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The focus map of clefts: Extraposition and Predication.

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1. Introduction.

The following lines are an attempt to illustrate the way in which the cartographic analysis for cleft sentences to be presented here can express in an explicit principled way the forms of focalization that clefts may realize, different in their informational content.

Before presenting the essential ingredients of the assumed analysis (Belletti 2009, 2012) and some new refinements to be developed here concerning in particular extraposition and predication in clefts, the main insights of the assumed cartographic proposal are highlighted in these introductory remarks. Although aspects of the proposal will most likely qualify for further refinements and modifications also to possibly incorporate new data, some main insights should be preserved in future developments or possible modifications. In my recollection the central ones can be summarized as follows:

- i. The assumed presence of two different Focus positions in the clausal map, a low vP peripheral one dedicated to host new information focus constituents, and a high left peripheral one dedicated to express corrective/contrastive focalization, is the explicit way in which the analysis is able to characterize the different discourse value that cleft sentences may realize.
- ii. The crucial role played by the copula in making available the two different focus positions: the one dedicated to new information focus in its own vP periphery, hence in the matrix clause which contains the copula, the corrective/contrastive one in the left periphery of the small clause sentential complement of the copula. Hence, the same word order, may express very different discourse values since it

higher Topic position as well. The left peripheral Focus position of the CP map is thus the highest head of the small clause complement of the copula; this distribution is directly connected to the selective properties of the copula, as the contrastive Focus head is selected by the copula, in corrective/contrastive clefts.

The small clause nature of the selected complement of the copula, correlates with the presence in the reduced CP of a position which I will label *Pred*, to make explicit the crucial fact that a predication relation is established within the small clause in clefts². In this respect, the small clause CP complement of clefts shares direct resemblance with the small clause complement of perception verbs in pseudo-relatives (Guasti 1993; Belletti 2012). All these considerations lead to the following design of the small clause complement of clefts illustrated in (2), where the copula is indicated with the general term of the English copula *be*, the complementizer introducing the sentential predicate with the general term of the Italian finite complementizer *che* (for clarity, the left peripheral Topic position below the Focus head is not indicated):

(2) *be* [_{ForceP} [_{TopP} [_{FocP} Foc [_{PredP} Pred ... [_{FinP} *che* [_{TP}]

² I consider this label more transparent than the one I used in previous work, i.e. *EPP-type*; it both makes the predication relation occurring in clefts and its relation with pseudo-relatives to be mentioned below clearer, and also does not enter into potential complex terminological and conceptual problems related to the possible extractability from this position, to be discussed momentarily in connection with (7)a.

Presence of a *Pred*-type head mediating the predication relation is a property of small clauses in general; see Den Dikken (2006) for the general analysis of small clauses in comparable terms. The small clause of clefts is a reduced CP, whose lowest head is the *Fin* head, hosting the complementizer, as in (2). Note that this implies that a left peripheral type Focus position is only possible in the complement of the copula when this complement is a reduced CP, thus ruling out in principle left peripheral type corrective/contrastive focalization in other types of small clause complements of the copula which are not reduced CPs.

2. Although clefts are a form of focalization (Chomsky 1977, Kiss 1998, Abels & Muringi 2005, Haegeman & Meinunger 2012, Den Dikken 2013 for recent discussion, among many others), there is, however, a crucial distinction between (at least) two types of focalization realized through a cleft (Belletti 2009, 2012 and references cited therein):

- Subject clefts can express focus of new information
- Object/ non-subject clefts can only express corrective/contrastive focus

The crucial data is illustrated by the fact that a Subject cleft can function as the answer to a question of new information, whereas an Object/non-subject cleft cannot, as in the following exchanges in French, a contrast supported by further cross-linguistic evidence³:

³ As in, e.g., the following contrast in Hebrew (Ur Shlonsky, p.c.):

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| i. Q. mi ba-delet?/who's at the door | Q. ma kanita?/ what did you buy? |
| A. (ze) ani /it's me | A. * (ze) sefer/ it's a book |

In Den Dikken (2013) a distinction between predicational and specificational it-clefts is proposed. The type of clefts considered here are of the specificational type, given this distinction.

In so-called semi-clefts, found in various Romance varieties, e.g. Portuguese, Brazilian Portuguese, and varieties of Spanish not including Iberian Spanish, of which ii. is an example from Portuguese:

- ii. o João comprou *foi* um livro / the João bought *was* a book

the object is the new information constituent. These sentences are amenable to a mono-clausal analysis, as also recently proposed by Resnes and Den Dikken (2012, and references cited therein). In the terms of the analysis developed here, the copula *foi* can be treated as a focus marker realizing the vP-peripheral focus head, entering in Agree relation with the object. This would account for why the new information object is focalized through presence of the copular marker. Further details need to be carefully worked out to adequately develop this suggestion, which essentially assimilates sentences like ii. to familiar cases involving a new information object (e.g. Italian: Gianni ha comprato un libro/John bought a book), modulo the overt or non-overt realization of the vP-peripheral focus head.

(3) Q: Qui (est-ce qui) a parlé?

who spoke

A: C'est Jean (qui a parlé)

it is Jean (that spoke)

(4) Q: Qu'est-ce-que t'as acheté

(/Qu'as-tu acheté)?

what have you bought

A (*)C'est un livre (que j'ai acheté)

it is a book (that I bought)

Q: Qui est-ce-que t'as rencontré

(/Qui as-tu rencontré)?

whom have you met

A (*) C'est Jean (que j'ai

rencontré)⁴

it is Jean (that I met)

An Object cleft is corrective/contrastive :

(5) a Context:

On m'a dit que hier t'as acheté un journal

The told me that yesterday you have bought a newspaper

b Correction :

No, c'est UN LIVRE que j'ai acheté

it is a book that I have bought

⁴ The notation (*) is meant to indicate that these sentences are of course well-formed, but not as new information clefts, answering a question of new information. They are possible as corrective/contrastive clefts, with the object filling the left peripheral focus position of the complement of the copula, as in (5b). In the same vein, a cleft-question like *C'est qui que tu as rencontré ___?* is a well formed question, with the object sitting in the relevant left peripheral position in the complement of the copula, much as the direct object of the examples in (4) in their well formed interpretation.

A Subject cleft, can also be corrective/contrastive in the appropriate context:

(6) a Context:

On m'a dit que Marie a parlé

They told me that Marie has spoken

b Correction :

No, c'est JEAN qui a parlé

No, it is JEAN that/who has spoken

Hence, Subject clefts have one interpretive option more⁵.

3. In cartographic terms the Focus position utilized is different in the two cases⁶:

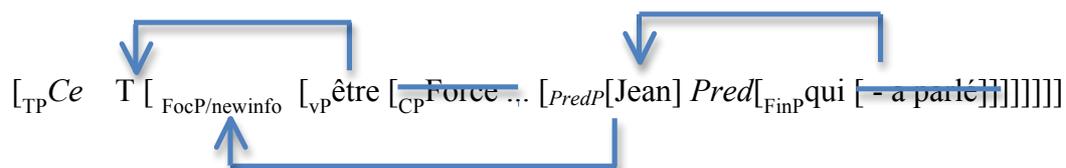
- *The vP-peripheral new information (low) Focus position is exploited in new information Subject clefts.*
- *The left-peripheral corrective/contrastive Focus position is exploited in Object/non-Subject clefts (and also in Subject clefts when they are interpreted/used correctively/ contrastively).*

⁵ Cases of long construal as in the French example *C'est Marie que J'ai vu qui ___ pleurait*, are impossible as new information subject clefts with the subject of the embedded clause in the vP peripheral focus position of the matrix clause containing the copula. As predicted by the proposed approach, the subject of the middle clause *Je* counts as an intervener in this sentence and the dependency between the clefted subject and the position from which movement has occurred cannot be properly established. Indeed, a sentence of this type cannot be the answer to a question of information such as *Qui as-tu-vu qui pleurait?*. See Belletti (2012), footnote 16 for explicit discussion of this point.

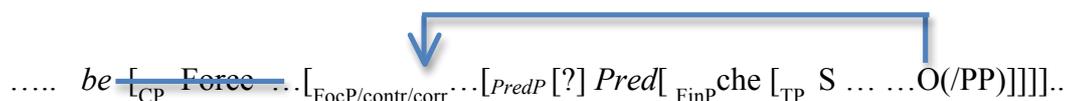
⁶ As mentioned, a characteristic interpretation of the left peripheral Focus is its corrective/contrastive value (in many languages; Cruschina (2006, 2011) on the possible cross-linguistic variation in this domain). See Bianchi & Bocci (2012) for a fine grained analysis of the different (also prosodically marked) focus interpretations and a better qualification of the notions contrast and correction, which I will not address here, despite its relevance in capturing finer distinctions.

Coherently with cartographic guidelines, in new information Subject clefts, illustrated here with French, the subject is interpreted in the same position as the new information post-verbal subject in a null-subject language like Italian (Belletti 2004 and related work; Cruschina 2011). The overall proposal is summarized in the schematic derivations in (7); in Object/non-Subject clefts the clefted constituent targets the left peripheral Focus position in the complement of the copula (as in 7b). Note that the subject S does not count as an intervener in (7)b, as it typically doesn't in object A'-dependencies; a discussion of what fills the Spec/Pred position in Object/non-Subject clefts is left open here (whence the question mark) and delayed until section 3.3.

(7) a Subject clefts, new information



b Object clefts, correction/contrast (and also corrective/contrastive Subject clefts)



4. Locality/Relativized Minimality (RM, Rizzi (1990, 2004)) accounts for the reason why only Subject clefts allow for an analysis as in (7)a which exploits vP-peripheral focalization in the matrix clause, which is in turn at the source of the interpretation of new information Subject clefts. The account is in terms of intervention, as illustrated in (8):

(8)



Movement of the object from its merge position within the FinP predicate into the *Spec/Pred* position in the CP-small clause would cross over the subject, giving rise to a straight violation of RM, under the assumption that both relevant positions - the subject and the *Spec/Pred* position – count as positions of the same type with regard to the principle.⁷ Thus, since the *Spec/Pred* position in CP cannot be targeted by the object, the object cannot move to the vP peripheral focus position in the matrix clause, and consequently a clefted object cannot be interpreted as the focus of new information.

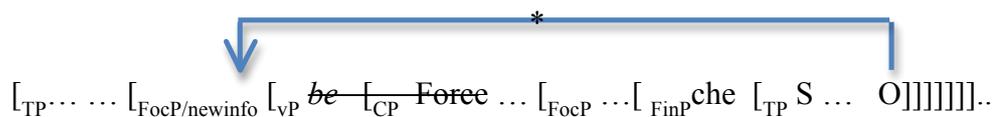
This is the reason why an object cleft cannot function as a possible answer to a pure question of information.

Furthermore, direct movement of the object into the matrix vP-peripheral Focus is also ruled out on locality grounds. The assumption here is that the subject position and the vP-peripheral Focus position are computed as positions of the same type by the RM/locality principle, hence the subject counts as an intervener in this case⁸:

(9)

⁷ Also expressible in terms of some version of the Minimal Link condition, Chomsky (2005).

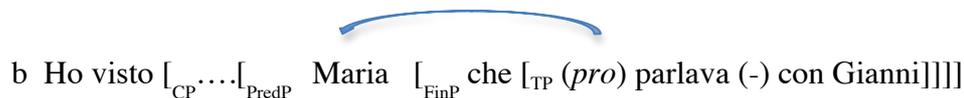
⁸ I assume that the vP-peripheral focus position and the subject position are positions of the same type as regards to the RM principle. One crucial property that they share is that of being positions in which agreement can be expressed, either through Agree (the low Focus position) or under the Spec-head relation (the subject position, SUBJ of Rizzi & Shlonsky 2007). Hence, they are both ϕ -related positions. Note that this makes the low Focus position akin in this respect to an A-type position. It is in this sense that it is a position of the same type as the subject position of the clause. For reasons of space, a more developed discussion of this issue and a more refined articulation of the proposal cannot be pursued here; it is the topic of further current investigation.



Hence, the analysis in (7)a in which the focalized constituent fills the specifier of the low vP-peripheral focus position may only concern Subject clefts. Object clefts correspond to the an analysis along the lines in (7)b. This has the desired consequence of deriving the possibly different discourse values associated to Subject and Object/non-Subject clefts, respectively, on principled grounds.

As mentioned, the shape of the CP small clause in clefts coincides with the CP of pseudo-relatives, as in the update of Guasti's (1993) analysis in (10)b for sentence (10)a.⁹ As illustrated by the well known ungrammaticality of sentences like (10)c, d, the subject of predication of a pseudo-relative can only be the subject of the pseudo-relative and cannot be the object or a prepositional complement. Exactly the same locality/RM reason discussed in connection with (8) or (9), accounts for this contrast.

- (10) a Ho visto Maria che parlava con Gianni
 I have seen Maria that spoke to Gianni



⁹ I assume that in (10)b the subject in CP is related to a silent *pro* in the subject position of the TP (originating from the vP-internal merge position). Nothing crucial hinges on this technical implementation of the analysis for the issues under discussion here.

c *Ho visto Maria che Gianni/i ragazzi salutava/salutavano ____

I have seen Maria that Gianni /the boys greeted

d *Ho visto con Gianni che Maria parlava ____

I have seen with Gianni that Maria spoke

3. The nature of the subject of clefts; The syntax of the CP/FinP predicate of clefts.

This section is devoted to a further refinement of the analysis just reviewed on the basis of considerations concerning the nature of the dummy subject and the syntax of the CP/FinP predicate of cleft sentences. The two points are addressed in the following subsections 3.1 and 3.2 separately.

3.1. The nature of the subject of clefts

The subject pronoun of clefts is not a well-behaved expletive. For instance, Kayne & Pollock (2009) have proposed that French *ce* is a kind of “neutral” article/pronoun (Pollock 1983 for a related proposal; Kayne 1983 for the idea that *ce* is more “argumental”). Moreover, languages often distinguish between the somewhat special dummy subject present in clefts and the “true” expletive:

French: *ce* vs *il*

Ce: more referential/argumental >> present in clefts

Dutch: *het* vs *er* (Bennis (1986))

Het: more referential/argumental >> present in clefts

West-Flemish: *het* & *dat* vs *er* (Grange & Haegeman (1989))

Het and *dat*: more referential/argumental >> both present in clefts:

T/da's van Valère dank da geuord oan

It/that is from Valère that I that heard had

Reeve (2011) has considered in this respect the German and Icelandic contrasts in (11), (12):

- (11) a Es regnete
 it rained
 a' Gestern regnete *(es).
 yesterday rained it
 b Es ist gut, dass du gekommen bist.
 it is good that you come are
 b' Natürlich ist (es) gut, dass du gekommen bist.
 of-course is it good that you come are
 c Es war DIESER WAGEN, den sie kaufen wollte.
 it was this car which she to buy wanted
 c' Gestern war *(es) DIESER WAGEN, den sie kaufen wollte.
 yesterday was it this car which she to buy wanted
- (12) a Það var JÓN sem ég hitti í bænum.
 it was Jón that I saw in the town
 a' Í gær var *(Það) JÓN sem ég hitti í bænum
 yesterday was it Jón that I saw in the town

Whereas real expletive *es* is optional under V2 in German, subject *es* of clefts remains obligatory, as argument and quasi-argument pronominal subjects. Similarly, the dummy subject of clefts remains obligatory in Icelandic, where not only expletives but also quasi-arguments are typically dropped in the post V2 subject position, in contrast to argumental pronominal subjects (Reeve (2011) who quotes Svenonius p.c. for these Icelandic data).

The crosslinguistic distributional evidence then convincingly indicates that the subject of clefts has a different status than a pure expletive. This calls for a revision and refinement of the analysis in (7)a (and previous quoted work), where *ce/(it)* was assumed without discussion to be directly merged in the EPP/subject position of cleft sentences, much as a (regular) expletive would.

3.2. *The syntax of the CP/FinP predicate of clefts*

A number of clear indications suggest that the CP/FinP predicate of clefts undergoes a process of *Extrapolation*. The proposal is not new, it has been made several times in the rich literature on clefts, in different ways and stressing different aspects (often semantic aspects), depending on whether the process was assumed to occur from the subject of the cleft sentence - to which I will refer to as *ce/it* henceforth - or from the clefted constituent, (Akmajan 1970, Emonds 1976, Smits 1989, Percus 1996, Den Dikken 2013, Reeve 2011; Hedberg 2000 for an overview of the variants of the proposal, dating back to the seventies, and reconsidered in the eighties and nineties).

The following cross-linguistic data from Italian, West Flemish, Dutch taken from previous literature and collected judgments overtly indicate that *Extrapolation* of the CP/FinP predicate is both possible and obligatory in clefts¹⁰.

¹⁰ I have proposed elsewhere (Belletti 2012) that the complementizer *che* moves into the focus head in clefts. If this movement occurs, this has the consequence that the chunk which is extraposed can be larger than FinP and include the whole structure below the focalized clefted constituent, including the complementizer. Consider in this respect i. which illustrates the occurrence of extraposition in structures in which a Topic is also present in a CLLD structure (following *che*, which fills the Focus head higher than Topic):

- i. E' MARIA, oggi, che il libro l'ha comprato
it is Maria that, today, the book it-CL has bought

Italian:

- (13) a E' Gianni che devo incontrare oggi
(it)is Gianni that I have to meet today
- b E' Gianni, oggi, che devo incontrare
(it) is Gianni, today, that I have to meet (Rizzi (2010, (75)-(77))
- c E' Gianni, oggi, che deve decidere sulla questione
(it) is Gianni, today, that must decide on the matter

West Flemish:

- (14) a Het is Valère niet geweest die dat gezegd heeft
it is Valère not been *die* that said has
- b *Het is Valère die dat gezegd heeft niet geweest
- c *Het is Valère niet die dat gezegd heeft geweest (L.Haegeman, p.c.)

The ungrammaticality of both (14) b and c indicates that, irrespective of the position of the negation, the clausal predicate cannot be left *in situ* in the cleft (here a Subject cleft), but

For the sake of simplicity, I will continue to assume that extraposition concerns FinP, but the above implication, induced by movement of the complementizer, should be kept in mind.

The conclusion based on the data in (13)-(15) to be reviewed in the text is that the process of extraposition is always obligatory in clefts, possibly for principled reasons (see section 3.3 for a first proposal); the fact that sometimes the process may not be visible in a language like Italian (as in example (13a)) but is always visible in languages such as West Flemish and Dutch, is due to independent differences between these languages on the one side (i.e. head parameter) and, internally to Italian, to possible different positions available to the temporal adverb *oggi* in the clause structure.

must be extraposed to a position which ends up following the clause final past participle of the copula.

Dutch:

(15) a De politie zegt dat het mijn broer was die Marie op heterdaad betrapte
the police says that it my brother was who caught Marie red-handed

b * De politie zegt dat het mijn broer die Marie op heterdaad betrapte was

Smits (1989: 206)

c dat het zijn zoon <*die zojuist belde> was <√ die zojuist belde>

that it his son <who just called> was <who just called>

(Den Dikken 2013)

The verb is not in the final position in the embedded clefts in (15)b, c as it would normally be.

3.2.1. *Extrapositing CP/FinP and focalizing the remnant*

The occurrence of extraposition of the CP/FinP in clefts directly accounts for the apparent possibility of extraction of the clefted constituent, illustrated by (16) in Italian¹¹:

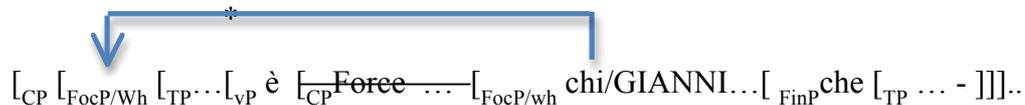
(16) a Chi è che Maria ha salutato – ?
Who is that Maria has greeted –

¹¹ Where (16)a and c represent a fairly normal (informal) way of asking a wh-question in standard Italian and in many varieties of Italian it is the usual/only way; (16)b and d require a special (strongly) corrective pragmatic contexts.

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

The possibility of the sentences in (16) is problematic at first sight; specifically, the derivation of (16) cannot proceed as in (17) with the moved phrase originating in the Spec/Foc/wh of the CP complement of the copula, as such derivation is banned by any version of Criterial Freezing (Rizzi 2006, Bošković 2008):

(17)



Rizzi (2010) has addressed this question making the proposal that in cases like (16) movement to the matrix left periphery does not directly affect the constituent within the Focus Phrase in the CP complement of the copula, as in (17). Instead, movement targets a larger constituent corresponding to the whole FocP. This movement is considered compatible with the freezing principle, under the appropriate formulation (Rizzi's 2006, 2010 for detailed discussion).

Notice that, in order for this movement to be possible, however, it must be assumed that first the clausal predicate is extraposed, and then the whole remnant phrase containing the Focus

Phrase, is moved to the relevant position into the matrix CP. The relevant steps of the assumed derivation are illustrated in (18):

(18)

$$[_{CP} [_{FocP/Wh} [_{TP} \dots [_{vP} \text{è} [_{FocP} \text{chi/GIANNI} \dots [_{FinP} \text{che} [_{TP} \text{S} \dots -]]]]]]$$

- Extraposition of clausal predicate FinP

$$[_{CP} [_{FocP/Wh} [_{TP} \dots [_{vP} \text{è} [_{FocP} \text{chi/GIANNI} \dots \langle \text{FinP} \rangle] [_{FinP} \text{che} [_{TP} \text{S} \dots -]]]]$$

- Movement of the remnant:

$$[_{CP} [_{FocP/Wh} [_{FocP} \text{chi/GIANNI} \dots \langle \text{FinP} \rangle] [_{TP} \dots [_{vP} \text{è} \langle \text{FocP} \rangle] [_{FinP} \text{che} [_{TP} \text{S} \dots -]]]]$$

Since there is independent crosslinguistic evidence that extraposition occurs in clefts, the second step of the derivation in (18) is not a special device. The very possibility of sentences like those in (16) can in fact count as further evidence for the occurrence of extraposition in clefts.¹²

3.3. *Ce, Predication, Extraposition*

Let us take the conclusions in 3.1 and 3.2. as further elements of background.

¹² For the sake of clarity, the derivation is illustrated with extraposition and subsequent movement of the remnant occurring from the left periphery of the complement of the copula. Nothing in principle rules out the possibility that extraposition may also occur in subject clefts in which the subject is focalized in the vP peripheral focus position. It is hard to distinguish the possible interpretive differences in cleft questions containing the subject as in e.g. the French: *Qui c'est qu'a dit ça?*

according to whether remnant movement of the Focus Phrase has occurred either from the left peripheral position in the complement of the copula or from the position in the vP periphery of the copula. An interesting subtle question which deserves further attention and which is left open. Computationally, the operation should be possible, with the whole CP small clause complement of the copula extraposed. Thanks to a reviewer for this subtle remark.

We have assumed that, although (possibly) different in the type of focalization that they express, a crucial aspect of the overall interpretation of Subject and Object/non-Subject clefts is shared by both. In particular in both the CP/FinP expresses a predication relation. Hence, in both cases, the complement of the copula is a CP small clause in a classical sense (Stowell (1983)).

This has been made explicit through the idea that in both Subject and Object/non-Subject clefts the reduced CP complement of the copula contains a *Pred* position, as in the schematic representation in (19):

$$(19) \quad [_{TP} \dots \dots [_{FocP/new\ info} [_{vP} \textit{be} [_{CP/FocPcorr/contr} \dots \textit{Pred} \dots [_{FinP} \textit{che} [_{TP} \textit{S} \dots \textit{O}]]]]]$$

Based on the conclusions reached in 3.1 on the nature of the dummy subject of clefts, assume now that *ce/it* is not directly merged in the matrix subject position, as a real expletive would, but it is instead merged within the CP-small clause (cfr. Moro (1997) for related similar idea to be reconsidered below). More specifically, the following proposal can be made:

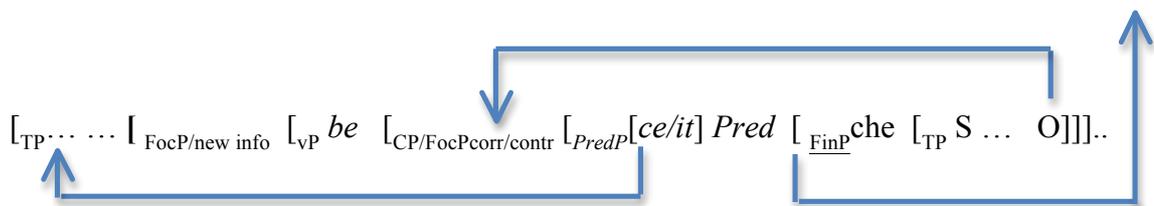
Proposal: *ce/it* is merged in the *Spec-PredP* position of the reduced CP of clefts.

If this idea is adopted, it has the consequence that *ce/it* should leave the *Spec-PredP* position within the CP small clause and move into the subject position in the matrix clause, where it is pronounced. Let us first consider what the relevant steps for the computation of corrective/contrastive Object (and corrective/contrastive Subject) clefts would be, given the newly adopted assumption on *ce/it*. They are given in 1 for a corrective/contrastive Object cleft; the derivation is illustrated in (20). In points iii. and v. a suggestion is also made on the possible reason for the occurrence of the assumed steps:

1. Object (and Subject) corrective/contrastive clefts:

- i. The quasi argument *ce/it* is merged in the *Spec-PredP* position in CP
- ii. O (/S) moves into the corrective/contrastive Focus position in CP
- iii. *ce/it* moves into the matrix clause subject position to satisfy the Subject Criterion (Rizzi & Shlonsky 2007)
- iv. The clausal predicate FinP is extraposed to a higher position in the clause
- v. Extraposition is the way in which the FinP and *ce/it* are kept in the required local configuration after movement of *ce/it* has occurred
- vi. (The remnant FocP may undergo further movement, for question formation or focalization, if needed)

(20)



Let us postpone some comments on the motivations proposed for step v concerning the extraposition of the FinP. The following potential problem should be addressed first: if the quasi argument *ce/it* is merged in the *Spec-PredP* position in CP, in new information Subject clefts the subject could not move directly from the embedded TP into the new info-Focus position in the vP periphery of the copula in the matrix clause. Locality/RM would now rule out this possibility, due to intervention of *ce/it*. The assumed analysis of new information (Subject) clefts should then be amended in such a way that the new locality/RM problem does not arise, so that one main insight of the analysis of new-information Subject clefts discussed in 2/(7a) be preserved. Consider the proposal in the schematic derivation in 2 (illustrating with French *ce*, assuming the basic insights to be extensible to *it* and, more generally, to the “dummy” subjects of cleft sentences). The crucial amendment is point ii;

point iii indicates the coherence of the proposal with Kayne & Pollock (2009) analysis of *ce*, which inspires the present account. All other points (i.e.: vi-ix) are exactly the same as in the previous derivation in (20)

2. New information Subject clefts:

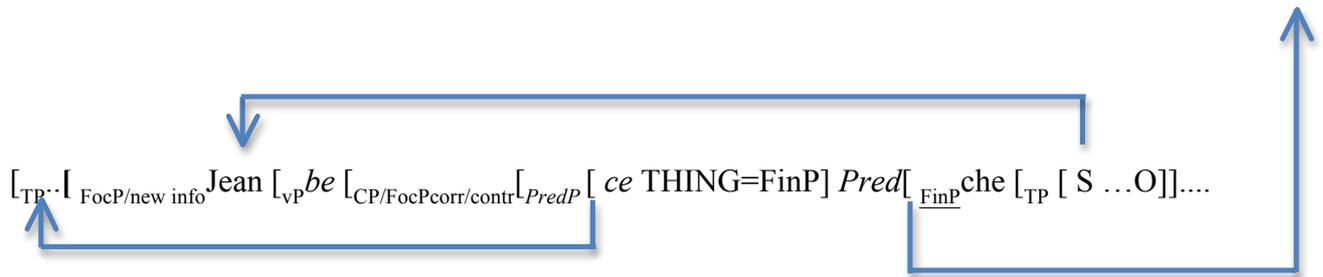
- i. A DP containing the neutral article *ce* is directly merged in the *Spec-PredP* position of the reduced CP of clefts
- ii. The DP headed by *ce* is not bear but contains a silent functional head noun THING, following Kayne & Pollock's (2009) proposal
- iii. As required in Kayne & Pollock's (2009) proposal, the DP *ce* -THING is modified by the following clausal predicate (of the cleft); this is a general requirement for *ce*, as illustrated by the following contrasts from Kayne & Pollock's article:
 - a. *Ce* THING *que tu dis* plait a Jean
 - b. *Ce* THING *la* plait a Jean
 - c. **Ce* plait t à Jean
- iv. The silent functional noun THING is in local relation with FinP, through the Pred head, and it is identified with it
- v. S moves into the new information Focus position in vP periphery of the matrix clause. No intervention is produced, due to the identification of THING with the FinP¹³

¹³ The idea is that the identification of the silent noun THING with the FinP has the representational consequence that the extraction site of the subject is virtually widened through the identification relation; essentially, the DP headed by THING corresponds to the FinP itself, and this is why it is not seen as an intervener in the movement of the subject into the vP peripheral Spec-Focus position.

I propose that the type of identification relation that is established between the silent noun THING and the predicate FinP is the same type of relation that is overtly realized with nouns like “fact” and its related sentential complement, i.e. *The fact that Mary loves John*.... Also with nouns like “fact” the local relation with the sentential complement may be considered mediated by a Pred type head, in the spirit of the similar idea in

- vi. The DP headed by *ce* moves into the matrix clause subject position to satisfy the Subject Criterion (Rizzi & Shlonsky (2007))
- vii. The clausal predicate FinP is extraposed to a higher position in the clause.
- viii. Extraposition is the way in which the FinP and *ce/it* are kept in the required local configuration after movement of *ce/it* has occurred
- ix. (The remnant FocP (new info) may undergo further movement, for question formation or focalization, if needed)

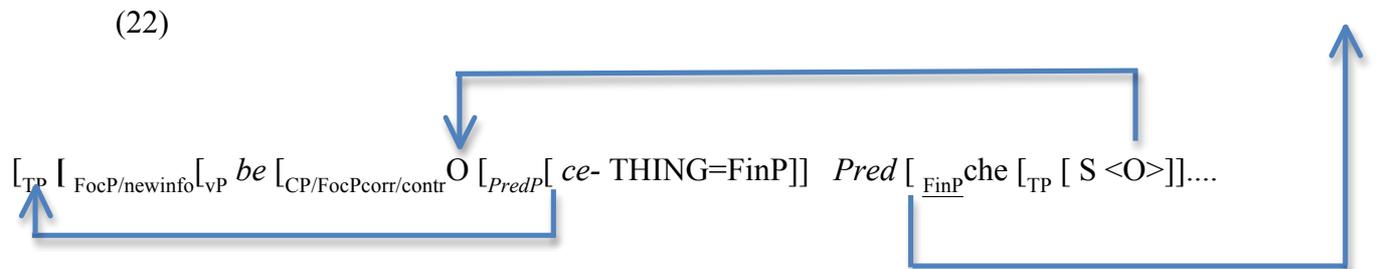
(21)



A natural further amendment is necessary in the proposal in (20). There is in principle no reason to distinguish the nature of the dummy subject in Subject and Object/non-Subject clefts in the way resulting from (20) and (21). If it combines with the functional silent noun THING in one case, as in (21), it should do so in all relevant cases; thus, also in (20). This implies some revision of the steps identified in (20). In (22) the revised proposal is formulated which assumes that the silent functional noun THING is present also in case 1, in Object (and Subject) corrective/contrastive clefts. Assume that the silent noun THING is

Stowell (1981). The same relation may hold between a silent noun FACT in the CP complement of factive verbs (Kiparsky & Kiparsky 1970) and the related FinP. Hence, this type of local relation and identification is not isolated and limited to the cleft case we are discussing in this work. This proposal is under current further elaboration.

identified in the same way as in (21); nothing changes in the assumed steps of the derivation of corrective/contrastive object clefts, once this assumption is made: the object then moves into the left peripheral corrective/contrastive Focus position in the complement of the copula. The crucial steps in the derivation are illustrated in the schema in (22):



The proposal in (21) and (22) has two main features which are worth giving some prominence to here:

- While maintaining the crucial distinction in the different focalization possibilities between Subject and Object/non-Subject clefts assumed at the outset and section 2, it provides a unified analysis of their structure: they both involve the same type of CP small clause containing a *Pred* position, and in both the same quasi-argument – the neutral article/pronoun *ce/it* combined with the functional noun *THING* – is merged in this position.
- It makes an attempt to express the nature of the (quasi) argumental subject *ce/it* as a subject of predication, and at the same time to relate it to the obligatoriness of the extraposition process in clefts. This is done through the idea that there is a local relation of identification between *ce THING* and the sentential predicate. This relation should be kept local also after movement of *ce/it* into the matrix subject position. Hence, once *ce/it* moves to the matrix Subject position to satisfy the Subject criterion of the matrix clause, the sentential predicate must extrapose to a

higher position in the clause, in order to remain in the relevant local relation with the dummy subject.¹⁴

4. Final remarks

In the analysis developed in 3.3, *ce/it* originates inside the small clause complement of the copula. This aspect of the analysis shares some similarity with Moro's (1997) proposal according to which *ce* is treated as the predicate of the small clause complement of the copula, raised to the subject position (as in e.g. C'est [Jean <ce>]) in specificational copular sentences; this idea is also shared with Den Dikken's recent extension of the same proposal to specificational *it*-clefts. There is, however, an important difference between Moro's type approach and the one developed here. In the proposed analysis the status of *ce/it* is in fact intermediate: *ce/it* is part of the predicate of the clefted constituent; and it is the constituent

¹⁴ The local relation which must hold between *ce-THING* and the FinP is mediated by Pred, by assumption. In this sense it recalls the predication relation of Williams (1980), which required mutual c-command between the predicate and the subject of predication. Once the phrase headed by *ce/it* moves into the subject position of the matrix clause it would still c-command the FinP clausal predicate, but the latter would be too low in the structure. Whence, obligatory extraposition occurs moving the FinP to a higher position. The idea shares some similarity with the approach to extraposition (from NP and from result clauses) originally due to Guéron & May (1984).

I leave open to future research the elaboration of a precise hypothesis on the landing site of the extraposed clausal predicate. It can just be noted that, the process does not bleed condition C, as indicated by the Object cleft in i. in Italian:

- i. E' [GIANNI]_j [che [pro]_i ha incontrato <Gianni>]]]
(It) is Gianni that pro/he has met

In terms of Fox and Nissenbaum (1999) and Lebeaux (1988) approach to argument vs adjunct extraposition (from NP), in which the latter is later merged and bleeds condition C, the assumed clausal predicate extraposition looks closer to the former. This is coherent with the approach proposed, as the FinP predicate is crucially merged as the predicate of the small clause CP complement of the copula in clefts and cannot be merged later, directly in the extraposed position.

in *Spec-PredP*, for which the FinP clause counts as the predicate. Thus, the nature of *ce/it* as a predicate is partly preserved and partly abandoned in favor of the idea that *ce/it* ultimately counts the quasi-argumental subject of predication.

The FinP predicate in turn is at the same time in relation with *ce/it* and with the clefted constituent. Analyses of clefts have characteristically been oscillating between the idea that the (extraposed) clausal predicate is in relation either with the clefted focalized constituent or with the (dummy) subject of the cleft, and, accordingly, between the idea that extraposition of the clausal predicate should occur either from the dummy subject or from the clefted focalized argument. In a sense it can be claimed that both aspects are expressed by the cartographic proposal developed here. The proposed derivation ends up expressing in fact a double identification: of *ce-THING* with the FinP (mediated by *Pred*) and of *ce-THING* with the clefted constituent, resulting from clefting (i.e.: *Ce-THING est = Marie & ce-THING = que Jean aime <Marie>*). This fine grained property of the proposed analysis, allowed under cartographic assumptions, may thus be considered among its insights as it is able to explicitly express the articulated way in which the cleft sentences considered realize different informational contents while ultimately implementing the same type of predication relation.

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Abstract

A cartographic analysis for new information subject clefts and corrective/contrastive object/non-subject clefts is presented which expresses in a principled way based on locality/Relativized Minimality the different forms of focalization that clefts may realize. It is furthermore proposed that a local relation is established with the dummy quasi-argument subject of clefts and the predicate FinP clause in the CP small clause complement of the copula, which is ultimately at the origin of the process of extraposition occurring in clefts. The process is often assumed in previous and recent literature and is systematically visible cross-linguistically. Interpretive and syntactic properties of the structures investigated follow from the cartographic approach implemented.

Key words: New-information Focus clefts, Corrective/Contrastive Focus clefts, Intervention, Predication, Extraposition.
