

# Beyond Functional Sequence |

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Volume 10 |

Edited by  
Ur Shlonsky

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# The Focus Map of Clefts: Extraposition and Predication

ADRIANA BELLETTI

## 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 is 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 because it can correspond to very different structures and related computations due to the presence of the copula, the fundamental atom of clefts.



direct resemblance with the small clause complement of perception verbs in pseudorelatives (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* [<sub>ForceP</sub> ..... [<sub>TopP</sub> [<sub>ForceP</sub> Foc [<sub>PredP</sub> Pred ... [<sub>FinP</sub> *che* [<sub>TP</sub> .....]

2. Although clefts are a form of focalization (see Chomsky 1977; Kiss 1998; Abels and Muringi 2005; Haegeman and 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 evidence:<sup>3</sup>

- (3) Q: Qui (est-ce qui) a parlé?  
       who spoke  
       A: C'est Jean (qui a parlé)  
       it is Jean (that spoke)

---

and conceptual problems related to the possible extractability from this position, to be discussed 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 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 that are not reduced CPs.

<sup>3</sup> As in, for example, 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.

- (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)<sup>4</sup>  
 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  
 They 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

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

---

In so-called semiclefts, found in various Romance varieties, for example, 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.

<sup>4</sup> 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 (i.e. (5b)).



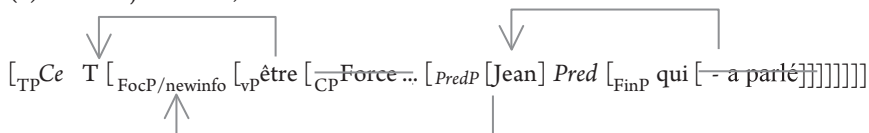
Hence, Subject clefts have one interpretive option more.<sup>5</sup>

3. In cartographic terms the Focus position utilized is different in the two cases:<sup>6</sup>

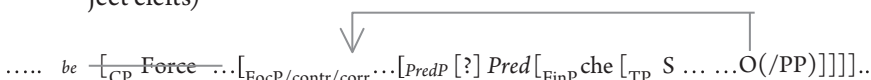
- The *vP-peripheral new information (low) Focus position is exploited in new information Subject clefts.*
- *The left-peripheral corrective/contrastive Focus position is exploited in Object/non-Subject clefts (and also in Subject clefts when they are interpreted/used correctively/contrastively).*

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 postverbal subject in a null-subject language like Italian (Belletti 2004 and related work; Cruschina 2011). The overall proposal is summarized in the schematic derivation in (7a); 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)

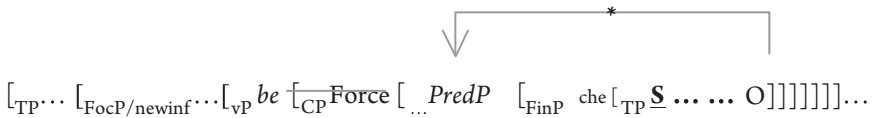


<sup>5</sup> Cases of long construal as in the French example *C'est Marie que j'ai vu qui \_\_ pleurait*, are impossible as new information subject clefts with the subject of the embedded clause in the vP peripheral focus position of the matrix clause containing the copula. As predicted by the proposed 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.

<sup>6</sup> 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 and 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.

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)

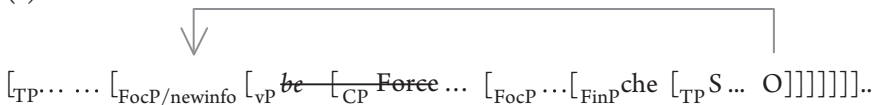


Movement of the object from its merge position within the FinP predicate into the *Spec/Pred* position in the CP-small clause would cross over the subject, giving rise to a straight violation of RM, under the assumption that both relevant positions—the subject and the *Spec/Pred* position—count as positions of the same type with regard to the principle.<sup>7</sup> Thus, because 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 case:<sup>8</sup>

(9)




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

<sup>8</sup> I assume that the vP-peripheral focus position and the subject position are positions of the same type as regard 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 and Shlonsky 2007). Hence, they are both  $\phi$ -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 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 pseudorelatives, as in the update of Guasti's (1993) analysis in (10)b for sentence (10)a.<sup>9</sup> As illustrated by the well-known ungrammaticality of sentences like (10)c, d, the subject of predication of a pseudorelative can only be the subject of the pseudorelative 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
- b Ho visto [<sub>CP</sub>...[<sub>PreDP</sub> Maria [<sub>FinP</sub>che [<sub>TP</sub> (*pro*) parlava (-) con Gianni]]]]
- 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 and 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

<sup>9</sup> 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.

more “argumental”). Moreover, languages often distinguish between the somewhat special dummy subject present in clefts and the “true” expletive:

- French: *ce* versus *il*  
*Ce*: more referential/argumental >> present in clefts
- Dutch: *het* versus *er* (Bennis 1986)  
*Het*: more referential/argumental >> present in clefts
- West-Flemish: *het* and *dat* versus *er* (Grange and 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' *I' 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 (11b'), subject *es* of clefts remains obligatory (11c'), as argument and quasiargument pronominal subjects (11a'). Similarly, the dummy subject of clefts remains obligatory in Icelandic (12a'), where not only expletives but also quasiarguments are typically dropped in the post V2 subject position, in contrast to argumental pronominal subjects (see Reeve 2011 who quotes Svenonius personal communication for these Icelandic data).

The cross-linguistic 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 (see Akmajan 1970; Emonds 1976; Smits 1989; Percus 1996; Hedberg 2000; Reeve 2011; and Den Dikken 2013 for an overview of the variants of the proposal, dating back to the seventies, and re-considered in the eighties and nineties).

The following cross-linguistic data from Italian, West Flemish, and Dutch taken from previous literature and collected judgments overtly indicate that *Extrapolation* of the CP/FinP predicate is both possible and obligatory in clefts.<sup>10</sup>

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

<sup>10</sup> 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 that 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

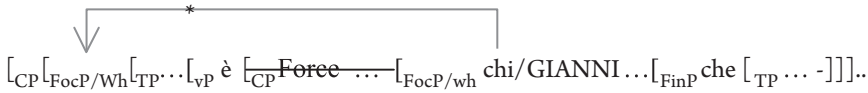
For the sake of simplicity, I will continue to assume that extraposition concerns FinP, but the preceding implication, induced by movement of the complementizer, should be kept in mind.

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.



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 SpecC/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 and has made 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 (see Rizzi 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)

[<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>FocP/Wh</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> ... [<sub>vP</sub> è [<sub>FocP</sub> chi/GIANNI ... [<sub>FinP</sub> che [<sub>TP</sub> S ... - ]]]]

- Extraposition of clausal predicate FinP

[<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>FocP/Wh</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> ... [<sub>vP</sub> è [<sub>FocP</sub> chi/GIANNI ... <FinP> ] [<sub>FinP</sub> che [<sub>TP</sub> S ... - ]]

- Movement of the remnant:

[<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>FocP/Wh</sub> [<sub>FocP</sub> chi/GIANNI ... <FinP> ] [<sub>TP</sub> ... [<sub>vP</sub> è <FocP> ] [<sub>FinP</sub> che [<sub>TP</sub> S ... - ]]

Because there is independent cross-linguistic 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.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> 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, for example, 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 that deserves further attention and that 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.

## 3.3 CE, PREDICATION, EXTRAPOSITION

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

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):

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

Based on the conclusions reached in 3.1 on the nature of the dummy subject of clefts as a quasi-argument, 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 a 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 below 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:

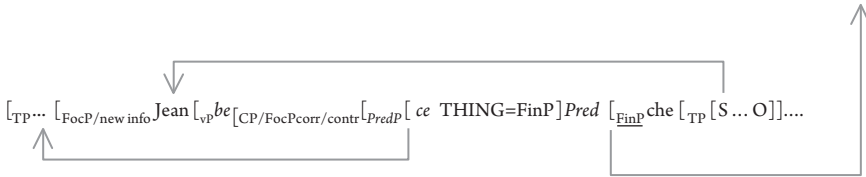
- i. The quasi argument *ce/it* is merged in the *Spec-PredP* position in CP
- ii. O (/S) moves into the corrective/contrastive Focus position in CP
- iii. *ce/it* moves into the matrix clause subject position to satisfy the Subject Criterion (Rizzi and Shlonsky 2007)
- iv. The clausal predicate FinP 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)





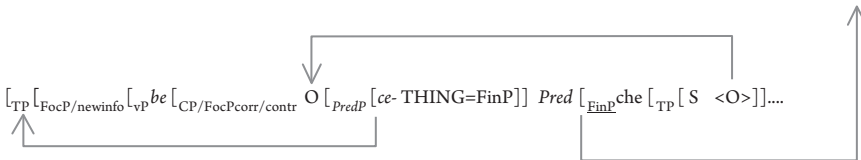
- vi. The DP headed by *ce* moves into the matrix clause subject position to satisfy the Subject Criterion (Rizzi and Shlonsky 2007)
- vii. The clausal predicate FinP is extraposed to a higher position in the clause.
- viii. Extraposition is the way in which the FinP and *ce/it* are kept in the required 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 that assumes 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 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):

(22)



identification relation; essentially, the DP headed by THING corresponds to the FinP, 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

The proposal in (21) and (22) has two main features that 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 the *Spec* of 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.<sup>14</sup>

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like “fact” and its related sentential complement, that is, *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 Stowell (1981). The same relation may hold between a silent noun *FACT* in the CP complement of factive verbs (Kiparsky and 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.

<sup>14</sup> The local relation that 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 and 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]<sub>i</sub> [che [pro<sub>i</sub> ha incontrato <Gianni>]] ]  
 (It) is Gianni<sub>i</sub> that pro/he has met

In terms of Fox and Nissenbaum (1999) and Lebeaux (1988) approach to argument versus 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.

## 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 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* and *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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