct extraction:

(42) a. *eyze maške$_i$ ze haya DANI [še kana t_i] ?
which drink it was Dani that bought
'Which drink it was Dani who bought?'
b. *eyx ze haya DANI$_i$ [še kana et ha-maške t_i]?
how it was Dani that bought ACC the-drink
'How was it Dani that bought the drink?'

Moreover, if the RC is an adjunct, then the initial pronoun is not an expletive, otherwise it would violate the Θ-criterion. I will now provide evidence for the non-expletive status of the pronoun *ze*, as well as arguments in favor of *ze* being a subject and not a copula or the predicate in clefts.

4.2. The pronoun ze is not expletive

First, the pronoun of clefts alternates with demonstratives and does not pattern with expletives of raising verbs in English and other European languages (Hedberg 2000, Reeve 2010):

(43) a. it/this/that was John that I saw.
b. it/*this/*that seems to me that you're wrong.

(44) a. c'est/*il jean que j'ai vu[21]
this/it is John that I have seen
'It's John that I saw.'
b. il/?ce/??cela me semble que tu as tort
it/this to.me seems that you have wrong
'It seems to me that you're wrong.'

(45) a. ze ET DANI še raiti
it ACC Dani that saw.I
'It was Dani that I saw'.
b. (*ze) nir'a li še ata to'e.
it seems to-me that you mistaken.
'It seems to me that you're wrong'.[22]

Second, the cleft pronoun can be a controller of PRO (Reeve 2010):

(46) a. It$_i$ was THE FURNITURE that annoyed John on Sunday [despite PRO$_i$ being the décor the day before].
b. On Sunday, [what annoyed John]$_i$ was THE FURNITURE [despite PRO$_i$ being the décor the day before].

(47) a. ze DANI$_i$ še halax iti la-mesiba [kedey PRO$_i$ lehoci le-kol ha-banot et ha-eynayim].
'It was Dani who went to the party with me to make all the girls jealous'.
Dani makes all the girls jealous.
b. ze$_i$ DANI (še halax iti la-mesiba)$_i$ [kedey PRO$_i$ lehoci le-kol ha-banot et ha-eynayim].
'It was Dani who went to the party with me (and by doing that) to make all the girls jealous'.
Dani's going to the party makes all the girls jealous.

One of the readings of (47) is (47b), an instance of semantic event control (Williams 1994), in which the event denoted by the RC *še halax iti la-mesiba,* namely the fact of Dani's going to the party with me, is the reason for the girls being jealous, i.e. it seems that the RC adjunct controls the purpose clause. However, the adjunct RC of clefts cannot be the controller of the purpose clause adjunct, following Landau (2009) in that only arguments can control into adjuncts. Thus, one possibility is to claim that the RC of clefts is a complement and thus it can control the purpose clause adjunct. However, I have already shown that the RC of clefts is not a complement but an adjunct. Since *ze* is the argument of the SC [*ze Dani*], and by elimination, the controller of the purpose clause on this reading is *ze*.

In addition, *ze* inflects for gender and number, an unexplained fact on the expletive analysis:

21 It has already been claimed that *cela* is referential and *il* is expletive (cf. Kayne 1983, Pollock 1981,1982, Jaeggli 1981).

22 Although Hebrew has raising predicates which are compatible with *ze*. It may be the case that Hebrew has expletive *ze* in these cases, but uses a different, homophonouns *ze* with clefts and demonstratives. This should not come as a surprise, since it is known that Hebrew has various different copular and pronominal uses of *ze* (cf. Sichel 1997).

(48) a. **ze** DANI še hegi'a la-mesiba
it.MASC.SGL Dani that arrived.MASC at-the-party
'It was Dani who arrived at the party.'
b. **ze/zo(t)** RINA še hegi'a la-mesiba
it.MASC/FEM.SGL Rina that arrived.FEM at-the-party
'It was Rina who arrived at the party.'
c. **ze/ele** DANI VE-DINA še hegi'u la-mesiba
it.MASC.SGL/PL Dani and Dina that arrived.PL at-the-party
'It was Dani and Dina who arrived at the party,'

However, from the fact that *ze* inflects (48), it may follow that *ze* is a copula PronZ (Sichel 1997), a pronominal copula which appears in predicate nominal sentences and is homophonous to the *ze* pronoun of clefts:

(49) a. rina **zot** giveret kohen
Rina PronZ mrs. Cohen
'Rina is Mrs.Cohen.'
b. dani **ze** mar kohen
Dani PronZ mr. Cohen
'Dani is Mr.Cohen.'

Since Hebrew is a pro-drop language, it is possible to claim that the subject of clefts is an expletive pro while the pronoun *ze* is the copula. I will argue that *ze* is not the copula but the subject, based on subject properties that *ze* exhibits.

4.3. The pronoun ze is not a copula

First consider the fact that *ze* appears in raised positions (Hazout 1994):

(50) a. ze_i carix lihyot t_i DANI še halax la-makolet
it should be Dani that went to-the-grocery-store
b. *$DANI_i$ carix lihyot t_i še halax la-makolet
Dani should be that went to-the-grocery-store
c.*pro carix lihyot DANI še halax la-makolet
should be Dani that went to-the-grocery-store
'It must have been Dani that went to the grocery store.'

Moreover, *ze* exhibits subject-like behavior with respect to coordination. It is known that in coordination, only subjects can be elided, and this is what we see in clefts:

(51) ze DANI še ra'a seret ve __ YOSI še sixek ba-maxšev
it Dani that saw movie and Yossi that played in-the-computer
'It was Dani who saw a movie and Yossi who played computer games'.

It addition, Hebrew has a second type of pronominal copula, namely PronH. The nature of PronZ and PronH has been extensively discussed in the literature (Doron 1983,1986, Rapoport 1987, Rothstein 1995, Sichel 1997, Heller 2002, Falk 2004, Greenberg 2008).

Both pronominal copulas are restricted to copular sentences in the present tense, while in future and past tenses Hebrew uses the verbal copula *h.y.y*. Naturally, the two (pronominal) copulas cannot appear in the same sentence together.[23] Thus, if *ze* is a PronZ copula in clefts, it should be mutually exclusive with PronH copula in the present and with the verbal copula *h.y.y*. in the past/future. However, *ze* does appear with PronH or with *h.y.y*., making it implausible to be a copula PronZ:

(52) a. ze hu DANI še ba
it/PronZ PronH Dani that came
b. ze haya DANI še ba
it/PronZ BE.PAST Dani that came
'It was Dani who came.'

Another argument comes from what has been known as Copula-Predicate Inversion in Hebrew (Borer 1995). The predicate can invert with past tense copula in extraposition contexts. If we assume that *ze* is a PronZ copula and the constituent in focus is the predicate in clefts, we would expect the same type of inversion. However, this is not so:

(53) a. barur haya /haya barur še Itamar yeaxer *Copula-Predicate Inversion*
clear was/ was clear that Itamar will.be.late
'It was clear that Itamar will be late.'
b. ze DANI/*DANI ze še ba la-mesiba *cleft*
it Dani/ Dani it that came to-the-party
'It was Dani who came to the party.'

In the context of Triggered Inversion, the subject can invert with the past tense *h.y.y*. copula in a presence of an adverbial trigger (Borer 1995, Shlonsky and Doron 1992). The same happens in past tense clefts, where *ze* inverts with the copula:

(54) ba-avar ha-raxok, Dani haya/haya Dani metapel be-axoto.
in-the-past the-distant, Dani was/was Dani taking-care in-sister.his
'In the distant past, Dani was taking care of his sister.'

(55) ba-avar ha-raxok, ze haya/haya ze DANI še tipel ba-xatulim
in –the-past the-distant, it was/was it Dani that took-care in-the-cats
'In the distant past, it was Dani who took care of the cats.'

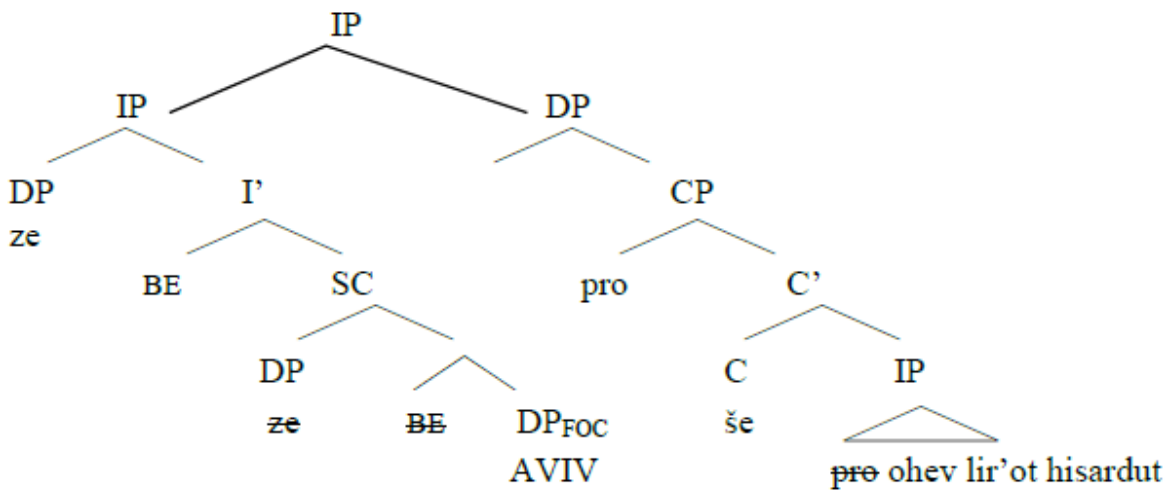
23 As for apparent violations of this generalization, where *ze* and *hu* do appear together in nominal sentences, Doron (1986) analyzes *ze+hu* as *ze* being the subject and *hu* as a pronominal copular clitic:
(i) zehu Dani
'This is Dani.'

4.4. Tying up the parts

The arguments presented above argue for analyzing the initial pronoun *ze* of clefts as a thematic subject. From this follows that semantically, *ze* and the constituent in focus[24] are arguments of the copula BE, which, in Hebrew, is phonologically null in clefts and other copular sentences in the present tense. After establishing this fact, what is left is to establish how this matrix copular sentence is connected with the relative clause.

As already mentioned, if the RC is indeed an adjunct, it can be an adjunct to the pronoun *ze*, forming together a definite description and then extraposed to the right (Percus 1997), or it can be an IP-level adjunct[25] merged in situ. As argued by Fox and Nissenbaum (1999), Chomsky (2001), adjuncts do not extrapose but Late-Merged in situ. Moreover, following Sauerland (2002, Hulsey and Sauerland 2006), Raising relatives are incompatible with extraposition (cf. section 3). Since I have established that the RC of clefts is indeed a Raising relative, I will reject the possibility of its extraposition. The only option left is to claim that the RC is indeed an adjunct, however not to the pronoun *ze* but rather to the whole matrix sentence, as an in-situ merged predicate relative. Thus, a cleft as in (56a) would have the structure as in (56b):

(56) a. ze AVIV še ohev lir'ot hisardut.
it Aviv that likes to-see Survivor
'It's Aviv [(the one)that likes to watch 'Survivor].'
b.



5. Conclusion

In this paper I have argued that *ze*-cleft constructions in Hebrew involve a maximalizing Raising free relative. Maximalization operation creates a unique singleton set, which is

24 I have not presented arguments for the constituent in focus being a predicate of the copula, since, by elimination, after establishing that the pronoun *ze* is the subject and the RC is an adjunct, the constituent in focus must be the predicate. For additional arguments for the predicative status of the focused DP, see Frascarelli (2010).

25 Cf. Baltin (2006).

responsible for the exhaustivity and uniqueness presuppositions of clefts,[26] without postulating a dedicated Focus projection. I have also argued against the extraposition analysis of the relative clause, claiming it to be an adjunct merged in situ. In addition, I provided evidence against the expletive analysis of the initial cleft pronoun *ze*. Thus, on my analysis, clefts are specificational copular sentences, semantically similar to specificational copular sentences or inverted pseudoclefts:

(57) a. ze DANI [še šafax et ha-xalav]
it Dani that spilled ACC the-milk
'It is Dani [the one who spilled the milk].'
b. ze še šafax et ha-xalav hu DANI
it that spilled ACC the milk is Dani
'It [the one who spilled the milk] is Dani.'

However, this being a work in progress, several issues have remained untouched while others are open to further research beyond the scope of this paper. One of them is the nature of the focus and the need for a separate focus projection in light of the fact that presuppositions of uniqueness and exhaustivity are provided by the maximalizing relative CP. It is possible that instead of positing features on the FP head (e.g. Kiss 1999), focus can be derived via directly merging the CP and assigning focus intonation at PF. Alternatively, it might be the case that what has been previously assumed to be a contrastive focus in cleft, is in fact a contrastive topic (Erteschik-Shir, p.c.).

Another point left unaddressed is the structure of clefts with an XP other than DP in focus, i.e. PP, AdvP and other clefts (see ex. (38)). It is possible that the present proposed analysis will not be tenable for these kinds of clefts and they will have a different derivation.

Finally, the paper has not gone into the details of focus-initial clefts (2), concentrating primarily on *ze*-clefts. Ultimately, the goal of this research would be to provide a unified account to clefts, pseudo-clefts and inverted pseudo-clefts, them being semantically and syntactically similar copular constructions.

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26 I remain agnostic to the possibility of deriving also the existential presupposition of clefts via maximalization. It is possible that clefts do not, in fact, carry any such presupposition, as pointed by Edit Doron (p.c.):

(i) ze rak Dani še yaxol la'azor lax, im bixlal
it only Dani that can help you if at-all
'It's only Dani who can help you, if at all'.

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