

**Asymmetries in Russian Predicate Clefts****Ibnbari Lena**

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**Abstract**

The pronunciation of the two verbal copies (V-doubling) in the constructions termed the Predicate Clefts (PC) is subject to the PF principles (Nunes, 2004, Landau, 2006). If such requirement is absent, V-doubling is ruled out by economy considerations and the result is a gap in the base position. This situation is observed in Russian when the fronted verb is an embedded infinitive. In Russian, doubling of the infinitive is ungrammatical while in Hebrew it is optionally possible. This asymmetry is accounted for, I argue, by that in Hebrew control structures it is possible to front either a vP or a CP. Russian, on the other hand, is the language where Long Distance Predicate movement is missing, therefore only the full CP can be fronted but its subpart cannot.<sup>†</sup>

§ 1 Predicate Clefts (PC) or serial verb constructions exist in many languages and have got much attention in the relevant literature (Vata (Koopman, 1984, 2000), Yoruba (Dekydspotter, 1992), Yiddish, Brazilian Portuguese (Cable, 2004), Spanish (Vicente, 2007), Hungarian (Ürögdi, 2006), Hebrew (Landau, 2006, 2007), Nupe (Kandybowicz, 2006), Russian (Abels, 2001), Aboh & Dyakonova (2006)) mostly due to the phenomenon of verb-doubling. In Russian, the lower V-copy in PC is obligatorily pronounced when the cleft targets a finite verb.

- (1) a. **Pisat'** (-to) on **\*(pišet)**, no ne reguljarno.  
write.Inf. part. he writes but Neg. regularly  
"As for writing, he writes, but not regularly."
- b. [**Poslat'** ej pis'mo], on **\*(poslal)**, no otveta ne polučil.  
send.Inf. her.Dat. letter.Acc. he sent but answer Neg. received  
"As for sending her a/the letter, he did it, but he didn't get an answer."

However, when the target is an embedded infinitive, the lower infinitive-copy is necessarily realized as a gap.

- (2) a. Rugatsja (-to) ja konečno ne budu (\*rugatsja).  
scold.Inf.Impf. part. I certainly Neg. will-be scold Inf.Impf.  
"I certainly WON'T make a row." A&D (2006, e.g.15)
- b. Pisat' rabotu ja uže načala (\*pisat'), ...  
write-Inf. work I already started write-Inf.  
"I already started writing (my) work."

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<sup>†</sup> I wish to thank the audience of the IATL 24 and also the three reviewers for the comments and questions which led to the improvement of this work. The remaining mistakes are mine.

- c. PRIXODIT' vo-vremja on taki u neje potreboval (\*prixodit'), no...  
 come.Inf. on time he part. at her demanded come.Inf. but  
 "As for coming on time, he indeed demanded from her to come, but..."

The option of V-doubling in fronting of the control infinitives which is missing in Russian is available in Hebrew.

- (3) a. [ le'hagia ], Ron hivtix/ hitxayev (le'hagia).  
 arrive.Inf. Ron promised/pledged arrive.Inf.  
 "As for arriving, Gil promised/pledged to arrive."  
 b. likro et ha-sefer, Ron hivtix (likro).  
 read.Inf. Acc. the-book Ron promised read.Inf.  
 "As for reading the book, Ron promised to read."

My aim in this paper is twofold: first, to show that a gap in constructions of infinitive topicalization can be uniformly explained within the PF approach to chain resolution (Landau, 2006), second, to provide support to the claim that the Russian-Hebrew asymmetry in infinitive fronting is accounted for by the difference in the derivational options which are available in each language.

The paper is organized as follows: § 2 explains how the PF approach to chain resolution is implemented in a finite PC and shows its problematic aspects in accounting for the gap in the infinitive fronting. § 3 deals with the infinitive fronting in restructuring and control contexts. In § 4 is the justification of the claim that Long Distance Predicate movement is missing in Russian. In § 5 I refer to the difference between Russian and some other languages with respect to vP-fronting out of finite CPs. § 6 shows that the Russian-Hebrew asymmetry is due to the limited derivational options in Russian as compared to Hebrew.

§ 2 Descriptively, in a simple PC in Russian (eg. 1),<sup>1</sup> the fronted part can include only a verb or a verb and its complement(s). The fronted verb is realized as an infinitive, which is morphologically manifested by the infinitival suffix. The base-copy of a fronted verb is necessarily pronounced and bears finite verb morphology. The fronted constituent is interpreted as a contrastive topic of a sentence and a contrastive proposition is usually required. Particle 'to', a clitic-like element which is an overt realization of a Topic head, can optionally follow the fronted topic constituent. Following Abels (2001), I assume that Russian PC is formed by A'-movement of the remnant vP to the specifier of a Topic head which dominates a TP.<sup>2</sup>

The core question concerning PC is the phonological realization of two verb copies in these constructions. V-doubling evidently contradicts the assumption that a single (generally a head) copy in a chain suffices for recoverability of its content at the interfaces. Multiple copy realization is a phenomenon that calls for explanation. Attempts were made to provide such an explanation either in syntactic (Koopman

<sup>1</sup> By simple PC I mean a construction in which a clefted verb is the only one in a clause.

<sup>2</sup> Island sensitivity and binding facts unambiguously point to the superiority of the movement analysis of Russian PC over the base-generation approach Cable (2004). For the arguments against base-generation analysis see Ibnbari (2007).

1984, 2000, Aboh & Dyakonova, 2006) or phonological terms (Nunes 2004, Landau, 2006).

The advocates of the syntactic approach assume that V-doubling in PC is a result of a requirement imposed on the syntactic derivation. The PF analysis adopted here, on the other hand, presupposes that while syntax provides the necessary output by creating multiple copies of a moved category, the decision which and how many copies to pronounce is taken at the PF interface. The Principle of P-Recoverability proposed in Landau (2006) and stated informally, says that in a non-trivial chain a copy of an element must be pronounced if it is associated with phonetic content; economy of pronunciation requires deletion at PF of all copies up to P-Recoverability. Applied to PC, P-Recoverability necessitates pronunciation of the higher V-copy because it is a head (of a constituent) which surfaces in SpecTopP, a kind of the EPP position. As far as the V-copy in the main clause in PC is concerned, its pronunciation is determined by the PF requirement of T<sup>o</sup> - the head in which verbal morphology resides. In a simple PC, the lower V-copy is obligatory because it serves to support the morphology of T[fin].

Infinitive fronting differs from the simple PC in that the lower infinitive copy is realized as a gap, and the question therefore is how to explain the lack of V-doubling in the examples in (2). I crucially assume that non-finite T is associated with its own characteristic morphology and must force infinitive doubling in cases when [T-Fin] is stranded. On the vP-fronting derivation, the PF approach to chain resolution in infinitive fronting correctly predicts a gap in the sentences like in (2a), arguably in (2b), but not in (2c). In addition, the contrast between Russian and Hebrew needs explanation.

The proposal formally stated in (4), accounts for the impossibility of V-doubling in Russian infinitive fronting constructions.

(4)

A gap in infinitive fronting is to be ultimately explained within the PF approach to chain resolution (Landau 2006). There are however two different routes within this explanation the choice of which depends on the structure (mono-clausal vs bi-clausal).

- In mono-clausal structures, the inflectional features of T are expressed on the highest verbal element (an auxiliary or a restructuring verb) taking a vP complement.
- In bi-clausal structures a gap is due to CP-topicalization. The features of the embedded T-head are realized in the derived position; the lower T is deleted at PF as part of the fronted CP.

The proposal in (4) not only provides the explanation for the gap in Russian infinitive fronting constructions, but also seems to correctly account for the differences between Russian and Hebrew. However, at present I am unable to pinpoint the possible source of such distinction; therefore I will not refer to this question here.

§ 3 According to the proposal in (4), we need to distinguish between mono-clausal and bi-clausal structures in order to be able to optimally account for the lack of V-doubling. In a mono-clausal structure there is only one T-head, namely T[fin]. When the embedded infinitive is topicalized, the function of morphology support is taken

over by an embedding finite verb and no question of V-doubling ever arises. For example, in (2a), repeated below as (5), the infinitive is a part of the analytic non-present (future imperfective) verb form. As the rough structure in (5b) shows, a vP headed by the infinitive can be topicalized and doubling of a lexical verb *pisat'* 'write' is ungrammatical. This is because the auxiliary 'be' which bears Tense/Agr morphology satisfies the PF requirement of T.

- (5) a.   Rugatsja           (-to) ja konečno ne *budu*       (\*rugatsja).  
           scold.Inf.Impf. part. I certainly Neg. will-be scold Inf.Impf.  
           "I certainly WON'T make a row."
- b.    [TopP [vP V...]] [T° [ AuxP BE [vP \*V.... ]]]
- 

There are, however, more complicated instances of infinitive fronting in Russian which will be the locus of attention in this section. These instances include topicalization of the infinitive complement in restructuring and control contexts. Consider the examples in (6) and (7).

- (6) a.   Pisat'           rabotu ja       uže       načala       (\*pisat').  
           write.Inf.       work I       already started write.Inf  
           "I already started writing (my) work."
- b.    Tancevat' (-to) ona umeet (\*tancevat'), no ne xočet.  
           dance.Inf part. she can dance.Inf but Neg. wants  
           "As for dancing, she can dance, but she doesn't want to."
- (7) a.   Prijeti       domoj vo-vremja Andrej ej obeščal (\*prijeti), no...  
           come.Inf. home on time Andrej her promised come.Inf. but  
           "As for coming home on time, Andrej promised her to come, but..."
- b.    Prihodit' vo-vremja on tak i u neje potreboval (\*prihodit'), no...  
           come.Inf. on time he part. and at her demanded come.Inf. but  
           "As for coming on time, he indeed demanded from her to come, but..."

The examples in (6)-(7) are similar to (5) in that the topicalized phrase includes an infinitive whose doublet in the main clause must not be pronounced. The difference is that in (6)-(7) the embedding verb is not the auxiliary; it is an aspectual verb in (6a), a modal verb in (6b), and a control verb in (7). Assuming that control infinitives are structurally CPs<sup>3</sup>, the lack of V-doubling in at least (7) is surprising. This is because on a vP-fronting derivation a verbal stem would be needed to support nonfinite T morphology. Another question is how to subcategorize the cases in (6). In what follows it will be shown that Aspectual/Modal verbs in Russian are restructuring (RV), i.e. the infinitive complement they take is maximally a vP and the structure with these verbs is mono-clausal. The implication of this is that the lower copy of the clefted infinitive in restructuring contexts is realized as a gap because there is just one

<sup>3</sup> For the compelling evidence that control infinitives are CPs see Landau (2000).

T head in the structure – the matrix T – and its PF requirement is satisfied by the RV itself. In other words, PCs involving Aspectual/Modal verbs pattern with PCs with the auxiliary 'be' in (5).

The structural distinction between infinitive complements to RVs and control verbs is not trivial. Unfortunately, there is no substantial work on restructuring in Russian that I am aware of. In order to establish the size of the infinitive complements to Modal/Aspectual verbs, I use some of the tests adopted from Wurmbrand's (2003) work on restructuring in German alongside with a language specific test of Genitive of Negation (GoN). It should be pointed out that some of the tests yield ambiguous results, partly due to variations in native speakers' judgments. Nevertheless, taken in a complex, the tests show that Modal/Aspectual verbs in Russian display the restructuring properties, i.e. the infinitive complements to these verbs are not clausal and should be distinguished from control infinitives.

In Russian, a direct object, which is a complement to a transitive verb is assigned Accusative case. The Accusative case can optionally change into Genitive in the scope of sentential negation, - a phenomenon known as Genitive of Negation (GoN). Taken literally, the rule of GoN licensing presupposes the availability of a T head in the structure.<sup>4</sup> In the light of this, consider the sentences in (8).

- (8) a. On mog **ne** otpravljat' eti pis'ma/etix pisem.  
he could Neg. send.Inf. these letters.Acc. these letters.Gen.  
"He could not send these letters."
- b. On **ne** mog otpravljat' eti pis'ma/ etix pisem.  
he Neg. could send.Inf. letters.Acc./letters.Gen.  
"He couldn't send these letters."

The paradox of the situation in (8) is that, on the one hand, an embedded infinitive can license GoN (8a) while, on the other hand, Genitive NP is also grammatical when the embedding modal verb is negated (8b), i.e. the embedded infinitive is both clausal and nonclausal.<sup>5</sup> The same structural ambiguity is observed when the GoN test is applied in control configurations, as the pair in (9) shows. Although negated control verbs are

<sup>4</sup>According to King (1995), particle 'ne', instantiating sentential negation is a T-element.

<sup>5</sup> The fact that the infinitive embedded under the RV can be negated is an additional problem. The negated restructuring infinitive can be fronted while clefting of the negated finite verb is ungrammatical.

- i. a. Ne otpravljat' eti pis'ma/etix pisem on mog \*(ne) \*(otpravljat'), ...  
Neg. send.Inf. these letters.Acc. these letters.Gen. he could Neg. send.Inf.  
"As for not sending these letters, he could do it, ..."
- b. \*Ne otpravljat' eti pis'ma/etix pisem on ne otpravljal.  
Neg. send.Inf. these letters.Acc. these letters.Gen. he Neg. sent.Past  
Intended: "As for not sending these letters, he didn't send them."

To account for this, I suggest that the negation in (ia) is a kind of constituent negation (Embick & Noyer, 2001: 588), i.e. it is v/VP-adjoined.

generally unable to license GoN (9a), cases of Long Distance GoN licensing were also reported in the literature (the example in (9b) is from Brown & Franks, 1995).

- (9) a. On ne obeščal Marii [otpravit' eti pis'ma/\*etix pisem].  
 he Neg. promised Maria send.Inf. these letters.Acc./these letters.Gen.  
 "He didn't promise Maria to send these letters."
- b. Ja ne xoču zastavljat' ego [PRO rešat' takix zadač].  
 I NEG want force him to-solve [such problems]GEN  
 "I don't want to force him to solve such problems."

The data in (8) and (9) suggest that without some modification of the GoN licensing rule, it cannot be helpful in distinguishing between restructuring and control infinitives. Therefore I leave it here.

In Wurmbrand's (2003) system, Long Object Movement (LOM) is one of the tests which unambiguously points to the non-clausal nature of the restructuring infinitives. In German, the embedded object must overtly move across the RV in order to get its Accusative case checked since, by assumption, the embedded infinitive lacks  $v^0$ . The situation in German is similar to that shown in (10a). However, in Russian, a superficially similar object movement seems to be of different nature. First of all, it cannot be movement for case. As the examples in (10b, c) show, not only Accusative objects, but also Dative NPs and PP-complements can move to a position preceding the verbal complex.

- (10) a. On **nasj** *načal* serjezno bespokoit' tj.  
 he. Nom. us.Acc. start.Past.Perf.3Sg seriously worry.Inf.Imprf.  
 "He started to worry us seriously."
- b. On **namj** *možet* pomoč' tj.  
 he.Nom. us.Dat. can.Pres.3Sg. help.Inf.Perf.  
 "He can help us."
- c. On **v ètoj** *načal* verit' tj.  
 he.Nom. in this begin. Past.Perf.3Sg believe. Inf.Imprf.  
 "He began to believe in it."

Secondly, the object movement shown in (10) is optional in Russian. Indefinite full NPs (unlike pronominalized objects) sound much more naturally in a sentence-final position.

- (11) On ?? **kakix-to sosedej** *načal* serjezno bespokoit' **kakix-to sosedej** .  
 he some neighbors.Acc. start seriously worry some neighbours.Acc.  
 "He started to worry some neighbors."

Considering objects' behavior described above, it is plausible to conclude that this kind of movement is scrambling. As such, it cannot be evidence of a (non)clausal structure of the infinitive complements because LD scrambling is possible in Russian. Consider the pair in (12) with control verbs.

- (12) a. \*On **namj** zastavit Andreja [pomoč' tj].  
 he.Nom. us.Dat. will-force Andrey.Acc. help.Inf.  
 intended: "He will force Andrey to help us."
- b. On **namj** obeščal (\*Andreju) [pomoč' tj].  
 he.Nom. us.Dat. promised Andrey.Dat. help.Inf.  
 "He promised to help us."

While the matrix object in (12a) must be overt, it is optional in (12b). LD scrambling of the embedded NP *nam* 'to-us' is possible, although only in case when no other NP intervenes.

In sum, if LD scrambling is allowed in Russian in principle, then the object movement in (10) and (12), unlike LOM in German, cannot distinguish between restructuring and control infinitives.

I will now turn to the tests which unambiguously point to the structural difference between restructuring and control infinitives. The first is the *Independent Tense Specification*. Wurmbrand (2003:83) argues that infinitive complements to restructuring verbs cannot have *independent* tense specification, because they lack a T-head which licenses it. Modal/Aspectual verbs in Russian do not allow their infinitival complement to be modified by a time adverb, the fact which testifies for the absence of a T-head in the infinitive.

- (13) \*Včera my mogli/načali [segodnja rabotat' na novom meste].  
 yesterday we could/started today work.Inf. on new place  
 \*"Yesterday we could/started to work in a new place today."

Control infinitives, on the other hand, allow independent tense specification; the infinitive can be modified by a time adverb which is different from the matrix one.

- (14) a. Včera my namerevalis' /obeščali/otkazalis' [segodnja prijti na rabotu.]  
 yesterday we intended /promised/ refused today to-come on work  
 "Yesterday we intended/promised/refused to come to work today."
- b. [Segodnja prijti na rabotu] my uže namerevalis' /obeščali/otkazalis'  
 today to-come on work we already intended /promised/ refused  
 (\*prijti).  
 to-come  
 "As for coming to work today, we have already  
 intended/promised/refused to come."

Note in passing that the fronted infinitive can pied-pipe a high adverb (14b). This can be taken as evidence for clausal topicalization of control infinitives.

The second test is the *Partial/Split Control*. Assuming that control infinitives are CPs, they cannot be embedded under the RVs. The verb 'gather' in (15) is semantically collective, i.e. it takes a PRO subject partially controlled by the matrix subject *Andrej*. The infinitive including a collective predicate is structurally a CP; the attempt to embed it under a Modal or an Aspectual verb yields sharply ungrammatical sentences.

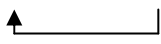
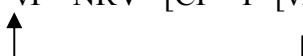
- (15) a. \*Andrej mog/dolžen [sobrat'sja v sem'].  
 Andrey can/must.Past.Prf.3Sg.M. gather-refl.Inf. in seven  
 "Andrey could/had to gather at seven o'clock."
- b. \*Andrej načal/prodolžal [sobiratsja v sem'].  
 Andrey began continued gather.Inf.Imprf. in seven  
 "Andrey started/continued to gather at seven o'clock."

Unlike Modal/Aspectual verbs, control verbs can take the infinitive which includes a collective predicate, e.i. they allow Partial/Split Control.

- (16) a. Andrej<sub>j</sub> /rešyl/xotel/ sovetoval /obeščal [PRO<sub>j+</sub> sobratsja v sem'].  
 A. decided/ /wanted/advised/promised gather.Inf. in seven  
 "Andrej intended/advised/decided/wanted to gather at seven o'clock."
- b. [Sobratsja v sem'] Andrej **namerevalsja/sovetoval/rešyl/xotel**  
 gather.Inf. on seven A. intended/advised/decided/wanted  
 (\*sobratjsa), (no pože plany izmenilis').  
 gather.Inf. but later plans changed.  
 "Andrej intended/advised/decided/wanted to gather at seven o'clock,  
 but later the plans changed."

In sum, relying primarily on such tests as Independent Tense valuation & Partial/Split Control, it is possible to structurally distinguish control infinitives from the infinitive complements to Modal/Aspectual verbs. The latter are restructuring verbs in Russian, i.e. the infinitive complement they take is maximally a vP. The implication of this for our purposes is that in infinitive fronting constructions, the function of the RVs, is similar to that of the auxiliary 'be', they carry tense/agreement morphology of the finite T; V-doubling therefore is disallowed.

Control verbs differ from the auxiliary 'be' and RVs in that the infinitive complement they take is a CP, i.e. the structure with these verbs is bi-clausal. Control infinitives can be topicalized, pronunciation of the infinitive copy in the base position is disallowed. This result, I argue, is due to the fact that in Russian control sentences a full CP can topicalize, but it is not possible to cleft a vP out of a nonfinite CP, i.e. the derivation structurally represented in (17a), but not in (17b) is the correct one for Russian.

- (17) b. [TopP CP NRV [CP T° [vP V...]]]  

- b. \*[TopP vP NRV [CP T° [vP V...]]]  


§ 4 As the first step in the argumentation I wish to defend the descriptive generalization in (18).



(18) *Long Distance Predicate movement is missing in Russian*

The data in (19) through (21) show that the above generalization correctly reflects the situation in the language. The ungrammaticality of the sentences in (19a and b) shows that movement of primary & secondary predicates out of finite clauses with the overt complementizer *čto* 'that' is bad in Russian.<sup>6</sup>

- (19) a. \**Bol'na, Andrej skazal [čto Marija byla t].*  
 ill.Nom. Andrey.Nom. said that Maria.Nom. was  
 "It is ill that Andrey said Maria was."
- b. \**Pjanyj, žena skazala [čto on vernulsja domoj t].*  
 drunk.Nom. wife.Nom. said that he.Nom. returned home  
 "It is drunk that the wife said that he came home."

Movement of predicates out of subjunctive clauses with the overt complementizer *čtoby* ('that'+part.) is equally ungrammatical.

- (20) a. \**Vežljivoj, Andrej skazal Marii [čtoby ona byla t].*  
 polite.3Sg.F.Instr. Andrey told Maria compl. she be.subj.  
 "It is polite that Andrey told Maria to be."
- b. \**Trezyvm, žena poprosila [čtoby on vernulsja t].*  
 sober.3Sg.M.Instr. wife asked compl. he return.subj.  
 "It is sober that the wife asked him to return."

And finally, movement of primary and secondary predicates out of infinitival clauses embedded under the non-restructuring verbs is at best marginal.

- (21) a. ?\**Ostorožnym, Marija posovetovala (Andreju) byt' t.*  
 careful. 3Sg.M.Instr. Maria advised Andrey.Dat. be.Inf.  
 "It is careful that Maria advised Andrey to be."
- b. ??*Trezyvm, Andrej obeščal Marii vernut'sja t.*  
 sober.Instr. Andrey.Nom. promised Maria.Dat. return.Inf.  
 "It is sober that Andrey promised Maria to return."

The sentences in (22) are the controls which show that short movement of predicates is allowed in Russian.

<sup>6</sup> It is worth noting that the similar Hebrew sentences are good with contrastive stress on the fronted predicate.

i. xoLE, dina amra she-yosi haya, lo neXE.  
 ill Dina said that Yossi was not handicapped

Contrastive stress and/or contrastive proposition do not improve the status of the Russian examples in (19) though.

- (22) a. Bol'na [Marija dejsvitel'no byla t].  
ill.Nom. Maria.Nom. indeed was  
"As for being ill, Maria indeed was ill."
- b. Pjanyj [on vernulsja domoj t].  
drunk.Nom. he.Nom. returned home  
"He returned home drunk."

To summarize this part, unless empirically disconfirmed, the generalization in (18) holds.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, assuming that vP-fronting is a species of predicate movement, the impossibility to cleft a vP across a clausal boundary in Russian falls under a more general restriction in the language.

§ 5 If we take it that vP-fronting is a subset of Predicate movement, then it is subject to the restriction in (18). Indeed, as was already noticed in Abels (2001), vP in Russian cannot move out of finite clauses.

- (23) a. \*kupit' (-to) ty skazal [čto ja èto kupil] ...  
buy.Inf. TO you said that I that bought  
(Abels, 2001, 20)
- b. \*Pročitat' pis'mo -to, Marija dumala/skazala, [čto ty pročitaj].  
read.Inf. letter part. Maria thought said that you read.Past  
"As for reading the letter, Maria thought/said that you read it."

This property distinguishes Russian from a number of other languages which have PCs. LD vP/VP-fronting is possible in Haitian Creole (Larson & Lefebvre (1991)), Youruba (Dekydtspotter, 1992), Vata (Koopman, 1984), Korean (Lee, 1995), Hebrew (Landau, 2006), although sometimes only across bridge verbs. A bunch of examples in (24) shows the point.

- (24) a. lenakot, nidme li še-Rina amra še-Gil kvar nika et ha-xacer.  
To-clean seems to me that-Rina said that-Gil already cleaned Acc.the-yard  
"As for cleaning, it seems to me that Rina said that Gil had already cleaned the yard."  
Hebrew, Landau (2006:42, 22b)

<sup>7</sup>Importantly, the generalization in (18) is a restriction on a moving category, but not on the domain of extraction. In Russian, finite CPs with the complementizer *čto* 'that' generally resist extraction of arguments. However, subjunctive *čtoby* 'that + part.' clauses are more tolerant in this respect.

- i. \*Kogo ty znaeš čto Andrej vstretil v metro t ?  
who you know that Andrey met in underground  
"Who do you know that Andrey met in the underground?"
- ii. Kogo ty xočeš čtoby Marija priglasila t ?  
who you want compl.+part. Maria invite.subj.  
"Who do you want Maria to invite?"

Nonfinite CPs also allow extraction of arguments, although with certain restrictions, as the examples in (12) in the main text show.

- b. yḖ n̄ gūgū nā àbà pà wĪ́ nā́ n̄ yḖ ngÚa yé é  
 see you think NA Aba throw voice NA you saw them PART Q  
 "Do you think that Aba announced that you SAW them?"  
 Vata, Koopman (1984:159, 14b)
- c. Mímu ni Tundé rò pé Olú mu otí.  
 Drinking NI Tunde thinks that Olu drink liquor  
 "Tunde thinks that Olu DRANK liquor."  
 Yoruba, Dekydtspotter (1992: 120, 2d)

A potential problem for the present analysis is the sentences like the one in (25). The complementizer 'čto' is optional with verbs like 'think' and 'say'. When it is dropped, clefting of vP becomes (almost) perfect.

- (25) Pročest' ego, ja dumaju/govorju, (\*čto) on pročel, no...  
 read.Inf. it I think/say that he read.Past but  
 "As for reading it, I think/am saying that he read, but..."

To reconcile the fact that (25) is grammatical with the present account of vP-fronting, I suggest that 'I think'/'I am saying' is a parenthetical rather than a separate matrix clause, i.e. the structure in (25) is mono-clausal.<sup>8</sup>

Continuing the logical chain of argumentation, it is plausible to assume that vP-fronting out of non-finite (control) clauses is impossible in Russian as well. If so, then the only way to front the infinitive complement to a control verb is to topicalize the whole CP. Note that the CP-topicalization immediately explains the lack of V-doubling in control sentences. The remaining question is whether the CP-topicalization is the only possible option in Russian. In the final section it will be shown that this is indeed the case.

§ 6 The proposed account of the gap in infinitive fronting under control verbs makes a prediction that no clause-internal material could ever be stranded in the embedded infinitive clause. As the examples in (26) show, this prediction is born out.

- (26) a. \*Otoslat' (-to), on poprosil ee [PRO *eti pis'ma* Ø/ otoslat']  
 send.Inf. part. he asked her these letters send.Inf.  
 "As for sending, he asked her to send these letters."
- b. \*Pročest'(-to), včera Andrej poobeščal mne [PRO *ee bystro* Ø/pročest']  
 read.Inf.Perf. part. yesterday A.promised me it quickly read.Inf.Perf.  
 "As for reading, yesterday Andrej promised me to read it quickly."

<sup>8</sup> The negated verbs are banned from clausal parentheticals (see eg., Fortmann, 2006). The verb 'think'/'say' in (25) cannot be negated; this confirms the parenthetical status of the 'I think/am saying'. I am grateful to Richard Kayne for bringing this to my attention.

- i. \*Pročest' ego, ja **ne** dumaju/govorju, on pročel  
 read.Inf. part. I Neg. think/say he read.Past

Stranding of the infinitive argument and/or an adverb which modifies the embedded predicate renders the sentences in (26) ungrammatical, regardless of whether the lower infinitive copy is pronounced. This definitely confirms the conclusion made above, namely that  $\nu$ P-fronting out of CP is missing in Russian.

Full CP-topicalization successfully explains the gap in the embedded control clauses in Russian PC. The remaining issue now is to account for the option of infinitive-doubling in the analogous Hebrew sentences like in (3), repeated here as (27) for convenience.

- (27) a. le'hagia, Ron hivtiax/ hitxayev (le'hagia).  
 arrive.Inf. Ron promised/pledged arrive.Inf.  
 "As for arriving, Gil promised/pledged to arrive."  
 b. likro et ha-sefer, Ron hivtiax (likro).  
 read.Inf. Acc. the-book Ron promised read.Inf.  
 "As for reading the book, Ron promised to read."

Recall that in Hebrew,  $\nu$ P-fronting out of the finite CP is possible (eg. 24a). Let us assume that in Hebrew it is also possible to extract a ( $\nu$ )P out of a non-finite CP-complement as well as to topicalize a full non-finite clause. If the first option is available, the prediction is that infinitive arguments and adjuncts can be stranded.<sup>9</sup> Consider then the examples in (28).

- (28) a. [likro], Ron hivtiax \*Ø /OK likro et ha-sefer.  
 read.Inf. Ron promised read.Inf. prep. the-book  
 "As for reading, Ron promised to read the book."  
 b. [le'hagia], Ron etmol hitxajev \*Ø /OK le'hagia maher/maxar.  
 arrive.Inf. Ron yesterday pledged arrive.Inf. quickly/tomorrow  
 "As for arriving, yesterday Ron pledged to arrive quickly/tomorrow."

In (28a) an embedded argument is left behind which unambiguously shows that a  $\nu$ P was extracted out of the infinitive complement. Importantly, in this case V-doubling is the only option. The same analysis applies to (28b) where the stranded adjunct can only be part of the embedded infinitive complement. Again, in (28b) the gap-option is out, and a V-copy must be used to support the infinitive morphology of T[-fin].

The fact that both a CP-fronting and a ( $\nu$ )P-extraction out of non-finite clauses are possible in Hebrew, makes sentences like in (27) structurally ambiguous; hence a gap and V-doubling are accepted by the Hebrew speakers. Stranding of the CP-internal material disambiguates the grammatical structure and indicates that a  $\nu$ /VP-fronting has occurred. Therefore, a lower verb copy must be pronounced as required by the morphological properties of T[-fin]. In Russian, infinitive fronting under non-

<sup>9</sup> Hebrew, unlike Russian, is the language in which scrambling is unproductive and TP-internal material is freely stranded.

restructuring verbs unambiguously involves a CP-topicalization. Hence, V-doubling is rejected and a gap is the only option.

The results of the comparison between Russian and Hebrew with respect to infinitive fronting possibilities discussed above are tabled in (29).

(29)

	Russian	Hebrew
vP-extraction out of CP	no	yes (+V-doubling)
Full non-finite CP-fronting	yes(+gap)	yes (+gap)

To summarize, this study's aim was to show that the gap in the infinitive fronting constructions, likewise V-doubling, is subject to the PF requirement imposed on the pronunciation of chain copies. The gap in infinitive fronting in Russian receives a different explanation depending on the structure of the infinitive complement. In mono-clausal structures where the infinitive complement is maximally a vP, the embedding verb satisfies the PF requirement of the finite T-head. In bi-clausal structures, on the other hand, the phonological requirement of the non-finite T head is necessarily realized in the derived position. This is because Russian lacks the option of LD vP-fronting and the CP-infinitives can only be fronted as a whole.

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