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On *Fin*: Italian *che*, Japanese *no*, and the selective properties of the copula in clefts.

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1. Introduction

Saito (2012) provides a precise map of the Japanese right periphery. According to this map, the complementizer system of (standard) Japanese is articulated in three C-type positions. In his words, adapting to Japanese the description in Plann (1982) for Spanish:

- (1) a. To is the complementizer for ‘paraphrases’ or ‘reports’ of direct discourse.
- b. Ka is the complementizer for questions.
- c. No is the complementizer for propositions.

This leads Saito to the design of a peripheral map for Japanese along the lines in (2)a, b (in the latter the presence of a recursive contrastive-type Topic head is also indicated just above the Fin head and below the Force head):

- (2) a [... [... [... Finite **no**] Force **ka**]] Report **to**
- b [... [... [... [... TP Finite **no**] (Topic*)] Force **ka**] Report **to**]

There are sentences in which all three complementizers can be present, as in the sentence in (3) quoted by Saito; the respective rigid order of the three complementizers is the one in (2).

- (3) Taroo-wa [_{CP} kare-no imooto-ga soko-ni ita (no) ka (to)] minna-ni tazuneta
T.-TOP he-GEN sister-NOM there-in was no ka to all-DAT inquired
‘Taroo asked everyone if his sister was there’

As Saito (2012) points out in various points, the Japanese Right Periphery thus appears to share close resemblance with the Italian Left Periphery as first formulated in Rizzi (1997), repeated in (4), modulo the head final nature of Japanese and the head initial nature of Italian leading to the mirror image of the map in the two languages.

- (4) [... Force [... (Topic*) [... (Focus) [... (Topic*) [... Fin TP....]]]]]

The complementizer *ka* expresses the interrogative Force of questions, whereas *no* is the introducer of (finite) propositions. Japanese, like Spanish, and differently from Italian, has an extra most external head position dedicated to the introduction of reported discourse, as in the complement of *think/say* type verbs: the complementizer *to* corresponds to the Report head. A further parametric difference between the Italian Left Periphery and the Japanese Right Periphery, is the lack of a peripheral Focus head in the Japanese complementizer area which Saito assumes adhering to the essentials of Heycock’s (1994) discussion.

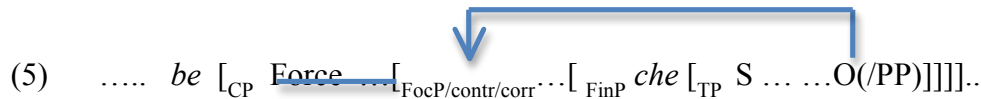
Assuming this background from Saito (2012), these notes have a double objective:

- i. to show the important resemblance that Saito's implied analysis of the CP space in Japanese cleft sentences ends up sharing with the analysis of the CP space of Italian clefts as proposed in Belletti (2009, 2012, 2013);
- ii. to provide a speculation on the status of the focalization brought about by clefts by considering the selecting properties of the copula in languages which do not display a Left/Right peripheral Focus head in (declarative) clauses. One such language may be French; another may be Japanese, assuming the fundamental insights of Saito's account.

Let us address points i. and ii. in turn, in sections 2 and 3 respectively.

2. *Fin*: Italian *che* and Japanese *no*

In Belletti (2009, 2012) I have proposed that (subject and object) corrective/contrastive cleft sentences are amenable to an analysis along the lines in (5), illustrating with object clefting¹:



In (5) the Fin head is realized in the form of the Italian finite complementizer *che*.

The main features of the analysis in (5) which are relevant to the present discussion can be summarized as follows:

- a. the copula in the matrix clause selects a reduced small clause CP complement whose highest head is the Foc head;
- b. the Force layer being missing in the CP small clause complement of the copula, the complementizer is not the expression of Force, but rather it is the pure expression of finiteness/Fin;
- c. the Object can reach the Spec/Foc position within the reduced CP small clause without any violation of locality/Relativized Minimality (Rizzi (1990, 2004))² being induced by the subject, as in a regular A' movement; *a fortiori* the subject can also reach this criterial position.

Point c. is the crucial step characterizing the interpretive option of corrective/contrastive clefts, which may affect both objects and subjects, in contrast with new information clefts, which can only affect subjects (footnote 2 and references quoted there) for locality reasons. Let us refer to the clefts derived

¹ The clefts in (5) correspond to corrective/contrastive Object (and Subject) clefts in e.g. Italian. For the sake of clarity, I only consider here the structure and analysis proposed for Italian corrective/contrastive clefts. The distinction thoroughly discussed in the references quoted between Subject (possibly new information) and Object (only corrective/contrastive) clefts is not relevant to the present discussion; thus, I limit the present considerations, unless otherwise specified, to those clefts that involve peripheral focalization in the CP small clause complement of the copula, such as corrective/contrastive clefts.

² In contrast with movement to the matrix new information Focus position in the vP periphery of the copula. According to the analysis in Belletti (2009, 2012) this movement is only accessible to the Subject precisely because of locality/RM. From this further derivational option for the subject, it follows that only subject clefts can be utilized as answers to questions of new information, whereas object clefts can only be corrective/contrastive. Subject clefts, thus, have one interpretive option more than Object (non subject) clefts. See the references quoted for detailed discussion. an.Belletti (in prep.) for a detailed proposal on the internal and external syntax of the small clause CP complement of the copula in clefts.

as in (5) involving the Focus position in the CP small clause complement of the copula as left/right peripheral clefts³, thus distinguishing them from vP peripheral clefts which involve the new information low focus position in the vP periphery of the copula, as proposed in the quoted previous work. Let us now concentrate on properties a. and b.

As for a., let us first of all review some Italian data presented in Belletti (2012), which allow us to bring to light the crucial selecting property of the copula in clefts. Consider the assumed left peripheral map from Rizzi (1997) repeated in (6)⁴:

$$(6) \quad [_{\text{ForceP}} \dots [_{\text{TopP}} [_{\text{FocP}} [_{\text{TopP}} \dots [_{\text{FinP}} [_{\text{TP}}$$

Clear indications suggest that not only the Force layer is missing in the CP complement of the copula, but also the higher Top head. Consider the following contrasts concerning the possibility of an Object-focus cleft (Focussed phrase in capital letters) and the impossibility of an Object-topic cleft (Topicalized phrase in italics in CLLD):

- (7) A. Maria ha comprato un tavolo e una sedia.
 Maria has bought a table and a chair
- B. a. No, è il TAVOLO che ha comprato; (la sedia l'ha avuta in regalo)
 No, it is the TABLE that she has bought (the chair, they offered it to her)
- b. *No, è il *tavolo* che l'ha comprato, la sedia l'ha avuta in regalo
 No, it is the *table* that she has bought it, the chair, they offered it to her
- c. No, il *tavolo* l'ha comprato, la sedia l'ha avuta in regalo
 No, the *table* she has bought it, the chair, they offered it to her

Only a corrective Focus can be expressed through a cleft structure ((7)a vs (7)b)); the impossibility of (7)b minimally contrasts with the possibility of a contrastive Topic ((7)c, Bocci (2009), Benincà (2001), realized in a Clitic Left Dislocation construction not embedded under the copula, in the same discourse/pragmatic context ((7)b vs (7)c).

A direct account for the contrast between (7)a and (7)b may consist in suggesting that there is no Topic position above Focus in the small clause CP complement of the copula; hence there would be no room for the left dislocated phrase in (7)b. The idea is confirmed by the ungrammaticality of sentences like the one in (8), in which a Topic is present above the Focus in the complement of the copula:

- (8) *E' Il libro, MARIA che l'ha comprato (non Gianni)
 It is the book, MARIA that she has bought it/CL (not Gianni)

The impossibility of (8) contrasts with the well-known possibility of the order Top Foc in the Italian left periphery when no copula is involved:

³ Depending on the head parameter; for a head final language such as e.g. Japanese, the clause external periphery is a right periphery.

⁴ Other positions are present in the Left Periphery, as further work has determined (e.g. Benincà & Poletto 2004, Rizzi 2004...); I only concentrate here on the Topic-Focus positions relevant to our discussion.

- (9) (Hanno detto che) Il libro, MARIA l'ha comprato (non Gianni)
 (The said that) The book, MARIA has bought it/CL (not Gianni)

The ungrammaticality of (8) also contrasts with the possibility of (10), in which the order Foc Top is realized in the cleft⁵:

- (10) E' MARIA che il libro l'ha comprato (non Gianni)
 It is MARIA that the book she has bought it/CL (not Gianni)

The order Foc Top is also generally possible, as expected and as is well known and discussed in the literature:

- (11) (Hanno detto che) MARIA il libro l'ha comprato (non Gianni)
 (They have said that) MARIA the book she has bought it (not Gianni)

The natural proposal can be made that lack of the Topic position above the Focus head in the CP small clause complement of the copula in clefts is due to selection. Assume that Focus is selected by the copula; hence, Focus is the highest head at the edge of the CP complement: the CP complement is thus reduced at the level of the Focus head. The selected Focus head attracts a constituent into its criterial specifier. This is the clefted constituent of Object clefts and of corrective/contrastive Subject clefts.⁶ The relevant resulting structure corresponds to (12):

- (12) *be* [_{ForceP} [_{TopP}] [_{FocP} [_{TopP} ...] [_{FinP} [_{TP} ...]]]

The impossibility of (7)b can now be properly interpreted as ultimately due to selection, as witnessed by the lack of a focalized constituent in the Left Periphery of the small clause CP complement of the copula.

Let us now consider point b. As the reduced CP complement of the copula in cleft sentences contains

⁵ The position of the complementizer in (10), located between the clefted (contrastive/corrective) focalized subject and the left dislocated topic phrase, suggests that the complementizer moves from Fin into the highest head as proposed in Belletti (2009). This movement can be assumed to always affect the complementizer in languages where the same C element realizes both the content of Fin and the content of Force (and thus use the same C in declaratives and clefts). In a complete, unreduced CP, the highest head position is the Force head. In the reduced CP of clefts, this position corresponds to the Focus head, as is proposed in the text. Hence, once moved into the Focus head, the complementizer ends up between Focus and Topic.

The order Topic Focus is anyway impossible, even if the complementizer is located between the two phrases, mimicking (10), as indicated by the ungrammaticality of i:

*E' Il libro che MARIA l'ha comprato (non Gianni)
 It is the book that MARIA bought it/CL

⁶ The supplementary hypothesis may be entertained that the relation between the copula and Focus may alternatively be realized through incorporation (instead of selection) of the copula into the (dominating) Focus head in the case of new information subject clefts. We do not develop this suggestion any further here, just noticing that it would be a plausible way to express (for new information Focus at least) the often observed fact that in languages which have a particle to mark the Focus, this may correspond to a form of grammaticalization of the copula.

no Force head on the basis of the conclusions just reached above, the complementizer *che* in Italian, which fills the Fin head solely expresses finiteness and is not the expression of any Force.

Consider now a cleft sentence in Japanese, as the one in (13) drawn again from Saito's article:

- (13) [CP Nimotu-ga todoita no]-wa Nagoya-kara da
 package-NOM arrived no-TOP N.-from is
 'It is from Nagoya that a package arrived'

As illustrated in Saito's right peripheral map in (2), *no* is the expression of Fin, the introducer of a (finite) proposition: *no* is the lowest head in the CP map (see also Hiraiwa & Ishihara (2002)). As (13) illustrates the introducer of the clausal predicate of a Japanese cleft is the complementizer *no*.

It can be concluded that Japanese thus provides overt evidence for the low location of the complementizer in the CP complement of the copula in clefts. Under Saito's analysis, *no* just introduces propositions and there is no Force expressed in clauses, which are solely introduced by *no*. This is exactly the conclusion reached in the proposed analysis of the complementizer of clefts, mainly based on Italian (and French) data and illustrated above with the complementizer *che* (and similarly with French *qui/que*, Belletti 2009, 2012).

3. The map of Focus in clefts and the selecting property of the copula: The availability and status of peripheral Focus

The following map of Focus positions is designed by the analysis assumed:

- (14) [ForceP ... [FocPcorr/contr **Foc** ... [FinP [TP [Foc/Pnewinfo **Foc** .. [vP *be* [CP/FocPcorr/contr **Foc** .. [FinP ..

The highest left peripheral Focus position in the matrix clause may be exploited in cases like (15), in which the clefted constituent is apparently moved from the clefted position:

- (15) a GIANNI è che Maria ha salutato –
 Gianni is that Maria has greeted –
 b Chi è che – ha parlato?
 who is it that – spoke
 c GIANNI è che – ha parlato
 Gianni is that – spoke

As I discuss elsewhere (Belletti 2013), this type of movement is made available by the preliminary occurrence of extraposition of the clausal FinP, a process generally occurring in clefts whose detailed motivation would take the discussion of the present article too far afield and for which the reader is addressed to the reference quoted.⁷ Once extraposition occurs, the whole Focus phrase moves to the

⁷ The idea that extraposition occurs in clefts is not new. Cfr. Hedberg (2000) for an overview of the variants of the proposal, dating back to the seventies, and reconsidered in the eighties and nineties and, a.o., Akmajan (1970), Emonds (1976), Smits (1989), Percus (1996), Reeve (2010). Rizzi (2010) for a first implementation of the operation in Italian and the conclusion that occurrence of extraposition in clefts makes the process compatible with Criterial Freezing (Rizzi (2006), Bošković (2007)).

highest left periphery, thus exploiting this highest Focus position of the map in (14).

Let us concentrate on the lower focus positions of the map in (14), the vP Peripheral one and then, in better detail, the left peripheral one in the small clause complement of the copula.

As for the vP peripheral focus position, this is a low new-info Focus position, which, by assumption, is made available by the verb phrase of any clause, and which in the case at issue happens to be realized by the copula. For instance, this new information focus position is exploited in a language like e.g. French to express a new information post-verbal subject in a way that is compatible with the non-null subject parametric status of the language (cfr. Belletti (2009) and further relevant references cited there on this point). Thus, French typically expresses a new information subject through the use of a new-information cleft. The low focus position is typically reserved to the new information focus interpretation.

What about the lower left peripheral Focus position in the CP complement of the copula? Let us now concentrate on it. This position is selected by the copula, as discussed in section 2. Thus, it can be concluded that such a left peripheral focus position is made available by the very presence of the copula and its selecting property. This in turn opens up the possibility that a language may exist which only expresses left peripheral focalization⁸ through use of a cleft sentence. Indeed, I would like to propose that one such language could be French. It is a well-known fact that French does not have any active left peripheral position in declarative (matrix and embedded) clauses. Thus, a sentence like (16)a is impossible in French, in minimal contrast with the perfect status of the equivalent structure in e.g. Italian, (16)b:

- (16) a *# (J'ai dit que) UN LIVRE , j'ai acheté (pas un disque)
(I have said that) A BOOK I bought (not a record)
- b (Ho detto che) UN LIBRO ho comprato (non un disco)
(I have said that) A BOOK I bought (not a record)

The precise characterization of the reason(s) why (16)a is impossible in French goes beyond the scope of the present notes. Let us take it at face value and assume that the unavailability of left peripheral focalization may be either due to the fact that the left peripheral focus position is not present in French as the CP-zone is reduced/truncated in this language or else that even if present it is left inactive. Be it as it may, we can speculate that the copula in clefts plays a crucial role in making the left peripheral focus position available and active. Thus, a cleft sentence becomes the way in which French can express left peripheral focalization. This explains the perfect status of a contrastive/corrective object cleft as the one in (17), in minimal contrast with the ungrammaticality of (16)a above:

⁸ Or right peripheral focalization, if the language is head final; see below on Japanese. Left peripheral focalizations is typically contrastive/corrective, but it needs not be; there may be a parametrization in the type of focalization expressed in the left periphery, depending on the language. On this see Cruschina (2010, 2012). Throughout I have used the terms corrective/contrastive focalization interchangeably, to characterize left peripheral focalization. On the subtle differences between the two types of focus interpretations – corrective or contrastive – see the recent discussion in Bianchi & Bocci (2011). For the sake of simplicity, I will not take this further distinction into consideration and continue to use the two terms interchangeably, keeping the qualification of Bianchi & Bocci's work in mind.

- (17) C'est UN LIVRE que j'ai acheté (pas un disque)
it is a book that I have bought (not a record)

The crucial role played by the copula in clefts in making left peripheral focalization available should in principle not be an isolated French strategy. If a language does not normally have left peripheral focalization - or right peripheral focalization, if the language is head final - but has the copula with its own peculiar selecting property, all other things being equal, this language should allow for left/right peripheral focalization through use of a cleft. Japanese may be another such language, similar to French in this respect, modulo the left-right location of the clause external periphery due to the head parameter.

According to Saito's map in (2) of the Japanese Right Periphery repeated in (18), this language lacks a right peripheral focus position in the CP space⁹:

- (18) [... [... [... [... TP Finite **no**] (Topic*)] Force **ka**] Report **to**]
Saito (2012)

Much as in the case of French just illustrated, it can be speculated that the selecting property of the copula in clefts has the effect of making a peripheral focus position also available in Japanese. The very existence and the interpretive properties of clefts in this language thus find a natural account¹⁰.

3.1. One interpretive constraint of left peripheral focus in clefts

As I have pointed out in previous work, the interpretation of the left peripheral Focus position selected by the copula is very close to the one of the left peripheral Focus position of a regular declarative clause in a language like Italian.¹¹ Both positions share some interpretive features such as e.g. correction/contrast, as discussed throughout these notes¹². One may then expect that the left peripheral focus position of declaratives and of clefts should be able to host the same types of constituents. However, this appears not to always be the case as there is a major distinction between the two forms of left peripheral focalization in terms of the constituents they can host. This is illustrated by the clear contrast in (19) in Italian, repeated from Belletti (2009, 2012):

- (19) a *Non è NESSUNO/è TUTTI che ho salutato
it is NOBODY/ALL that I greeted
b NESSUNO/TUTTI ho salutato
NOBODY/ALL I met greeted

⁹ As mentioned, Saito adheres to Heycock's (1994) conclusions in this respect. The reader is referred to Saito's (2012) article for detailed discussion of this aspect of the Japanese right periphery.

¹⁰ Whether the interpretation of Japanese clefts is only the typical peripheral one, i.e. corrective/contrastive – but see footnote 8 on the possible parametrization of this aspect of the interpretation – remains an open descriptive question at this stage of the analysis. Japanese could be exactly like French, hence admitting new information clefts only for subjects in the vP-periphery of the copula and object (and subject) corrective clefts in the selected right periphery of the copula. Alternatively, the Japanese right periphery selected by the copula may be more akin to the Sicilian left periphery as described by Cruschina (2012), hence also allowing for a (somewhat peculiar) new information left peripheral interpretation. These more subtle questions are opened up by the analysis developed in the text, and are left open to further future developments.

¹¹ Modulo the specific interpretive contribution due to presence of the copula.

¹² And possibly also other types of features such as the “mirative” feature discussed in Cruschina (2012).

Descriptively, it appears that a quantifier cannot undergo left peripheral focalization through a cleft whereas it can be focalized in the left periphery of a declarative. One could then stipulate that this is so since the left peripheral focus position selected by the copula has a non-quantificational status. Such non-quantificational status is confirmed cross-linguistically by French examples like the one in (20), recently discussed in this perspective by Lahousse (2012):

- (20) *C'est TOUT que je vais prendre
It is everything that I will take (Lahousse (2012))

However, one may want to go further in the attempt to find an explanation for the strong contrast in (19) which could go beyond its restatement through the descriptive statement above. The following lines are dedicated to an attempt to go further in the explanation of the contrast in (19)¹³.

Why should the left peripheral focus position of clefts appear to be “non-quantificational” in contrast with the analogous position in regular declaratives? One reason at the source of the contrast might be scope. The fundamental difference could not be the nature of the position *per se*, which should be the same and thus be able to host a quantifier in both cases, but rather its structural location, the crucial un-reducible difference between the two cases. Specifically, only in the CP space of regular clauses is the left peripheral Focus position also a scope position c-commanding the whole sentence; in cleft sentences the left peripheral Focus position in the complement of the copula is not in a similar scope position, as it is embedded under the copula. One could then assume that in order to have the quantifier in the required scope position, the operation QR (or its equivalent) should take place, moving the quantifier into an Operator position within the matrix CP. However, QR could not affect the quantifier located in the Focus position of the CP complement of the copula in clefts, due to the familiar Criterial Freezing constraint. According to this hypothesis, the strong ungrammaticality of (19)a is then a matter of interpretation; it derives from the fact that the quantifier is not located nor can end up in an adequate scope position, as it should. In sentences like (19)b (root or embedded) the same problem does not arise as the quantifier already fills a scope position, as noted; hence, there is no need for it to undergo QR. The quantifier does not need to leave the Focus position; consequently, no violation of Criterial Freezing is induced by the necessity to assure its interpretation. In conclusion, sentences like (19)b satisfy the general principle of Full Interpretation, whereas sentences like (19)a cannot do so. Whence, the feeling of a strong violation connected to (19)a, given the fundamental status of the principle whose violation is necessarily implicated in this case.

4. Conclusion

These notes have illustrated how the close resemblance of the Italian Left Periphery and the Japanese Right Periphery discussed in Saito (2012), is interestingly confirmed by cleft structures in the two languages. Specifically, following Saito’s insights, Japanese may be taken to provide interesting overt evidence for the low location of the complementizer in clefts as proposed in Belletti (2009, 2012): the complementizer realizes the Fin head in both languages, as overtly manifested by the presence in clefts of the Japanese low complementizer *no*. We have furthermore proposed that the selecting properties of

¹³ The main lines of the following proposal in the text have emerged during a discussion with Luigi Rizzi, whom I thank very much.

the copula in clefts may be at the source of the possibility of focalizing in the Left Periphery also in languages such as e.g. French, which does not normally allow left peripheral focalization. The speculation has also been put forth that, all things being equal, Japanese may be similar to French in this respect, thus allowing for right peripheral focalization to be realized in clefts.

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