Clefts and related focus constructions

The typology and corpus annotation of information structure and grammatical relations
(LABEX-EFL, AXE 3, GD1)

15-16 February

Campus CNRS, Paris-Villejuif, 7 rue Guy Môquet, 94800 Villejuif (Métro L7 Villejuif Paul Valant Couturier)

Matinée 15: Salle E-04 (salle verte) and E-05 (salle prune) Bâtiment B
Reste du temps: Salle de conférences, rez-de-chaussée, Bâtiment D

Organizers: Katharina Haude (SeDyL, CNRS); Enrique L. Palancar (SeDyL, CNRS) et Martine Vanhove (LLACAN, CNRS)

PROGRAMME

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11:15-12:00	*Katharina Haude*	Cleft or equational clause? Pronominal predicates in Movima
12:00-12:45	*Enrique L. Palancar*	Negation in focus constructions in Otomi (Oto-Manguean, Mexico)
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Remarks on the grammaticalization of clefts

Denis Creissels
University of Lyon

Cleft constructions have been discussed in a number of languages, but they are always delimited either on the basis of language-specific definitions, or with reference to some degree of formal and functional resemblance with the cleft constructions of English or French. No clear cross-linguistic definition of clefts that could provide a firm basis for a typology of cleft constructions emerges from the literature. In practice, what seems to be crucial in the use of the label 'cleft construction' is that the constructions in question are focalizing constructions showing evidence of having grammaticalized from the kind of construction commonly (but misleadingly) designated as *pseudo-clefts*, for which I would like to propose the more appropriate term of *plain clefts*, as opposed to *grammaticalized clefts*.

Plain clefts (as English *What you need is a good sleep*) straightforwardly combine the equative predication construction and the participant nominalization (or headless relative clause) construction, without necessitating any additional (construction-specific) syntactic rule. Consequently, plain clefts are available to express focalization, at least in principle, in all languages that have an equative predication construction and a participant nominalization construction. However, if plain clefts become a usual way of expressing focalization in a given language, they may tend to grammaticalize as a specific type of construction, i.e. a type of construction involving specific syntactic rules, which cannot be described anymore as the mere combination of equative predication and participant nominalization.

In my talk, I will discuss and illustrate some of the evolutions that typically occur in the process of grammaticalization of cleft constructions.

Focus and clefts in Chadic Languages

Katharina Hartmann
Goethe Universität Frankfurt

In this talk I discuss the relation between syntactic ex situ focus and cleft formation in various Chadic languages. In the first part of the talk, I provide ample evidence for the grammaticalization path from cleft copulas into focus markers arguing that this development is correlated with a shift from a biclausal cleft syntax to a monoclausal focus syntax. Different states of this development can be observed in the Chadic languages. Whereas Hausa (West-Chadic) shows traces of cleft structures in all instances of ex situ focus, Bura (Biu-Mandara) uses clefts only for non-subject focus but expresses subject-focus by a monoclausal structure. Finally, South Marghi (Biu-Mandara) does not exhibit any signs of a cleft, neither in subject nor in non-subject focus, showing that the copula has fully grammaticalized into a focus marker. The interpretation of the copula / the focus marker varies and ranges from a simple indication of the focus status to the expression of exhaustivity of the fronted constituent. In the second part of the talk I compare cleft and ex situ focus with in situ focus. I argue that this syntactic variation found with regard to the expression of focus not only in the Chadic languages provides the possibility of a categorical distinction of contrastive focus on the one hand, and new information focus (or simply newness) on the other.

Specificational Predication and Cleft-Constructions

Anja Latrouite
Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf

Constructions in different *languages are often* said to be 'like the English it-cleft', if they are used to mark contrastive narrow focus. In this talk I will examine and compare cleft-constructions found in Tagalog and Japanese to the English cleft-construction, arguing that they all involve specificational predication but differ dramatically in their morphosyntactic properties. What these constructions have in common *functionally* is that they are specificational predications, rather than attributive or classificatory predications (Declerck 1988, Den Dikken 2006, Frascarelli & Ramaglia 2013) and what they share *grammatically* is that they give special morphosyntactic treatment to the 'value' of the variable in the specificational predication. This value of the variable is represented by a referring expression which functions as part of the predicate. It is exactly this property that seems to distinguish 'clefts' from non-cleft specificational predications like *John is the murderer*. Declerck (1984) describes subtypes of the English *it*-cleft: the contrastive cleft, the unstressed-anaphoric-focus cleft and the discontinuous cleft. However, for most languages, including the ones discussed in this paper, the functional range of the cleft -constructions has not yet been determined. Based on a comparative corpus (*The Hunger Games*), it will be shown that while the cleft constructions under discussion overlap in discourse function, they clearly differ in frequency and distribution, strongly suggesting that they are not fully equivalent with respect to discourse function and raising the question to what extent syntactic structure correlates with functional range.

References:

Collins, Susan. 2008. *The Hunger Games.* Scholastic Press.
Declerck, R. 1984. The pragmatics of *it*-clefts and WH-clefts. *Lingua* 64:251-289.
Declerck, R. 1988. *Studies on copular sentences, clefts and pseudoclefts*. Leuven: Leuven University Press.
Den Dikken, M. 2006. Specificational copular sentences and pseudo- clefts: A case study.
Frascarelli, M & Ramaglia, F. 2013. (Pseudo) clefts at the syntax-prosody-discourse interface. In K. Hartmann & T. Veenstra (eds), *The structure of clefts*, 97-140. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
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What looks like a question

Charlotte Hauser & Caterina Donati
LLF/Labex EFL

In the talk we will investigate the syntax of a construction that is very frequently found in French Sign Language (LSF) as well as in other sign languages, American Sign Languages (ASL) a.o. In this construction, illustrated in (1), what looks like a question is followed by what looks like an answer and the bi-clausal structure functions globally as a focus marking (pseudo)cleft :

(1) HERE WE STUDY WHAT LINGUISTICS
'What we study here is linguistics'

This construction has received some attention in the linguistics literature on ASL, where two analyses have been contrasted: some scholars have argued that it is indeed a pseudo-cleft (Petronio 1991, Wilbur 1996); some others have claim that it is literally a question followed by an answer (Hoza et al. 1996 ; see

also Caponigro *et al.* 2008 for a variant where the two form a complex copular sentence). We will present novel data showing that at least in LSF the first part of the clause does not display the syntax and the prosody of a wh-question, and will try to argue as a work in progress that a question-answer analysis is therefore not an option.

Pseudo-cleft constructions in Japhug

Guillaume Jacques
CRLAO, CNRS

Like many strictly verb-final languages, Japhug does not allow true cleft sentences. What is closest to a cleft sentence in Japhug is the pseudo-cleft construction, combining a headless participial relative clause in S function (generally with the determiner *nɯ*) with a nominal predicate followed by a positive (*ŋu* 'be') or negative (*maʁ* 'not be') copula. The basic structure of this construction is summarized in (1).

(1) [NMLZ-verb] DEM noun COPULA

Pseudo-clefts in Japhug do occur in S (2), O (3) and A (4) functions, but are on the whole very rare in the corpus.[1]

(2) *[stu ku-mɤku jɤ-ku-ye] nɯ rɟɤlpu pjɤ-ŋu.*
most NMLZ:S/A-be.before PFV-NMLZ:S/A-come[II] DEM king IFR.IPFV-be
'The one who came first was the king.' (140514 xizajiang he lifashi, 66)

(3) *[pɣa ra nu-kɤ-rga] nɯ qaj ntsɯ ŋu*
bird PL 3PL-NMLZ:P-like DEM wheat always be:FACT
'(The food) that birds like is always wheat (not barley).' (23 pGAYaR, 29)

(4) *tɕeri [nɯnɯ ɯ-ku-sɯ-mpʰul] nɯ li ɯ-zrɤm ɲɯ-ɕti ma*
but DEM 3SG.POSS-NMLZ:S/A-CAUS-reproduce DEM again 3SG.POSS-root SENS-be.AFFIRM LNK
ɯ-rɣi ɲɯ-maʁ
3SG.POSS-seeds SENS-not.be
'The thing that it reproduces with is its root, not its seeds.' (11-paRzwamWntoR, 113)

The present paper comprises three parts. First, it presents a short introduction to relativisation in Japhug (based in part on Jacques 2016). Second, it attempts to collect and classify all instances of pseudo- cleft constructions attested in the corpus. Third, it discusses the discourse function of pseudo-clefts and the alternative means of expressing contrastive and corrective focalisation in Japhug.

References :

Jacques, Guillaume. 2016. Subjects, objects and relativization in Japhug. Journal of Chinese Linguistics 44(1). 1–28.

Michailovsky, Boyd, Martine Mazaudon, Alexis Michaud, Séverine Guillaume, Alexandre François & Evangelia Adamou. 2014. Documenting and researching endangered languages: the Pangloss Collection. Language Documentation and Conservation 8. 119–135.

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[1] The Japhug text corpus is available on the Pangloss archive (Michailovsky et al. 2014), at the address: http://lacito. vjf.cnrs.fr/pangloss/corpus/list_rsc.php?lg=Japhug

A corpus-based definition of clefts in Kabyle (Berber): Syntax and prosody

Amina Mettouchi
LLACAN, EPHE

Clefts in Kabyle have a syntactic form that appears to be distinctive, and is defined as : an XP, preceded by a copula (1) if the XP is neither adverbial/prepositional (2) nor quantificational (3), and followed by a relativizer and a verbal or verbless (4) clause :

(1)

ðəlḥadʒ rabaḥ iguɣən səβʕa // (KAB_AM_CONV_01_SP2_038)

d	**lḥağ**	**rabaḥ**	**i**	**juɣən**			**səbʕa**	**//**
d	lḥağ	rabaḥ	i	i-	uɣ	-n	səbʕa	//
COP	pilgrim	Rabaḥ	REL.REAL	RELSBJ.POS	take\PFV	RELSBJ.POS	seven	//
PRED	NP	NP	DEMPRO	CIRC1	V14	CIRC2	NUM	//

It's Hadj Rabah who married seven !

(2)

ildzajr i θətsʕiʃ // (KAB_AM_CONV_01_SP2_209)

i	**lʒajr**	**i**	**təʧʕiʃ**		**//**
i	lʒajr	i	t-	ʧʕiʃ	//
LOC	Algiers	REL.REAL	SBJ.3SG.F	live\IPFV	//
PREP	N.P	DEMPRO	PRO	V24.PFX	//

she lived in Algiers,

(3)

atʕas llxilaf igəllan / (KAB_AM_NARR_03_0946)

aṭas	**n**	**lxilaf**	**i**	**jəllan**			**/**
aṭas	n	lxilaf	i	i-	lla	-n	/
a_lot	GEN	preference\ABSL.PL	REL.REAL	RELSBJ.POS	exist\PFV	RELSBJ.POS	/
ADV	PREP	N.COV	DEMPRO	CIRC1	V13%	CIRC2	/

there has been a lot of injustice,

(4)

ðnəlstsat iðrʕrʕaj bb°əxxam / (KAB_AM_NARR_03_0703)

d	**nəʧʧat**	**i**	**d**	**ṛṛaj**	**n**	**wəxxam**	**/**
d	nəʧʧat	i	d	ṛṛaj	n	wəxxam	/
COP	IDP.3SG.F	REL.REAL	COP	commander\ABSL.SG.M	GEN	house\ANN.SG.M	/
PRED	PRO	DEMPRO	PRED	N.cov	PREP	N.OV	/

it was she who was the chief of the house,

But systematic corpus-based queries based on those morphosyntactic cues actually yield a series of constructions with different functions (cf. (5), (6), among others).

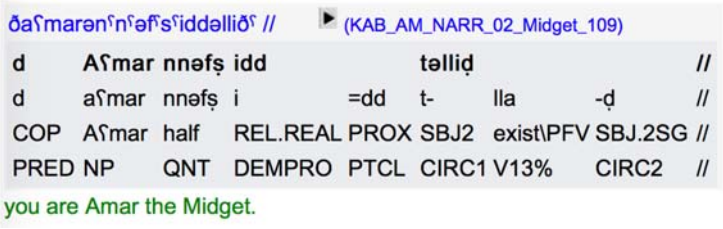
(5)

tsamʕiθt ixəðmənt sifassənnsənt / (KAB_AM_NARR_03_0175)

d	**tamʕiʃt**	**i**	**xədmənt**		**s**	**ifassnnsənt**		**/**
d	tamʕiʃt	i	xdəm	-nt	s	ifassn	-nsənt	/
COP	life\ABSL.SG.F	REL.REAL	make\PFV	SBJ.3PL.F	INSTR	hand\ANN.PL.M	POSS.3PL.F	/
PRED	N.OV	DEMPRO	V23	PRO	PREP	N.COV	PRO	/

it's a life that they made with their hands,

(6)



The aim of the presentation is to reach a formal definition of clefts allowing the systematic retrieval, in corpora, of all and only the clefts. That definition crucially includes prosodic cues, which I consider as formal coding means interacting with morphosyntactic elements, not as a superimposed pragmatic device. The definition also allows a more precise characterization of the function of clefts in Kabyle, and the exploration of the relationship between clefts and other copulative structures, as well as their relationships with relative clauses.

Cleft constructions in Persian

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Université Sorbonne nouvelle

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University of Cologne

Cleft constructions in Persian involve the complementizer *ke* ('that', 'que') and the copula *budan* ('be'), which is generally realized as an enclitic in the present tense:

(1) man=am ke bâ to qarâr dar-am
PRO.1.SG=COP.1.SG COMP with PRO.1.SG appointment have.PRS-1.SG
'It's me who has an appointment with you.'

(2) diruz bud ke u=râ did-am
yesterday COP.PST.3SG comp PRO.3.SG=DOM see.PST-1.SG
(Lit.) 'It was yesterday when I saw her/him.'

This kind of 'focus' effect can also be achieved by pure prosody, i.e. the placement of the nucleus stress of the sentence on the focal constituent:

(3) **man** bâ to qarâr dar-am
PRO.1.SG with PRO.1.SG appointment have.PRS-1.SG
'It's me who has an appointment with you.'

(4) **diruz** u=râ did-am
yesterday PRO.3.SG=DOM see.PST-1.SG
'It was yesterday when I saw her/him.'

To our knowledge, there has been no systematic investigation of the usage of the two options in written or spoken (speech) corpora and the parameters involved in the choice of one of the options. In this talk, we provide a first quantitative investigation of (syntactic) cleft constructions in written corpora in Persian and its discourse effects.

Another point we will focus on is the difficulty raised by the marked direct objects in cleft constructions. It is well known that Persian displays Differential Object Marking (DOM) for definite/specific direct objects. DOM is realized by the enclitics *=râ*, which is attached on the last element of the DO as illustrated in ex. (4). In cleft construction, the marked DO cannot occur in the cleft position, which explains the ungrammaticality of ex. (5). The alternative grammatical construction is illustrated in ex. (6), where the direct object occurs without *=râ* in the cleft construction and is cross-referenced by the en enclitic (resumptive) pronoun on the verb.

(5) *Maryam=râ bud ke diruz did-am
Maryam =DOM COP.PST.3SG COMP yesterday see.PST-1.SG
(intended) 'It was Maryam whom I saw yesterday.'

(6) Maryam bud ke diruz did-am=aš
Maryam$_i$ COP.PST.3SG COMP yesterday see.PST-1.SG=**PCL.3.SG**$_i$
(intended) 'It was Maryam whom I saw yesterday.'

We will investigate the consequences of this constraint in the choice of the strategies to focus the DO in written corpora.

Floating agreement and information structure in Sanzhi Dargwa and Lak

Diana Forker
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The Nakh-Daghestanian languages Sanzhi Dargwa and Lak (Russian Federation, Caucasus) have cleft-like constructions that make use of 'floating' agreement markers. These are person enclitics that are normally found on the verb (1) but can under certain circumstances float off and attach to other constituents such as nouns, pronouns, adverbs, etc. (2). Floating agreement has a marked pragmatic effect that informally can be described as emphasizing or highlighting the constituent that serves as the host. Floating agreement markers belong to a close set of particles/enclitics that also includes the auxiliary 'be', tense markers, interrogative enclitics, etc. All these markers have a narrow grammatical function and at the same time serve as discourse markers.

Within a functionally-oriented framework (cf. Lambrecht 2001), I will provide an analysis of the pragmatic function of the floating agreement markers in Sanzhi Dargwa and Lak and compare them to similar constructions in other Dargwa languages (e.g. Sumbatova 2013) and Udi (Harris 2002). I will discuss the suggested analysis of floating agreement in Lak as synchronic *in situ* clefts (Kazenin 1998, 2002) and show that a similar account for the Sanzhi data must be rejected. I will further examine whether a diachronic cleft account similar to what has been proposed for Udi (Harris 2001) is tenable for both Lak and Sanzhi.

Examples from Sanzhi Dargwa, collected during fieldwork

(1) du-l hana t'alaʕħ-ne ic-ul=**da**
1sg-ERG now dishes-PL wash.IPFV-ICVB=1
'Now I am washing the dishes.'

(2) du-l hana t'alaʕħ-ne=**da** ic-an, c'il …
1sg-ERG now dishes-PL=1 wash.IPFV-OBLG then
'Now I am washing THE DISHES, …' (e.g. later I will clean the windows).

References
Harris, Alice C. 2001. Focus and universal principles governing simplification of cleft structures. In Jan Terje Faarlund, (ed.) *Grammatical relations in change*, 159–170. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
Harris, Alice C. 2002. *Endoclitics and the origins of Udi morphosyntax*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Kazenin, Konstantin. 1998. On Patient Demotion in Lak. In Leonid Kulikov & Heinz Vater (eds.), *Typology of verbal categories*, 95–115. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
Kazenin, Konstantin. 2002. Focus in Daghestanian word order typology. *Linguistic Typology* 6. 289–316.
Lambrecht, Knud. 2001. A framework for the analysis of cleft constructions. *Linguistics* 39, 463–516.
Sumbatova, Nina. 2013. *Tipologičeskoe i diaxroničeskoe issledovanie morfosintaksisa (na primere jazykov darginskoj gruppy)*. Doctoral dissertation. RGGU, Moscow.

Cleft Constructions in Modern Armenian

Anaid Donabedian & Victoria Khurshudyan
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Modern Armenian (MA) with its Eastern (MEA) and Western (MWA) standards has several means of focus/topic marking which differ semantically, syntactically and discursively:

a. Prosody marking (1) which can be sometimes accompanied by certain syntactic transformations:

(1) MEA *Prosody marking*

Es	gn-um	em	**dproc^{h}**
I	go-IPFV	be.AUX.1SG	**school**

'I go to SCHOOL.'

b. Finite verb form position (2) with the preverbal position being the default focused position:

(2) MEA *Preverbal focus marking*

Es	**dproc^{h}**	**em**	gn-um
I	**school**	**be.AUX.1SG**	go-IPFV

'I go to SCHOOL.'

c. Cleft constructions (3) with a very rigid syntactic constrains:

(3) MEA *Cleft construction*

Es	**dproc^{h}**	**ē**	**vor**	gn-um	em
I	**school**	**be.COP.3SG**	**that**	go-IPFV	be.AUX.1SG

'I go to SCHOOL.'

Cleft constructions in MA have mainly the following pattern: *X (= focused element) + COP, + vor 'that'* which can split (3) or not any other clause. The X position can be realized by either a nominal element (nouns, pronouns and all nominalized elements) or an adverbial one (no restrictions on the type of the adverb). MA allowing the coexistence of cleft constructions and marked focus strategy (in-situ or by word order change) is of typological interest.

The presentation outlines the syntactic and semantic restrictions in MA cleft constructions as well as the relation of cleft constructions with the relative clauses which display a number of common features. The concurrence between postnominal relative clause and prenominal participial relativization in MA relevant also in cleft constructions will be discussed. It is argued that the degree of focalization depends on the kind of focus/topic marking in MA with the simple prosody marking being the weakest degree and with the preverbal position and cleft constructions being the medium and the strongest degrees respectively.

Cleft or equational clause? Pronominal predicates in Movima

Katharina Haude
SeDyL, CNRS

Movima (isolate, Bolivia), is a language with predominantly predicate-initial (core) clause structure; see (1) for an intransitive and (2) for a transitive verbal clause.

(1) **jo'yaj**--us
arrive--3M.AB
'He arrived.'

(2) **jiwa-ɬe-na**='ne--kas
come-CO-DR=3F--OBV:3N.AB
'She brought it.'

In the so-called "pronominal construction", which is a pragmatically marked alternative to express the same propositional content as a basic clause, the clause-final bound pronoun is replaced by a clause-initial free form; see (1)' and (2)'.

(1)' *usko* ***jo'yaj***
PRO.M.AB arrive
'He arrived.'

(2)' *asko* ***jiwa-ɬe-na='ne***
PRO.N.AB come-CO-DR=3F
'She brought it/that.'

Syntactic tests (embedding, negation, valency decrease) suggest that the pronominal construction has the structure of a cleft: the free pronoun is the main predicate, while the verb represents a relative clause. Functionally, however, the construction does not correspond to a cleft: rather than marking argument focus, the pronoun represents a sentence topic, while the verb provides an assertion; prosody confirms this interpretation.

At the same time, the pronominal construction is identical to an equational clause, as in (3) and (4). Movima has no copula, and there is no syntactic distinction between nominal and verbal predicates. Furthermore, unlike verbs, nominal predicates occur more naturally in the pronominal construction than in a basic clause, especially if possessed (4).

(3) *i'ne* ***tolkosya***
PRO.F girl
'She (is/was) a girl.'

(4) *asko* ***pekato=sne***
PRO.N.AB sin=3F.AB
'That /It (is/was) her sin.'

Therefore, it is suggested that the pronominal construction can be considered a simple equational clause also when containing a verb. Its information structure is in line with this interpretation, and no biclausal pattern needs to be postulated.

Negation in focus constructions in Otomi (Oto-Manguean, Mexico)

Enrique L. Palancar
SeDyL, CNRS

This talk is about the analytical problem of when to decide that in a focus construction we are dealing with a cleft or a monoclausal focus construction. I illustrate the problem in Tilapa Otomi; a critically endangered Oto-Manguean language of Mexico.

In Tilapa Otomi, there are two specialized focus constructions: one is biclausal (i.e., a cleft); the other is monoclausal. The two constructions share some syntax of extraction. Under the right circumstances this can be seen in that: (i) the verb encoding the background features a special inflection that is also used in relative clauses when the position relativized is an oblique; (ii) the verbal phrase encoding the background features a focus resumptive pronoun that is only used in these focus constructions (i.e., it is not used in relative clauses). For convenience, I refer to the biclausal construction as the 'cleft' (to be more precise, a pseudo-cleft) and to the other as the 'fronted construction'.

The copula in the cleft can be omitted in positive polarity (just as it can also be omitted in the specificational copular construction on which the cleft is based). When this happens, it is not clear if a given structure one is facing is an instance of the cleft or the fronted construction. With fronted pronominal phrases in focus (e.g. 'it's ME who did it'), the copula is not very natural if possible at all, so it appears that speakers favour the fronted construction with pronouns.

Interestingly, both constructions behave differently involving negation, making the use of negation a fundamental criterion to be able to keep the two constructions apart in the analysis. When negation is used in a focus construction, the alternative presented by the focus is introduced by the speaker as a non-valid alternative, such as for example "it's not HIM who came (but Mary)". Such cases are clear examples of contrastive focus. In the cleft of Tilapa Otomi, negation is placed on the copula and has semantic scope over the focus phrase (and not over the background). But if speakers use the fronted construction -favourite with pronouns- the situation needs to be rendered as "HE, he (is the one who) will not come (but Mary)", making it clear (for most natural instances) that the example is an instance of the focus construction.

An unusual cleft construction in Lakhota (Siouan, North America)

Robert D. Van Valin, Jr.
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At first glance Lakhota, a Siouan language spoken in the Great Plains region of North America, appears to lack a cleft construction analogous to an English *it*-cleft for expressing contrastive narrow focus; rather, the job seems to be done by a particle signalling contrastive narrow focus, *čha*, as in (1) and (2).

(1) a. Igmú waŋ/kiŋ waŋ<Ø-bl>áke
cat a/the see<3sgU-1sgA>
'I saw a/the cat.'

b. Igmú **čha** waŋ<Ø-bl>áke
'It was A CAT that I saw.'

(2) a. Lé igmú kiŋ Ø-é
this cat the 3sgU-be.the.one
'This is the cat.'

b. Igmú kiŋ Ø-é **čha** waŋ<Ø-bl>áke
cat the 3sgU-be.the.one see<3sgU-1sgA>
'It was THE CAT that I saw.'

Is *čha* simply an article-like marker of contrastive narrow focus? *Čha* has a variety of functions in Lakhota, and one of them is to mark internally-headed relative clauses with an indefinite head. Examples of relative clauses with definite and indefinite heads are in (3).

(3) a. [[Hokšíla waŋ waŋ<Ø-Ø>yáŋka-pi] kiŋ hé] na<Ø>pȟé
boy a see<3sgU-3A>-PL the that run.away<3sgA>
'The boy they saw ran away.'

b. [[Hokšíla waŋ waŋ<Ø-Ø>yáŋka-pi] **čha**] na<Ø>pȟé
boy a see<3sgU-3A>-PL IRC run.away<3sgA>
'A boy they saw ran away.'

In both examples the internal head is marked as indefinite inside the relative clause, and its true definiteness value is indicated by the markers immediately following the verb of the relative clause: in (3a) the definite article plus a demonstrative signal that the head is to be construed as definite, whereas in (3b) *čha* signals that the head is to be interpreted as indefinite.

Is there any relationship between contrastive focus-marking *čha* and internally-headed relative clause-marking *čha*? If *čha* is simply a focus marker in (1b), then N + *čha* is a simple NP. If, on the other hand, it is a relative-clause marker in (1b), then *igmú* 'cat' is the predicate in an internally-headed relative clause. (Nouns function directly as stative predicates in Lakhota, e.g. *ho<má>kšila* 'I am a boy'[*hokšíla* 'boy' + *-ma-* '1sgU'].) These two analyses make different predications regarding number marking of the noun in sentences

like (1b). In Lakhota nouns functioning non-predicatively cannot carry number marking; in particular, a noun functioning as an argument cannot take the plural suffix *-pi*, as (4a) shows; contrast this with (4c) in which the noun is used predicatively.

(4) a. *Hokšíla-pi kiŋ napȟá-pi
boy-PL the run.away-PL

b. Hokšíla kiŋ napȟá-pi
boy the run.away-PL
'The boys ran away.'

c. Hokšíla-pi
'They are boys.'

However, if plural marking with *-pi* is possible in a sentence like (1b), then this would be evidence that the noun is the predicate in an internally-headed relative clause and not a simple NP. As (5) shows, the N in N + *čha* can take number marking, indicating that it is the predicate in an internally-headed relative clause.

(5) Ø-Igmú-pi **čha** waŋ<wíčha-bl>ake
3U-cat-PL IRC see<3plAnimU-1sgA>
'It was CATS that I saw.' [Literally: 'I saw them [they were CATS]']

Further evidence that these are clausal structures and not simple NPs comes from constructions with definite NPs, e.g. (2b) and (6).

(6) Igmú kiŋ Ø-é-pi **čha** waŋ<wíčha-bl>ake
cat the 3U-be.it-PL IRC see<3plAnimU-1sgA>
'It was THE CATS that I saw.' [Literally: 'I saw them [they were THE CATS]']

É is an identificational (specificational) predicate meaning 'be it, be the one', e.g. *Lé igmú ki é* 'This is the cat (the particular one, one we expected to see)'(NLD:102) (=(2a)). *É* is required because a definite NP cannot serve directly as a predicate in Lakhota. Thus, in (1b), (2b), (5) and (6) we have what starting with Van Valin (2012) I have analyzed as an *internally-headed cleft*, which expresses contrastive narrow focus like an English *it*-cleft but is syntactically the inverse of it, as summarized in (7). Further issues and additional data will be discussed.

(7) a. English *it*-cleft:
Location of the contrastively focused NP: in the predicate of the main clause
Location of the presupposed background material: in an embedded (relative) clause

b. Lakhota *čha*-'cleft':
Location of the contrastively focused NP: in the predicate of the embedded clause
Location of the presupposed background material: in the main clause

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Contrastive clefting in Berber

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This paper demonstrates the intricate morphosyntax and pragmatics of basic clefts (it-clefts) in Berber and the different functions they fulfil in its information structure, which mostly pertain to argument focus marking. Special attention will be given to contrastive focus constructions, which are subject to a variety of morphosyntactic and prosodic constraints in Berber. While Berber follows the typologically common syntactic strategy of having a matrix clause (MC) followed by a relative clause (RC) whose relativized argument is in co-reference with the predicative argument of the matrix clause, it is distinct in that its matrix clause is not necessarily headed by a cleft-copula. In fact, in some Berber languages, such as in Taqbaylit (North Algeria) for instance, the use of the cleft-copula *d* is a general requirement, whereas in languages like in Tarifit (North Morocco) and in Tamazight (Central Morocco), this same morpheme is optional and may be left out for discursive purposes. Interestingly, configurations with optional copula use show a variety as to the way and degree of alignment between focus constituents and prosodic constituents, which is reflected in their diverse intonation profiles. Prosodic marking is also prominent when no copula use is admitted in basic clefts, which is the case of Tashelhit (South Morocco), for instance. Here contrastive clefting is merely marked by the specific constituent order [MC + RC] and by particular prosodic trajectories, such as the rise-fall contour.

Information structure in Northern Amis:
the pragmatics and syntax of clefts and evidential foci

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Information structure and the voice system of Northern Amis (Formosan) are two distinct, but interacting levels. The presentation will center on the pragmatic and syntactic aspects of focus (as defined by Lambrecht 1994, Krifka 2007). In Northern Amis, the two focusing devices are cleft narrow foci (informative or restrictive) and *in situ* evidential foci. While left-dislocated topics are independent from any syntactic pivot constraint in the voice system, cleft foci undergo the well-known nominative-only constraint on extraction and relativisation found in Formosan and Philippine type languages (Keenan & Comrie 1977). In Amis, extraction in cleft constructions correlates with a relative clause marked by *k-u* as in (1a).

Both core and peripheral arguments may be cleft, but with radically different constructions. When core arguments are cleft, their semantic role must be indexed by voice-marked verbs (as Actor, Undergoer, Locus) in the relative clause marked by *k-u*, as in (1a). Compare with the declarative sentence in (1b). An AV verb form (*as in 1c.) would be ungrammatical.

(1)a. U buting [k-u kaen-**en** n-ira
NM fish NOM-NM eat-**UV** GEN.3SG
'It's fish (that) he ate.' (lit. It's *fish* the x that is eaten by him)

b. Kaen-en n-ira k-u buting
eat<UV> GEN-3SG NOM-NM fish
'They've eaten the fish.'

c.** U buting k-u k<**em**>an cira
NM fish NOM-NM eat<**AV**> NOM.3SG

By contrast, cleft peripheral arguments, and adjuncts, trigger *a* COMPLEMENT clauses. Among peripheral arguments are (i) agents of UV (Undergoer Voice) *ma*-verbs, (ii) superficially affected oblique themes of some AV (Actor Voice) *mi*-verbs such as 'pay a visit, yell at' in ongoing aspect as in (2a), (iii) oblique arguments of extended intransitive NAV (Non-Actor- Voice) such as *ma*- psych verbs, (iv) prepositional arguments of some AV *mi*-verbs and of three-place *mi*-verbs, expressing destination or source.

(2) a. **Mi**-cihi ci Balah (i) cira-**an**
AV-scold NOM Balah LOC 3SG-OBL
'Balah is yelling at him.'

b. (i) **cima**-**an** **[a** **mi**-cihi ci Balah]?
LOC who-OBL CMP AV-scold NOM Balah
'At whom is Balah yelling?'

Yet, in the last three cases of this cline (ii, iii, iv), oblique arguments may be upgraded to core arguments and thus trigger voice indexing, with verb forms in UV *-en* or Locative voice *–an* in the *k-u* relative clause, as in (3b).

(3) a. **Mi**-kilim cira t-u tatakulaq-**an** n-ira
AV-search NOM.3sg OBL-NM frog-OBL GEN-3sg
'He's looking for his frog.'

b. U tatakulaq **k**-u ka-kilim-**en**=aku.
NM frog NOM-NM Ca.RED-look.for-**UV**=GEN.1sg
'It's (my/a specific) frog that I'm/was looking for.

This highlights two distinct types of oblique arguments, core and peripheral. Core oblique arguments trigger *k-u* R.C and voice indexing. Cleft peripheral oblique arguments behave like place and time adjuncts, they trigger *a* CMP clauses with no voice indexing.

Another important fact is that WH- words requesting new information and referring to core arguments must also be cleft. Few WH- forms may remain *in situ*; when they do, they just request confirmation. *In situ* WH- words are only allowed for the same peripheral oblique arguments mentioned above (iii, iv) at the far end of the cline.

The other type of focus is *in situ* evidential focus, which occurs under the scope of postposed *han(=tu)* and *sa(=tu)*, respectively the similative verb *han* and the quotative verb *sa*, which are recruited as pragmatic markers signalling 'alleged', second-hand information or personal judgment. Evidential foci do not trigger any voice indexing nor syntactic restructuring. Unlike cleft foci, but like left-dislocated topics, evidential foci only occur in declarative clauses with epistemic stance and do not fall under illocutionary scope (question or negation). Cleft foci, on the other hand, are questioned and negated, like all predicates.

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