

Noun complement clauses with a demonstrative determiner in Russian

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ABSTRACT

A lesser-known type of noun complement clause construction in Russian is discussed, in which N + *čto*-clause is preceded by the distal demonstrative *tot*. The construction involves a non-anaphoric non-deictic use of *tot*, which depends on the presence of a declarative (or relative) CP. Special distributional properties of the construction are discussed, such as its compatibility with non-attitude nouns like ‘advantage’. A compositional analysis is proposed based on the idea that demonstratives uniformly take two arguments. It is argued that the properties of the construction are captured in a structure proposed in Hankamer & Mikkelsen 2021, with D taking CP as a complement and subsequent raising of D to a little *d* around the NP.

KEYWORDS noun complement clauses · demonstratives · definiteness · Russian

1 INTRODUCTION

In Russian, noun complement clauses (NCC) are typically realized either by a bare CP, as in (1), or by a CP embedded in a DP shell headed by the non-agreeing (NEUT.SG) case-marked form of the demonstrative *tot* ‘that’ (typically genitive-marked or inside an *about*-PP), as in (2) (a.o. Khomitsevich 2007, Knyazev 2016).¹

(1) *Čto*-NCC

- a. **Myslʹ**, **čto** ona mogla kogo-to podozrevatʹ naprasno,
thought.NOM COMP she.NOM could someone.ACC suspect.INF needlessly
byla dlja neë mučitelʹna.
was for her.GEN tormenting
‘The thought that she [the protagonist] might have needlessly suspected
someone was tormenting for her.’ (*Context*: It was vital for her [the protagon-
ist] to find out who the villain’s accomplice was.) (RNC)
- b. Net **dokazatelʹstv**, **čto** televizor privodit k rasstrojstvam
is.no proofs.GEN COMP television.NOM leads to disorders.DAT
zrenija.
vision.GEN
‘There is no proof that television leads to eye disorders.’ (RNC)

(2) *To čto*-NCC

- a. **Myslʹ** **o tom**, **čto** nužno idti na rabotu,
thought.NOM about that.PREP COMP necessary go.INF on work.ACC
pokazalasʹ emu osobenno gadkoj.
seemed him.DAT particularly nasty
‘The thought that he had to go to work seemed to him particularly nasty.’

¹The examples cited in this way come from the Russian National Corpus (RNC) (ruscorpora.ru).

- (RNC)
- b. Oni drugie, i u menja net **dokazatel'stv togo, čto**
 they.NOM different and at me.GEN is.no proofs.GEN that.GEN COMP
 oni v čem-nibud' vinovaty.
 they.NOM in anything.PREP guilty
 'They are different and I don't have proof that they are guilty of anything.'
 (RNC)

There is yet another, perhaps lesser known, NCC construction, illustrated in (3), where the noun (or a larger nominal constituent) is followed by a CP and preceded by the agreeing demonstrative *tot* 'that'. I will refer to these three constructions, respectively, as *čto*-NCC, *to čto*-NCC and *tot*-NCC.²

- (3) *Tot*-NCC
- a. **Tot fakt, čto** v Samare katastrofičeski ne xvataet
 that fact.NOM COMP in Samara.PREP catastrophically NEG is.enough
 gostinic, ni dlja kogo ne javljaetsja sekretom.
 hotels.GEN NEG.PRT for who.ACC NEG is secret.INS
 'The fact that Samara is severely short of hotels is not a secret to anyone.'
 (RNC)
- b. Vsakaja novaja gipoteza obladaet **tem nedostatkom, čto**
 any new hypothesis.NOM possesses that disadvantage.INS COMP
 vyzivaet vseгда massu sporov.
 causes always mass.ACC disagreements.GEN
 'Any new hypotheses has the disadvantage that it always causes a lot of disagreements.'
 (RNC)
- c. No kak togda ob"jasnit' **tu strannost', čto** dlja
 but how then explain.INF that strange.thing.ACC COMP for
 Astraxani i Kerči cenzurnyx ograničenij ne bylo...?
 Astrakhan.GEN and Kerch.GEN censorship restrictions.GEN NEG was
 'But how then to explain the strange fact that there were no censorship
 restrictions for Astrakhan and Kerch?'
 (RNC)

My main focus in this paper will be *tot*-NCCs, as in (3). *Tot*-NCCs have a number of interesting properties. First, the demonstrative is not used in its usual (distal) deictic or anaphoric function (see §2.1). Moreover, such use of the demonstrative, which may be characterized as 'restrictive' (Doran & Ward 2019), is dependent on the presence of the CP, more specifically a finite declarative CP, but not e.g. a nominal complement (see §2.2). In addition, *tot*-NCCs differ from the two other NCCs in terms of the class of nouns that can occur in them in that only *tot*-NCCs are compatible with so-called 'nonrepresentational nouns' (Hankamer & Mikkelsen 2021), roughly described as nouns that are associated with propositional content but do not denote a speech act or a mental state, some examples being *nedostatok* 'disadvantage' (3-b) and *strannost'* 'strange thing' (3-c) (see §2.3.2). In addition, *tot*-NCCs are compatible only with those CPs that can be predicated of the noun and are in an intuitive sense modifiers (see §2.3.1).

I propose an account of these properties based on a unified analysis of anaphoric/deictic and restrictive uses of demonstratives as involving a uniqueness definite determiner with an additional domain restriction argument provided by the CP (Jenks 2018, Jenks & Konate 2022, see also Šimík & Sláma to appear) (see §3.2). I also propose a shell structure for *tot*-NCCs where the CP is a complement of D (*tot*) inside a little dP shell (with D-raising to d), as was proposed by Hankamer & Mikkelsen (2021) for a similar construction in Danish (see §3.4). Finally, I briefly address challenges to Hankamer &

²A similar alternation is found with subjunctive (*čtoby*) clauses (see (13)). In this paper, I focus on indicative (*čto*) clauses.

Mikkelsen's analysis raised by Srinivas & Legendre (2022) and show that such challenges do not undermine the proposed account.

The paper contributes to the ongoing debate on how to analyze NCC (specifically, DP + CP) constructions, by arguing that at least some of them have a structure where the CP is a complement to D. While the existence of such D-CP structures has been established in the literature (a.o. Davies & Dubinsky 1998, Takahashi 2010, Kastner 2015, Knyazev 2016, 2022, Pietraszko 2019, Bondarenko 2022), primarily on the basis of D + CP constructions (without an overt N), the same analysis has rarely been applied to DP + CP constructions, in which the CP is usually analyzed as a complement or (more recently) adjunct of N. Moreover, whether D + CP constructions themselves have the D-C structure has been controversial due to an alternative analysis with a null N, which makes it possible to subsume them under the more usual complement/adjunct-of-N analysis (e.g. Hartman 2012, Kastner 2015, see also Moulton 2020). Thus, the broader aim of this paper is to reconsider the received view that D has no direct syntactic or semantic relation to the CP in DP + CP (and, by extension, D + CP), and to provide further evidence for the important role played by D-CP structures in NCC constructions.

2 SEMANTIC AND DISTRIBUTIONAL PROPERTIES OF TOT-NCC

2.1 TOT HAS A NON-DEICTIC NON-ANAPHORIC INTERPRETATION

Like English *that*, the distal demonstrative *tot* in Russian is usually described as having two main uses (Padučeva 2016): the distal deictic use, accompanied by demonstration, as in (4-a), and the anaphoric use, where it refers to (or is inferred from) some previously introduced discourse referent, as in (4-b), in which case it can be usually replaced with the proximal demonstrative *ëtot* 'this', with no clear difference in meaning. In addition, *tot* may also have 'recognitional'/'familiar' uses, as in (4-c), which are related to, but are usually distinguished from, anaphoric uses (a.o. Diessel 1999, Doran & Ward 2019), as they are based on private shared knowledge, as opposed to prior mention.

- (4) a. — Galka, vidiš' **togo čeloveka**? — gorjačo zašeptal Alik.
 Galka see that person.ACC hotly whispered Alik.NOM
 'Galka, do you see that person? Alik whispered ardently.' (*Context*: A famous screenwriter passed by and then moved ten meters away.) (RNC)
- b. Naskol'ko mogla, ja postaralas' v **toj knige** pokazat' èti
 as.much.as could I.NOM tried in that book.PREP show.INF these
 konteksty.
 contexts.ACC
 'I tried to show these contexts in that book as best as I could.' (*Context*: The author discusses her book on Tsvetaeva.) (RNC)
- c. Ja mog by priexat' v **tot restoran** na 63-j doroge.
 I.NOM could SUBJ.PRT come.INF in that restaurant.ACC on 63rd road.PREP
 'I could come to that restaurant on 63rd street.' (*Context*: 'It would be great to meet. Could you make it next Sunday?') (RNC)

Apart from the above uses, several authors (Xolodilova 2014, Padučeva 2016, Lyutikova & Tatevosov 2019) also distinguish a special non-deictic non-anaphoric use of *tot* which is found only with restrictive relative clauses (RC) with the relative pronoun *kotoryj* 'which' (but not with corresponding participial relatives or PP modifiers), as in (5). Note that the noun phrases in (5) are most likely discourse- and hearer-new (Prince 1992) and thus need not be interpreted anaphorically (or deictically).

- (5) a. Bud'te ostorožny s **toj informaciej, kotoruju** <...> obnaružite.
 be careful with that information.INS which.ACC will discover
 'Be careful with that/the information that you will discover.'
 (RNC; Padučeva 2016)

- b. S den'gami vsë v polnom porjadke, tol'ko **tot čelovek**,
 with money.INS all.NOM in full order.PREP only that person.NOM
kotoryj budet platit', uexal v Pariž.
 which.NOM will pay left to Paris.ACC
 'Everything is okay with the money, but that/the man who is going to pay
 has left for Paris.' (RNC)

Such uses of *tot* are similar to uses of the English definite article with 'referent-establishing' RCs (Hawkins 1978: p.130–149), as in (6), in which the function of the RC is to provide the content needed to identify the referent of the head noun in the absence of prior familiarity with that referent. Such uses of *the* are standardly analyzed as instances of unique/non-anaphoric definites (Abbott 2019) (for the distinction between unique vs. anaphoric/familiar definites see a.o. Schwarz 2013). In view of this similarity, I will analyze *tot* with RCs in examples like (5) as a unique definite (see §3.2 for details).³

- (6) (Context: What's wrong with Mary?)
 Oh, the guy she went out with last night gave her a hard time. (Abbott 2019: p.119)

Note that analogous non-deictic non-anaphoric uses of the distal demonstrative, sometimes referred to as 'restrictive' (Doran & Ward 2019) (the term I will adopt), are also found in English, as in (7), and are also often treated in the philosophical/semantic literature as a species of unique definites (Wolter 2006, Jenks 2018, Nowak 2021, but see Maclaran 1980 cited in Doran & Ward 2019) (see §3.2). In contrast to Russian, restrictive uses of *that* can be licensed by different kinds of postnominal modifiers, including but not limited to RCs (though, not by NCCs) (Wolter 2006, p.142).

- (7) That person who discovered fire was a genius. (Wolter 2006: p.142)

Importantly, without an RC the demonstrative must be interpreted anaphorically (or deictically), as shown in (8) (cf. (5-a)). Thus, the unique/restrictive interpretation of *tot* requires the presence of an RC (Xolodilova 2014, Lyutikova & Tatevosov 2019) (similar facts hold for restrictive *that* in (7), as well as referent-establishing *the* in (6)).

- (8) Bud'te ostorožny s **toj informaciej**.
 be careful with that information.INS
 'Be careful with that information.' (only anaphoric interpretation)

I would like to suggest that the same properties hold for *tot*-NCCs in (3), except that identification of the referent (in the sense made precise in §3.2) is done by a declarative CP, rather than by an RC (cf. Hankamer & Mikkelsen 2021). First, *tot*-NCCs are able to introduce a new discourse referent, as shown in (9) (and also (3-b) above), where the referent of the complex NP is not presumed to be familiar to the addressee (nor need it be present in the immediate situation). Second, without the CP the restrictive interpretation is unavailable, as shown by (10) (cf. (3-b)), which only has an anaphoric/familiar reading (negation was added to the original sentence so that it sounded more natural).

- (9) Èti vyraženiya po smyslu identičny i vyražajut **tu mysl'**,
 these expressions.NOM by sense.DAT identical and express that thought.ACC
čto forma figury v celom ne javljaetsja sovokupnost'ju <...> eë
 COMP form.NOM figure.GEN in whole NEG is sum.INS its

³Lyutikova & Tatevosov (2019) do not mention the unique vs. anaphoric distinction and instead focus on the non-deictic character of uses of *tot* with an RC, as in (5), but it is clear from their discussion that they assimilate such uses to plain (non-anaphoric) definites. They also show that in such uses *tot* can be used with non-specific indefinites, which I will not discuss in this paper. Xolodilova (2014) describes uses of *tot* with an RC as 'determinative', in the sense of having the (semi-)grammatical function of 'mark[ing] the nominal head of the relative clause' (which often arises from the grammaticalization of distal demonstratives) (Diessel 1999, p.135).

èlementov.

elements.GEN

‘These expressions are identical in their content and express the thought that the form of a figure is generally not identical to the sum of its parts.’ (RNC)

- (10) Ne vsjakaja novaja gipoteza obladaet **tem / ètim nedostatkom**.
 NEG any new hypothesis.NOM possesses that this disadvantage.INS
 ‘Not every new hypothesis has that disadvantage.’ (only anaphoric interpretation)

This does not imply, though, that *tot*-NCCs *must* be discourse- or hearer-new, as shown by (11) (see also (3-c) above), where the complex NP is most likely interpreted as familiar.

- (11) Èto eščë raz podtverždaet **tu mysl'**, **čto** tvorčestvo
 this.NOM more time.ACC confirms that thought.ACC COMP creativity.NOM
 sploš' sotkano iz paradoksov <...>.
 throughout woven from paradoxes.GEN
 ‘This once again confirms the idea that creativity is interwoven with paradoxes.’
 (RNC)

I will come back to examples like (11) in §2.3.3. The crucial point is that anaphoricity/familiarity need not be *encoded* in the meaning of *tot* in the *tot*-NCC construction.

2.2 DEPENDENCY BETWEEN TOT AND THE CP

As we saw above, the restrictive reading of *tot* requires the presence of the CP. Crucially, this cannot be reduced to the requirement to provide descriptive content for the identification of the referent, because embedding the CP in an *about*-PP, as in (12-a) (cf. (2-a)), or replacing it with a genitive complement, as in (12-b) (cf. (3-a)), blocks the restrictive interpretation.

- (12) a. ... **tu mysl'** o tom, **čto** forma figury...
 that thought.ACC about that.PREP COMP form.GEN figure.GEN
 ‘...that thought that the form of a figure...’ (only anaphoric)
 b. **Tot fakt nexvatki** gostinic v Samare...
 that fact.NOM lack.GEN hotels.GEN in Samara.PREP
 ‘That fact about the lack of hotels in Samara...’ (only anaphoric)

Moreover, the restrictive reading is only available with declarative indicative (*čto*) clauses and, to a lesser extent, subjunctive (*čtoby*) clauses, as in (13).

- (13) No zdes' po krajnej mere presledovalas' **ta cel'**, **čtoby**
 but here at last measure.DAT was.pursued that goal.NOM that.SUBJ
 podgotovit' boevuju mošč' korablja.
 prepare.INF military power.ACC ship.GEN
 ‘But here at least the goal of enhancing the military power of the ship was pursued.’
 (RNC)

With other types of clauses, such as bare infinitivals, as in (14-a), embedded questions, as in (14-b), and declarative CPs with the (eventive) complementizer *kak* ‘how’, as in (14-c), the restrictive reading is unavailable, as shown by the fact that the examples in (14) (modeled on RNC examples with *čto*- or *to čto*-NCCs) are infelicitous out of the blue and may only be felicitous in a context where the complex NP has been previously mentioned.

- (14) a. ??Okazalos', **čto** vladelec “Sibnefti” prišël k **toj mysli**
 turned.out COMP owner.NOM Sibneft.GEN came to that thought.DAT
kupit' “Čelsi” ne srazu.
 buy.INF Chelsea.ACC NEG at.once

‘It turned out that the owner of *Sibneft* did not immediately arrive at the idea to buy *Chelsea*.’

- b. ??<...> my popytaemsja otvetit' na **tot vopros**, **čto**
 we.NOM will try answer.INF on that question.ACC what.ACC
 mogli znat' ob Imperatorskoj sem'e obyčnye gorodskie
 could know.INF about imperial family.PREP ordinary city
 žiteli.
 dwellers.NOM
 Intended: ‘[In the article] we will try to answer the question what ordinary citizens knew about the royal family.’
- c. ??**To nabljudenie**, **kak** podrostki <...> tancujut v poxožix
 that observation.NOM how adolescents.NOM dance in similar
 na nacistskuju uniformu kostjumax, pričinjaet ogromnye
 on Nazi uniform.ACC costumes.PREP causes huge
 stradanija ljudjam <...>.
 sufferings.ACC people.DAT
 Intended: ‘Observation of how youngsters dancing in a Nazi-looking uniform causes a lot of distress to people...’

These facts suggest that there is a selectional relation between *tot* and the CP. More specifically, we may assume that *tot* selects CP with features [+relative] or [+declarative], with additional features to exclude null infinitival, eventive, and adverbial (e.g. headed by *esli* ‘if’) CPs.⁴ This selectional relation is supported by two further considerations. First, the identifying function of the CP is dependent on *tot* but not other D-like elements.⁵ Thus, if *tot* is replaced with the proximal demonstrative *ëtot* ‘this’, as in (15-a) (cf. (3-b)), the sentence only has an ‘afterthought’ interpretation (with a pause before the CP), with the demonstrative requiring an anaphoric antecedent and the CP functioning as a ‘resumed topic’. Other D-like elements are usually simply disallowed, as in (15-b) (cf. (9)).

- (15) a. #Vsjakaja novaja gipoteza obladaet **ëtim nedostatkom**, **čto**
 any new hypothesis.NOM possesses this disadvantage.INS COMP
 vyzyvaet vseгда massu sporov.
 causes always mass.ACC disagreements.GEN
 Intended: ‘Any new hypothesis has the disadvantage that it always causes a lot of disagreements.’ (only anaphoric/resumed topic)
- b. ... vyražajut #ëtu (?) / ***kakuju-to** / ***každyju mysl'**, čto...
 express this some every thought.ACC that
 Literally: ‘...express this/some/every idea that...’

Second, *tot*-NCCs are compatible with a special class of nouns such as *nedostatok* ‘disadvantage’ and *strannost'* ‘strange thing’ (cf. (3-b) and (3-c)) (see §2.3.2), which, unlike ordinary nouns like *mysl'* ‘thought’ (cf. (1-a)), cannot combine with *čto*-clauses without *tot* (or with *to čto*-clauses), as shown in (16), suggesting that the CP can only be selected by *tot*.

⁴A reviewer wonders why *tot* cannot combine with adverbial CPs. At this point, I have no deeper explanation for this restriction; the question certainly requires further investigation.

⁵The only exception is *takoj* ‘such’, which can replace *tot* for certain nouns, as in (i) (cf. (21-a)). I do not discuss such cases in this paper but I assume they should receive a similar analysis as *tot*-NCCs. Note that such examples do not undermine the general point, which is that the meaning of *tot*-NCC is licensed by a specific lexical item.

- (i) TS obladaet **takim svojtstvom**, **čto** sama ne daet vode zamerzat'.
 TS possesses such property.INS COMP itself NEG gives water.DAT freeze.INF
 ‘TS [technical system] has the property that it does not allow water to freeze.’ (RNC)

- (16) a. ??Vsjakaja novaja gipoteza obladaet **nedostatkom**, **čto**
 any new hypothesis.NOM possesses disadvantage.INS COMP
 vyzyvaet vseгда massu sporov.
 causes always mass.ACC disagreements.GEN
 Intended: ‘Any new hypothesis has the disadvantage that it always causes a
 lot of disagreements.’
- b. ??No kak togda ob”jasnit’ **strannost’**, **čto** dlja Astraxani
 but how then explain.INF strange.thing.ACC COMP for Astrakhan.GEN
 i Kerči cenzurnyx ograničenij ne bylo...?
 and Kerch.GEN censorship restrictions.GEN NEG was
 Intended: ‘But how then to explain the strange thing that there were no
 censorship restrictions for Astrakhan and Kerch?’

2.3 NOUNS THAT CAN OCCUR IN TOT-NCC

2.3.1 SEMANTIC RESTRICTIONS ON THE NOUN AND THE CP

For a noun to occur in a *tot*-NCC, its content must be identified or specified by the CP in some intuitive sense, which is diagnosed by its ability to be predicated of by the CP in a predicational copular construction, as in (17) (following Hankamer & Mikkelsen 2021, I will refer to such nouns as *propositional*). Note that in Russian predicative CPs are usually expressed as *to čto*-clause complements (inside a PP) of a special copular predicate.

- (17) a. A nedostatok zaključaetsja v tom, čto nužno projti
 and disadvantage.NOM consists in that.PREP COMP need pass.INF
 čerez vsju derevnju...
 through whole village.ACC
 ‘And the disadvantage [of this route] consists in the fact that one must pass
 through the whole village.’ (RNC)
- b. A važnejšaja mysl’ sostoit v tom, čto
 and most important thought.NOM consists in that.PREP COMP
 nikto ne znaet istinnoj pravdy.
 nobody.NOM NEG knows genuine truth.GEN
 ‘And the most important idea [of the play] is that no one knows the real
 truth.’ (RNC)

This correctly captures the fact that nouns that can combine with *čto*- or *to čto*-NCCs but cannot occur in a predicational construction with a CP (on some reading) cannot combine with a *tot*-NCC (on that reading). For example, as is known from the literature (see Krapova & Cinque 2016 for a recent survey), nouns like ‘proof’ or ‘explanation’ (‘indication’, ‘confirmation’, etc.) cannot be predicated of by the CP when the CP expresses the thing that was proved or explained (‘explanandum’), as shown in (18) (see Bondarenko 2021 for further discussion). As expected, these nouns are incompatible with a *tot*-NCC on the relevant reading, as shown in (19) (cf. (1-b) and (2-b)).

- (18) Dokazatel’stvo / ob”jasnenije sostojalo v tom, čto izmenivšego
 proof.NOM explanation.NOM consisted in that.PREP COMP who.cheated
 supružeskoj vernosti zastali v krovati.
 conjugal fidelity.DAT caught in bed.PREP
 #‘The proof/explanation was (of the fact) that the cheater was caught in bed.’
 (‘explanandum’)
 ✓‘The proof/explanation was that the cheater was caught in bed.’ (‘explanans’)
- (19) Sudu bylo malo **togo dokazatel’stva** (/ **ob”jasnenija**), **čto**
 court.DAT was little that proof.GEN explanation.GEN COMP

izmenivšego supružeskoj vernosti zastali v krovati...
 who.cheated conjugal fidelity.DAT caught in bed.PREP
 #‘The proof/explanation (of the fact) that the cheater was caught in bed was not
 enough for the court.’ (‘explanandum’)
 ✓‘The proof/explanation (which was) that the cheater was caught in bed was
 not enough for the court.’ (‘explanans’)

(adapted from RNC)

Given that the ability of CPs to be predicated of the noun is standardly attributed to their status as modifiers (see e.g. Moulton 2009 and §3.1), I assume that the failure of some CPs, as in (18), to be used predicatively (and to occur in *tot*-NCCs) is explained by their being true arguments of N (cf. Bondarenko 2021). Thus, I depart from approaches that treat *all* CPs in NCCs as modifiers/adjuncts (Krapova & Cinque 2016, De Cuba 2017).

2.3.2 NONREPRESENTATIONAL NOUNS

As we saw in (3-b) and (3-c), an interesting property of *tot*-NCCs is that they are compatible with nouns like *nedostatok* ‘disadvantage’ and *strannost’* ‘strange thing’ that do not combine with other NCCs (cf. (16)). It is not straightforward to give a semantic characterization of these nouns but they resemble Hankamer & Mikkelsen’s *nonrepresentational nouns*, a subclass of propositional nouns that “categorize propositions relative to some purpose or standard without connecting them to a mental state or linguistic act” (2021, p.10). Nonrepresentational nouns are essentially defined in negative terms as denoting neither speech acts nor mental states (attitudes), the latter being the denotations of *representational nouns*. In (20), I give a tentative list of nonrepresentational nouns that occur with *tot*-NCCs in RNC, in the order of decreasing frequency.⁶ Some examples are illustrated in (21).

- (20) *preimuščestvo* ‘advantage’ (222), *vygoda* ‘gain’ (111), *osobennost’* ‘feature’ (100), *svojsstvo* ‘property’ (62), *nedostatok* ‘disadvantage’ (54), *neudobstvo* ‘inconvenience’ (47), *raznica* ‘difference’ (36), *rezul’tat* ‘result’ (33), *utešenie* ‘consolation’ (22), *posledstvie* ‘consequence’ (21), *strannost’* ‘strange thing’ (10), *ošibka* ‘mistake’ (7), *različie* ‘difference’ (6), *podrobnost’* ‘detail’ (5), *glupost’* ‘stupidity’ (4), *detal’* ‘detail’ (4), *ščast’e* ‘happiness’ (4), *nelepost’* ‘absurdity’ (3), *cennost’* ‘value’ (3), *častnost’* ‘detail’ (2), *effekt* ‘effect’ (2), *opasnost’* ‘danger’ (2), *pustjak* ‘trifle’ (2), *sekret* ‘secret’ (2), *prevosходstvo* ‘superiority’ (1), *skandal* ‘scandal’ (1), *sovpadenie* ‘coincidence’ (1), *tajna* ‘secret’ (1), *ulovka* ‘catch’ (1), *nesčast’e* ‘unhappiness’ (1)
- (21) a. Xorošaja detskaja kniga, konečno, dolžna otličat’sja **tem**
 good children’s book.NOM certainly must be.distinguished.INF that
svojsstvom, čto ež s udovol’stvijem čitajut i vzroslye...
 property.INS COMP it.ACC with pleasure.INS read PRT adults.NOM
 ‘A good children’s book, for sure, must be distinguished by the property
 that it is read with pleasure even by adults.’ (RNC)
- b. Pomnite, emu xoteli pridat’ funkcii, svjazannye s
 recall it.DAT wanted give.INF functions.ACC related with
 veroj ljudej v tu **glupost’**, **čto** braki
 belief.INS people.GEN in that nonsense.ACC that marriages.NOM

⁶To compile this list, I extracted all occurrences of *tot*-NCCs in RNC written texts from 1800 to 2000 (using the query *tot+N+čto*). From the resulting list of nouns, I selected those that are incompatible with both *čto*- and *to čto*-NCCs, based on my native speaker intuition and additional corpus searches. The counts were obtained from all written RNC texts (accessed December 2021), using queries *tot+N+čto/tot+A+N+čto* (to account for examples with intervening adjectives) for each noun. All the examples were manually checked.

soveršajutsja na nebesax...
 are.performed on heavens.PREP
 ‘Recall that they wanted to assign to it [=the Department] duties related to
 people’s belief in that nonsense that marriages are made in heaven.’(RNC)

2.3.3 REPRESENTATIONAL NOUNS

Representational nouns, including prototypical content nouns like *mysl’* ‘thought’ (cf. (9)) and *mnenie* ‘opinion’, as in (22), are possible in *tot*-NCCs, but they are dispreferred in this construction compared to *čto*- or *to čto*-NCC. For example, there are only 76/45 examples of *tot*-NCC with *mysl’* ‘thought’/*mnenie* ‘opinion’ (which are among the most frequent representational nouns to occur with it) in all RNC texts written after 1951, as opposed to 4761/1965 for *čto*-NCC and 1744/265 and *to čto*-NCC (using approximate counts potentially including irrelevant examples with interrogative/relative *čto*). Similarly, *vyvod* ‘conclusion’, *predpoloženie* ‘guess’ and *utverždenie* ‘claim’ occurred only 14, 11 and 5 times with *tot*-NCC, as opposed to 3950/1277/629 for *čto*- and 689/262/183 for *to čto*-NCC.

- (22) Xotja ja priderživajus’ **togo mnenija**, **čto** za rulem net
 although I.NOM hold that opinion.GEN COMP behind wheel.INS is.no
 mužčin i ženščin...
 men.GEN and women.GEN
 ‘Although I hold on to the view that there are no men and women behind the
 wheel.’ (Context: They [women] do not feel themselves to be full-fledged road
 users.) (RNC)

There is also a tendency for *tot*-NCCs with representational nouns to occur in familiar/discourse-old contexts. Although they are not disallowed in discourse- and hearer-new contexts (cf. (9) and (22)), they often sound unnatural out of the blue, especially when they are subjects (topics), as shown by examples in (23) (modeled on attested RNC examples without *tot*), which would be felicitous only in a context where the complex NP has been previously mentioned or is shared between the speaker and the addressee. Note that the corresponding examples with *čto*-NCCs do not have this restriction.

- (23) a. #**Ta mysl’**, **čto** ona mogla kogo-to podozrevat’
 that thought.NOM COMP she.NOM could someone.ACC suspect.INF
 naprasno, byla dlja neë mučitel’na.
 needlessly was for her.GEN tormenting
 ‘The thought that she [the protagonist] might have needlessly suspected
 someone was tormenting for her.’ (Context (*discourse-new*): =(1-a))
 b. #**To mnenie**, **čto** kislye jabloki soderžat bol’še vitamina
 that opinion.NOM COMP sour apples.NOM contain more vitamin.GEN
 C, — neverno.
 C false
 ‘The belief that sour apples contain more vitamin C is false.’ (Context
 (*discourse-new*): I anticipate doubts of fruit growers: aren’t such apples [of
 sour-sweet varieties] less healthy? Rather the opposite!)

The pragmatic restriction in (23) may appear surprising in view of the above characterization of *tot*-NCCs as unique definites. While I do not have a clear understanding of this restriction, note that some definite descriptions that contain sufficient content to identify the referent still strongly convey familiarity in some contexts, as in (24) (cf. (6)) (Abbott 2019). Something similar might be going on in (23).

- (24) The student I met with three days ago came to see me after class.
 (Abbott 2019: p.127)

noun	N <i>tot</i> N, <i>čto</i> (%)	N <i>čto</i> (%)	N <i>to čto</i> (%)	N total
<i>fakt</i> 'fact'	3162 (0.91)	234 (0.07)	84 (0.02)	3480
<i>obstojatel'stvo</i> 'circumstance'	1202 (0.99)	15 (0.01)	0 (0)	1217

Table 1: Frequencies of *fakt* 'fact' and *obstojatel'stvo* 'circumstance' with *tot*-, *čto*- and *to čto*-NCC in RNC texts written after 1951

2.3.4 FAKT 'FACT' AND OBSTOJATEL'STVO 'CIRCUMSTANCE'

Nouns *fakt* 'fact' (cf. (3-a)) and *obstojatel'stvo* 'circumstance' (see (28-a) below) deserve a separate discussion because they are by far the two most frequent nouns in *tot*-NCC (disregarding adverbial constructions like *v tom smysle, čto* 'in the sense that') and also because they show somewhat mixed behavior.⁷ Although they are in principle compatible with *čto*- and *to čto*-NCCs, as in (25)–(26), they are clearly dispreferred with these constructions compared to *tot*-NCCs, as shown by corpus data in Table 1.⁸

- (25) a. Obščezvesten **fakt**, **čto** v Rossii pol'zovatelej mobil'nyx
 well-known fact.NOM COMP in Russia.PREP users.GEN mobile
 telefonov značitel'no bol'se, čem tex, kto aktivno
 phones.GEN significantly more than those.GEN who.NOM actively
 pol'zuetsja Internetom.
 use Internet.INS
 'A well-known fact is that in Russia there are significantly more users of
 mobile phones than those who actively use Internet.' (RNC)
- b. Kak polagajut učenyje, ix issledovanie podtverždaet **fakt**
 as believe scientists.NOM their study.NOM confirms fact.ACC
togo, čto nočnye xiščniki igrali značitel'nuju rol' v
 that.GEN COMP night predators.NOM played significant role.ACC in
 èvoljucii čeloveka....
 evolution.GEN human.GEN
 'As scientists believe, their study confirms (the veracity of) the fact that
 night predators played a significant role in human evolution.' (RNC)
- (26) Konečno že, bol'soe značenie imeet **obstojatel'stvo**, **čto** ona
 surely PRT big meaning.NOM has circumstance.NOM COMP she.NOM
 vyrosła i živet v semě, kotoraja ne osobenno nuždaetsja v
 grew.up and lives in family.PREP which.NOM NEG particularly needs in
 den'gax.
 money.PREP
 'Surely the fact that she has grown up and lives in a family which is not in a
 particular need of money is of great significance.' (RNC)

Moreover, these nouns are sometimes unacceptable or marginal with *čto*-NCCs, as in (27) and (28-b). It appears that in the acceptable examples (cf. (25-a) and (26)) the noun is an information-structural focus (notably, about half of the attested examples of *fakt* 'fact' with *čto*-NCC contain the intensifier *sam* 'self'). By contrast, if the noun is a topic, *tot*-NCCs are unacceptable (cf. (27) and (28-b)), although this restriction requires further study.

⁷In RNC texts written in the last third of the XX century, out of the 2720 attested examples of *tot*-NCCs (including adverbial expressions), *fakt* 'fact' and *obstojatel'stvo* 'circumstance' occurred 929 (34%) and 421 (15%) times. To put these figures in perspective, the next most frequent (non-adverbial) nouns were *preimuščestvo* 'advantage', *mysl'* 'thought', *mnenie* 'opinion', *istina* 'truth' and *soobraženie* 'consideration', which only occurred 19, 14, 12, 12 and 10 times, respectively (each less than 1%).

⁸Unlike *fakt* 'fact', which is generally possible with *to čto*-NCC (in the genitive) (cf. (25-b)), *obstojatel'stvo* 'circumstance' is completely unacceptable with it (cf. (28-b) and also Table 1). Note that *fakt* 'fact' in examples like (25-b) has a relational, rather than identificational, meaning, close to 'veracity'.

- (27) ??**Fakt**, **čto** v Samare katastrofičeski ne xvataet gostinic,
 fact.NOM COMP in Samara.PREP catastrophically NEG is.sufficient hotels.GEN
 ni dlja kogo ne javljaetsja sekretom. (cf. (3-a))
 NEG.PRT for who.GEN NEG is secret.INS
 Intended: ‘The fact that hotels are in catastrophically short supply in Samara is
 not a secret to anyone.’
- (28) a. **To obstojatel'stvo**, **čto** snova pridětsja zabirat'sja v
 that circumstance.NOM COMP again will be.necessary get.INF in
 boloto, komandira na ètot raz ne pugalo.
 swamp.ACC commander.ACC on this time.ACC NEG frightened
 ‘The fact that he would have to get into the swamp again did not frighten
 the commander this time.’ (RNC)
- b. ??**Obstojatel'stvo** (***togo** / ***o tom**), **čto** snova
 circumstance.NOM that.GEN about that.PREP COMP again
 pridětsja zabirat'sja v boloto... (cf. (28-a))
 will be.necessary get.INF in swamp.ACC
 Intended: ‘The fact that he would have to get into the swamp again...’

An interesting puzzle is that *fakt* ‘fact’ and *obstojatel'stvo* ‘circumstance’ are classified as *nonrepresentational* by Hankamer & Mikkelsen (2021), which is not fully consistent with the fact that they are in principle allowed (albeit dispreferred) with *čto*-NCCs, unlike other nonrepresentational nouns (see §2.3.2). I leave an explanation for this puzzle, as well as for their peculiar affinity with *tot*-NCCs, for future work.

To summarize, *tot*-NCCs are restricted to CPs that can be predicated of the noun and that are interpreted as modifiers identifying the content of the noun. A distinguishing feature of *tot*-NCCs is that they are compatible not only with more familiar representational nouns but also with a special class of nonrepresentational nouns that cannot combine with other NCCs. In the next section, I propose an analysis that captures these properties.

3 ANALYSIS

3.1 THE ANALYSIS OF ČTO-NCCS

Before proceeding with the analysis of *tot*-NCCs, I present my analysis of *čto*-NCCs, which is fairly standard in the literature. This analysis is meant to apply only to non-argumental CPs that can be predicated of N (see §2.3.1). Following a.o. Moulton 2015, Elliott 2020, I take such CPs to be adjuncts of N and to denote predicates of *individuals with propositional content* of type $\langle e, t \rangle$ (the content is recovered by the function *CONT*), as illustrated in (29-a). (I omit the evaluation world/situation parameter and the assignment function, except when the meaning of the expression depends on it.) Assuming that content nouns like *mysl'* ‘thought’ also denote predicates of individuals with content, as in (29-b), the meaning of complex NPs can be derived by Predicate Modification (PM), as in (29-c), giving the set of individuals that are thoughts and whose content is the proposition that she could suspect someone. (I assume that non-argumental *to čto*-clauses (cf. (2-a)) receive a similar analysis, but I will not derive this compositionally.)

- (29) a. [[*čto ona mogla kogo-to podozrevat'*] (cf. (1-a))
 = $\lambda y_{c[\text{content}]}.[\text{CONT}(y) = \lambda w. \text{she could suspect someone in } w]$
- b. [[*mysl'*] = $\lambda y_c.\text{thought}(y)$
- c. [[*mysl' čto ona mogla kogo-to podozrevat'*] (by PM)
 = $\lambda y_c.[\lambda y.\text{thought}(y) \wedge \text{CONT}(y) = \lambda w. \text{she could suspect someone in } w]$

Applying the predicate analysis of CPs in (29-a) to *verb* complement clauses is less straightforward. One option is to assume that attitude verbs like *utverždat'* ‘claim’ denote

predicates of events and to allow for the CP to combine with the verb by PM under the further assumption that there is no distinction between events and individuals (Elliott 2020, Bondarenko 2021) (see also Moulton 2015). Instead, I adopt a different approach, namely that the CP combines with the verb via Predicate Restriction (PR) (Chung & Ladusaw 2004, Srinivas & Legendre 2022). Given the denotation of the verb, as in (30-a), composing it with a CP amounts to *restricting* (without saturating) its content argument by the CP and then binding it by Existential Closure (EC), as in (30-b).

- (30) a. $\llbracket \text{utverždat} \rrbracket = \lambda y_c. \lambda x. \lambda e. \text{claim}(e) \wedge \text{Agent}(e) = x \wedge \text{Theme}(e) = y$
 b. $\llbracket \text{utverždat čto ona mogla kogo-to podozrevat} \rrbracket$ (by PR + EC)
 $= \lambda x. \lambda e. \text{claim}(e) \wedge \text{Agent}(e) = x \wedge \exists y_c. [\text{Theme}(e) = y \wedge \text{CONT}(y) = \lambda w. \text{she could suspect someone in } w]$

3.2 A UNIFIED ANALYSIS OF TOT ‘THAT’

For my analysis of the demonstrative *tot*, I follow the insight from Jenks (2018) (see also Nowak 2021) that deictic, anaphoric and restrictive (non-deictic non-anaphoric) uses of demonstratives (cf. (5) and (7)) should receive a unified treatment. On this view, demonstratives are in general a species of the *anaphoric*, or *indexed*, definite D (D^x) (Jenks & Konate 2022, see also Schwarz 2009), as in (31-b), which differs from the *plain* definite D, as in (31-a), in that, apart from involving a iota-operator picking out a unique individual satisfying the NP restriction (provided the uniqueness presupposition is met), it has a second *domain restriction* argument supplied by the syntactically represented index.

- (31) a. $\llbracket \text{the man/čelovek} \rrbracket = \iota x. \text{man}(x)$ (plain definite)
 b. $\llbracket \text{1 that man/tot čelovek} \rrbracket^g = \iota x. [\text{man}(x) \wedge x = g(1)]$ (indexed definite)

The important insight in Jenks (2018) and Nowak (2021) (see also Šimík & Sláma to appear) is that the domain restriction argument can also be provided by an RC instead of an index, as in (32), which is what happens in restrictive uses of demonstratives with RCs (cf. (5) and (7)).⁹ On one implementation (Jenks 2018, Nowak 2021), the domain restriction argument has type $\langle e, t \rangle$ (as in $\lambda P_{\langle e, t \rangle}. \lambda Q_{\langle e, t \rangle}. \iota x. [P(x) \wedge Q(x)]$) so that it can be directly fed by an RC, whereas an index is converted to a singleton set (as in $\lambda x_{\langle e \rangle}. [x = g(1)]$).

- (32) $\llbracket \text{tot čelovek kotoryj budet platit} \rrbracket = \iota x. [\text{man}(x) \wedge x \text{ will pay}]$ (cf. (5-b))

Instead, I adopt a different implementation from Jenks & Konate (2022), as in (33-a) (to be revised below), where the domain restriction argument has type $\langle e \rangle$ and is directly fed by the index (on RCs see immediately below).¹⁰ Identification with the index is done by a contextually supplied relation R_c (built into the meaning of D^x), which is by default interpreted as *identity*, resulting in the same truth conditions as in (31-b), but can also take other values, e.g. depiction, as in (33-b) (cf. Šimík 2016).

- (33) a. $\llbracket \text{tot}/D^x \rrbracket = \lambda P_{\langle e, t \rangle}. \lambda y_{\langle e \rangle}. \iota x. [P(x) \wedge R_c(x, y)]$ (cf. Jenks & Konate 2022:17)

⁹Šimík & Sláma (to appear) discuss recognitional (uses of) demonstratives in Czech that also restrictively combine with *jak* ‘how’-relatives with a special evidential implication (which they analyze as a conventional implicature (CI)). Šimík & Sláma’s main focus is not syntax but compositional semantics, particularly composing CI-like with at-issue meanings. In contrast to the account proposed in this paper (cf. (41) and also (42)), they adopt a much simpler structure where D is left-adjoined to its (first) NP argument, whereas its (second) relative CP argument is right-adjoined to the resulting NP.

¹⁰Jenks & Konate (2022) depart from Jenks (2018) in taking the demonstrative to correspond to the index itself, as opposed to D^x , although they allow for the possibility that in some languages demonstratives realize D^x . I adopt the earlier proposal (i.e. Jenks 2018) for my analysis of *tot* ‘that’ as it allows for a uniform treatment of anaphoric/deictic and restrictive uses of *tot* (which do not involve indices).

- b. $\llbracket \text{1 tot } \check{\text{c}}\text{lovek} \rrbracket^g = \iota x. [\text{man}(x) \wedge \text{is.depicted.in}(g(1))(x)]$ (pointing at a picture)

Note that on the analysis in (33-a) RCs, being of type $\langle e, t \rangle$, cannot saturate the domain restriction argument of D^x , so I will assume that RCs compose with D^x by Predicate Restriction (see §3.1), as in (34), restricting the variable with which the set of individuals in the NP denotation is identified (Jenks & Konate 2022 do not discuss D^x with RCs). This yields as the meaning of the NP in (34) a unique individual x that is a man and that is identical to some individual y who will pay, which seems intuitively correct.

- (34) $\llbracket \text{tot } \check{\text{c}}\text{lovek kotoryj budet platit} \rrbracket = \lambda y. \iota x. [\text{man}(x) \wedge R_{\text{identity}}(x, y)] (\lambda z. [z \text{ will pay}])$
 $= \iota x. [\text{man}(x) \wedge \exists y. [x = y \wedge y \text{ will pay}]]$ (by PR + EC; cf. (5-b))

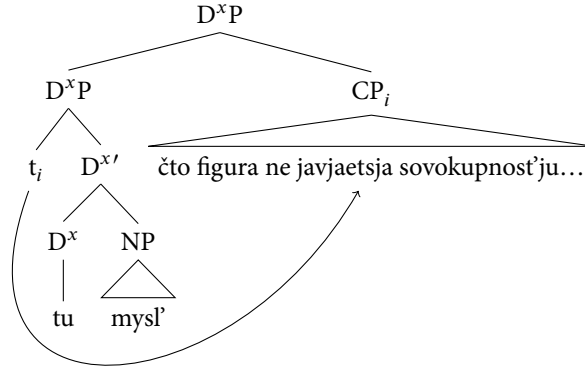
The analysis in (33-a) provides a straightforward explanation for why the anaphoric interpretation of *tot* is not obligatory in the presence of an RC (cf. (5)), as we saw in §2.1, but is obligatory otherwise (cf. (8) and (10)). The first observation follows from the fact that the RC occupies the same argument slot as the index, thereby blocking the anaphoric interpretation. The second one follows from the natural assumption that in the absence of an overt domain restriction argument, it is filled by a null index (Jenks 2018).

3.3 THE STRUCTURE OF TOT-NCCS: A FIRST ATTEMPT

With these semantic assumptions in place, we may turn to the compositional analysis of *tot*-NCCs. But before presenting the actual analysis (see §3.4), I will reject an alternative analysis based on the structure proposed by Jenks & Konate (2022) for the indexed definite (cf. (33-a)), according to which the domain restriction argument (i.e. the index) is merged in [Spec, D^xP]. Extending this analysis to *tot*-NCCs and further assuming that the CP right-adjoins to the D^xP (to derive the correct surface order) would give the structure in (35) (for the simplified version of (9)).¹¹ Given this structure and the denotation for *tot* in (33-a), the meaning of *tot*-NCCs could be derived compositionally, as in (36), giving a unique contentful individual x_c that is a thought and that is identical to some individual y_c whose content is the proposition denoted by the CP. This is similar to (34), except that that domain restriction is provided by a declarative CP rather than an RC.

- (35) tu mysl', čto figura ne javljaetsja sovokupnost'ju
 that thought.ACC COMP figure.NOM NEG is sum.INS
 èlementov
 elements.GEN
 'the thought that a figure is not the sum of its elements'

¹¹Jenks (2018), based on Mandarin Chinese data, proposes a slightly different structure with the RC/index left-adjoined to the DP. Nowak (2021) proposes for English a structure where the RC is right-adjoined to the DP.



- (36) a. $\llbracket \text{tu mysl}' \rrbracket = \lambda y. \iota x_c. [\text{thought}(x) \wedge R_{\text{identity}}(x, y)]$
 b. $\llbracket \text{tu mysl}' \text{ čto figura ne javjaetsja sovokupnost'ju...} \rrbracket$
 $= \llbracket \text{tu mysl}' \rrbracket (\lambda z_c. [\text{CONT}(z) = \lambda w. \text{a figure is not the sum... in } w])$ (by PR + EC)
 $= \iota x_c. [\text{thought}(x) \wedge \exists y_c. [x = y \wedge \text{CONT}(y) = \lambda w. \text{a figure is not the sum... in } w]]$

The analysis has a number of advantages. First, it can explain why *tot*-NCCs are compatible only with CPs that have a modifier interpretation (see §2.3.1). Assuming that restricting some individual y that is identical to x by the CP amounts to predicating this CP of x , we derive the fact that only modifier CPs (i.e. that can be predicated of the noun in a copular construction) can occur with *tot*-NCCs. These facts, however, could also be derived on the adjunction-to-NP (i.e. [D [NP CP]]) analysis.

Second, by virtue of the denotation of *tot*/ D^x in (33-a), it can derive the fact that the anaphoric interpretation is not obligatory in the presence of the CP but is obligatory otherwise (cf. (10)). The explanation is parallel to the case of *tot* with an RC discussed at the end of §3.2.¹² Note that these facts do not follow on the adjunction-to-NP analysis, where the CP is not an argument of D and thus no interaction between the CP and the anaphoric/restrictive interpretation is expected (see also Nowak 2021).

Third, the analysis can also explain why *tot*-NCCs are compatible with nonrepresentational nouns like *nedostatok* 'disadvantage', unlike *čto*-NCCs (see §2.3.2). The explanation assumes that nonrepresentational nouns are incompatible with *čto*-NCCs because they do not denote predicates of contentful individuals, as formulated in (37). On the modifier analysis of *čto*-NCCs (see §3.1), this leads to a violation of the *selectional (sortal) requirement* of the CP, which denote predicates of individuals with content.

- (37) Nonrepresentational nouns do not denote predicates of individuals with content.

By contrast, *tot*-NCCs do not run into this problem since they do not involve modification of the noun by the CP but instead restrict an existentially quantified index argument identified with the noun (cf. (36)). Now recall that the R_c relation encoded by *tot* (cf. (33-a)) need not be *identity* but can be interpreted as some looser relation, e.g. *consists in*, as illustrated in (38) (corresponding to the simplified example (3-b)), which would give as the meaning of the *tot*-NCC a unique individual x that is a disadvantage and that consists in some contentful individual y_c whose content is the proposition denoted by the

¹²A reviewer wonders whether the proposed analysis makes a stronger prediction, namely that in the presence of a CP_{RC}/CP_{NCC} , the anaphoric/deictic interpretation should be blocked. The general answer is no because to the extent that the CP may still combine with the NP via adjunction (see §3.1), it should be possible to interpret *tot* with an RC/ CP_{NCC} anaphorically/deictically by supplying its domain restriction argument (in its Spec) with a covert index, as happens in the case of ordinary demonstrative phrases.

CP.¹³ Crucially, whatever its exact meaning, *consists in CP* is not restricted to individuals with content since it can be predicated of nonrepresentational nouns (cf. (17)). This correctly predicts that nonrepresentational nouns will be compatible with *tot*-NCCs.

- (38) $\llbracket \text{tot nedostatok čto} \langle \text{gipoteza} \rangle \text{ vyzivaet massu sporov} \rrbracket = \lambda x. [\text{disadvantage}(x) \wedge \exists y_c. [\text{consist.in}(y)(x) \wedge \text{CONT}(y) = \lambda w. \text{it causes a lot of disagreement in } w]]$

However, despite the advantages of the analysis of *tot*-NCCs proposed in this section, it cannot be adopted in its present form and should be revised.

3.4 THE REVISED STRUCTURE: A HEAD-RAISING ANALYSIS

The problem with the analysis in the previous section is that the structure in (35) does not (necessarily) capture the syntactic selectional dependency between *tot* and the CP. As we saw in §2.2, restrictive *tot* is licensed only by particular types of CPs, which is most naturally explained if *tot* selects the CP as a complement (for D selecting CP, see a.o. Pietraszko 2019). Independent evidence for the complement status of the CP comes from the fact that the string *tot* + CP can function as a constituent when it occurs in the predicative position, as in (39) (cf. (17)).

- (39) a. $\langle \dots \rangle$ no fakt **tot, čto** za èti tri goda pisatel'
but fact.NOM that COMP for these three years.GEN writer.NOM
legalizoval svoj biznes. (RNC)
legalized his business.ACC
'But the fact is that the writer has legalized his business in these three years.'
- b. Nedostatok **tot, čto** zarjažal sinimi čerčilami, a pišet s
disadvantage.NOM that COMP loaded blue ink.INS and writes with
kakim-to černovatym ottenkom. (RNC)
some blackish hue.INS
'The disadvantage is that [the chemist] had loaded [the pen] with blue ink but it writes with a blackish hue.'

The selectional dependency between *tot* and the CP can be captured by adopting the analysis proposed by Hankamer & Mikkelsen (H&M) (2021) for a similar ('bare DC') construction in Danish, which shows an analogous D-CP dependency.¹⁴ The proposed structure, given in (40) (corresponding to (3-b)), has the following properties. First, D (*tot*) takes CP as its complement and NP as its specifier. Second, the DP consists of two shells, with a (little) dP above the DP, parallel to the Larsonian VP-shell (Larson 2014). Third, the observed order is derived by raising of D to d.¹⁵ An advantage of the analysis in (40) is that it not only captures syntactic selection between *tot* and the CP but also the semantically dyadic nature of *tot* (cf. (33-a)).¹⁶ As a consequence, the compositional analysis in §3.3 can be adopted with minimal modifications, namely that the two arguments of *tot* must be reversed, as in (41).

¹³The most plausible assumption is that y_c is a *fact* (in an ontological sense that need not match the noun *fakt* 'fact' discussed in §2.3.4), which are individuals with content (Bondarenko 2021). In other words, the disadvantage consists in some fact whose content is given by the CP.

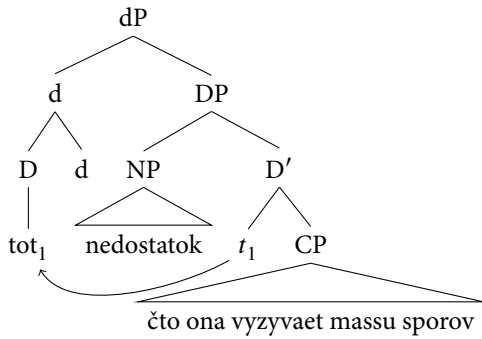
¹⁴The bare DC construction is illustrated in (i).

- (i) den ide at ingefær gavner fordøjels-en (Danish)
the idea that ginger aids digestion-DEF
'the idea that ginger aids digestion' (Hankamer & Mikkelsen 2021, p.3)

¹⁵H&M leave open the question what *causes* D-raising in (40) but note that a similar structure is consistently observed in the grammar suggesting that it must be real. I thank a reviewer for raising this question.

¹⁶An alternative structure that might meet these desiderata is the structure where $[_{DP} \text{tot CP}]$ is a specifier of the NP. This structure, however, may be problematic since it does not adopt the DP-hypothesis. I leave the discussion of this structure for another occasion.

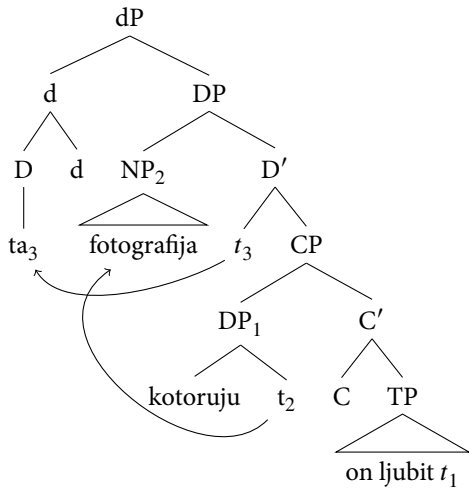
- (40) tot nedostatok, čto ona vyzyvaet massu sporov
 that advantage.NOM COMP it.NOM causes mass.ACC disagreements.GEN
 ‘the advantage that it [the hypothesis] causes a lot of disagreements’



- (41) $[[tot/D^x]] = \lambda y_{\langle e \rangle} . \lambda P_{\langle e, t \rangle} . !x . [P(x) \wedge R_c(x, y)]$ (cf. (33-a))

Evidence for the structure in (40) comes from Lyutikova & Tatevosov (2019), who propose essentially the same structure, given in (42), for restrictive uses of *tot* with an RC, based on the dependence of the restrictive interpretation on the presence of an RC (cf. (5)) (see §2.1) but also on independent grounds. Specifically, since restrictive *tot* also occurs with RCs that require the NP-raising analysis, Lyutikova & Tatevosov conclude that there must be an intermediate (Spec) position for the NP above the CP (selected by D (= *tot*)) and below the overt position of *tot*, as predicted by the dP-shell/head-raising analysis.

- (42) ta fotografija, kotoruju on ljubit
 that picture.NOM which.ACC he.NOM likes
 ‘the picture which he likes’



To summarize, the structure in (40), combined with the meaning of *tot* proposed in (41) captures both the syntactic and semantic dependency between *tot* and the CP in *tot*-NCCs, as well as allowing us to explain a further aspect of their distribution, namely the ability to combine with nonrepresentational nouns (see §3.3).

4 IN PLACE OF A CONCLUSION: A LIGHT VERB ALTERNATIVE?

Srinivas & Legendre (2022) (S&L) challenge H&M’s dP-shell analysis of bare DCs, as applied to the corresponding English construction. S&L’s objections hinge on a special

distributional property of bare DCs, namely that they are restricted to hearer-new/non-anaphoric contexts, as reflected in the fact that bare DCs exclusively occur with verbs of possession/creation, e.g. ‘have’ and ‘make’ (as in ‘make the claim’, etc.) but not with verbs that presuppose the existence of their complement, e.g. ‘discuss’ and ‘reject’ (in which case the construction with an anaphoric (suffixal) definite is used). H&M explain this restriction by proposing that the dP-shell/head-raising analysis, discussed in §3.4, specifically applies to the unique/“referent-establishing” D (D_e), as opposed to the anaphoric D.¹⁷

Instead, S&L propose an alternative account of this restriction. By viewing *make the claim* and similar constructions (with which bare DCs occur) as *light verb constructions*, S&L are able to reanalyze the D-head (*the*) in bare DCs as a semantically inert “weak definite” (Schwarz 2014), with the complex NP being a special property-type argument of the light verb. On this view, the non-anaphoric interpretation of bare DCs arises without D_e , removing part of the motivation for the dP-shell analysis. As one piece of evidence for this analysis, S&L cite the absence of the uniqueness implication in English bare DCs.

I cannot discuss S&L’s arguments in detail, but note that there is a difference between Danish bare DCs and Russian *tot*-NCCs. Although *tot*-NCCs can occur in hearer-new/non-anaphoric contexts, they are clearly *not* restricted to them (cf. (3-c) and (11)). If anything, there seems to be an opposite tendency for representational nouns (cf. (23)). Thus, to the extent that S&L’s objections against H&M depend on bare DCs being restricted to hearer-new/light verb contexts, they do not apply to *tot*-NCCs.¹⁸ Besides, *tot* does not seem to have weak definite uses (see Padučeva 2016). This leaves the dP-shell/head-raising analysis in (35) as the only viable alternative for *tot*-NCCs.

To conclude, despite its somewhat unconventional character, the D-CP structure plays a crucial role in the analysis of noun complement clauses, at least in languages like Russian.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	accusative	NCC	noun complement clauses
COMP	complementizer	NOM	nominative
DAT	dative	PREP	prepositional case
GEN	genitive	PRT	particle
INF	infinitive	RNC	Russian national corpus
INS	instrumental	SUBJ	subjunctive

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¹⁷Ultimately, the restriction of bare DCs to hearer-new contexts follows from the competition of D_e with the anaphoric (suffixal) definite, which carries a stronger presupposition (uniqueness *and* anaphoricity) and which is therefore preferred on pragmatic grounds.

¹⁸Some nonrepresentational nouns such as *nedostatok* ‘advantage’ indeed seem to be restricted to light verb contexts. However, in such cases there is no corresponding lexical verb, making a light verb analysis implausible. In addition, by virtue of assuming adjunction of the CP to the NP, S&L’s analysis would fail to account for the contrast in the compatibility with nonrepresentational nouns between *tot*- and *čto*-NCCs.

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