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Predicate Doubling in Russian: One process or two?*

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In Predicate Doubling constructions, either an entire predicate (VP-Doubling) or a bare verb (V-Doubling) occurs in the CP-domain. In both cases, the doubled verb in the CP-domain exhibits non-finite morphology, while the lower instance of the verb is finite. In the case of VP-Doubling, the arguments of the verb only occur in the higher position; in the case of V-Doubling, verb arguments are in their base position. Here I will introduce novel data from Russian and argue that while they appear similar, VP-Doubling and V-Doubling must be analyzed differently.

1 Introduction

The Predicate Doubling construction, also known as Predicate Clefting, appears in a variety of languages, such as Russian, Spanish, Yiddish, Hebrew, and others. In such constructions, the predicate is fronted and occurs at the beginning of the sentence, presumably in the CP-domain. There are two versions of these constructions which were observed in previous literature. In the first one, an entire predicate, i.e. a verb and all its arguments, is clefted. In the second version of the construction, only the verb is fronted. In the both versions, the verb in the "cleft" exhibits non-finite morphology. According to the generalization by Landau (2006),

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in the predicate doubling construction, either all verbal arguments are fronted together with the verb (we will refer to this version of the construction as VP-doubling), or they all stay in their base-positions (we will refer to this version as V-doubling). Examples of the Predicate Doubling construction from a variety of languages are given below. The doubled constituent is bolded. In what follows, I will refer to the upper instance of the V/VP as the "cleft," without actually assuming that clefting in traditional sense is involved in deriving such constructions.

(1) *Verb-Doubling; only the verb is fronted:*

a. **Čitat'-to** Ivan knigu čitaet, no ničego ne ponimaet.
read$_{INF}$-TO Ivan book reads, but nothing not understands
'Ivan does read the book, but he doesn't understand a thing.'
Russian (Abels 2001)

b. **Leer**, Juan ha leído un libro. *Spanish* (Vicente 2009)
read$_{INF}$ Juan has read a book
'As for reading, Juan has read a book.'

c. **Liknot**, hi kanta et ha-praxim. *Hebrew* (Landau 2006)
buy$_{INF}$ she bought ACC the-flowers
'As for buying, she bought the flowers'

d. **Essen** est Maks fish. *Yiddish* (Cable 2004)
eat$_{INF}$ eats Max fish
'As for eating, Max eats fish'

(2) *VP-Doubling; the entire VP is fronted:*

a. **Čitat'** **knigu**-to Ivan čitaet, no ničego ne ponimaet.
read$_{INF}$ book-TO Ivan reads, but nothing not understands
'Ivan does read a book, but he doesn't understand a thing.'
Russian (Abels 2001)

b. **Leer** **el libro**, Juan lo ha leído. *Spanis*h (Vicente 2009)
read$_{INF}$ the book Juan CL has read
'As for reading the book, Juan has indeed read it.'

c. **Liknot** **et** **ha-praxim**, hi kanta. *Hebrew* (Landau 2006)
buy$_{INF}$ ACC the-flowers she bought
'As for buying the flowers, she bought (them).'

d. **Essen** **fish** est Maks. *Yiddish* (Cable 2004)
eat$_{INF}$ fish eats Max
'As for eating fish, Max eats them.'

In this paper I concentrate on predicate doubling in Russian, which, as (1a) and (2a) show, also exhibits two versions of the construction. Notice the presence of an optional particle -TO in Russian Predicate Doubling constructions. I assume that this is a topic-marking particle and occurs in the left periphery of the clause. An example with this particle serving as a head of the projection hosting the contrastive topic is given in (3).

(3) **Pivo**-to ja ljublju, a vodku net.
beer-TO I love but vodka not
'As for beer, I like it, but not vodka.'

The fact that the clefted constituent occurs before -TO indicates that it is also located in the CP-domain. I will leave the question of the exact position of the clefted constituent within the left periphery for future research.

Data in (4a-b) provide additional examples of V-D and VP-D in Russian, and (4c) demonstrates that the verb's arguments cannot appear both in their base position and in the clefted constituent.

(4) a. **Kupit'**-to Ivan piva kupit, no pit' ne budet. **V-D**
buy_{INF}-TO I. beer buy_{FUT} but $drink_{INF}$ not will
'As for buying beer, Ivan will buy beer, but won't drink it.'
b. **Kupit' piva**-to Ivan kupit, no pit' ne budet. **VP-D**
buy_{INF} beer-TO I. buy_{FUT} but $drink_{INF}$ not will
'As for buying beer, Ivan will buy beer, but won't drink it.'
c. **Kupit' piva**-to Ivan (*piva) kupit (*piva), …
buy_{INF} beer-TO I. beer buy beer

In this paper I argue that these two types of predicate doubling in Russian can be generated by different analyses. I argue that V-Doubling is generated by v-to-Top movement following Aboh and Dyakonova (2009), while VP-Doubling also allows for a base-generation analysis, where the doubled VP is merged directly into Spec,TopP.

2 Previous analyses

A number of analyses have been proposed to account for similar configurations in languages such as Yiddish, Russian, Polish, Gungbe, Spanish in (Abels 2001, Cable 2004, Landau 2006, Aboh and Dyakonova 2009, Bondaruk 2009, 2012 a.o.). These analyses can be divided into two main categories: 1) Movement analyses; and 2) Base-generation analyses.

For example, one of the first analyses of Russian Predicate Doubling by Abels (2001) argues that both V-Doubling and VP-Doubling can be "accounted for as an instance of remnant VP movement." V-Doubling constructions differ from VP-Doubling constructions by the presence of object-shift, which allows internal arguments of the verb to vacate the VP; the remnant VP is then moved to TopP projection. As I show below, this does not capture the entire paradigm, in part because locality constraints on Predicate Doubling in Russian are not as strong as Abels suggests.

Bondaruk (2009, 2012) proposes an analysis of Polish predicate clefts "based on a single chain with or without a multiple realization of copies". According to her analysis, Polish predicate clefts are derived via remnant V(*v*)P movement, and the copy deletion is a phonological process.

Vicente (2009) analyses the predicate clefting construction in Spanish and argues that movement theory must be extended to allow head-to-spec movement (following Matushansky (2006) and Landau (2006)). He then advocates for the analysis of V-Doubling as an instance of such head-to-spec movement of the verb.

On the other end of the spectrum is the analysis of Yiddish predicate clefting by Cable (2004), where he argues that the topic-constituent (VP-cleft) is base-generated in a peripheral topic position.

Below I show that the full range of data in Russian cannot be accounted for by selecting only one of these approaches and that both these analyses are necessary for Russian. I argue that two types of Predicate Doubling in Russian have to be analyzed differently. Verb-Doubling is generated via movement, while the VP-Doubling cleft is base generated in the left periphery.

3 Properties of Predicate Doubling in Russian

In this section I outline previously unreported properties of the predicate doubling construction in Russian and demonstrate that VP-Doubling and

V-Doubling constructions behave differently with respect to the island constraints, identity requirements, and long-distance extraction. There is some speaker variation in the degree of acceptability of some of these constructions, especially the ones given below in sections 3.1 and 3.2. Further, a certain prosodic contour is required for the most speakers to get the grammaticality judgments presented below, which makes conducting a written questionnaire problematic. However, the majority of speakers I consulted, agree to the contrasts presented below. In the conclusion of this paper, I take on issue of speaker variation in more details.

3.1 Issues of Identity

It has often been claimed that the verbs in the cleft and in the base position must be identical in PD constructions. However, this is not always the case. Interestingly, while identity of the verb in the cleft and in the base is strongly required in V-Doubling constructions, this requirement becomes only a preference in VP-Doubling constructions.[1] Even though some speakers find sentences which violate this identity odd, all my informants agree on the strong contrast between a. and b. sentences below.

(5) a. ? **S'ezdit'** **v** **Ameriku**-to ja zavtra tuda poleču. **VP-D**
go$_{INF}$ to America-TO I tomorrow there fly$_{FUT}$
'As for going to the USA, I'm flying there tomorrow.'

b. ***S'ezdit'**-to ja zavtra v Ameriku leču **V-D**
go$_{INF}$-TO I tomorrow in America fly
'As for going, I'm flying to the USA tomorrow.'

(6) a. ? **Najti** **deneg**-to on v dolg voz'mët. **VP-D**
find$_{INF}$ money-TO he borrow$_{FUT}$.
'As for finding money, he will borrow some.'

b. ***Najti**-to on deneg v dolg voz'mët **V-D**
find$_{INF}$-TO he money borrow$_{FUT}$.
'As for finding, he will borrow some money.'

[1] Vicente (2007:82-83; 2009:168 n.14) discusses similar patterns for Spanish and Portuguese speakers: there are two distinct groups of speakers which differ in their acceptability levels of predicate clefting constructions violating the identity requirement.

As the data above show, the verb does not have to be identical in the case of VP-Doubling; further for sentences where identity requirement is violated, Landau's generalization is also not observed. For example, in (5), both verbs in the cleft and in the matrix have complements *v Ameriku* 'to America' and *tuda* 'there' respectively. There is, however, a restriction on the content of the cleft and the content of the base VP. The data that illustrate this restriction are provided in (7).

(7) a. ?**Najti** **deneg**-to on 100 rublej najdet.
find$_{INF}$ money-TO he 100 rubles find$_{FUT}$
'As for finding money, he will find 100 rubles.'
b. ***Najti** **100** **rublej**-to on deneg najdet.
find$_{INF}$ 100 rubles-TO he money find$_{FUT}$
'As for finding money, he will find 100 rubles.'

If we assume that the cleft is a topic — based on the meaning of the predicate doubling sentences and the presence of the particle -TO, same as in sentences in (7) — we can see that the topic must be less specific than the predicate; for further examination of such Genus-Species effects, see Cable 2004, which uses such data to argue for base-generation of VP-Doubling constructions in Yiddish. This is reminiscent of the requirement on topics seen in English sentences such as (8):

(8) a. As for fruits, I like apples.
b. *As for apples, I like fruits.

This is a semantic restriction on the nature of topics, which I will not be concerned with in this paper. The crucial observation here is that it does not account for the (much stricter) identity requirement in V-Doubling constructions. For example, in (5b), the cleft *s'ezdit'* 'to go' is less specific than the VP *v Ameriku leču* 'go to America,' but the sentence is still ungrammatical. That suggests that something else is at stake in V-Doubling constructions that renders them ungrammatical.

3.2 Island Effects

One of the previously unnoticed differences between the V-Doubling and VP-Doubling constructions in Russian concerns their (in)sensitivity to island boundaries.

(9) wh-*island*

a. ? **Kupit'** **piva**-to ja ne znaju kogda on kupit. **VP-D**
buy$_{INF}$ beer-TO I not now when he buy
'As for buying beer, I don't know when he will do so.'

b. * **Kupit'**-to ja ne znaju kogda on piva kupit **V-D**
buy$_{INF}$-TO I not now when he beer buy
'As for buying, I don't know when he will buy beer.'

(10) *Coordinate Structure Constraint*[2]

a. **Kupit'** **piva**-to, on kupit i vodki vyp'et. **VP-D**
buy$_{INF}$ beer-TO he buy and vodka drink
'As for buying beer, he will buy it and drink some vodka.'

b. ? **Kupit'**-to, on piva kupit i vodki vyp'et. **V-D**
buy$_{INF}$-TO he beer buy and vodka drink
'As for buying, he will buy beer and drink vodka.'

(11) *Complex NP Constraint*

a. ? **Kupit'** **piva**-to, ja znaju čeloveka, kotoryj kupit. **VP-D**
buy$_{INF}$ beer-TO I know person which buy
'As for buying beer, I know a person who will buy it.'

b. * **Kupit'**-to ja znaju čeloveka, kotoryj kupit piva. **V-D**
buy$_{INF}$-TO I know person which buy beer
'As for buying, I know a person who will buy beer.'

(12) *Adjunct Island Constraint*

a.?? **Vypit'** **piva**-to, on ušël tak kak Maša vypila. **VP-D**
drink$_{INF}$ beer-TO he left because M. drank
'As for drinking beer, he left because Maša drank it.'

b. * **Vypit'**-to on ušël tak kak Maša piva vypila. **V-D**
drink$_{INF}$-TO he left because M. beer drank
'As for drinking, he left because Maša drank beer.'

[2] It is worth noting that Vicente (2007) indicates that Spanish and Potuguese speakers who do not have identity requirements for cleft constructions, also allow clefting out of Coordinate Structures. He does not, however, present the data concerning other islands.

In the examples above, the a. sentences demonstrate that VP-Doubling is immune to island violations, while b. sentences show that V-Doubling is impossible out of an island.[3]

3.3 Long-distance Predicate Doubling

In this section I show that VP-Doubling and V-Doubling constructions behave differently if applied long-distance. It is well known that Russian employs (at least) three types of embedded clauses: indicative, subjunctive, and infinitive (control). With respect to various syntactic phenomena, such as extraction and binding, the indicative clause is the least transparent, and the control clause is the most transparent. In particular, long-distance *wh*-extraction is more acceptable out of subjunctives than out of indicatives (Comrie 1973 a.o.):

(13) a.*?Čto ty skazal čto Ivan vypil? Indicative
what you said that I. drank
'What did you say that Ivan had drunk?'

b. Čto ty xočeš čtoby Ivan vypil? Subjunctive
what you want that$_{SUBJ}$ I. drank
'What do you want for Ivan to drink?'

Despite the difference between indicative and subjunctive clauses with respect to *wh*-extraction and binding, long-distance topicalization is allowed in Russian in all contexts, as (14) below demonstrate.

(14) a. **Piva**-to Maša skazala čto Ivan kupit. Indicative
beer-TO M. said that I. buy$_{FUT}$
'As for beer, Maša said that Boris will buy it.'

b. **Piva**-to Maša xočet čtoby Ivan kupit. Subjunctive
beer-TO M. wants that$_{SUBJ}$ I. buy
'As for beer, Maša wants Boris to buy it.'

c. **Piva**-to Maša xočet kupit'. Control

[3] It is possible that CSC example in (10) allow an alternative analysis as a conjunction of two clauses, with a *pro*-dropped subject in the second clause. This would explain that the sentence (10b) is only mildly degraded for some speakers, compared to other examples involving other islands. A strong prosodic break after the cleft leads to a more dramatic difference in grammaticality judgments between (10a) and (10b).

beer-TO M. wants buy_{INF}
'As for beer, Maša wants to buy it.'

If we consider PD, we will discover a pattern inconsistent with the expectations. The only environment where long-distance predicate doubling is allowed is VP-Doubling out of indicative clauses; both long-distance V- and VP-Doubling are ungrammatical out of subjunctive and control clauses:

(14) *Indicative complements*

a. ??**Kupit' piva**-to on dumaet čto Boris kupit. **VP-D**
buy_{INF} beer-TO he thinks that B. buy_{FUT}
'As for buying beer, he heard that Boris will buy it.'

b. * **Kupit'**-to on slyshal čto Boris piva kupit. **V-D**
buy_{INF}-TO he heard that B. beer buy_{FUT}
'As for buying, he heard that Boris will buy beer.'

(15) *Subjunctive complements*

a. * **Kupit' piva**-to Ivan xočet čtoby Boris kupil. **VP-D**
buy_{INF} beer-TO I. wants $that_{SUBJ}$ B. buy
'As for buying beer, Ivan wants Boris to buy it.'

b. * **Kupit'**-to Ivan xočet čtoby Boris piva kupil. **V-D**
buy_{INF}-TO I. heard $that_{SUBJ}$ B. beer buy
'As for buying beer, Ivan wants Boris to buy it.'

(16) *Control complements*

a. * **Kupit' piva**-to Marina xočet kupit'. **VP-D**
buy_{INF} beer-TO M. wants buy_{INF}
'As for buying beer, Marina wants to buy it.'

b. * **Kupit'**-to Marina xočet piva kupit' **V-D**
buy_{INF}-TO M. wants beer buy_{INF}
'As for buying beer, Marina wants to buy it'

This contrast between long-distance topicalization and long-distance predicate doubling is unexpected. Even though both subjunctive and control clauses are more transparent than indicative clauses, and long-distance topicalization being available out of all types of embedded clauses, both types of predicate doubling out of them are ungrammatical.

Also, as before with islands and identity effects, we see fewer restrictions on VP-Doubling, compared to V-Doubling, which is allowed out of the indicative embedded clauses.

3.4 Further Remarks

There are further effects which can be observed with PD constructions in Russian. It was pointed out by a reviewer that the topic particle -TO may impose certain limitations on the weight of the topicalized constituents: the heavier it is, the more degraded the example is:

(17) ?**Pročitat' novuyu knigu**-to on pročital …
read$_{INF}$ new book-TO he read$_{PAST}$

Speakers vary in their judgments and in how strong this effect is. It could be a phonological effect, and more research is needed to evaluate whether this is a general tendency affecting all topicalized phrases, or it is limited to the instances of predicate doubling.

Another often mentioned point about predicate doubling constructions is the preference for object-shift in case of V-D:

(18) a. **Čitat'**-to Ivan *knigu* čitaet, …
read$_{INF}$-TO I. book read$_{PRES}$
b. ?**Čitat'**-to Ivan čitaet *knigu*, …
read$_{INF}$-TO I. read$_{PRES}$ book

It is claimed that some of the speakers find sentence (18b) ungrammatical, however my informants agree that an appropriate intonational contour can improve their status. In fact, if in (18b) the verb in its base position is emphasized, the sentence is judged as only mildly deviant. While this effect is interesting, I will leave its analysis for future work.

3.5 Summary of Data

In this section I showed that two types of Predicate Doubling in Russian behave differently, the idea being that we need two distinct analyses which account for the observed differences. The summary is given in Table 1 below.

	VP-Doubling	**V-Doubling**

Identity Effects:	×	✓
Islands/Constraints:	✓	×
LD-Doubling out of:		
Indicatives	✓	×
Subjunctives	×	×
Control	×	×

Table 1. Summary of Russian Predicate Doubling properties.

4 Analysis of Data

As pointed out in the previous section, VP-Doubling and V-Doubling exhibit very different properties with respect to several syntactic phenomena. In this section I propose the following:

(17) a. **VP-Doubling** can involve **base-generation** of the VP-cleft in the left periphery of the clause; a **movement** analysis (for example, along the lines of Abels 2001) is also available.
b. **V-Doubling** can be derived via **head-movement** of the verb to the peripheral position in the CP-domain (along the lines of Aboh and Dyakonova 2009).

Taking this proposal into consideration, there are several questions which should still be answered:

a. Why is identity necessary in the case of Verb-Doubling and optional in the case of VP-Doubling?
b. How can we account for the observed behavior of PD with respect to islands?
c. Why is long-distance V-Doubling prohibited, while VP-Doubling is allowed only out of indicatives?
d. What triggers the PD process?
e. Why does the clefted verb exhibit infinitival morphology?

In what follows, I explain how base-generation vs. head movement analysis can answer some of these questions. I return to the remnant VP-movement analysis of VP-Doubling in Section 5.

4.1 Identity Requirements and Island Effects

The first two questions can be addressed straightforwardly under the proposal above. Since VP-Doubling allows base-generation, it is allowed to escape island effects: a VP-cleft does not need to move to the peripheral position from its base. For the same reason, identity is not required for VP-Doubling (even though there are semantic restrictions): the cleft can be generated in the peripheral position and does not need to be identical to the main VP of the clause. V-Doubling is generated through the head-movement (as suggested by Aboh and Dyakonova 2009), and therefore, the clefted verb needs to be identical to the verb in the base position. Further, if we assume that head-movement respects islands, the analysis predicts that V-Doubling out of islands is ungrammatical, which is confirmed by the data.

4.2 Trigger of the Predicate Doubling

As can be seen from the semantics of the predicate doubling constructions, the cleft is interpreted as a contrastive topic (following Abels 2001), (18). Compatibility with the topic particle -TO confirms this (see example (3) above, which exemplifies the use of this particle in a non-clefting environment).

(18) a. **Prigotovit'**-to on rybu prigotovit, no est' ne budet.
cook$_{INF}$-TO he fish cook$_{FUT}$ but eat not will.
'As for cooking, he will cook the fish, but he won't eat it.'

b. **Prigotovit' rybu**-to on prigotovit, no est' budet m'aso.
cook$_{INF}$ fish-TO he cook$_{FUT}$ but eat will meat.
'As for cooking the fish, he will do it, but he will eat meat.'

Following Abels (2001), I assume that the particle -TO is the head of a TopP projection within the CP-domain of the clause. For the purposes of the analysis, the precise nature of this position is not crucial; the analysis would not change as long as this position is in the CP-domain.

Adopting the framework of Pesetsky & Torrego, 2007, I assume that Top-head (-TO) bears an interpretable unvalued instance of the Topic feature <*i*Top -val>. The head of the phrase to be topicalized, possibly AspP, has an uninterpretable valued instance of the Topic feature, <*u*Top +val>. The Agree relation between the Top-head and Asp drives the Merge (*internal* or *external*) of the topicalized element into the Top,P

projection. This way, it is possible to value the Top-feature of the Top-head by either movement or merge into its specifier, or head-movement, deriving both V- and VP-Doubling constructions.

4.3 Infinitival Morphology in VP-Doubling Constructions

The next issue to be explained is why the verb in the cleft bears infinitival morphology. In the case of VP-Doubling, the non-finite form of the verb can be explained in the Pesetsky & Torrego (2007) framework. The finite form of the verb bears an uninterpretable valued instance of the T-feature <*u*T +val>. This feature needs to be checked by T with an interpretable unvalued instance of the T-feature <*i*T -val>, which serves as a probe. According to the proposed analysis of VP-Doubling, the verb in the cleft is generated in the CP-domain, higher than T. This means that T can never probe it (I assume that probing is done top-down universally), and the T-feature on the verb in the cleft will be left without an interpretable instance, leading the derivation to crash. The only way to save this derivation is to use the non-finite form of the verb in the cleft, a form which lacks the T-feature altogether. I assume that this is indeed the case in VP-Doubling construction. If such a form of the verb is used in the cleft, it does not need to be checked by T, and the derivation will converge. As a consequence, the verb in the cleft without a T-feature will exhibit non-finite morphology. Note that this explanation only works for VP-Doubling construction. I will explain the non-finite morphology in V-Doubling constructions below.

4.4 Deletion of Arguments in VP-Doubling Constructions

As I demonstrate in (20), in the VP-Doubling construction, the arguments of the verb cannot be repeated in the base position and in the cleft. I argue that this process is similar to deletion process under ellipsis. Verb arguments, having the same form in the base-generated cleft in the *v*P, delete under identity in the lower instance. It is worth noting that the deletion of the arguments in the base position can be an instance of verb-stranding VP-ellipsis (VVPE), along the lines proposed in Gribanova (2013). She shows that object drop is unacceptable within islands; it follows from her analysis that the deletion of the arguments in case of VP-Doubling is indeed derived by moving verb out of the *v*P to a higher projection, followed by the *v*P-ellipsis. VVPE analysis also makes it a given that the lower instance of the verb is not deleted.

Another important question concerns the fact that ellipsis is usually optional. While the examples of VP-Doubling without eliding arguments are possible, they are nevertheless degraded:

(20) a. **Prigotovit' rybu**-to on prigotovit …
cook$_{INF}$ fish-TO he cook$_{FUT}$
'As for cooking the fish, he will do it…'
b. ? **Prigotovit' rybu**-to on *rybu* prigotovit …
cook$_{INF}$ fish-TO he fish cook$_{FUT}$ …

It is possible that pragmatic factors are involved in the explanation of the status of such examples. I will leave this issue for future research.

Note that the arguments of the verb do not delete if they are not identical. The relevant example is given above in (6a).

4.5 On Long-Distance Predicate Doubling

As I have shown above, long-distance Predicate Doubling is only possible for VP-Doubling out of indicative clauses. To explain this pattern, we need to answer two questions: 1). Why is long-distance V-Doubling disallowed; and 2). Why is long-distance VP-Doubling restricted to indicative complements only?

The impossibility of long-distance V-Doubling can be explained if we assume that long-distance head-movement is universally not allowed. Following Aboh and Dyakonova 2009, V-Doubling is derived through head-movement, and we would not expect it to be possible out of the embedded clauses at all.

Now I will present the differences between the indicative and the subjunctive/control clauses and show how they explain why VP-Doubling is only possible out of indicative embedded clauses.

The contrastive topic position is unavailable in subjunctive and control complements, as shown in (21).

(21) a. Maša skazala čto **Lenu**-to Ivan vstretil, a Annu net.
M. said that L.-TO I. met but A. not
'Maša said that Ivan to met Lena, but not Anna.'
b. * Maša xočet čtoby **Lenu**-to Ivan vstretil, a Annu net.
M. wants that$_{SBJ}$ L.-TO I. meet$_{SBJ}$ but A. not
'Maša wants Ivan to meet Lena but not Anna.'

c. * Maša xočet **piva**-to kupit', a vodki net.
M. wants beer-TO buy_{INF} but vodka not
'Maša wants to buy beer, but not vodka.'

In (21a), the embedded clause is indicative, and the contrastive topic is allowed in the left periphery of the embedded CP. (21b) and (21c) are examples of the subjunctive and control complements respectively, and the embedded topic is not allowed in their CP-domain. It is beyond the scope of this paper to explain why the TopP is incompatible with the embedded subjunctive and control clauses. It is possible that the complementizer needs to enter into a relation with the T in clauses with the defective tense (subjunctives and control), in order to establish dependency between the embedded T and the matrix T. The non-empty TopP with the head -TO serves as a blocker of such a relationship, and as a result, the examples (21b,c) are ungrammatical. In the indicative embedded clauses there is no need to establish the tense dependency, and therefore it is possible to have an intermediate projection between the CP, hosting the complementizer, and the embedded TP.

In order to account for the facts about long-distance VP-Doubling, I assume that the topic cleft has to be base-generated in the CP-domain of the clause with the *v*P, which is doubled by the cleft. That is, the clefts in the long-distance VP-Doubling construction are generated in the embedded clauses, and they further can move to the matrix left periphery position. Since it is impossible to base-generate a VP in the embedded CP-domain of subjunctive and control clauses as shown in (21b-c), the long-distance VP-Doubling is impossible in such cases.

Further, note that the upper instance of VP does not necessarily move to the matrix Spec,TopP, and can stay in the embedded Spec,TopP, if this position is available.

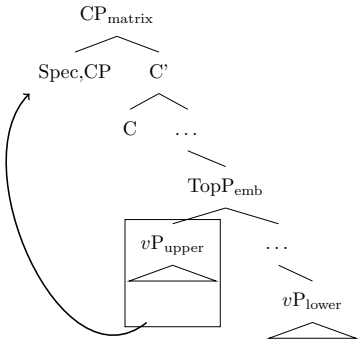
(22) a. Maša skazala čto **vstretit' Sergeja**-to Ivan vstretil…
M. said that $meet_{INF}$ S.-TO I. met
'Maša said that as for Sergej, Ivan met him…'

b. *Maša xočet čtoby **vstretit' Sergeja**-to Ivan vstretil…
M. wants $that_{SBJ}$ $meet_{INF}$ S.-TO I. met
'Maša wants Ivan to meet Sergej…'

c. *Maša xočet **vstretit'** **Sergeja**-to PRO vstretit'…
M. wants meet$_{INF}$ S.-TO meet$_{INF}$
'Maša wants to meet Sergej….'

The base generation of the cleft in the embedded TopP, and its subsequent movement is shown in (23).

(23) *Generation of the cleft v*P *in the embedded* TopP



Interestingly, this requirement to base-generate the topic in the TopP specifier of the embedded clause does not seem to be operative for non-*v*P topics, as examples in (14) show: long-distance nominal topicalization is allowed out of all types of embedded clauses, and not just out of indicatives. That suggests that in examples (14), the topic is base-generated in its thematic position and undergoes successive cyclic movement to the TopP projection in the matrix clause. That would also predict that movement analysis of VP-Doubling constructions, which as I claim is also a possibility, would successfully derive ungrammatical examples of long-distance VP-Doubling. At present, I do not have a solution to this problem: there might be some other factors at play which restrict such long-distance movement of *v*Ps and not of other constituents. Explaining the contrast between availability of long-distance *v*P-Doubling out of subjunctives and out of indicatives assuming movement analysis is a problem for all movement-based approaches to predicate clefting as well. I will leave this question for future research.

4.6 Deriving V-Doubling via Head-Movement

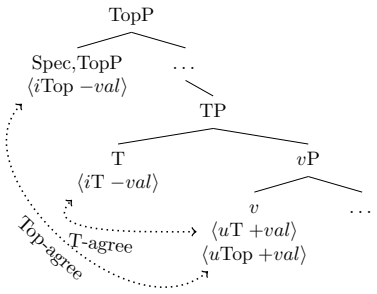
Finally, in this section I demonstrate how V-Doubling constructions are derived through head-movement and show how my analysis derives the properties of the V-Doubling construction. This approach is similar to the analysis suggested by Aboh and Dyakonova (2009) and involves reduction of multiple chains. As before I assume the Pesetsky & Torrego (2007) framework.

Let us once again consider the featural content on the elements involved in the derivation. The little *v* has an uninterpretable valued instance of the T-feature <*u*T +val>, and T has a matching interpretable unvalued instance of the T-feature <*i*T -val>. In addition to the T-feature, *v* also has the Top feature <*u*Top +val>, which is matched by an interpretable instance of the Top feature on the Top-head, <*i*T -val>. Unvalued instances of the features search their domain for valued instances of the features and agree with them. This way, the T-feature on T triggers it to probe *v*, and the Top-feature on the Top-head triggers it to probe *v* as well. In Russian, the T-feature on T is weak and does not trigger the movement of *v* to T. The Top-feature on the Top is strong, and triggers movement of its Goal.

Following Chomsky 2008, I assume that both T and C/Top probe simultaneously, and both of them have *v* as their Goal. As a result of these two instances of probing, two chains are created: 1) Top-*v*/V chain (based on Top-probing) and 2) T-*v*/V chain (based on T-probing). Each of these chains will have to have one of its links pronounced. In case of Top-*v* chain, the upper link is spelled-out, since the Top-feature is strong, and Topics need to be pronounced. In this chain, the verb is still uninflected, as it has not yet entered in an Agree relation with T. On the other hand, in T-*v* chain, the lower link of the chain is pronounced, since T is weak in Russian; in addition, since T is in a probe-goal relation with *v*, the instance of the verb inside the *v*P will show up with finite morphology.

These two chains are shown in (24). In order to explain the infinitival morphology on the clefted verb, we need to assume that tense only gets spelled out on *v*+V after it is probed by T and/or moved out of *v*P (for evidence of this movement see Gribanova 2013 and references therein). Alternatively, it is possible to adopt Aboh and Dyakonova (2009) analysis, which makes reference to the topic requiring nominalizing morphology, morphologically realized as infinitive.

(24) *Two chains:* Top-*v and* T-*v:*



It is also worth noting that Esipova (to appear) observes that the predicate doubling construction does not always require an infinitive.

(25) Poët-to on poet, no ploxo.
sings-to he sings but poorly
'As for singing, he sings, but poorly.'

In order to account for constructions of this sort, the timing of the chain creation in the process described above must be adjusted: probing by Top must happen after *v* had its Tense features valued by T. There is also a possibility that constructions of this sort require a different analysis. I leave this issue for future research.

5 VP-Movement and Speaker Variation

As I have mentioned above, nothing precludes VP-Doubling constructions from being derived as instances of VP-movement as well, for example along the lines of Abels (2001). This analysis however will not be able to derive the violations of island effects and violations of the identity requirement. In fact, there are speakers who do not allow these violations. It is possible that such speakers only allow movement analysis of VP-Doubling constructions in Russian. A controlled experiment is required in order to establish whether there are in fact two dialects with respect to

predicate doubling in Russian, similar to what was suggested in Vicente (2007) for Spanish and Portuguese speakers.

6 Conclusions and the Future Research

Previous analyses of Predicate doubling construction in Russian did not differentiate between V-Doubling and VP-Doubling, proposing a similar analysis for both. In this paper I demonstrated different syntactic properties of these constructions and proposed that to account for the data both base-generation and movement analyses are needed.

A few questions are left for future research. I claimed that the embedded TopP projection does not exist in subjunctive and control clauses, but is available in the indicative clauses. While I proposed the preliminary explanation of this fact, more work needs to be done to assess the validity of this argument and whether it holds crosslinguistically. In addition, more evidence is needed to establish that the cleft VP must originate in the embedded TopP projection prior to moving to the matrix left periphery. Further, it is unclear why under movement analysis there are restrictions on vP-topicalization, not observed if a constituent of other type is topicalized.

Another question concerns the crosslinguistic consequences of this analysis. To my knowledge, the data similar to the ones presented in this paper have not been gathered for other languages with Predicate Doubling construction, and all analyses that I am aware of treat VP-Doubling and V-Doubling uniformly. It would be important to check if the patterns observed in Russian extend to the entire Slavic family, and also beyond Slavic, e.g., to Spanish, Portuguese, Yiddish, and German.

Finally, this analysis also presents several questions regarding the copy theory of movement. How is the upper copy of the *v*P created? Are the *v*P-internal elements doubled in the numeration? If so, are they exactly the same, but occur in the numeration twice, or are they different in their feature content?

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