# Predicate and Nominal Clefts in Haitian Creole

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**Abstract**

In Haitian Creole, when a predicate moves to the cleft position, an overt copy of the predicate is left behind in the matrix clause so that there are two instances of the verb in the sentence. In sentences with nominal clefts, however, only the nominal cleft is phonologically realized and the lower copy of the noun phrase gets deleted. Through my paper, I explore why noun and verb phrases behave differently in the cleft construction. Using Distributed Morphology and the Linear Correspondence Axiom, I argue that the cleft position is an inherently nominal environment. When the noun moves into this position, it is able to c-command the lower copy, which as a result is deleted. The predicate cleft, on the other hand, cannot c-command its lower copy after it becomes nominalized and the lower copy thus remains overtly realized.

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## 1. Introduction

In focus sentences, a particular element is emphasized in order to contrast with some other element already present in the discourse. English conveys focus through emphasis, as in, (1) b. or through clefting, wherein a phrase moves into a matrix clause at the beginning of the sentence for the purpose of emphasis, e.g. (1) c.

(1) a. Sarah gave me a cookbook for my birthday.

b. Sarah gave me *a cookbook* for my birthday, not a novel.

c. It was a cookbook that Sarah gave me for my birthday, not a novel.

Similarly, the formation of focus clefts in Haitian Creole occur by beginning a sentence with "se" ("it is") and following it with the focused element and a relative clause. Two varieties of the focus cleft occur in Haitian Creole, one that contains a copy of the clefted element and one that does not. The sentences in 1-4 below illustrate these differences.

**Clefts that do not have a copy in the lower clause:**

(2) a. Non-cleft:
Profesè an te prete'm liv sa a.
Teacher the PAST lend me book this SING.
"The teacher lent me this book."

b. Noun cleft:
Se **profesè an** ki te prete'm liv sa a.
SE teacher the who PAST lend me book this SING.
"It's the teacher who lent me this book."

(3) a. Non-cleft:
Y' ap vini demen
They PROG come tomorrow.
"They are coming tomorrow.

b. Adverbial cleft:
Se **demen** y' ap vini.
SE tomorrow they are coming.
"It's tomorrow that they are coming."

(4) a. Non-cleft:
Nou prale nan cinema.
We PROG.GO in movies
"We are going to the movies."

b. Prepositional Phrase Cleft:

Se **nan sinema** nou prale.
SE in movies we are.going
"It's to the movies that we are going."

**Clefts that have a copy in the lower clause:**

(5) a. Non-cleft:
Jan te ekri poem lan.
Jan PAST write poem the.
"Jan wrote the poem."

b. Verbal Cleft:
Se **ekri** Jan te **ekri** poem lan.
SE write Jan PAST write poem the.
"Jan *wrote* the poem."

(6) a. Non-cleft:
Li intelijan.
He intelligent.
"He is intelligent."

b. Cleft-repeated
Se **intelijan** li **intelijan** konsa
SE intelligent he intelligent like.that
"He is so *intelligent.*"

The types of clefts that leave behind a copy in the lower clause include nouns, prepositional phrases, and adverbs. Those that do not leave behind a copy include verbs and adjectives. It is not clear what property of verbs and adjectives allows them to be reduplicated and what property of nouns, prepositions, and adverbs prevents reduplication. In order to find a relationship among the word classes within these two groups, one might be tempted to apply one of the theories that differentiate lexical categories and focus on the shared features of duplicable and non-duplicable clefts. An analysis that draws from the feature bundles[1] of Chomsky (1970), for instance, seems to provide a connection. The features for nouns are [+N, -V], for prepositions [-N, -V], verbs [-N, +V], and adjectives [+N, +V]. The duplicable clefts have the [+V] feature in common while the non-duplicable clefts have the [-V] feature in common. The class of adverbs remains undefined.

[1] Feature bundles refer to the [±N, ±V] features of a head.

Baker (2003) notes, however, that the feature system is not well-integrated into the Principles and Parameters (P&P) tradition as a whole. Beyond distinguishing the four lexical classes from each other, it is not used much, if at all. Since the use of these features is so limited, it is not clear that they are necessary for the P&P framework or that they accurately capture the distinctions and similarities among classes. Jackendoff (1977), for example, uses the features ±subj and ±obj. Since nouns (in the form of prenominal genitives) and verbs can have subjects, they are assigned the feature [+subj]. Since verbs and prepositions can have bare NP objects, they are categorized as [+obj]. Thus, the four word classes and their features are nouns [+subj, -obj], verbs [+subj, +obj], adjectives [-subj, -obj], and adpositions [-subj, +obj]. Under Jackendoff's analysis, verbs and adjectives, the parts of speech whose clefts have overt copies in Haitian Creole, do not have any features in common. Nouns and adpositions, the non-reduplicable clefts, also do not form a natural class. As such, although Jackendoff's groupings differ from those of Chomsky, it is not clear that they are more or less reliable in conveying the essence of these classes. The combination of these two theories merely shows that each lexical category shares similarities with another and that different linguists notice different relationships among them. Moreover, the observed relationships may not necessarily be cross-linguistic, as shown by the inability of Jackendoff (1977) to account for reduplication in Haitian Creole. Therefore, it does not seem that there is a reliable theory that reveals the similarities between adjective and verbs or among adpositions, nouns, and adverbs. Baker himself finds it more productive to focus on the characteristics that make each word class unique.

Since it is not clear how to group nouns with prepositions and adverbs, and verbs with adjectives and since creating such a theory would be beyond the scope of this paper, it will be sufficient for the moment to say that some lexical categories are repeated in the lower clause after having moved up to the cleft and others are not. Without evidence to prove otherwise, it will be assumed that verbs and adjectives share some characteristic, which makes them duplicable in a cleft sentence and that nouns, prepositions, and adverbs share a characteristic that makes overt copies impossible. For simplicity, the phenomenon will henceforth largely be described in terms of verbs (clefts that are repeated in the lower clause) and nonverbs or nouns (clefts that are not repeated in the lower clause).

In this paper, using Distributed Morphology and the Linear Correspondence Axiom, I argue that the difference between these two types of clefts lies in the syntax. The nominal nature

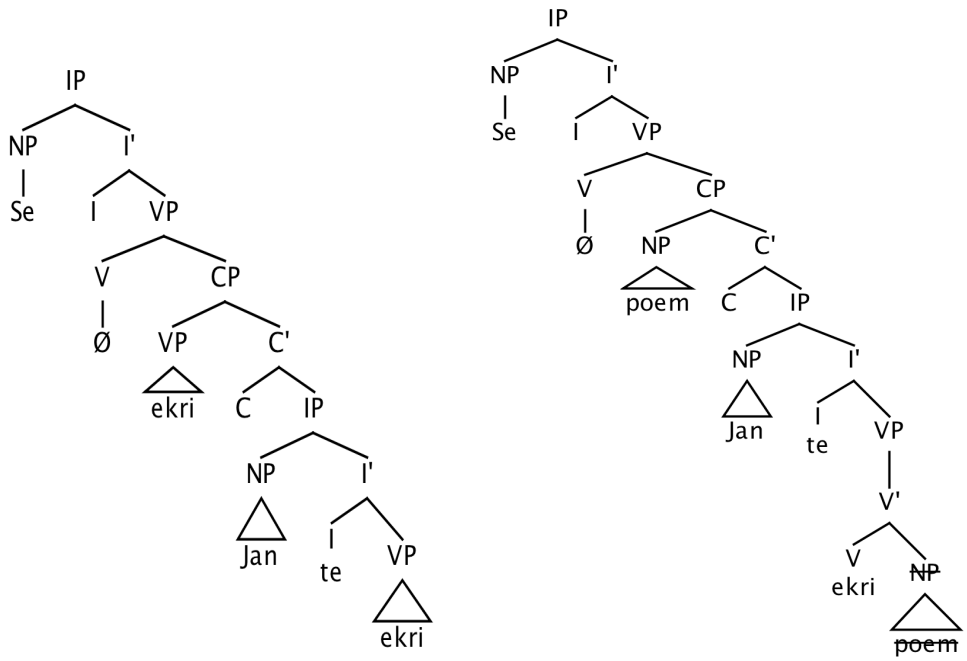
of the cleft creates a difference between the structure of noun and verb clefts that allows nominal clefts to c-command its copy in the lower clause but prevents verbal clefts from doing the same. The contrast in the ability of the cleft to bind its copy makes it possible for two instances of the clefted verb to be phonologically realized but prevents two overt copies of a clefted noun phrase.

In section 2, I discuss various properties of predicate and noun clefts. In section 3, I talk about the differences between nouns and verbs in general to try to figure out whether and how these differences may influence what happens in the cleft. In section 3, I apply my findings to Distributed Morphology, linearization, and other factors to tease out a structure for both the predicate and nominal clefts. In section 5, I compare my analysis to those of others who have studied raised predicates and reduplication. In section 6, I conclude.

## 2. Predicate Clefts and Noun Clefts

In order to establish a basic foundation for my analysis, I present two preliminary structures based on Larson and Lefebvre (1993).

(7) a. Predicate Cleft: b. Noun Cleft




This structure reflects the biclausal nature of the cleft. The subject of the higher clause is the expletive "Se" and the verb is a null copula. One might propose that the cleft reaches the Spec, CP in one of two ways: base generation or movement.

## 2.1 Base Generation vs. Movement

According to Piou (1982), Koopman (1984), and Chomsky (1977), by way of Harbour (2008), clefts involve movement because they are constrained by islands and violate subjacency in the presence of a bridge verb. However, Cable (2004) and Bastos (2009) have determined that certain clefts may be base-generated because they do not show these constraints. As such, we shall test clefts in Haitian Creole for subjacency and island constraints to see whether they are base-generated or derived by movement. These tests will also make it clear whether noun and verb clefts reach the cleft position through the same or different means. Is it possible, for example, that noun clefts display movement while verb clefts do not, or vice versa? If so, could this difference in syntax be a reason for the difference in the ability of these two types of clefts to have an overt copy in the lower clause? The tests below reveal that both noun and verb clefts undergo movement.

**Subjacency:**

(8) a. Danyèl di ke Simon te manje denye tranch gato an.
Danyèl say that Simon PAST eat last slice cake the
"Danyèl said that Simon ate the last slice of cake."

i. Noun Cleft:
Danyèl di ke **se denyè tranch gato an** ke Simon te manje.
Danyèl say that SE last slice cake the that Simon PAST eat
"Danyèl said that it was the last slice of cake that Simon ate."

ii. Verb Cleft:
Danyèl di **se manje** Simon te **manje** denye tranch gato an.
Danyèl say SE eat Simon PAST eat last slice cake the
"Danyèl said that it was eat that Simon ate the last slice of cake."

iii. Noun Cleft:
**Se denye tranch gato an** Danyèl di ke Simon te manje.
SE last slice cake the Danyèl say that Simon PAST eat
"It's the last slice of cake Danyèl said that Simon ate."

iv. Verb Cleft:
**Se manje** Danyèl di Simon te **manje** denye tranch gato an.
SE eat Danyèl say Simon PAST eat last slice cake the
"It's eat that Danyèl said that Simon ate the last slice of cake."

(9) Non-Bridge Verb (whisper):

a. Noun Cleft:
* Se **denye tranch gato an** Danyèl **chichote** ke Simon te manje.
SE last slice cake the Danyèl whisper that Simon PAST eat
"It was the last slice of cake Danyèl whispered that Simon ate."

b. Verb Cleft:
* Se **manje** Danyèl **chichote** ke Simon te **manje** denye tranch gato an.
SE eat Danyèl whisper that Simon PAST eat last slice cake the.
"It's *eat* Danyèl whispered that Simon ate the last slice of cake."

The examples in (8) show that clefts are able to appear at different positions in a sentence – at the periphery of a lower subordinate clause and at the periphery of the original sentence. The sentences in (9), by demonstrating that clefts cannot move past non-bridge verbs, make it clear that clefts are, in fact, subject to successive cyclic movement. They are not merely base-generated in different positions.

**Adjunct Islands:**

(10) a. Ou te ale lakay ou paske ou te beswen fe devwa' w.
You PAST go home your because you PAST need do homework your.
"You went home because you needed to do your homework."

b. Noun Cleft:
*Se **devwa' w** ou te ale lakay ou paske ou te beswen fe.
SE homework your you PAST go home your because you PAST need do.
"It's your homework that you went home because you needed to do."

c. Verb Cleft:
*Se **fe** ou te ale lakay ou paske ou te beswen **fe** devwa' w
SE do you PAST go home your because you PAST need do homework your.
"You went home because you needed to *do* your homework.
(It's do that you went home because you needed to do your homework.)"

**Complex Noun Phrases:**

(11) a. Mwen renkontre gason ki te pase egzamen difisil lan.
I meet boy who PAST pass exam difficult the
"I met the boy who passed the difficult exam."

b. Noun Cleft:
*Se **egzamen difisil lan** mwen te renkontre gason ki te pase.
SE exam difficult the I PAST met boy who PAST pass
"It's the difficult exam that I met the boy who passed."

c. Verb Cleft:

*Se **pase** mwen renkontre gason ki te **pase** egzamen difisil lan.
SE pass I meet boy who PAST pass exam difficult the
"I met the boy who *passed* the difficult exam."
(It's meet that I met the boy who passed the difficult exam.)

**Coordinate Structure:**

(12) a. Lisa dekore kay lan epi li kwit manje an.
Lisa decorate house the and she cook food the.
"Lisa decorated the house and she cooked the food."

b. Noun Cleft:
*Se manje an Lisa dekore kay lan epi li kwit.
SE food the Lisa decorate house the and she cook.
"It's the food that Lisa decorated the house and cooked."

c. Verb Cleft:
*Se kwit Lisa dekore kay lan epi li kwit manje.
SE cook Lisa decorate house the and she cook food.
"Lisa decorated the house and *cooked* the food.
(It's cook that Lisa decorated the house and cooked the food.)"

The examples in sentences (10) – (12) show that nouns and verbs are unable to cleft in the presence of islands. This evidence reinforces the conclusion made in the section on subjacency that clefts occur through movement, not base-generation.

## 2.2 Type of Movement

Although we have established that clefts in Haitian Creole come about through movement, we have not specified the type of movement that they undergo. Structures (7) a. and b. suggest that clefts target maximal projections. It is unclear that this is so because in both trees, only one word resides in Spec, CP. We will look at the amount of material allowed to move with noun and verb clefts to prove that both do involve phrasal movement.

The examples in (13) and (14) demonstrate a difference between verb and noun clefts. Nouns are able to cleft with a significant amount of material, here an embedded phrasal modifier. Sentence (13)b. gives further evidence that the nominal cleft is, in fact, phrasal. When the noun head leaves behind the embedded phrase and the determiner and tries to cleft on its own, the result is ungrammatical. Verbs, on the other hand, do not seem to be able to move with phrases. While verbs can cleft on their own (sentence (13)d.) or with a pronominal clitic (sentence (13)

f.), they cannot cleft with phrasal complements, whether nominal or prepositional (sentences (13)e. and (14)b., respectively).

(13) a. M vle mete [**chemiz [ki sou chèz] lan]**.
I want put.on shirt that on chair the
"I want to put on the shirt that is on the chair."

b. Noun Cleft with CP:
Se [**chemiz [ki sou chèz] lan]** ke' m vle mete $\mathbf{t_i}$.
SE shirt that on chair the that I want put.on
"It's the shirt on the chair that I want to wear."

c. Noun Cleft without CP:
*Se [**chemiz]** ke' m vle mete [$\mathbf{t_i}$ [ki sou chez] lan].
SE shirt that on chair the that I want put.on
"It's the shirt on the chair that I want to wear."

d. Verb Cleft:
Se **mete** mwen vle **mete** chemiz lan.
SE put.on I want put.on shirt the
"It's put on that I want to put on the shirt."

e. Verb Cleft with Noun Phrase:
* Se **mete chemiz lan** mwen vle **mete chemiz lan**.
SE put.on shirt the I want put.on shirt the
"It's put on the shirt that I want to put on the shirt."

f. Verb Cleft with Clitic:
Se **mete' l** mwen **vle mete' l**.
SE put.on it I want put.on it
"It's wear it that I want to wear it."

(14) a.Verb Cleft:
Se **mache** m'ap **mache** nan lari an.
SE walk I PROG walk in street the
"It's walk that I'm walking in the street."

b. Verb Cleft with Prepositional Phrase:
*Se **mache nan lari an** m' ap **mache nan lari an**.
SE walk in street the I PROG walk in street the
"I am *walking in the street*."

The reasons why verb clefts are not able to take on all of the complements of their copies will be addressed in later sections. For now, we will look at the acceptability of clitic versus NP objects in the verb cleft. If one thinks of a clitic as a pronoun, we might be confused as to why a

determiner that was part of a larger DP is allowed in a predicate cleft while NPs are not. To resolve this issue, we look to Anderson (1993). According to Anderson, clitics form super-heads with verbs. Thus, rather than being part of a separate phrase, they are considered a component of rich morphology on the verb. This would be similar to the conjugated verbs of Spanish, whose information about the subject of the sentence are embedded in the verb so that a separate NP or DP subject is not necessary. For example, "Escribe" is enough to convey the information "She writes." The addition of "Ella" (she) is superfluous. In the same vein, the clitic "l" (it) in Haitian Creole, would be considered an indicator of third person singular on the verb like the "–e" ending on "Escrib-e." Thus, we will analyze clitics as belonging to the verb so that the Haitian Creole translation of *wear* is more akin to "metel" than "mete l" and posit that no complement phrases of any kind may exist in the predicate cleft.

## 2.3 Adverbs and Aspectual Verbs

Although complement phrases are not allowed in the predicate cleft, this does not mean that verbal clefts are a result of head movement. The sentences below reveal that more than a bare verb is allowed in the predicate cleft.

(15) a. M'ap toujou renmen'w.
I PROG still love you
"I am still going to love you."

b. ? Se toujou renmen m'ap toujou renmen'w.[2]
SE still love I PROG still love you.
"It's still love that I am still going to love you."

(16) a. Mwen finn manje.
"I finished eating."

b. ? Se finn manje mwen finn manje.
SE finished eat I finished eat.
"It's finish eating that I finished eating."

[2] The sentences with the adverb or the aspectual verb are headed by one question mark because after asking several native speakers, it was not clear whether they were completely grammatical. The responses of native speakers varied. It seems it is more natural for the verb to have an unmodified verbal cleft. For instance, after I uttered a sentence like (19)b, a native speaker might leave the adverb out of the cleft and say, "Se renmen m'ap toujou renmen'w? Sure, that's fine." After I made it clear that the adverb was supposed to be included in the cleft, the responses varied from person to person. The judgment of a speaker might also vary if the question was asked again at a later time. Thus, I assume that a modified verb cleft is at least somewhat acceptable in Haitian Creole and use this stance to posit that verb clefts are a result of phrasal movement.

Just as nouns are able to cleft with modifiers, so too are verbs. The presence of adverbs and aspectual verbs in the predicate cleft indicates that verbal clefts involve phrasal movement. Thus, we see that both noun clefts and verb clefts target maximal projections because they may contain more than a bare head.

### 2.4 Other Properties

To get a better sense of the nature of noun and verb clefts in Haitian Creole and how they come about through syntax, we will explore some of their other properties.

According to Harbour (2008), besides movement and the targeting of maximal projections, previous analyses have posited that cleft sentences contain a gap in the lower clause. However, it does not appear that both nominal and predicate clefts leave behind a gap. Since an overt copy of the noun phrase is not present in the lower clause, it appears that the cleft has left a gap behind. In sentences that contain verb clefts, however, a phonologically realized copy must occur in the lower clause. Therefore, it seems unlikely that the lower clause contains a gap, unless there are other copies, which are not spelled out. From the sections above, it appears that both noun and verb clefts are created through similar means. The only major difference between the two is the ability of focalized element to be repeated. To help us understand the reason why there are two instances of the verb in a predicate cleft sentence but only one instance of the noun in a nominal cleft sentence, we look more closely at the properties of verbs and nouns in Haitian Creole to try to tease out any inherent differences that might allow or inhibit an overt copy.

## 3. Verbs and Nouns in General

### 3.1 Theta Roles

In Haitian Creole, one of the main differences between nouns and verbs lies in their ability to assign theta roles. Verbs are able to have both nominal and prepositional phrase complements. The sentences below show that nouns may only take on nominal arguments if they are possessive. In which case, possession is shown by the juxtaposition of two nouns. Nouns may not have any other types of theta roles. In order to translate a prepositional modifier of a noun from English, as in the phrase “the book on the table,” the PP becomes part of a CP that

modifies the noun (sentence (17)b). Otherwise, in the case of embedded genitives (sentence (18) b), the phrase becomes a clause and the peripheral genitive becomes its subject.

In Haitian Creole, one of the main differences between nouns and verbs lies in their ability to assign theta roles. Verbs are able to have both nominal and prepositional phrase complements. The sentences below show that nouns, on the other hand, are unable to take on arguments unless they are possessive. In the latter case, possession is shown by the juxtaposition of two nouns. In order to translate a prepositional complement of a noun from English, as in the phrase "the book on the table," the PP becomes part of a CP that modifies the noun (sentence (17)b). Otherwise, in the case of embedded genitives (sentence (18) b), the phrase becomes a clause and the peripheral genitive becomes its subject.

(17) a. *Foto Jan Mari an.
Photo Jan Mari the
"John's photo of Mary."

b. Jan gen yon foto Mari la kay li.
Jan has a photo Mari house his.
"Jan has a photo of Mari at his house."

(18) a. # Mwen te li liv sou tab la.
I PAST read book on table the
"I read the book on the table."[3]

b. Mwen te li liv ki te sou tab la.
I PAST read book that PAST on table the
"I read the book that was on the table."

The sentences below serve to illustrate that verbs can take on nominal and prepositional arguments.

(19) Nominal Arguments:
Sara gentan vann [Jocelyn] [biwo li an].
Sara already sell Jocelyn desk her the
Sara already sold her desk to Jocelyn.

(20) Prepositional Arguments:
Jeff te al [lan bank lan] yè aprèmidi.
Jeff PAST go in bank the yesterday afternoon
Jeff went to the bank yesterday afternoon.

[3] Here, the prepositional phrase would describe the location of the subject rather than the location of the object and would be akin to saying "I was reading books while I was on the table."

In terms of argument structure, it seems that predicate clefts, which cannot have any phrasal complements, have an argument structure more like nouns than verbs.[4] Yet, since they may be modified by adverbs (sentence (15)b), it seems that they retain some characteristics of the verb. It is possible, then, that the predicate cleft, which has both nominal and verbal properties, is in some way a verbal, e.g. a gerund or an infinitive. Such an analysis would be in keeping with Bamgbose (ed. 1972) by way of Manfredi (1993) that the predicate cleft requires the movement of a nominal argument that refers to the verb. In other words, the predicate cleft is, in essence, a VERBAL (that is, a noun that conveys the information of a verb). The analysis of the verb cleft as a verbal would also be consistent with verb fronting in other languages, wherein fronted verbs may acquire nominal morphology or lose their thematic content. For instance, as shown in the example below, a sentence with a topicalized verb contains two instances of the verb.

(21) Mangiare, l'ha mangiato.
Eat-INF, it has eaten.
"As for eating, he ate it."

The topic at the beginning of the sentence is in the infinitive while the predicate in the clause is finite. According to Gulli (2003), both verbs are related by movement. The lower predicate is a copy of the topic. However, they do not have the same endings because Spec, RedupP, where the verb is reduplicated, contains features that cause the fronted verb to become nominal. This nominalization process is realized as an infinitive.[5] Taking this transformation into account, we look to Haitian Creole to see whether morphology can give us insight into the lexical class of predicate clefts.

## 3.2 Morphological Differences

A perfunctory glance at morphology in Haitian Creole can either serve to spark creativity or provoke a sense of despair. Limited morphology makes it difficult to determine the lexical class of the predicate cleft. For instance, depending on context,

[4] Since it is unlikely that a predicate would show possession, we do not expect that a verb taken from the lower clause would raise with possessive case. As such, it is not surprising that they do not have nominal complements at all. Manfredi (1993), however, suggests that verb clefts that have clitic compliments show possession and are therefore nominal. This argument may stem from the ability of nouns to take on pronominal complements when they are possessive.

[5] The nominal status of the infinitive is widespread and possible even in English, as in the sentence, "To err is human," in which the infinitive "to err" acts as the subject of the sentence.

manje [mɑ$^{n}$.ˈʒe] can either mean "eat-IMPERATIVE," "eat-PRESENT," "eat-PAST," "eat-INFINITIVE," "eat-GERUND," or "food." Therefore, it is not clear whether the form in the cleft is a verb, verbal, or noun. One can use such ambiguity to present an argument in favor of the predicate cleft belonging to the lexical class of their liking. Otherwise, the discouraged may reject an analysis based on morphology altogether because it does not seem to present any useful information. Manfredi (1993) went the way of creativity.

The examples below serve to illustrate this problem of limited morphology and introduce a Manfredian hypothesis.

(22) **a. *Manje* as verb:**
Alma pral manje.
Alma FUT eat
"Alma will eat."

**b. *Manje* as verb and direct object:**
Alma pral manje manje (an).
Alma FUT eat food the
"Alma will eat (the) food."

**c. Cleft:**
Se manje Alma pral manje.
SE eat/ food Alma FUT eat
**"Alma will *eat*." – OR – "It's food that Alma will eat."**

Since the verb "manje" can either be intransitive or transitive with a homophonous direct object, it is unclear whether sentence (22) c. contains a noun cleft or a predicate cleft. According to Manfredi (1993), whether the cleft is analyzed as verbal or nominal, only the complement, never the predicate moves into the cleft. The cleft would be analyzed as a focused verb or noun depending on the situation. Such an assessment takes advantage of the ambiguous lexical category of some Haitian Creole words and offers an explanation for the repeated verb – the verb is not actually repeated. The cleft and the predicate in the lower clause are two distinct words that happen to be homophonous. I will use morphology to show that in the case of verb clefts, the predicate, not the complement, actually does move into the cleft.

### 3.2.1 Achte and Acha

Although the limited morphology of Haitian Creole can in some instances create confusion about the cleft, it does prove to be revelatory in others. For example, there are two

non-homophonous and non-interchangeable versions of the word "purchase" – the noun "acha" and the verb "achte."

(23) a. "Acha" as a noun:
Mwen te fè yon acha.
I PAST make a purchase.NOUN
"I made a purchase."

b. "Achte" as a noun:
*Mwen te fè yon achte.
I PAST make a purchase.VERB
"I made a purchase."

(24) a. "Acha" as a verb:
*Mwen te acha valiz lan
I PAST purchase.NOUN purse the
"I purchased the purse."

b. "Achte as a verb:
Mwen te achte valiz lan.
I PAST buy purse the
"I bought the purse."

(25) a. "Acha" as a cleft:
Se yon acha mwen te fè.
SE a purchase.NOUN I PAST make
"I was a purchase that I made."

b. Se achte mwen te achte valiz lan.
SE buy I PAST buy purse the
"I *bought* the purse."

The sentences in (23)-(25) reveal that, even though the predicate cleft's argument structure is similar to that of a noun, the predicate cleft still retains the morphology of the verb. When the noun clefts, its morphology also remains the same. Thus, clefts retain some of the lexical properties that they had in their original position. The ability of the predicate cleft to have an adverbial modifier also illustrates this lexical preservation. Since predicate clefts have the morphology of a verb and an argument structure similar to nouns, they will be classified as verbals. The transformation is not as overt as the Italian example presented in sentence (21) because the morphology of Haitian Creole is not as rich. Nevertheless, using Distributed Morphology, I will show how syntax is the main factor in determining the lexical category of a

word and demonstrate how we can look upon the syntax to understand the processes undergone by a predicate to transform it into a nominal verb (i.e. verbal) in the cleft.

## 4. Structure of the Cleft

### 4.1 Distributed Morphology

Distributed Morphology dismisses the lexicalist notion that the lexicon is the place from which words enter the syntax fully formed and proposes instead that word formation is the result of an interaction among three lists that have phonological, syntactic, and semantic properties. According to Marantz (1998), the first list (the Narrow Lexicon) is generative and contains atomic roots and bundles of grammatical features that are determined by Universal Grammar and language-particular principles.[6] The second list (the Vocabulary) is non-generative but expandable. It attaches phonological forms to the roots and features of the roots at the terminal nodes of the syntax. The third list (the Encyclopedia), also expandable and non-generative, provides the roots with meanings. This separation of the syntactic, phonological, and semantic aspects of words does away with a lexicon of words whose set meanings confer predictable meaning to a sentence. As idioms[7] show, meanings cannot always be derived at the word-level but come from an interaction among words in the structure of a phrase or sentence, i.e. after syntax has been applied.

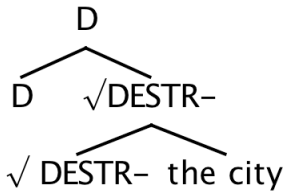
In the framework of Distributed Morphology, a root is not inherently part of any word class but acquires a lexical category based on its environment in the syntax. The environment is the node where the root lands. Marantz (1998) focuses on the nodes D and V. A root that reaches a D node undergoes nominalization and becomes a noun, while a root that ends up in a V node becomes a verb because it has been verbalized. Trees (26) and (27) show Distributed Morphology in action. In both instances, the root and its complement start out the same – √DESTR- the city – but their interpretations are different because of their environment.

(26) The **destruction of the city** occurred in no time at all.[8]

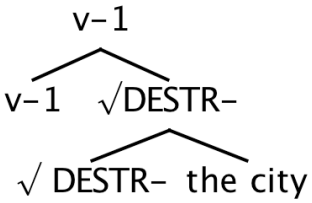
[6] Pg 2, Marantz 1998

[7] For instance, in "It is raining cats and dogs," the rain may be falling down with a particular intensity but this intensity does not allow for clouds to push forth mammals.

[8] Marantz (1998) uses the root √DESTROY, but I leave off the ending (-OY) to make it clearer that the morphology of the word is determined by the syntax. Depending on whether the head where the root lands is D or V, the root will acquire the ending -UCTION or –OY, respectively, to become "destruction" or "destroy."




(27) John **destroyed the city**



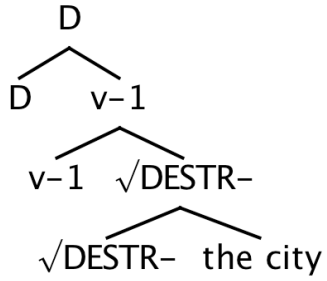

In (26), the root receives the interpretation "destruction" because it is headed by a D projection. In (27), the same root is interpreted as "destroyed" because it is headed by a v-1 projection. The trees also demonstrate that the environment does not merely bestow morphology onto the root but grants it all the properties of its particular category. These properties can be seen in the way a word derived from the root interacts with other words in the sentence. Sentence (26) shows that *destruction*, the word derived from √DESTR-, can be used as a subject because it is in a nominal environment. *Destroyed* in (27) describes the action of the sentence not merely because its morphology makes it look like a verb but because its environment has truly made it a verb. The complements which *destruction* and *destroy* receive are another indication of its lexical class. In English, verbs can have noun or determiner phrases as complements, while nouns cannot. Nouns have prepositional phrase complements instead.[9] Thus, even though the lexical class of the complement (*the city*) is not shown in these structures, the D or v-1 projection creates the proper relationship between the node and its complement. The word (*destruction*) created in (26) takes a prepositional phrase complement because D heads it, while the word (*destroyed*) created in (27) from the interaction of the root and the verbal environment takes a noun phrase. Similarly, *acha* with all of its nominal properties would be created from the environment presented in structure (26) and the verb *achte* from (27).

Earlier, we saw that while nouns do not seem to act any differently after they cleft, verbs lose their ability to have phrasal complements. In this way, they act somewhat like nouns. Yet,

[9] Thus, it would be ungrammatical to say *"The destruction the city occurred in no time at all" or *"John destroyed of the city."

since predicate clefts can have adverbial modifiers, they are able to retain some of their verbal properties. The ability of *achte* (a word with verbal morphology) to appear in the cleft confirms that the predicate cleft does not completely become a noun. Because of this combination of nominal and verbal properties it seems unfitting to give the predicate the structure of either (26) or (27). Therefore, we look to Distributed Morphology once more to see if we can find some middle ground. A solution can be found in the structure for a verbal, as represented in (28).

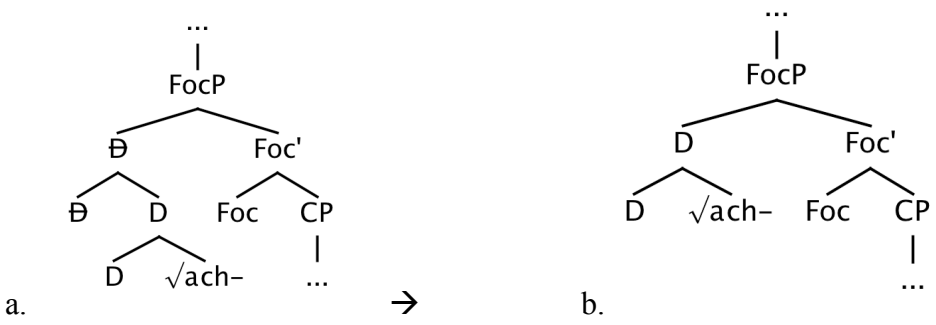
(28) **John's destroying the city** was unexpected after he had saved it from a missile attack.



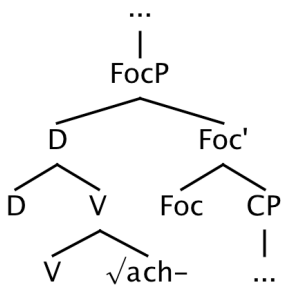

Structure (28) shows the root √DESTR- headed by both a V and a D projection, an environment that creates a nominalized verb (or verbal) with both nominal and verbal properties. The resulting gerund has verbal morphology and thus looks like a conjugated form of the verb *destroy*. Its relationship to its complement is also verb-like in that it takes on a noun phrase rather than a prepositional phrase. At the same time, though, *destroying* is the subject of the sentence and is the complement of the possessive *John's*. These are roles usually filled by nominal or pronominal arguments. Applying this logic to predicate clefts in Haitian Creole, we will assume that the reason why the cleft has the combined properties of nouns and verbs is that it is in the environment of a nominalized verb similar to that in (28).

As was mentioned earlier, according to Bamgbose (1972) and upheld by Manfredi (1993), Gulli (2003) and Bastos (2009), verbal clefts, whether topic or focus, are nominal verbs. Since it has been established that the lexical category of a word is determined not by the word itself but by the syntax, I shall posit that the clefts in Haitian Creole move with their verbal or nominal head into Spec, FocP, which is a nominal environment above CP that creates a focused element. In the case of noun clefts, one of the D heads gets deleted to prevent redundancy. In the case of verb clefts, the verb head affixes itself with its root into the D head of Spec, FocP and the verb becomes a nominal verb. Structures (29) – (30) illustrate this using sentences (25) a – b.

(29) Noun Cleft: Se **yon acha** mwen te fe.




(30) Predicate Cleft: Se **achte** mwen te achte valiz lan.



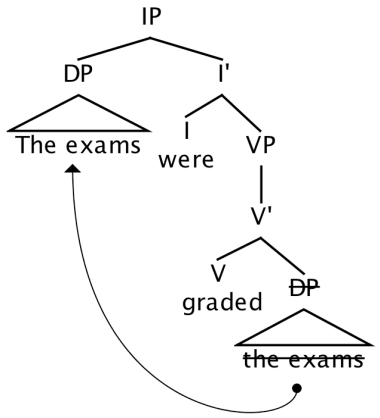

In the next section, theories on linearization will be applied to this analysis of the cleft's structure to explain why predicate clefts can have an overt copy but noun clefts cannot.

## 4.2 Linearization

### 4.2.1 Kayne (1994)

The Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA) of Kayne (1994) describes linear relationships in terms of hierarchy. If a maximal projection X and Y are in an asymmetric c-command relationship (i.e. X c-commands Y but Y does not c-command X), then x, the head of X, precedes y, the head of Y. According to Kayne, in a nontrivial chain (the discontinuous object formed by a moved element and its trace), the higher copy can license deletion of the lower copy if they are in such an asymmetric c-command relationship.

(31) The exams were graded.




Tree (31) illustrates the rule of chain-link deletion. In the passive sentence shown, when the DP moves to satisfy the Extended Projection Principle, it leaves behind a copy in the complement of V. The two copies form a nontrivial chain and are in an asymmetric c-command relationship. Therefore, the DP complement gets deleted and the head of the chain (the highest copy) is the only overt copy. This rule seems to be applied to noun clefts in Haitian Creole. Only the highest copy of the noun (that in the cleft) is phonologically realized. We turn to Nunes's *Linearization of Chains* to see why it is possible for a sentence with a predicate cleft to have multiple copies of the verb.

### 4.2.2 Nunes (2004)

Nunes (2004) emphasizes the non-distinctiveness of the head and its traces as a critical factor in the chain-link deletion rule. Two phonologically identical items that are taken from the numeration at different times are considered distinct. Their labels differentiate them from each other. The various links of a nontrivial chain, on the other hand, are copies of each other. Since the operation Copy reproduces the same features and distinctiveness markings of the copied element, the chain links are non-distinct. In order for a word to license the deletion of another, it must asymmetrically c-command a non-distinct copy of itself. Phonological similarity is not a sufficient criterion for deletion. This is illustrated below.

(32) $[_{TP}$ John$^{i}$ T$[_{vP}$ ~~John$^{i}$~~ [v′ said $[_{CP}$ that $[_{TP}$ John$^{k}$ was $[_{vP}$ kissed ~~John$^{k}$~~]]]]] (Nunes 23)

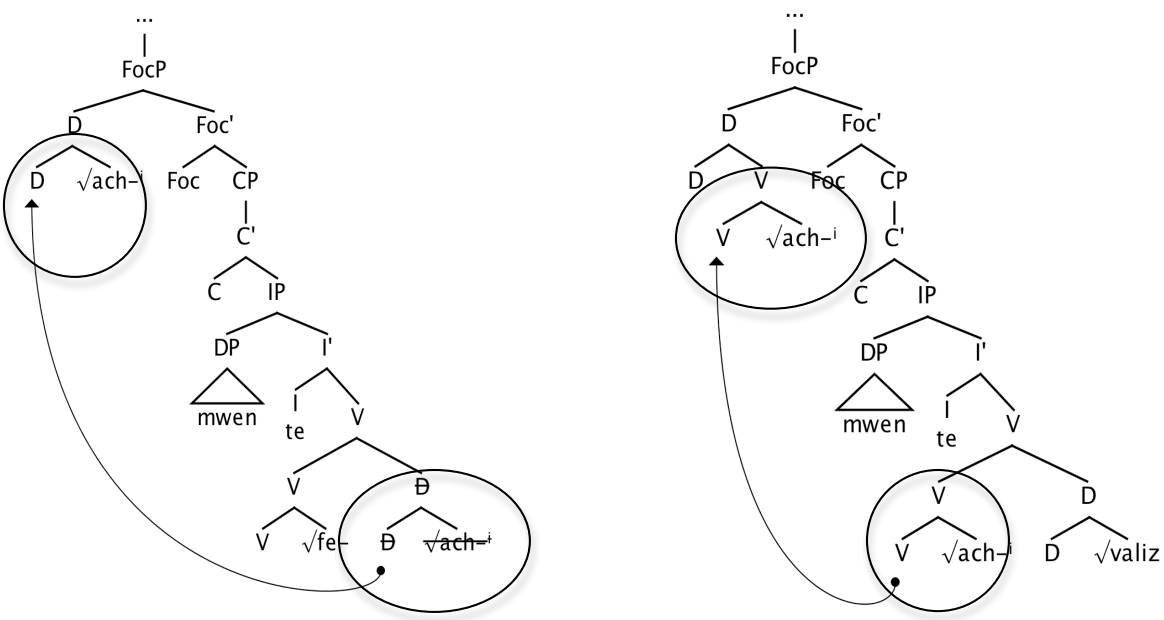
In structure (32), the sentence "John said that John was kissed," contains four copies of the DP *John* that are in asymmetric c-command relation to each other. One might expect that only the *John* in Spec, CP of the peripheral clause would stand and the other instances of the DP

would be deleted to produce "John said that was kissed." Yet, the distinctiveness markings, here shown by indices, reveal that there are two distinct constituents John$^{i}$ and John$^{k}$, and thus, two distinct nontrivial chains. The head of each chain is only able to license the deletion of the links in its own chain. Thus, John$^{i}$ in Spec, TP may license the deletion of the only other John$^{i}$ in the sentence (the one in the peripheral Spec, vP) but may not license the deletion of any instances John$^{k}$. Only the head of John$^{k}$ may do that. Nunes' explanation for the rule of chain-link deletion is based on the Chain Reduction rule, which calls for the deletion of the minimal number of constituents of a nontrivial chain. According to Nunes, if we try to establish linear order between the DP and the copula in the lower clause of (32), we would get a structure wherein the constituent John$^{i}$ both preceded and followed the copula: <John$^{i}$, was, John$^{i}$>. Since the two instances of John$^{i}$ are non-distinct copies of each other, the copula would both c-command and be c-commanded by the same element. As this is not an asymmetric c-command relationship, linear order cannot be established between the DP and the copula unless one of the copies gets deleted. The choice of the link to be phonologically realized in the chain depends on the elimination of formal features (the Formal Feature Elimination rule). Once these features have been checked, the constituent becomes fully interpretable at PF. In (32), the uninterpretable feature is Case. After John$^{i}$ moves to Spec, TP, Case is checked and John$^{i}$ becomes invisible to LF.

Now, I shall present a structure for Haitian Creole cleft sentences to demonstrate how the Linearization of Chains may be applied.

(33) a. Noun Cleft: Se yon acha mwen te fè.

b. Predicate Cleft: Se achte mwen te achte valiz lan.




In the structures of (33)[10], we see that the difference in the reduplicative abilities of noun and predicate clefts lies in their relationship to their lower copies. As was mentioned previously, in order for the head of a nontrivial chain to license the deletion of other links, it must be a non-distinct constituent that asymmetrically c-commands its copies. Tree (33) a. shows that the D projection in Spec, FocP binds its copy that lies in the complement of V. Therefore, the complement is deleted. On the other hand, because of the nominal environment of Spec, FocP, the V projection in (33) b. is unable to asymmetrically c-command the verb in the lower clause. As a result, the head of the nontrivial chain cannot license the deletion of its copy, which remains phonologically realized. Thus, through Distributed Morphology, we see how the nominal environment of Spec, FocP creates a difference in the ability of noun clefts and verb clefts to c-command their copies. The consequence is that while the rule of chain-link deletion may be applied to noun clefts because they bind their copies, it may not be applied to predicate clefts, which do not.

[10] Another feature of these trees, which may draw interest, is that unlike in structures (26) – (28), nominal complements are not attached directly to the node of the root. This difference in my structure takes into account that it is more plausible for the V projection to accept complements than it is for an atomic root that depends on its environment to equip it with features to do so. The location of the complement also makes it easier for the verbal projection that is moving to Spec, FocP to leave the direct object behind. Since the direct object would not be able to c-command its copy in the cleft position, the chain-link deletion rule could not be invoked. Other than reiterating that nouns cannot have nominal complements in most instances and that after the predicate cleft became nominalized, it too acquired this property and had to reject its complement, it would be difficult to give a reasonable explanation for the lack of nominal complements in the predicate cleft if the other structure had been maintained.

Now we will focus on other elements, such as tense markers and "se," which can appear in the cleft, to tease out the rest of the structure above CP.

## 4.3 Tense Markers and "Se"

Haitian Creole has three words that indicate tense or aspect – te (past), ap (progressive), and pral (future). Present tense is represented by a verb that does not have any overt tense markers. The sentences below illustrate that, although the present and past are acceptable in the cleft, the progressive and future are not.

(34) a. Present in Verb Cleft:
Se manje mwen manje.
SE eat I eat
"Eat is what I do."

b. Present in Noun Cleft:
Se diri mwen manje.
SE rice I eat
"It is rice that I eat."/ "Rice is what I eat."

(35) a. Past ("te") in Verb Cleft:
Se **te** manje mwen **te** manje.
SE PAST eat I PAST eat.
"Eat was what I did."

b. Past ("te") in Noun Cleft:
Se **te** diri mwen **te** manje.
SE PAST rice I PAST eat.
"It was rice that I ate."

(36) a. Progressive with Verb Cleft:
*Se **ap** manje m'**ap** manje
SE PROG eat I PROG eat
"It is eating I am doing."

b. Progressive with Noun Cleft:
*Se **ap** diri m'**ap** manje.
SE PROG rice I PROG eat
"It's being rice that I'm eating."

(37) a. Future in Verb Cleft:
*Se **pral** manje mwen **pral** manje.
SE FUT eat I FUT eat

"Eat is what I will do."

b. Future in Noun Cleft:
*Se pral diri mwen pral manje. ?????
SE FUT rice I FUT eat.
"It will be rice that I will eat."

The examples bring up two puzzles. The first is why the progressive cannot grammatically be present in the cleft. This phenomenon does not seem limited to Haitian Creole, however. The translation of (14)b reveals that a cleft with progressive aspect is also ungrammatical in English. Variations of the sentence (e.g. "It is being rice that I eat", "It was being rice that I was eating", or even the pseudo-cleft "Rice is being what I am eating") do not seem to produce more grammatical results. To resolve this issue, we turn to semantics. The cleft in both Haitian Creole and English is a focus construction, i.e. it emphasizes a particular word or phrase. As such, it seems more natural to highlight something by using an aspect that signals a specific moment rather than duration of time. Emphasis is more effective at a specific point in time than during an extended process whose beginning and end is unclear. One could refute this argument by giving the grammatical example, "I am *eating*," through which stress is placed on a progressive verb. Context, however, would indicate that my argument still holds. The statement "I am *eating*," could come in response to a question, such as, "What are you doing?" which has the implied finite time "during the moment(s) that I am speaking to you." Thus, a response in the progressive addresses the extent of that finite period (the moment(s) of speech). The use of the progressive in an it-cleft, on the other hand, seems to highlight the continuity of the thing being emphasized so that its significance extends beyond the scope of a specific point in or duration of time. "It is being rice that I am eating" would be akin to saying, "Perhaps before your question was asked, I was eating *rice*, and perhaps even after your question is relevant, I will still be eating *rice*." In other words, "I am referring to something that is not germane to your question."

The second puzzle involves the reason why the future tense is acceptable with a verb cleft but not a noun cleft, as shown in sentences (15)a-b. The simplest answer would involve the order of the tense and aspect markers in Haitian Creole. These three markers come in the order: past (te), progressive (ap), and future (pral) as seen in sentence (16).

(38) Mwen pa **t'ap pral gade** film lan jodi an.

I NEG **PAST PROG FUT** watch film the today the
"I was not going to watch the movie today."

A comparison between sentences (13)b and (15)b reveals that te can be base-generated in a position higher than FocP, while *pral* cannot. A direct object that raises to the focus position in Haitian Creole is too far from the tense marker to be able to move with it. Even if everything from the tense marker and beyond were able to move into the cleft position, it would be unnatural for intermediate words (e.g. the verb) to be deleted while the material on both peripheries remained. Therefore, it seems more likely that *te* originated above FocP. If we consider the order of the tense and aspect markers, we will notice that the progressive lies between the past and the future markers. As was already noted, the progressive cannot be used in between *se* and the clefted material. It is possible that any words that could appear linearly after *ap* (PROG) would also be blocked. Therefore, the inability of the future to appear either with the fronted verb or the fronted noun merely serves to reinforce the evidence that the cutoff point for base-generated material in the cleft is the past tense marker *te*.

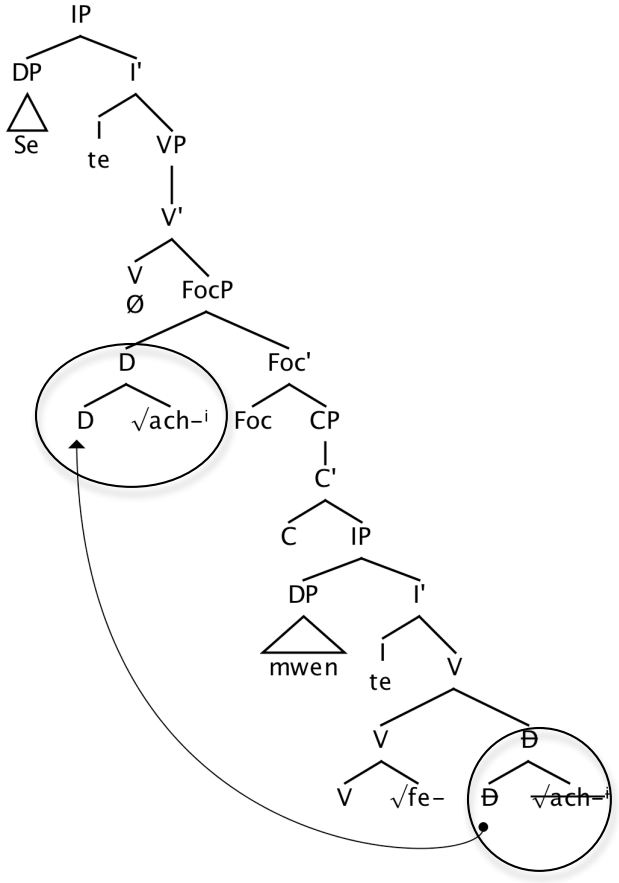
One may wonder what purpose tense serves in the cleft. In the case of a predicate cleft, it is unclear whether the tense marker would have access to the verb, which lies in the nominal environment of Spec, FocP. In the case of a nominal cleft, no verbs are in the cleft at all, and as such, it is unclear what the tense marker modifies. If we consider the cleft in Haitian Creole to be similar to an "it" cleft in English, it is reasonable to assume that the tense marker refers to a copula. While it is tempting to assume that this copula is *se*, which is homophonous to the French *c'est* ("it is"), Degraff (1992), using sentences like (39), points out that predicative sentences in Haitian Creole do not have an overt copula and that the use of *se* as a linking verb produces an ungrammatical result.

(39) Bouki (*se) anba tab la. (DeGraff 1992)
Bouki SE under table DET
"Bouki is under the table."

The paper concludes that, in non-cleft sentences, *se* acts as a resumptive nominal element that is the product of a last resort operation to prevent an ECP violation. Similarly, I will treat

the *se* that precedes the cleft as a nominal element used to satisfy the EPP. The result gives us the final structure (40) for the cleft in Haitian Creole.[11]

(40) Noun Cleft: Se te yon acha mwen te fe.




## 5. Previous Work on Predicate Clefts[12]

Now we will look to other analyses of the predicate cleft for comparison.

### 5.1 Bastos (2009)

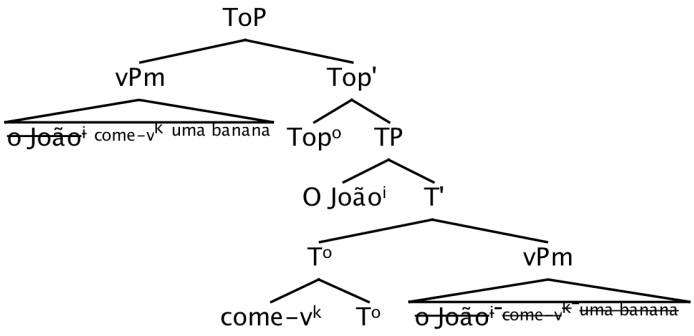
As mentioned earlier, Nunes (2004) posits that remnant movement may occur if at least one of two conditions is satisfied. Either a head does not c-command its copy in a nontrivial

[11] The structure above FocP is not particularly revelatory because it resembles the structure from Larson and Lefebvre (1993) presented earlier in this paper. Nevertheless, it seemed as though it would be valuable to explain the reasons for keeping that structure rather than taking it for granted.

[12] Another analysis previously mentioned in this paper but not dealt with here is that of Gulli (2003). Gulli's paper is geared specifically towards topicalized verbs in Italian and Calabrian and is founded on the hypothesis that these peripheral verb constructions do not involve movement. Since we have already established that predicates in Haitian Creole raise in order to cleft, it seemed useless to compare the structure presented here to one that relies on base generation.

chain or the two constituents are distinct from one another. It has already been mentioned that two phonologically similar words are distinct if they are not copies of each other. It is also possible for links of the same nontrivial chain to become distinct from each other. Distinctiveness may occur if one of the copies acquires or loses features that inherently changes it and makes it different from another copy. An example of this would be a change in lexical class. If, as Bastos (2009) suggests, we assume that the LCA is applied after words acquire morphology, distinctiveness could be generated if two links of a nontrivial chain are morphologically different. Her analysis of topicalized verbs in Brazilian Portuguese is presented in structure (41).

(41) Comer uma banana, o João comeu.
Eat-INF a banana the John ate
"As for eating a banana, John ate it."




(Bastos 183)

Although structure (41) relies on Distributed Morphology, Bastos does not speak in terms of roots but in terms of bare forms of the verb. The "v" at the end of *come-* shows that the verb has entered the derivation without any morphological endings but acquires them after it has landed in the appropriate node. Indices make it clear that all the occurrences of the verb are copies of one another. The acquisition of morphology depends on the fusion of nodes. In (41) this is made most obvious in the head of T, where the intermediate copy fuses with the node T$^{o}$ to become conjugated. Even though Bastos does not explicitly state what happens to the lowest copy, it appears that it would have morphology similar to the intermediate copy. In Spec, TopP, the topicalized verb acquires the infinitival morpheme [+r], which makes it distinct from the other copies. Bastos expects all of the verbal complexes to be in asymmetric c-command relation with each other. As a result, the chain-link deletion rule is applied and the intermediate link licenses the deletion of the lowermost copy. However, since the head of the chain has become

distinct from the intermediate copy, the chain-link deletion rule cannot be applied again and two instances of the verb remain in the sentence.

Bastos' analysis is similar to my own in that it depends heavily on Distributed Morphology and Nunes' work on Linearization. Yet, it seems too specific to verbal reduplication in Brazilian Portuguese to be transplanted in its entirety for Haitian Creole. Haitian Creole's limited morphology does not allow us to differentiate between finite verbs and infinitives (or other types of nominalized verbs). A view that focused largely on morphemes might have to invoke "covert morphological features" or ambiguous fusion nodes. My analysis, because it relies mostly on explicit nominal environments, makes it obvious in the structure, as Bastos and other previously mentioned linguists have acknowledged, that projections, such as TopP and FocP, which receive fronted verbs, generate nominal items. Since the nominal nature of the cleft is so obvious, it seems that my structure could be applied to a variety of languages that have nominalized fronted verbs. In some languages, e.g. Brazilian Portuguese, this change would be phonologically realized through morphology. In other languages, e.g. Haitian Creole, it would not be so.

## 5.2 Manfredi (1993)

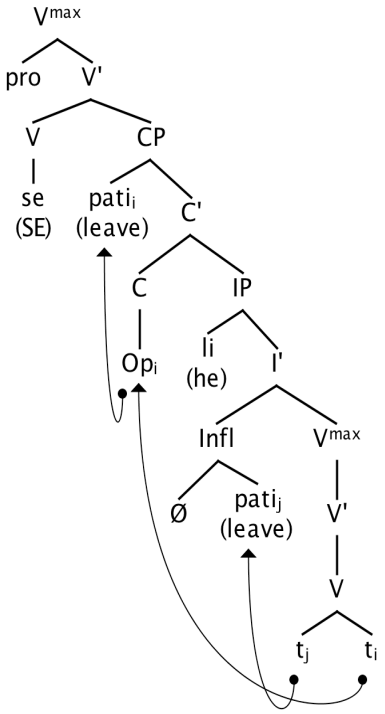
Manfredi (1993) focuses on the outward phonological and morphological **similarities** between many verbs, verbals, and nouns to posit that the predicate in the lower clause is not a copy of the cleft but that they are two distinct words. According to Manfredi, the cleft is a nominal verb that acts as an argument of the predicate in the lower clause. For example, to form a cleft of sentence (43), the second instance of *dòmi* would raise to the cleft position to create sentence (42).

(42) *Jak dòmi **dòmi**. (in-situ)
Jak sleep sleep-NOM
'Jak slept sleep.'

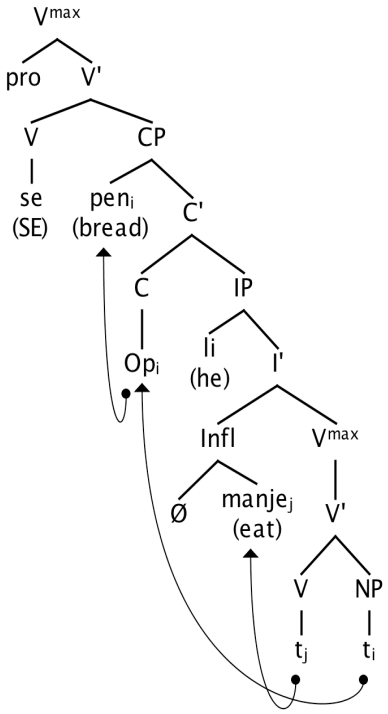
(43) Se [**dòmi**$_i$] Jak dòmi $t_i$. (moved)
SE sleep Jak sleep
'Jak *slept*.'

Manfredi's analysis is convenient because it allows for a common analysis of predicate and nominal clefts, as shown in the trees below.

(44) a.




b.




A terminal node that acts as a complement of a verb raises to the cleft position and its lower copy gets deleted. Moreover, this explanation follows patterns both across languages and within Haitian Creole. As described by Bamgbose ed. 1972 and demonstrated in various languages, e.g. Vatà, the predicate cleft requires the movement of a nominal argument that refers to the verb. An example of this would be a verbal. Thus, Manfredi would consider the second instance of *dòmi* in the sentence to be akin to *sleeping* so that the sentences (42) and (43) would be translated literally as "Jak slept sleeping" and "It is sleeping that Jak slept." More specifically, because of the limited morphology of Haitian Creole, this analysis is in keeping with the possibility of generating sentences whose predicates have homophonous complements, as in sentences (45) a-b.

(45) a. Dòmi [dòmi' w]! (modified in-situ)
Sleep-VERB sleep-NOM your
'Sleep your sleep!' (i.e. Just go to sleep!)

b. Mwen pral manje yon ti manje.
I FUT eat a little food
"I will eat a little bit of food." (i.e. I'm going to have a light meal.)

One of the problems of this analysis is that it is overgeneralized. The structures given in sentences (45) a-b cannot be applied to all verbs and noun pairings because of redundancy or, as

previously described in the case of "achte" and "acha," the inability of certain words to be analyzed as both verbs and nouns.

(46) *Jak ap dòmi yon ti dòmi.
Jak PROG sleep a little sleep
"Jak is sleeping a little sleep(ing)" (i.e. Jak is napping).

(47) *Louise ap fe yon ti achte.
Louise PROG do a little buy
"Louise is doing a little buying" (i.e. Louise is doing some shopping).

Moreover, Manfredi overlooked the case of adjectives. Adjectives can be used as modifiers (48) c, predicates (48) a, and clefts (48) b. However, sentence (48) d reveals that they generally cannot be interpreted as nouns.[13] As such, it seems more likely to say that nominals are not the only elements that are able to cleft, as is suggested by Manfredi, but that constituents undergo nominalization after they have clefted. My analysis makes the process of nominalization in the cleft clear by defining Spec, FocP as a nominal environment.

(48) a. As a predicate:
Mari entelijan.
Mari intelligent.
'Mari is intelligent.'

b. With movement:
Se entelijan Mari entelijan konsa.
SE intelligent Mari intelligent like that.
'Mari is *so intelligent*."

c. As a modifier:
Gason entelijan an fini egzaman an byen vit.
Boy intelligent the finish test the well quick
"The intelligent boy finished the test rather quickly."

d. As a noun:
*Entelijan an fini egzamen an byen vit.
Intelligent the finish test the well quick
'The intelligent one finished the test rather quickly.

[13] An example of nominal adjectives in English can be found in the phrase "lifestyles of the rich and the famous," wherein the adjectives *rich* and *famous* act as nouns because they are modified by a determiner and stand in for the nominal phrases *rich ones* and *famous ones*.

Another dilemma that serves to undermine the hypothesis for predicate clefting posed in Manfredi (1993) is that it allows for situations in which the valence of a verb is increased for the sole purpose of creating a cleft. In Haitian Creole, although a verb may not move with any nouns, the matrix verb is permitted to have all of its theta roles filled by non-homophonous arguments. In other words, predicate clefts are possible even in instances where the verb clearly cannot have any phonologically similar complements ((49) a-b).

(49) a. In-situ:
*Eddy manje **manje pen an**.
Eddy eat eat-NOM bread the
"Eddy ate food the bread"

b. Cleft
Se manje Eddy manje pen an.
SE eat Eddy eat bread the
"Eddy *ate* the bread"
*"Eddy *ate* food the bread."

The only way that Manfredi's analysis could be upheld for the cleft in (49) b is if the monotransitive verb "manje" became ditransitive so that it could take on both "manje" and "pen an" as arguments. Similarly, a ditransitive verb would have to become tritransitive and so on. Otherwise, the extra argument would make the sentence with the cleft ungrammatical because it would serve no purpose in the sentence (as shown in (49) a). The process of a verb increasing its valence is not productive in Haitian Creole. Thus, it does not seem likely that the language would allow this to happen for the sole purpose of generating a cleft. By treating the predicate cleft as a copy of the verb itself, my analysis avoids this tricky problem of verb valences.

## 5.3 Harbour (2008)

Harbour (2008) is similar to Manfredi (1993) in that it posits that there are multiple instances of the verb in the lower clause and that in order to create a predicate cleft, one of the verbs raises to Spec, CP. As shown in sentence (51), the higher verb is the one that clefts.

(50) Bouki ap kouri kouri.
Bouki PROG run run
"Bouki is *really* running."

(51) Predicate cleft:

Se **kouri$_i$** Bouki ap **t$_i$** kouri.

Harbour's analysis is based on the assumption that verb reduplication in a matrix clause (as illustrated in (50)) is productive in Haitian Creole and serves as a form of emphasis. Such an assessment of the predicate cleft is desirable because it integrates previous analyses, e.g. Koopman (1984) and Piou (1982), which state that the predicate cleft construction involves *wh*-movement of the peripheral predicate. However, Haitian Creole verb fronting does not appear to follow all of the constraints on *wh*-movement as delineated in Chomsky (1977). For instance, since the verb may move up without a phrasal complement, the predicate cleft does not seem to target a maximal projection. Moreover, the presence of a phonologically similar predicate in the lower clause suggests that the verb did not leave behind a gap after it moved. Harbour suggests that the fronted verb does leave behind a gap but that the presence of this gap is not immediately obvious because it is adjacent to the lower predicate. In other words, the verb in the cleft and the one in the lower predicate are distinct from each other. Predicate clefts do not involve overt copies. As explained in Torchon (2010), however, sentence (50) is ungrammatical. Predicates are not repeated in the lower clause for emphasis. Repetition can occur for emphasis, but it would have to include the whole clause, not just the predicate. A pronoun may replace the predicate, as shown in sentence (52).

(52) Bouki kouri li kouri…
Bouki run he run
"Bouki *really* ran."

However, sentence (53) shows that when Harbour's analysis is applied to sentence (52) and one of the verb clefts, it does not produce a grammatical result.

(53) *Se kouri$_i$ Bouki t$_i$ li kouri.

In a Haitian Creole predicate cleft sentence, only one subject is present. Clefting the higher verb in (52) would produce a sentence with two subjects, the name *Bouki* and the *pronoun li*. Therefore, it would appear that Harbour (2008)'s analysis is based on an incorrect assumption.

## 6. Conclusion

In this paper, I have used Distributed Morphology and the LCA to explain why predicate clefts allow for reduplication but nominal clefts do not. The D projection in Spec, FocP that nominalizes the clefts raised to this position adds an extra structure to the verbal cleft and thus prevents it from c-commanding its lower copy. As a result, the rule of chain-link deletion, which requires that an element c-command its copy cannot be applied and two copies of the verb are thus realized in the sentence. Noun clefts, on the other hand, are already in a nominal environment and do not need an extra projection to become nominalized. As such, they are able to c-command and license the deletion of their copies in the lower clause.

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