

COPULAR CLAUSES, CLEFTS, AND PUTATIVE SLUICING IN UZBEK

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This article presents novel data from Uzbek, an under-investigated Turkic language, in support of two claims. The first claim is that, despite superficial appearances, Uzbek sluicing-like constructions are not instantiations of genuine sluicing at all. Instead, they are derived from two possible sources—copular clauses and clefts—by reduction strategies that are shown to be independently available in Uzbek (subject drop and copula drop). This result supports a prediction of Merchant's (2001) theory of sluicing: languages with no left-peripheral WH-movement or focus-movement strategy should not exhibit genuine sluicing. The second claim is that Uzbek cleft structures (which may give rise to the sluicing-like construction under reduction) can be subdivided into two types, corresponding to two prominent lines of analysis in preexisting explorations of clefts (descending from Jespersen 1927 and Jespersen 1937). The results support Pinkham and Hankamer's (1975) claim that both analyses may be applicable to subtly distinct structures within one language.

Keywords: Uzbek, cleft, extraposition, sluicing, expletive, pseudocleft

1. INTRODUCTION. This article investigates two related theoretical domains via the analysis of novel evidence from Uzbek, an understudied Turkic language. The first domain concerns the question of how a language's WH-behavior corresponds, if at all, to its ability to generate genuine sluicing structures. The second domain concerns distinguishing between existing analyses of cleft structures. The empirical aims of this article are correspondingly twofold. In the first place, this is an investigation of Uzbek constructions that are surface-similar to instances of sluicing, as in 1.¹

- (1) Siz kim-ga-dir pul ber-di-ngiz, lekin
you some-DAT-one money give-PST-2SG but
kim(-ga)-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.
who(-DAT)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG
'You gave money to someone, but I don't know (to) who.'

Examination of such constructions reveals that they have multiple underlying sources: several types of copular clauses and truncated clefts. Thus, in the second place, this is

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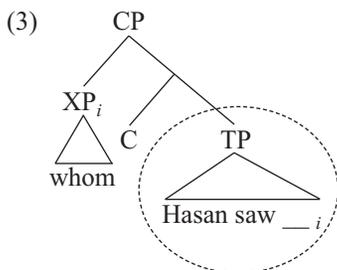
¹ Abbreviations used in the glosses are as follows: ABL: ablative case, ACC: accusative case, COMP: complementizer, COP: copula, DAT: dative case, EVID: evidential, FUT: future, GEN: genitive case, HAB: habitual, LOC: locative case, NEG: negation, NOM: nominative case, PL: plural, POSS: possessive, PRS: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

an investigation of the empirical properties of an array of copular and cleft clauses found in Uzbek and a consideration of their significance for competing syntactic analyses of cleft structures.

Sluicing is a type of ellipsis in which an interrogative clause is reduced, such that its only pronounced part is a WH-phrase.

(2) Hasan saw someone, but I don't know who(m).

Like other types of ellipsis, sluicing is licensed if the elided part is in some way identical to some part of the discourse. The part that is 'identical' to the missing material I call the ANTECEDENT, and the WH-phrase that remains I call the REMNANT. A prominent analysis of sluicing, first proposed by Ross (1969) and further developed by Merchant (2001), posits that sluicing is the result of two processes: movement of the WH-phrase to the clause periphery, and ellipsis of a clause-sized constituent that the WH-phrase has moved out of.



Following Paul and Potsdam (2012), I use the descriptive term SLUICING-LIKE CONSTRUCTION (SLC) to refer to surface strings resembling 2, reserving the term GENUINE SLUICING for the operation involving WH-movement and ellipsis originally proposed by Ross (1969).

This distinction in terminology is useful, because crosslinguistic investigations of constructions resembling the English example in 2 have led to a more diverse understanding of the kinds of operations that can lead to such surface strings. One crucial locus of variation involves the issue of what kind of movement may feed clausal ellipsis: for example, evidence from Russian (Grebenyova 2006, 2007) and Romanian (Hoyt & Teodorescu 2004, 2012) demonstrates that SLCs can be derived by discourse-motivated movement (rather than WH-movement) to the left periphery and clausal ellipsis. Relatedly, van Craenenbroeck and Lipták (2006) have argued that there is an SLC-like structure to be found in Hungarian relative clauses, and Paul and Potsdam (2012) and Potsdam (2007) have argued that Malagasy SLCs are derived from pseudoclefts in which the WH-phrase pivot moves to the left edge as part of a general predicate-fronting operation that derives VOS clausal order in Austronesian.

All of these mechanisms for deriving SLCs share the idea that the remnant phrase, whether it be a WH-phrase or not, escapes a clause that is elided. The ellipsis operation always targets a constituent, and in each case there is an independently motivated 'escape route' for the remnant. But what of languages for which movement out of the constituent that would need to be targeted for ellipsis is either not possible or noncanonical? Accounts like those of Merchant (2001) are predicated on the hypothesis that genuine sluicing involves WH-movement, or, more broadly, that there is some way for the remnant to escape the ellipsis site to the periphery of the clause. A typological prediction follows: genuine sluicing should be attested only in languages with an independently attested mechanism for a WH-phrase to escape the ellipsis site, but never in languages without such a strategy, including many WH-in-situ languages. Empirical investigations of WH-

in-situ languages—many of which, like Uzbek, are still under-investigated—are thus crucial in furthering our understanding of this theoretical approach to sluicing.

The analysis of SLCs in WH-in-situ languages is still a relatively new endeavor, starting with Takahashi's (1994) discussion of such structures in Japanese. The still-emerging empirical picture is very mixed: for Japanese and Turkish, two comparatively well-studied WH-in-situ languages that are typologically similar to Uzbek, there is still significant disagreement, primarily between two types of analysis: genuine sluicing versus reduced copular clauses or clefts.

	JAPANESE	TURKISH
GENUINE SLUICING	Takahashi 1994	Ince 2006, 2012
REDUCED CLEFT/COPULAR CLAUSE	Shimoyama 1995 Merchant 1998 Fukaya & Hoji 1999 Nishiyama et al. 1996 Kuwabara 1996 Hiraiwa & Ishihara 2002 Kizu 1997 Kizu 2000	Kizu 1997 Kizu 2000
BOTH	Iseda 2007 Hasegawa 2008	

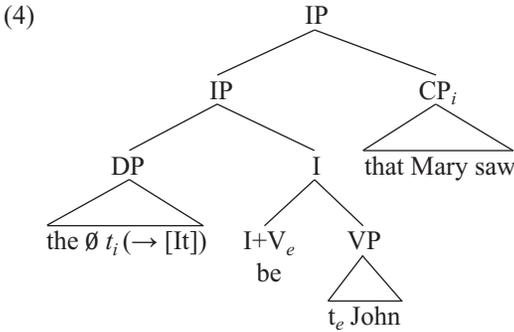
TABLE 1. Analyses of sluicing-like constructions in Japanese and Turkish.

Beyond Japanese and Turkish, there is emerging evidence from Indo-Iranian that at least certain WH-in-situ languages—Hindi (Manetta 2011), Farsi (Toosarvandani 2008), and Bengali (Bhattacharya & Simpson 2012)—exhibit genuine sluicing, with all of its associated trademark properties (including some form of WH-movement or focus movement). In recent years there has also been a proliferation of analyses in which the copular or cleft strategy is claimed to be at work in languages traditionally thought to make use of genuine sluicing; this includes French and Italian (Vicente 2008), Polish (Szczegielniak 2008), Spanish and Brazilian Portuguese (Rodrigues et al. 2009), and English (van Craenenbroeck 2010). Like the analyses of Farsi, Bengali, and Hindi, these discussions suggest an unraveling of sluicing as a unified phenomenon. These investigations indicate that whether a language is WH-in-situ or WH-movement is not a sufficient predictor of the availability of genuine sluicing. This raises serious questions for accounts in which genuine sluicing is predicated on the availability of WH-movement and demonstrates the need for investigation of this question in a wider array of WH-in-situ languages.

The investigation undertaken here reveals that Uzbek putative sluicing of the type in 1 can be attributed to the reduction of a cleft or a copular clause (RCC), albeit different from the type of RCC strategy outlined in van Craenenbroeck 2010 for English. This language-specific conclusion supports approaches like Merchant's (2001), in which genuine sluicing is taken to be predicated on the availability of WH-movement. It also contributes an additional piece of evidence to the discussion and provides an opportunity to explore what a genuine RCC language does to yield surface strings that are superficially similar to genuine sluicing. Though some of the diagnostics used in later sections of this article are language-specific, others are both novel and extensible to other languages that share certain common grammatical features—for example, the use of possessive agreement morphology in nominalized clauses (see §3.4).

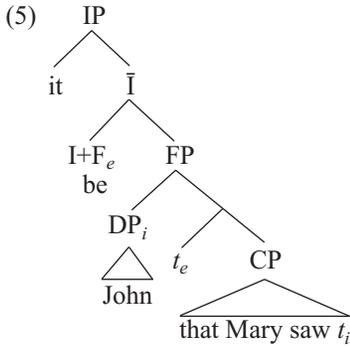
As noted above, the conclusion reached here is that there are two sources for the Uzbek surface structure in 1, each of them exhibiting numerous but subtle distinguishing characteristics. I claim that one of these sources is a copular clause (predicational or equative) with fairly straightforward properties. The second source, clefts, is more complex and more interesting. The latter portion of the article is devoted to exploring the properties of such clefts, with an eye toward understanding how they interact with deletion processes of the language to yield a subset of surface strings like 1, and their consequences for different accounts of cleft structures. Since, like Turkish (Kornfilt 1997), Uzbek is a head-final language with no pleonastic expletives, it is useful for investigating two questions that frequently arise in explorations of clefts: first, the question of the status of the pronoun in subject position (when it appears), and second, the question of whether the cleft clause is extraposed (and if so, what its attachment site is).

Two dominant generative analyses of clefts trace back to Jespersen 1927 and Jespersen 1937, respectively. The 1927 proposal and its descendants (Akmajian 1970, Schachter 1973, Emonds 1976, Gundel 1977, Wirth 1978, Percus 1997)² take the position that the clefted clause originates in subject position as a free relative or part of a definite description. It extraposes to the end of the clause, leaving behind a pronoun in its place. A version of this view, which connects the pronoun and the cleft clause both semantically and syntactically, is illustrated in 4 (Percus 1997, via Reeve 2012).



The 1937 proposal and its descendants (Chomsky 1977, Halvorsen 1978, Delahunty 1982, Rochemont 1986, Heggie 1993, É. Kiss 1998, Merchant 1998) take the pivot of the cleft structure to be part of the same constituent as the cleft clause itself. The pronoun is an expletive, inserted in [Spec IP] as the result of an extended projection principle (EPP) requirement; it makes no semantic contribution and is not linked to the cleft clause. One version of this account, taken from É. Kiss 1998, is illustrated in 5.

² These proposals differ significantly in many of their details, but these differences are not immediately relevant for our purposes. For the sake of brevity and concreteness, I compare only these two strands of analysis in the course of the discussion, setting aside numerous prominent analyses of clefts that differ significantly from the two outlined here (Adger 2011, den Dikken 2013, inter alia).



These two approaches have frequently been pitted against each other as competing analyses of what appears in English to be a single structure. But there is no reason to assume that both structures cannot be at play within one language; just such an analysis was proposed by Pinkham and Hankamer (1975), but the specifics of English made this distinction difficult to establish. Being significantly different in its syntactic behavior, Uzbek allows us to see this difference more clearly, and provides evidence that BOTH types of approach are correct within this one language, though for different types of cleft structures. I claim that both proposed structures involve some form of extraposition, BUT FROM DIFFERENT CLAUSAL POSITIONS. I use ‘extraposition’ throughout this article as a neutral label, referring to the positioning of the cleft clause at a high attachment site and a syntactic connection, via either coindexation or movement, with a position inside the main clause. Constituent labels for the Uzbek trees below are omitted here deliberately, because not much is known about the clausal architecture of the language. The first structure, corresponding to the more recent counterparts of Jespersen 1927 (the English tree in 4), generates a pseudocleft and optionally extraposes the free relative portion, as schematized in 6.

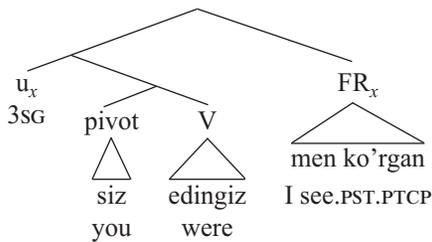
(6) a. Men ko’r-gan, siz e-di-ngiz.

I see-PST.PTCP you COP-PST-2SG
 ‘Who I saw was you.’

b. U siz e-di-ngiz, men ko’r-gan.

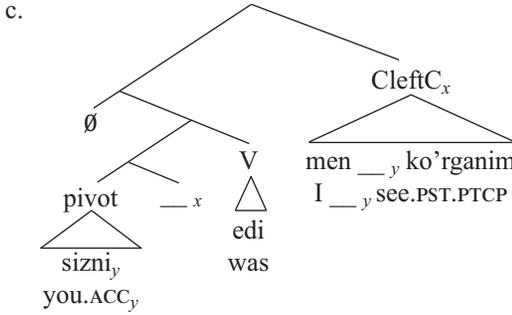
3SG you COP-PST-2SG I see-PST.PTCP
 ‘It was you, who I saw.’

c.



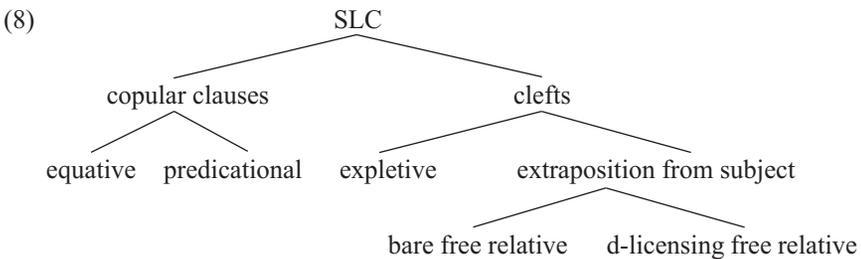
The second structure, corresponding to recent counterparts of Jespersen 1937 (the English tree in 5), involves extraction of the pivot out of a cleft clause in object position and obligatory extraposition of the cleft clause, leaving behind the pivot (7). That the pivot in these cases can be marked accusative—at least in the judgment of some speakers—is especially important, because structural accusative case marking on pivots in copular constructions of languages that are typologically similar (Turkish and Japanese; Kizu 1997, Merchant 1998) is typically disallowed, or it is considered marginal. Such constructions in Uzbek are acceptable to a minority of speakers (§3.5). Examples that are acceptable only to this minority are marked throughout the article with a diamond notation, as in 7.

- (7) a. \diamond Siz-ga e-di, men pul ber-gan-im.
 you.DAT COP-PST.3SG I money give-PST.PTCP-1SG.POSS
 ‘It was to you that I gave money.’
- b. \diamond Siz-ni e-di, men ko’r-gan-im.
 you-ACC COP-PST.3SG I saw-PST.PTCP-1SG.POSS
 ‘It was you that I saw.’



It is expected that these two cleft structures will have noticeably different properties, and a significant portion of this article is devoted to defending this empirical claim and to discussing its theoretical consequences. A result of this investigation is that we gain some additional information about the range of possible cleft structures crosslinguistically and a novel perspective on the tension between the two classes of theoretical accounts outlined above.

In all, this article provides evidence for the range (perhaps not comprehensive) of cleft and copular structures schematized in 8, all of which can be reduced to yield an SLC.



A key component of the argument is that certain otherwise bizarre properties of the SLC fall out naturally if it is taken to arise via independently motivated nonpronunciation of some parts of one of these structures. The claim is that the properties of a particular instance of an SLC can be attributed to one or more of the above structures that exhibit the same properties.

The rest of the article is structured as follows. After outlining certain fundamentals of Uzbek syntax and clause structure (§2), I introduce in §3 the basic properties of the putative sluicing construction previewed in 1 and present several arguments in favor of an RCC account of this construction. An in-depth discussion of the copular and cleft sources of examples like 1 follows (§4), and it is demonstrated that positing a solely copular source is not enough to account for the complete range of empirical facts. Finally, gaining a better understanding of the empirical characteristics of Uzbek clefts and their significance for existing theoretical accounts of clefts is the focus of §5, and some concluding thoughts are given in §6.

2. THE STRUCTURE OF UZBEK: PRELIMINARIES. Uzbek is an SXOV, WH-in-situ language spoken primarily in the Central Asian republic of Uzbekistan, formerly part of the

Soviet Union.³ The language is understudied: with the exception of a few descriptive grammars (Sjoberg 1963, Bodrogligeti 2003), very little work on Uzbek exists in English, and almost no research has taken place within the generative tradition.

Unless otherwise noted, the judgments reported in this article came from the author's fieldwork (recorded in fieldnotes) with a total of eighteen speakers, all of them thanked in the acknowledgments. Fieldwork was performed in Northern California during 2009–2011, and in Moscow, Tashkent, and Bukhara in August–September of 2011. Two factors contribute to difficulties in obtaining reliable Uzbek judgments. First, there are very few monolingual speakers of Uzbek: the vast majority of speakers are at a minimum bilingual, with Tajik, another Turkic language, or Russian (or all three) as their other language(s). In younger populations or in the case of speakers living abroad, it is likely that they are also fluent in English or another majority language. Second, the language has undergone, and continues to undergo, significant changes since Uzbekistan became an independent republic in 1991. The speakers consulted in this study were all people whose first and stronger language is Uzbek. Still, the influence of the above-mentioned factors should not be ignored: this study attempts to be maximally honest about any disagreements among consultants.

2.1. AGREEMENT. For the purposes of the discussion presented in this article, it is useful to distinguish between four classes of agreement suffixes, as summarized in Table 2: finite, possessive, pronominal, and converbial classes.⁴

	FIN		POSS		PRON		CONV	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	-m	-k	-(i)m	-(i)miz	-man	-miz	-man	-miz
2 (formal)	-ngiz	-ngiz	-(i)ngiz	-(i)ngiz	-siz	-siz(lar)	-siz	-siz(lar)
2 (informal)	-ng	-ngiz	-(i)ng	-(i)ngiz	-san	-siz(lar)	-san	-siz(lar)
3	∅	∅, -lar	-(s)i	-(s)i, -lari	∅	∅, -lar	-di	-di(lar)

TABLE 2. Finite, possessive, pronominal, and converbial suffixes in Uzbek.

The FINITE class of suffixes is used only for finite and purely verbal elements, for example in conditional and simple past environments (Straughn 2011), as in Table 3.

FINITE	SG		PL	
1	qil-di-m	'I did'	qil-di-k	'we did'
2 (formal)	qil-di-ngiz	'you did'	qil-di-ngiz	'you did'
2 (informal)	qil-di-ng	'you did'	qil-di-ngiz	'you did'
3	qil-di-∅	'he/she did'	qil-di-∅, qil-di-lar	'they did'

TABLE 3. The Uzbek verb *qilmoq* 'to do' in the simple past.

The POSSESSIVE class is similar, but not entirely identical, to the finite class; see Table 4. It is in complementary distribution with the finite class: possessive suffixes appear only in the nominal and nonfinite verbal domain, for example, in possessive agreement and nominalized embedded clauses (see §2.3).

³ The total speaker population is approximately 18.8 million, and about 16.5 million of those speakers reside within Uzbekistan's borders. Uzbek incorporates aspects of Russian, Arabic, Farsi, and Tajik grammars and lexicons.

⁴ This differs from the traditional classification, which groups the possessive and the finite forms together as possessive (Kononov 1960, Straughn 2011) because they are morphologically similar. Here I make a distinction between them based on the fact that the finite and possessive classes serve truly different functions and appear in different environments. Otherwise, the terminology used here is drawn from Straughn 2011.

POSSESSIVE	SG		PL	
1	kitob-im	'my book'	kitob-imiz	'our book'
2 (formal)	kitob-ingiz	'your book'	kitob-ingiz	'your book'
2 (informal)	kitob-ing	'your book'	kitob-ingiz	'your book'
3	kitob-i	'his/her book'	kitob-lari	'their book'

TABLE 4. Uzbek possessive agreement for *kitob* 'book'.

The PRONOMINAL paradigm, so called because of its morphological resemblance to the Uzbek pronouns, appears on nonverbal predicates (Straughn 2011): nouns, pronouns, adjectives, existentials, and deontics (see Table 5).

PRONOMINAL	SG		PL	
1	talaba-man	'I am a student'	talaba-miz	'We are students'
2 (formal)	talaba-siz	'You're a student'	talaba-siz(lar)	'You are students'
2 (informal)	talaba-san	'You're a student'	talaba-siz(lar)	'You are students'
3	talaba	'He/she is a student'	talaba(-lar)	'They are students'

TABLE 5. Uzbek pronominal agreement suffixes on a nonverbal predicate, *talaba* 'student'.

Finally, the CONVERBIAL class is nearly identical to the pronominal class, with the exception of third-person inflection. Among other uses, this class appears in the imperfective present/near future tense (-*a/-y*) (Table 6).

CONVERBIAL	SG		PL	
1	qil-a-man	'I do'	qil-a-miz	'we do'
2 (formal)	qil-a-siz	'you do'	qil-a-siz(lar)	'you do'
2 (informal)	qil-a-san	'you do'	qil-a-siz(lar)	'you do'
3	qil-a-di	'he/she does'	qil-a-di(lar)	'they do'

TABLE 6. The Uzbek verb *qilmoq* 'to do' in the present tense.

For the purposes of this article, the finite, pronominal, and converbial suffixes are glossed with person and number features. The possessive suffixes are found in the types of nominalized clauses we are interested in, but are easy to mistake for the finite suffixes; for this reason, they are glossed differently, for example, 2SG.POSS for a second-person singular possessive suffix.

Agreement on verbal predicates in canonical clauses is always controlled by the subject. In 9, the bolded agreement is the only licensed combination of person and number features.

- (9) a. Men bu kitob o'qi-di-**m**.
 I this book read-PST-**1SG**
 'I read this book.'
- b. Siz bu kitob o'qi-y-**siz**.
 you this book read-PRS-**2SG**
 'You read this book.'
- c. Biz bu kitob o'qi-gan-di-**k**.
 we this book read-PRF-PST-**1PL**
 'We had read this book.'

Agreement in copular clauses is crucially different from the above pattern: it is controlled by the features of the most 'accessible' DP in the clause, regardless of structural position. 'Accessibility' is a descriptive term, and is measurable along a scale that refers to two factors: whether a DP is case marked, and its person features. Case-marked DPs are low on the accessibility scale and will not control agreement on the copula if there is a bare DP in the same clause.

- (10) a. [_{DP₁} Siz] [_{DP₂} Toshkent-dan] e-di-ngiz. (*e-di)
 you Tashkent-ABL COP-PST-2SG (*COP-PST.3SG)
 ‘You were from Tashkent.’
 b. [_{DP₁} Toshkent-dan] [_{DP₂} siz] e-di-ngiz. (*e-di)
 Tashkent-ABL you COP-PST-2SG (*COP-PST.3SG)
 ‘You were from Tashkent.’

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

- (11) a. [_{DP₁} Men] [_{DP₂} o’sha o’qituvchi] e-di-m. (*e-di)
 I that teacher COP-PST-1SG (*COP-PST.3SG)
 ‘I was that teacher.’
 b. [_{DP₁} O’sha o’qituvchi] [_{DP₂} men] e-di-m. (*e-di)
 that teacher I COP-PST-1SG (*COP-PST.3SG)
 ‘That teacher was me.’

Agreement with DP₂ in copular clauses is observed robustly across languages (e.g. Italian, Hungarian, German, and others; see Heycock 2012 for a summary). A common way to understand these patterns arises from inversion analyses of copular clauses (Moro 1997, Mikkelsen 2004, 2005, den Dikken 2006, inter alia): the copula takes a small clause complement that consists of the subject and predicate of the copular clause. As schematized in Heycock 2012, either one of these may raise to subject position, yielding one of two possibilities; 12b would result in the copula reflecting the features of DP₂.

- (12) a. Subject *be* [_{SC} Subject Predicate]
 b. Predicate *be* [_{SC} Subject Predicate]

2.2. WH-POSITIONS. Like the other Turkic languages, Uzbek is considered a WH-in-situ language: the traditional position for WH-phrases is the same as for content phrases.

- (13) a. Umida universitet-da O’zbek til-ni o’qi-y-di.
 Umida university-LOC Uzbek language-ACC learn-PRS-3SG
 ‘Umida learns Uzbek at the university.’
 b. Kim universitet-da O’zbek til-ni o’qi-y-di?
 who
 ‘Who learns Uzbek at the university?’
 c. Umida qayer-da O’zbek til-ni o’qi-y-di?
 where-LOC
 ‘Where does Umida learn Uzbek?’
 d. Umida universitet-da qaysi til-ni o’qi-y-di?
 which language-ACC
 ‘Which language does Umida learn at the university?’

Traditionally, WH-phrases are not found at the clause edge, unless by coincidence (e.g. they happen to be grammatical subjects) or as the result of discourse scrambling (14).

- (14) Nima-ni, siz ko’r-di-ngiz?
 what-ACC you saw-PST-2SG
 ‘What did you see?’

Focused constituents are always placed immediately preverbally, and never at the clause edge.

- (15) Ravshan-ni kecha Zamira ko’r-di.
 Ravshan-ACC yesterday Zamira saw-PST.3SG
 ‘It was Zamira who saw Ravshan yesterday.’

This is true even of subjects, which cannot get a focused interpretation in their canonical clause-initial position.

- (16) Zamira Ravshan-ni kecha ko'r-di.
 Zamira Ravshan-ACC yesterday saw-PST.3SG
 'It was yesterday that Zamira saw Ravshan.'
 *'It was Zamira who saw Ravshan yesterday.'

WH-extraction from embedded clauses is illicit, further supporting the idea that Uzbek is not a language in which WH-movement is applicable.

- (17) a. (Men) (siz) Hasan kim-ga-dir pul ber-di deb
 (I.NOM) (you.NOM) Hasan some-DAT-one money give-3SG.PST COMP
 eshit-di-ngiz deb o'yla-y-man.
 hear-PST-2SG COMP think-PRS-1SG
 'I think that you heard that Hasan gave someone money.'
 b. *Kim-ga (siz) Hasan pul ber-di deb eshit-di-ngiz
 who-DAT (you.NOM) Hasan money gave.3SG.PST COMP hear-PST-2SG
 deb o'yla-y-siz?
 COMP think-PRS-2SG
 'Who do you think that you heard that Hasan gave money to?'

In sum, although Uzbek sometimes allows movement of a WH-phrase to the left periphery for discourse reasons (14), it still behaves in every respect like a language that does not make use of the formal operation of WH-movement (i.e. movement of WH-phrases to the specifier of CP).

2.3. EMBEDDED CLAUSES. Much of the evidence presented in this article appears in the context of nominalized embedded clauses. The embedding environment provides additional clues as to the structure of the embedded components, helping to propel the investigation forward. The most simple embedding strategy involves the head-final complementizer *deb*, which embeds a full clause.

- (18) Hasan bozor-dan ket-di deb eshit-di-m.
 Hasan bazar-ABL go-PST.3SG COMP hear-PST-1SG
 'I heard that Hasan left the bazar.'

An alternative embedding strategy used most often in this article is analogous to English POSS-ing constructions, in which a nominal outer shell embeds a verbal constituent. The embedding verb takes a (frequently case-marked) nominal complement, and the internal structure of that nominal complement contains a predicate and its internal and external arguments (19).

- (19) Men(-ing) Hasan-ga pul ber-gan(-lig)-im-ni
 I(-GEN) Hasan-DAT money give-PST.PTCP(-COMP)-1SG.POSS-ACC
 bil-a-siz-mi?
 know-PRS-2SG-Q
 'Do you know that I gave money to Hasan?'
 (lit. 'Did you know (of) my giving Hasan money?')

The embedded clause contains an optional complementizer (*-lig-*)⁵ and a subject-predicate structure that is nominalized with the help of a suffix (*-gan-*)⁶ that is, among other things, used to form participles. This entire embedded structure is case marked—below, accusative—in accordance with the requirements of the matrix verb.

⁵ *-lig-* surfaces as [lig] or [lik], due to a consonant assimilation process.

⁶ *-gan-* surfaces as [gan], [qan], or [kan], due to a consonant assimilation process.

- (20) [-gan (-lig)] ni bil-a-siz-mi?
 [-PST.PTCP (-COMP)] ACC know-PRS-2SG-Q

Inside nominalized clauses, subjects may optionally bear genitive case,⁷ and subject agreement is always realized obligatorily as a suffix drawn from the possessive suffix class (21).

- (21) [Men(-ing) -gan (-lig) -im]-ni bil-a-siz-mi?
 [I(-GEN) -PST.PTCP(-COMP)-1SG.POSS]-ACC know-PRS-2SG-Q

The genitive-possessive marking seen here is used most commonly in possessive constructions, nominalized clauses, and certain types of relative clauses. Genitive marking in those constructions is routinely optional: reduction to the ‘bare’ or nominative form (one and the same) is always possible. The putative complementizer *-lig-* is also routinely optional in embeddings; I generally include it in examples where it is permitted.⁸ The possessive agreement is particularly important, because it is NEVER omitted in the putative sluicing constructions under investigation in §3, and therefore can provide us with a clue as to the identity of the absent trigger of agreement in SLCs in the nominalized clause environment.

Consistent with other Turkic languages (Kelepir 2007), a limited subset of root verbal morphology is permitted under Uzbek nominalized embedding (Table 7 contains a partial list).

PERMITTED UNDER EMBEDDING	PROHIBITED UNDER EMBEDDING
negation (<i>-ma-</i>)	simple past (<i>-di-</i>)
participial (<i>-gan-</i>)	present progressive (<i>-yap-</i>)
future perfect (<i>-ajak-</i>)	pluperfect (<i>-gan ed-</i>)
verbal nouns (<i>-ish</i>)	
future possibility (<i>-moqchi</i>)	

TABLE 7. Verbal morphology in Uzbek nominalized embedding.

By contrast, clauses embedded with *deb* (18) may host all of the above-listed morphology. The limitation on verbal material inside the nominalized domain suggests one of two structural possibilities. One option is that the embedded clause is smaller than a full CP clause, as has been concluded for Japanese by Miyagawa (2008, 2011). In this case, *-lig-* might be understood as a nominalizer that embeds VP or AspP. Alternatively, we might think of the embedded constituent as a CP with *-lig-* as its optional complementizer; this is the conclusion drawn by Asarina and Hartman (2014) for Uyghur, a closely related language. On the latter approach, something special must be said about why the embedded domain prohibits the appearance of the full range of clausal and verbal morphology. The overall analysis presented in this article does not depend on which analytical perspective is chosen; the main arguments will go through in either case. For concreteness, I take *-gan-* to be a participial morpheme and *-lig-* to be a complementizer.

The suffix *-gan-* has many uses, and occurs in several environments throughout Uzbek. When attached to verbal roots in main clauses, it is interpreted as perfect; in such cases I gloss it accordingly (22).

- (22) Men yoz-gan-man.
 I write-PRF-1SG
 ‘I have written.’

⁷ Genitive case is almost always optional and is often pronounced as [ni] rather than [niŋ].

⁸ To avoid additional visual confusion in the examples, I do not always mark this optionality throughout the article; but when the genitive marking (*-ning*) or complementizer (*-lig-*) appear, readers are asked to recall that they are, in fact, optional.

In embedded clauses *-gan-* functions as a participle, serving a nominalizing function. It has three variants: *-gan-* (past), *-yotgan-* (past progressive), and *-digan-* (present-future), though most of the examples in this article use just *-gan-*. I gloss all of the *-gan-* forms in embedded environments as participial (PTCP). These forms appear obligatorily not just in the nominalized clauses of interest here, but also in relative and other participial clauses.

3. ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF AN RCC ANALYSIS FOR UZBEK SLCS. According to accounts of sluicing like Merchant's (2001), when we encounter an SLC in a language with no robust movement of WH-phrases to a clause periphery, we should be able to (i) identify that its behavior is distinct from genuine sluicing, (ii) attribute its behavior to an underlying structure that involves no WH-movement or other movement of a remnant out of an elided constituent, and (iii) explain the omission of certain elements by means other than constituent ellipsis. An analysis associated with all three properties involves either a reduced copular clause or a reduced cleft (for ease of reference, I use the blanket abbreviation RCC), modeled abstractly for an SOV language like Uzbek in 23 and 24.

(23) SUBJECT WH COPULA

Approximate English equivalent: I don't know ... [who he was]

(24) Ø/EXPL WH COPULA CLEFT CLAUSE

Approximate English equivalent: I don't know ... [who it was that I saw]

In cases like 23 and 24, everything but the WH-phrase must be omitted by means that are independently plausible for the language under discussion. I have demonstrated that Uzbek falls into the category of WH-in-situ languages; we expect, given a Merchant (2001) approach, that genuine sluicing should generally not be possible in such languages. There are, however, certain properties of structures like 1 that complicate the picture. Ross (1969) observed that sluicing involves case connectivity: the remnant WH-phrase bears the case marking that it would bear in the corresponding nonelliptical WH-question. The empirical claim is that, by contrast, the WH-pivot in clefts generally appears in whatever is the default case for a given language (Merchant 2001, Lasnik 2007, van Craenenbroeck 2010). For instance, Merchant (2001) demonstrates that Greek genuine sluicing requires case connectivity, while a copular clause would require a nominative pivot.

Given this reasoning, a naive interpretation of the Uzbek example in 1 and the examples below would be that genuine sluicing is apparently an option, since case marking on the WH-remnant (or the presence of a postposition) is an option: while these examples may involve a nominative or unmarked remnant, they may all also exhibit case connectivity on the remnant. Both options are fully acceptable, with the exception of the accusative-marked WH-remnant in 26, which some but not all speakers accept. Later sections demonstrate that these options arise from different structures and account for the special status of cases like 26.

(25) Siz kim-ga-dir pul ber-a-siz, lekin

you some-DAT-one money give-PRS-2SG but

kim(-ga)-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.

who(-DAT)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG

'You give money to someone, but I don't know who.'

(26) Farhod kim-ni-dir ko'r-di, lekin kim(-ni)-lig-i-ni

Farhod some-ACC-one see-PST.3SG but who(-ACC)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC

bil-ma-y-man.

know-NEG-PRS-1SG

'Farhod saw someone, but I don't know who.'

- (27) Farhod bir kishi bilan har kuni gaplash-a-di, lekin kim
 Farhod one person with every day talk-PRS-3SG but who
 (bilan)-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.
 (with)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG
 ‘Farhod talks to someone every day, but I don’t know with who.’
- (28) Siz kim-dan-dir pul ol-a-siz, lekin
 you some-ABL-one money take-PRS-2SG but
 kim(-dan)-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.
 who(-ABL)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG
 ‘You take money from someone, but I don’t know from who.’

That case connectivity appears on the WH-remnant is what led Ince (2006) to reason that genuine sluicing obtains in Turkish, a related WH-in-situ language with a pattern similar to 28. A similar line of reasoning can be found for certain instances of analogous constructions in Japanese, though the facts for Japanese case-marked WH-pivots in clefts (and in the corresponding SLCs) are complex (Merchant 1998, Iseda 2007). The claim defended here is that case marking on the WH-element is NOT specific to sluicing, at least not for Uzbek. While some Uzbek copular constructions pattern with Greek in requiring that the pivot be nominative, there are exceptions: at least two of the types of copular clauses explored here exhibit case connectivity on their pivots, and it is demonstrated in §4 that they are the sources of the case connectivity in the above examples. I next present several arguments in favor of an RCC analysis of examples like those in 25–28, revealing in some cases explicit evidence against a genuine sluicing analysis.

3.1. NON-WH-REMNANTS. The first argument for an RCC analysis comes from the observation that the remnant of the ‘omission’ process, whatever it may turn out to be, does not necessarily need to be a WH-phrase; content phrases are just as acceptable in the same configurations.⁹

- (29) A: Farhod kim-dir bilan gaplash-di.
 Farhod some-one with talk-PST.3SG
 ‘Farhod talked to someone.’
 B: Hasan (bilan)-lig-i-ni bil-a-man.
 Hasan (with)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-PRS-1SG
 ‘I know that (it’s) (with) Hasan.’
- (30) A: Farhod kim-ga-dir pul ber-di.
 Farhod some-DAT-one money give-PST.3SG
 ‘Farhod gave someone money.’
 B: Hasan(-ga)-lig-i-ni bil-a-man.
 Hasan(-DAT)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-PRS-1SG
 ‘I know that (it was) (to) Hasan.’

If this is an elision process of some kind, it is not the kind that depends crucially on there being a WH-phrase remnant. It may seem plausible to hypothesize that 29–30 instantiate stripping, which is a local operation that leaves behind just one content phrase under conjunction. Stripping is prohibited inside embedded clauses, unless the antecedent is also embedded (Hankamer 1971).

- (31) a. Hasan gave money to Farhod, and Zamira too.
 b. *Hasan gave money to Farhod, and I think that Zamira too.

⁹ The English translations below and throughout this section presuppose a particular analysis of these constructions, which is the analysis I pursue in §4.

Since we have already seen numerous instances of the relevant operation under embedding in Uzbek, we can conclude that stripping is not likely to be at play.

A second plausible analysis of grammatical non-WH-remnants is that they represent instances of focus movement of some XP to a left-peripheral position, followed by IP deletion, as Grebenyova (2006), van Craenenbroeck and Lipták (2006), and Hoyt and Teodorescu (2012) have demonstrated takes place for Hungarian, Russian, and Romanian, respectively. As was discussed in §2.2, the focus position in Uzbek is preverbal, not left-peripheral, so a focus-movement analysis is unlikely to fit. A more suitable hypothesis might be one in which IP ellipsis occurs in concert with the scrambling of some XP to the left edge of the clause. But when viewed against the backdrop of the other five arguments presented in this section, it becomes difficult to maintain that left-edge scrambling and IP deletion are taking place in such examples.

3.2. DEEP AND SURFACE ANAPHORA. The classic observation in Hankamer & Sag 1976 is that surface anaphora (i.e. ellipsis) requires a linguistic antecedent, whereas deep anaphora is pragmatically controlled and is licensed with a pragmatic, situational context.¹⁰

(32) a. DEEP ANAPHORA

[Hankamer attempts to stuff a nine-inch ball through a six-inch hoop.]

Sag: I'm not sure you'll be able to do it.

Sag: #It's not clear that you'll be able to.

b. SURFACE ANAPHORA

Hankamer: I'm going to stuff this ball through this hoop.

Sag: It's not clear that you'll be able to.

The Uzbek examples in question can be uttered with no linguistic antecedent, which makes them unlike genuine ellipsis.

(33) a. [showing someone a mysterious object:]

Nima-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.

what-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG

'I don't know what (that is).'

b. [showing someone a present:]

Kim(-ga)-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.

who(-DAT)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG

'I don't know who that's for.'

(lit. 'I don't know to who (that is).')

The sufficiency of a situational antecedent in licensing examples of the SLC suggests that such examples do not pattern with genuine sluicing and that we need not invoke genuine sluicing as a source for Uzbek SLCs.

3.3. SUBJECTS AND COPULAS. Both constructions (with case/postposition connectivity, and without) can appear with elements that suggest a copular source. The data presented here provide the first indication that these two options are structurally distinct.

In both structures, a copula (-e-) can optionally appear in the embedded clause, as long as it has an appropriate host; in the case below, the host is the ending *-kan-*, which I gloss here as KAN for reasons to be discussed in §4.1.

¹⁰ This generalization has been challenged by, among others, Schachter (1977), and the question of its accuracy continues to be the topic of some debate (see Pullum 2000, Merchant 2004). Given that this is one of numerous diagnostics, and given that its results pattern with the results of other diagnostics checked here, I take it as supporting evidence against a genuine sluicing account of the Uzbek SLC, even if it may not constitute entirely conclusive evidence when considered in isolation.

- (34) Siz kim-ga-dir pul ber-a-siz, lekin kim(-ga)
 you some-DAT-one money give-PRS-2SG but who(-DAT)
 (e-kan)-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.
 (COP-KAN)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG
 ‘You give money to someone, but I don’t know (to) who.’

The presence of a copula indicates that the underlying source of the structure in the embedded clause is copular. Consequently, we expect the WH-remnant to be a pivot of a copular clause, and the grammatical subject to be optionally pronounced. Here, the examples with case/postposition connectivity and those without it split in their empirical properties: the cases without connectivity can always occur with a pronounced pronominal subject in the embedded clause (35a). This is not true for the constructions with case/postposition connectivity: in certain instances (35b), the WH-remnant CANNOT be accompanied by an overt subject in the embedded clause.

- (35) U-lar kim-dir bilan gaplash-a-di-lar, lekin ...
 3SG-PL some-one with talk-PRS-3-PL but
 ‘They speak to someone, but ...’
- a. (u-ning) kim (e-kan)-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.
 (3SG-GEN) who (COP-KAN)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG
 ‘I don’t know who ((s)he is).’
- b. (*u-ning) kim bilan (e-kan)-lig-i-ni
 (*3SG-GEN) who with (COP-KAN)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC
 bil-ma-y-man.
 know-NEG-PRS-1SG
 ‘I don’t know who (it is) with.’

Thus, while the appearance of a copula suggests a copular source for both types, these structures are clearly not one and the same, since only one (that without connectivity) consistently permits the realization of an overt subject in the embedded clause.

3.4. POSSESSIVE AGREEMENT. Recall that in regular embedded clauses, agreement is reflected in the possessive marker that immediately follows the complementizer *-lig-*. This morphology survives whatever process of omission it is that results in constructions like 35 above. Thus, the possessive marking provides crucial information about the unpronounced embedded subject, and about the structure of the omitted material. The evidence presented in this section supports the idea that the two types of embedded WH-remnant are not identical structurally. It also supports the idea that genuine sluicing is not at work here, since the agreement patterns we find are not consistent with that analysis.

In the cases without connectivity on the pivot, the possessive marking always reflects the person and number features of the optionally pronounced subject of the embedded copular clause.¹¹

¹¹ If the source of such examples is indeed a copular clause, the reader should expect that the more accessible DP in the embedded clause should control possessive agreement. This is obscured here, because the posited subjects of the relevant copular embedded clauses are more accessible than the pivot (*kim* ‘who’), which is third person. The more general argument goes through in any case, since if a genuine sluicing analysis were to be implementable for examples 36–39, the unpronounced subject of the embedded clause would be identical to that of the noncopular clause in the antecedent. This subject would also be more accessible than *kim* ‘who’, and thus we would expect that subject to control possessive agreement—but, as these examples demonstrate, it never does.

- (36) Men-ga pul ber-a-siz, lekin (**men-ning**) kim
 I-DAT money give-PRS-2SG but (**I-GEN**) who
 (e-kan)-lig-**im-ni** bil-ma-y-siz.
 (COP-KAN)-COMP-**1SG.POSS-ACC** know-NEG-PRS-2SG
 ‘You give me money, but you don’t know who (I am).’
- (37) U-lar siz-ga pul ber-ar-lar, lekin (**siz-ning**) kim
 3-PL you-DAT money give-HAB-PL but (**you-GEN**) who
 (e-kan)-lig-**ingiz-ni** bil-ma-y-di-lar.
 (COP-KAN)-COMP-**2SG.POSS-ACC** know-NEG-PRS-3-PL
 ‘They give money to you, but they don’t know who (you are).’
- (38) Biz siz-dan pul ol-di-k, lekin (**biz-ning**) kim
 we you-ABL money receive-PST-1PL but (**we-GEN**) who
 (e-kan)-lig-**imiz-ni** bil-ma-y-siz.
 (COP-KAN)-COMP-**1PL.POSS-ACC** know-NEG-PRS-2SG
 ‘We took money from you, but you don’t know who (we are).’

As a referee points out, the antecedent in such examples contains no indefinite; this may bias speakers toward an RCC analysis, if it is actually the case that both RCC and genuine sluicing analyses are obtainable in Uzbek. We can make the argument stronger by putting an indefinite into the antecedent: under these conditions, a genuine sluicing analysis would be more likely to emerge, if it is possible. But notice that the only possible agreement pattern that emerges in cases like 39 is the one associated with the RCC.

- (39) a. Kim-ni-dir ko’r-di-ngiz, lekin (**u-ning**) kim-lig-i-ni
 some-ACC-one see-PST-2SG but (**3SG-GEN**) who-COMP-**3SG.POSS-ACC**
 bil-ma-y-man.
 know-NEG-PRS-1SG
 ‘You saw someone, but I don’t know who (it is).’
- b. *Kim-ni-dir ko’r-di-ngiz, lekin kim-lig-**ingiz-ni**
 some-ACC-one see-PST-2SG but who-COMP-**2SG.POSS-ACC**
 bil-ma-y-man.
 know-NEG-PRS-1SG

The possessive agreement in 39b was manipulated to reflect a second-person singular subject; this would be accurate if the underlying source of the SLC were a full clause identical to the antecedent clause, per genuine sluicing. The ungrammaticality of 39b strongly indicates that the structure of the embedded clause of 39 is not a full clause identical to the antecedent, but rather a copular clause.

By contrast with 36–39, the examples with case/postposition connectivity invariably involve third-person singular possessive agreement, no matter what the putative subject might reasonably have been. No other possessive agreement is acceptable.

- (40) Kim-ga-dir pul ber-a-man, lekin ...
 some-DAT-one money give-PRS-1SG but
 ‘I give someone money, but ...’
 kim-ga-lig-**i-ni** / *kim-ga-lig-**im-ni**
 who-DAT-COMP-**3SG.POSS-ACC**/ who-DAT-COMP-1SG.POSS-ACC
 / *kim-ga-lig-**ingiz-ni** bil-ma-y-siz.
 / who-DAT-COMP-2SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-2SG
 ‘I don’t know to who (it is).’
- (41) U-lar kim-ga-dir pul ber-ar-lar, lekin ...
 3-PL some-DAT-one money give-HAB-PL but
 ‘They were giving money to someone, but ...’

(*u-lar-ning/ *siz-ning) kim-ga (e-kan)-lig-i-ni
 (*3-PL-GEN/ *you-GEN) who-DAT (COP-KAN)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC
 (*lar-i / *ingiz) bil-ma-y-di-lar.
 (*PL-3.POSS/ *2SG.POSS) know-NEG-PRS-3-PL
 ‘They didn’t know to who (it is).’

- (42) a. Siz kim-ga-dir pul ber-a-siz, lekin
 you some-DAT-one money give-PRS-2SG but
 kim-ga-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.
 who-DAT-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG
 ‘You give money to someone, but I don’t know to whom (it is).’
 b. *Siz kim-ga-dir pul ber-a-siz, lekin
 you some-DAT-one money give-PRS-2SG but
 kim-ga-lig-**ingiz**-ni bil-ma-y-man.
 who-DAT-COMP-2SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG

Three conclusions can be drawn from this evidence. First, a genuine sluicing analysis is not consistent with either of these agreement patterns: it would predict that the possessive agreement should reflect the features of a subject that is identical to the subject of the antecedent of the putatively elided constituent, but this is not what we find. In cases without connectivity like 39, a genuine sluicing analysis predicts the possessive agreement features to be second-person singular, reflecting the subject of the antecedent; instead we find third-person singular agreement, consistent with an RCC analysis. Similarly, in cases with case/postposition connectivity like 42, the genuine sluicing analysis again predicts the possessive agreement features to be second-person singular, reflecting the subject of the antecedent; instead we find third-person singular agreement. Second, the two types of embedded subject agreement patterns are different from one another, suggesting that two different structures are at play in the two cases. This investigative strategy has not, to my knowledge, been implemented before for investigations of SLCs, but it seems plausibly extensible, modulo language-specific factors, to any language that marks its nominalized clauses with agreement morphology. This list is quite significant and includes not only most Turkic languages, but also languages like Hungarian (Szabolcsi 1994), Chamorro (Chung 1998), Quechua (Cole & Hermon 2011), and Hebrew (Engelhardt 2010).

3.5. SPEAKER VARIABILITY IN CLEFTS. It has already been mentioned that accusative case marking on remnants in the SLC (e.g. 43) is acceptable only to some speakers (thus the diamond notation next to such examples).

- (43) a. ◊Farhod kim-ni-dir ko’r-di, lekin kim-ni
 Farhod some-ACC-one see-PST.3SG but who-ACC
 (e-kan)-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.
 (COP-KAN)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG
 ‘Farhod saw someone, but I don’t know who (it is).’
 b. A: Farhod kim-ni-dir ko’r-di.
 Farhod some-ACC-one see-PST.3SG
 ‘Farhod saw someone.’
 ◊B: Siz-ni (e-kan)-lig-i-ni bil-a-man.
 you-ACC (COP-KAN)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-PRS-1SG
 ‘I know that (it is) you.’

Of the speakers with whom I consulted, a majority (80%) of them deemed such examples ungrammatical, and all speakers (those that found them acceptable and those that did not) were consistent in their judgments.

A genuine sluicing account has no way of explaining this variability in judgments, unless the speakers who cannot accept examples like 43 also do not accept leftward movement (or scrambling) of accusative-marked arguments. However, leftward scrambling of accusative-marked arguments (44) is uncontroversially fully acceptable for every speaker I have consulted, including those that deem 43 ungrammatical.

- (44) a. Nima-ni, siz ko'r-di-ngiz?
 what-ACC you saw-PST-2SG
 'What did you see?'
 b. Kitob-ni, men ko'r-di-m.
 book-ACC I saw-PST-1SG
 'The book, I saw.'
 c. Kitob-ni, men ko'r-di-m deb o'yla-y-man.
 book-ACC I see-PST-1SG COMP think-PRS-1SG
 'The book, I think I saw.'

In later sections, I defend the hypothesis that examples like 43 have as their source a truncated cleft, a full version of which is provided in 45.

- (45) a. \diamond Siz-ni e-di, men ko'r-gan-im.
 you-ACC COP-PST.3SG I see-PST.PTCP-1SG.POSS
 'It was you that I saw.'
 b. \diamond Siz-ni e-kan, men ko'r-gan-im.
 you-ACC COP-KAN I see-PST.PTCP-1SG.POSS
 'It was (apparently) you that I saw.'

I leave discussion of the properties of such clefts for §5. The important point for our present discussion is that such examples ALSO yield exactly the same kind of disagreement among speakers. That is, if a speaker does not accept a cleft with an accusative pivot, that same speaker does not accept the SLC with an accusative-marked remnant.¹²

There is not enough evidence to tell what factors dictate whether a speaker will accept the cleft with an accusative-marked pivot (and its reduced counterpart). Though there is a 'standard' Uzbek spoken in Uzbekistan and taught in Uzbek schools, there is also a significant amount of regional variation among speakers, certainly in their phonetics and phonology, and perhaps also in their syntax. What is clear is that the speakers who accept examples like 45 have robust judgments about them, reacting categorically to various manipulations of their components. These speakers also typically note that such constructions are 'literary' in style, suggesting that they are falling out of use. A wide-scale study is needed to assess what is giving rise to this split.

Crucially, this variation among speakers allows us to link the cleft construction directly to the SLC with case/postposition connectivity effects, at least in the case of accusative-marked remnants. A reduced-cleft analysis of such examples is supported by the fact that those speakers that accept clefts with accusative-marked pivots also accept the SLC with accusative remnants; a genuine sluicing analysis cannot provide an explanation for this pattern. More generally, a genuine sluicing analysis cannot explain why such a significant proportion of people do not accept accusative remnants while accepting other case-marked remnants.

¹² This is a prediction of an account that relies on clefts as the underlying source for the structures under investigation, and as far as I know, it is borne out. Fourteen speakers did not accept 45, and they also did not accept 43. The rest of the speakers I consulted on this point (four of them) accepted examples like 45 and 43; no speakers accepted one construction but not the other. Generally, this pattern is not a surprising one: a similar pattern can be found in Japanese clefts, where there is disagreement about the acceptability of case marking on pivots, in particular of structural case markers *-ga* and *-o* (Inoue 1976, Shimoyama 1995).

3.6. INTERIM SUMMARY. Taken together, the pieces of evidence presented here support three conclusions. First, constructions with and without connectivity exhibit different behavior, and will likely require distinct analyses. Second, neither of these constructions requires a genuine sluicing account: the examples that lack case connectivity can be straightforwardly related to copular clauses, and the examples that exhibit case connectivity can be straightforwardly related to copular clauses or reduced clefts. Third, there are characteristics associated with these SLCs that a genuine sluicing account would be hard-pressed to explain. The possessive agreement morphology found adjacent to *-lig-* does not reflect the features of what the subject would have to be if a genuine sluicing analysis were to obtain. Additionally, the variability among speakers in acceptability of the accusative-marked pivot in the SLC goes unexplained under a genuine sluicing analysis.¹³ In the following section I outline two distinct RCC analyses for the two constructions we have encountered in this section, referencing at the relevant points how those analyses account for the properties described here.

4. REDUCED COPULAR CLAUSES. In this section I demonstrate that there are two underlying sources for the constructions I have suggested are not instances of genuine

¹³ A final observation is that Uzbek exhibits patterns that resemble multiple sluicing (Takahashi 1994), in which more than one WH-remnant remains (see Merchant 2001 for numerous examples).

- (i) a. \diamond Kecha kim-dir kim-ni-dir ko'r-di, lekin kim,
yesterday some-one some.ACC-one saw-PST.3SG but who
kim-ni-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.
who-ACC-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG
'Yesterday someone saw someone, but I don't know who whom.'
- b. Kecha kim-dir kim-ga-dir pul ber-di, lekin kim,
yesterday some-one some-DAT-one money give-PST.3SG but who
kim-ga-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.
who-DAT-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG
'Yesterday someone gave money to someone, but I don't know who to whom.'

This is consistent with an RCC account, since it is possible to analyze these examples as instances of null coordination of two reduced-cleft or copular clauses. Like its Turkic neighbors, Uzbek regularly makes use of null coordination, although it does also have a conjunctive coordinator (*va*) borrowed from Arabic. That cases like (i) may be cases of null coordination becomes apparent when larger, more weighty conjuncts are coordinated. As soon as there is more material in each conjunct, a large pause (iia) or an overt coordinator (iib) becomes necessary; otherwise, the utterance is ungrammatical (iic).

- (ii) a. Kecha bir bola bir qiz-ga pul ber-di, lekin qaysi bola, qaysi
yesterday one boy one girl-DAT money give-PST.3SG but which boy which
qiz-ga-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.
girl-DAT-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG
'Yesterday some boy gave money to some girl, but I don't know which boy (it was) and which girl (it was).'
- b. Kecha bir bola bir qiz-ga pul ber-di, lekin qaysi bola va qaysi
yesterday one boy one girl-DAT money give-PST.3SG but which boy and which
qiz-ga-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.
girl-DAT-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG
'Yesterday some boy gave money to some girl, but I don't know which boy (it was) and which girl (it was).'
- c. *Kecha bir bola bir qiz-ga pul ber-di, lekin qaysi bola qaysi
yesterday one boy one girl-DAT money give-PST.3SG but which boy which
qiz-ga-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.
girl-DAT-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG

As a referee points out, however, these could also be instances of a coordinated multiple WH-structure, either with an overt or null coordinator. Since the data are inconclusive, I leave this question unresolved for the present.

sluicing. Both are types of copular clauses that involve reduction of a language-specific kind. The first is a predicational or equative copular clause with an optionally pronounced, individual-denoting subject, a pivot that cannot bear accusative case marking, and a copula that exhibits agreement with the most accessible DP. For a subset of more conservative speakers, this is probably the only available strategy. But there are reasons, which I outline in §4.3, to believe that there is also a second source for these constructions that involves a reduced cleft. This cleft puts restrictions on the subject, prohibiting its pronunciation; its pivot can be structurally case marked, and the copula never exhibits anything other than third-person singular default agreement. The cleft clause is never uttered inside the nominalized embedded clause, for reasons that are discussed in §5.2.

Before we get to the properties of each construction it is important to demonstrate that the copula and subject that we have seen in §3.3 may be omitted via independently attested processes of the language. Section 4.1 shows that the ‘reduction’ that leads to sluicing-like surface strings follows straightforwardly from properties of Uzbek subjects and copulas.¹⁴

4.1. REDUCTION. The subject and copula must be independently omissible in the relevant contexts if the hypothesis put forward here is to gain any traction. Uzbek is a *pro*-drop language, so the absence of subjects inside nominalized embedded clauses is no surprise. There is more to say about the status of copulas, however.

The Uzbek copula (-e-) is historically defective (Sjoberg 1963) and is not pronounced in the present tense in root clauses of the modern language (46).

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

When the copula is pronounced, it requires a host. This is the case in the simple past tense of root clauses, where the copula is pronounced obligatorily on nonverbal predicates (47) and optionally on verbal predicates as part of the pluperfect tense (48) (Kononov 1960).

- (47) a. Men-ga qovoq kerak e-di.
 I-DAT pumpkin needed COP-PST.3SG
 ‘I needed a pumpkin.’
 b. Men o'qituvchi e-di-m.
 I teacher COP-PST-1SG
 ‘I was a teacher.’

¹⁴ There is an alternative reduction strategy that has sometimes been invoked for clefts by van Craenenbroeck (2004), Rodrigues and colleagues (2009), and others: clefting in a WH-movement language would still yield a situation in which IP deletion could obtain. There are a few reasons why such an approach seems untenable for the data under discussion. First, if this strategy were to work in Uzbek, it would work only for clefting but not for plain copular clauses, in which the pivot is not left-peripheral. A unified explanation of how the reduction occurs would seem preferable. Second, I demonstrate in §5 that the relativized clause portion of the cleft is adjoined high enough in the structure that ellipsis at the IP level might not elide it.

- (48) a. Men yoz-gan e-di-m.
 I wrote-PRF COP-PST-1SG
 'I had written.'
 b. Men yoz-gan-di-m.
 I write-PRF-PST-1SG
 'I had written.'

The variants in 48 are interchangeable and can be found in both formal speech and writing (Kononov 1960).

In root clauses, when the copula *-e-* is suffixed with *-kan-*, the resulting interpretation is past tense and evidential (Straughn 2011).

- (49) Farhod bir kishi-ga pul ber-ar e-kan.
 Farhod a person-DAT money give-HAB COP-PRF
 'Farhod was (apparently) in the habit of giving some person money.'

Recall that most tense marking, including simple past, is not permitted inside nominalized domains. Correspondingly, forms like *e-di* (the simple past of *be*) are never attested in those environments. Instead, what we find are instances of the copula attached to the *-kan-* morpheme.

- (50) U-ning Hasan (e-kan)-lig-i-ni bil-a-siz-mi?
 3SG-GEN Hasan (COP-KAN)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-PRS-2SG-Q
 'Do you know that he is Hasan?'

E-kan in 50 is surface-similar to the *e-kan* that is found in evidential root clauses (49), but the embedded version of this triggers no evidential reading. It is tempting to think of the copula-adjacent *-kan-* as a version of *-gan-*, the participial morpheme that attaches to full verbs in embedded clauses (see §2.3). This is because participial *-gan-* undergoes voicing assimilation and can be realized as [kan] (51b).

- (51) a. men chiq-**qan** tog'-im
 I ascend-PST.PTCP mountain-1SG.POSS
 'the mountain I climbed'
 b. U-ning daraxt-lar ek-**kan**-lig-i-ni bil-a-man.
 3SG-GEN tree-PL plant-PST.PTCP-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-PRS-1SG
 'I know that he planted trees.'

However, there are several indications that KAN in 50 is not a variant of the participial morpheme. First, participial *-gan-* may come in other forms, namely the past progressive (*-yotgan-*) and the present-future (*-digan-*) (52); the *-kan-* of *e-kan* cannot (53b,c).

- (52) a. Men siz(-ning) Farhod-ga pul ber-ayotgan-lig-ingiz-ni
 I you(-GEN) Farhod-DAT money give-PROG.PTCP-COMP-2SG.POSS-ACC
 bil-a-man.
 know-PRS-1SG
 'I know that you were giving money to Farhod.'
 b. Men siz(-ning) Farhod-ga pul ber-adigan-lig-ingiz-ni
 I you(-GEN) Farhod-DAT money give-PRS.PTCP-COMP-2SG.POSS-ACC
 bil-a-man.
 know-PRS-1SG
 'I know that you give (/will give) money to Farhod.'
- (53) a. U(-ning) o'qituvchi e-kan-lig-i-ni bil-a-man.
 3SG(-GEN) teacher COP-KAN-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-PRS-1SG
 'I know that he is a teacher.'
 b. *U(-ning) o'qituvchi e-yot{k/g}an-lig-i-ni bil-a-man.
 3SG(-GEN) teacher COP-PROG.PTCP-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-PRS-1SG

- c. *U(-ning) o'qituvchi e-di {k/g}an-lig-i-ni bil-a-man.
 3SG(-GEN) teacher COP-PRS.PTCP-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-PRS-1SG

Unlike with *-{yot/di}gan-*, the copula-adjacent *-kan-* does not force any tense interpretation: the tense of the embedded clause always matches the matrix verb (54; cf. 52).

- (54) a. Siz(-ning) o'qituvchi e-kan-lig-ingiz-ni bil-ma-d-im.
 you(-GEN) teacher COP-KAN-COMP-2SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PST-1SG
 'I didn't know that you were a teacher.'
 b. Siz(-ning) o'qituvchi e-kan-lig-ingiz-ni bil-a-man.
 you(-GEN) teacher COP-KAN-COMP-2SG.POSS-ACC know-PRS-1SG
 'I know that you are a teacher.'

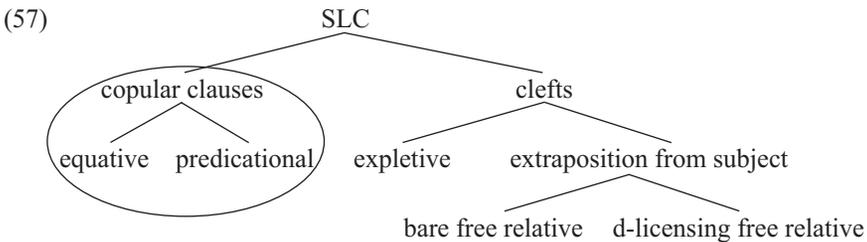
A second indicator that the copula-adjacent *-kan-* is not identical to the participial ending is that it does not behave as expected with respect to voicing of the initial consonant. True instances of *-gan-* voice the initial stop of the affix after a vowel-final root; in 55, the verb root is *so'ra-* 'ask'. The *-kan-* that appears after the copula always has a voiceless initial consonant (56).

- (55) U(-ning) Hasan-dan savol so'ra- {g/*k}an-lig-i-ni
 3SG(-GEN) Hasan-ABL question ask-PST.PTCP-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC
 bil-a-man.
 know-PRS-1SG
 'I know that he asked Hasan a question.'
 (56) U(-ning) o'qituvchi e- {k/*g}an-lig-i-ni bil-a-man.
 3SG(-GEN) teacher COP-KAN-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-PRS-1SG
 'I know that he is a teacher.'

I do not elaborate here on what the function of copula-adjacent *-kan-* is in nominalized clauses. For our purposes, all that is important is that it regularly goes missing along with the copula in such environments (e.g. 50 and many subsequent examples).

In total, the syntactic picture outlined here indicates that the availability of reduction in the SLC is purely epiphenomenal: no special process need be invoked. Such explanations are not available for languages that do not have independently attested strategies for eliminating the relevant material; this puts limits on how frequently, and for what kinds of languages, the RCC strategy can be invoked as an explanation for SLCs.

4.2. COPULAR CLAUSES. The least controversial source for the SLC, and one that is clearly productive, is a copular clause, either equative (in which the identity of an individual is established by matching with the pivot) or predicational (in which some property is predicated of an individual).



Examples of full copular clauses and their reduced equivalents are given below.

- (58) EMBEDDED EQUATIVE RCC
 a. Biz siz-dan pul ol-di-k, lekin (biz-ning) kim
 we you-ABL money receive-PST-1PL but (we-GEN) who
 (e-kan)-lig-imiz-ni bil-ma-y-siz.
 (COP-KAN)-COMP-1PL.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-2SG
 'We took money from you, but you don't know who (we are).'

- b. U-lar kim-dir bilan gaplash-a-di-lar, lekin (u-ning) kim
 3-PL some-one with talk-PRS-3-PL but (3SG-GEN) who
 (e-kan)-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-di-lar.
 (COP-KAN)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-3-PL
 ‘They speak to someone, but they don’t know who ((s)he is).’
- (59) ROOT EQUATIVE RCC
 (U) Farhod e-di.
 (3.SG) Farhod COP-PST.3SG
 ‘(He) was Farhod.’
- (60) EMBEDDED PREDICATIONAL RCC
 a. U-lar kim-ga-dir pul ber-ar-lar, lekin (u-ning) kim-ga
 3-PL some-DAT-one money give-HAB-PL but (3SG-GEN) who-DAT
 (e-kan)-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-di-lar.
 (COP-KAN)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-3-PL
 ‘They were giving money to someone, but they don’t know to who it
 (the money) is.’
 b. Siz yo’qolib ket-di-ngiz, va (siz-ning) qayer-da
 you disappear-PST-2SG and (you-GEN) where-LOC
 (e-kan)-lig-ingiz-ni bil-ma-y-man.
 (COP-KAN)-COMP-2SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG
 ‘You disappeared, and I don’t know where (you are).’
- (61) ROOT PREDICATIONAL RCC
 a. (Biz) o’qituvchi-lar e-di-k.
 (we) teacher-PL COP-PST-1PL
 ‘(We) were teachers.’
 b. Farhod xat yoz-di. (U) kim-ga e-di?
 Farhod letter write-PST.3SG (3SG) who-DAT COP-PST.3SG
 ‘Farhod wrote a letter. Who was (it) to?’

Differences between the equative and the predicational copular clauses are explored below. In both cases, the distinguishing characteristics of this overall class are as follows.

- (i) The subject can be overt.
- (ii) Agreement:
 - Under embedding, the most accessible DP controls possessive agreement.
 - In root clauses, the most accessible DP controls agreement on the verb.
- (iii) The pivot must be able to sensibly describe (by predication or by equation) the subject.
- (iv) The pivot must not bear structural accusative case.
 - In equative RCCs, the pivot is always nominative.
 - In predicational RCCs, the pivot may bear inherent case marking, but never accusative case marking.

SUBJECTS AND AGREEMENT. As initially noted in §2.1, both equative and predicational copular clauses exhibit an agreement pattern that differs from the pattern found in noncopular clauses (where there is always subject agreement). In the copular clauses under discussion, the most accessible DP controls agreement.

- (62) a. (Biz) o’qituvchi(-lar) e-di-k.
 (we) teacher(-PL) COP-PST-1PL
 ‘(We) were teachers.’ (root)

- b. (Biz-ning) o'qituvchi(-lar) e-kan-lig-imiz-ni bil-a-man.
 (we-GEN) teacher(-PL) COP-KAN-COMP-1PL.POSS-ACC know-PRS-1SG
 'I know that (we) are teachers.' (embedded)

Any inflection that does not match the features of the most accessible DP is unacceptable in such copular clauses.

- (63) a. *Biz o'qituvchi-lar e-di(-lar).
 we teacher-PL COP-PST.3SG(-PL)
 b. *Biz-ning o'qituvchi-lar e-kan-lig(-lar)-i-ni
 we-GEN teacher-PL COP-KAN-COMP(-PL)-3SG.POSS-ACC
 bil-a-man.
 know-PRS-1SG

In these clauses, although the subject is omissible, there is always a grammatical variant in which the subject is pronounced. This contrasts with certain patterns we see in later sections, in which an overt subject is actually prohibited. This is one of the major differences between the copular clause strategy described here and the truncated cleft strategy described in §4.3.

PIVOTS. In equative copular clauses, the category of the pivot is limited to nominative nominals (64a); in the predicational copular clauses, the category of the pivot is more variable and includes APs and case-marked nominals (64b,c,d).

- (64) Farhod kim-dir bilan gaplash-yap-ti, va ...
 Farhod some-one with talk-PROG-3SG and
 'Farhod is talking to someone, and ...'
 a. (u-ning) Hasan (e-kan)-lig-i-ni bil-a-man.
 (3SG-GEN) Hasan (COP-KAN)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-PRS-1SG
 'I know that (he) is Hasan.'
 b. (u-ning) pul kerak bo'l-gan kishi
 (3SG-GEN) money need COP-PST.PTCP person
 (e-kan)-lig-i-ni bil-a-man.
 (COP-KAN)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-PRS-1SG
 'I know that ((s)he) is a person who needs money.'
 c. (u-ning) juda chiroyli (e-kan)-lig-i-ni bil-a-man.
 (3SG-GEN) very pretty (COP-KAN)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-PRS-1SG
 'I know that ((s)he) is very pretty.'
 d. (u-ning) eshik-ning orqa-si-da
 (3SG-GEN) door-GEN behind-3SG.POSS-LOC
 (e-kan)-lig-i-ni bil-a-man.
 (COP-KAN)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-PRS-1SG
 'I know that ((s)he) is behind the door.'

The two primary restrictions on the pivot in copular clause RCCs are that it must not be case marked accusative, and that it must be able to characterize—by predication or by equation—the subject.

We have already seen that accusative case is ruled out on pivots in plain copular clauses (65a), while inherent cases are permitted, though not equally well for all speakers (65b).

- (65) a. Farhod kim-ni-dir ko'r-di. U kim(*-ni) e-di?
 Farhod some-ACC-one see-PST.3SG (s)he who(*-ACC) COP-PST.3SG
 'Farhod saw someone. Who was (s)he?'

- b. Farhod xat yoz-di. U kim-ga e-di?
 Farhod letter write-PST.3SG it who-DAT COP-PST.3SG
 ‘Farhod wrote a letter. Who was it to?’

The classification of these copular clauses as equative or predicational is consistent with the lack of structural accusative case on pivots, since this is a type of connectivity effect that is almost always associated with SPECIFICATIONAL copular clauses (Declerck 1988:51).

The second restriction is that certain types of pivots—those that cannot sensibly describe the subject—are excluded.

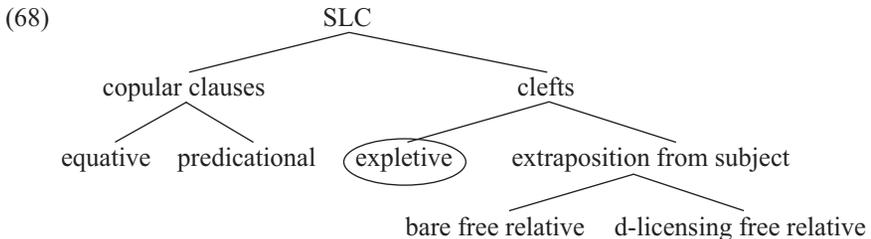
- (66) Farhod mashina-ni tuzat-di, lekin ...
 Farhod car-ACC fix-PST.3SG but
 ‘Farhod fixed the car, but ...’
- a. #u-ning qachon-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.
 3SG-GEN when-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG
 intended: ‘I don’t know when (he/she/it was).’
- b. #u-ning nima uchun-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.
 3SG-GEN what for-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG
 intended: ‘I don’t know what (he/she/it was) for.’

The utterance in 66b is acceptable only on the pragmatically strange reading that the car itself was for something (e.g. *he fixed the car but I don’t know what the car was for*). It has been claimed for numerous languages that adjuncts are incompatible with the pivot position (Merchant 2001); but in the case of Uzbek, this is not just a restriction on adjunct WH-remnants, because of the acceptability of 67.

- (67) Siz yo’qolib ket-di-ngiz, va (siz-ning) qayer-da
 you disappear-PST-2SG and (you-GEN) where-LOC
 (e-kan)-lig-ingiz-ni bil-ma-y-man.
 (COP-KAN)-COMP-2SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG
 ‘You disappeared, and I don’t know where (you are).’

Rather, the relevant generalization seems to be that the pivot must be able to sensibly describe the subject of the copular clause; this is possible in 67 but not 66.

4.3. TRUNCATED CLEFTS. For some more conservative speakers, the only underlying sources for the SLC may be the copular clauses described in §4.2. There are several reasons, though, to suspect that there is also another underlying source for the SLC that is not a simple copular clause: the EXPLETIVE (EXPL) cleft.¹⁵



¹⁵ Section 5 provides evidence in support of the idea that there are, in fact, two different Uzbek cleft structures. For the purposes of this section, I discuss only one of them, because it is the one that most obviously needs to be employed as an explanation for the patterns associated with the SLC.

The first reason that EXPL clefts must also be involved was already mentioned in §3.5: though many speakers prohibit remnants with accusative marking, as in 43 and 69, a significant portion of the speakers consulted accept these examples.

- (69) a. \diamond Farhod kim-ni-dir ko'r-di, lekin kim-ni
 Farhod some-ACC-one see-PST.3SG but who-ACC
 (e-kan)-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.
 (COP-KAN)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG
 'Farhod saw someone, but I don't know who (it was).'
- b. A: Farhod kim-ni-dir ko'r-di.
 Farhod some-ACC-one see-PST.3SG
 'Farhod saw someone.'
- \diamond B: Siz-ni (e-kan)-lig-i-ni bil-a-man.
 you-ACC (COP-KAN)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-PRS-1SG
 'I know that (it was) you.'

These speakers are in the minority (just over 1/5), but discounting their judgments would cut out a significant portion of the empirical picture. To explain 69 for those who judged it acceptable, we need to identify an underlying source for 69 that is not a plain copular clause (since these always prohibit accusative case marking on the pivot, as demonstrated in §4.2).

There are other reasons, too, to believe that simple copular clauses are not the only source for the SLC. Recall from §3.3 that certain circumstances forbid an overtly pronounced subject in conjunction with the WH-remnant in the SLC. This includes SLCs with accusative WH-remnants (i.e. those who accept them never accept them in cooccurrence with an overt subject).

- (70) \diamond Hasan kim-ni-dir ko'r-di, lekin (*u-ning) kim-ni
 Hasan some-ACC-one see-PST.3SG but (*3SG-GEN) who-ACC
 (e-kan)-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.
 (COP-KAN)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG
 'Hasan saw someone, but I don't know who (it was).'

On the hypothesis that the underlying source for the SLC is always a simple copular clause, we would be hard-pressed to explain the ban on an overt subject in just those cases where it applies.

Additionally, in §4.2 it was pointed out that the copular clause must have as its pivot some constituent that can sensibly describe a subject, as illustrated in 66 and 71.

- (71) #Farhod qayer-ga-dir bor-di, lekin u-ning qayer-ga
 Farhod place-DAT-one go-PST.3SG but 3SG-GEN where-DAT
 e-kan-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.
 COP-KAN-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG
 intended: 'Farhod went somewhere, but I don't know to where (he/she/it was).'

Such examples become fully acceptable upon omission of the subject, as in 72.

- (72) Farhod mashina-ni tuzat-di, lekin ...
 Farhod car-ACC fix-PST.3SG but
 'Farhod fixed the car, but ...'
- a. \diamond qachon-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.
 when-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG
 'I don't know when (it was).'

- b. \diamond nima uchun-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.
 what for-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG
 ‘I don’t know what (it was) for.’
- (73) \diamond Farhod qayer-ga-dir bor-di, lekin qayer-ga
 Farhod place-DAT-one go-PST.3SG but where-DAT
 e-kan-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.
 COP-KAN-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG
 ‘Farhod went somewhere, but I don’t know to where (it was).’

These two observations—that the subject must not be overt when the SLC remnant is accusative and that certain pivots are ameliorated in the absence of a pronounced subject—are clearly linked, and any account of the underlying source of such examples should aim to explain them. A unified explanation for these facts can be found in the hypothesis that the underlying source for the Uzbek SLC can also be a truncated cleft. By hypothesis, the SLC structures in 72–73 have as their source the full (untruncated) cleft clauses in 74.¹⁶

- (74) a. \diamond (*U) kim bilan e-di, u-lar gaplash-gan-i?
 (*3SG) who with COP-PST.3SG 3-PL talk-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS
 ‘Who was it with that they spoke?’ (EXPL)
- b. \diamond (*U) kim-ni e-di, Hasan ko’r-gan-i?
 (*3SG) who-ACC COP-PST.3SG Hasan see-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS
 ‘Who was it that Hasan saw?’ (EXPL)
- c. \diamond (*U) qachon e-di, Hasan mashina-ni tuzat-gan-i?
 (*3SG) when COP-PST.3SG Hasan car-ACC fix-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS
 ‘When was it that Hasan fixed the car?’ (EXPL)
- d. \diamond (*U) nima uchun e-di, Hasan mashina-ni
 (*3SG) what for COP-PST.3SG Hasan car-ACC
 tuzat-gan-i?
 fix-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS
 ‘Why was it that Hasan fixed the car?’ (EXPL)
- e. \diamond (*U) qayer-ga e-di, Farhod bor-gan-i?
 (*3SG) where-DAT COP-PST.3SG Farhod go-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS
 ‘Where was it that Farhod went to?’ (EXPL)

Here, we concentrate on identifying the characteristics associated with such untruncated clefts; how these structures relate to the reduced structures found inside the SLC is the subject of §5. The distinguishing properties of these clefts are as follows.

- They have the interpretive properties usually associated with clefts.
- They prohibit an overtly pronounced subject.
- The copula is always third-person singular.
- The pivot corresponds to a gap in the sentence-final cleft clause, may be of all category types, and can bear accusative case.

I discuss each part of the construction in turn.

INTERPRETATION. Since Uzbek clefts have never been documented, it is worth establishing that they exhibit the semantic properties typically associated with clefts crosslinguistically. There are two presuppositions normally associated with clefts. The first—exhaustivity—is the presupposition that the pivot refers to an entity that is the only contextually relevant entity that the cleft clause describes (Halvorsen 1978, Horn 1981, É. Kiss 1998). The second—the existential presupposition—refers to the speaker’s pre-

¹⁶ All of the examples in 74 may have *e-kan* as their copula as well; for simplicity, discussion of *e-kan* is postponed until later sections.

sumption that whatever the cleft clause describes is something that exists (Bolinger 1972, Jackendoff 1972, Halvorsen 1978, et seq.).

The exhaustivity presupposition has been tested in other languages in a variety of ways, for example by checking whether *else* can modify the pivot of a cleft or remnant in an SLC (Merchant 2001). *Else*-modification should be incompatible with the exhaustivity presupposition: if something is exhaustive, there is nothing else that can be added. *Else*-modification is unacceptable in both the cleft and the SLC.

- (75) a. #◇Farhod kim-ni-dir ko'r-di, lekin yana kim-ni
Farhod some-ACC-one see-PST.3SG but else who-ACC
(e-kan)-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.
(COP-KAN)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG
intended: 'Farhod saw someone, but I don't know who else (it was).'
- b. #◇Yana kim-ni e-di, Hasan ko'r-gan-i?
else who-ACC COP-PST.3SG Hasan see-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS
intended: 'Who else was it that Hasan saw?' (EXPL)
- (76) a. #◇Farhod Toshkent-ga bor-di, va yana qayer-ga
Farhod Tashkent-DAT go-PST.3SG and else where-DAT
e-kan-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.
COP-KAN-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG
intended: 'Farhod went to Tashkent, and I don't know to where else (it was).'
- b. #◇Yana qayer-ga e-di, Farhod bor-gan-i?
else where-DAT COP-PST.3SG Farhod go-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS
intended: 'Where else was it that Farhod went to?' (EXPL)

Similarly, the use of a universal quantifier in the pivot of a cleft and in the remnant of the SLC is infelicitous. The exhaustivity presupposition involves the idea that the pivot identifies something to the exclusion of everything else in some set (É. Kiss 1998); a bare universal quantifier cannot pick out anything to the exclusion of anything else, and therefore should not be licensed in the pivot of a cleft. This is borne out for both English clefts (77) and Uzbek clefts (78).

- (77) #It was everything that John drank.
- (78) Hasan nima-ni ich-di?
Hasan what-ACC drink-PST.3SG
'What did Hasan drink?'
- a. #◇Hamma narsa-ni (e-kan)-lig-i-ni eshit-di-m.
every thing-ACC (COP-KAN)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC hear-PST-1SG
intended: 'I heard that (it was) everything.'
- b. #◇Hamma narsa-ni e-di, Hasan ich-gan-i.
every thing-ACC COP-PST.3SG Hasan drink-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS
intended: 'It was everything that Hasan drank.' (EXPL)

The existence presupposition can be checked by assessing whether bare negative quantifiers like *nothing* can appear in the pivot of a cleft; this is infelicitous in Uzbek, just as it is in English.

- (79) #It was nothing that he saw.
- (80) a. #◇Hasan nima-ni-dir ko'r-di-m deb o'yla-di, lekin hech
Hasan some-ACC-thing see-PST-1SG COMP think-PST.3SG but no
nima-ni e-kan-lig-i-ni bil-a-man.
what-ACC COP-KAN-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-PRS-1SG
intended: 'Hasan thought that I saw something, but I know that it was nothing.'

- b. #◇Hech nima-ni e-di, Hasan ko'r-gan-i.
 no what-ACC COP-PST.3SG Hasan see-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS
 intended: 'It was nothing that Hasan saw.' (EXPL)

MISSING SUBJECTS. A major piece of support for the idea that certain instances of the SLC are reduced clefts is that, in such examples, a subject cannot be pronounced in the clause containing the remnant. If these SLCs are reduced clefts, then we expect a similar ban on overtly pronounced subjects in cleft constructions. Examples 73–74 have shown this to be true. I claim that the ban on an overt subject in (certain)¹⁷ clefts and their corresponding SLCs is the result of the interplay of two factors. The first factor is that Uzbek has no overt expletive pronouns. The second factor is that overt subjects (pronominal and otherwise) are semantically contentful and cannot be construed semantically with the pivot material in just the cases under discussion.

Uzbek has no overt expletive pronouns: in the syntactic contexts that might in other languages call for a dummy pronoun, no such pronoun surfaces. For example, there is no overt expletive in existential constructions.

- (81) a. (*U) kompyuter-da virus bor.
 (*3SG) computer-LOC virus exist
 'There's a virus on the computer.'
 b. (*U) shahr-ingiz-da nech-ta muzey bor?
 (*3SG) city-2SG.POSS-LOC how.many-SPEC museum exist
 'How many museums are there in your city?'

I conclude that Uzbek is a language without true overt expletives. A consequence of this is that, where a pronominal subject appears in the SLC or in the predicative or equative copular constructions of §4.2, that pronominal is semantically contentful. Where an overt pronominal subject is forbidden, this provides a useful clue as to the underlying structure of a particular example: that structure does not involve a semantically contentful subject, or, correspondingly, a semantic relation between a subject and a pivot. For concreteness, I call the unpronounced subject of the EXPL cleft the NULL EXPLETIVE SUBJECT.

Since overt pronominal subjects must be semantically contentful in Uzbek, they must be able to enter into some kind of relation with a pivot in a cleft or copular clause. This is what happens in the equative and predicational copular structures in §4.2. But in 73–74, there is no felicitous semantic relation that could be constructed between any potential subject and the remnant of the SLC, or the pivot in a copular clause or cleft.

In the case of SLCs or clefts with accusative pivots (69, 70, 74b), the ban on an overt subject is clear: an accusative pivot can never appear in a copular clause in this language, as demonstrated in 65a. Since a copular clause cannot contain an accusative pivot, and since Uzbek has no overt expletive pronouns, the result is that only the null expletive subject appears in just those cases where an accusative pivot (or remnant, in SLCs) is involved.

For cases in which the SLC remnant or cleft pivot is not marked accusative, but the ban on an overt subject persists, it is worth considering what a putative semantic relation between a subject and pivot would have to be like. These are cases like 74a and 74c–e, repeated below as 82a–d.

¹⁷ As we see in §5, the ban does not apply to all kinds of clefts, only to the kind under discussion in this section.

- (82) a. \diamond (*U) kim bilan e-di, u-lar gaplash-gan-i?
 (*3SG) who with COP-PST.3SG 3-PL talk-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS
 ‘Who was it with that they spoke?’ (EXPL)
- b. \diamond (*U) qachon e-di, Hasan mashina-ni tuzat-gan-i?
 (*3SG) when COP-PST.3SG Hasan car-ACC fix-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS
 ‘When was it that Hasan fixed the car?’ (EXPL)
- c. \diamond (*U) nima uchun e-di, Hasan mashina-ni
 (*3SG) what for COP-PST.3SG Hasan car-ACC
 tuzat-gan-i?
 fix-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS
 ‘Why was it that Hasan fixed the car?’ (EXPL)
- d. \diamond (*U) qayer-ga e-di, Farhod bor-gan-i?
 (*3SG) where-DAT COP-PST.3SG Farhod go-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS
 ‘Where was it that Farhod went to?’ (EXPL)

In 82a, the only possible interpretation of a pronominal subject with ‘with who’ as the pivot is if the meaning is ‘Who was he with?’. But if that is the case, then the cleft clause no longer makes any sense (e.g. #‘Who was he with, that they spoke?’). The only possible construal of a semantically contentful subject with *qachon* ‘when’ in 82b is also nonsensical (e.g. #‘When is he/it (the car)?’).

Since there is no overt expletive subject that can appear in the place of a contentful one in such cases, the result is a ban on overt, pronounced subjects altogether; only the null expletive subject is acceptable in such environments. It should come as no surprise, then, that the copula never reflects any agreement other than the default (third-person singular). Inflecting the copula to agree with the case-marked pivot, for example, is unacceptable.

- (83) a. *Siz-ni e-di-ngiz, men ko’r-gan-im.
 you-ACC COP-PST-2SG I see-PST.PTCP-1SG.POSS
 intended: ‘It was you that I saw.’
- b. *Siz-lar-ni e-di-lar, men ko’r-gan-im.
 you-PL-ACC COP-PST.3-PL I see-PST.PTCP-1SG.POSS
 intended: ‘It was you (PL) that I saw.’

An analytical consequence of this picture is that no semantic relation between the pivot and the subject should be involved in the structure of such clefts. This is a characteristic of Pinkham and Hankamer’s (1975) ‘shallow’ clefts (or Jespersen’s 1937 proposal and its descendants), and §5 further pursues the idea that this is the right analysis of such examples.

PIVOTS. Given the last section’s discussion, it is easy to see why the range of pivots in the EXPL cleft construction is broader than that of copular clauses. If there need not be a relation between any subject and the pivot, then there are fewer restrictions on possible pivots: accusative pivots and pivots that cannot be felicitously associated with a subject are permitted in EXPL clefts, and they are not permitted in simple copular clauses.

The pivot in these cleft constructions always corresponds to a gap in the cleft clause. The structure of the cleft clause, which is further discussed in the next section, is significantly different from that of Indo-European cleft clauses. There is no relative pronoun, which means that it can sometimes be more difficult to establish what the gap is. For example, if the gap is an object gap, the pivot corresponds to that object gap, and some-

times bears accusative case (84a).¹⁸ There must be a gap in the cleft clause corresponding to the pivot, and the lack of one yields ungrammaticality (84b).

- (84) a. \diamond Siz-ni e-di, men ko'r-gan-im.
 you-ACC COP-PST.3SG I see-PST.PTCP-1SG.POSS
 'It was you that I saw.' (EXPL)
- b. *Siz-ni e-di, men siz-ni ko'r-gan-im.
 you-ACC COP-PST.3SG I you-ACC see-PST.PTCP-1SG.POSS

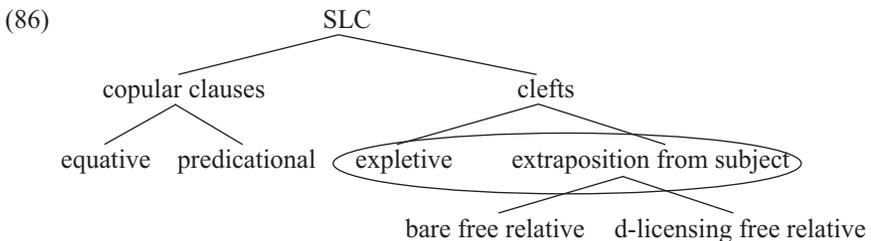
In more complex cases, the pivot is a modifier and does not correspond to an obligatory element in the cleft clause; the lack of a relative pronoun means that it is more difficult to identify that there is a gap. But following the same strategy used in 84b and providing modifying information in the cleft clause that is identical to the pivot also yields ungrammaticality or infelicity (85b).

- (85) a. \diamond Qayer-ga e-di, Farhod bor-gan-i?
 where-DAT COP-PST.3SG Farhod go-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS
 'Where was it that Farhod went to?' (EXPL)
- b. *Qayer-ga e-di, Farhod Toshkent-ga bor-gan-i?
 where-DAT COP-PST.3SG Farhod Tashkent-DAT go-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS

From this evidence I draw the conclusion that the pivot is linked to a gap in the cleft clause, even in cases where this may not be obvious, such as when the pivot is not an argument (85).

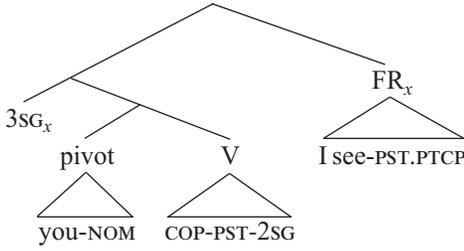
4.4. SUMMARY. This section provided evidence for the idea that the Uzbek SLC arises from two different classes of reduced copular structures. The first—and for many speakers, perhaps the only—source is a simple equative or predicative copular clause. The second is a cleft, whose structure and properties are different from the copular clause. The restrictions on the appearance of a subject in conjunction with certain types of remnants in the SLC follow straightforwardly from the structure of clefts, which likewise show no signs of an overt subject and allow a broader variety of pivots than do copular clauses.

5. TWO TYPES OF UZBEK CLEFT. The cleft described in §4.3—called the EXPL or 'shallow' cleft—is not the only kind of cleft attested in Uzbek. Despite their superficial similarity, there are in fact two types of cleft structures in Uzbek: one is derived from a pseudocleft (Pinkham and Hankamer's (1975) 'deep' clefts) via extraposition of a free relative in subject position to a high right-adjoined position. In the second type of cleft, an overt subject may not be pronounced, and the pivot is extracted from the cleft clause, which is itself extraposed (Pinkham and Hankamer's (1975) 'shallow' clefts). Pinkham and Hankamer's terminology ('deep' and 'shallow') essentially corresponds to Jespersen's two hypotheses about the structure of English clefts. These two hypotheses are sometimes called the EXTRAPOSITION-FROM-SUBJECT (EFS) and the EXPLETIVE (EXPL) accounts, respectively, and I use those two terms here.

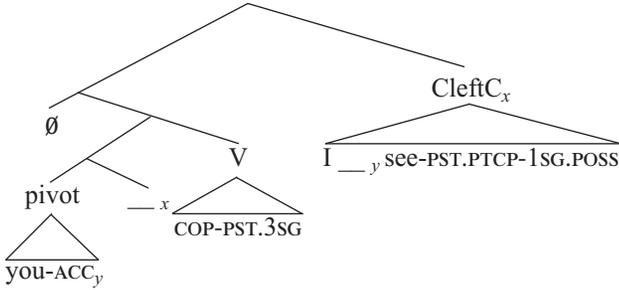


¹⁸ Uzbek is a differential object marking language, which means that not all objects are marked accusative. There are certain verbs that consistently require accusative case marking on their objects, and I have made sure to use only those verbs throughout the article to avoid any potential confusion.

(87) EFS: ‘It was you, who I saw.’



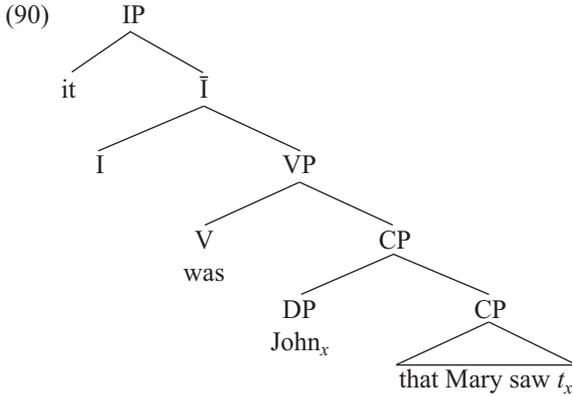
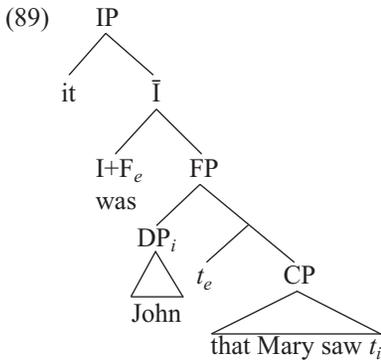
(88) EXPL: ‘It was you that I saw.’



The heart of the proposal pursued here is that Uzbek puts limits on the pivots that can enter into a semantic relation with a subject. This is an observation that is highlighted in the discussion of simple copular structures in §4: the pivot of a copular construction with a contentful subject must not bear accusative case, and must be able to enter into a sensible semantic relationship (predicative or equative) with that subject. In EFS clefts, the subject is a free relative clause, and this will limit the type of predicate that can appear in the pivot of a cleft derived from the pseudocleft by extraposition. The EXPL clefts never involve an overt subject, and there is no real predication involved, either. For this reason the set of pivots permitted is broader in EXPL clefts.

Despite Pinkham and Hankamer’s (1975) proposal, analyses of English clefts tend to choose one of these variants and argue for it exclusively. Occam’s razor may dictate that, all else being equal, one analysis is better than two, but linguistic investigations have demonstrated that languages may make use of multiple strategies to arrive at surface-similar structures (Hankamer 1977). The facts of English and other Germanic languages make it difficult to sort out what the right analysis should be, and Pinkham and Hankamer’s analysis relies on subtle data whose accuracy has since been challenged (Gundel 1977). Considering the same issue in Uzbek provides a fresh perspective on the theoretical issues and a different range of data through which to view them.

There are at least two questions in the literature on the syntax of clefts that form the basis of the discussion. The first concerns the nature of the ‘it’ pronoun: EXPL accounts consider this pronoun to be an expletive, with no semantic content and no relation to any other syntactic component of the cleft (Chomsky 1977, Delahunty 1982, Heggie 1993, Büring 1998, É. Kiss 1998). There are accounts that take the proform to be associated with the pivot (Adger 2011, den Dikken 2013), and there are EFS accounts, which associate the proform with the extraposed clause (Akmajian 1970, Percus 1997). The unavailability of expletive proforms in Uzbek provides a useful tool in picking apart these possibilities. The second question concerns the nature of the cleft clause. In EXPL accounts, the cleft clause is connected somehow to the pivot, either as a complement of a focus projection containing the pivot (89) (É. Kiss 1998) or as a CP complement of the copula with the pivot attached to the left edge of CP (90) (structures modeled on those in Merchant 1998).



EFS accounts treat the cleft clause as generated in the subject position and adjoined to a high position in the clause, with the two positions connected via movement or coindexation. Because English is left-headed, in the relevant configuration both the EFS and EXPL hypotheses will generate roughly the same word order. As a robustly head-final language, Uzbek has much to contribute to this discussion, since the two analytical alternatives would generate significantly different word orders in Uzbek. Finally, the structure of Uzbek embedded clauses also helps to identify the adjunction point of the cleft clause.

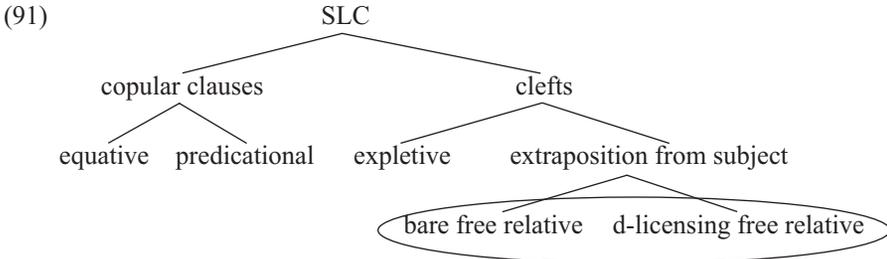
We have already investigated the properties of the EXPL cleft in §4.3. In the remainder of this section, I consider the properties of the EFS cleft and compare the two constructions to each other. I argue that their respective properties justify an analysis in which they correspond to two different structures (§5.1). I elaborate on the consequences of these findings for the two major questions identified just above: extraposition and expletives (§5.2).

5.1. EXTRAPOSITION-FROM-SUBJECT AND EXPLETIVE UZBEK CLEFTS. In this section I present numerous properties of the EFS cleft, contrasting it with the expletive variety at the appropriate points. Table 8 provides an overview of the differences between the two constructions.

THE FREE RELATIVE AND THE CLEFT CLAUSE. A useful starting point for a discussion of the differences between the EFS and EXPL clefts is the dissection of the internal structure of their cleft clauses. I argue that there are in fact THREE different types of structures involved, two of them free relatives that participate in the EFS cleft, and one of them a cleft clause with extraction of the pivot to the left periphery in the EXPL cleft. I address these in turn, starting with the two free relative structures of the EFS cleft.

EXTRAPOSITION	EXPLETIVE
The copula agrees with the most accessible DP.	The copula bears default agreement.
No case connectivity on the pivot.	Case connectivity on the pivot.
The pivot is an argument.	The pivot is an argument or adjunct.
Subject position contains a free relative, or a third-person pronoun.	No overt element fills the subject position; null expletives only.
Extrapolation of the free relative in subject position is optional.	Extrapolation of the cleft clause from object position is obligatory.
The free relative is a genuine headless relative clause (one of two types).	The cleft clause is not a traditional relative clause.

TABLE 8. The distinctive properties of EFS and EXPL clefts.



The EFS cleft is by hypothesis derived from a pseudocleft. Examples 94 and 96 below provide both the pseudocleft variety and its extraposed variant, to show that they pattern identically.¹⁹ The internal structure of the free relative (FR) clause involved in the EFS cleft is of two types, corresponding to two types of relative clause (RC) formation in Uzbek: one involves no inflection (92a), while the second involves genitive marking on the subject and possessive agreement on the head noun (92b). For ease of reference, I call the strategy in 92a the BARE strategy, and the strategy in 92b the D-LICENSING strategy. The latter term comes from generative work on Altaic in which the genitive marking on the subject is licensed by a clause-external D head (Kornfilt 2008, Miyagawa 2011), for example for Dagur and Uzbek, but not Turkish.

- (92) a. men ko'r-gan kishi
 I see-PST.PTCP person
 'the person that I saw' (bare RC)
- b. men(-ing) ko'r-gan kishi-m
 I(-GEN) see-PST.PTCP person-1SG.POSS
 'the person that I saw' (d-licensing RC)²⁰

In both cases, it is the nonpronunciation of a head noun that makes normal relative clauses into free relatives. The result is that for every EFS cleft, there should be two options for the free relative portion that correspond directly to the two possibilities of relative clause formation outlined above. Example 93 demonstrates that, in the bare strategy, full relative clauses can be part of a copular structure as subjects and can extrapose; 94 demonstrates that free relatives behave identically, with the exception of the unpronounced head noun.

¹⁹ Because of space considerations, I do not always provide both variants throughout the rest of the section, but the important thing is that the extraposed and pseudocleft varieties are IN ALL OTHER RESPECTS COMPLETELY IDENTICAL.

²⁰ Crucially, when the strategy in 92b is employed, genitive marking is optional, but always permitted.

- (93) a. Men ol-gan narsa, kitob e-di.
I take-PST.PTCP thing book COP-PST.3SG
'The thing I took was a book.' (bare RC)
- b. (U) kitob e-di, men ol-gan narsa.
(3SG) book COP-PST.3SG I take-PST.PTCP thing
'It was a book, the thing took.' (bare RC, EFS)
- (94) a. Men ol-gan, kitob e-di.
I take-PST.PTCP book COP-PST.3SG
'What I took was a book.' (bare FR, pseudocleft)
- b. (U) kitob e-di, men ol-gan.
(3SG) book COP-PST.3SG I take-PST.PTCP
'It was a book, what I took.' (bare FR, EFS)

Similar examples can be composed for d-licensing: full relative clauses can be part of a copular structure as subjects and can extrapose (95); free relatives behave identically (96).

- (95) a. Men(-ing) ol-gan narsa-m, kitob e-di.
I(-GEN) take-PST.PTCP thing-1SG.POSS book COP-PST.3SG
'The thing I took was a book.' (d-licensing RC)
- b. (U) kitob e-di, men(-ing) ol-gan narsa-m.
(3SG) book COP-PST.3SG I(-GEN) take-PST.PTCP thing-1SG.POSS
'It was a book, the thing that I took.' (d-licensing RC, EFS)
- (96) a. Men(-ing) ol-gan-im, kitob e-di.
I(-GEN) take-PST.PTCP-1SG.POSS book COP-PST.3SG
'What I took was a book.' (d-licensing FR, pseudocleft)
- b. (U) kitob e-di, men(-ing) ol-gan-im.
(3SG) book COP-PST.3SG I(-GEN) take-PST.PTCP-1SG.POSS
'It was a book, what I took.' (d-licensing FR, EFS)

Some special attention needs to be paid to the d-licensing strategy, because in its free relative form, it yields surface strings that are very similar to the genitive-possessive nominalization strategy used for standard sentential nominals (described in §2.3). The most obvious difference between nominalized clauses and free relatives is that the latter, but not the former, contain a gap. Two additional pieces of evidence support the idea that the subject and extraposed portions in 94a, 96a and 94b, 96b, respectively, pattern with relative clauses.

The first piece of evidence comes from a subject-object asymmetry in the d-licensing, but not the bare, pattern. Full relative clauses employing the d-licensing strategy do not license subject relativization (97a), though they permit (indirect) object (97b,c) relativization.

- (97) a. *Siz-ni ko'r-gan kishi-si, bu odam e-di.
you-ACC see-PST.PTCP person-3SG.POSS that man COP-PST.3SG
intended: 'The person who saw you was that man.' (d-licensing RC)
- b. Bu odam-ning ko'r-gan kishi-si, siz e-di-ngiz.
that man-GEN see-PST.PTCP person-3SG.POSS you COP-PST-2SG
'The person that man saw was you.' (d-licensing RC)
- c. Bu odam-ning pul ber-gan kishi-si, siz e-di-ngiz.
that man-GEN money give-PST.PTCP person-3SG.POSS you COP-PST-2SG
'The person that man gave money to was you.' (d-licensing RC)

This pattern does not hold of the bare strategy, in which any kind of relativization is acceptable; a subject relativization example is in 98.²¹

- (98) Siz-ni ko'r-gan kishi, bu odam e-di.
 you-ACC see-PST.PTCP person that man COP-PST.3SG
 'The person who saw you was that man.' (bare RC)

The free relative forms align one to one with the pattern outlined just above for full relative clauses: d-licensing free relatives also forbid subject relativization (99a) while allowing other kinds of relativization, whereas bare free relatives allow all types of relativization (100).

- (99) a. *Siz-ni ko'r-gan-i, bu odam e-di.
 you-ACC see-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS that man COP-PST.3SG
 intended: 'Who saw you was that man.' (d-licensing FR, pseudocleft)
 b. Bu odam ko'r-gan-i, siz e-di-ngiz.
 that man see-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS you COP-PST-2SG
 'Who that man saw was you.' (d-licensing FR, pseudocleft)
 c. Bu odam pul ber-gan-i, siz e-di-ngiz.
 that man money give-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS you COP-PST-2SG
 'Who that man gave money to was you.' (d-licensing FR, pseudocleft)
- (100) Siz-ni ko'r-gan, bu odam e-di.
 you-ACC see-PST.PTCP that man COP-PST.3SG
 'Who saw you was that man.' (bare FR, pseudocleft)

Thus, despite their surface similarity to propositional nominalized clauses, d-licensing free relatives pattern with d-licensing full relative clauses with respect to the peculiar ban on subject relativization.

The second piece of evidence comes from the fact that both bare and d-licensing free relatives can be the complements of verbs that take only nonpropositional complements. If the d-licensing cases were only interpreted as nominalized clauses, they should not be able to appear as complements to verbs like *yemoq* 'eat', *pishirmoq* 'cook', and *olmoq* 'take' (which select nominals), and they should be able to cooccur with the optional propositional complementizer *-lig-*. As 101 illustrates, these verbs can take the d-licensing free relatives (as well as their bare counterparts) as complements, and *-lig-* is not licensed.

- (101) a. Men {siz(-ning) pishir-gan(*-lig)-ingiz / siz
 I {you(-GEN) cook-PST.PTCP(*-COMP)-2SG.POSS / you
 pishir-gan(*-lig)}-ni ye-di-m.
 cook-PST.PTCP(*-COMP)}-ACC eat-PST-1SG
 'I ate what you cooked.' (FR)
 b. Men {siz(-ning) sindir-gan(*-lig)-ingiz / siz
 I {you(-GEN) break-PST.PTCP(*-COMP)-2SG.POSS / you
 sindir-gan(*-lig)}-ni tuzat-di-m.
 break-PST.PTCP(*-COMP)}-ACC fix-PST-1SG
 'I fixed what you broke.' (FR)

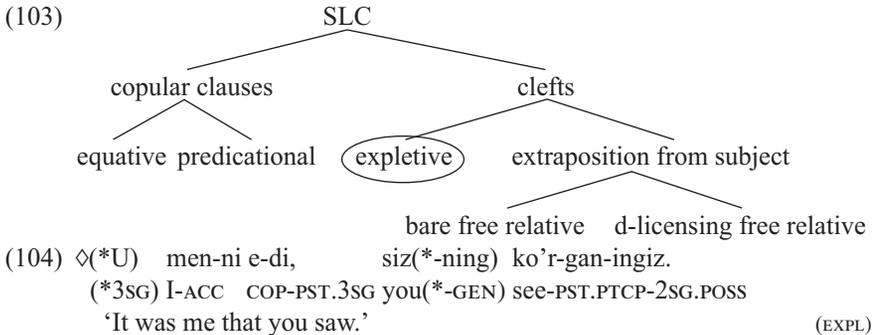
²¹ A similar pattern was observed for Turkish by Hankamer and Knecht (1976) and in much subsequent work.

- c. Men {siz(-ning) Farhod-ga ber-gan(*-lig)-ingiz / siz
 I {you(-GEN) Farhod-DAT give-PST.PTCP(*-COMP)-2SG.POSS / you
 Farhod-ga ber-gan(*-lig)}-ni ol-di-m.
 Farhod-DAT give-PST.PTCP(*-COMP)}-ACC take-PST-1SG
 ‘I took what you gave to Farhod.’ (FR)

By contrast, propositional nominalized clauses involve no gap, permit *-lig-* optionally, and can only be the complements of proposition-introducing verbs like *o’ylamoq* ‘think’ (102a); free relatives cannot appear as complements of such verbs, for obvious reasons (102b).

- (102) a. Men siz(-ning) Farhod-ga kitob ber-gan(-lig)-ingiz-ni
 I you(-GEN) Farhod-DAT book give-PST.PTCP(-COMP)-2SG.POSS-ACC
 o’yla-di-m.
 think-PST-1SG
 ‘I thought that you gave a book to Farhod.’
 (lit. ‘I thought of your giving a book to Farhod.’)
 b. *Men siz(-ning) Farhod-ga ber-gan-ingiz-ni
 I you(-GEN) Farhod-DAT give-PST.PTCP-2SG.POSS-ACC
 o’yla-di-m.
 think-PST-1SG
 #‘I thought what you gave to Farhod.’

Having supported the idea that the d-licensing strategy in clefts is a free relative, we can now move to analyzing the cleft clause of the EXPL cleft (104), which I aim to show is crucially different from free relatives.



Recall that the EXPL analysis of clefts involves a null expletive in subject position, and a copula that takes as its complement a cleft clause. A constituent in the cleft clause undergoes extraction to the periphery of the clause and thus assumes the position of the pivot; the cleft clause then extraposes, leaving behind the pivot. If this is the correct analysis of examples like 104, then there should be obvious differences between the cleft clause in EXPL clefts and the free relatives found in EFS clefts.

First, the cleft clause cannot employ either the d-licensing strategy or the bare strategy that free relatives make use of. Example 104 demonstrates that the subject in cleft clauses of EXPL clefts cannot be marked genitive, but rather must be bare or nominative; this differs from the subjects of d-licensing EFS clefts, which may always optionally bear genitive case. Example 105 demonstrates that the cleft clause cannot use the bare free relative strategy either.

- (105) *Men-ni e-di, siz ko’r-gan.
 I-ACC COP-PST.3SG you see-PST.PTCP

Second, if the cleft clause of an EXPL cleft were (part of) a relative clause, that would make the EXPL clause pivot the head of that relative clause. But the pivot of an EXPL cleft may exhibit case connectivity, while the head of an Uzbek relative clause never does: if it bears a case marker, then that case marker functions as the marker of the relative clause's EXTERNAL distribution in the matrix clause (106).

- (106) a. Men ko'r-gan kishi(*-ni) kitob o'qi-yap-ti.
 I see-PST.PTCP person(*-ACC) book read-PROG-3SG
 'The person that I saw is reading a book.'
- b. Men siz pishir-gan narsa-ni ko'r-di-m.
 I you cook-PST.PTCP thing-ACC see-PST-1SG
 'I saw the thing that you cooked.'
- c. Men(-ing) ko'r-gan kishi-m(*-ni) kitob o'qi-yap-ti.
 I(-GEN) see-PST.PTCP person-1SG.POSS(*-ACC) book read-PROG-3SG
 'The person that I saw is reading a book.'
- d. Men siz(-ning) pishir-gan narsa-ngiz-ni ko'r-di-m.
 I you(-GEN) cook-PST.PTCP thing-2SG.POSS-ACC see-PST-1SG
 'I saw the thing that you cooked.'

I do not offer a classification of this cleft clause here, since much more investigation needs to be done to understand its structure. It is sufficient, for now, to note that it is entirely distinct from the free relatives involved in EFS clefts. However, there is evidence from left-scrambling in embedded clauses to suggest the beginning of an explanation for the lack of genitive marking on subjects in these cleft clauses. Within a typical nominalized embedded clause, a subject can bear optional genitive marking, consistent with the description in §2.3 (107, 108).

- (107) Men Hasan(-ning) bu kitob-ni o'qi-gan-lig-i-ni
 I Hasan(-GEN) that book-ACC read-PST.PTCP-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC
 bil-a-man.
 know-PRS-1SG
 'I know that Hasan read that book.'
- (108) Hasan(-ning) bu odam-ga pul ber-gan-lig-i-ni
 Hasan(-GEN) that man-DAT money give-PST.PTCP-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC
 bil-a-man.
 know-PRS-1SG
 'I know that Hasan gave that man money.'

If a constituent inside the embedded clause is scrambled to the left periphery, however, the embedded subject can no longer bear genitive case marking.

- (109) Men bu kitob-ni, Hasan(*-ning) o'qi-gan-lig-i-ni
 I that book-ACC Hasan(*-GEN) read-PST.PTCP-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC
 bil-a-man.
 know-PRS-1SG
 'I know that that book, Hasan read.'
- (110) Men bu odam-ga Hasan(*-ning) pul
 I that man-DAT Hasan(*-GEN) money
 ber-gan-lig-i-ni bil-a-man.
 give-PST.PTCP-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-PRS-1SG
 'I know that to that man, Hasan gave money.'

If examples like 110 are the source of the explanation for the behavior of the embedded subject in cleft clauses, then there is another way in which cleft clauses in EXPL clefts are

distinct from the free relatives of EFS clefts: the heads of relative clauses are always final, whereas the extracted constituent in examples like 110 is clause-initial.²²

THE COPULA AND AGREEMENT. Unlike the copula of the EXPL cleft, which is invariably third-person singular (see 83), the copula in EFS clefts inflects to agree with the most accessible DP, as in simpler copular clauses.²³

- (111) a. {Farhod ko'r-gan / Farhod-ning ko'r-gan-i}, siz
 {Farhod see-PST.PTCP / Farhod-GEN see-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS} you
 e-di-ngiz.
 COP-PST-2SG
 'Who Farhod saw was you.' (FR pseudocleft)
- b. (U) siz e-di-ngiz, {Farhod ko'r-gan / Farhod-ning
 (3SG) you COP-PST-2SG {Farhod see-PST.PTCP / Farhod-GEN
 ko'r-gan-i}.
 see-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS}
 'It was you, who Farhod saw.' (FR EFS)
- (112) a. {Farhod ko'r-gan / Farhod-ning ko'r-gan-lar-i}, biz
 {Farhod see-PST.PTCP / Farhod-GEN see-PST.PTCP-PL-3.POSS} we
 e-di-k.
 COP-PST-1PL
 '(The ones) who Farhod saw were us.' (FR pseudocleft)
- b. (U) biz e-di-k, {Farhod ko'r-gan / Farhod-ning
 (3SG) we COP-PST-1PL {Farhod see-PST.PTCP / Farhod-GEN
 ko'r-gan-lar-i}.
 see-PST.PTCP-PL-3.POSS}
 'It was us, (the ones) who Farhod saw.' (FR EFS)

Violations of the agreement pattern above are strictly forbidden (113).

- (113) a. *{Farhod ko'r-gan / Farhod-ning ko'r-gan-i}, siz
 {Farhod see-PST.PTCP / Farhod-GEN see-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS} you
 e-di.
 COP-PST.3SG
 intended: 'The one who Farhod saw was you.' (FR pseudocleft)
- b. *(U) siz e-di, {Farhod ko'r-gan / Farhod-ning
 (3SG) you COP-PST.3SG {Farhod see-PST.PTCP / Farhod-GEN
 ko'r-gan-i}.
 see-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS}
 intended: 'It was you, the one who Farhod saw.' (FR EFS)
- (114) a. *{Farhod ko'r-gan / Farhod-ning ko'r-gan-i}, biz
 {Farhod see-PST.PTCP / Farhod-GEN see-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS} we
 e-di.
 COP-PST.3SG
 intended: 'The ones who Farhod saw were us.' (FR pseudocleft)

²² A referee points out that if the lack of genitive marking on subjects is evidence of scrambling/A-bar movement, then the availability of genitive marking on subjects of d-licensing relative clauses would seem to suggest that there is no A-bar movement of a null operator in those structures. This would be consistent with my initial findings that, in Uzbek, relative clauses do not seem to exhibit the properties associated with islands.

²³ In the examples below I provide the most often elicited order of DPs: the free relative is either the subject or extraposed, while the pivot corresponds to the gap of the free relative. The reverse order, with the gap of the free relative in subject position and the free relative in precopular position, is also possible. Several such examples are provided in §5.1.

- b. *(U) biz e-di, {Farhod ko'r-gan / Farhod-ning
 (3SG) we COP-PST.3SG {Farhod see-PST.PTCP / Farhod-GEN
 ko'r-gan-i}.
 see-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS}
 intended: 'It was us, the ones who Farhod saw.' (FR EFS)

This pattern follows if we understand EFS clefts to be derived from pseudoclefts, which are in turn just normal copular clauses with one DP being a free relative.

With descriptions of the two free-relative formation strategies and of copular agreement patterns in hand, we can now understand a particular agreement pattern in the two free relative structures. When a plural marker appears on the participle of the free relative, the pivot may also be plural.

- (115) a. Hasan ko'r-gan-lar, biz e-di-k.
 Hasan see-PST.PTCP-PL 1PL COP-PST-1PL
 'Who Hasan saw was us.' (bare FR pseudocleft)
 b. Hasan(-ning) ko'r-gan-lar-i, biz e-di-k.
 Hasan(-GEN) see-PST.PTCP-PL-3SG.POSS 1PL COP-PST-1PL
 'Who Hasan saw was us.' (d-licensing FR pseudocleft)

In 115, the plural marker on the participle cannot come from agreement with the subject of the free relative, since the subject is singular. If the source of free relatives is a headed counterpart like 116, then the plural marker comes from the (null) relative clause head noun.

- (116) a. Hasan ko'r-gan kishi-lar, biz e-di-k.
 Hasan see-PST.PTCP people-PL 1PL COP-PST-1PL
 'The people Hasan saw were us.' (bare RC)
 b. Hasan(-ning) ko'r-gan kishi-lar-i, biz e-di-k.
 Hasan(-GEN) see-PST.PTCP people-PL-3SG.POSS 1PL COP-PST-1PL
 'The people Hasan saw were us.' (d-licensing RC)

It is then clear that the pivot may also be plural: it must correspond with the plural complex noun in the copular clause's subject position.

THE PIVOT. Recall that the pivot of the EXPL cleft can be of any category type and can bear case marking. Especially relevant is its ability to bear accusative case, for those speakers that accept it. A big difference between the EXPL and the EFS clefts is that EFS clefts are restricted in their pivots, permitting only arguments, and never case-marked arguments. This is easiest to see in the bare free relative pseudoclefts: 117 demonstrates that nonarguments are unacceptable in pivot positions, and 118 that arguments bearing case marking are likewise unacceptable.

- (117) a. *Biz o'yla-gan, siz haq-ingiz-da e-di.
 we think-PST.PTCP you about-2SG.POSS-LOC COP-PST.3SG
 intended: 'What we thought (about) was about you.'
 (bare FR pseudocleft)
 b. *Biz bu kino-ni ko'r-gan, yoz-da e-di.
 we this movie-ACC see-PST.PTCP summer-LOC COP-PST.3SG
 intended: 'When we saw the movie was in summer.'
 (bare FR pseudocleft)
 c. *Siz pul bекit-gan, stol-ning tag-i-da e-di.
 you money hide-PST.PTCP table-GEN under-3SG.POSS-LOC COP-PST.3SG
 intended: 'Where you hid the money was under the table.'
 (bare FR pseudocleft)

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

This is true also for d-licensing free relatives, both with adjunct pivots (119) and case-marked argument pivots (120).²⁴

- (119) a. *Biz(-ning) bu kino-ni ko'r-gan-imiz, yoz-da
 we(-GEN) this movie-ACC see-PST.PTCP-1PL.POSS summer-LOC
 e-di.
 COP-PST.3SG
 intended: ‘Our seeing the movie was in summer.’
- b. *Siz(-ning) pul bekit-gan-ingiz, stol-ning
 you(-GEN) money hide-PST.PTCP-2SG.POSS table-GEN
 tag-i-da e-di.
 under-3SG.POSS-LOC COP-PST.3SG
 intended: ‘Your hiding the money was under the table.’
- (120) a. *Farhod(-ning) pul ol-gan-i, Hasan-dan e-di.
 Farhod(-GEN) money take-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS Hasan-ABL COP-PST.3SG
 intended: ‘Farhod’s taking money was from Hasan.’
- b. *Farhod(-ning) pul ber-gan-i, Hasan-ga e-di.
 Farhod(-GEN) money give-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS Hasan-DAT COP-PST.3SG
 intended: ‘Farhod’s giving money was to Hasan.’

EXTRAPOSITION AND SUBJECTS. There are two observations that differentiate between the EFS and EXPL clefts. The first is that only EFS clefts can host a free relative in subject (initial) position (121a); the subject position of an EXPL cleft is never overtly pronounced, and the cleft clause can never appear there (121b).

- (121) a. {Men ko'r-gan / men(-ing) ko'rgan-im}, siz(*-ni)
 {I see-PST.PTCP / I(-GEN) see-PST.PTCP-1SG.POSS} you(*-ACC)
 e-di-ngiz.
 COP-PST-2SG
 ‘Who I saw was you.’ (EFS)
- b. ∅(*Men ko'rgan-im / *U) siz-ni e-di(*-ngiz),
 (*I see-PST.PTCP-1SG.POSS / *3SG) you-ACC COP-PST.3SG(*-2SG)
 men ko'r-gan-im.
 I see-PST.PTCP-1SG.POSS
 ‘It was you that I saw.’ (EXPL)

Notice that the inability to host a cleft clause in subject position patterns together with the ability to host an accusative-marked or adjunct pivot, and also together with a copula that necessarily hosts default agreement. This is the clustering of properties associated with EXPL clefts.

²⁴ I initially found more variation in acceptability for d-licensing free relatives in pseudoclefts than for the bare free relatives (for which there was no variability). Upon follow-up I discovered that the vast majority of the speakers I checked with reject such d-licensing examples (119, 120) just as they reject the bare examples (117, 118). I conjecture that the slightly increased variability in d-licensing pseudoclefts may come from the circumstance that in many cases the d-licensing strategy for free relatives is indistinguishable from the strategy used for nominalized clauses. Since the bare strategy is used only for relative clauses and never for nominalized clauses, the restriction on adjunct and case-marked pivots is more clearly apparent there.

The second observation is that the subject free relative in pseudoclefts may optionally extrapose; when it does so, it leaves behind an optionally pronounced pronoun (as in 111–114 and 122).

- (122) (U) siz e-di-ngiz, {men ko'r-gan / men(-ing)
 (3SG) you COP-PST-2SG {I see-PST.PTCP / I(-GEN)
 ko'r-gan-im}.
 see-PST.PTCP-1SG.POSS}
 'It was you, who I saw.' (EFS)

By contrast, as demonstrated in 121b, the cleft clause of the EXPL cleft is obligatorily final, and an overt pronoun can never appear in subject position. That the free relative and cleft clause have both been extraposed, albeit from different positions, is supported by the fact that Uzbek is robustly head-final, and by evidence from prosody: there is a significant prosodic break after the copula in examples like 121b and 122.

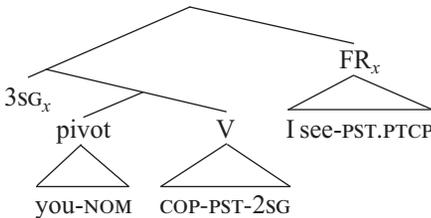
CONNECTING ANALYSIS AND DATA. The preceding sections have outlined six pieces of evidence suggesting that there are two distinct cleft structures in Uzbek; the list is repeated once more in Table 9. This section connects these properties to the proposed EFS and EXPL structures.

EXTRAPOSITION	EXPLETIVE
The copula agrees with the most accessible DP.	The copula bears default agreement.
No case connectivity on the pivot.	Case connectivity on the pivot.
The pivot is an argument.	The pivot is an argument or adjunct.
Subject position contains a free relative, or a third-person pronoun.	No overt element fills the subject position; null expletives only.
Extrapolation of the free relative in subject position is optional.	Extrapolation of the cleft clause from object position is obligatory.
The free relative is a genuine headless relative clause (one of two types).	The cleft clause is not a traditional relative clause.

TABLE 9. The distinctive properties of EFS and EXPL clefts.

The EFS cleft is really a pseudocleft, with a free relative subject and a pivot that corresponds to a gap in the free relative. This correspondence, however, is not by means of extraction. This explains the lack of connectivity effects on the pivot and the agreement between the pivot and copula: true to Pinkham and Hankamer's (1975) nomenclature, the EFS cleft is a 'deep' cleft, which means that the pivot originates as the complement of a copula, rather than as part of the cleft or free relative clause.

- (123) EFS: 'It was you, who I saw.'



There are three empirical observations about the EFS cleft that need to be connected to the structure outlined in 123 (repeated from 87 above). First, the features of the extraposed free relative must match the initial pronoun in EFS clefts (see §5.2 for further evidence). This follows if the pseudocleft and EFS cleft are related via extraposition of the free relative. The nature of this extraposition may involve either movement or coindexation between the pronoun and the cleft clause. Second, in cases like 123, it is DP₂ that triggers agreement on the copula (e.g. in 122). This follows from the observation, made

in §2.1, that agreement on the copula tracks the most accessible nominal, rather than tracking the subject. Third, this analysis posits that the free relative in pseudoclefts and the pronoun in EFS clefts are occupying the structural subject position.

This last assertion is difficult to test, because extraposition of relative clause arguments out of noncopular clauses is heavily degraded or ungrammatical in Uzbek.

- (124) *U kitob o'qi-y-di, men ko'r-gan (kishi).
 3SG book read-PRS-3SG I see-PST.PTCP (person)
 intended: 'He was reading a book, the man/one I saw.'

However, there is initial evidence that the subject position is relevant. First, in nominalized clauses both full relative clauses and free relatives in initial position can bear genitive case (this is the case associated with structural subjects of nominalized clauses).²⁵

- (125) Hasan-ni yoqtir-gan-ning siz e-kan-lig-ingiz-ni
 Hasan-ACC like-PST.PTCP-GEN you COP-KAN-COMP-2SG.POSS-ACC
 bil-a-man.
 know-PRS-1SG
 'I know that the one who likes Hasan is you.' (FR subject, pseudocleft)
- (126) Hasan-ni yoqtir-gan kishi-ning siz e-kan-lig-ingiz-ni
 Hasan-ACC like-PST.PTCP person-GEN you COP-KAN-COMP-2SG.POSS-ACC
 bil-a-man.
 know-PRS-1SG
 'I know that the person who likes Hasan is you.' (RC subject)

Second, extraposition from subject (initial) position is permitted in copular sentences for both full relative clauses and free relatives (127).

- (127) a. Men(-ing) ol-gan narsa-m, kitob e-di.
 I(-GEN) take-PST.PTCP thing-1SG.POSS book COP-PST.3SG
 'The thing that I took was a book.'
- b. (U) kitob e-di, men(-ing) ol-gan narsa-m.
 (3SG) book COP-PST.3SG I(-GEN) take-PST.PTCP thing-1SG.POSS
 'It was a book, the thing that I took.'

But while extraposition of objects (DP₂) in copular clauses may be possible, it never leaves behind a pronoun.

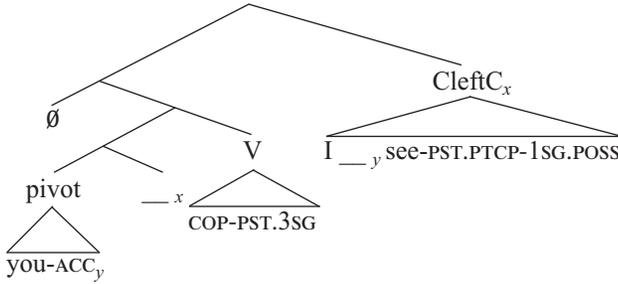
- (128) a. Siz Farhod ko'r-gan odam e-di-ngiz.
 you Farhod see-PST.PTCP man COP-PST-2SG
 'You were the man who Farhod saw.'
- b. Siz (*u) e-di-ngiz, Farhod ko'r-gan odam.
 you (*3SG) COP-PST-2SG Farhod see-PST.PTCP man
 'It was you, the man who Farhod saw.'

From this evidence I tentatively conclude that the extraposition in EFS clefts is actually structurally conditioned, and taking place from the structural subject position.

Turning to EXPL clefts, my claim is that they are different in that the position of the pivot is derived: it is not generated in pivot position, but gets there via extraction out of the cleft clause (129 is repeated from 88 above).

²⁵ Full clefts are not permitted in nominalized clauses (see §5.2), so it is not possible to test whether the pronoun of EFS clefts likewise could bear genitive.

(129) EXPL: ‘It was you that I saw.’



That this extraction has taken place is supported by the case connectivity and/or potential adjuncthood of the pivot in EXPL clefts. Section 5.1 demonstrated that genitive subjects of embedded clauses lose this case marker when extraction has taken place to the left periphery of the clause. That the cleft clause of EXPL clefts lacks genitive marking on the subject therefore suggests that extraction of the pivot has taken place. That agreement on the copula is always third-person singular (i.e. default) is directly related to the ban on overt subjects in EXPL clefts: there is no agreement with the pivot, because it is a derived pivot, and there is no agreement with a subject, because there is no overt subject, but perhaps only a nonovert expletive of some sort.

5.2. ON EXTRAPOSITION AND EXPLETIVES. Besides supporting the idea that there are two distinct cleft structures in Uzbek, the data presented here shed light on two often debated issues in the literature on clefts. A first issue concerns the status of the proform in clefts and its semantic contribution. A second issue concerns the status of extraposition in EFS and EXPL clefts.

PROFORMS AND EXPLETIVES. The status of the ‘it’ proform in the clefts of many languages has played a determining role in the analysis of cleft structures. Both the EFS and the EXPL analyses face difficulties in accounting for the full range of behavior of ‘it’ in Germanic. After outlining some of those difficulties here, I demonstrate that the Uzbek data actually align much more neatly with these two hypotheses than the English/Germanic data.

In the EXPL account, the proform that appears in *it*-clefts makes no semantic contribution to the sentence, and it does not enter into any relation with other components of the cleft; its presence merely satisfies a formal syntactic requirement (EPP on T, or the equivalent). Analyses that share this assumption are Chomsky 1977, Delahunty 1982, Heggie 1993, and É. Kiss 1998, among others. These analyses make the prediction that the behavior of ‘it’ in clefts will be consistent with the overall behavior of expletives in a given language (Fiedler 2010). For both German (Fiedler 2010) and Icelandic (Reeve 2007), this prediction is violated: the ‘it’ of clefts is consistently obligatory, but the expletive ‘it’ is optional in certain environments.

In the EFS analysis (Akmajian 1970 and later Percus 1997), the basic idea is that the ‘it’ is generated as a sister of the free relative, and is stranded when the free relative is extraposed. This analysis faces several difficulties in the context of English, which I recount from Fiedler’s (2010) discussion. First, it makes the implicit claim that extraposition in languages like English is obligatory just in this configuration (since extraposition is optional in many other environments). Second, the English ‘it’ is always singular, though the pivot may be plural (e.g. *(The ones) who drank all the beer were John and Mary* vs. *It was John and Mary who drank all the beer*).

It is not the goal of this article to resolve any of these difficulties for English; rather, I point out here that NONE of the objections raised above apply to the Uzbek data, when they are parsed into two groups representing two structures. The objection to the EXPL account was that expletives in ‘it’-clefts do not always pattern with expletives elsewhere in the language, but in Uzbek, the ‘expletive’ is something like a null pronoun, which is not pronounced in clefts or existential constructions (§4.3). For Uzbek, there is nothing inconsistent about the expletive account for EXPL clefts: there is no overtly pronounced subject in EXPL clefts just as there is no overtly pronounced subject anywhere that an expletive might be expected to appear.

If the subject in Uzbek EXPL clefts is null, this naturally raises the question of the nature of the pronounced third-person singular subject that we have seen in extraposed pseudoclefts (EFS clefts). It seems straightforward to hypothesize that this pronoun is semantically contentful, since true expletive pronouns in Uzbek are nonovert. The difficulty that arises for English EFS analyses with respect to the pronoun always being singular is not a difficulty for Uzbek. This is because the pronoun that appears ‘in place of’ the extraposed free relative in Uzbek EFS clefts may also be plural, if the free relative is plural. For pseudoclefts like 130a,c, then, their corresponding extraposed forms will be 130b,d.

- (130) a. Men ko’r-gan-lar, siz-lar e-di-ngiz-lar.
 I see-PST.PTCP-PL you-PL COP-PST-2-PL
 ‘Who I saw were you-all.’ (bare FR, pseudocleft)
- b. U(-lar) siz-lar e-di-ngiz-lar, men ko’r-gan-lar.
 3(-PL) you-PL COP-PST-2-PL I see-PST.PTCP-PL
 ‘It was you-all, who I saw.’ (bare FR, EFS)
- c. Men(-ing) ko’r-gan-lar-im, siz-lar e-di-ngiz-lar.
 I(-GEN) see-PST.PTCP-PL-1SG.POSS you-PL COP-PST-2-PL
 ‘Who I saw were you-all.’ (d-licensing FR, pseudocleft)
- d. U(-lar) siz-lar e-di-ngiz-lar, men(-ing) ko’r-gan-lar-im.
 3(-PL) you-PL COP-PST-2-PL I(-GEN) see-PST.PTCP-PL-1SG.POSS
 ‘It was you-all, who I saw.’ (d-licensing FR, EFS)

The matching in number features between the pronoun and extraposed free relative in EFS clefts is exactly what is predicted by an extraposition-from-subject account like Akmajian’s (1970). I take this number matching as a piece of support for the claim that pseudoclefts and EFS clefts are related, via movement or coindexation between the pronoun and the free relative.

A second incorrect prediction made by EFS accounts of English clefts is that the extraposition of the free relative should not be obligatory, since it is not usually obligatory elsewhere in English. For Uzbek, however, there is no such difficulty: extraposition of the free relative from subject position in EFS clefts is always optional and is clearly a function of discourse. This optionality does not hold of the extraposition of the cleft clause in EXPL clefts; in a broader sense, then, the question of why extraposition is sometimes obligatory and sometimes optional is still a very open one. However, the Uzbek EFS cleft data conform to the predictions of an EFS account quite closely, which I take to be a step in the right direction.

The lessons to be learned from this discussion, although it is necessarily inconclusive about certain details, are first, that there are clearly two distinct structures involved in Uzbek, and second, that the difficulty in understanding the English cases has to do with the language-specific facts of English—for example, that its expletive and nonexpletive

referential pronoun are the same in certain cases. Uzbek serves as a model case for a two-analyses approach to clefts, reviving Pinkham and Hankamer's 1975 idea in a significantly different linguistic context.

EXTRAPOSITION. The term 'extraposition' has been used throughout this article to refer to operations involved in deriving both the EFS and EXPL clefts. Having sorted through the initial generalizations about the two types of cleft, I can now raise and partially address a number of interesting questions about this operation, both Uzbek-internally and more generally.

In §4.3, I assumed without comment that the clefts that act as a source for the SLC are truncated, since the cleft clause of EFS and of EXPL clefts never appears in the embedded clause. This is true both of nominalized clauses (131) and full embedded clauses with the complementizer *deb* (132).

- (131) Men(-ing) ko'r-gan-im, siz e-kan-lig-ingiz-ni
 I(-GEN) see-PST.PTCP-1SG.POSS you COP-KAN-COMP-2SG.POSS-ACC
 bil-a-man.
 know-PRS-1SG
 'I know that who I saw was you.' (embedded pseudocleft)
- a. *U siz e-kan-siz, men(-ing) ko'r-gan-im-lig-i-ni
 3SG you COP-KAN-2SG I(-GEN) see-PST.PTCP-1SG.POSS-COMP.3SG-ACC
 bil-a-man.
 know-PRS-1SG
 intended: 'I know that it was you, who I saw.' (embedded EFS)
- b. *Siz-ni e-kan, men ko'r-gan-im-lig-i-ni
 you-ACC COP-KAN I see-PST.PTCP-1SG.POSS-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC
 bil-a-man.
 know-PRS-1SG
 intended: 'I know that it was you that I saw.' (embedded EXPL)
- (132) a. *Siz-ni e-kan, u ko'r-gan-i deb o'yla-y-man.
 you-ACC COP-KAN 3SG see-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS COMP think-PRS-1SG
 'I think that it was you that he saw.' (embedded EXPL)
- b. *(U) siz e-kan-siz, u-ning ko'r-gan-i deb
 (3SG) you COP-KAN-2SG 3SG-GEN see-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS COMP
 o'yla-y-man.
 think-PRS-1SG
 'I think that it was you, who he saw.' (embedded EFS)

A useful by-product of this investigation is that it gives us a way to probe the approximate landing or attachment site of the cleft clause in both kinds of clefts. That the cleft clause of EXPL clefts and the extraposed free relative of EFS clefts are both unacceptable under embedding with *deb* as well as *-lig-* suggests that the attachment site is very high, most likely above CP.²⁶

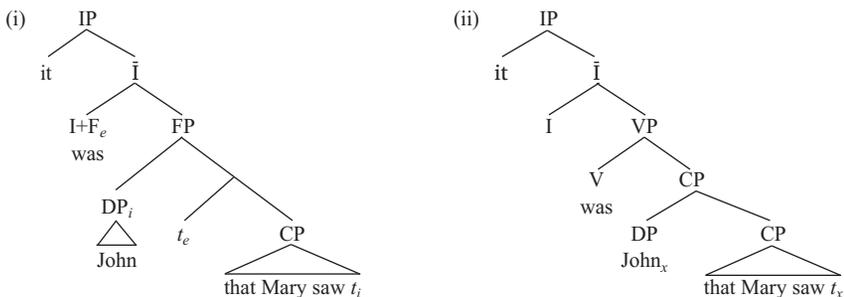
²⁶ As noted by a referee, the extraposition pattern in Uzbek EXPL clefts may also help to differentiate between the two structures originally presented in §5 above, and repeated here, as possible illustrations of the EXPL cleft analysis for more familiar languages.

The fact that the cleft clause cannot appear inside embedded clauses is a primary motivator for the idea that the relevant structures under embedding are truncated clefts, as suggested earlier. It is worth considering the relation between truncated and full clefts, both generally and within Uzbek. A major question is whether the truncated cleft is derived from a full cleft via deletion of the cleft clause, as argued by Declerck (1988:241). There are good reasons to be suspicious of such an account for English (see Mikkelsen 2007 for a useful discussion), and we are far from being able to provide an answer for this question for Uzbek. Nevertheless, there is some preliminary evidence from distributional patterns associated with the copula that may help in understanding how the truncated cleft ends up as part of the embedded structure that, when reduced, may result in an SLC. ALL of the speakers consulted in this study reject truncated clefts with finite past-tense copular clauses and accusative pivots (133a).

- (133) Hasan kim-ni-dir ko'r-di.
 Hasan some-ACC-one see-PST-3SG
 'Hasan saw someone.'
 a. *(U) kim-ni e-di?
 (3SG) who-ACC COP-PST.3SG
 b. \diamond (*U) kim-ni e-di, Hasan ko'r-gan-i?
 (*3SG) who-ACC COP-PST.3SG Hasan see-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS
 'Who was it that Hasan saw?'

This evidence appears problematic for the analysis put forward here: it suggests that there is no grammatical way to arrive at the truncated cleft structure that we would want to posit as the underlying source of SLCs with accusative remnants, even for those speakers that accept the EXPL cleft. Fortunately, the copula attached to KAN behaves differently: there is both a truncated and a nontruncated version of the EXPL cleft for certain speakers. All of the speakers who accept full EXPL clefts also accept truncated clefts with this copula (134).

- (134) Hasan kim-ni-dir ko'r-gan.
 Hasan some-ACC-one see-PRF.3SG
 'Hasan has seen someone.'
 a. \diamond (*U) kim-ni e-kan?
 (*3SG) who-ACC COP-KAN
 'Who was it?'
 b. \diamond (*U) kim-ni e-kan, Hasan ko'r-gan-i?
 (*3SG) who-ACC COP-KAN Hasan see-PST.PTCP-3SG.POSS
 'Who was it that Hasan saw?'



If we wish to understand extraposition as movement of a CP constituent, then the fact that the pivot is left behind in Uzbek extraposition might provide initial evidence in favor of the preextraposition structure in (i) over (ii).

- c. \diamond (*U) kim-ni (e-kan)-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.
 (*3SG) who-ACC (COP-KAN)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG
 ‘I don’t know who it was.’

That an overt subject is forbidden in both 134a and 134b suggests that both are types of EXPL cleft. I leave open the question of why a truncated cleft is available for only the KAN, and not the simple past, copula. Whatever the explanation, this evidence suggests that while full clefts like 133b and 134b are unacceptable inside embedded clauses, there is at least one kind of truncated cleft, in 134a, that CAN be embedded and further reduced (via nonpronunciation of the copula), leading to an SLC. Strikingly, none of the forms in 134 get an evidential reading in conjunction with *e-kan*; this is expected if they are all instances of the same construction.

A second component of the discussion on extraposition concerns the EXPL cleft specifically. For English, a question for the syntactic structures proposed for EXPL clefts is whether there was any extraposition of the cleft clause: as an adjunct or as a complement to the copula, its linear order would be identical. This question becomes more interesting in head-final languages like German, in which the embedded-clause word order is verb-final. One might expect a difference in position between complement and extraposed CPs, but the diagnostic falls through because German complement CPs linearize to the right of the verb even in embedded clauses (135) (Fiedler 2010).

- (135) a. Hans hat gesagt, daß Maria das Bier getrunken hat.
 Hans has said that Maria the beer drunk has
 ‘Hans has said that Maria has drunk the beer.’
 b. *Hans hat daß Maria das Bier getrunken hat gesagt.
 Hans has that Maria the beer drunk has said

Here, too, Uzbek offers a simpler set of data: clausal complements linearize to the left of the complement-taking verb, but the cleft clause is always to the right of the copula (cf. 136).

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

Given that the cleft clause behaves nothing like other complements, we can safely conjecture that it has in fact been extraposed.

The discussion here leaves open the serious question of why the extraposition invoked in EFS and EXPL clefts is so different along a number of parameters. As pointed out by a referee, it is not a given that the two operations are even the same. The extraposition operation in EFS clefts is optional, targets a DP, and leaves behind a pronoun. The extraposition invoked for EXPL clefts targets what seems to be a clause, leaves behind no pronoun, and is obligatory. These different clusterings of properties suggest that there might be two distinct operations at play. It is possible to conjecture that the former could be profitably analyzed as a type of coindexation, while the latter may be a type of movement. But the issue is a difficult one to address, in part because the population of speakers who accept the EXPL cleft is apparently relatively small.²⁷

6. CONCLUSION. This investigation has pursued two goals: first, to reveal the underlying sources of the Uzbek SLC, and second, to reveal the structural properties of one of

²⁷ One possibility is that extraposition involves movement, following accounts like Percus 1997 and others. But there are other accounts, such as the asyndetic coordination account of Koster 2000—adapted in den Dikken 2006 and 2013—in which the cleft clause is base-generated in a high position; these may prove to be more adequate models of one or both types of extraposition discussed here.

those sources: Uzbek clefts. I have argued that there are at least two sources for the Uzbek SLC construction, one of them a copular clause (137a), and the other a truncated EXPL cleft (137b).

- (137) a. Men kim-ni-dir ko'r-di-m, lekin (u-ning) kim
 I some-ACC-one see-PST-1SG but (3SG-GEN) who
 (e-kan)-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.
 (COP-KAN)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG
 'I saw someone, but I don't know who (he was).' (RCC)
- b. ◇Men kim-ni-dir ko'r-di-m, lekin (*u-ning) kim-ni
 I some-ACC-one see-PST-1SG but (*3SG-GEN) who-ACC
 (e-kan)-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.
 (COP-KAN)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG
 'I saw someone, but I don't know who (it was).' (reduced EXPL)

EFS clefts, too, can give rise to an SLC: they can undergo reduction, just as other copular clauses can. This yields structures like that in 138, in which the possessive agreement is with the pivot.

- (138) Hasan kim-ni-dir yoqtir-a-di, va (u-ning) siz
 Hasan some-ACC-one like-PRS-3SG and (3SG-GEN) you
 (e-kan)-lig-ingiz-ni bil-a-man.
 (COP-KAN)-COMP-2SG.POSS-ACC know-PRS-1SG
 'Hasan likes someone, and I know that (it is) you.' (reduced EFS)

In an SLC, the pivot must be a WH-phrase, and consequently there will be third-person agreement, which may reflect the features of the WH-phrase or the features of a third-person subject.

- (139) Hasan kim-ni-dir yoqtir-a-di, lekin (u-ning) kim
 Hasan some-ACC-one like-PRS-3SG but (3SG-GEN) who
 (e-kan)-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.
 (COP-KAN)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG
 'Hasan likes someone, but I don't know who (it/he is).'

It will be impossible, in such cases, to tell the difference between the EFS cleft and a simple reduced copular structure, though we can assume that both are possible sources of the SLC. The ambiguity increases even further if the subject of the embedded clause of 139 is not pronounced: in that case, the underlying nonreduced source could be a copular clause, an EXPL cleft, or an EFS cleft.

This investigation was based on data from an under-investigated language, an endeavor that predictably raises new questions related to its syntactic structure. There is clearly more that can be done to investigate Uzbek clause structure on the basis of data from embedding in nominalized clauses. And there are questions, left unaddressed here, about the formal properties of clefts: what accounts for the different behavior of extraposition in EFS and EXPL clefts? What about the formal structure of cleft clauses, which seem to exhibit relative clause-like properties but are clearly different from standard relative clauses? And finally, there is the serious question of variation in judgments across speakers for SLC and cleft forms with accusative pivots.

These investigations also provide a window into the theoretical issues that arise in the domains of sluicing and clefts. In the first place, crosslinguistic investigations of sluicing in recent years have begun appealing more to the possibility that not all underlying sources of sluicing are plain clauses. Especially when sluicing is found to betray unusual properties for a given language, copular clauses or clefts are often appealed to

as the underlying source of the sluice and as a potential explanation for whatever unusual behavior is attested. Although every language-specific investigation will be different, certain diagnostics developed here have the potential to be carried over: the use of agreement markers in nominalized clauses to diagnose the unpronounced subjects in reduced clauses, for example, is extensible to any of the many languages that employ agreement strategies of a similar kind in nominalized clauses. The availability of such diagnostics is nontrivial, if only because of the controversy and disagreement that surround such investigations (e.g. in Japanese and Turkish). In the second place, the Uzbek facts make a solid case for Pinkham and Hankamer's (1975) claim that, in a single language, there may be two distinct types of cleft structures. The fact that these two structures are more easily distinguished in Uzbek provides the investigator with an opportunity to learn more about the properties of each type of cleft structure. This can also be used as a starting point for reopening the question of whether more than one analysis might be at play crosslinguistically.

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