

**A CONSPIRACY THEORY FOR CLEFTS: THE
SYNTAX AND
INTERPRETATION OF CLEFT CONSTRUCTIONS**

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Declaro que esta tese é o resultado da minha investigação pessoal e independente. O seu conteúdo é original e todas as fontes consultadas estão devidamente mencionadas no texto, nas notas e na bibliografia.

O candidato,

Lisboa, de de

Declaro que esta tese se encontra em condições de ser apreciado pelo júri a designar.

As orientadoras,

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**A CONSPIRACY THEORY FOR CLEFTS: THE SYNTAX AND
INTERPRETATION OF CLEFT CONSTRUCTIONS**

ALEKSANDRA MYREINE WILHELMINA VERCAUTEREN

The strangeness of words
How the meaning keeps changing
But somehow the beauty will find you
(The forest awakes – St. Vincent)

RESUMO

PALAVRAS CHAVE: clivadas, interface sintaxe-discurso, Português Europeu

O objetivo final deste estudo é contribuir para a discussão sobre qual a medida em que conceitos semânticos e discursivos estão sintaticamente codificados. Mais especificamente, investiga-se se existe alguma correlação consistente entre alguns aspetos interpretativos e sintáticos de quatro construções clivadas do Português Europeu, e como se deve dar conta teoricamente destas potenciais correlações. As clivadas consideradas são as clivadas canónicas, as pseudoclivadas, as clivadas de *é que* e as clivadas de SER. Sintaticamente podemos distinguir dois tipos: clivadas bioracionais (canónicas e pseudoclivadas) e clivadas mono-oracionais (clivadas de *é que* e de SER). Todas as estruturas têm um constituinte clivado focalizado que pode constituir tanto um foco informacional como um foco contrastivo, e uma oração clivada que introduz uma pressuposição existencial. Adicionalmente, o constituinte clivado identifica exhaustivamente uma posição vazia na oração clivada.

Adota-se a semântica alternativa para o foco (Rooth 1985), segundo a qual o foco entoacional contribui uniformemente um conjunto de alternativas na Forma Lógica. Regras pragmáticas operando neste conjunto dão origem a duas implicaturas que podem ser suspensas: pressuposição existencial e exhaustividade. Dado que as clivadas de *é que* e as de SER têm a mesma interpretação que orações não-clivadas, conclui-se que a sua estrutura sintática particular não contribui para estas propriedades interpretativas. Em contrapartida, as clivadas bioracionais, que são orações copulativas especificacionais, têm uma pressuposição existencial e uma interpretação exhaustiva que não pode ser suspensa, tal como as orações especificacionais não-clivadas. Argumenta-se que isto se deve ao facto de o constituinte clivado identificar uma variável introduzida por uma descrição definida. Demonstra-se que a oração clivada, uma relativa em posição de complemento de um determinador definido nas clivadas canónicas e uma relativa livre nas pseudoclivadas, tem a mesma denotação que um DP definido, e portanto tem uma pressuposição existencial inerente. A interpretação exhaustiva deve-se à relação identificacional entre o constituinte clivado e a descrição definida.

Além disso, defende-se que em Português Europeu um traço de foco não desencadeia movimento-A' para um FocP especializado. Os constituintes focalizados movem-se antes por razões independentes do foco. Isto é confirmado pelo facto de apenas o constituinte clivado

das clivadas de *é que* ter propriedades de movimento A', os outros parecem estar *in situ*. Propõe-se que o constituinte clivado das clivadas de *é que* é um tópico com um traço de foco que se move para um TopP. Esta análise dá conta da existência de restrições discursivas semelhantes para tópicos não focalizados e para o constituinte clivado das clivadas de *é que*. O traço quantificacional de foco arrastado pela topicalização dá origem a efeitos de intervenção, causando a não-recursividade do foco na periferia esquerda e a sua incompatibilidade com movimento de outros constituintes com traços quantificacionais. A análise prediz as restrições de encaixe observadas para as clivadas de *é que*. Finalmente, desenvolve-se uma análise sintática das clivadas de SER que aproxima estas estruturas das estruturas com partículas de foco. Propõe-se que a cópula é um operador sensível ao foco que é *merged* juntamente com o constituinte clivado. As restrições distribucionais da cópula devem-se a requisitos seletivos de núcleos.

SAMENVATTING

KEYWORDS: gekloofde structure, syntax-discours interface, Europees Portugees

Het hoofddoel van deze thesis is bij te dragen tot de discussie in welke mate semantische en *discourse* gerelateerde concepten relevant zijn voor de syntaxis. Meer bepaald wordt er onderzocht of er consistente correlaties zijn tussen de interpretatieve en syntactische eigenschappen van vier Europees Portugeese gekloofde (cleft) structuren, en hoe deze potentiële correlaties theoretisch dienen te worden verklaard. De gekloofde structuren die bestudeerd worden zijn *it*-clefts, pseudoclefts, *é que*-clefts en SER-clefts. Op syntactisch vlak kan er een onderscheid worden gemaakt tussen gekloofde structuren die samengestelde zinnen zijn (*it*-clefts en pseudoclefts), en gekloofde structuren die enkelvoudige zinnen zijn (*é que*-clefts en SER-clefts). Alle gekloofde structuren hebben enerzijds een gefocaliseerd gekloofd zinsdeel dat zowel een informatiefocus als een contrastieve focus kan uitdrukken, en anderzijds een existentiële presuppositie. Bovendien identificeert het gekloofde zinsdeel een open positie in de presuppositie op exhaustieve wijze.

Als verklaringsmodel voor focus wordt de alternatievensemantiek van Rooth (1985) aangenomen. Volgens deze semantiek zorgt intonationale focus altijd voor een set van alternatieven op het niveau van de interpretatie, ook Logische Vorm (LF) genoemd. Pragmatische regels die op deze set inwerken zorgen ervoor dat er twee implicaturen ontstaan die geannuleerd kunnen worden: een existentiële presuppositie en exhaustiviteit. Aangezien zowel *é que*-clefts als SER-clefts dezelfde interpretatie hebben als niet-gekloofde zinnen met intonationale focus wat betreft existentiële presuppositie en exhaustiviteit, kom ik tot het besluit dat hun specifieke syntactische structuur niet bijdraagt tot deze aspecten van de interpretatie. De complexe gekloofde structuren aan de andere kant, waarvoor geargumenteed wordt dat ze specificationele zinnen zijn, hebben een niet-annuleerbare existentiële presuppositie en exhaustieve interpretatie, net zoals niet-gekloofde specificationele zinnen. Dit komt doordat het gekloofde zinsdeel in deze structuren een variabele identificeert die geïntroduceerd wordt door een *definite description*. In *it*-clefts is de bijzin die de presuppositie introduceert een relatiefzin die het complement is van een bepaalde determinator; in pseudoclefts is de bijzin een vrije relatiefzin. Ik toon aan dat de ondergeschikte zin in beide gekloofde structuren dezelfde semantische denotatie hebben als bepaalde nominale constituenten, die inherent presuppositioneel zijn. De sterk exhaustieve

interpretatie ontstaat door de identificatieve relatie tussen de gekloofde constituent en de *definite description*.

Verder wordt er geargumenteed dat focus geen A'-verplaatsing naar een gespecialiseerde FocP veroorzaakt in het Europees Portugees: wanneer een gefocaliseerd zinsdeel verplaatst, gebeurt dit omwille van factoren die onafhankelijk zijn van focus. Dit wordt bevestigd door het feit dat enkel het gekloofde zinsdeel van *é que*-clefts eigenschappen heeft van A'-verplaatsing, de gekloofde constituenten van de andere gekloofde structuren zijn *in situ*. Daarom stel ik voor dat het gekloofde zinsdeel van *é que*-clefts een topic is met een focus feature dat verplaatst wordt naar een TopP. Dit voorstel houdt rekening met de gelijkaardige *discourse* gerelateerde beperkingen die bestaan voor niet-gefocaliseerde topics en voor het gekloofde zinsdeel van *é que*-clefts. Het quantificatieve focus *feature* dat meegesleurd wordt door de topic-verplaatsing veroorzaakt interventie-effecten, waardoor focus in de linker periferie van de zin niet recursief is en niet compatibel is met verplaatsingen van constituenten met een quantificatieve *feature*. Dit voorstel doet recht aan het feit dat *é que*-clefts beperkingen vertonen op het vlak van de onderschikking. Tenslotte stel ik een analyse voor die de syntaxis van SER-clefts dichterbij brengt bij structuren met focuspartikels. Ik argumenteer dat het koppelwerkwoord in SER-clefts een focusgevoelige operator is die samen met het gekloofde zinsdeel *merged* wordt. Distributionele beperkingen van het koppelwerkwoord worden veroorzaakt door selectiecriteria van hogere hoofden.

ABSTRACT

KEYWORDS: clefts, syntax-discourse interface, European Portuguese

The main goal of this thesis is to contribute to the discussion about the degree to which semantic and discourse related concepts are syntactically encoded. More particularly, I investigate whether there are consistent correlations between the interpretative and syntactic properties of four European Portuguese cleft constructions, and how these potential correlations should be accounted for theoretically. The cleft constructions taken into consideration are *it*-clefts, pseudoclefts, *é que*-clefts and SER-clefts. Syntactically we can distinguish between biclausal clefts (*it*-clefts and pseudoclefts) and monoclausal clefts (*é que*-clefts and SER-clefts). All cleft constructions have a focalized cleft constituent that can both constitute information focus and contrastive focus, and an existentially presupposed cleft clause. Additionally, the cleft constituent exhaustively identifies an open position in the cleft clause.

The alternative semantics for focus (Rooth 1985) is adopted, according to which intonational focus uniformly contributes a set of alternatives in LF. Pragmatic rules operating on this set give rise to two suspendable implicatures: existential presupposition and exhaustivity. Given that both *é que*-clefts and SER-clefts have the same interpretation as non-cleft sentences with intonational focus when it comes to existential presupposition and exhaustivity, I conclude that their particular syntactic structure does not contribute anything to these interpretive aspects. The biclausal clefts on the other hand, argued to be specificational sentences, have a non-suspendable existential presupposition and exhaustive interpretation, on a par with non-cleft specificational sentences. I argue that this is because in these structures, the cleft constituent identifies a variable introduced by a definite description. The cleft clause, a headed relative clause in complement position of a definite determiner in *it*-clefts and a free relative in pseudoclefts, are shown to have the same semantic denotation as definite DPs, which are inherently presupposed. The strongly exhaustive interpretation arises because of the identification relation between the cleft constituent and the definite description.

Furthermore, I argue that focus features do not trigger A'-movement to a dedicated FocP in European Portuguese: when focalized constituents move, they do so for focus-independent reasons. This is confirmed by the fact that only the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts has properties of A'-movement, the other ones seem to be *in situ*. I propose that the cleft

constituent of *é que*-clefts is a topic with a focus feature that moves to a TopP. This account straightforwardly captures the similar discourse restrictions that exist for non-focalized topics and for the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts. The quantificational focus feature pied-piped by topicalization gives rise to intervention effects, causing left-peripheral focus not to be recursive and to be incompatible with movement of constituents with quantificational features. The account predicts the observed embedding restrictions of *é que*-clefts. Finally, I develop an account for the syntax of SER-clefts that approximates it to structures with focus particles. I argue that the copula is a focus-sensitive operator that is merged together with the cleft constituent. Distributional restrictions of the copula are due to selectional requirements of higher heads.

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List of abbreviations

CL	clitic
DAT	dative
EN	partitive pronoun
EXPL	expletive
GEN	genitive
IMPERF	imperfect
FOC	focus
FUT	future
FV	final vowel
LOC	locative
MCP	Main Clause Phenomena
NE	negative particle
PART	participle
PL	plural
PN	near past
PRES	present
PRF	perfect
REFL	reflexive pronoun
SE	reflexive/impersonal/passive clitic
SG	singular
SM	subject marker
TOP	topic

1 Introduction

1.1 The problem: interpretation and syntax: friends or strangers?

The ultimate goal of this study is to contribute to our understanding of the degree to which semantic and discourse related concepts are syntactically encoded. This question remains at the forefront of research in formal syntax and has become much debated with the development of the cartographic approach (Rizzi 1997, Cinque 1999 a.o.), on the one hand, and the Minimalist approach, on the other. The question how much of discourse properties should be codified in syntax has been widely discussed since Rizzi (1997). Some authors defend a discourse-free syntax (Chomsky 2001, Costa 2010 a.o.), while others argue that (some) discourse features are active in syntax (Rizzi 1997, Belletti 2004 a.o.). The relation between the syntax and the interpretation of cleft constructions is the central issue in this thesis. Three interpretational properties of cleft constructions are taken into consideration: exhaustivity, existential presupposition and focus. It will be investigated whether there is a consistent correlation between these interpretative aspects and aspects of the syntax of cleft constructions and how this correlation is to be accounted for theoretically.

The empirical basis of the investigation are four different cleft constructions in European Portuguese: *it*-clefts (1), pseudoclefts (2), *é que*-clefts (3) and SER-clefts (4).¹

(1)	<i>Foi</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>quejio</i>	<i>que</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>corvo</i>	<i>comeu.</i>
	be.3S.PRF	the	cheese	that	the	raven	eat.3S.PRF
	copula	cleft constituent		cleft clause ²			

¹ Throughout the thesis, clefts of the type illustrated in (1) will be called *it*-clefts, although these structures do not have an overt precopular pronoun in European Portuguese. The reason for this terminological choice is to capture the similarity with English *it*-clefts. In the Portuguese tradition, these clefts are called canonical clefts (*clivadas canónicas*) or just clefts. *É que*-clefts have also been called inflection-less clefts (Ambar 2005) or inverted '*é que*' pseudoclefts (*pseudoclivadas invertidas de 'é que'*) (Brito & Duarte 2003, Costa & Duarte 2005). SER-clefts have also been called basic semi-pseudo clefts (Costa & Duarte 2005), *that*-less clefts (Ambar 2005), reduced pseudoclefts (Miotto 2012), semi-clefts (Resenes & Den Dikken 2012) or focalizing SER-constructions (Méndez-Vallejo 2009a, b).

² The term *cleft clause* is chosen because of its neutral character. The cleft clause has also been called the *cleft relative* (Reeve 2012 for instance), but I chose not to adopt this term since *é que*-clefts and SER-clefts do not involve a relative clause.

‘It was the cheese that the raven ate.’

- (2) *O que o corvo comeu foi o queijo.*
 what the raven eat.3S.PRF be.3S.PRF the cheese
 cleft clause copula cleft constituent

‘What the raven ate was the cheese.’

- (3) *O queijo é que o corvo comeu.*
 the cheese be.3S.PRES that the raven eat.3S.PRF
 cleft constituent copula cleft clause

‘The cheese (is that) the raven ate.’

- (4) *O corvo comeu foi o queijo.*
 the raven eat.3S.PRF be.3S.PRF the cheese
 cleft clause copula cleft constituent

‘The raven ate (was) the cheese.’

It-clefts and pseudoclefts exist in a variety of languages, including English. *É que*-clefts only exist in (European) Portuguese, and SER-clefts exist in Portuguese and in some varieties of Spanish, more precisely Caribbean Spanish (Camacho 2006) and Columbian Spanish (Méndez-Vallejo 2009a, b).³ There are more cleft constructions apart from these in European Portuguese (see Brito & Duarte 2003; Costa & Duarte 2005; Vercauteren 2010a, b) which will not be dealt with here.

The choice for these four cleft constructions is motivated by the fact that, despite having similar interpretational properties, these cleft constructions differ considerably in their syntactic structure, which makes them propitious to analyse the relation between syntax and discourse.

³ There is a structure in Brazilian Portuguese that seems to be identical to *é que*-clefts, with the only difference that it does not contain any copula, but only the complementizer *que*:

- (i) *Aquele carro que o João comprou*
 that car that the João bought

(Miotto 2004: 176)

I do not know whether *é que*-clefts are grammatical in African varieties of Portuguese.

First of all, two of the clefts, namely *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts, are biclausal structures, while *é que*-clefts and SER-clefts are monoclausal structures (see chapter 4). It has repeatedly been noted that biclausal cleft constructions very often are reanalysed as monoclausal focus constructions, with the copula grammaticalizing into a focus particle (Harris & Campbell 1995). Also, *é que*-clefts and SER-clefts can be and have been analysed as a grammaticalization of biclausal clefts (see Kato & Ribeiro 2007 for *é que*-clefts, Wheeler 1982 and Zubizarreta 2014 for SER-clefts).⁴ Comparing biclausal clefts with monoclausal clefts can shed a light on the grammaticalization process and the relation between clause structure and interpretation. In chapter 4, it will be argued that some interpretive properties of cleft constructions correlate with their monoclausal vs. biclausal character. More precisely, the strength of the exhaustive interpretation and of the existential presupposition (indirectly) depends on the presence of a relative clause that is interpreted as a definite description. Hence, when the biclausal character disappears, the strength of the exhaustive and presuppositional interpretation can also disappear. This seems to be exactly what is going on in European Portuguese monoclausal clefts. Additionally, I will suggest in chapter 8 that the copula in cleft constructions has some properties of focus-sensitive operators and focus particles. The similarities of the copula with focus particles are greater in monoclausal clefts than in biclausal clefts, which indicates that Portuguese monoclausal clefts effectively instantiate a step in the grammaticalization process towards monoclausal focus structures with focus particles.

Apart from differences in the clausal structure, the position of the cleft constituent differs across the structures: in *it*-clefts, the cleft constituent is preceded by the copula only, in *é que*-clefts, it is clause-initial. In pseudoclefts and SER-clefts on the other hand, it is clause final. This is relevant since the linear position of the cleft constituent can reflect its underlying position in the clausal hierarchy. It has been observed that, in Romance at least, left-peripheral focus is contrastive while TP-internal focus usually is new information focus (Belletti 2004 a.o.). It will be shown that, effectively, there is a correlation between the left-peripheral vs. TP-internal position of the cleft constituent and the pragmatic type of focus. Concerning the

⁴ Kato & Ribeiro (2007) note that *é que*-clefts surge after inverted pseudoclefts, instantiating a grammaticalization process of the copular verb. Kato & Ribeiro (2009) propose an alternative source for *é que*-clefts, namely explicative sentences:

- (i) *É que o meu pé dói.*
 is that the my foot hurts
 'It's that my foot hurts.'

interpretation of the cleft constituent, the pattern found is the following: the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts is almost always contrastive while the cleft constituent of the other cleft constructions, although often contrastive, more naturally has a new-information focus interpretation than the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts. This correlation is however not strict, which leads me to argue that whether a focus is interpreted as contrastive or new information focus is not encoded in particular syntactic positions. Rather, the interpretation of focalized constituents depends on the discourse antecedent of focus (Rooth 1992). The reason why *é que*-clefts more often or almost always have a contrastive cleft constituent is because the cleft constituent is a topic with a focus feature, while the cleft constituent of the other structures are not topics. Topics cannot have *wh*-constituents as a discourse antecedent, and neither can the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts. As a consequence, the cleft constituent of these clefts will generally be contrastive, and rarely constitute new information focus (but see chapter 5 for a more fine-grained characterization of the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts). The cleft constituent of the other cleft constructions, not being topics, can also have *wh*-constituents as their antecedent, and hence more easily receive a new information interpretation.

Being a sentence topic, the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts occupies a left-peripheral position, unlike the cleft constituent of the other cleft constructions. This has the additional advantage of accounting for the fact that this cleft construction cannot freely occur in all embedded contexts, contrary to the other cleft constructions. As was discussed in detail by Haegeman (2012), structures involving the left periphery of the clause are often restricted in embedded contexts.

Summarizing, the four cleft constructions analysed here have similar interpretational properties: they all have an exhaustive interpretation, an existential presupposition and a focalized constituent. Nevertheless, they differ considerably from each other in terms of syntactic structure. This turns these structures particularly interesting to investigate the interaction between syntax and discourse, and to contribute to the general discussion concerning this interface.

1.2 The data

The source of the data analysed for this thesis is twofold: they are attested data, mainly provenient from the Cordial SIN-corpus, and constructed data. Constructed examples were all judged for acceptability by native speakers from Lisbon. The Cordial-SIN corpus is a corpus of spontaneous and semi-directed speech, obtained from native speakers of European Portuguese with little or no scholarly education, from rural areas.⁵ The corpus examples cited in this thesis are followed by the code of the locality and the number of the file, according to the Cordial-SIN norms. The source of any other examples will be indicated in the text.

Using this corpus as a basis for the research carried out for this thesis has several advantages. First of all, cleft constructions are typical of spoken language, hence they are likely to be more frequent in oral data than in written data. Second, the fact that the corpus consists of spontaneous and semi-directed speech makes it particularly adequate for discourse analysis: it provides a source of naturally occurring examples of cleft constructions in an adequate discursive context. Since cleft constructions are structures with a particular information structure and discourse use, their acceptability often depends on the context they are inserted in. The relevance of context is illustrated for instance by the fact that subject SER-clefts have been reported to be ungrammatical (Costa & Duarte 2005), while they are attested in the corpus, in particular discourse contexts. Moreover, constructed examples, such as object *é que*-clefts, were sometimes judged ungrammatical or marginal by my informants, but when confronted with the same structures in a natural context, they were judged perfectly grammatical.

A third advantage of the Cordial-SIN corpus is that it contains data from speakers with little or no scholar education, due to which the corpus contains some non-standard data. The decision to include the cleft structures of non-standard varieties is motivated on a number of grounds. First of all, by including dialectal data, we enlarge the empirical basis of our investigation. In a pilot study (Vercauteren 2010a, b) I have shown that the non-standard varieties of EP have more clefting strategies available than those traditionally described, for example, these varieties also display *é que*-clefts with a null or a recursive cleft constituent.

⁵ The corpus used is Martins, A. M. (coord.) [2000-] 2010. CORDIAL-SIN: Corpus Dialectal para o Estudo da Sintaxe / Syntax-oriented Corpus of Portuguese Dialects. Lisboa, Centro de Linguística da Universidade de Lisboa. URL: <http://www.clul.ul.pt/en/resources/411-cordial-corpus>

Another advantage of including dialectal data is that we can reduce to a minimum the influence of normative rules. Third, the study of micro-variation permits us to study potential correlations between syntactic variables, since we can 'manipulate' some variables while keeping others constant (cf. Kayne 1996). The relevance of micro-variation is illustrated for instance in chapter 6, where it is shown that *é que*-clefts can only be embedded in resumptive relative clauses, which involve doubling of the head of the relative clause in a TP-internal position. This is a non-standard relativization strategy. The fact that embedding of *é que*-clefts is only grammatical in resumptive relative clauses confirms the proposed intervention account for the embedding restrictions of *é que*-clefts, in the sense that doubling cancels intervention effects.

Finally, the corpus has a POS annotated version, which makes identification of the relevant structures easier.⁶ For this thesis, all structures with the copular verb *ser* 'to be' were isolated, and subsequently all cleft constructions were manually identified. The number of occurrences of the different cleft constructions analysed in this thesis are summarized in the table below.

Cleft construction	Number of occurrences
<i>It</i>-clefts	508
Pseudoclefts	202
<i>É que</i>-clefts	1440
SER-clefts	588

Doing corpus research has two big disadvantages: corpora do not contain negative data and it is not possible to manipulate the data in order to test hypotheses. In order to overcome these shortcomings, the corpus data were complemented with constructed data. Constructed data were judged by native speakers from Lisbon with a higher education. Given this profile of my informants, I considered their judgements to reflect the standard variety.

⁶ <http://www.clul.ul.pt/en/research-teams/387-annotated-corpora>

1.3 Structure of the thesis

The thesis is structured as follows: chapter 2 introduces the theoretical background concerning the syntax-discourse interface. Both the view that syntax is independent of scope-discourse properties (section 2.1) and the view that discourse properties can drive the syntactic computation (section 2.2) are briefly discussed and illustrated. Chapter 3 deals with the interpretive properties of cleft constructions. The chapter starts with a theoretical discussion of focus, concentrating on the question whether there is more than one type of focus, and provides a description of the interpretation of the cleft constituent of the four cleft constructions (section 3.1). It is shown that the cleft constituent of the four cleft constructions is consistently focalized and that it can constitute both an informational and a contrastive focus. Then I turn to the interpretation of the cleft clause. The concepts *existential presupposition* (section 3.2.1) and *exhaustivity* (section 3.2.2) are delimited and clarified, and a classification of the cleft constructions is proposed, distinguishing between clefts with a strong exhaustivity claim and existential presupposition and clefts with a weak exhaustivity claim and existential presupposition.

Chapter 4 focuses on the interpretation of the cleft clause and draws a parallel between the monoclausal vs. biclausal character of the cleft constructions and the strength of the exhaustivity claim and existential presupposition. First, it is argued that *é que*-clefts and SER-clefts are monoclausal structures while *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts are biclausal structures (section 4.1). Then, in section 4.2, the monoclausal clefts are discussed in more detail and it is argued that the weak exhaustivity claim and existential presupposition of monoclausal clefts arises as an implicature, due to pragmatic rules operating on the alternative semantics of focus. In section 4.3 it is argued that the biclausal clefts are specificational copular sentences. On a par with non-cleft specificational sentences, they have a semanticised existential presupposition and exhaustivity claim. Given that the cleft clause of these structures is semantically a definite description, it is inherently presupposed. Exhaustive identification arises when a constituent is identified with the definite description.

Chapter 5 turns to the syntax of focus. In sections 5.1 and 5.2, some problems of the assumption that all focalized constituents have to move to a FocP are discussed. Two alternatives to obligatory focus movement are proposed: it could be the case that foci optionally undergo A'-movement or it could be the case that if foci move, they do so for

focus-independent reasons. Since it is not clear how to implement optional focus movement in a principled theory that can make adequate predictions, I explore the second hypothesis.⁷ In section 5.4, I work out the hypothesis for focus fronting in more detail: I propose that fronted foci, in European Portuguese at least, are topics with a focus feature. Hence, they move to a left-peripheral TopP.

Chapter 6 deals with some implications of this alternative account for focus fronting. More precisely, I argue that several syntactic differences between topics and fronted foci, also topics according to the hypothesis, can be ascribed to the presence vs. absence of a doubling element in the base position of the fronted constituent, since properties such as recursivity, WCO, compatibility with *wh*-movement and embedding restrictions correlate with the presence of doubling and not with the interpretation of the fronted constituent. This is discussed in detail in section 6.1. In order to explain why doubling correlates with these properties, I adapt Haegeman's (2012) intervention account for left-peripheral constituents in English: quantificational features, such as focus features, give rise to intervention effects with movement of other constituents with quantificational features. Non-quantificational constituents, such as doubled constituents, do not give rise to intervention effects.

In chapter 7, the details concerning syntax of monoclausal clefts are worked out. The cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts gives rise to intervention effects, indicating that it occupies an A'-position, in line with the hypothesis put forward in chapter 5 that focus fronts to become a sentence topic in European Portuguese. Additionally, in section 7.1.2, I argue that the sequence *é que* lexicalizes the Fin head, based on the distribution of left-peripheral adjuncts and clitic left dislocated topics around the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts. Section 7.2 deals with SER-clefts. Given the relatively free distribution of the copula in the clause, I argue that it is base generated together with the cleft constituent. The distribution of the copula is determined by selectional restrictions.

Chapter 8 deals with some open issues that arise throughout the thesis and discusses some theoretical implications of the proposals. Chapter 9 concludes the thesis.

⁷ But see chapter 8 for some suggestions concerning optional focus movement.

2 Theoretical background: the syntax-discourse interface

The focus of this thesis is the interaction between the syntax of cleft constructions and their interpretational properties. Broadly, there are two views on the syntax-discourse interface: there are those who argue that syntax is blind to interpretive properties and those who argue that (some) scope-discourse properties drive the syntactic computation.¹ Both views will be shortly discussed in the next sections. Of course, there is a range of intermediate views.

2.1 Syntax is independent of scope-discourse properties

Several authors have argued that syntax is blind to scope-discourse properties (Adger 1994; Costa 1998, 2000, 2004, 2010; Chomsky 2001; Costa & Figueiredo Silva 2006; Costa & Kula 2008 a.o.). According to this view, the convergent computational output of syntax is evaluated at the interfaces, in the sense that interface conditions will select one of the convergent outputs of the computation. It is assumed that interface conditions or interpretative properties do not trigger syntactic operations. In what follows, I will discuss three pieces of data that indicate that word order patterns determined by information structure are restricted by other syntactic properties of particular linguistic varieties.

An example supporting the view that syntax is blind to information structural properties, discussed in great detail by Costa (1998, 2004) and Costa & Figueiredo Silva (2006), are the discourse uses of the different word orders available in Portuguese. Both in European and in Brazilian Portuguese focused constituents tend to surface at the right edge of the sentence, aligned with default sentence stress, which is rightmost (Frota 2000). As such, in question-answer pairs, the order of the complements of ditransitive verbs depends on which of the complements carries the information focus. If it is the direct object that constitutes the

¹ The interpretive properties mentioned here include both discursive properties related to information structure and semantic properties, such as adverbial concepts. Since the focus of this thesis are the discourse properties of cleft constructions, the hypothesis that interpretive properties are encoded in syntax will only be evaluated in relation to focus, exhaustivity and presupposition, and nothing will be said concerning other interpretive properties, for which I refer to the relevant literature.

answer to the question, the order will be IO-DO (see (1)a and (2)a), but when it is the indirect object that answers the question, the order will be the opposite (see (1)b and (2)b). This is illustrated in the examples below, for both varieties of Portuguese:

(1) Brazilian Portuguese:

- a A: *O que o João deu pra Maria?*
'What (did) João give to Maria?'
B: *O João deu pra Maria um CD.*
'João gave Maria a CD'
- b A: *Pra quem o João deu o CD?*
'To whom (did) João give the CD'
B: *O João deu o CD pra Maria.*
'João gave the CD to Maria'

(2) European Portuguese:

- a A: *O que é que o João deu à Maria?*
'What (did) João give to Maria?'
B: *O João deu à Maria um CD.*
'João gave Maria a CD'
- b A: *A quem é que o João deu o CD?*
'To whom (did) João give the CD?'
B: *O João deu o CD à Maria.*
'João gave the CD to Maria'

(Costa & Figueiredo Silva 2006: 89)

Both varieties have similar word order patterns for complements of the verb, but differ when it comes to subject-focus. In European Portuguese, focalized subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs in question-answer pairs surface in the postverbal position, aligned with default sentence stress, while this is ungrammatical in Brazilian Portuguese. In the latter variety, the focalized subject surfaces in preverbal position and receives heavy stress, on a par with focalized subjects in English. In European Portuguese, preverbal focalized subjects are

grammatical, but not felicitous in question-answer pairs. The pragmatic infelicity is indicated by #.

- (3) A: *Quem comeu o bolo?*
'Who ate the cake?'
- B: *Comeu o João.* (EP/*BP)
'ate João'
- B' *O JOÃO comeu.* (#EP/BP)
'João ate'

(Costa & Figueiredo Silva 2006: 85)

This difference between the two varieties is explained by the fact that Brazilian Portuguese is losing its null subject properties, contrary to European Portuguese (see for instance Figueiredo Silva 1996; Barbosa, Duarte & Kato 2005). As a consequence, subject-verb inversion is much more restricted in Brazilian Portuguese than in European Portuguese. In Brazilian Portuguese, in most contexts, an overt subject has to occupy SpecTP; only unaccusative verbs allow for postverbal subjects.² In European Portuguese on the other hand, inversion is grammatical with all types of verbs. According to Costa & Figueiredo Silva (2006), in European Portuguese, both structures with preverbal and postverbal subjects are derived, the choice between the structures is made at the interfaces. Since a postverbal subject permits alignment with default sentence stress without any additional operations in order to indicate focus, the structure with postverbal subjects will be spelled out in case of subject focus. In Brazilian Portuguese on the other hand, only structures with preverbal subjects are computed, as postverbal subjects are ungrammatical in most contexts. As such, structures with preverbal subjects are the only ones that reach the interfaces, and in case of subject focus, the

² Brazilian Portuguese is a semi-pro-drop language: it has null expletive pronouns and unaccusative verbs do allow for postverbal subjects:

- (i) *Chove.*
'It rains'
- (ii) *Chegou o João.*
Arrived João

In Brazilian Portuguese, when unaccusative subjects are focalized, both SV and VS order is allowed. In European Portuguese on the other hand, only VS order is allowed. See Costa & Figueiredo Silva (2006) for more details.

subject has to be marked with heavy stress since its position does not coincide with the default sentence stress.

Another piece of evidence for the idea that potential movement for discourse considerations is often defeated by other factors is the order of verbal complements in Portuguese, discussed in detail by Costa (2009). As was illustrated above, the order of verbal complements depends on which complement receives focus: the focalized complement surfaces in clause-final position. However, if the focalized constituent needs to bind an anaphor in the non-focalized constituent, the focalized constituent will not surface in clause-final position, since, in this configuration, the necessary c-command relations would not hold. For instance, in the following example, the information focus of the sentence is on the indirect object *a cada autor* ‘to each author’. The default position of a focalized indirect object is clause-final, to the right of the direct object. However, since the quantifier *cada* ‘each’ needs to bind *seu livro* ‘his book’, it needs to surface in a position c-commanding the direct object. As a result, it has to surface to the left of the direct object and receives heavy stress.

- (4) A *A quem é que deste os livros?*
‘To whom did you give the books?’
B *Dei A CADA AUTOR_i o seu_i livro.*
(I) gave to each author his book.
B’ *?*Dei o seu_i livro A CADA AUTOR_i.*
(I) gave his book to each author

(Costa & Figueiredo Silva 2007: 95)

In case of information focus in Portuguese, alignment with default stress is thus overruled by syntactic considerations. Costa (1998) and Costa & Figueiredo Silva (2006) conclude from these patterns that information structure properties do not trigger syntactic operations such as movement.

A third piece of evidence in favour of the idea that information structure properties do not trigger syntactic computations is the positional difference between possessive pronouns in Italian and in European Portuguese, discussed by Costa & Kula (2008). They observe that focalized possessive pronouns are postnominal in Italian (5), while they are prenominal in Portuguese (6):

- (5) a **la SUA casa, non tua*
 the her house not yours
- b *la casa SUA, non tua*
 the house hers not yours
 ‘Her house, not yours’

(Cardinaletti 1998: 19-20, taken from Costa & Kula 2008: 300)

- (6) a *Esse é o MEU problema, não o teu.*
 that is the MY problem not the yours
- b **Esse é o problema meu, não o teu.*
 that is the problem my
 ‘That is MY problem, not yours’

(Costa & Kula 2008: 300)

The authors argue that the difference between the two languages is due to the categorical status of possessive pronouns: in Italian, possessive pronouns are XPs, while in Portuguese, they are heads (Castro & Costa 2003). XPs have a more flexible position than heads, hence, they can surface in different positions depending on their information status. Once again, it seems to be the case that syntax restricts the possibilities of discourse-related movement.

The data discussed by Costa in several papers are thus compatible with the view that the computation derives several competing structures, the choice among which is determined post-syntactically. The advantage of this view is that it permits to account for the flexibility in the mapping between syntax and discourse properties: there is no one-to-one correspondence between syntactic positions and interpretation. As such, it can easily account for the freedom of focus assignment in languages such as Portuguese and English, to be discussed in more detail in chapter 5.

One potential problem for a discourse free syntax is the existence of languages with overt discourse-related particles that consistently surface in the same position. Japanese and Gungbe are cases at point. In Japanese topics are marked with the particle *wa* (7) and are

clause-initial (Maki et al. 1999); in Gungbe, topics are marked with *yà* and foci with *wè* (8) and both are in a pre-subject position (Aboh 2007).³

- (7) *John-wa kono hon-o yonda.*
 John-TOP this book-ACT read
 ‘As for John, he read this book.’

(Maki et al. 1999: 7)

- (8) a *Ùn nywèn dɔ̀ Yéti yà Dòsú ná dà-è*
 1SG know that Yeti TOP Dosu FUT marry-3SG
 ‘I know that as for Yeti, Dosu will marry her’
 b *Ùn nywèn dɔ̀ Dòsú wè ná dà Yéti*
 1SG know that Dosu FOC FUT marry Yeti
 ‘I know that DOSU will marry Yeti’

(Aboh 2007: 84)

It thus seems to be the case that, at least in some languages, discourse properties are encoded in syntax, and consistently trigger movement to dedicated syntactic positions. This is one of the hypotheses explored in the cartographic framework, to be discussed in the following section.

2.2 Cartography: discourse is syntactically relevant

In the cartographic framework, the role of scope-discourse properties is argued to be two-fold. Discourse properties are represented by specialized discourse features that can trigger movement to the specifier of specialized discourse-related functional projections in the

³ Maki et al. (1999: 8) refer that constituents with a topic marker can also surface in other positions. In this case, they cannot be interpreted as sentence topics, but receive a contrastive reading.

clausal spine, and as such determine word order.⁴ Additionally, the same discourse-features can give rise to intervention effects. In what follows, I will briefly discuss the main goals of the cartographic framework. Then I turn to the role of features for movement (section 2.2.2) and finally to the role of intervention in the framework (section 2.2.3). The discussion focusses on features related to information structure. For other features, I refer to the relevant literature.

2.2.1 The goals of cartography

One of the main goals of cartography is, as the name of the framework itself indicates, to draw detailed maps of the structure of the clause. Based on ordering restrictions and transitivity, authors working in this framework aim at determining which functional projections make up the architecture of the clause, and how they are organized. Ultimately, following the maxim *one feature - one head* (Rizzi & Cinque 2008: 50) cartographers aim at decomposing the clause into primitive interpretive units, and as such discover the inventory of features that are relevant for syntax (see Rizzi 1997, 2013a; Cinque 1999, Cinque & Rizzi 2008, 2010 a.o.).

Rizzi's (1997) seminal work focusses on the structure of the left periphery of the clause. According to Rizzi, the left periphery of the clause does not consist of one single CP projection, but rather of a series of functional projections, each with a head and a specifier. He proposes a split-CP, with several hierarchically organized functional projections. Several of these functional projections are related to scope-discourse properties. The hierarchy is the following (based on Rizzi 1997, 2001, 2004):

$$(9) \quad \text{ForceP} > \text{TopP}^* > \text{IntP} > \text{TopP}^* > \text{FocP} > \text{ModP}^* > \text{TopP}^* > \text{FinP}$$

The highest projection ForceP is a clause-typing projection and hosts complementizers in finite clauses and relative pronouns (Rizzi 1997). FinP, the lower edge of the left periphery,

⁴ In recent work in the Minimalist Program there is a tendency to move away from feature-triggered movement, in the sense that movement (merge) can apply freely. See Chomsky (2001) for conceptual arguments and Ott (2015) for instance for an implementation. Also see chapter 8.

encodes finiteness and is the host of non-finite complementizers, such as Italian *di*. The projections sandwiched in between ForceP and FinP are dedicated to particular scope-discourse properties. Topics are hosted in one of the recursive TopPs (the * indicates recursivity). Several authors have argued that a distinction between types of topics is necessary (see for instance Benincà & Polletto 2004 or Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007). According to these authors, TopPs are not (entirely) recursive and ordering of different types of topics is not free but reflects a strict hierarchy.

Interrogative *wh*-constituents target IntP or FocP. The interrogative complementizers *se* ‘if’ and *perché* ‘why’ lexicalize the specifier of IntP, while *wh*-constituents in root interrogatives target the specifier of FocP. The same FocP is targeted by focus fronting, which accounts for the incompatibility of focus fronting with *wh*-movement to FocP.⁵ Finally, ModP is lexicalized by unstressed left-peripheral adverbials. On a par with TopP, ModP is a recursive projection.

Not only for the left periphery has it been argued that it contains a variety of discourse-related syntactic projections, similar claims have been made for the vP periphery (see for instance Szabolcsi 1994; Brody 1990; É. Kiss 1998; Bosque 1999; Jayaseelan 2001; Belletti 2004, 2008, 2015; Horvath 2000, 2010 a.o.). Based on the idea that the interpretation of sentences should be immediately read of the syntactic configuration, Belletti argues that the vP-periphery contains (at least) a recursive TopP and a FocP:

(10) TopP > FocP > TopP > VP

Belletti (2004, 2005, 2008) argues that the IP-internal FocP hosts, a.o., postverbal new information subjects in null-subject languages such as Italian,⁶ but also cleft constituents of new information subject clefts (see Belletti 2015 for a detailed account).

⁵ In later work, Rizzi (2013a, b, 2015) assumes that *wh*-constituents move to check a Q feature, and thus presumably target a QP. Incompatibility of *wh*-movement with focus fronting is accounted for in terms of Relativized Minimality (see section 2.2.3 and chapter 6 for more details).

⁶ In Italian, postverbal subjects of transitive verbs are focalized. Ciro Greco (p.c.) notes that postverbal subjects of unaccusative or unergative verbs are in broad focus. It is thus not very clear how Belletti’s account for postverbal subjects can be extended to all types of verbs.

Also in the literature on Hungarian focus very often reference is made to a dedicated preverbal FocP (Szabolcsi 1994, É. Kiss 1998), sometimes considered to be a focus field with several focus positions (as in Brody 1990). As is well known, arguments and adjuncts which express exhaustive identification and bear primary stress very often occupy an immediately preverbal position in Hungarian.

Arguing that a universal hierarchy of functional projections determines word order patterns has several advantages from a cross-linguistic point of view. For instance, it has repeatedly been noticed for a variety of unrelated languages that topics are recursive while left-peripheral focus is not (see Rizzi 1997 for Italian; Puskas 2000 for Finno-Ugric; Aboh 2004, 2007 for Bantu and Kwa languages; Durrleman 2008 for Jamaican Creole for instance). The unicity of the left-peripheral FocP, as opposed to the recursivity of TopPs accounts for this cross-linguistic pattern in a straightforward manner. Additionally, a fixed hierarchy of functional projections giving rise to particular interpretations accounts for the observation that certain syntactic positions are consistently associated with a specific interpretation, and that there are ordering restrictions that, once again, are quite consistent cross-linguistically. Finally, the existence of languages with discourse related particles is easily accommodated in the cartographic framework: arguably, these particles lexicalize functional heads, which attract a constituent to their specifier. For instance, as mentioned in the previous section, Gungbe has both topic and focus particles, which mark left-peripheral topicalized and focalized constituents. These particles can co-occur, but only in the fixed order topic-focus (Aboh 2006). Assuming a strict functional hierarchy can straightforwardly account for the very limited distribution of the specialized particles. A view under which syntax is blind to discourse cannot easily account for these facts.

The discovery of universal hierarchies of functional projections is only one aspect of cartographic approaches to natural language. As was underlined by Cinque & Rizzi (2010), Rizzi (2013a) and Ramchand & Svenonius (2014) a.o., the hierarchy is very unlikely to be a syntactic primitive, since if it were, it would not be clear why natural language should have evolved to such a complex hierarchy.⁷ As such, an important second step is to provide a further explanation for the observed ordering restrictions in the clausal domain. In the search of a further explanation, Relativized Minimality occupies an important place (see for instance Starke 2001, Rizzi 2004, Abels 2012, Haegeman 2012, Greco 2014). As will become clear in

⁷ But see Starke (2001) for an opposing view.

section 2.2.3, several well-known ordering restrictions and incompatibilities can be accounted for naturally if we assume that Relativized Minimality restricts movement operations. I refer to the rich literature within the cartographic framework, and Rizzi (2013a) in particular, for more details on the general framework.

2.2.2 Features and movement

In the previous section it became clear that there are several ordering restrictions in the clause that seem to respect a universal hierarchy, as similar patterns are found in unrelated languages. In order to account for this, it has been argued that the left periphery of the clause contains a number of discourse-related functional projections, ordered in a specific way. The constituent occupying the specifier of these projections will have a particular interpretation, typical for the position it occupies. For instance, constituents occupying the specifier of a FocP will consistently have a focus interpretation. It has been argued that similar projections also exist clause-internally, at the vP edge.

One consequence of assuming that certain interpretive properties are associated with specialized functional projections is that constituents move away from their base position to the specifier of these projections in order to get a particular interpretation. A straightforward example of such A'-movement is Italian focus fronting. In the example below, the direct object of the verb moves to the specifier of the left-peripheral FocP and gets a contrastive focus interpretation.

(11) [_{FocP} IL TUO LIBRO [Foc^o [_{TP} ho letto [-]]]].

Based on Chomsky (1993), it is standardly assumed in the cartographic framework that movement is last resort, and consequently, that it must be triggered.⁸ It is assumed that each functional head can be endowed with a specific morpho-syntactic feature that will trigger movement of a constituent to its specifier. For instance, concerning the sentence in (11)

⁸ See Starke (2001) and Rizzi (2015) a.o. for a different theory of movement within the cartographic framework. Also see chapter 8 for some suggestions for an alternative.

above, it is assumed that constituents with a focus feature move to the specifier of FocP in order to check this feature (Rizzi 1997). The idea underlying this view on movement is that no free adjunction or preposing to the left periphery are allowed.

It has to be noted that some constituents do not move to their surface position but are immediately merged in the corresponding functional projection. This is the case for instance for adverbs (see Cinque 1999) and some interrogative constituents discussed in the previous section.

In more recent work (Rizzi 2003, Rizzi & Shlonsky 2006, Rizzi 2010), Rizzi develops his 1990 Criterial Theory. The basic idea, referred to above, is that in a syntax ruled by economy guidelines, movement is always motivated, and never optional. For instance, some constituents move in order to get a particular interpretation, such as topic or focus. The features triggering these movement operations to scope-discourse positions are called criteria. These include *wh*, Neg, Top, Foc, Subj and Rel. The interpretation of a constituent is determined by the criterial feature on the head of whose specifier the constituent is moved to. For example, a constituent moved to the specifier of FocP will be interpreted as a focus. Summarizing, movement to specialized functional projections is assumed to be triggered by the need to check features in a Spec-Head relation.

As was discussed in detail by Aboh (2010), this approach to A'-movement has the great advantage of drawing clear parallels with movement in the A-system. At the basis of feature-triggered movement in the sense discussed above lies the observation that features that arguably trigger A-movement are often spelled out by overt morphemes, such as inflectional morphemes. Topic and focus markers, as are found in languages such as Japanese and Gungbe (see examples (7) and (8) above), can be analysed as the lexicalization of morphosyntactic features triggering A'-movement. One potential problem for this view is that it is not clear how this feature-triggered movement can be parametrized across languages or made optional within one language. For instance, in chapter 5 it will become clear that focalized constituents in European Portuguese and some other languages can both remain *in situ* or move to the left periphery of the clause. If a FocP triggers movement of focalized constituents to its specifier in order to check focus features, it is not clear why this movement does not apply consistently: apparently, sometimes focus features need to be checked and sometimes not. In order to provide a solution for this problem, I will argue that in European Portuguese focus features do not trigger movement but that some focalized constituents move

to the left periphery to check topic features. Another possibility, not explored in this thesis (but see chapter 8), would be to assume that (some instances of) A'-movement is not feature triggered in the sense described above.

As an alternative to the movement triggered by the need to check features in a Spec-head configuration, Rizzi (2015) explores Chomsky's (2014) proposal that labeling conflicts force movement and investigates the consequences of this hypothesis for A'-movement and Criterial Freezing. Chomsky's proposal is inserted in a tendency to move away from the idea that agreement is a prerequisite for movement. Since Chomsky (2001), it has been assumed that *move*, an instance of merge, applies freely. Of course, assuming that merge comes for free seriously overgenerates, as several instances of movement give rise to an ungrammatical result. Additionally, there are instances of obligatory movement, hence, even if merge comes for free, some instances of lack of movement need to be ruled out in a principled manner. In chapter 8, I will discuss the movement issue in more detail, and suggest that a theory in which obligatory movement is triggered by the foot of the chain, along the lines of Chomsky (2014, 2015) and Rizzi (2015), in combination with Relativized Minimality in order to rule out some instances of improper movement, can provide a feasible alternative to feature-triggered movement in the classical sense and more easily accounts for cross-linguistic differences concerning A'-movement. However, since the full range of implications of this alternative account for movement is far from clear, in this thesis I will follow the standard assumptions in the cartographic framework and assume movement to be triggered by the need to check features in a Spec-head configuration.

2.2.3 Relativized Minimality

As mentioned above, recently Relativized Minimality has gained importance in the cartographic framework. The reason for this is twofold. First, it has been argued that the split CP hierarchy follows (at least partially) from the theory of locality (Abels 2012) and second, the highly articulated structure assumed to exist in the cartographic framework is complemented by Relativized Minimality, a locality principle that restricts movement operations.

As Cinque & Rizzi (2008: 52, section 6) and Rizzi (2013a: 210, section 7) explicitly discuss, the functional hierarchy is not to be considered a syntactic primitive. Rather, the observed ordering restrictions in the clausal hierarchy have to be further explained by interface requirements and independent grammatical or cognitive principles:

One important question which arises is: where does the hierarchy, and its universal properties, come from? It is hard to imagine that the hierarchy may be an irreducible property of UG, disconnected from any other aspect of human cognition; it is also hard to believe that the hierarchy may be a purely arbitrary “cultural” property, rediscovered by every language learner in the same form, language after language, on the basis of pure inductive learning. So, there must be some principles determining the hierarchical sequence, and guiding the child to “rediscover” it in the course of language acquisition.

(Cinque & Rizzi 2008: 52)

A crucial tool in the attempt to derive the template is Relativized Minimality, as was illustrated by Abels (2012) and Haegeman (2012). Several formulations and applications of Minimality exist in the literature (see Rizzi 2013b for an overview, see also Cecchetto & Donati 2015). Relevant for our purposes, Relativized Minimality gives rise to intervention effects. These effects will constrain movement operations. The general idea is that movement cannot occur across an intervener.⁹ In order to determine what counts as an intervener, there are three crucial aspects: hierarchical relations, structural type and features. The first aspect is captured in the following definition of intervention:

(12) Z intervenes between X and Y when X c-commands Z and Z c-commands Y

(Rizzi 2013b: 173)

⁹ The question of where Relativized Minimality applies is controversial. Chomsky (1995) argues it applies on movement, but Chomsky (2000) argues it applies on search. Rizzi (2004, 2013b) on the other hand argues it applies on LF, i.e. it is a representational principle. Finally, based on Bošković (2011), Authier & Haegeman (2015) argue that Relativized Minimality violations can be rescued by PF deletion.

The importance of c-command is illustrated by the following two sentences:

- (13) a *When did you wonder who left ___?
b When did the uncertainty about who won dissolve ___?

(Rizzi 2013b: 173)

In both sentences, the *wh*-constituent *who* is crossed by *when*. However, only in (a) is this problematic, since only in (a) does the intervener c-command the base position of *when*. An experiment carried out by Costa & Lobo (2014, 2015) on the interpretation of relative clauses with simple and complex DPs also indicates that c-command is a crucial factor in determining intervention for syntactic dependencies.

The second aspect determining intervention is structural type. There are three structural types: head-positions, A-positions and A'-positions. As Rizzi (1990, 2013b) illustrates, only elements of the same structural type as the moved element count for intervention, for instance, only A-positions will intervene in A-movement. This is illustrated below. (14) illustrates intervention by a head, (15) illustrates intervention by a constituent in an A-position, and (16) illustrates intervention by an A'-position. All examples are taken from Rizzi (2013b: 176-177).

- (14) a The guests could have left
b Could the guests ___ have left?
c * Have the guests could ___ left?
- (15) a Everyone considers [[John] [a good doctor]]
b John is considered [___ [a good doctor]]
c * A good doctor is considered [John ___]
- (16) a I wonder [who left at five]
b * When do you wonder [who left ___]

A last crucial factor for intervention are features. Based on the observation that apparently not all A'-positions are interveners for A'-movement (noted by Obenauer 1984, 1994; Pesetsky 1987 a.o.), a refinement of Relativized Minimality, in terms of features, has been developed by Starke (2001), Rizzi (2004) a.o. For instance (some) d-linked *wh*-arguments can be extracted across an intervening *wh*-constituent (see Szabolcsi 2005 for a detailed description of the relevant factors for extractability from weak islands):

(17) ?Which problem do you wonder how to solve?

Taking that d-linked *wh*-constituents are featurally richer than non-d-linked *wh*-constituents,¹⁰ Relativized Minimality can be reformulated as follows:

(18) Relativized Minimality (revised): in the configuration

... X ... Z ... Y ...

a local relation (e.g., movement) cannot hold between X and Y if Z intervenes and Z fully matches the specification of X in the relevant morphosyntactic features.

(Rizzi 2013b: 179).

Note that featural Relativized Minimality is a way to represent fine-grained intervention patterns *within* a given structural type of movement. It does not seem to be the case that features can have influence on movement of a different structural type.

The aim of a lot of recent research is to determine exactly what features characterise what constituents, and how these features interact in terms of intervention. It is often assumed, following Starke (2001) and Rizzi (2004), that features belong to classes, and that intervention only arises in case constituents with features of the same class are involved. The classes of features proposed by Rizzi (2004) are the following:

¹⁰ This claim is based on the observation that d-linked *wh*-constituents, unlike non-d-linked *wh*-constituents, have a lexical restriction (Rizzi 2013b), or on the observation that they are more 'specific' (Starke 2001). However, as is clear from the discussion of weak islands in Szabolcsi (2005), it is hard to determine the exact inventory of the aspects that improve extractability from weak islands.

- (19) a Argumental: person, number, gender, case
 b Quantificational: Q, Neg, measure, focus...
 c Modifier: evaluative, epistemic, Neg, frequentative, celerative, measure, manner,....
 d Topic

(Rizzi 2004: 19)

According to this taxonomy of features, constituents with quantificational features will only give rise to intervention with other constituents with quantificational features. For instance, a constituent with a Q-feature gives rise to intervention with constituents with a focus feature, but not with constituents with a topic feature. The feature-class approach has revealed to be particularly adequate, see for instance Haegeman (2012 and related work) and Authier & Haegeman (2015) on the interaction between fronting and operator movement in central adverbial clauses (and other contexts), and Lahousse et al. (2014) for intervention with cleft constructions.¹¹

It has been argued (see for instance Abels 2012, Rizzi 2013a) that the universal hierarchy can be (at least) partially derived referring to Relativized Minimality. Abels (2012) provides a detailed discussion of the Italian left periphery, showing that most ordering restrictions and restrictions on co-occurrence can be explained in terms of intervention. For instance, it has been noted that some *wh*-constituents cannot co-occur with fronted foci while others can, in a fixed order. The crucial difference is between *wh*-constituents that in Rizzi (2001b) target FocP and those targeting IntP. The first cannot co-occur with fronted foci, as they target the same position, while the latter can, if they precede fronted foci, as is predicted by the template in (9). The difference between both types of *wh*-constituents is illustrated below:

- (20) a **A chi IL PREMIO NOBEL dovrebbero dare?*

¹¹ See Szabolcsi & Zwarts (1993, 1997) for a different view. Szabolcsi & Zwarts (1990) note that constituents that are less sensitive to weak islands denote individuals. In their (1993, 1997) paper, they develop a set-theoretic account for weak islands. They argue that weak island inducers involve complements and/or intersection formation, hence a set is needed to calculate their semantic effect. Individuals can be collected into sets, hence only individuals can be extracted from weak islands. I refer to Szabolcsi & Zwarts (1993, 1997) for more details.

- ‘To whom THE NOBEL PRIZE should they give?’
 b **IL PREMIO NOBEL a chi dovrebbero dare?*
 ‘THE NOBEL PRIZE to whom should they give?’”

(Rizzi 1997: 298)

- (21) a *Mi domando se QUESTO gli volessero dire (non qualcos’altro)*
 ‘I wonder if THIS they wanted to say to him, not something else’
 B **Mi domando QUESTO se gli volessero dire (non qualcos’altro)*
 ‘I wonder THIS if they wanted to say to him, not something else’

(Rizzi 2001b ex. 7a-b)

As noted by Abels (2012), it is possible to account for the differences between interrogative constituents without having to assume that they target different left-peripheral projections.¹² Given the distributional differences between *wh*-constituents such as *a chi* ‘to whom’ and *se* ‘whether’, we have to assume that *wh*-constituents can target different positions, and hence, in a theory with feature-triggered movement, that different *wh*-constituents check different features: some *wh*-constituents check focus features in a FocP, while other *wh*-constituents check interrogative features in an IntP. A more economic account would be to assume that all *wh*-constituents surface in the left periphery of the clause (in some languages) for the same reason, i.e., to check the same feature. As Abels (2012) discusses, Relativized Minimality permits just such an account for *wh*-movement.

First of all, we have to distinguish between *wh*-phrases that are moved to the left periphery (IP-internal ones) and those that can be base generated there. Several authors have argued that *why* (Rizzi 1990, 2001; Hornstein 1995; Stepanov and Tsai 2008) and *whether* (Rizzi 2001b) and their counterparts in some other languages are base generated in the left periphery, contrary to other *wh*-constituents. If these *wh*-constituents are base generated in a

¹² Under a strict ‘templatic’ approach, in addition to FocP and IntP, even more positions for *wh*-constituents would be needed, since in embedded interrogatives the ordering restrictions differ from the ones observed in root interrogatives. In embedded interrogatives, the IP-internal *wh*-constituents target a position lower than FocP (Rizzi 2001b: 7), since they can follow but not precede (some) left-peripheral focalized constituents. Rizzi (1997) argues that in English, embedded *wh* targets SpecForceP, since topics can only follow *wh*-constituents in these contexts. Under an Intervention account, it can be maintained that all *wh*-constituents move because of the same features and target the same projection. Ordering differences and incompatibilities are due to intervention effects. It is thus clear that Relativized Minimality is an important aspect of the cartographic framework.

position c-commanding FocP, the position targeted by focus fronting, we do not expect any intervention effects to arise. This is borne out, since these *wh*-constituents *can* co-occur with fronted foci, as is illustrated in (21) above. On the other hand, when focalized constituents move across base generated *wh*-constituents, the result will be ungrammatical due to intervention of quantificational features. The incompatibility of *wh*-constituents originating inside of TP and fronted foci is accounted for in the same manner: quantificational features on both constituents give rise to intervention effects. The relevant configurations are illustrated below. All examples are taken from Rizzi (2001b).

(22) *Mi domando se QUESTO gli volessero dire (non qualcos'altro)*

me ask if THIS him wanted to say (not something else)

wh foc foc
 ↑ |
 └───┘

(23) **Mi domando QUESTO se gli volessero dire (non qualcos'altro)*

me ask THIS if him wanted say (not something else)

foc wh foc
 ↑ |
 └───┘
 *

(24) **Mi domandi a chi QUESTO abbiamo detto (non qualcos'altro)*

me ask to whom THIS have said (not something else)

wh foc wh
 ↑ |
 └───┘
 *

(25) **Mi domandi QUESTO a chi abbiamo detto (non qualcos'altro)*

me ask THIS to whom have said (not something else)

foc wh foc
 ↑ |
 └───┘
 *

As is clear, Relativized Minimality permits us to assume that all *wh*-constituents, base generated in or moved to the left periphery, target the same position, for instance IntP, and thus check the same features. Differences in compatibility with other left-peripheral constituents and ordering restrictions can be accounted for in terms of intervention, without

this derivation is ungrammatical. In a theory with Relativized Minimality on the other hand, the ungrammaticality of this derivation is straightforwardly accounted for: the *wh*-constituent cannot move to the left of the fronted focus, even if, presumably, there is a position it could occupy, because the movement operation it would need to undergo to reach this position is barred by locality principles. It is thus clear that Relativized Minimality is a crucial aspect of the cartographic framework.

In summary, the observed ordering restrictions in the clausal domain require further explanation, since it is very unlikely that the universal hierarchy is a syntactic primitive. An important tool for providing this further explanation is Relativized Minimality, as was exemplified by the fact that Relativized Minimality accounts for the cartography of interrogative constituents without having to assume a radically different syntax for different types of interrogative constituents. In chapter 6 I will provide a Relativized Minimality account for focus fronting.

2.3 Summary

In this chapter, I discussed the theoretical background of the present thesis. The main research question is what the relation is between syntax and discourse properties. There are two general opposing views. The first view is that interpretative properties do not play any role in syntax. The output of the computation is evaluated at the PF and LF interfaces, and the most adequate syntactic structure is chosen. The second view, adopted in the cartographic framework, is that discourse properties play an important role in syntax, in the sense that discourse-related features trigger movement to specific syntactic positions. As such, the interpretation of sentences can be immediately read off the output of the syntactic computation. Both views have advantages and disadvantages. For instance, the existence of discourse-related particles can more easily be accounted for if we assume that clauses contain functional heads dedicated to certain interpretations. A discourse-free syntax on the other hand is more compatible with the observation that basic syntactic properties rule out some instances of discourse-related movement.

In the rest of the thesis, I will examine which interpretative properties of cleft constructions play a role in syntax, and how syntactic computation might determine interpretation. The next chapter turns to the interpretative properties of cleft constructions.

3 Interpretative properties of the cleft constructions

When it comes to the interpretation of cleft constructions, traditionally, it is assumed that they consist of a focalized cleft constituent and a cleft clause that expresses a presupposed open proposition (Chafe 1976, Reeve 2012 a.o.), as illustrated in (1):

(1) It was the SHIRT_i that she gave t_i to Harry.

Focus: SHIRT

Presupposition: She gave X to Harry.

(Prince 1986: 2)

Additionally, several authors have provided that the cleft constituent exhaustively identifies the open position in the cleft clause (Horn 1981, É. Kiss 1998, Büring 2011 a.o.). This exhaustive interpretation has been called the exhaustivity claim of cleft constructions (Büring & Križ 2011, Büring 2011), a term that will be adopted in this thesis.

There is a lot of discussion in the literature concerning focus, presupposition and exhaustivity, three notions that are crucial for the characterization of cleft constructions. For instance, the term *focus* has been used to designate at least two different concepts, namely *contrast* and *newness*. Some authors, such as É. Kiss (1998) defend a division between these two types of focus, while others, such as Rooth (1992), consider all foci to be fundamentally the same. In other words, Rooth (1992) defends that from a semantic point of view, focus has a uniform input. Differences in interpretation are due to independent pragmatic factors such as the discourse antecedent of focalized constituents.

Also concerning *presupposition* there is disagreement in the literature. One of the main points of discussion is on whether it is necessary to distinguish different types of presupposition, such as *pragmatic* and *semantic* presupposition (Prince 1978; von Stechow 2004b; Beaver & Zeevat 2007), or *weak* and *strong* presupposition (Abusch 2005, 2010; Abrusán 2014). This debate is related to the nature and number of mechanisms that give rise to presuppositions (Simons 2007a; Abusch 2005, 2010; Beaver & Geurts 2013; Abrusán 2014).

Furthermore, there is discussion on the status of the exhaustivity claim in cleft constructions: is it an entailment (Bolinger 1972), an implicature (Byram-Washburn 2010, Horn 1981) or a presupposition (Büring 2011, Velleman et al. 2012)?

All concepts will be discussed separately. First, I introduce the semantic treatment of focus as in Rooth (1985, 1992), based on alternatives, and evaluate the data with respect to this Alternative Semantics. The second part of this chapter is centred on the interpretation of the cleft clause. First, I clarify which definition of presupposition is used in this thesis and I distinguish between two types of presupposition, namely weak and strong presupposition. A classification of the clefts, based on this split, follows. Finally, I clarify what is understood by exhaustivity and two types of exhaustivity claims are identified, weak and strong. Again, the clefts are classified according to these two types of exhaustivity claim.

In this chapter, the European Portuguese examples will be translated in a way that reflects their interpretation as accurately as possible. For those clefts that do not have an English counterpart, namely *é que*-clefts (2)a and SER-clefts (2)b, the copula (and complementizer) are added between brackets to the English translation, as illustrated below, in order for the non-Portuguese reader to easily identify the cleft constituent.

(2)	a	<i>O Superhomem</i>	<i>é que</i>	<i>apanhou a galinha.</i>
		‘Superman	(is that)	caught the chicken.’
		Cleft constituent	(is that)	cleft clause
	b	<i>O Superhomem apanhou</i>	<i>foi</i>	<i>a galinha.</i>
		‘Superman caught	(is)	the chicken.’
		Cleft clause	(is)	cleft constituent

3.1 The cleft constituent

In this section I will discuss my theoretical assumptions concerning focus. I will adopt Rooth’s (1985, 1992, 1999) unified view on focus. Rooth argues that focus does nothing but uniformly contributing a set of alternatives in LF. Intonational, pragmatic or syntactic differences between ‘types’ of foci are thus arguably due to focus-independent factors. The alternative semantics for focus is adopted here because it makes correct predictions

concerning the relation between focus and presupposition, and between focus and exhaustivity, to be discussed in sections 3.2.1.2 and 3.2.2.2 respectively. On whether pragmatically different types of foci have a different syntax, as was argued by Belletti (2004) for instance, see chapter 5.

3.1.1 Alternative semantics

Starting with Rooth (1985), several authors have argued that, from a semantic point of view, focus has a uniform import, namely it contributes a set of alternatives. Differences in interpretation, such as the ones identified by É. Kiss (1998), who distinguishes between identificational and informational focus, are due to focus-independent factors.¹ In what follows, I outline the most relevant aspects of Rooth's (1992) Alternative Semantics for focus.

Rooth (1985) argues that the semantic reflex of intonational focus on a certain constituent is a focus value $\llbracket \cdot \rrbracket^f$ in logical form. This focus value is “the set of propositions obtainable from the ordinary semantic value by making a substitution in the position corresponding to the focused phrase” (Rooth 1992: 76). This is illustrated in (3). The sentence *S* with focus on *Mary* contributes the focus value $\llbracket S \rrbracket^f$, i.e. a set of propositions of the form *John likes x*, with *x* of the same semantic type as the focalized constituent, in this case type $\langle e \rangle$ for entities. A condition on the set of alternatives is that it contains at least the ordinary semantic value $\llbracket S \rrbracket^o$ of the sentence with focus and an element distinct from $\llbracket S \rrbracket^o$.² An example of a set of alternatives is given in (3)d.

¹ The definition for identificational focus proposed by É. Kiss (1998) is the following:

- (i) An identificational focus represents a subset of the set of contextually or situationally given elements for which the predicate phrase can potentially hold; it is identified as the exhaustive subset of this set for which the predicate phrase actually holds.

(É. Kiss 1998: 245)

É. Kiss (1998) uses the term informational focus to designate that part of the proposition that consists of new information. It has often been argued that the constituent in affirmative sentences that corresponds to the wh-element in interrogatives is the informational focus of the proposition (Costa 2004 a.o.).

The difference between the two types of focus will be discussed in section 5.2, where it will be argued that, although the distinction is useful at a descriptive level, it is not relevant for the syntactic computation.

² The notation used here is as in Heim & Kratzer (1998). Curly brackets indicate sets; D_e stands for the domain of individuals.

- (3) a S = John likes MARY.
 b $[[S]]^o$: like (j, m)
 c $[[S]]^f = \{\text{like (j, x)} \mid x \in D_e\}$
 d {John likes Mary, John likes his sister, John likes this book, ... }

According to Rooth (1992, 1999), there is no semantic distinction between identificational/contrastive focus and information focus. All focus does is contribute a set of alternatives in LF. However, there are interpretive differences between focalized constituents, the most well-known being the difference between *informational* (4) and *contrastive* (5) focus, illustrated below:

- (4) A Who does John like?
 B John likes MARY.
- (5) A John likes Sue.
 B No, John likes MARY. He despises Sue.

These examples straightforwardly illustrate a second important aspect of Rooth's theory of focus: the fact that the alternatives can be used by pragmatic rules.³ As such, whether a focalized constituent is interpreted as contrastive or informational is due to the pragmatic use of focus. How these interpretations arise is spelled out in what follows.

Relevant for the final interpretation of focus is its discourse antecedent. The ordinary semantic value of the antecedent of focus has to be an element of the set of alternatives contributed by the focus semantic value. This is formalized as follows:

- (6) If $[[\beta]]^o \in [[\alpha]]^f$, the semantic value of a phrase β can serve as the antecedent for the variable introduced by Focus interpretation at the level of the phrase α .

³ The alternatives contributed by the focus semantic value can also be used by semantic processes, for instance by focus-sensitive operators. This is not relevant for current purposes. I refer to Rooth (1992, 1999) and Erlewine (2014) a.o. for a discussion and illustration of this aspect of Alternative Semantics.

Applying this to the examples above, the antecedent of focus has to be of the form *like* (j, x), informally *John likes x*. Now, the interpretation of the focalized constituent depends on the semantic value of its antecedent. If the antecedent is a question, i.e., if x corresponds to an interrogative *wh*-constituent, as in (4), the focalized constituent will be interpreted as an information focus. On the other hand, if x corresponds to an individual, as in (5), the focalized constituent will be interpreted as a contrastive focus. Summarizing, the semantics of focus does not change, the interpretation depends on the antecedent available for focus. I refer to Rooth (1992) and Brunetti (2004) for more details and examples.

Throughout the rest of the thesis, I will assume Rooth's unified view on focus. However, I will use the terms informational focus and identificational focus for descriptive purposes. *Informational focus* refers to the constituent that is the new information in an answer to a question. *Contrastive focus* on the other hand will be used to designate those constituents that are contrasted with the alternatives in the set contributed by the focus semantic value.

3.1.2 Focus in European Portuguese clefts

3.1.2.1 Are cleft constituents uniformly focalized?

It is a fairly standard assumption that the cleft constituent of the cleft constructions under discussion are focalized, but there are good reasons to investigate this issue with more care. For instance, in some non-standard varieties of European Portuguese, the cleft constituent in *é que*-clefts and pseudoclefts can have properties that are typically associated with syntactic topics, and not with foci. For instance, the cleft constituent of these two clefts can be doubled by a (clitic) pronoun (7). Additionally, the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts can be recursive (8) and it can be null.

(7) a *O que **lhe** chamamos aqui 'cardelas' é*

what CL.DAT.3S call.PRES.3PL here ‘cardelas’ be.PRES.3S
só uma qualidade. (OUT06)

only one quality

‘What we call (it) ‘cardelas’ here is only one variety.’

b *Eu, as outras é que não estou certa*
 I the others be.PRES.3S that not be.PRES.1S sure
agora quais são elas. (PVC29)

now which be.PRES.3PL they

‘Me, the others (is that) I’m not sure now which they are.’

c *E ainda antes dessa vem uma outra, essa*
 and still before this.one come.PRES.3S a other this
é que a gente (...) trata-lhe por a
 be.PRES.3S that the people treat-DAT.3S by the
estrela. (GRC08)

star.

‘And before this one, there’s another one, this one (is that) we call (it) the star.’

(8) *A gente é que lá é que*
 the people be.PRES.3S that there be.PRES.3S that
fazia as cangas para a gente. (STJ57)
 make.IMPERF.3S the oxbows for the people

‘The people (is that) there (is that) made the oxbows for us.’

(9) *Aquele mais fino é boa e Ø é*
 that more fine be.PRES.3S good and Ø be.PRES.3S
que fica (...) para o pão. (COV06)
 that stay.PRES.3S for the bread

‘The finer one is good and Ø (is that) is used for the bread.’

A second observation that might be problematic for the claim that cleft constituents are always focalized is the existence of informative presupposition clefts, as was described in great detail by Prince (1978) and Hedberg & Fadden (2007) for English *it*-clefts. Informative

presupposition clefts are clefts in which the most informative portion is the cleft clause, which can contain completely new information, while the cleft constituent is given in the discourse. It has been argued that foci are the most informative portion of the sentence they surface in (Bolinger 1972, Vallduví 1993). If we take the relative informativity of a constituent as the sole diagnostics for focus, we need to assume that cleft constituents are not necessarily focalized.

As for European Portuguese clefts, both *é que*-clefts and *it*-clefts can have an informative presupposition. For instance, the dialogue below contains an *it*-cleft in which the presupposition contains completely new information. Nothing in the context indicates that the information that the sparrow sings the ‘grepe’ when the harvest is ready to reap and steals the barley, is known by the hearer:

- (10) INQ1 *O que é que queria dizer "o pardal canta o 'grepe'"?*
 ‘What means “the sparrow sings the ‘grepe’”?’
- INF *O pardal canta o 'grepe'?*
 ‘The sparrow sings the ‘grepe’?’
- INQ2 *O que é o 'grepe'?*
 ‘What is the ‘grepe’?’
- INF *O 'grepe'? É roubar. E ele o canta. (...) “Treme-treme-treme-treme-treme-treme-treme-treme”. Pois.*
 ‘The ‘grepe’? It’s stealing. And he sings it. (...) “Treme-treme-treme-treme-treme-treme-treme-treme”. Yes.’
- INQ2 *Ai 'grepe' é roubar?*
 ‘So ‘grepe’ is stealing?’
- INF *Pois. É por isso que "o pardal canta o 'grepe' quando a seara está grada, ao dono chama: "Charepe"!, e vai-lhe comendo a cevada".*
Pois. (CPT03)
 ‘Exactly. It’s because of that that “the sparrow sings the ‘grepe’ when the harvest is ready to reap, he calls the owner: “Charepe”!, and eats his barley”. Indeed.’

The same is possible in *é que*-clefts. On a par with *it*-clefts, their presupposition can contain new information:

(11) INF *Isso, os homens que apanhavam a lenha (...) chamavam-se os homens que iam buscar lenha. É assim como eu. E (...) eu fui buscar tanta.*

‘That, the men who gathered wood (...) were called men that gathered wood. It’s just like me. And (...) I went to get so much.’

INQ1 *Não eram os rachadores?*

‘It wasn’t the splitters?’

INF *Não. Isso é rachadores de lenha isso é quem anda a rachar lenha mesmo para as máquinas.*

‘No, that’s wood splitters that is who splits the wood proper for the machines.’

INQ2 *Mesmo para quê?*

‘Proper for what?’

INF *Para as máquinas. Há máquinas que estão a trabalhar, a puxar água para o arroz, e têm uma caldeira. E é preciso estar a pôr lenha. **Depois é que 'havia' esses rachadores que iam rachar lenha com um machado e com umas cunhas, com uma marreta, para abrir (...) os traços (...) das faxinas para pôr da caldeira.*** (ALC19)

‘For the machines. There are machines that are working, drawing water for the rice, and they have a kettle. And it is necessary to put wood in it. **Afterwards (is that) there were these splitters that splitted the wood with an axe and with some wedges, with a sledgehammer, to open (...) the veins (...) of the fascines to put them in the kettle.**’

Almost all of the information contained in the presupposition is new: it is explained for the first time how the wood for the machines is split. As is clear from these two examples, the cleft constituent is not necessarily the most informative portion of the sentence.

A third important property of focus is prosodic prominence (Jackendoff 1972, Reinhart 1995, Zubizarreta 1998, Frota 2000, Selkirk 2002). As Chomsky (1971) puts it,

focus is determined by “the intonation centre of surface structure” (Frota 2000: 20). In simple sentences, focus can be freely assigned to any constituent:

- (12) A Superman kissed Batman.
 B No, Superman kissed CATWOMAN.
 B’ No, CATWOMAN kissed Batman.
 B’’ No, Superman HIT Batman.

In cleft constructions on the other hand, the assignment of focus is restricted, which indicates that, effectively, cleft constructions are focus constructions. Prominence can fall on the cleft constituent, on a sub-constituent of the cleft constituent, both on the cleft constituent and on an element in the cleft clause (in which case we get a pair-list reading or a vice-versa cleft)⁴ as in (13), but not on an element in the cleft clause only, as in (14) and (15):⁵

- (13) a *O SUPERHOMEM não beijou A MULHER GATA. Foi A MULHER GATA que beijou o SUPERHOMEM.*
 ‘SUPERMAN didn’t kiss CATWOMAN. It was CATWOMAN who kissed SUPERMAN.’
 b *Quem comeu o quê? Quem comeu o BOLO foi o SUPERHOMEM, e quem comeu a FRUTA foi o BATMAN.*
 ‘Who ate what? The one who ate the CAKE was SUPERMAN, and the one who ate the FRUIT was BATMAN.’

⁴ A vice-versa interpretation is not possible in pseudoclefts, as was pointed out by Hedberg & Fadden (2007):

- (i) *O Superhomem beijou o Batman.*
 Superman kissed Batman.
 # *Não, quem beijou o SUPERHOMEM foi o BATMAN.*
 #No, the one who kissed SUPERMAN was BATMAN.

This can easily be explained considering that the cleft clause of pseudoclefts uniformly functions as a topic, as was argued by Prince (1978) and Hedberg & Fadden (2007) a.o.

⁵ The contrastive examples seem to be much more adequate if they are inserted in a context in which the speakers are answering a question of the type ‘Who had dinner with whom?’. This is not the relevant interpretation here, since in this case, also the cleft constituent is focalized in the sense that it is an element of a set of alternatives. The relevant interpretation is the one in which only an element in the cleft clause is focalized.

- c *A RAPARIGA é que estava a casa DA MÃE; O RAPAZ é que foi para casa DO PADRINHO. (AAL54)*
 ‘THE GIRL (is that) was in her MOTHER’s house; THE BOY (is that) went to his GODFATHER’s house.’
- d *FEZ o bolo foi o SUPERHOMEM, COMEU o bolo foi o BATMAN.*
 MADE the cake was SUPERMAN, ATE the cake was BATMAN.

(14) Who did Superman invite for his birthday party?

- a # *Foi o Superhomem que convidou TODOS OS SEUS AMIGOS SUPERHERÓIS.*
 ‘It was Superman who invited ALL OF HIS SUPERHERO FRIENDS.’
- b # *Quem convidou TODOS OS SEUS AMIGOS SUPERHERÓIS foi o Superhomem.*
 ‘Who invited ALL OF HIS SUPERHERO FRIENDS was Superman.’
- c # *O Superhomem é que convidou TODOS OS SEUS AMIGOS SUPERHERÓIS.*
 ‘Superman (is that) invited ALL OF HIS SUPERHERO FRIENDS.’
- d # *Convidou TODOS OS SEUS AMIGOS SUPERHERÓIS foi o Superhomem.*
 Invited ALL OF HIS SUPERHERO FRIENDS was Superman

(15) ‘Superman had dinner with Wolverine.’

- a # *Não, foi o Superhomem que jantou com a MULHER GATA.*
 ‘#No, it was Superman who had dinner with CATWOMAN.’
- b # *Não, quem jantou com A MULHER GATA foi o Superhomem.*
 ‘#No, who invited CATWOMAN was Superman.’
- c # *Não, o Superhomem é que jantou com A MULHER GATA.*
 ‘# No, superman (is that) had dinner with CATWOMAN.’
- d # *Não, jantou com a MULHER GATA foi o Superhomem.*
 No, had dinner with CATWOMAN was Superman

The generalization is thus that if there is focus on the cleft clause, also the cleft constituent needs a focus interpretation (also see Hartmann 2011).⁶ Given these restrictions on the assignment of focus in cleft constructions, I will assume that the cleft constituent consistently has a focus feature, in line with standard assumptions concerning clefts, which triggers phonological prominence in PF, and the focus semantic value at LF (see Rooth 1985, Krifka 1992, Frota 2000 etc.).

3.1.2.2 The interpretation of the cleft constituent

Having established that the cleft constituent of the clefts under discussion effectively is focalized, I will now turn to the question whether the European Portuguese clefts comply to the prediction made by the Alternative Semantics for focus, namely that the cleft constituent, a focalized constituent, can be both an informational focus and an identificational focus, depending on the antecedent.

All of the clefts under discussion can be used to contrast the cleft constituent with an element in the previous discourse. The cleft constituent *o raio das zorras* ‘those damn foxes’ of the *it*-cleft in (16) is contrasted with *os caçadores* ‘the hunters’ as the cause of the decline of the rabbit population. In the pseudocleft in (17), *barulho e dizer mal uns dos outros* ‘noise and speaking ill of each other’ is contrasted with the desirable situation of getting things done.

⁶ Delin (1992) refers English *it*-clefts with focus on the cleft clause only:

- (i) A And does the head know?
- B No. Oh, wait a minute. It was the head who ARRANGED it.

Also in Portuguese, clefts with focus only on the verb in the cleft clause are more acceptable:

- (ii) *O Superhomem beijou o Batman.*
 ‘Superman kissed Batman.’
- a *Não foi nada, foi o Superhomem que BATEU no Batman.*
 ‘That’s not true, it was Superman who HIT Batman.’
- b *Não foi nada, quem BATEU no Batman foi o Superhomem.*
 ‘That’s not true, the one who HIT Batman was Superman.’
- c *Não foi nada, o Superhomem é que BATEU no Batman.*
 ‘That’s not true, Superman (is that) HIT Batman.’
- d *Não foi nada, o Superhomem BATEU foi no Batman.*
 ‘That’s not true, Superman HIT (was) Batman.’

In these clefts, the whole event is contrasted, not only one constituent. Although I have no explanation for why this dichotomy exists, it has to be noted that sentences with focus on the event have been reported to have different syntactic properties than sentences with focus on a constituent. See for instance Haegeman & Ürögdi (2010) for focus in factive complements.

In the dialogue in (18), the interviewer asks the informants what they call *bonina*. The first informant answers that *bonina* is the name of a flower. The second informant does not agree and uses an *é que*-cleft to argue that what he calls *bonina* is a colour, and not a flower. Finally, the informant in (19) corrects the interviewer by means of a SER-cleft, stating that a rope is used to attach something, and not a wire.

(16) *Há já pouco coelho (...) e não é por causa dos caçadores. Não é por causa dos caçadores. Foi o raio (...) das zorras (...) que arrebutaram com isso.* (AJT14)
 ‘There aren’t many rabbits anymore (...) and it’s not because of the hunters. It’s not because of the hunters. It were those damn foxes (...) that blew everything.’

(17) *Só o que se vê é barulho e dizer mal uns dos outros, mas não se vê nada feito.* (AAL32)
 ‘What is seen is noise and speaking ill of each other, but we don’t see anything getting done.’

(18) INQ *O que é para si uma bonina?*
 ‘What is a *bonina* according to you?’
 INF1 *Ah! Uma bonina é aquela flor... Olhe, eu tenho ali uma planta de bonina. Agora flor não está. É uma amarela, assim amarela. Cor-de-laranja.*
 ‘Ah! A *bonina* is that flower... Look, I have a *bonina* over there. It’s not blossoming right now. It’s a yellow one, a bit yellow. Orange.’
 (...)
 INF2 *Para mim, a bonina é uma cor. A cor. A cor.*
 ‘For me, the *bonina* is a colour. The colour. The colour.’
 INQ *A cor é que se chama bonina?*
 ‘So it’s the colour that is called *bonina*?’
 INF3 *Cor de bonina. É. É.*
 ‘The colour of *bonina*. Yes. Yes.’
 INF2 *É. A cor é que se chama bonina e não o... E não a... (MIG29)*
 ‘Yes. The colour (is that) is called *bonina* and not the... and not the...’

- (19) INQ1 *Mas não se ata assim com uma, uns arames?...*
 ‘But isn’t it attached like with, with some wires?...’
 INF *Ata-se. Não, ata-se é com uma corda.* (ALC18)
 ‘It is. No, it’s attached (is) with a rope.’

When it comes to informational focus, the prediction made by Alternative Semantics does not seem to be borne out at first: *é que*-clefts cannot be used to answer *wh*-interrogatives (also see Soares 2006, Vercauteren 2010a). The other cleft constructions can more or less naturally constitute the answer to a question. Example (20) illustrates a question-answer pair with an *it*-cleft, (21) with a pseudocleft, (22) with an *é que*-cleft and, finally, (23) contains a SER-cleft in which the cleft constituent is the information focus.⁷ As can be seen, only the *é que*-cleft in (22) is infelicitous.

- (20) INQ1 *E como é que se chama isto?*
 ‘And how was this called?’
 INF *Isto aqui era o (...) Ai!*
 ‘This here was the (...) Ai!’
 INQ2 *Chambaril?*

⁷ Contrary to most authors, Costa & Martins (2011:230-231) do not accept an *it*-cleft for information focus. I assume this is because *it*-clefts are not the default way to answer *wh*-interrogatives, unlike their French counterparts (see Belletti 2005, 2008 for French). Velleman et al. (2012) argue that English *it*-clefts are Inquiry Terminating structures, they provide a complete answer to the current Question Under Discussion. Because of this, *it*-clefts are a bit odd when they are used as a neutral answer. However, when the context is an extended inquiry, *it*-clefts can be used to indicate that the inquiry is terminated, and as such, terminate the discussion:

- (i) A: What did Mary eat?
 ? B: It was a PIZZA that Mary ate.
 (ii) A: What did Mary eat?
 C: I thought she said she was gonna get a pizza, but I might be wrong.
 D: And did she also order a salad?
 B: Guys, I was there. And C’s right—it was a PIZZA that Mary ate.

(Velleman et al. 2012: 449)

This is because *it*-clefts are always associated with an exhaustivity claim, as will be discussed in detail in section 3.2.2. The same can be observed for *it*-clefts in European Portuguese. These structures are particularly appropriate to terminate inquiries, indicating that the cleft constituent is the only correct answer to the question, as in example (20).

- ‘Cambrel?’
- INF *Hum... Ele isso aqui a gente chamava um (...) Não era gancho, era... Parece que era o pernil que a gente chamava a isto. Pois.* (ALC30)
 ‘Hum... this here we called a (...) It wasn’t a *gancho*, it was... It seems that **it was the gammon that we called this**. Exactly.’
- (21) INQ *O que é que entra pela janela e que nos pica toda a noite?*
 ‘What enters through the window and bites us all night long?’
- INF *Se tem a janela aberta, o que entra é **um morcego**.* (ALC 39)
 ‘If the window is open, what comes in is a bat.’
- (22) A *Quem é que cortou a árvore?*
 ‘Who cut the tree?’
- B # ***O Superhomem** é que cortou a árvore.*
 ‘Superman (is that) cut the tree.’
- (23) INQ *Olhe, e como é que chama àquilo que põe no buraco que é para não entrar água?*
 ‘Look, and how do you call the thing that you put in the hole and that is through where the water comes in?’
- INF *A gente trata-lhe aqui (...) é de **boeira**.* (GRC06)
 ‘We call it here (...) (is) *boeira*.’

If focus has a uniform input, as is argued by Rooth (1992), and if the final interpretation of focalized constituents is uniquely determined by its antecedent, it is not clear why the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts cannot be an information focus, unlike the cleft constituent of the other cleft constructions. However, it has to be noted that *é que*-clefts can be used to answer questions, under particular circumstances. More specifically, the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts can be an information focus if it is related to an element that is already present in the common ground. This is evidenced by the fact that *é que*-clefts are felicitous answers to so called d-linked interrogatives, in which it is asked to identify one (or more) members from a set of previously identified alternatives. In this case, the cleft

constituent is appropriately related to an element in the common ground, by set-membership of a given set:⁸

- (24) (talking about alternative forms of energy)
- A *E neste momento, qual é que é mais bem visto pela população?*
'And at this moment, which one is the most accepted by the population?'
- B *Não posso dizer com certeza, mas a energia solar é que me parece mais bem vista.*
'I cannot say with certainty, but **solar energy (is that) seems to be the most accepted.**'

When the cleft constituent is drawn from a given set, *é que*-clefts can also answer non d-linked interrogatives. In the following example, the cleft constituent is an element of a set of ordered temporal intervals that are introduced in the discourse preceding the cleft:

- (25) A *Quando é que vamos visitar a avó?*
When are we going to visit grandmother?
- B *Vamos ver... primeiro tenho de ir ao médico buscar uma prescrição. Depois acho que é melhor irmos ao supermercado antes que feche. **E só depois é que podemos ir visitar a avó.***

⁸ Note that the alternatives of the set really have to be identified in the common ground, a generic set is not enough to license *é que*-clefts:

- (i) [S]^f := {x : x is a car}
A *Que carro é que é mais rápido?*
'What car is the fastest?'
B *#O meu Porche é que anda mais rápido.*
'My Porche (is that) is the fastest.'
- (ii) [S]^f := {my Mitsubishi, my red Toyota, my Porche, ...}
A *Qual dos teus carros é que é mais rápido?*
'Which of your cars is the fastest?'
B *O meu Porche é que anda mais depressa.*
'My Porche (is that) is the fastest.'

Let's see, first I have to go to the doctor to pick up a prescription. Then I think it is better that we go to the supermarket before it closes. **And only after that (is that) can we visit grandmother.**

As is clear from these examples, also the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts can be an information focus, albeit in a more restricted manner than the cleft constituent of the other cleft constructions. Hence, we can maintain the Alternative Semantics of focus as elaborated by Rooth (1992). I will thus continue assuming that, from a semantic point of view, focus does nothing more than contribute a set of alternatives, and that the interpretation of a focalized constituent depends on the discourse antecedent. However, there are additional restrictions concerning the antecedent of some focalized constituents, such as the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts. I return to this issue in chapter 5.

3.1.3 Summary

In this section I introduced Rooth's (1985, 1992) Alternative Semantics for focus. Focus gives rise to a focus semantic value, i.e., a set of alternative propositions of the same form as the ordinary semantic value of a sentence with substitution of the focalized constituent. Differences in interpretation, such as the difference between contrastive and information focus, are not intrinsic to the semantics of focus, but arise because of the discourse antecedent for focus. They are thus pragmatic in nature.

The European Portuguese clefts confirm this semantics for focus: all cleft constructions can be used to introduce both contrastive and information focus. Nevertheless, there are some restrictions on the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts. These clefts can only be used to introduce information focus if the cleft constituent can be related to an element in the common ground.

In what follows I turn to the interpretation of the cleft clause. It will become clear that the view on focus as proposed by Rooth is more compatible with the observed properties of existential presuppositions and exhaustivity claims.

3.2 The cleft clause

3.2.1 Existential presupposition

In this section I discuss the existential presupposition associated with the cleft clause of cleft constructions. First, I delimit and define the concept, since the term *presupposition* has been used with different meanings in the literature. Then, I turn to the relation between existential presuppositions and focus: I will argue that the two interpretations are not intrinsically related to each other, but that existential presuppositions arise through pragmatic rules operating on the set of alternatives contributed by focus. In section 3.2.1.3, I discuss the observation that presuppositions seem to come in different strengths. Finally, I classify the cleft constructions according to their presupposition strength.

3.2.1.1 Definition and properties

A second important notion that has been used to describe the discursive properties of cleft constructions is *presupposition*: several authors claim that the cleft clause is presupposed (Prince 1978, 1986; Reeve 2012 a.o.), although it is not always clear what they mean by this. Following Prince (1978), I distinguish between at least two main uses of the term *presupposed*: the pragmatic use and the logico-semantic use.⁹

One group of authors uses the term *presupposition* in a pragmatic sense (Stalnaker 1974, Chafe 1976, Simons 2007b): a proposition is presupposed if ‘the speaker is warranted in taking [it] to be shared knowledge’ (Prince 1986:3). This notion thus corresponds to given/known/old information, and I will refer to it as such. The term presupposition has also frequently been used in a logico-semantic way and means existential presupposition, and this is the relevant notion for describing cleft clauses.

⁹ Von Stechow (2004b) distinguishes between semantic and pragmatic presupposition. This distinction is the same as logico-semantic and pragmatic presupposition. Note however that other authors such as Abusch (2005) give a different interpretation to these terms. I will discuss this in section 4.2.3.

Existential presupposition can be triggered by a number of elements, such as intonational focus, definiteness, aspectual verbs, factive verbs and adverbs such as *too*, *even*, *also*, *again* and *either*. For instance, a sentence such as *Superman dropped the teapot again* presupposes that Superman has dropped the teapot before, i.e., that there exists a previous moment in which Superman dropped the teapot. Also definite descriptions trigger existential presuppositions. Sentences such as *the king of France is bald* presuppose that there is a unique x, such that x is the king of France.

Existential presuppositions have several properties, discussed at length by Beaver & Geurts (2014). I will briefly discuss two of them, namely projection and accommodation.

One of the definitions that have been proposed for semantic presupposition is the following:

- (26) A sentence S presupposes a sentence S' just in case S logically implies S' and the negation of S, ~S, also logically implies S'

(Keenan 1971: 45, taken from Prince 1978: 884).

The *it*-cleft below illustrates this:

- (27) a It was a shirt that I gave to John for his birthday.
b It wasn't a shirt that I gave to John for his birthday.
c I gave John something for his birthday.

Both (27) a and b, with sentential negation, have the same presupposition, namely the one in (27)c. The example above illustrates that the truth value of presupposed propositions is not affected by sentential negation. This is because semantic presuppositions *project*: they remain intact when they are embedded under an operator such as negation (a), question formation (b), modal adverbs expressing possibility (c), probability or evidentiality (d), belief operators (e), or when they are put in the antecedent of a conditional (f). All of the following sentences presuppose that someone stole the tarts:

- (28) a It isn't the knave that stole the tarts.
b Is it the knave that stole the tarts?
c Maybe/It is possible that it's the knave that stole the tarts.
d Presumably/probably it's the knave that stole the tarts.
e The king thinks it's the knave that stole the tarts.
f If it's the knave that stole the tarts, he will be punished.

(Beaver & Geurts 2014)

Apart from the *it*-clefts in (28), also intonational focus gives rise to presuppositions, as can be seen in the following examples with sentential negation:

- (29) a I didn't give John A SHIRT for his birthday.
b presupposition: I gave John something for his birthday.

In short, relevant for current purposes, both clefts and sentences with intonational focus are associated with an existential presupposition. I will return to the relation between focus and presupposition in section 3.2.1.2.

I now turn to the relation between presupposition and givenness. It has to be noted that there is a link between the two uses of the term *presupposition* established above, related to the 'givenness/knownness' status. Von Fintel (2004b) for instance notes that all semantic presuppositions trigger pragmatic presuppositions, but not necessarily the other way around. In other words, according to von Fintel (2004b), given information is not necessarily semantically presupposed, but semantically presupposed information is granted to be "common ground among the participants in the conversation" (von Fintel 2004b: 3; see also Stalnaker 1973 a.o.).¹⁰ This claim needs some qualifying, since even semantic presuppositions can contain new information not assumed to be in the common ground. In the examples below the presuppositions are indicated with italics:

¹⁰ Note that Von Fintel (2004b) only deals with definite descriptions, not with existential presuppositions associated with focus.

- (30) a Where was Harriet yesterday?
 b Henry discovered that *she had a job interview at Princeton.*

(Simons 2007: 1035)

- (31) The leaders of the militant homophile movement in America generally have been young people. It was they who *fought back during a violent police raid on a Greenwich Village bar in 1969, an incident from which many gays date the birth of the modern crusade for homosexual rights.*

(Prince 1978: 898)

Nevertheless, there is something ‘given’ about semantic presuppositions.¹¹ This has led several authors to propose that presuppositions need to be *satisfied* in a given context (see Heim 1983 and Beaver 2001 for instance). A satisfied presupposition is a presupposition containing information that is already present in the common ground when the sentence with the presupposition is uttered. Beaver & Geurts (2014) formalize this as follows, with *S* and *S'* sentences and *C* a context set:

- (32) i. *S* is *satisfied* in a context *C* iff $C + S = C$ (i.e., updating *C* with *S* has no effect).
 ii. *S* presupposes *S'* iff *S'* is satisfied in all contexts where update with *S* is defined.

As is clear from the examples in (30) and (31), the information in a presupposition can be completely new in the discourse context, and thus not satisfied. This leads us to the second property of presuppositions: they can be *accommodated*. Accommodation is conceived of as a repair strategy. In Beaver & Zeevat’s (2007: 2) words, ‘the hearer recognizes that something

¹¹ Prince (1978) refers an experiment by Hornby (1974), which provides evidence for this claim: the subjects were asked to evaluate pictures that (mis)represented the content of several sentences, some of which were clefts. Discrepancies were noted less often when the picture represented information contained in the presupposed part of a cleft construction, indicating that speakers tend to verify the truth value of presuppositions less thoroughly, since they are conceived of as ‘given’ information.

is wrong, sees that the day can be saved by adding the missing presupposition [to the common ground] and proceeds to do just that'. Accommodation is restricted by several factors which will not be discussed here as they are not relevant for current purposes. I refer the reader to Beaver & Zeevat (2007), von Stechow (2008), Gazdar (1979), van der Sandt (1988, 1992) and Simons (2001) a.o. for further details. I retain that the given-new distinction is thus orthogonal to the notion of presupposition.

Summarizing, semantic presuppositions have the property of having a truth value that is not affected by sentential negation, modality operators, conditional operators etc. In other words, presuppositions project. Additionally, although semantic presuppositions often contain given information and have a givenness-flavour, they can also contain discourse-new information. In this case, the presupposition is accommodated.

3.2.1.2 The relation between focus and presupposition

Concerning the relation between focus and presupposition, there has been a lot of discussion on whether they are systematically associated with each other. Some authors have argued that existential presupposition is a property intrinsically related to (some types of) focus (Geurts & van der Sandt 2004 a.o.), others argue that presupposition is a by-product generated from the alternative semantics of focus (Rooth 1999, Abusch 2005, 2006, 2010, Abrusán 2014 a.o.)

Geurts & van der Sandt (2004) argue that all focus gives rise to a presupposition. Consider the following example:

(33) [Fred]_F robbed the bank.

(Geurts & van der Sandt 2004: 27)

Focusing divides a proposition into two parts: the focus, which is intonationally prominent, and the background. The backgrounded information in the sentence above by itself does not entail that somebody robbed a bank, it is the presence of focus that causes the

projection typical for presupposition, as the authors formulate in the Background-Presupposition Rule:

- (34) Whenever focusing gives rise to a background $\lambda x.\varphi(x)$, there is a presupposition to the effect that $\lambda x.\varphi(x)$ holds of some individual.

(Geurts & van der Sandt 2004: 26)

For instance, if we negate the sentence above, as in (35)a, it still presupposes that someone robbed the bank, even though it wasn't Fred. The presupposition projection also persists with other operators, such as modals or belief operators:

- (35) a [Fred]_F didn't rob the bank.
b Maybe [Fred]_F robbed the bank.
c I think [Fred]_F robbed the bank.

All of the three sentences above are only felicitous if the bank was robbed, indicating that there is effectively an existential presupposition. Also *it*-clefts are associated with an existential presupposition, as evidenced by the fact that the *it*-cleft below maintains the presupposition that someone stole the tarts, even when negated:

- (36) a It was the knave who stole the tarts.
b It wasn't the knave who stole the tarts.

This confirms the idea that existential presupposition is an intrinsic property of sentences with focus.

However, sentences such as the ones in (37) have led several authors (Rooth 1999 a.o.) to argue that focus and presupposition are not intrinsically related and should be dealt with separately:

- (37) a **Nobody** shot the sheriff.
 b **Somebody** shot the sheriff.

(Geurts & van der Sandt 2004:51)

Clearly, even with emphasis on *nobody*, which makes it focalized, it is hard to argue that sentence (a) presupposes that somebody shot the sheriff. In the (b) sentence, if it is true that focus always gives rise to a presupposition, the asserted content would be exactly the same as the presupposed content, while they should be in complementary distribution. This has led several authors to defend that focus and presupposition should be treated separately.

According to Geurts & van der Sandt (2004), the problematic examples in (37) above cannot be compared to regular instances of narrow focus: they are instances of polarity focus. As such, it is not the emphatic constituent that is focalized while the VP is backgrounded, but it is rather the whole proposition that is focalized. Focus on negative and existential quantifiers are thus not instances of narrow focus, but should be treated in a parallel way to sentential negation.

If focus on bare negative and existential quantifiers is an instance of polarity focus, we could assume that *it*-clefts are not compatible with focus on these types of constituents because they do not allow for polarity focus. This is however not the case, since *it*-clefts do allow for sentential negation and can be polarity questions, as is illustrated in the example below:

- (38) a *It was nobody/somebody who destroyed Gotham.
 b It wasn't Superman who destroyed Gotham.
 c Was it Superman who destroyed Gotham?

There does not seem to be any relation between focalized quantifiers and the possibility of having polarity focus on a structure. The line of reasoning followed by Geurts & van der Sandt (2004) thus quickly comes to a dead end. As such, the hypothesis that focus and presupposition are orthogonal seems more promising.

If focus and presupposition are independent of each other, how can we explain that focus is often associated with a presupposition, as is clear in the sentences in (35)? Abusch

(2005, 2010) argues that “the semantics for focus does create the potential for a default process to generate a presupposition” (Abusch 2010: 8). As will be discussed in detail in chapter 4, it has often been noted that sets of alternatives, such as the one contributed by focus, are pragmatically interpreted as questions under discussion (see Büring 2003, Kadmon 2001 a.o.). Additionally, it is generally taken for granted that one of the alternative answers to questions is true, as formulated in the maxim of Relation. This process is a default process, and does not take place when it would give rise to inappropriate discourse. Presuppositions thus arise as an implicature, they are a by-product of the semantics of focus.¹²

3.2.1.3 Presupposition strength

Inside the class of semantic presuppositions, several authors distinguish between weak and strong presuppositions (see for instance Abusch 2005, 2010; Abbott 2006; Romoli 2014 and Abrusán 2014). Weak presuppositions are context dependent and easily suspendable. This means that an expected presupposition does not arise. Strong presuppositions on the other hand cannot be suspended. Several authors have noticed that the presupposition associated with intonational focus and the one associated with *it*-clefts differ in strength. As was illustrated in examples (28) and (29), both sentences with intonational focus and *it*-clefts are associated with an existential presupposition, with a truth value that is not affected by sentential negation or other operators. However, only sentences with intonational focus are felicitous in explicit ignorance contexts, i.e., contexts in which the truth value of the presupposition is explicitly undefined. *It*-clefts are not felicitous in these contexts, as illustrated below:

- (39) a I have no idea whether anyone read that letter. But if **Bill** *read it*, let's ask him to be discreet about the content.

¹² The attentive reader might have noticed that the assumption that presuppositions associated with focus arise as an implicature (section 3.2.1.2) is in conflict with the observation that they cannot be suspended in *it*-clefts. If the presupposition in *it*-clefts arises because of the presence of focus on the cleft constituent, it should be an implicature, and hence not arise in contexts in which this would give rise to infelicitous discourse. This issue will be returned to at length in chapter 4, in which it is argued that this property of *it*-clefts is a consequence of their specificational semantics, and independent of focus.

- b I have no idea whether anyone read that letter. # But if it is **Bill** who *read it*, let's ask him to be discreet about the content.

(Abusch 2010: 3)

Also the fact that bare negative quantifiers can only be focalized by means of intonational focus and not by means of an *it*-cleft constitutes evidence for the claim that the presupposition associated with both types of focus differs in strength. In both sentences below, the presupposition that somebody shot the sheriff is negated. However this is only felicitous in (40)a, since only the presupposition associated with intonational focus can be suspended. The presupposition associated with *it*-clefts is a strong presupposition, and cannot be suspended. Hence it conflicts with the claim that nobody shot the sheriff.

- (40) a **Nobody** shot the sheriff.
b *It was **nobody** who shot the sheriff.

Also focus on bare existential quantifiers illustrates this dichotomy between sentences with intonational focus and *it*-clefts. Again, bare existential quantifiers can only be focalized by means of intonational focus, arguably because the asserted content would redundantly be exactly the same as the presupposed content (Geurts & van der Sandt 2004:51). As such, the felicity of intonationally focalized existential quantifiers can be taken to indicate that no presupposition arises.

- (41) a **Somebody** destroyed Gotham.
b ??It was **somebody** who destroyed Gotham.

Summarizing, presuppositions come in two strengths: weak and strong. Weak presuppositions can be suspended, hence they are compatible with explicit ignorance contexts and with focus on bare negative and existential quantifiers. Strong presuppositions on the other hand cannot be suspended and are not felicitous in these contexts. In what follows, the felicity of focalizing existential and negative quantifiers will be used as a diagnostics to distinguish between weak and strong presuppositions.

3.2.1.4 Classification of the European Portuguese clefts

In the previous sections I discussed the notion *presupposition* and illustrated that there are weak and strong presuppositions. Only structures which are associated with weak presuppositions can occur in explicit ignorance contexts and can be used to focalize bare negative and existential quantifiers. I will not use the explicit ignorance context as a diagnostic here, since this context requires subjunctive mode in Portuguese, and it is not clear if this could itself have an influence on the acceptability of the different cleft constructions in these contexts. Only the adequacy of bare quantifiers as a cleft constituent will be used as a diagnostic.

Recall that negative quantifiers are in conflict with the presupposition that the predicate holds for at least one alternative in the set generated by focus. Existential quantifiers on the other hand are a simple expression of such a presupposition, they do not add anything. Negative and existential quantifiers can only surface as the cleft constituent in *é que*-clefts (42) and SER-clefts (43), and not in *it*-clefts (44) or pseudoclefts (45). This indicates that the presupposition of the first two structures is weak, since it can be suspended.

- (42) a *Alguém sabe onde estão os gravadores que Ricardo Rodrigues roubou ao meu amigo Fernando Esteves da Sábado. Mais do que uma só pessoa, se calhar.*

‘Someone knows where the recorders are that Ricardo Rodrigues stole from my friend Fernando Esteves of the *Sábado*. More than one person, maybe.

*Ninguém é que não é, de certeza.*¹³

nobody is that not is of certainty

‘It wasn’t nobody, for sure.’

- b *Alguém teve sempre culpa ou alguém é*
someone had always blame or someone is

¹³ <http://memoriarecenteeantiga.blogspot.be/2010/05/e-ladrao-e-ladrao-e-ladrao.html>, consulted 24/12/2013

*que começou e o outro teve de responder.*¹⁴
 that started and the other had to answer
 ‘Someone was always to blame or someone started it and the other had to answer.’

- (43) a *Eles não sabem é nada.* (PAL31)
 they not know is nothing
 ‘They don’t know anything.’
 b *As testemunhas viram foi alguém.*
 the witnesses saw was someone.
 ‘The witnesses saw someone.’
- (44) a **Não foi ninguém que se apaixonou pelo Batman.*
 ‘It’s nobody that fell in love with Batman.’
 b **Foi alguém que se apaixonou pelo Batman.*
 ‘It was somebody that fell in love with Batman.’
- (45) a *??Quem se apaixonou pelo Batman não foi ninguém.*
 ‘Who fell in love with Batman was nobody.’
 b *??Quem se apaixonou pelo Batman foi alguém.*
 ‘Who fell in love with Batman was somebody.’

We can thus conclude that there are two classes of clefts when it comes to the strength of the presupposition: *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts have a strong presupposition, hence, they do not allow for negative and existential quantifiers to surface as the cleft constituent. *É que*-clefts and SER-clefts on the other hand have a weak presupposition. These structures do allow for negative and existential quantifiers to surface as the cleft constituent.

¹⁴ <http://p3.publico.pt/cultura/filmes/5751/historia-de-argo-aconteceu-mesmo>, consulted 28/10/2013

3.2.1.5 Summary

In section 3.2.1.1 I introduced the notion *existential presupposition* and briefly described its main properties, namely projection and accommodation. The first refers to the fact that the truth value of presuppositions is not affected by operators such as sentential negation. The second refers to the fact that presuppositions can contain discourse new information, in which case the information needs to be added to the common ground, through accommodation, a repair strategy. In section 3.2.1.2 I argued that presupposition is independent of focus, as in Rooth (1999). Existential presuppositions rather arise as an implicature due to the semantics of focus. Then I introduced the distinction between weak and strong presupposition and their diagnostics. Finally, I classified the European Portuguese cleft constructions according to their presupposition strength: *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts have a strong presupposition, while *é que*-clefts and SER-clefts have a weak presupposition.

3.2.2 Exhaustivity

This section deals with the exhaustivity claim associated with cleft constructions and focus in general. First of all, I will establish what is meant by *exhaustivity* and establish the diagnostics that will be used in order to detect exhaustive identification. Then, I will discuss the relation between focus and exhaustivity, and argue that exhaustivity associated with focus arises as an implicature, and is thus weak. However, focus-independent properties of certain syntactic structures can give rise to strong exhaustivity claims. This section is concluded by a classification of the European Portuguese cleft constructions.

3.2.2.1 Diagnostics

It is well known that focus is often associated with exhaustivity. More specifically, in a sentence such as the following, with focus on *a book*, it is asserted that John bought a book, but it also expresses that the only thing John bought is a book. *Book* thus exhaustively

identifies the (relevant) set of objects that have the property of being bought by John. This has been called the exhaustivity claim (Büring & Kríž 2011, Büring 2011).

(46) It was **a book** that John bought.

As was discussed by É. Kiss (1998), some phrases are not compatible with exhaustive identification, since their lexical meaning implies that the predicate holds for other elements not identified by the phrase. Cases in point are *even* and *also*-phrases:

(47) *It was even/also John who ate the cake.

In what follows, these phrases will be used as a diagnostics for the presence of an exhaustivity claim.

3.2.2.2 The relation between focus and exhaustivity

There is a lot of discussion about the relation between focus and exhaustivity, related to the question whether there is only one or two types of focus. For instance, É. Kiss (1998) uses the presence versus absence of an exhaustivity claim as an argument to set apart two types of focus, namely contrastive (identificational) focus and information focus. Other authors, such as Brunetti (2004) have shown that there is no strict correlation between the presence of an exhaustivity claim and the interpretation of focus, and argue that focus and exhaustivity are independent of each other.

One of the main reasons that led É. Kiss (1998) to characterize contrastive focus as being consistently associated with an exhaustivity claim, is the inappropriateness of sentences like the following:

(48) *It was even/also a hat that Mary picked out for herself.

(É. Kiss 1998: 252)

According to É. Kiss (1998), identificational focus is used to identify all the elements in the set of alternatives contributed by focus for which the predicate holds, excluding all the other possible alternatives by not identifying them. Constituents such as *even* or *also*-phrases cannot be placed in a syntactic position associated with identificational focus, such as the cleft constituent of English *it*-clefts, because they are semantically incompatible with this type of focus. *Even* and *also*-phrases imply that there are other elements for which the predicate holds. Informational focus on the other hand does not put any restrictions on the type of constituent. For É. Kiss (1998), this is one of the main properties that distinguish the two types of focus.

In work on Italian focus fronting, Brunetti (2004) shows that focus fronted constituents are not instances of information focus, but of contrastive focus since structures with preposed focus are not adequate answers to questions in most contexts:¹⁵

- (49) a *Dove sei andata quest'estate?*
 'Where did you go last summer?'
 b *??IN FRANCIA sono andata.*
 in France be.1SG.PRES gone
 'It was FRANCE where I went'

(Brunetti 2004: 67)

However, unlike what É. Kiss' view on focus and exhaustivity predicts, contrastive focus in Italian is not consistently associated with exhaustivity, since constituents with *anche* 'also' and *persino* 'even' can be focus fronted:

¹⁵ In some contexts, Italian focus fronting can be used to answer questions:

- (i) A *Oh, Mauro, quanti tavoli c'hai ancora da fare?*
 'Oh, Mauro, how many tables do you still have to take care of?'
 B *TRE DI SOPRA me ne sono rimasti.*
 three upstairs me.CL.DAT ne.CL are left.
 'There are THREE left UPSTAIRS.'

(Ciro Greco, p.c.)

Brunetti (2009) shows that these structures can also answer questions that are far back in the discourse or implicit. I refer to her paper for more details and several examples.

- (50) *Anche UN CAPPELLO gli ha comprato Maria.*
 also a hat him has bought Maria
 ‘Maria bought him also A HAT.’

(Brunetti 2004: 68)

- (51) *Persino UN CAPPELLO gli ha comprato Maria.*
 even a hat him has bought Maria
 ‘Maria bought him even A HAT.’

(Brunetti 2004: 69)

We thus have to assume that contrastive focus is not necessarily associated with an exhaustivity claim, and hence, exhaustivity should not be regarded as an intrinsic property of (types of) focus.¹⁶ This is an additional argument in favour of the view on focus defended by Rooth (1985, 1992, 1999) and adopted here, in which focus is uniform but its interpretation, such as the fact that it is often associated with an exhaustivity claim, depends on focus-independent factors.

Following Schulz & van Rooij (2006) and Spector (2006) a.o., I will adopt the view that exhaustivity claims arise as an implicature. This can easily be illustrated by question-answer pairs, with intonational focus. It is well known that questions generally require an exhaustive answer, as was formulated in Grice’s maxim of quantity: ‘Make your contribution as informative as required’. However, answers can be non exhaustive, since conversational implicatures can be cancelled (Grice 1975).¹⁷ For instance, when someone asks who has a pen in a room full of people, it is sufficient to identify only one person with a pen, exhaustivity is not obligatory and would even give rise to inappropriate discourse, since giving an exhaustive answer would violate the maxim of Quantity, which requires a speaker to make his or her

¹⁶ Also see Wedgwood (2005), Wedgwood et al. (2006) and É. Kiss (2006, 2010) for the dissociation of Hungarian contrastive focus and exhaustivity. The Portuguese data discussed in section 3.2.2.4 also provide evidence for this view on focus and exhaustivity.

¹⁷ Multiple questions on the other hand seem to require exhaustive answers, see for instance Schulz & Roeper (2011).

contribution as informative as is required but not more informative than is required. Rather, questions pragmatically require exhaustive answers.¹⁸

Also contrastive focus is often associated with an exhaustivity claim, arguably because of pragmatic processes. As will be amply discussed in chapter 4, the set of alternatives contributed by focus is interpreted as the Question Under Discussion, to which the focalized constituent is the answer. Since questions pragmatically require an exhaustive answer, as I have discussed above, both information and contrastive focus are generally associated with an exhaustivity claim. Being a conversational implicature, this exhaustivity claim can however easily be suspended and will be in case not suspending the implicature would violate conversational maxims. Hence, *even* and *also*-phrases can be marked with intonational focus and can be contrastively focalized, as has been illustrated in examples (50) and (51) above.

In summary, exhaustivity is not an inherent property of focus, it arises as a by-product of the semantics of focus. Being an implicature, exhaustivity claims can be suspended in order to avoid infelicitous discourse.

3.2.2.3 Exhaustivity strength

As was noted above, *it*-clefts are not compatible with *even*- and *also*-phrases, which led É. Kiss (1998) to argue that these structures are inherently associated with an exhaustivity claim. It is effectively the case that some structures are associated with a strong exhaustivity claim, which cannot be suspended. However, there are good reasons to assume that the presence of a semanticised exhaustivity claim is independent of focus, and has to be ascribed to other properties of these structures, as will be discussed in detail in chapter 4. For now, I retain that there are two types of exhaustivity claims: weak ones, such as the ones associated with intonational focus, and strong ones, such as the ones associated with *it*-clefts. Only the first type of exhaustivity claim is compatible with *even*- and *also*-phrases, since only the first can be suspended.

¹⁸ But see Schulz & Roeper (2011) for a different view.

3.2.2.4 Classification of the European Portuguese cleft constructions

In this section, I provide a classification of the European Portuguese cleft constructions based on the type of exhaustivity claim associated with them. The appropriateness of focalizing *even-* and *also* phrases will be used as a diagnostics.

When it comes to *it*-clefts, there are two instances of *também* ‘also’-phrases in the corpus. However, as is clear from the context, in both cases *também* ‘also’ does not make reference to other entities for which the predicate in the cleft clause holds. Instead it scopes over the VP:

- (52) INQ2 *Então sabe bem de cozinha?*
‘So she knows well how to cook?’
INF *Sabe. Também já foi cozinheira (...) dum casamento numa amiga. Já, já. Foi ela também que preparou tudo!* (VPA42)
‘Yes, she knows. She also already cooked for the wedding of a friend. She already did that. **In that occasion as well, it was she that prepared everything.**’
- (53) INQ *Olhe e como é que se diz... E antes de se meter o pão ao forno, o que é que se diz? Ou, ou quando se mete o pão no forno, e se, se tapa, ou se põe a porta?*
‘Look and how do you say... and before putting the bread in the oven, what do you say? Or, or when you put the bread in the oven and you cover it, or you put in the door?’
INF *Eu acho que ...*
‘I think that...’
INQ *Não se diz nada?*
‘Don’t you say anything?’
INF *Não, era isso também que elas diziam sempre.*
‘No, it also was that thing that they always said.’

INQ *Era o "te acrescente"... "São Vicente te acrescente, São João"...*
(GIA06)

‘It was the “grows you”... “Saint Vincent grows you, Saint John”...’

There are no instances in the corpus in which *também* ‘also’ scopes over the cleft constituent, indicating that there are alternatives to it for which the predicate also holds. Neither are there instances of *até* ‘even’-phrases. In fact, we observe the same pattern as for *it*-clefts: these phrases cannot surface as the cleft constituent:

(54) **O Batman foi convidado para a festa do Homem Aranha, e foi também o Superhomem que foi convidado.*

‘Batman was invited to Spiderman’s party, and it was Superman as well who was invited.’

(55) **Foi até o Robin que trouxe uma prenda.*¹⁹

‘It was even Robin who brought a gift.’

The corpus also does not contain any instances of pseudoclefts with *até* ‘even’ or *também* ‘also’-phrases. Again, these phrases seem not to be appropriate as cleft constituents:

(56) **O que o Batman fez foi também contar uma piada.*

‘What Batman did was also tell a joke.’

(57) **Quem usa óculos é até Clark Kent.*

Who uses glasses is even Clark Kent.

¹⁹ These structures are grammatical if *até* ‘even’ scopes over the copula, which is not the intended interpretation here. The same applies to *até* ‘even’ in pseudoclefts.

Things are different when we look at *é que*-clefts or SER-clefts. The corpus contains several occurrences of *até* ‘even’-phrases in *é que*-clefts:

- (58) *Isso até meu irmão é que poderá explicar uma coisa melhor.* (PIC12)
EXPL even my brother is that could explain a thing better.
‘Even my brother (is that) could explain something better.’

There are no instances of *também* ‘also’-phrases in the corpus, but these phrases can surface as the cleft constituent in *é que*-clefts:

- (59) *Pois também eu é que gosto das duas.*²⁰
well also I is that like of.the two
‘Also I (is that) like both.’

The sentence below illustrates that SER-clefts are similar to *é que*-clefts when it comes to exhaustivity. It is clear that several people had horses to do the heavy pulling and that several people also had mares:

- (60) *Muitos tinham um cavalo e muitos tinham (...) era éguas, também boas de puxar, que faziam o mesmo serviço.* (MIG12)
‘Several people had a horse and several people had (...) (was) mares, also good draft animals, that did the same job.’

The fact that the same proposition cannot be expressed by means of a pseudocleft, which has a strong exhaustivity claim, as was illustrated above, confirms that SER-clefts are not necessarily exhaustive:

²⁰ <http://www.audipt.com/f91/moreira-silver-project-bancos-sport-p@g-62-a-68478/index53.html>

- (61) *Muitos tinham um cavalo e # o que muitos tinham era éguas.*
 ‘Several people had a horse and what several people had was a mare.’

Also the constructed examples below indicate that SER-clefts are not necessarily associated with an exhaustivity claim, since the cleft constituent can contain *até* ‘even’ or *também* ‘also’:

- (62) *Li foi até/também este livro.*
 ‘I read (was) even/also this book.’

There are thus two types of clefts when it comes to exhaustivity. Canonical clefts and pseudoclefts have a strong exhaustivity claim, which cannot be suspended. *É que*-clefts and SER-clefts on the other hand have a weak exhaustivity claim. The following examples confirm this classification:

- (63) a *Foi o Batman que organizou a festa, # e o Superhomem também.*
 ‘It was Batman who organized the party, #and Superman as well.’
- b *Quem organizou a festa foi o Batman, #e o Superhomem também.*
 ‘Who organized the party was Batman, #and Superman as well.’
- c *Pois, os agricultores é que sofrem e o povo até sofre, também. (AAL32)*
 well the farmers is that suffer and the people even suffers as well
 ‘Yeah, the farmers suffer and even the people suffer as well.’
- d *Chegou atrasado foi o Joker, e o Bane também.*
 arrived late was the Joker and the Bane
 also
 ‘The Joker arrived late, and Bane as well.’

Only *é que*-clefts and SER-clefts can be followed by a sentence that explicitly adds another referent for which the predicate expressed by the cleft clause holds.

I conclude that when considering exhaustivity as a diagnostic, there are two classes of clefts. The first class consists of *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts, with a strong exhaustivity claim. The second class contains *é que*-clefts and SER-clefts, with a weak exhaustivity claim.

3.2.2.5 Summary

In this section, I discussed the relation between exhaustivity and focus. Contra É. Kiss (1998) a.o., I argued that exhaustivity is not an intrinsic property of contrastive focus. The semantics of focus uniformly permits an exhaustivity claim to arise as an implicature, which will be suspended, i.e., it will not arise to begin with, when conversational principles require this. Nevertheless, there are two types of exhaustivity claims: weak ones and strong ones. The latter cannot be suspended, but, as will be argued in chapter 4, this is due to focus-independent factors. Finally, I classified the cleft constructions according to the type of exhaustivity claim associated with them: *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts have a strong exhaustivity claim, while *é que*-clefts and SER-clefts have a weak exhaustivity claim.

3.3 Summary

In this chapter, the main concepts related to the interpretation of cleft constructions were introduced, namely focus, presupposition and exhaustivity.

First, I spelled out the basic aspects of the Alternative Semantics for focus (Rooth 1985, 1992, 1999). In this account, focus has a uniform import: it contributes a set of alternatives in LF, which can be used by semantic and pragmatic processes and rules. As such, there is no semantic difference between contrastive and information focus. Whether a focalized constituent is interpreted as contrastive or rather as an information focus depends on its discourse antecedent. If the antecedent is an interrogative element, focus will be interpreted

as an information focus. If the antecedent is not an interrogative element, focus will be interpreted as contrastive. Then I evaluated this view on focus w.r.t. the European Portuguese clefts. The outcome is that all clefts can be used to signal both information focus and contrastive focus. Nevertheless, there are additional restrictions on the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts: the cleft constituent has to be drawn from a set that is given in the common ground. This issue will be dealt with in detail in chapter 5.

Second, I discussed the properties of existential presuppositions. Their main property is that the truth value of presuppositions is not affected by operators such as sentential negation, i.e., presuppositions project. Additionally, although presuppositions often contain given information and have a givenness-flavour, presuppositions can contain discourse-new information, in which case they are accommodated. Following Abusch (2005, 2010) a.o., I argued that focus and presupposition are independent of each other. Nevertheless, the semantics of focus permits presuppositions to arise as an implicature: the set of alternatives contributed by focus is interpreted as the question under discussion and since questions are assumed to have at least one answer, an existential presupposition arises. Since this presupposition is an implicature, it can be suspended, i.e., not arise to begin with, in order to comply with conversational rules. This is the case for *é que*-clefts and SER-clefts. However, the existential presupposition associated with some structures, such as *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts cannot be suspended. I will argue in chapter 4 that this is due to focus-independent factors.

Finally, I argued that also exhaustivity is not an intrinsic property of focus. On a par with existential presupposition, exhaustivity claims arise as implicatures based on the semantics of focus. Given that exhaustivity claims are implicatures, they can be suspended, as is the case for *é que*-clefts and SER-clefts. However, the exhaustivity claim associated with *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts is strong and cannot be suspended. In chapter 4, I will argue that this is due to focus-independent factors.

4 Syntax and the interpretation of the cleft clause

In the previous chapter, it became clear that *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts behave differently from *é que*-clefts and SER-clefts when it comes to existential presupposition and exhaustivity. The former are associated with a strong existential presupposition and a strong exhaustivity claim. The latter are associated with a weak existential presupposition and exhaustivity claim. Given the semantics of focus adopted here, it is not clear why the presupposition and exhaustivity claim of *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts cannot be suspended, while this should be possible if both phenomena arise as implicatures resulting from the interaction between the semantics of focus and conversational principles. In this chapter, I will argue that the dichotomy between the cleft constructions is due to the fact that *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts semantically are specificational sentences, while *é que*-clefts and SER-clefts are monoclausal structures, without any special specificational semantics. The specificational semantics of *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts gives rise to an existential presupposition and exhaustivity claim that, unlike the ones associated with intonational focus, are not implicatures, but are due to the truth-conditional semantics of these structures, which predicts their non-suspendability.

The chapter is structured as follows: first, I argue that the clefts under discussion are structurally different. On a par with what has been argued for other languages (see for instance Akmajian 1979, Declerck 1988, É. Kiss 2006, Lobo 2006, Hartmann 2011, Reeve 2012, Den Dikken 2013, Frascarelli & Ramaglia 2013 for *it*-clefts; Declerck 1988, Heycock & Kroch 1999, Den Dikken et al. 2000, Den Dikken 2005, Frascarelli & Ramaglia 2013 for pseudoclefts), I will argue that both *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts are biclausal sentences, with the copular verb functioning as the matrix verb. *É que*-clefts and SER-clefts on the other hand are monoclausal sentences, in which the copula has lost (most of) its verbal properties (see Soares 2006; Lobo 2006 and Vercauteren 2010a, b for *é que*-clefts, and Méndez-Vallejo 2009a, b, 2012 for Spanish SER-clefts).

Concerning the monoclausal clefts, I will review the main arguments in favour of a monoclausal structure. I will argue that in *é que*-clefts, *é que* is a grammaticalized unit lexicalizing a left-peripheral head, and that the cleft constituent moves from a TP-internal position to the left periphery of the structure. For SER-clefts, it has been argued that these structures are pseudoclefts with a null *wh*-operator. On a par with Bosque (1999), Camacho (2006), Miotto (2012) and Méndez-Vallejo (2009a, b, 2012), I will argue that a monoclausal

analysis of SER-clefts is more adequate. The structure of the two monoclausal clefts will not be discussed in much detail. A detailed analysis for these structures will be provided in chapter 7. Then, in section 4.2.3, I will spell out the pragmatic account for presupposition and exhaustivity alluded to in the previous chapter.

In section 4.3, I discuss the syntax of the biclausal clefts in more detail. I will argue that both in *it*-clefts and in pseudoclefts, the cleft clause is a relative clause, but that the two types of clefts differ when it comes to the type of relative clause involved. I will argue that in *it*-clefts, the copula selects a small clause consisting of a demonstrative pronoun modified by a restrictive relative clause and the cleft constituent. In pseudoclefts on the other hand, the copula selects a small clause consisting of a free relative and the cleft constituent. Then I turn to the pragmatic and semantic account for the interpretation of the cleft clause. I will argue that, although the syntax of *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts differs, they uniformly are interpreted as specificational sentences, in which a definite description is equated with the cleft constituent. This particular semantics gives rise to the strong presuppositionality and strong exhaustivity claim.

4.1 Two types of clefts: monoclausal vs. biclausal

It is standardly assumed that *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts and their counterparts in other languages are biclausal structures in which the copula is the head of the matrix VP (see for instance Belletti 2008, 2015, Reeve 2012). However, some authors have proposed an analysis of these structures according to which the copula is analyzed as a functional element rather than a verb. Examples of such analyses are the self-answering question analysis of pseudoclefts in Den Dikken et al. (2000) for English pseudoclefts, in which the copula occupies SpecTopP.

There are good reasons to assume that the copular verb in *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts is a real verb that heads the matrix VP. First of all, they can be preceded by aspectual auxiliaries and modal verbs, as is illustrated in (1)a and b, in which the copula is preceded both by the modal verb *pode* ‘could’ and an aspectual auxiliary *ter* ‘have’. In *é que*-clefts ((2)a) and SER-clefts ((2)b) on the other hand, the copula cannot be preceded by auxiliaries and/or modal verbs. Additionally, the copular verb of *é que*-clefts invariably surfaces in the present indicative.

- (1) a *Pode ter sido ele que os tem treinado.*
 could have been he that CL has trained
 ‘It could have been him who has been training them.’
- b *Quem organizou a festa pode ter sido o*
 who organize.PST.3S the party could have been the
Batman.
 Batman
 ‘The one who organized the party could have been Batman.’
- (2) a *O Batman *pode ter sido/*foi/é que organizou a*
 the Batman *could have been/*was/is that organized the
festa.
 party
- b **O Batman tem organizado *pode ter sido/foi/é*
 the Batman has organized *could have been/was/is
festas
 parties

Also, only in *it*-clefts (a) and in pseudoclefts (b) can the copular verb be modified by negation (3) or by adverbs (4). This is not possible in *é que*-clefts (c) and SER-clefts (d).

- (3) a *Quem organizou a festa não foi o Batman.*
 who organized the party not was the Batman
 ‘The one who organized the party wasn’t Batman.’
- b *Não foi o Batman que organizou a festa.*
 Not was the Batman that organized the party
 ‘It wasn’t Batman who organized the party.’
- c **O Batman não é que organizou a festa.*
 the Batman not is that organized the party
- d **O Batman organizou não foi a festa.*
 the Batman organized not was the party

- (4) a *Quem organizou a festa foi definitivamente o*
 who organized the party was definitely the
Batman.
 Batman
 ‘The one who organized the party was definitely Batman.’
- b *Foi definitivamente o Batman que organizou*
 was definitely the Batman that organized
a festa.
 the party
 ‘It was definitely Batman who organized the party.’
- c **O Batman é definitivamente que organizou*
 the Batman is definitely that organized
a festa.
 the party
- d **O Batman organizou foi definitivamente a*
 the Batman organized was definitely the
festa.
 party

Since the copular verb in *it*-clefts and in pseudoclefts has the same properties as other main verbs, I will assume, following the standard view, that in these clefts, the copular verb heads the matrix VP.¹ The copular verb in *é que*-clefts and SER-clefts on the other hand, seems to be almost entirely grammaticalized and has lost most of its verbal properties. As such, I will assume that these clefts are monoclausal sentences.

¹ The copula in biclausal clefts does not have all the properties of other main verbs: the tense is dependent on the tense of the verb of the cleft clause. This issue will not be dealt with here.

4.2 Monoclausal clefts

Contrary to pseudoclefts and *it*-clefts, Portuguese *é que*-clefts and SER-clefts are monoclausal sentences. I will discuss the relevant arguments for each type of cleft separately. Given that it seems to be the case that monoclausal clefts have the same interpretation as non-cleft sentences with intonational focus, as was discussed in the previous chapter, in section 4.2.3, I will spell out the details of the pragmatic account for existential presupposition and the exhaustivity claim. It will be argued, following Abusch (2005, 2010) and Abrusán (2014) that the set of alternatives generated by focus is interpreted as the question under discussion, and thus gives rise to two implicatures, namely an existential presupposition and an exhaustivity claim.

4.2.1 *É que*-clefts

In this section I will discuss the main arguments in favor of the monoclausal analysis of *é que*-clefts. First, I will argue, on a par with Lobo (2006) and Soares (2006), that the copula in *é que*-clefts has lost its verbal properties, and that it forms a grammaticalized unit together with *que*. Second, I will show that the cleft constituent in *é que*-clefts undergoes movement to a left peripheral position.

It is generally assumed that the sequence *é que* is a non-segmentable unit lexicalizing a single node in the left periphery of the clause (see Soares 2006, Lobo 2006, Vercauteren 2010a, b). First of all, the copula cannot exhibit any person/number or temporal agreement. As such, in (5), the verb of the cleft clause is in the plural, while the copula has to surface in the singular. In (6), the verb of the cleft clause is in the past, but the copula has to surface in the present of the indicative.

(5) a *Os agricultores é que sofrem.* (AA32)
 the farmers be.3SG.PRES that suffer.3PL.PRES
 ‘The farmers (is that) suffer.’

 b **Os rapazes são que partiram o vaso.*

- the boys be.3PL that broke.3PL the vase
- (6) a *Isso é que se chamava uma*
 this be.3SG.PRES that SE call.3SG.IMPERF a
gavela. (AAL08)
- sheaf
- ‘This (is that) was called a sheaf.’
- b **Os rapazes foi/foram que partiram o vaso*
 the boys be.3S/PL.PST that broke.3PL.PST the vase

A second argument for the grammaticalized status of *é que* is the fact that *é* and *que* have to be strictly adjacent. For instance, no adverbs may intervene between the two elements, as illustrated in (7). Finally, as was already discussed above, the copula cannot be modified, for instance by negation (8):

- (7) **O Superhomem é ontem que fez anos.*
 the Superman is yesterday that made birthday
- (8) **O Superhomem não é que fez anos.*
 the Superman not is that made birthday

The same invariable cluster *é que* is also found in other structures involving a left peripheral constituent, such as interrogatives (a), relative clauses (b), adverbial clauses (c) and complement clauses (d):

- (9) a *O que é que julgava?* (AAL06)
 what is that thought
 ‘What (is that) did you think?’
- b *Quando tirava a coalhada dalém, é*
 when removed the curd of.there is
claro, (...) depois no fundo, aonde é que tinha a

clear after on.the bottom where is that had the
coalhada, ficava também líquido. (CBV55)

curd stayed also liquid

‘When we took the curd from there, it’s clear, then at the bottom, where
 (is that) the curd was, there was also liquid.’

c *Ele que pegue o pão e ponha em cima da*

he that take the bread and put in top of.the

pá que eu vou à lenha quando é que

peel that I go to.the wood when is that

fizer falta. (PAL31)

do shortage

‘Let him take the bread and put it on the peel since I get firewood
 whenever (is that) it is necessary.’

d *E de maneira que ela (...) criava bois e*

and of manner that she reared oxen and

acho que é que lavrava. (CLH35)

think that is that worked

‘So that she reared the oxen and I think that (is that) she worked.’

Note that in standard European Portuguese *é que* can only occur in cleft constructions, in interrogatives (as in (9)a) and in genitive relative clauses with focus on a pied-piped NP, as illustrated below. This latter fact has not been noted yet, as far as I am aware of.

(10) *O menino cujo pai é que está no hospital*

the boy whose father is that is.3S in.the hospital

está todo triste.

Is.3S all sad

‘The boy whose father (is that) is in the hospital is very sad.’

É que in other relative clauses (b), adverbial clauses (c) and complement clauses (d) is non-standard. For a detailed description of all structures with *é que* in non-standard varieties of European Portuguese, I refer to Vercauteren (2010a, b).

The examples above all have their main verb in the past tense, while the form of the copula corresponds to the present tense form, so it is clear that there is no sequence of tense of what would be the copula with the main verb. Note that in all of these patterns, an alternative variant with temporal agreement on the copula is actually also available, but these are not to be equated to the structures with invariable *é que* because the structures that display sequence of tense have different syntactic properties. For instance, in answers to questions, the copula *ser* ‘to be’ can only be repeated if there is tense matching between the copula and the lexical verb in the question:

- (11) a *Quem foi que a Ana viu?*
 who be.3S.PRF that the Ana saw
 ‘Who was it that Ana saw?’
 b *O João./Foi o João./?Viu o João.*
 John./It was John./?She saw John.
- (12) a *Quem é que a Ana viu?*
 who be.3S.PRES that the Ana saw
 ‘Who did Ana see?’
 b *O João./#É o João./Viu o João.*
 John./#It is John./She saw John.

Another difference between the invariable sequence and the one with temporal agreement, discussed by Soares (2006), is distributional. In case there is temporal agreement on the copula, elements can occur between the copula and *que*, unlike what happens in the invariable sequence. This is not only the case for *é que* in clefts, but also for *é que* in interrogatives (see (7)). For instance, it is possible for a wh-constituent to appear between variable *SER* and *que*. In questions with the invariable *é que* sequence, *é* and *que* always have to be adjacent.

- (13) a *Foi o quê que a Maria leu?*
 be.3S.PRF what that the Maria read.3S.PRF
 ‘What was it that Maria read?’
 b **É o quê que a Maria leu?*
 be.3S.PRES what that the Maria read.3S.PRF

A last observation is that the two sequences are compatible, both in interrogatives and in clefts, the agreeing form always following the invariable one. In (14)a, *é que* precedes the variable *foi que*, while the opposite order in (b) is ungrammatical.

- (14) a *O que é que foi que a Maria*
 what be.3S.PRES that be.3S.PRF that the Maria
 leu? (Soares 2006:137)
 read.3S.PRF
- b **O que foi que é que a Maria*
 what be.3S.PRF that be.3S.PRES that the Maria
 leu? (Soares 2006:139)
 read.3S.PRF

- (15) *E depois, a serra de São Mamede é que*
 And then, the highlands of São Mamede **is that**
 era que pagava, que era o quartel (...)
 was that paid, since was the headquarters
 dos lobos. (CBV44)
 of.the wolves.

‘And then, the highlands of São Mamede it was that paid for it, since they were the headquarters of the wolves.’

These contrasts indicate that we are looking at two different *SER* + *que* structures: a segmentable one with temporal agreement and an invariable non-segmentable structure, as was argued by Soares (2006). Because of the reasons illustrated above I will assume that *é que* is a non-segmentable sequence, lexicalizing as such one single node in the cleft structure. The exact position of *é que* will be discussed in chapter 7, after having determined the position of the cleft constituent.

Furthermore, there are several indications that the cleft constituent undergoes movement from a TP-internal position to a left peripheral position. Indeed, the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts has properties of moved constituents. First, the cleft constituent cannot be extracted from a strong island:

- (16) **Esta sopa é que conheço homem que cozinhou [-].*
 this soup is that know.1SG man that cooked

Second, it licenses parasitic gaps (Soares 2006: 225, fn. 96):²

- (17) *A sopa é que a Maria fez [-] sem provar [-].*
 the soup is that the Maria made [-] without taste
 ‘Maria made the soup without tasting it.’

Third, in standard European Portuguese, on a par with *wh*-constituents, the cleft constituent cannot be doubled by a pronoun or by a clitic:³

- (18) a *O queijo é que o corvo comeu(*-o).*
 The cheese is that the raven ate-CL
 b *O que é que o corvo comeu(*-o)?*
 What is that the raven ate- CL

² This example cannot be an instance of a null object, since null objects are not licensed in islands (Raposo 1986):

- (i) **O pirata partiu para as Caraíbas depois de ter guardado [-]*
 the pirate left to the Caribbean after of have kept [-]
cuidadosamente no cofre.
 carefully in.the chest

I thank Andrew Weir and an anonymous reviewer of *Estudos Linguísticos* for pointing this issue out to me.

³ See chapter 6 for a different view on the relation between doubling and movement.

The claim that the cleft constituent targets a left peripheral node is corroborated by the fact that *é que*-clefts exhibit some embedding restrictions. In the standard analyses of *é que*-clefts the cleft constituent occupies a left peripheral position (Modesto 1995, Ambar 2005, Costa & Duarte 2005, Lobo 2006, Soares 2006). Such an analysis predicts that *é que*-clefts are not compatible with contexts lacking a left periphery altogether, such as non-finite complements. This prediction is borne out:

- (19) **Algumas pessoas afirmam nós é que*
 some persons affirm we is that
termos sido enganados.
 have.INF.1PL been misled⁴

(Casteleiro 1979:114)

Also in other embedded contexts are *é que*-clefts restricted. As has been discussed extensively in the literature since Emonds (1970), some structures involving the left periphery of the clause are highly restricted in embedded contexts. These patterns are called Root Transformations or Main Clause Phenomena (MCP) and have been widely discussed in the literature, see for example Aelbrecht, Haegeman & Nye (2012) and Haegeman (2012) for some recent proposals concerning these phenomena and an extensive bibliography.

On a par with MCP such as English argument/VP-fronting, *é que*-clefts cannot be embedded in temporal adverbial clauses (20)a, event conditionals (20)b,⁵ Speech Act adverbial clauses (20)c, *wh*-interrogatives (20)d and relative clauses (20)e:

⁴ Portuguese has marks of personal agreement on the infinitive in certain contexts. These contexts have been analyzed as having a TP, but no CP (see Duarte & Gonçalves 2002, Pereira 2012)

⁵ I adopt the terminology of Haegeman (2003). She distinguishes between event conditionals (i), which modify the event expressed by the predicate of the main clause, and premise conditionals (ii), which introduces a context in which the main clause is evaluated:

- (i) If it rains we will all get terribly wet and miserable.
- (ii) If [as you say] it is going to rain this afternoon, why don't we just stay at home and watch a video?

Both types of conditionals do not only differ in interpretation, but also in internal and external syntax. Only the first blocks Main Clause Phenomena such as argument preposing. Premise conditionals occupy a more peripheral position than event conditionals. See Haegeman (2003) and Lobo (2003) for more details.

- (20) a *Quando o João é que chegou, a Maria
 when the João is that arrived the Maria
ficou muito contente.
 stayed very happy
- b *Se a relva é que estiver seca, os meninos podem
 if the grass is that is dry the boys may
brincar no jardim.
 play in.the garden
- c *Para que vocês é que saibam, vou ser promovida.
 so that you is that know will be promoted
- d *O Pedro perguntou quando o João é que
 the Pedro asked when the João is that
chegou.
 arrived
- e *O homem que ontem é que vimos no
 the man that yesterday is that saw on.the
Rossio é o meu irmão.
 Rossio is the my brother

Unlike English MCP, however, *é que*-clefts can occur in complements of factive verbs (21)a, in clausal subjects (21)b and in clausal complements of nouns (21)c.

- (21) a *O João lamenta que só com cunhas é que*
 John regrets that **only with connections is that**
se consiga arranjar emprego.
one manages to.find job
 ‘John regrets that it is only possible to find a job if you have
 connections.’
- b *Que o João é que tenha ganho o prémio não me*
 that **the João is that has won the price** not me
surpreende nada.
 surprise nothing

‘That John won the price does not surprise me at all.’

c *Platão mudou alguns aspectos deste modelo*
Plato changed some aspects of this model
político, mas manteve sempre a ideia que
political but maintained always the idea that
a razão é que devia governar, sendo a única que
the reason is that should govern being the only that
podia proporcionar aos cidadãos a justiça e a
could provide to the citizens the justice and the
*felicidade.*⁶
happiness

‘Plato changed some aspects of this political model, but he maintained always the idea that reason should govern, being the only thing that could provide the citizens with justice and happiness.’

Summing up, *é que*-clefts are restricted in some embedded contexts, as the left-peripheral analysis predicts. Still, the pattern differs from the one observed for English MCP: *é que*-clefts are less restricted than for example fronted arguments in English.

In this section I argued that the standard analyses of *é que*-clefts are correct in assuming these clefts to be monoclausal structures in which the cleft constituent undergoes movement to a left peripheral position. In chapter 5, I will argue that this movement is triggered by a topic feature and targets a TopP. However, the additional presence of a quantificational focus feature on the cleft constituent gives rise to intervention effects (chapter 7).

4.2.2 SER-clefts

In this section I will discuss the main arguments in favour of a monoclausal analysis of SER-clefts, through comparison with pseudoclefts, as several authors (Wheeler 1982; Toribio

⁶ <http://afilosofia.no.sapo.pt/platao1.htm>

1992, 2002; Costa & Duarte 2005) have argued that SER-clefts are a type of reduced pseudocleft, with a null operator instead of the *wh*-operator, as indicated in (23):

(22) *O que o Pedro quer é um livro.*
 what the Pedro wants is a book
 ‘What Pedro wants is a book.’
 [O que_{wh} o Pedro quer t_{wh}] é um livro.

(23) *O Pedro quer é um livro.*
 the Pedro wants is a book
 ‘Pedro wants (is) a book.’
 [Op_{wh} o Pedro quer t_{wh}] é um livro.

This analysis faces several empirical problems, discussed by various authors. In what follows, I will discuss the arguments against the pseudocleft analysis of SER clefts, illustrating with Portuguese examples. The same arguments are also valid for the Spanish varieties that have the structure, and for Brazilian Portuguese, unless the contrary is mentioned.

The first argument against the pseudocleft analysis, pointed out by Bosque (1999) and Camacho (2006), is that SER-clefts, contrary to pseudoclefts, do not allow *wh*-extraction of the cleft constituent: the cleft constituent of a pseudocleft (24), can be *wh*-moved to the left periphery in order to form a question while this is not possible in SER-clefts (25).

(24) a *O que o João queria era uma banana.*
 what the João wanted was a banana
 ‘What John wanted was a banana.’
 b *O que era o que o João queria?*
 what was what the João wanted
 ‘What was what João wanted?’

(25) a *O João queria era uma banana.*
 the João wanted was a banana

‘João wanted (was) a banana.’

- b **O que era o João queria?*
 what was the João wanted

The second argument, pointed out by Miotto (2012) for Brazilian Portuguese, is that the agreement patterns in pseudoclefts and in SER-clefts are different: in pseudoclefts, the verb of the cleft clause agrees with the *wh*-constituent and not with the subject cleft constituent as shown in (26)a in which the verb of the cleft clause exhibits singular agreement, while the subject cleft constituent is a plural DP. As illustrated in (26)b, plural agreement on the verb of the cleft clause gives an ungrammatical result. In SER-clefts, on the other hand, a subject cleft constituent has to agree with the verb of the cleft clause, as illustrated in (27)a. However, the data are more complex than standardly assumed: the data in the Cordial-SIN corpus exhibit a slightly different pattern. In the SER-clefts in the CORDIAL corpus, agreement between the verb of the cleft clause and a subject cleft constituent is not categorical, as illustrated in (27)b.⁷ However, the difference between pseudoclefts and SER-clefts still holds: in pseudoclefts, the verb of the cleft clause cannot agree with a subject cleft constituent, while in SER-clefts it can, although it does not need to.

- (26) a *O que é lavado à parte são os*
 What is.S washed to.the side are the
 pedaçozinhos. (MST05)
 little pieces
 ‘What is washed apart are the little pieces.’
- b **O que são lavados à parte são os pedaçosinhos.*

⁷ In the Cordial-SIN corpus, there were only 5 SER-clefts with a subject cleft constituent that was not in the third person singular. In only 2 of these clefts there was subject agreement with the main verb.

Note that the agreement of a verb with a postverbal subject is not obligatory in colloquial Portuguese with unaccusative and copular verbs:

- (i) *Anda na moda calças de ganga.* vs. *Andam na moda calças de ganga.*
 walk.S in.the fashion jeans vs. walk.PL in.the fashion jeans
 ‘Jeans is/are fashionable.’

The agreement patterns found in SER-clefts can thus be considered to be independent of the particular structure, since we find the same patterns without the occurrence of focalizing SER. See Cardoso et al. (2011) for a discussion.

What are.PL washed separately are the little pieces

- (27) a *De noite aparecem é estrelas.* (AJT06)
 Of night appear.PL is stars
 ‘During the night there appear (is) stars.’
- b *Hoje ele anda na moda é cancerosos.* (TRC59)
 Today EXPL walk.S in.the fashion is cancers
 ‘Nowadays what is fashionable is cancers.’

A third argument mentioned by Mito (2012) against the reduced pseudocleft analysis is that while VPs cannot be focalized in a pseudocleft without inserting the dummy verb *fazer* ‘do’ (28), a VP can be focalized in a SER-cleft without this dummy verb (29)a.⁸ SER-clefts with a dummy verb are even ungrammatical (29)b.⁹

- (28) a **O que vão é almoçar.*
 What will is to have lunch
- b *O que eu havia de fazer era despedir-te.* (CRV46)
 What I had of do was fire-you
 ‘What I should do is fire you.’

- (29) a *Vão é almoçar.* (GRC28)
 go is to lunch

⁸ Note that a VP cleft constituent is only grammatical in SER-clefts. Also *it*-clefts and *é que*-clefts do not allow this:

- (i) **É comer o bolo que a Maria vai.*
 be.3SG.PRES to eat the cake that the Maria go.3SG.PRES
- (ii) **Comer o bolo é que a Maria vai.*
 to eat the cake be.3SG.PRES that the Maria go.3SG.PRES

⁹ There is one occurrence in the corpus of a SER-cleft with a pro-verb in the cleft clause:

- (i) *A gente fazia era juntar as reses lá para baixo.* (MIG14)
 the people did was join the cattle there to down
 ‘We did (was) join the cattle down there.’

According to Costa & Duarte (2001) these structures are ungrammatical. There is not enough data available to determine whether this is an available strategy in any variety of European Portuguese.

‘They are going (is) to lunch’

- b ??*Eu havia de fazer era despedir-te.*
I had of do was fire-you

This is not only the case for VP complements of auxiliaries, but also for VPs in raising contexts. Only SER-clefts (30)b can be used to cleft a VP complement of a raising verb.

- (30) a **O que o João parece é estar doente.*
 what the João seems is to be sick
 b *O João parece é estar doente.*
 the João seems is to be sick
 ‘João seems (is) to be sick.’

Furthermore, pseudoclefts and SER-clefts differ when it comes to focalizing the complement of control verbs. In pseudoclefts, a dummy verb can optionally be inserted in the cleft clause (see (31)b), while this gives an ungrammatical result in SER-clefts (32)b (Miotto 2012):

- (31) a *O que querem é trazer muito peixe para a terra.*
 what want.3PL is bring much fish to the earth
 ‘What they want is to bring a lot of fish ashore.’ (VPA14)
 b *O que querem fazer é trazer peixe para a terra.*
 what want.3PL to do is bring fish to the earth
 ‘What They want to do is to bring fish ashore.’
- (32) a *Ela queria era levar o púcaro que tinha*
 she wanted was take the pan since had
 muito preciso. (MLD17)
 a lot need
 ‘She wanted (was) to take the pan since she needed it a lot.’
 b **Ela queria fazer era levar o púcaro.*

she wanted to do was take the pan

Also when it comes to scope effects, there are differences between pseudoclefts and SER-clefts (Miotto 2012). When a focalizing adverb occurs in a preverbal position in non-cleft simple sentences, there are two possible readings: in the first reading, the adverb scopes over the verb, in the second reading, the adverb scopes over the object. The same two readings are possible in SER-clefts, but not in pseudoclefts. In pseudoclefts, a preverbal adverb in the cleft clause can only scope over the verb of the cleft clause, not over the cleft constituent. In the examples below the scope is indicated with cursives:

- (33) a *Só li este livro.*
Only read this book
'I only read this book.'
I only *read* this book or I read only *this book*.
- b *Só li foi este livro.*
only read was this book
'I only read (was) this book.'
I only *read* this book or I read only *this book*.
- c *O que só li foi este livro.*
what only read was this book
'What I only read was this book.'
I only *read* this book.

These differences between pseudoclefts and SER-clefts do not follow on the assumption that they are in fact variants of pseudoclefts, as proposed by Wheeler (1982), Toribio (1992, 2002) and Costa & Duarte (2005). Rather, I will assume that they are due to the fact that they have a different derivation: pseudoclefts involve a biclausal copular structure, as will be argued in section 4.2.3 while SER-clefts are monoclausal structures.

Indeed, in line with the above considerations and as an alternative to the biclausal pseudocleft analysis of SER-clefts, several authors have argued that SER-clefts are

monoclausal structures (see for instance Bosque 1999, Méndez-Vallejo 2012, Kato & Mito 2012, Mito 2012, Curnow & Travis 2003, Camacho 2006 and Zubizarreta 2013).¹⁰ This analysis is supported by the data. I have already illustrated the fact that SER-clefts have the same scope readings as monoclausal sentences. A second argument in favor of this account is the fact that SER-clefts allow raising across the copula, as was illustrated in (30). A third piece of evidence is the possibility of clitic-climbing across the copula:¹¹

- (34) *Vão para a tropa, vêm para trás, querem-se é casar.* (GRC34)
 go to the army come to back want-SE is marry
 ‘They go to the army, they come back, they want (is) to get married.’

Given the scope, raising and clitic climbing phenomena, it seems to be the case that we are looking at a monoclausal structure with a copular verb inserted somewhere in a relatively low position. There is one main reason to assume that the copula lexicalizes a relatively low position: it cannot precede the verb in T:

- (35) **O João foi comeu o bolo.*
 the João was ate the cake

¹⁰ Bosque (1999), Méndez-Vallejo (2012) and Kato & Mito (2012) analyze the copular verb SER as a realization of a low FocP, Mito (2012) and Curnow & Travis (2003) argue that SER is a focus particle adjoined to the cleft constituent. Lobo, Santos & Soares (2012) do not work out the syntax of SER-clefts in great detail, but simply assume that SER marks the left vP edge. Camacho (2006) and Zubizarreta (2014) assume a monoclausal structure with adjunction of a CopP consisting of the copula and the cleft constituent, and ellipsis of a portion of the part of VP that corresponds to the cleft constituent. See chapter 7 for a discussion and a novel analysis.

¹¹ Clitic climbing is also possible in non-standard pseudoclefts:

- (i) *O que eu não o sabia era tratar.* (CBV59)
 what I not it knew was take care
 ‘What I didn’t know was to take care of it.’

Although this is a very interesting phenomenon, also noted for non-standard Spanish pseudoclefts (Zubizarreta 2014) I will not provide any account for this phenomenon.

As such, subjects can only be clefted if they remain in a postverbal position (also see Lobo et al. 2012):

- (36) a *Dançou foi a Maria.*
 Danced was the Maria
 ‘MARIA danced.’
- b **Foi a Maria dançou.*
 was the Maria danced

An alternative would be to assume the copular verb lexicalizes Rizzi’s (1997) left-peripheral FocP. However, it is very unlikely that the left periphery is involved in these structures, since SER-clefts can be embedded in contexts banning MCP, such as relative clauses.

- (37) *Isso (...) é um homem que cantava era as*
 that is a man that sang was the
 Velhas antigamente. (GRC36)
 ‘Velhas’ erstwhile
 ‘That is a man who erstwhile used the sing (was) the ‘Velhas’.’

Given these data, I will assume that SER-clefts are monoclausal sentences with the cleft constituent in a low position.

4.2.3 Presupposition and exhaustivity as an implicature

In this section I will spell out the details of the pragmatic account for the existential presupposition and the exhaustivity associated with *é que*-clefts and SER-clefts. I will argue that both interpretations arise as an implicature due to the regular semantics of focus.

4.2.3.1 Weak existential presupposition

When it comes to the difference in presupposition strength briefly discussed and illustrated in chapter 3, Abusch (2005, 2010) distinguishes between presuppositions that are caused by soft triggers and those that are caused by hard triggers.¹² Soft triggers, such as intonational focus, aspectual verbs, factive verbs etc., give rise to weak presuppositions, which are context dependent and easily suspendable, i.e., they do not always arise. Strong presuppositions are triggered by hard triggers, such as *it*-clefts, *too*, *even*, *again* and *either*, and cannot be suspended.

In order to account for the differences in presupposition strength, Abusch (2005) advances the hypothesis that all soft triggers contribute a set of alternatives, but not the semantic presupposition that one of the alternatives is true, although other factors might give rise to this interpretation. The set of alternatives arguably is a part of the lexical representation of soft triggers, or it can be generated by focus. Hard triggers on the other hand do give rise to the strong presupposition that one of the alternatives is true. Abusch (2005, 2010) does not discuss what mechanisms give rise to strong presuppositions.

According to Abusch (2005, 2010), weak presuppositions associated with intonational focus are generated as follows: focus and presuppositionality are independent of each other, focus contributes nothing but a set of alternative propositions.¹³ However, sets of alternatives are often pragmatically interpreted as questions under discussion (see Büring 2003, Kadmon 2001 a.o.). Additionally, generally it is taken for granted that one of the alternative answers to questions is true. This process is a default process, and does not take place when it would give rise to inappropriate discourse. This is what happens in *é que*-clefts and in SER-clefts: these structures are generally associated with an existential presupposition, but this presupposition can be suspended in case it would give rise to infelicitous discourse.

There is one weakness in this account, as was noted by Abrusán (2014): also *it*-clefts (and pseudoclefts) involve a focalized constituent, hence, it is not clear why the existential presupposition of these structures is not derived in the same manner as for intonational focus.

¹² Other authors assuming this distinction are Abbott (2006) and Romoli (2014) a.o..

¹³ I only discuss the problems related to the presuppositions associated with focus. For presuppositions triggered by verbs and other elements, I refer to Abrusán (2014).

Because of this, Abrusán (2014) considers the distinction between hard and soft triggers to be a non-distinction. She argues that all presuppositions are generated uniformly, and that their strength depends on other factors, such as information structure and anaphoricity. Also experimental evidence from Schwarz (2014), referred to by Abrusán (2014), confirms the hypothesis that all presuppositions are ultimately the same. Given that focus uniformly generates a set of alternatives (Rooth 1985, 1992), Abrusán (2014) argues that presuppositions of both *it*-clefts and intonational focus arise as an implicature due to the fact that the set of alternatives is interpreted as the question under discussion.¹⁴ She adapts Abusch's (2010) proposals concerning intonational focus and extends them to *it*-clefts.

If we assume Abrusán's (2014) view that all presupposition associated with focus is derived in the same manner, we have to conclude that all presuppositions are derived by a pragmatic process, as a byproduct of the generation of a set of alternatives by focus. One problem for this view is that if presuppositions associated with focus are all derived with the same mechanism, we would expect all presuppositions to be equally suspendable, which is not the case. Recall that there are two types of clefts when it comes to presupposition strength: only in *é que*-clefts and SER-clefts can the existential presupposition be suspended. In *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts, it cannot.

In order to provide a solution, Abrusán (2014) proposes that the suspendability of presuppositions derived from sets of alternatives depends on the type of background question they associate with. In what follows I will only discuss Abrusán's (2014) proposal concerning presupposition associated with focus, for other types of presupposition, I refer to the article.

Following Abusch (2010) and extending her proposals to all types of focus, Abrusán (2014) assumes that presuppositions are generated from the background questions focus associates with. Abrusán (2014) argues that unlike intonational focus constructions, *it*-clefts cannot associate with 'higher questions', i.e. questions that are more general than the ones that can be derived by focus marking. An example is given in (38). *It*-clefts can only associate with questions that coincide with the ones derived by focus marking, i.e., *wh*-questions that could have the focalized constituent as an answer (39), while intonational focus can associate both with *wh*-questions and with higher questions:

¹⁴ Andrew Weir (p.c.) points out that analysing some instances of presuppositions as implicatures might seem a contradiction, and suggests to use the terms existential presupposition for strong presuppositions and existence implicature for weak presuppositions. I will however maintain the terminology adopted by Abusch and Abrusán.

- (38) A Did anybody fix the typewriter?
 B Yes, [Mary]_F fixed it.
 B' #Yes, it was Mary who fixed it.

(Abrusán 2014:32)

- (39) A Who fixed the typewriter?
 B [Mary]_F fixed it.
 B' It was Mary who fixed it.

The difference between *wh*-questions and higher questions is that the latter are not associated with any presupposition, while the first give rise to real sets of alternatives and as a consequence there will be an existential presupposition. In case focus is licensed by a higher question, and not by a *wh*-question, no presupposition will arise.¹⁵ As such, according to Abrusán (2014), all presuppositions associated with focus are derived through pragmatic processes, weak presuppositions are due to the fact that the background question licensing focus is a higher question without an existential presupposition.

There are several problems with Abrusán's account. First of all, not all speakers agree with Abrusán's (2014) judgments (Andrew Weir, p.c.), in that they do accept an *it*-cleft for answering higher questions. Also in Portuguese, the contrast between intonational focus and cleft focus as answers to higher questions is not that strong:

- (40) A *Alguém viu o Superhomem?*
 'Has someone seen Superman?'
 B *Sim, [o Batman]_F viu.*
 'Yes, Batman saw him.'
 B' *? Sim, foi [o Batman]_F que viu.*
 'Yes, it was Batman who saw him.'

¹⁵ Note that this reasoning is similar to what has been argued by Geurts & van der Sandt (2004) concerning structures with focalized quantifiers. According to them, when a negative or existential quantifier is focalized, the set generated by focus contains the proposition with negative and with positive polarity, hence no existential presupposition is expected.

Second, *wh*-questions do not have a strong presupposition. It is well known that *wh*-questions can be answered with a negative quantifier, unexpected if they had a strong existential presupposition. If the strong presupposition associated with *it*-clefts is due to the background *wh*-question they associate with, it is not clear why negative quantifiers are not allowed to surface as a cleft constituent.¹⁶ It is thus desirable to find an explanation for the difference between *it*-clefts and intonational focus in other factors.¹⁷

Abusch (2005, 2010) argues that weak presuppositions can be suspended because they are derived by pragmatic processes, contrary to strong presuppositions, which arise through semantic processes. In section 4.3.3.3.4, I will argue, following several authors (Percus 1997; Heycock & Kroch 1999; Hartmann 2011; Reeve 2012; Frascarelli & Ramaglia 2009, 2013) that the strong presupposition associated with *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts is due to the fact that they are specificational sentences, and not only to the fact that they are focus constructions. Strong existential presuppositions are inherent to the semantics of specificational sentences.

Concluding, following Abrusán (2010), I will assume that all focus gives rise to a set of alternatives, which is interpreted as the Question Under Discussion. Since in general, questions are assumed to have an answer, an existential presupposition arises because of pragmatic rules. This presupposition is an implicature, and can easily be suspended. The reason why the existential presupposition of *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts cannot be suspended, is because they are specificational structures.

¹⁶ Abrusán (2014: 34) notices this too, and suggests that answering *wh*-questions with a negative quantifier is a case of denial of the presupposition, rather than indicating that the question does not have an existential presupposition.

¹⁷ One problem that Abrusán (2014) can account for, while the specificational structure account to be developed below cannot, is the strong presupposition associated with the Hungarian focus position. As is well known (see É. Kiss 1998, Horváth 2004), Hungarian focus is often (but not always, see É. Kiss 2006, 2010) associated with the same strong exhaustivity and existential presupposition as English *it*-clefts. Abrusán (2014) shows that, on a par with *it*-clefts, the Hungarian focus construction is not a felicitous answer to higher questions, and attributes the existence of a strong presupposition to this fact. However, in this thesis it is assumed that the strong presupposition of *it*-clefts is due to its specificational nature. This reasoning does not straightforwardly apply to the Hungarian focus construction (but see É. Kiss 2006 for the opposite claim). The reason why this construction has a strong presupposition need not concern us here, but as Wedgwood et al. (2006) argue, the exhaustivity effects and the existential presupposition of Hungarian focus and of *it*-clefts seem to have different origins.

4.2.3.2 Weak exhaustivity

As was discussed in chapter 3, the exhaustive interpretation of information focus arises as an implicature. Questions require an exhaustive answer, but answers can be non-exhaustive, since conversational implicatures are suspended in case they would give rise to infelicitous discourse (Grice 1975). Since it is assumed here, following Rooth (1985, 1992), that focus has a uniform semantic import, it is expected that also the exhaustivity claim of contrastive focus arises as an implicature.

As was discussed in the previous section, sets of alternatives are often interpreted as the question under discussion. We can thus argue that the exhaustivity claim associated with contrastive focus arises through the same pragmatic mechanisms as the one associated with information focus. As such, focus uniformly gives rise to an exhaustive interpretation, although this interpretation is an implicature, and it does not arise when it is not compatible with the discourse context. The exhaustivity claim associated with focus is thus uniformly weak.

However, as was illustrated in chapter 3, the exhaustivity claim associated with *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts is strong and cannot be suspended, unlike the exhaustivity claim associated with *é que*-clefts and SER-clefts. In section 4.3.3.4, I will argue that this is due to independent factors: apart from being focus constructions, *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts are also specificational sentences. The strong exhaustivity claim is due to the fact that the cleft constituent is equated with a definite description, which presupposes unique identification.

4.2.4 Conclusion

The weak existential presupposition and exhaustivity claim of *é que*-clefts and SER-clefts arise as an implicature, due to the presence of focus on the cleft constituent. Hence, monoclausal clefts pattern with non-cleft sentences with intonational focus, their particular syntactic structure does not seem to contribute anything to these aspects of their interpretation. Focus contributes a set of alternatives that is interpreted as the question under discussion. Since questions presuppose at least one answer, an existential presupposition arises as an implicature. Additionally, since answers are assumed to be exhaustive, also an

exhaustivity claim arises as an implicature. Since both interpretations are implicatures, they can be suspended when they are in conflict with the discourse context.

4.3 Biclausal clefts: different underlying syntactic structure

It has been argued that *it*-clefts and their counterparts in other languages and pseudoclefts both are specificational sentences (see for instance Akmajian 1979, Declerck 1988, Percus 1997, É. Kiss 2006, Hartmann 2011, Reeve 2012, Den Dikken 2013, Frascarelli & Ramaglia 2013 for *it*-clefts; Declerck 1988, Heycock & Kroch 1999, Den Dikken et al. 2000, Den Dikken 2005, Frascarelli & Ramaglia 2013 for pseudoclefts). Based on experimental evidence from acquisition, Lobo et al. (2012, 2015) argue that *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts have a different syntactic structure. More specifically, they argue that pseudoclefts have a regular specificational syntax, with the copula selecting a small clause, while in *it*-clefts, the copula selects a full CP, with movement of the cleft constituent from a position inside of this CP to its left periphery. Apart from the acquisition data, also connectivity effects between the cleft constituent and the cleft clause point towards a different syntactic structure (Lobo 2006).

In what follows, I will first discuss the hypothesis that both *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts are specificational copular sentences, and conclude that this claim is basically correct. Then, I will turn to the nature of the cleft clause of *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts. I argue that the difference between both types of clefts is due to the fact that in *it*-clefts, the small clause selected by the copula consists of a headed relative clause and the cleft constituent (*cfr.* Percus 1997), while in pseudoclefts, the small clause consists of a free relative clause and the cleft constituent. This analysis permits us to capture both the specificational nature of the clefts and the syntactic differences. The base structure of both clefts argued for is illustrated below:¹⁸

¹⁸ I do not make any claims concerning the internal structure of the small clause involved in specificational sentences. Some authors have argued that specificational sentences are an instance of inverse predicational copular sentences (Moro 2000, Mikkelsen 2005, a.o.). If predicational sentences are PredPs, as argued by Bowers (1993) or Svenonius (1996), then the small clause involved here will also be a PredP. Other authors have argued that specificational sentences are not derived from predicational sentences, but have a unique structure (Heycock 1994, Heycock & Kroch 1999, Reeve 2012): specificational small clauses are an instance of equative small clauses and are headed by an Eq head. Yet another account is found in Starke (1995), who argues that

(41) Canonical cleft:

[_{VP}	ser	[_{SC}	[_{DP} \emptyset	[_{CP}	que o João comeu]]	[_{DP}	o bolo]]]
	be		the		that João ate		the cake

(42) Pseudocleft:

[_{VP}	ser	[_{SC}	[_{CP}	o que o João comeu]]	[_{DP}	o bolo]]]
	be			what João ate		the cake

Finally, I will focus on *it*-clefts, arguing that their cleft clause is a special type of ‘headed’ relative clause without a nominal antecedent in the usual sense. This relative clause is merged as the complement of a definite determiner, which remains null in null-subject languages, and is spelled out as a determiner or as a pronoun in non-null-subject languages.

4.3.1 Pseudoclefts and *it*-clefts as specificational sentences

Several authors have argued that *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts are specificational sentences. The main argument in favour of this claim is the fact that pseudoclefts and *it*-clefts exhibit the same connectivity effects as non-cleft specificational sentences. This has been discussed in great detail in the literature, see for instance Declerck (1988), Percus (1997) and Den Dikken (2005). I repeat the principal arguments below.

Pseudoclefts and *it*-clefts exhibit the same unexpected connectivity effects as non-cleft specificational sentences: the binding principles apply in the absence of c-command. A relevant binding pattern in English specificational sentences is illustrated in (43)a: only the postcopular reflexive pronoun can be bound by a DP in precopular position, a postcopular personal pronoun gives an ungrammatical result. The same binding relations hold as in non-

small clauses are reduced CPs. This account is adapted and further elaborated by Belletti (2015), who argues that specificational small clauses are CPs lacking ForceP and TopP. Here, small clauses will be represented by neutral SC. Nothing in the proposed analysis hinges on the precise nature of specificational small clauses. The main claim is that biclausal clefts are specificational sentences, whatever their underlying syntax might be. I refer the interested reader to the relevant literature.

specificational simple sentences, as can be seen by comparing (43)a with (43)b, even though no c-command relation holds between the constituents involved. In European Portuguese on the other hand, the personal pronoun *ele* ‘him’ can be used with a reflexive interpretation in PPs (Estrela 2006), as illustrated in (44).¹⁹ The same binding configuration obtains in clefts, illustrated in (44)b and c.

- (43) a John_i’s greatest treasure is a book about himself_i/*him_i.
(Den Dikken 2005: 16)
 b John_i treasures a book about himself_i/him_i
- (44) a *O Superhomem_i escreveu um livro sobre si próprio/?ele_i*
 ‘Superman wrote a book about himself/him.’
 b *O que o Superhomem_i escreveu foi um livro sobre si próprio/?ele_i.*
 ‘What Superman_i wrote was a book about himself/him_i.’
 c *Foi um livro sobre si próprio/?ele_i que o Superhomem_i escreveu.*
 ‘It was a book about himself/him_i that Superman_i wrote.’

As shown in (45)a, a referential DP in the postcopular constituent may not be bound by a precopular element. However, this is not expected as no c-command relation holds between the pronoun and the referential expression in postcopular position. In other words, binding relations in specificational sentences are analogous to binding relations in non-specificational sentences, as can be seen by comparing (45)a to (45)b, even though the necessary c-command relations do not hold. Also binding relation in clefts are as in non-specificational simple sentences (46).

- (45) a *His_i claim was that John_i was innocent. (Heycock & Kroch 1999: 3)
 b *He_i claimed that John_i was innocent

¹⁹ The possibility of using a personal pronoun as a reflexive pronoun depends on the predicate they combine with. See Zribi-Hertz (1980) for French, and Menuzzi (1990) for Brazilian Portuguese and Estrela (2006) for European Portuguese. Experimental evidence from European Portuguese confirms that some speakers, for some predicates, prefer a bound reading for personal pronouns (Silva 2015). This factor is not relevant for the current discussion. What is relevant is that we observe the same binding patterns as in non-specificational simple sentences.

- (46) a **Ele_i disse à Maria que ela tinha estado a mentir ao João_i*
 ‘He said to Maria that she had been lying to John.’
 c **O que ele_i disse à Maria foi que ela tinha estado a mentir ao João_i*.
 ‘What he_i had said to Mary was that she had been lying to John.’
 d **Foi que ela tinha estado a mentir ao João_i que ele_i disse à Maria*.
 ‘It was that she had been lying to João_i that he_i said to Mary.’

There is a difference between English and European Portuguese when it comes to NPI licensing. In English an NPI in the cleft constituent of pseudoclefts can be licensed by negation in the cleft clause, as shown in (47)a in which the NPI *any* inside the cleft constituent *any wine* is licensed by negation in the cleft relative. In European Portuguese, not all NPIs can be licensed in this way. Only negative concord NPIs are licensed ((47)c)²⁰, true NPIs are not licensed ((47)b).

- (47) a What John didn’t buy was any wine.²¹
 b **O que o João não pode fazer é vir de*
 what the João not may do is come of
forma alguma.
 manner some
 c *O que o João não comprou foi vinho nenhum.*
 what the João not bought was wine none
 ‘What John didn’t buy was no wine.’

²⁰ There is speaker variation concerning negative concord in pseudoclefts. Some speakers only get the double negation interpretation.

²¹ As Den Dikken et al. (2000) notice, NPI’s inside of idioms are not licensed in pseudoclefts:

- (i) *What John didn’t have was (he didn’t have) a red cent.

(Den Dikken et al. 2000: 80)

According to the authors, these data provide evidence for their claim that pseudoclefts are disguised question-answer pairs, since the same pattern exists in interrogatives:

- (ii) *What didn’t John have? (He didn’t have) a red cent.

However, this pattern is consistently degraded in interrogative sentences, also when no idioms are involved, since negation creates a weak island for extraction (see Ross 1986, Rizzi 1990, Szabolcsi 2005).

In English *it*-clefts and in European Portuguese *it*-clefts, NPI's contained in the cleft constituent cannot be licensed from within the cleft clause:

- (48) a *It was any wine that John didn't buy.
 b *É de forma alguma que o João não
 is of manner some that the João not
 pode vir.
 may come

Note that NPI licensing in *it*-clefts patterns the same as in non-cleft specificational sentences:²²

- (49) a *The thing that John didn't buy was any wine.
 b *A maneira como o João não pode vir é
 the manner how the João not may come is
 de forma alguma.
 of manner some
 'The manner how João may not come is at all.'

The data discussed here indicate that both *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts are specificational sentences.

There is a lot of discussion concerning the status of the two constituents in specificational sentences, both concerning their syntactic and their semantic status. Since this is not the place to solve this long-standing problem, I will simply limit myself to one aspect of the syntax of specificational clefts: I will argue that in *it*-clefts, the cleft pronoun occupies the structural subject position, as is standardly assumed, and that in pseudoclefts, it is the cleft

²² The licensing of NPIs in English pseudoclefts thus seems to be a special case, when comparing to other cleft constructions and other languages and with non-cleft specificational sentences. Also see Percus (1997).

clause that occupies the structural subject position. This does not mean that these constituents are the underlying (i.e. semantic) subject of the sentence, although they could be.²³

Schematically specificational clefts are formed by two constituents related through a copula, I will consider these constituents to be the arguments of the copula. Concerning the syntactic function of the two arguments of the copula in specificational clefts, there are two main views. Concerning pseudoclefts, some authors assume the cleft constituent to be the subject of the structure (Williams 1983, Heggie 1988), others assume it to be the predicate (Costa & Duarte 2005, Hedberg 1993). For *it*-clefts, Reeve (2012) argues that the cleft pronoun is the subject, and Costa & Duarte (2005) assume that the cleft clause in extraposed position, together with the null cleft pronoun is the subject.

In some languages the copular verb in both types of clefts can or must agree with a nominative cleft constituent, as was discussed in detail by Heycock (2012). The agreement patterns are a possible indication that - at least in these languages - the cleft constituent is the subject of the sentence. One of these languages is European Portuguese. (50)a illustrates an *it*-cleft, (50)b a pseudocleft.

- (50) a *São* *estas coisas assim que eu tenho visto!*
 be.3PL.PRES these things such that I have seen
- (51) b *Quem ama o Superhomem sou/*é eu.*
 who loves the Superman be.1S/*3S I
 ‘The one who loves Superman is me.’

Of course, triggering verbal agreement does not only characterise structural subjects: in some cases, non-subjects (i.e., elements that do not occupy SpecTP) can also trigger verbal agreement. This is the case for instance for nominative objects triggering agreement in Italian impersonal *si* constructions (D’Alessandro 2002). On the other hand, quirky subjects do not trigger verbal agreement, even though they arguably occupy SpecTP (see Boeckx 2000,

²³ I refer to Heycock (1994, 2012), Heycock & Kroch (1999), Romero (2005), Moro (1997, 2000), Mikkelsen (2004), Geist (2007), Cann (2007), Comorovski (2007) a.o. for a discussion of the underlying status of the constituents of specificational sentences.

Rögnavaldsson 1991). Verbal agreement is thus not a good diagnostics for identifying the structural subject of a sentence.

The following empirical facts drawn from English indicate that the cleft constituent is not the subject of *it*-clefts nor pseudoclefts. First of all, as is well known, subjects cannot remain inside of the vP in English, they have to move to SpecTP. As a consequence, in subject auxiliary inversion contexts, the subject will always immediately follow the highest auxiliary. It cannot follow more than one auxiliary (a). In *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts, the cleft constituent must follow all auxiliaries, indicating that auxiliaries do not invert with the cleft constituent and hence that the cleft constituent is not the subject of these structures (Hedberg 1993):²⁴

- (52) a *What have been doing you?
 b What we saw must have been a superhero.
 c It must have been a superhero that we saw.

Pronouns in English question tags provide a second argument against the subject status of the cleft constituent. In English, the subject pronoun in tags obligatorily refers to the subject of the sentence. With clefts, the pronoun of the tag is obligatorily *it*, which indicates that it cannot refer to the cleft constituent (Hedberg 1993, Frascarelli & Ramaglia 2009):

- (53) It's YOU that/who wants to become a doctor, isn't it/*aren't you/*doesn't it/*don't you?

(Frascarelli & Ramaglia 2009: 9)

- (54) What they bought was books, wasn't it/*wasn't they/*weren't they?

(Hedberg 1993: 13)

²⁴ If we assume that the cleft constituent moves to a CP FocP, followed by remnant movement of IP, as in Frascarelli & Ramaglia (2009, 2013), we can assume that the cleft constituent sits in a subject position. In chapter 7 it will be shown that such an analysis makes wrong predictions concerning embedding restrictions.

Both arguments against the subject-status of the cleft constituent are hard to replicate in null-subject languages such as European Portuguese. However, there are other arguments that do apply to these languages. For instance, extraction out of the cleft constituent is grammatical, while extraction from subjects is generally degraded ((55)c):²⁵

- (55) a *De quem achas que quem estava a falar com Pedro seja o pai [-]?*
 ‘Of whom do you think that the one who was talking to Pedro was the father?’
 (Costa & Duarte 2005: 2)
- b *De quem achas que era o pai [-], e não a mãe, que estava a falar com o Pedro?*
 ‘Of whom do you think that it was the father, and not the mother, that was talking to Pedro?’
- c *?? De quem falava o pai [-] com o Pedro?*
 ‘Of whom did the father [-] speak to Pedro?’

There are thus good reasons not to assume that the cleft constituent in *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts is the subject of the sentence. As an alternative, we could hypothesise that it is the cleft pronoun in *it*-clefts and the cleft clause in pseudoclefts that is the subject. This seems indeed to be the case. For instance, in languages in which polarity questions are formed

²⁵ There seems to be cross-linguistic variation about this point. For instance, in Italian, subextraction from the cleft constituent is severely degraded:

- (i) *??(Mi chiedo) di quale film è il regista che è stato premiato (non lo sceneggiatore).*
 ‘(I wonder) of which movie it is the director that has been rewarded (not the scenographer).’
 (Ciro Greco, p.c.)

In English (Eric Lander, p.c., also see Reeve 2012 for *it*-clefts) and in Dutch on the other hand, subextraction from the cleft constituent is grammatical:

- (ii) Of whom was it a picture [-] that John found?
 (iii) Of which company was what you couldn’t find the number of the bank account [-]?
 (iv) *Van welk kind is het de vader [-] die in de gevangenis zit?*
 ‘Of which child is it the father who is in prison?’
 (v) *Van welk kind is wie in de gevangenis zit de vader [-]?*
 ‘Of which child is the one who is in prison the father?’

Note however that not all speakers of English accept subextraction from the cleft constituent (Andrew Weir, p.c.).

through subject-auxiliary inversion, such as English and Dutch, it is the cleft pronoun/the cleft clause that will invert with the auxiliary.

- (56) a Was it John who killed Superman?
 b Isn't where he's going San Francisco? (Hedberg 1993: 9)

- (57) a *Was het Jan die Superman vermoordde?*
 was it Jan that Superman killed
 b *Was wat Jan deed Superman vermoorden?*
 was what Jan did Superman kill

This argument cannot be replicated in European Portuguese, because in this language, polarity questions are marked by intonation only.

Also the fact that the cleft pronoun in *it*-clefts and the cleft clause in pseudoclefts can be raised in subject-to-subject raising structures, indicates that, indeed, these constituents are the structural subject of the sentence. Note that in French, a language in which the expletive pronoun and the pronoun introducing *it*-clefts have a different form, the pronoun in raised position is indeed that associated with clefts (c):

- (58) a It appears to be John who killed Superman.
 b What he's asking appears to be whether there will be any beer.
 (Hedberg 1993: 10)²⁶
 c *Ça paraît être Jean qui a tué Superman.*
 it seem be Jean who has killed Superman
 'It seems to be Jean who killed Superman.'
 d *Quem matou o Superhomem parece ser o João.*
 who killed the Superman seems be the João

²⁶ As was discussed by Hedberg (1993), polarity pseudoclefts are often degraded because of discourse properties, but they are not ungrammatical. Also see Culicover (1977) for more grammatical examples. Also concerning raising structures, the judgements of pseudoclefts are not uniform, again because of semantic and/or pragmatic factors. I refer to Hedberg (1993) for more details.

‘The one who killed Superman seems to be João.’

The cleft clause in pseudoclefts and the cleft pronoun in *it*-clefts have several properties of regular syntactic subjects, and I will thus follow Hedberg (1993), Costa & Duarte (2005) and Reeve (2012) in assuming that effectively, these constituents are the structural subject of the sentence.²⁷ This in turn entails that in both *it*-and pseudoclefts the cleft constituent itself is not the subject of the sentence.

4.3.2 Headed relative clause vs. free relative clause²⁸

Although both *it*-clefts and pseudo-clefts are arguably specificational sentences, there are several differences between the two structures, mainly related to the type of relative clause involved in their syntax. The fact that the cleft clause of both structures is a strong island for extraction, indicates that effectively, the cleft clause of both structures can be analysed as a relative clause.²⁹ (59)a illustrates extraction from the cleft clause of *it*-clefts, (59)b illustrates extraction from a restrictive relative clause modifying the direct object. (60)a illustrates extraction from the cleft clause of pseudoclefts, and (60)b extraction from a free relative in object position.

²⁷ This is the opposite of what Heycock (2012) argues for non-cleft specificational sentences: she argues that the postcopular DP, which invariably is the focus of the sentence, is the structural subject.

²⁸ The term ‘free relative clause’ here does not only include free relative clauses *sensu stricto*, but also a series of relative clauses that De Vries (2006) calls ‘semi-free relative clauses’. Free relative clauses in the more restricted sense are only those relative clauses that are introduced by a relative pronoun and do not have any kind of nominal antecedent. Semi-free relative clauses on the other hand involve a determiner or demonstrative pronoun and a complementizer. This type of relative clause has also been called ‘light headed relative clause’ or ‘false free relative clause’, and have often been analysed as real free relative clauses. In some languages, (some) free relative clauses are actually semi-free relative clauses. This is the case for European Portuguese, a language in which *what*-free relative clauses are introduced by *o que*, which can be analysed as D + null NP + *que* (see Brito 1991 or Cardoso & De Vries 2010 for more details):

- (i) I ate what you cooked.
- (ii) *Comi o que cozinaste.*
ate.1S the that cooked.2S

²⁹ The strong islandhood of the cleft clause could also be ascribed to an intervention effect. In the analyses in which it is assumed that the cleft constituent originates inside of the cleft clause (Belletti 2008, Lobo 2006 a.o.), the cleft constituent moves to a position in the CP of the cleft clause. However, it is not clear to me why this movement should give rise to a strong island, and not to a weak one, as A’-movement usually does.

- (59) a **Com quem achas que era o pai da*
 with who think.2S that was the father of.the
Maria que estava a falar [-].
 Maria that was talking
- b **Com quem viste o homem que estava a falar [-]?*
 with who saw.3S the man that was talking
- (60) a **Com quem achas que quem estava a falar [-] era*
 with who think.2S that who was talking was
o pai da Maria?
 the father of.the Maria
- b **Com quem viste quem estava a falar [-]?*
 with who saw.2S who was talking

Another aspect that supports the analysis of the cleft clause of *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts as a type of relative clause is the fact that both involve A'-movement. This is illustrated for instance by the fact that the gap in cleft clauses and in regular relative clauses cannot be inside of a strong island. (61)a illustrates a restrictive relative clause and (61)b illustrates a free relative clause, both have a gap inside of a temporal adjunct, which is a strong island for extraction. Also the gap in the cleft clause in *it*-clefts (62)a and in pseudoclefts (62)b cannot be located inside of a strong island.

- (61) a **Está ali o homem que a Maria ficou*
 is there the man that the Maria stayed
contente quando chegou [-].
 happy when arrived
- b **Conheço quem a Maria ficou contente quando*
 know.1S who the Maria stayed happy when
chegou [-].
 arrived
- (62) a **Foi o João que a Maria ficou contente*

was the João that the Maria stayed happy
quando chegou [-].

when arrived

- b **Quem a Maria ficou contente quando*
 who the Maria stayed happy when
chegou [-] foi o João.
 arrived was the João.

In relation to islandhood, the cleft clause of *it*-clefts and of pseudoclefts thus pattern alike, and they also pattern with relative clauses. The cleft clause of *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts differ however when it comes to (i) the *wh*-element introducing the cleft relative clause and (ii) connectivity effects between the cleft constituent and the cleft clause. As will be illustrated, the cleft clause of *it*-clefts patterns with headed relative clauses while the cleft clause of pseudoclefts patterns with free relative clauses.

First of all there is a difference between *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts when it comes to the C-element that introduces them. In *it*-clefts, the C-elements that can introduce the cleft clause are those that are typically found in headed relative clauses, while in pseudoclefts the C-elements are the relative pronouns that typically head free relatives.

In European Portuguese *it*-clefts, the element introducing the cleft clause usually is the complementizer *que* ‘that’, independently of the category and referent of the cleft constituent, as illustrated in (63)a. This complementizer can introduce headed relative clauses (63)b but not free relative clauses (63)c. Those relative pronouns that cannot introduce headed relative clauses are also ungrammatical in *it*-clefts. This is the case of *quem* ‘who’: it cannot introduce the cleft clause of *it*-clefts (64)a or a restrictive relative clause (64)b.³⁰ The type of C-element we find in *it*-clefts thus indicates that the cleft clause is an instance of a headed relative clause.

³⁰ *Quem* can introduce headed relative clauses if it is embedded in a PP:

- (i) *O rapaz a quem eu telefonei é o meu primo.*
 the boy to who I called is the my cousin
 ‘The boy to whom I phoned is my cousin.’

As will be illustrated below, the cleft clause of *it*-clefts cannot be preceded by a preposition.

- (63) a *Foram os meus pais que compraram*
 be.3PL.PRF the my parents that buy.3PL.PRF
a aguardente.
 the liquor
- b *O livro que compraste está ali.*
 the book that bought.2S is.3S there
- c **que compraste está ali*
 that bought.2S is.3S there
- (64) a **Foram os meus pais quem compraram*
 be.3PL.PRF the my parents who buy.3PL.PRF
a aguardente.
 the liquor
- b **O homem quem está doente é o chefe.*
 the man who is sick is the boss

Concerning other relative pronouns that can introduce headed relative clauses, such as *onde* ‘where’ or *quando* ‘when’, it is not clear whether they can introduce the cleft clause of *it*-clefts. There are some instances of *it*-clefts with a relative pronoun in the corpus:

- (65) *Foi então quando lhe bateu.* (CPT17)
 was then when CL.DAT hit
 ‘It was then when it hit him.’

Lobo (2006) a.o. argues that these structures, which she calls *wh*-clefts, are not *it*-clefts, based on the fact that agreement patterns and case connectivity effects in these *wh*-clefts differ from the ones found in *it*-clefts. For instance, in subject *wh*-clefts, the verb of the cleft clause exhibits third person singular agreement (66)a, while in *it*-clefts, the verb of the cleft clause agrees in person and number with the cleft constituent (66)b.

- (66) a *Foram os meus pais quem comprou a*
 be.3PL.PRF the my parents who buy.3S.PRF the
aguardente.
 liquor
 ‘It were my parents who bought the liquor.’
- b *Foram os meus pais que compraram a*
 be.3PL.PRF the my parents who buy.3PL.PRF the
aguardente.
 liquor
 ‘It were my parents that bought the liquor.’

Also the lack of case connectivity effects, some restrictions on the category of the cleft constituents and the reversibility of the two arguments of the copula indicate that Q-clefts are not a sub-type of *it*-clefts (see Lobo 2006 for a detailed description). The *wh*-clefts have been analysed as pseudoclefts with an extraposed cleft clause (Mito 2001). However, it is not clear to me whether all instances of *wh*-clefts need to be treated as a type of pseudoclefts, since connectivity effects are not visible in all *wh*-clefts, especially not in clefts with an adjunct cleft constituent. In any case, the most common C-element in Portuguese *it*-clefts is *que*, which can only introduce headed relative clauses. Additionally, the cleft clause cannot be introduced by relative pronouns that cannot introduce headed relative clauses. It thus seems reasonable to assume that the cleft clause in *it*-clefts is a type of headed relative clause. Also data from English and French, to be discussed below, indicate that this is effectively the case.

Portuguese *it*-clefts differ from their English counterparts, in which the cleft clause can be introduced by a series of relative pronouns (Reeve 2012), such as *where* and *when*, but not by *how* or *why*. The same pattern is found in restrictive relative clauses. For instance, if the cleft constituent denotes a [+human] entity, the cleft clause can be introduced by *who* or by *that*. The same pattern is found in headed relative clauses.

- (67) a It was Boris that/who bought the vodka.
 b The man that/who arrived first

Crucially, in standard English, the cleft clause cannot be introduced by *what*, a relative pronoun that also cannot introduce headed relative clauses, confirming that the cleft clause in *it*-clefts is a type of headed relative clause:³¹

- (68) a *It's this book what I like.
 b *I bought this book what I like.

Also in French does the cleft clause of *it*-clefts pattern with headed relative clauses. French subject relative clauses are introduced by *qui* (a) while object relative clauses are introduced by *que* (b). The same alternation is found in *it*-clefts (c and d)

- (69) a *L'homme qui/*que a gagné est arrivé.*
 The man *qui/*que* has won is arrived
 'The man that won has arrived.'
- b *L'homme *qui/que t'as vu est arrivé.*
 The man **qui/que* you have seen is arrived
 'The man that you saw has arrived.'
- c *C' est ça qui/*que ne va pas.*
 DEM is.3S that *qui/*que* NE goes not
 'It's that that's wrong.'
- d *C' est ça *qui/que je veux.*
 DEM is.3S that **qui/que* I want
 'It's that that I want.'

The range of relativizers that can introduce the cleft clause of *it*-clefts is thus compatible with the idea that it is a headed relative clause. Pseudoclefts on the other hand pattern with free relative clauses. The cleft clause of Portuguese pseudoclefts can be

³¹ Liliane Haegeman (p.c.) points out that *what* can introduce headed relative clauses in some non-standard varieties of English. *What* can also introduce the cleft clause of *it*-clefts in non-standard varieties of English.

- (i) It was The Daily Telegraph what done it, right? (Independent 20.2.10 page 40 col. 1)
 (ii) He's a man what likes his beer. (Trudgill 1983: 41)

introduced by any relative pronoun, as long as it matches the category of the cleft constituent.³² Additional evidence for the claim that the cleft clause of pseudoclefts is a free relative is the fact that, in English, *who*-pseudoclefts are marginal (Prince 1978: 885), as illustrated in (71). Free relatives introduced by *who* are restricted in general, independently of the syntactic position they surface in (see Patterson and Caponigro 2015).³³

- (70) a *O que fica é a pele do linho.* (CBV41)
 what stays is the skin of.the flax
 ‘What stays is the skin of the flax.’
- b *A que se come aí mais tenra é essa aí.* (PVC17)
 what SE eat there more soft is that there
 ‘The one that is eaten softer is that one.’
- c *Quem manda é ela.* (GRJ69)
 who rules is she
 ‘The one who rules is she.’
- d *Onde punham aquilo era ao pé dos cemitérios.*
 where put that was at.the foot of.the cemeteries
 ‘Where they put that was near the cemeteries.’ (CBV64)
- e *Como gosto mais de frango é frito.* (GRJ47)
 how like more of chicken is fried
 ‘How I like chicken most is fried.’
- f *Quando elas comem é na véspera de*
 when they eat is in.the eve of

³² It has to be noted that adjunct pseudoclefts are quite rare (21 out of 199 occurrences in the corpus) and not accepted by all speakers

³³ The fact that the only *wh*-pronouns that can introduce the cleft clause in pseudoclefts are the ones found in free relatives, i.e., a subset of the *wh*-pronouns found in interrogatives, constitutes evidence against the question-answer analysis of pseudoclefts of Den Dikken et al. (2000). These authors argue that the cleft clause in pseudoclefts is an interrogative. As is clear from the example below, which can introduce interrogatives, but cannot head the cleft clause.

- (i) I wonder which book John is reading.
 (ii) *Which book John is reading is ‘Ulysses’.

(Caponigro & Heller 2007: 14)

I refer to Caponigro & Heller (2007) for additional cross-linguistic evidence against the analysis of the cleft clause of pseudoclefts as a (concealed) interrogative.

Natal. (OUT50).

Christmas

‘When they eat it is at Christmas Eve.’

- (71) a ??Who rules is my sister.
b *? Ana consoled who Samir fired. (Patterson & Caponigro 2015: 1)

The discussed patterns indicate that the cleft clause of pseudoclefts seems to be a free relative, while the cleft clause of *it*-clefts is more similar to headed relative clauses.

The second difference between EP *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts are the connectivity effects between the cleft constituent and the cleft clause. First of all, the cleft clause of both clefts usually has an empty position related to the cleft constituent, but in EP some speakers allow for a dative cleft constituent to be doubled by a clitic pronoun.³⁴ Other types of doubling are not attested and considered ungrammatical:^{35,36}

- (72) (...) *é esse que a gente lhe chama o*
be.1SG.PRES this that the people CL.3SG.DAT call.3SG.PRES the
galego de Borba (...). (SRP24)
Galician of Borba
‘It’s this one that we call the Galician Borba.’

³⁴ This is not considered to be standard language. However, I have not found any speaker who considers these structures ungrammatical.

³⁵ In the two occurrences of *it*-clefts with clitic doubling found in the corpus, the cleft constituent surfaced in nominative case, instead of the expected oblique. This seems to be a coincidence, since some speakers allow for clitic doubling of cleft constituents that display the expected case connectivity effects:

- (i) *É a ele que lhe compete salvar*
be.3SG.PRES to him that CL.3S.DAT behave.3SG.PRES to preserve
o que resta de positivo da sua imagem.
what remain.3SG.PRES of positive of.the his image
‘It’s of his competence to preserve what positive aspects remains of his image.’

Nevertheless, there seems to be a relation between the lack of case connectivity and the presence of a doubling clitic: also in 11 of the *é que*-clefts without case connectivity, there was clitic doubling. However, there are not enough data to come to any definitive conclusions.

³⁶ Zubizarreta (2014) reports a similar pattern for Spanish pseudoclefts.

- (73) *O que **lhe** chamamos aqui ‘cardelas’ é só **uma qualidade.*** (OUT06)
 what cl.3SG.DAT call.3PL.PRES here ‘yellow knight’ be.3SG.PRES
 only one quality
 ‘What we call (it) ‘yellow knight’ here is only one type.’

This is a general property of relative clauses in non-standard European Portuguese, independent of the cleft constructions (see Alexandre 2000): in colloquial European Portuguese, resumptive relative clauses are grammatical.

The cleft constituent in subject clefts agrees with the verb of the cleft clause in person and number in *it*-clefts. This is not the case in pseudoclefts, in which the main verb of the cleft clause always receives default agreement, namely third person singular. This is illustrated in (74). In the *it*-cleft in (74)a, the verb of the cleft clause *fazer* ‘make’ has to agree in person and number with the subject cleft constituent, and hence surfaces in the third person plural. In the pseudocleft in (74)b on the other hand, this agreement pattern is ungrammatical, and the verb of the cleft clause consistently surfaces in the default third person singular.

- (74) a *Eram os sapateiros que **faziam**/*fazia as sandálias.* (CDR25)
 be.3PL.IMPERF **the shoemakers** that make.3PL/*SG.IMPERF
 the sandals
 ‘It were the shoemakers who made the sandals.’
- b *O que ***são/é** lavado à parte são os **pedaçozinhos.*** (MST05)
 what be.3*PL/SG.PRES washed to.the part be.3PL.PRES
the little pieces
 ‘What is washed apart are the little pieces.’

The same different agreement patterns exist between restrictive subject relative clauses and free subject relative clauses. In free relative clauses, the verb always exhibits default agreement, namely the third person singular (75)a. In restrictive relative clauses, the verb

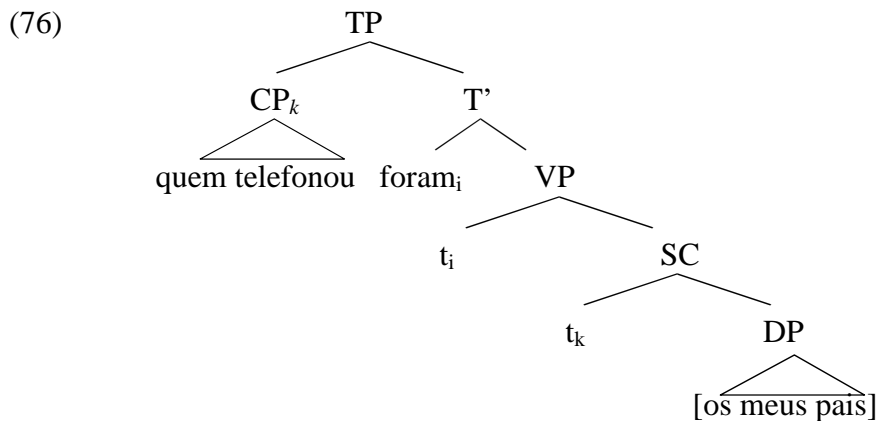
agrees in person and number with the antecedent of the relative clause when it is the subject (75)b:

- (75) a *Quem chegou/* **chegaram primeiro*
 Who arrived.3S/ arrived.3PL first
- b *Os meninos* *que *chegou/* *chegaram primeiro*
 the boys that arrived.3S/ arrived.3PL first

Lobo (2006) argues that the difference in verbal agreement between *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts is due to the fact that, in *it*-clefts, the cleft constituent has been moved from a position inside of the cleft clause, while in pseudoclefts the cleft constituent is generated outside of the cleft clause. As a result, in pseudoclefts, the verb of the cleft clause does not agree with the cleft constituent, but rather with the relative pronoun, which is not specified for person and number, and hence receives default agreement. In *it*-clefts on the other hand, the cleft constituent determines agreement of the verb of the cleft clause. However, there are some arguments against the claim that the head of the relative clause in *it*-clefts is the cleft constituent, which will be discussed below. For now, I retain that the agreement pattern in *it*-clefts is identical to that in headed relative clauses, while the agreement in pseudoclefts is identical to that in free relative clauses.

There are thus several reasons to assume that the cleft clause in *it*-clefts is a headed relative clause, while that of pseudoclefts is a free relative.³⁷ The latter claim is fairly standard and will not be discussed any further (see Caponigro & Heller 2007 for additional evidence from Hungarian, Macedonian, Wolof and Hebrew). The structure of pseudoclefts assumed throughout is schematized below. In the lack of movement of the cleft constituent, see chapter 5.

³⁷ See Reeve (2012) and references cited for arguments in favour of the restrictive relative clause nature of the cleft clause of *it*-clefts. These arguments range from the type of relative pronoun that can head the cleft clause, over that-trace effects to islandhood. See Declerck (1988) and Ambar (2005) for an opposing view.



4.3.3 The syntax of *it*-clefts

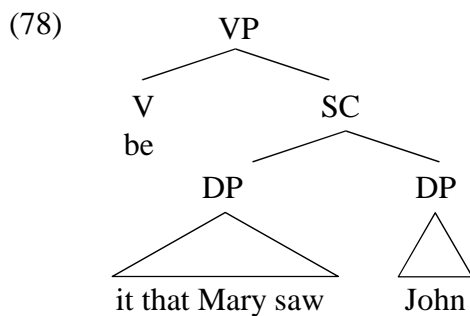
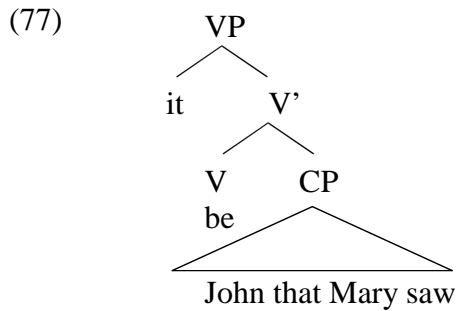
In this section I develop an analysis for the syntax of *it*-clefts. To summarize the main claims: (i) I argue that the cleft clause is a relative CP selected by a determiner without any nominal antecedent; (ii) a deleted copy of the cleft constituent occupies the gap in the cleft clause and triggers phi-feature agreement inside the cleft clause. This section is organized as follows: first, in section 4.3.3, I argue that the cleft constituent itself cannot be considered to be the antecedent of the cleft clause.³⁸ Then, I show that in the final stage of the derivation, the cleft clause is extraposed to the VP (section 4.3.3.2). Finally, I develop the analysis according to which the cleft clause originates as the complement of a D and that phi-feature agreement is triggered by a deleted copy of the cleft constituent. I also suggest that the ban on preposition pied-piping might be related to the deleted nature of the CP-internal copy of the cleft constituent.

4.3.3.1 The antecedent of the relative clause cannot be the cleft constituent

Given the assumption that the cleft clause in *it*-clefts is a headed relative clause, we have to wonder which element in the cleft construction is the antecedent of the relative clause in question. It has been argued that the cleft clause is headed by the cleft constituent itself

³⁸ Antecedent here is to be understood as the nominal head that is modified by the headed relative clause. It will be argued that the cleft constituent itself is not the antecedent, even though it determines binding relations, and is thus an antecedent of the cleft clause in a certain sense.

(Reeve 2012; Belletti 2008, 2015; Lobo 2006), as illustrated in (77). Other authors argue that the cleft clause is headed by the cleft pronoun (Hedberg 1990; Percus 1997, Huber 2002), as illustrated in (78);³⁹ in English this pronoun is *it*, in French it is *ce*, in Dutch it is *het*, in null subject languages such as European Portuguese, the pronoun is null.



In what follows, each hypothesis will be discussed separately. I will conclude that the structure in (78) is basically correct, and refine the proposal. More particularly, I will argue that the cleft clause in *it*-clefts does not have a nominal antecedent in the standard sense.

Assuming that the cleft constituent is the antecedent of the cleft clause makes accurate predictions concerning phi-feature agreement in the cleft clause. As was illustrated in section 4.3.2, it is the cleft constituent that determines agreement on the verb of the cleft clause in subject clefts. The same agreement patterns are found in regular headed relative clauses. The relevant example is repeated below:

- (79) *Eram* *os sapateiros* *que* *faziam/*fazia*
 be.3PL.IMPERF **the shoemakers** that make.3PL/*SG.IMPERF

³⁹ Hedberg (1990) assumes an indirect link between the cleft pronoun and the cleft clause, in LF.

as sandálias. (CDR25)

the sandals

‘It were the shoemakers who made the sandals.’

Also the form of reflexive pronouns is determined by the cleft constituent. In the example below, the cleft constituent is *eu* ‘I’, hence the reflexive pronoun in the cleft clause has to be *me* ‘me’, it cannot be *se*, the third person reflexive pronoun.⁴⁰

- (80) a *Sou eu que me olho ao espelho.*
is.1S I that REFL.1S watch.1S in the mirror
- b **Sou eu que se olha ao espelho.*
is.1S I that REFL.3S watch.3S in the mirror

There are however some problems with assuming that the cleft constituent itself is the head of the cleft relative clause in the traditional sense. If the assumption that the cleft clause in *it*-clefts is a headed relative clause is correct, there are two possibilities: either it is a restrictive relative clause or an appositive relative clause.⁴¹ Both types of relative clauses mainly differ in their semantic relation to the antecedent: the first restricts the denotation of the antecedent while the second does not. This has consequences for the type of antecedent these relative clauses can have. For instance, it is well known that restrictive relative clauses cannot have proper names or personal pronouns as their antecedent, since the denotation of these elements cannot be restricted. Appositive relative clauses can have such antecedents.

⁴⁰ There are cross-linguistic differences concerning person features connectivity. I refer to section 4.3.3.4.4 for a discussion.

⁴¹ Also light-headed relative clauses, which have a pronominal antecedent, are an instance of headed relative clauses. This type of relative clause has also been called a semi-free relative clause or a false free relative clause. According to some authors, such as De Vries (2002), light-headed relative clauses can also be headed by determiners.

- (i) He who must not be named
(ii) *Comprei o que tu compraste.*
bought.1S the that you bought.2S

Smits (1989) considers these to be appositive relative clauses, since the antecedent, a pronoun, cannot be semantically restricted. Cardoso & De Vries (2010) on the other hand consider light-headed relative clauses to be a variant of restrictive relative clauses. In any case, if the cleft constituent is the antecedent of the cleft clause, the cleft clause cannot (uniformly) be a light-headed relative clause, since the cleft constituent can be a full DP or PP.

Now, if the cleft constituent were considered as the antecedent of the cleft clause, then the cleft clause could not be a restrictive relative clause, since the cleft constituent – i.e. the antecedent under this hypothesis - can be a proper name or a pronoun:

(81) It is John/him who is always late.

However, if the cleft constituent were seen as the antecedent of the cleft clause, we also could not assume that the cleft clause is an appositive relative clause. As shown in (82)a, appositives cannot be stacked (Smits 1989). On the other hand, as shown in (82)b, the cleft constituent can be modified by an appositive relative clause. If the cleft clause *who you like* (82)b were analysed as an appositive relative clause that modifies the cleft constituent *this man*, we would expect it to be impossible to add an additional appositive relative clause that modifies the cleft constituent, contrary to fact:

(82) a *this man, with whom I have never spoken, who you like
b It is this man, with whom I have never spoken, who you like.

In the light of these data, if I am assuming correctly that the cleft clause is a type of headed relative clause, and on the assumption that headed relative clauses must be either restrictive or appositive, then we have to abandon the idea that the cleft constituent is the antecedent of the cleft clause.

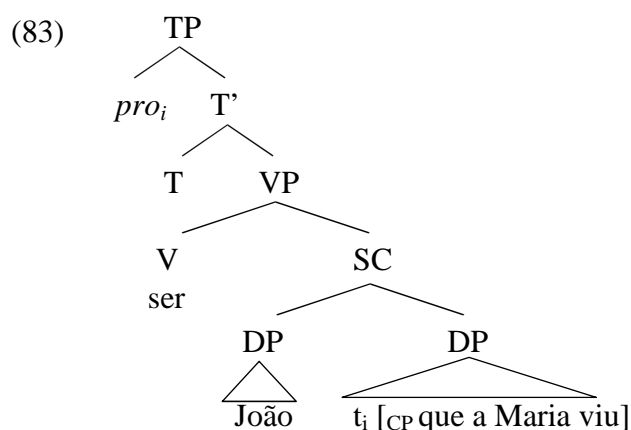
Also the impossibility of pied-piping of prepositions, discussed in section 4.3.3.3.4, is unexpected if the cleft constituent is the head of the cleft clause, as it is not clear why the cleft clause should differ from other headed relative clauses in this respect. As such, I will discard the hypothesis that it is the cleft constituent that is the antecedent of the cleft clause.

Rather than assuming that the cleft constituent is the antecedent of the cleft clause, the hypothesis that the cleft pronoun is the antecedent of the cleft clause, as was argued by Hedberg (1990) and Percus (1997), is more compatible with the empirical patterns. Since it is not the cleft constituent that is the head of the cleft clause, we do not expect to encounter any restrictions on proper names or pronouns as a cleft constituent. Additionally, we do not expect

that the presence of appositives modifying the cleft constituent should be ungrammatical. As such, we can maintain that the cleft clause is a type of headed relative clause, which was shown to make some accurate predictions concerning islandhood and the form of the relativizer. There are however two properties of the cleft clause in *it*-clefts that do not immediately follow from an analysis along these lines: (i) it is not clear why phi-agreement in the cleft clause is determined by the cleft constituent and not by the cleft pronoun (see examples (79) and (80)), and (ii) it is not clear why preposition pied-piping is not possible (see section 4.3.3.4). In what follows, I propose an analysis for *it*-clefts that can account for these facts.

4.3.3.2 The final stage of the derivation of *it*-clefts

So far I have established that *it*-clefts are instances of specificational copular sentences in which the cleft pronoun occupies the structural subject position SpecTP. Additionally, the cleft clause in *it*-clefts seems to be a headed relative clause with the cleft pronoun as the antecedent. This gives us the following simplified structure for *it*-clefts:



It has been noted repeatedly, based on head-final languages such as Dutch, that the cleft clause of *it*-clefts is extraposed (see Grange & Haegeman 1989, Den Dikken 2008). For instance, in Dutch, the cleft clause has to follow all verbs and auxiliaries, it cannot occur in any other position:

- (84) a ...*dat het Superman geweest moet zijn die de vaas gebroken heeft*
 ...that it Superman must have been that the vase broken has
 b *...*dat het Superman die de vaas gebroken heeft geweest moet zijn*
 ...that it Superman that the vase broken has must have been

An extraposition analysis for the cleft clause of Italian clefts has also been argued for by Belletti (2015), based on the observation that VP-adverbs may intervene between the cleft constituent and the cleft clause. The same applies to European Portuguese:

- (85) *E' Gianni, oggi, che deve decidere sulla questione*
 is Gianni, today, that must decide on.the matter
 'It's Gianni, today, that must decide on the matter.'

(Belletti 2015: 50)

- (86) *Foi o meu pai – quando eu era ainda novinha -*
 was the my father when I was still young
 que ainda me ensinou a letra que sei. (FIG18)
 that still me taught the letter that know
 'It was my father, when I was still a little girl, that taught me the writing that I know.'

As to the question of where the cleft clause extraposes to, I will follow Han & Hedberg (2008) and assume that it is adjoined to the VP. Evidence for this account comes from VP-ellipsis, coordination and fronting. All of these operations indicate that the cleft constituent and the cleft clause form a syntactic constituent:

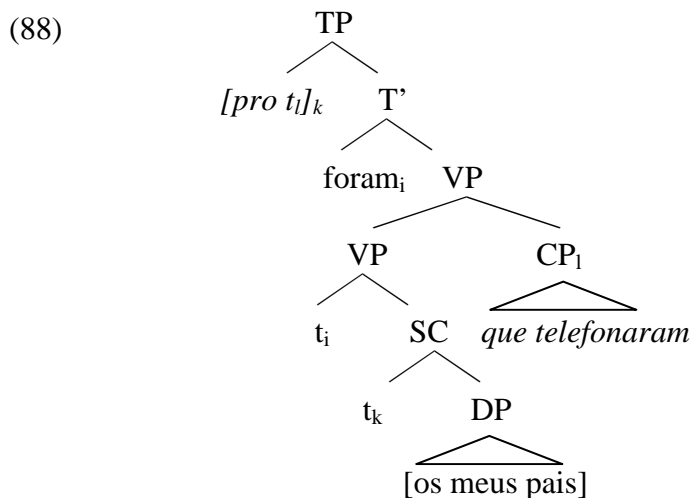
- (87) a I said it should have been [Bill who negotiated the new contract], and it
 should have been.
 b It must have been [Fred that kissed Mary] but [Bill that left with her].

(Han & Hedberg 2008: 348)

- c I said it'd be a conservative who'd win, and a conservative who won it certainly was.

(Hedberg 1990: 98)

The structure of *it*-clefts is summarized below. In chapter 5, I will argue that the cleft constituent does not move away from its VP-internal base position.⁴²



4.3.3.3 Digging in

In what follows, I further develop my analysis for *it*-clefts. The analysis can account for the relative clause properties of the cleft clause and for the agreement facts. The crucial ingredients of my proposal are the following: (i) the cleft pronoun is not a pronoun but rather a determiner; (ii) the determiner takes the cleft clause CP as its complement; (iii) the determiner (i.e. the cleft pronoun) lacks valued phi-features, hence it cannot trigger agreement in the cleft clause. It is a null copy of the cleft constituent inside of the cleft clause CP that triggers agreement. The analysis proposed here has the additional advantage that the correct interpretation of *it*-clefts can be derived compositionally. In section 4.3.4.2, it will be shown

⁴² The cleft constituent will be argued not to move in 'declarative' *it*-clefts, but it can be *wh*-moved or fronted to the left periphery.

that the cleft clause is a definite description. This interpretation will follow if the cleft clause is a sister of a definite determiner, but not if it is the cleft constituent that is the antecedent.

4.3.3.3.1 *The cleft pronoun as a determiner*

That the cleft pronoun in *it*-clefts is a determiner (in disguise) and not an expletive has been argued by several authors, see for instance Hedberg (1990) and Percus (1997). According to these authors, the cleft pronoun *it* in English *it*-clefts is the spell-out form of the definite determiner *the*. In English, raising verbs (89)a and weather verbs (89)b require real expletives, the pronoun cannot alternate with a demonstrative pronoun. The cleft pronoun on the other hand can alternate with *this/that*, as illustrated in example (89)c, and the same pronoun is found with a referential use (89)d (Hedberg 2000).⁴³

- (89) a *This/*that seems to me that you're wrong.
 b *This/*that is snowing.
 c This/that was John that I saw.
 d This/that is not true.

(Hedberg 2000: 892)

Second, in German and French, the cleft pronoun has the form of a demonstrative, expletive pronouns have another form. In German, the pronoun that preferentially occurs with raising verbs (90)a and with weather verbs (90)b is *es*, while the pronoun that preferentially occurs in *it*-clefts (90)c and in a referential use (90)d is *das*. The French expletive is *il*, as can

⁴³ The availability of *it*-clefts with demonstrative cleft pronouns depends on the salience of the content of the cleft clause: it has to be currently under discussion or activated. See Hedberg (2000) for more details. Also see Grange & Haegeman (1989) for similar facts in Flemish. Also in European Portuguese, it seems to be the case that the demonstrative pronoun can be overt:

- (i) *Aquilo foi dor que lhe deu.* (CRV52)
 that was pain that him gave
 ‘That was pain that he felt.’

The problem with these structures is that we cannot know whether the overt pronoun is really the cleft pronoun, or an instance of the non-subject expletive described by Carrilho (2005, 2014) related to discourse marking.

be seen in (91)a and b, while the pronoun in *it*-clefts and in referential use is *ce*, as illustrated in (91)c and d.

(90) German

a *Es/?das kommt mir so vor, als ob du unrecht hast.*

it/that seems me so as if you wrong have

'It seems to me that you're wrong.'

b *Es/?das schneit.*

it/that snows

'It's snowing.'

c *?Es/das war John, den ich gesehen habe.*

it/that was John, that I seen have

'It was John that I saw.'

d *?Es/das ist nicht wahr.*

it/that is not true

'It is not true.'

(Hedberg 2000: 893)

(91) French

a *Il/?ce/??cela me semble que tu as tort.*

it/this to.me seems that you have wrong

'It seems to me that you're wrong.'

b *Il/*ce/?ça neige.*

it/this snows

'It's snowing.'

c **Il/c'est John que j'ai vu.*

it/this is John that I have seen

'It's John that I saw.'

d **Il/ce n'est pas vrai.*

it/this NEG is not true

'It is not true.'

(Hedberg 2000: 893)

The cleft pronoun in *it*-clefts in the languages discussed has thus the form of a demonstrative, with the exception of English *it*, that can nevertheless alternate with demonstratives. Assuming that the cleft pronoun is actually a determiner, and not necessarily a pronoun, seems to be plausible, given the fact that demonstratives also have a determiner use:

(92) This book / that book / those books

Additional evidence for this idea is the fact that the French cleft pronoun *ce* cannot be considered to be a real pronoun, as it cannot stand on its own, contrary to *this/that*. It can only surface if there is an additional modifier, such as a locative pronoun or a relative clause, or when it is used as a determiner with an NP complement. *Ce* rather seems to be a demonstrative determiner and not a demonstrative pronoun.

(93) *Donne-moi ce *(ci)/*(la)/*(que tu veux)/*(livre)*
 give-me this here/there/that you want/book

In Dutch, the cleft pronoun has the form of the neutral definite determiner *het*:

(94) *Het is mijn vader die deze schilderijen heeft gemaakt.*
 the is my father that these paintings has made

Analysing the cleft pronoun as a determiner thus seems to be on the right track. Additionally, determiners have underspecified phi-features, which is evidenced by the fact that they agree with their NP complement in number and gender:

(95) *As meninas*
 the.FEM.PL girls

Since the cleft ‘pronoun’ has underspecified phi-features, we do not expect it to determine agreement inside of the cleft clause, as it would if it were a real pronoun. This effectively seems to be the case, since agreement is determined by the cleft constituent itself.

4.3.3.3.2 *The derivation of the cleft clause*

So far I have established that (i) the cleft clause of *it*-clefts is a type of headed relative clause; (ii) the cleft constituent itself cannot be the antecedent of this relative clause and (iii) the cleft pronoun is actually a determiner. As will be discussed in detail in section 4.3.4, the cleft clause of *it*-clefts has the denotation of a definite description. This interpretation follows naturally if the cleft clause is a sister of a definite determiner at a certain point in the derivation. The interpretation of the cleft clause thus indicates that the cleft ‘pronoun’, which was argued to be a determiner, takes the cleft clause CP as its complement, along the lines of Kayne’s (1994) analysis for headed relative clauses.

There are two basic analyses for headed relative clauses: the head-external (or matching) analysis and the raising analysis. The head external analysis (Chomsky 1977 a.o.) differs from the raising analysis (or head internal analysis) in that it is assumed that the nominal head of the relative clause does not originate within the relative clause. It is rather an operator that establishes the relation between the nominal head and the gap in the relative clause, as illustrated below.

(96) $[_{DP} D NP] [_{CP} Op_i C [TP t_i]]$

The raising analysis (Kayne 1994 a.o.) on the other hand builds on the Determiner Complement hypothesis of Smith (1969): the relative CP is assumed to be the complement of an external determiner D (see Bianchi 1999 for an overview of the arguments in favour of this hypothesis). The nominal antecedent of the relative clause originates within the relative CP and moves to its specifier, as such appearing in between the external determiner and the relativizer. Something very similar is exactly what seems to be going on in *it*-clefts: the

interpretation of the cleft clause indicates that it is the sister of a definite determiner. As such, I will assume a similar derivation for the cleft clause of *it*-clefts.

The raising analysis for headed relative clauses argued for by Kayne (1994) was further elaborated by several authors, a.o. Bianchi (1999) and Bhatt (2002). They convincingly argue that the nominal antecedent is merged in the complement position of a DP with a relative morpheme in D° position. The difference between relative clauses with a complementizer and those with a relative pronoun is related to which C-element is pronounced, as illustrated in (97). This analysis predicts that both the relative pronoun and the complementizer can be pronounced simultaneously, as is possible in some languages, such as some Flemish dialects, illustrated in (98).

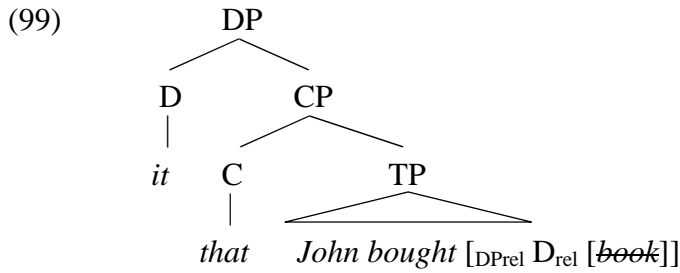
- (97) a [DP the [CP [NP claim]_i [DP_{rel} D_{rel} t_i]_k that [IP John made t_k]]]
 b [DP the [CP [NP claim]_i [DP_{rel} which t_i]_k C [IP John made t_k]]]

- (98) *De man tegen wie dat ik dat gezegd heb is Jan.*
 the man against who that I that said have is Jan
 ‘The man to whom (that) I said that is Jan.’

The cleft clause of *it*-clefts differs from regular headed relative clauses in that there does not seem to be any nominal antecedent in the standard sense: it was argued in section 4.3.3.1 that the cleft constituent cannot be the antecedent of the cleft clause, and there are no other candidates. I will thus assume that what is merged in the relative CP is a copy of the cleft constituent, or perhaps a reduced pronominal form of the cleft constituent, along the lines of Sauerland’s (1998) matching analysis for headed relative clauses. This copy is deleted under identity with the cleft constituent. The structure is schematized below:⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Note that this structure was also argued for by Percus (1997), based on semantic considerations (see section 4.3.4.2). Percus suggests that there might be a null nominal constituent heading the cleft clause, but underlines that nothing particular hinges on this claim. Nevertheless, if there is a null nominal head present in the cleft clause, it is not immediately clear to me how to rule out that this nominal head determines agreement in subject clefts, as it does in other headed subject relative clauses.

Note that the proposed base structure for *it*-clefts also makes some interesting predictions concerning categorial restrictions on the cleft constituent. As is well known, the category of the two members of a specificational sentence is not free, it seems to be the case that both members need to have the same category. It has been noted that cleft constituents of *it*-clefts can only be DPs or PPs, other categories are at least marginal. This can be made



The fact that in non-standard European Portuguese the gap in the cleft clause can be occupied by a clitic pronoun can be considered to provide evidence for this analysis, in the sense that the clitic can be considered to be the spell out of (a part of) the copy of the cleft constituent:

- (100) (...) *é esse que a gente **lhe** chama o*
 be.1SG.PRES this that the people CL.3SG.DAT call.3SG.PRES the
galego de Borba (...). (SRP24)
 Galician of Borba
 ‘It’s this one that we call (it) the Galician Borba.’

Another prediction of the proposed copy-account is that we expect there to be categorial connectivity between the cleft constituent and the gap in the cleft clause: the copy inside of the cleft clause can only be deleted under identity if the cleft constituent is identical. This is borne out: for instance, in English *it*-clefts, prepositions can either surface in the cleft constituent itself or in the gap in cleft clause, it is not possible to have a preposition in both positions. It is thus clear that the cleft constituent needs to coincide with the deleted portion of the copy.

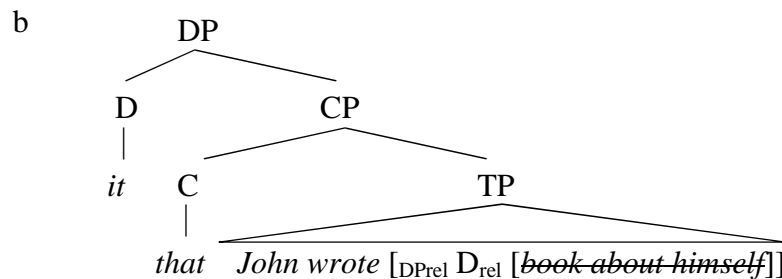
- (101) a It is to this man that I spoke.
 b It is this man that I spoke to.

to follow from the proposed structure for *it*-clefts, *modulo* an adaptation of Caponigro & Pearl’s (2009) proposals for free relative clauses. They convincingly argue that FRs uniformly are nominal constituents, but that the optional presence of a (silent) preposition makes that they have the distribution of either DPs or PPs. I will leave this issue for future research.

c *It is to this man that I spoke to.

An additional advantage of the hypothesis developed here is that we get the binding facts for free. As was discussed in section 4.3.1, on a par with non-cleft specificational sentences, binding relations in *it*-clefts seem to hold in the absence of c-command. If an instance of the cleft constituent occupies the gap in the cleft clause, the c-command relations necessary for binding are present:

(102) a It was a book about himself_i that John_i wrote



On the other hand, we expect NPI-licensing in *it*-clefts to be grammatical, which is not borne out. The relevant example is repeated below:

(103) *It was any wine that John didn't buy.

However, it has been noted that NPI-licensing cannot happen under reconstruction (Den Dikken et al. 2000: 49-51):

(104) *any students didn't come

The unavailability of NPI-licensing in *it*-clefts can be accounted for if the null copy of the cleft constituent undergoes movement to the CP of the cleft clause, as it would in regular headed relative clauses. That movement takes place inside of the cleft clause is evidenced by the fact that the gap in the cleft clause cannot be located inside of a strong island:

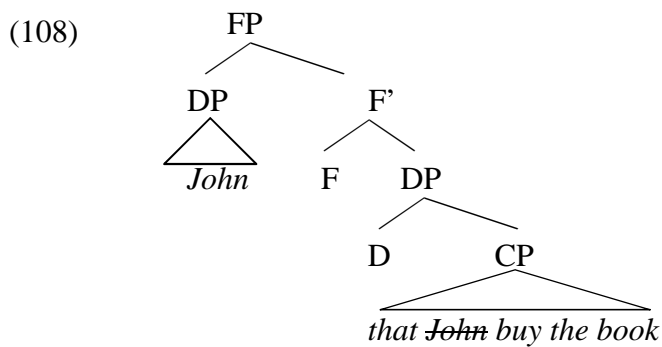
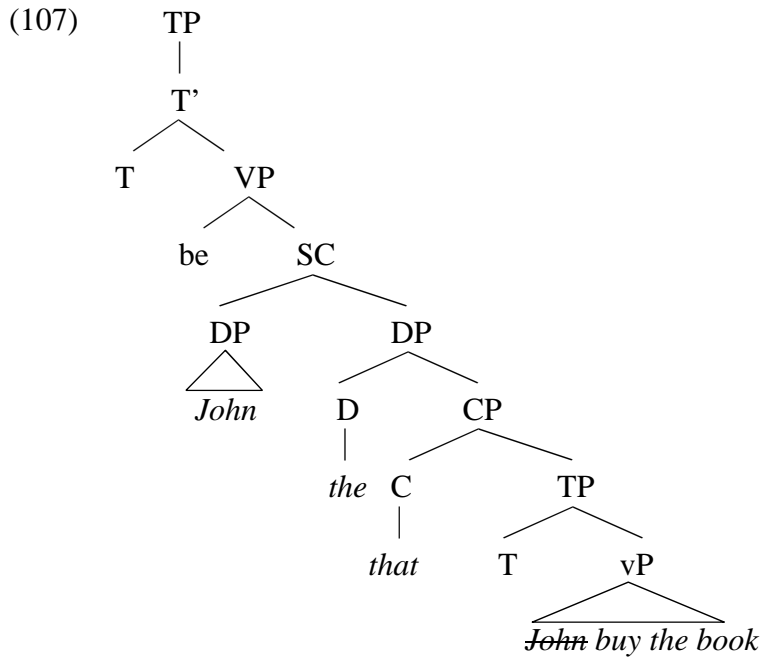
(105) *It was John that Mary was happy [when [-] arrived].

Since at the end of the derivation the NPI occupies a position that is not c-commanded by negation, we do not expect it to be licensed, which is borne out. It can thus be maintained that the structure in (99) is the base structure of the cleft clause of *it*-clefts. The DP_{rel} undergoes movement to the CP of the cleft clause, as schematized below.

(106) a [DP[D' the [CP[C' that [TP [DP_{rel} D_{rel} [~~left constituent~~]]]]]]]
 c [DP[D' the [CP[DP_{rel} D_{rel} [~~left constituent~~]]]_k [C' that [TP [t_k]]]]]

The cleft clause of *it*-clefts is thus derived in the same manner as regular headed relative clauses, with the difference that the nominal antecedent is deleted. In order to ensure deletion of the copy of the cleft constituent, the cleft constituent needs to c-command it at a certain point in the derivation. The necessary c-command relation does not hold at the end of the derivation (see (88)), but it might in an earlier stage, namely within the small clause selected by the copula. Although the structure of specificational small clauses is highly controversial, there are several proposals for their structure in which the necessary c-command relation holds. This is the case for the account argued for by Moro (2000), in which small clauses have a symmetric structure in which the cleft constituent is the sister of the cleft clause DP, illustrated in (107). It could also be the case that the cleft constituent originates in the specifier of the projection that has the cleft relative as its complement. Several authors have argued for such a structure for specificational small clauses. For instance, several authors that assume that specificational sentences are inverted predicational sentences assume that the value of specificational sentences originates in the specifier position of a functional head while the variable originates in complement position, on a par with predicational small clauses (see for instance Mikkelsen 2004, Den Dikken 2006), as illustrated in (108) below:⁴⁵

⁴⁵ I am abstracting away from the nature of the functional head in specificational small clauses. According to Mikkelsen (2004) it is a Pred head, according to Den Dikken (2013) it is a Relator head. Heycock (2012) argues that specificational sentences are not inverted predicational sentences and assumes the relation between the two members is established by means of an Equative head.



In either of these configurations the necessary c-command relation holds. I will not make any definitive conclusions on which of both configurations is ultimately correct, since nothing particular hinges on this.

Summarizing: the cleft clause CP is a complement to a D. The gap in the cleft clause is occupied by a DP_{rel} that has a deleted copy of the cleft constituent in the complement position. The copy is deleted under c-command by the cleft constituent. The DP_{rel} undergoes movement to the CP of the cleft clause.

4.3.3.3.3 *Phi-feature agreement*

An additional advantage of the syntax of *it*-clefts that was proposed in the previous section, is that it can account for the phi-feature agreement patterns that they exhibit. I will show that the agreement patterns indicate that agreement is not triggered in a local configuration, and that assuming that it is the cleft constituent itself that triggers agreement makes wrong predictions. It rather is the CP-internal deleted copy of the cleft constituent that triggers agreement.

In subject-*it*-clefts, the agreement on the verb in the cleft clause is determined by the cleft constituent. We can distinguish between two types of languages. In null subject languages, the verb obligatorily exhibits full agreement, both in number and in person. In the Portuguese example in (109), the first person plural cleft constituent *nós* ‘we’ obligatorily triggers first person plural agreement in the cleft clause, third person agreement is ungrammatical, irrespective of number agreement. Also in the Italian *it*-cleft in (110) is person and number agreement obligatory.

- (109) a *Fomos nós que encontramos/*encontrou/*encontraram*
 were.1PL we that found.1PL/*3S/*3PL
 a solução
 the solution
- b *Somos nós que vamos cantar.*
 be.3PL we that will.3PL sing
- (110) a *Sono io che vado/*va in America*
 be.SG I that go.1SG/3SG to America
- b *Siamo noi che siamo malati.*
 be.1PL we that be.1PL sick

In non-null subject languages on the other hand, agreement can be only partial: number agreement is obligatory, but person agreement can be absent. I will illustrate this point on the basis of English, French and Flemish.

In English, number agreement between the cleft constituent and the verb in the cleft clause is obligatory, person agreement is only possible if the cleft constituent has nominative case, and it is restricted to all uses of *be* and the auxiliary *have* (Smits 1989), as illustrated in (111). Person agreement is not triggered with lexical verbs (112).⁴⁶ Cleft constituents that appear in the accusative form and which are in fact considered to be more natural (Andrew Weir, p.c.) only trigger number agreement, person agreement is ungrammatical, as can be seen in (113).

- (111) a % It is I who is/am to blame.⁴⁷
 b % It is I who has/have done that.
- (112) a It is I who ??has/*have the key.
 b *It is I who go to Africa.
- (113) a It's me who (is/*am) to blame.
 b It's me who (goes/*go) to Africa.
 c It is them who *is/are to blame.

In standard French, full agreement is required, but lack of person agreement is possible in colloquial French, as is illustrated in the attested examples in (b), (d) and (f). Note that French differs from English in that agreement is triggered by what looks like an oblique cleft constituent, and hence that nominative case does not seem to be a prerequisite.⁴⁸ Agreement is triggered with both auxiliaries (a-d) and with lexical verbs (e-f).

⁴⁶ It is possible that agreement is only possible on auxiliaries, but since this is not visible on other auxiliaries than *be* and *have*, we cannot be sure.

⁴⁷ Some speakers do not accept nominative cleft constituents or consider these structures to be very marginal, independently of the agreement pattern.

⁴⁸ In the languages under discussion person agreement can normally only be triggered by nominative constituents (see Baker 2008, Heycock 2012). This is exactly what happens in English *it*-clefts, but not what happens in French, as illustrated in examples (111)-(114) above. In French, a pronominal cleft constituent obligatorily has the oblique form, nevertheless, person agreement in the cleft clause is possible. In English on the other hand, oblique pronominal cleft constituents cannot trigger person agreement in the cleft clause. The difference between these two languages could however be related to the fact that unlike English, French does not have strong nominative pronouns. Focalized pronominal constituents have to be strong forms, and French nominative pronouns are weak (see Cardinaletti & Starke 1999). We could thus assume that the cleft constituent

- (114) a *C' est moi qui suis responsable.*
 it is me that be.1S responsible
- b *C' est moi qui est parti avec.*⁴⁹
 it is me that be.3S left with
- c *C' est nous qui sommes sauvés.*
 it is us that be.1PL saved
- d *C' est nous qui sont l'histoire.*⁵⁰
 it is us that be.3PL the history
- e *C' est moi qui le ferai.*
 it is me that it do.FUT.1S
- f *C' est moi qui fera la loi.*⁵¹
 it is me that make.FUT.3S the law

In Flemish, there is speaker variation, which is probably also related to dialectal variation. At least two dialects can be distinguished.⁵² West-Flemish speakers require person and number agreement between the cleft constituent and the verb in the cleft clause independently of whether it is an auxiliary (a) or a lexical verb (b).⁵³ The copula agrees with the precopular constituent:

- (115) a *'t is ik dien da gezeid een*
 it be.3S I that.1S that said have.1S

underlyingly has nominative case, and that the oblique form is only a purely phonological variant due to the presence of focus. In English on the other hand, a language that does have strong nominative pronouns, oblique pronouns cannot be considered to be a phonological variant of nominative pronouns.

⁴⁹ Henry Le Bal, *Le Janvier du monde*, p. 143.

⁵⁰ Title of a book by Gabrielle Riqueti.

⁵¹ <http://forums.euw.leagueoflegends.com/board/showthread.php?t=651561&page=7> (10/11/2015)

⁵² The judgements were obtained in an informal context. Further research is need in order to establish the fine grained patterns. I leave this issue for future research.

⁵³ In West-Flemish, the copula agrees with the precopular constituent. If it is the cleft pronoun, the copula is in 3S, as in the examples above, if it is the cleft constituent, it agrees with the cleft constituent:

- (i) *Ik zyn 't die da gezeid een*
 I be.1S it that that said have.1S

b	't	is	ik	dien	do	lopen
	it	be.3S	I	that.1S	there	walk.1S
b	't	is	wiender	die	ziek	zien
	it	be.3S	we	that	sick	be.PL

Speakers of Brabantish dialects, and possibly also East-Flemish dialects, only require number agreement between the cleft constituent and the verb of the cleft clause, person agreement is possible but not obligatory with auxiliaries (a) but not with lexical verbs (b).⁵⁴ The examples below are from Brabantish:

(116)	a	't	zijn	ekik	da	ziek	is/?zijn
		it	be.1S	I	that	sick	be.3S/1S
	b	't	zijn	ekik	da	ginter	loopt/?*loop
		it	be.1S	I	that	there	walk.3S/1S
	c	't	zijn	wij	da	ginter	lopen
		it	be.PL	we	that	there	walk.PL

In Flemish, number agreement between the cleft constituent and the verb of the cleft clause seems thus to be obligatory for all speakers, independently of the type of verb. Concerning person agreement, there is dialectal variation.

Summarizing, null subject languages require full agreement, non-null subject languages require number agreement and allow for person agreement to a bigger or lesser degree, depending on the linguistic variety.

The agreement patterns found in *it*-clefts could be an indication that we are dealing with what has been referred to by Baker (2008, section 3.3) as long-distance agreement. The core properties of the agreement patterns are that number agreement is mandatory while person agreement varies somewhat, and in particular in non-pro-drop languages it is not mandatory.

⁵⁴ In Brabantish dialects, the copula always agrees with the cleft constituent.

Based on data from a variety of languages, Baker (2008: 108) concludes that person agreement seems to be subject to stricter requirements on locality than number (and gender) agreement.⁵⁵ More particularly, according to Baker, person agreement can only take place in a Spec-Head or Head-Complement relation, while number agreement only requires a c-command relation between probe and goal without there being any potential interveners. Given our observation that person agreement in the cleft clause in *it*-clefts is not consistently triggered in the non-pro-drop languages, the pattern can thus be taken to indicate that agreement on the verb has not been triggered in a local configuration, i.e. that the element triggering agreement never occupies the specifier of T of the cleft clause. The need for full agreement in null subject languages could then be made to follow from their null-subject status. In what follows, I will determine in which measure long-distance agreement is possible in null subject languages and non-null subject languages: do subjects that do not occupy SpecTP trigger number agreement, person agreement, or both?

It seems to be the case that full agreement is possible in long-distance configurations in null subject languages. As is well known, null subject languages allow for subject-verb inversion, in which case the verb exhibits full agreement with the subject. Nevertheless, the overt subject is not in a local configuration with the functional head T triggering agreement at any point in the derivation (see Costa 2004, Belletti 2004 a.o. for the position of postverbal subjects in Romance). Full long-distance agreement is thus possible and even obligatory in Romance null subject languages. I will not go into the reasons why full agreement in these contexts is possible, I will simply retain that it is.

- (117) [_{TP} *Resolvemos*/**resolveu*/**resolveram* [_{o problema} [_{VP} *nós próprios*]].
 solved.1PL/*3S/*3PL the problem we self

For the non-null subject languages under discussion, it is hard to establish in what measure long-distance agreement is possible, since these languages have a strong EPP requirement, which makes that the subject almost always surfaces in SpecTP, and hence sits in a Spec-Head relation with T.

⁵⁵ I refer to Baker (2008) section 3.3.4 for an abundant illustration of this generalization and a discussion.

French does seem to allow subjects *in situ* (or at least not in SpecTP) in interrogative contexts. The fact that the subject follows the lexical verb in the example below indicates its relatively low position in the clause:⁵⁶

- (118) [_{CP} *Quand* [_{C'} *sont* [_{TP} *arrivés* [_{vP} *les directeurs*]]]]?
 when be.3PL arrived the directors

In these contexts, number agreement is triggered. Nevertheless, it is not clear whether person agreement is consistently triggered, since only strong subjects are allowed in this position. Strong subjects in French are always third person, and the default agreeing form is also third person. 1st and 2nd person nominative pronouns are weak in French and always immediately follow the verb that moves to C in inversion contexts, they cannot remain *in situ*.⁵⁷ Weak subjects thus surface in a local configuration with T:

- (119) [_{CP} *Quand* [_{C'} *suis* (*je*) [_{vP} *arrivée* (**je*)?]]]]
 when am I arrived I

Also in English and in Dutch, postverbal subjects are possible, more particularly in existential constructions. Plural postverbal subjects trigger plural agreement on the verb. Nevertheless, it is again difficult to establish whether the postverbal subject triggers person agreement, since first and second person pronouns cannot appear in these constructions.

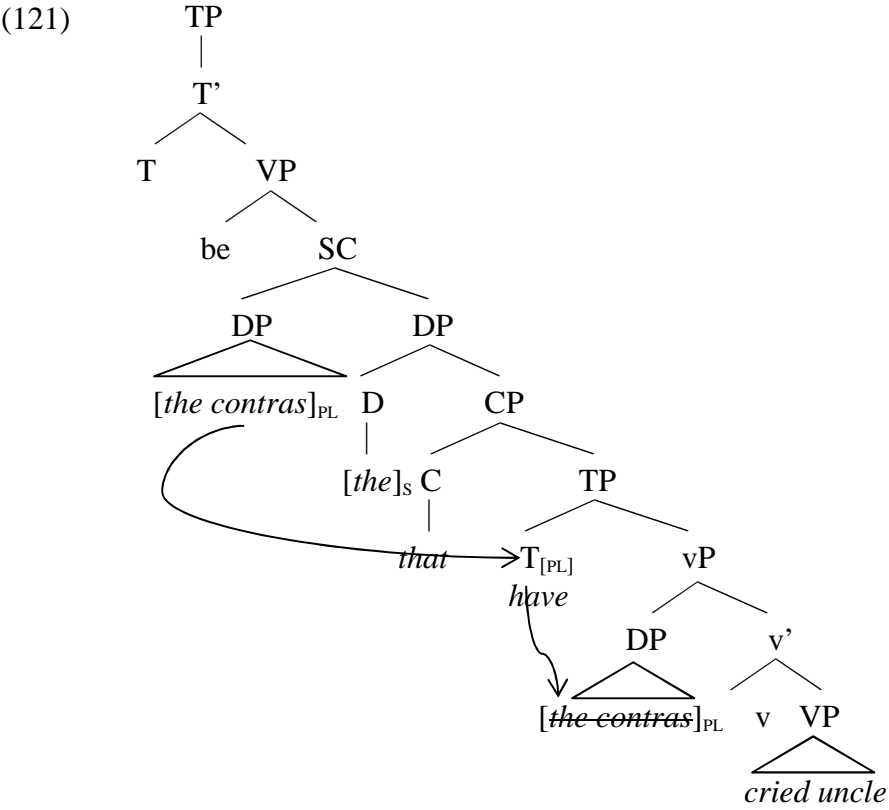
- (120) a *Er zijn gisteren veel studenten gekomen.*
 there be.PL yesterday many students come
 ‘There came many students yesterday.’
 b **Er is ik/jij gekomen*
 there is I/you come

⁵⁶ See Lahousse (2006) for arguments that postverbal subject NPs in French inversion contexts occupy a position within vP.

⁵⁷ Weak subjects in inversion contexts are enclitic on the verb.

Even though it is not clear in what measure long-distance agreement between subjects and verbs in the non-null-subject languages under discussion is possible, given that the agreement pattern we find in *it*-clefts is very similar to what Baker (2008) found in long-distance agreement contexts in a variety of other languages, I will assume that we are dealing with an instance of long-distance agreement.

I argue that it is the deleted copy of the cleft constituent inside of the cleft clause CP that triggers agreement. As an alternative, we could assume that it is the cleft constituent itself that triggers agreement. As was argued in 4.3.3.3.1, the cleft constituent c-commands the cleft clause inside of the small clause selected by the copula. It thus occupies a position c-commanding T of the cleft clause CP and could in principle trigger agreement. The relevant c-command relations for both hypotheses are indicated in the structure below:



Nevertheless, if it is the cleft constituent that triggers agreement, it is not entirely clear why agreement does not consistently show up on the D selecting for the cleft clause. Since D

occupies a position on the c-command path between the cleft constituent and T, we would expect D also to agree with the cleft constituent. This does seem to be possible: in English *it*-clefts the cleft pronoun may be plural *those*, which indicates that agreement between the cleft constituent and the determiner is possible.

(122) Those are real eyeglasses that Mickey is wearing.

(Hedberg 2000: 917)

However, it cannot be true that agreement in the cleft clause is consistently triggered by the cleft constituent itself, for the following reason.⁵⁸ In English copular sentences, agreement is determined by the precopular DP (see Heycock 2012: 212), hence, when used as the cleft pronoun, *those* always triggers plural agreement on the copula.

(123) a The real problem is/*are your parents.

b Those *is/are real glasses that Mickey is wearing.

If it is true that agreement is triggered by the cleft constituent itself, we expect D to be plural whenever the cleft constituent is plural, and we thus expect there to be plural agreement on the copula as well. This is not the case, as is illustrated below: the copula exhibits singular agreement, while there is plural agreement in the cleft clause.

(124) It's the contras who have cried 'uncle'.

(Hedberg 2000: 916)

If agreement is triggered by the CP-internal copy on the other hand, D does not intervene and is not expected to exhibit agreement with the cleft constituent. An analysis

⁵⁸ I do not exclude the possibility that the cleft constituent itself may trigger agreement in some cases, I just argue that this cannot always be the case.

according to which a null copy of the cleft constituent triggers phi-feature agreement with T in the cleft clause seems thus to be the most adequate.⁵⁹

4.3.3.3.4 No preposition pied-piping

The properties of the cleft clause in *it*-clefts discussed so far follow naturally on the assumption that the cleft clause of *it*-clefts is some sort of headed relative clause: we expect there to be phi-feature agreement inside of the cleft clause and we expect to find the range of relativizers that is found in headed relative clauses. Nevertheless, one aspect that saliently does not follow from analysing the cleft clause as a relative clause, is the fact that in *it*-clefts preposition pied-piping is not allowed, while it is in regular headed relative clauses.

In European Portuguese regular relative clauses, if the gap is a PP, the preposition has to be pied piped and ends up preceding the relativizer. In the example below, the gap is interpreted as *sobre o homem* ‘about the man’, and is thus a PP gap. The preposition *sobre* ‘about’ obligatorily precedes the relativizer *quem* ‘who’.

- (125) *o homem *(sobre) quem falei [PP -]*
 the man about who talked.1S
 ‘The man about whom I spoke’

European Portuguese differs from English in this aspect. In English, the preposition may be either pied-piped or stranded:

- (126) a The man about whom I spoke [PP -]
 b The man whom I spoke about [DP -]

⁵⁹ In order to account for the partial agreement pattern that is found in several languages, we have to assume that the null copy triggers agreement from the base position SpecvP or from the CP of the cleft clause, and that it skips SpecTP on its way to CP. It might be the case that in those linguistic varieties that do have full agreement in the cleft clause, the null copy does move through SpecTP. I leave this issue for future research.

This difference between the two languages is due to the fact that European Portuguese does not allow for preposition stranding, while English does.

In *it*-clefts on the other hand, the C-element introducing the cleft clause uniformly is *que*, independently of the interpretation of the gap. The relativizer cannot be preceded by a preposition, it can only surface in the cleft constituent, *sobre o homem* ‘about the man’ in the example below:

- (127) a *Foi sobre o homem que falei* [PP -]
 was about the man that spoke.1S
- b **Foi sobre o homem sobre quem/que falei* [PP -]
 was about the man about who/that spoke.1S
- c **Foi o homem sobre quem/que falei*
 was the man about who/that spoke.1S

In English we find a similar pattern: the preposition may either surface in the cleft constituent or be stranded, but it may not surface to the left of the relativizer (Quirk et al. 1985: 1387):

- (128) a It was about the man that I spoke.
- b ?It was the man that I spoke about.
- c *It was the man about whom I spoke.

It thus seems to be the case that in the cleft relative of *it*-clefts, preposition pied-piping is not possible. Although I have no definitive account for this property of the cleft clause in *it*-clefts, I would like to suggest that it is related to the fact that the nominal material involved in the derivation of the cleft clause is null. The base structure of the cleft clause of the *it*-cleft in (129) is schematized in (b). (c) and (c') illustrate two possible derivations, only (c) gives a grammatical result.

- (129) a It is John that I have a problem with.

- b [DP[D' the [CP[C' that [TP I have a problem [PP with [DP_{rel} D_{rel} [~~John~~]]]]]]]]
- c [DP[D' the [CP[DP_{rel} D_{rel} [~~John~~]]]_k [C' that [TP I have a problem [PP with [t_k]]]]]
- c' *[DP[D' the [CP[PP with [DP_{rel} whom [~~John~~]]]]]_k [C' C [TP I have a problem t_k]]]]

It has been noted that in order for the raising analysis of relative clauses to go through, we need to assume that the CP of relative clauses is transparent for selection, since a selectional relation holds between the external determiner and the relative head NP.⁶⁰ We could assume that the derivation in (c') is not allowed because of this selectional relation. In regular headed relative clauses with pied piping, it is assumed that the nominal head undergoes subsequent movement to the specifier of DP_{rel}:

- (130) a [DP the [CP C° [IP he was sitting [PP on [DP which [NP chair]]]]]]]
- b [DP the [CP[PP on [DP which [NP chair]]]]]_i [C° [IP he was sitting t_i]]]]
- c [DP the [CP[PP [NP chair] [on [DP which t_{NP}]]]]]_i [C° [IP he was sitting t_i]]]]

We could assume that due to the fact that in *it*-clefts, the nominal portion is deleted, this last step of the derivation is not available. Hence, what happens in *it*-clefts is that there is a selectional relation between a D and a PP. However, as is well known, D's cannot select for PPs, which could lie at the basis of the ungrammaticality of the derivation in (129)c'. The derivation in (129)c on the other hand is possible, since determiners do seem to be able to select for CPs. This is the case for instance in the example below, in which the determiner *as* takes the CP headed by *quais* 'which' as its complement.⁶¹ Also French

⁶⁰ I refer to Bianchi (1999: 74-79) for a possible account for this issue.

⁶¹ Unlike *o que* 'what', *o qual* cannot be argued to contain a null NP in between the determiner *o* 'the' and the C-element. Unlike *o qual*, *o que* can be paraphrased by *a pessoa que* 'the person who' or *a coisa que* 'the thing that', indicating that *o* in *o que* is a pronoun, while *o* in *o qual* is not:

- (i) a A Ana e a Maria, as que ganharam
the Ana and the Maria det.fem.pl that won
uma bolsa de estudo
a scholarship
'Ana and Maria, who won a scholarship'
- b A Ana e a Maria, as pessoas que
the Ana and the Maria det.fem.pl people that

lequel/laquelle/lesquelles ‘which’ and Spanish *lo que* ‘which’ can be considered to consist of a determiner selecting for a CP.

- (131) A *Ana e a Maria, as quais ganharam*
 the Ana and the Maria DET.FEM.PL which won
 uma bolsa de estudo
 a scholarship
 ‘Ana and Maria, the ones which won a scholarship’

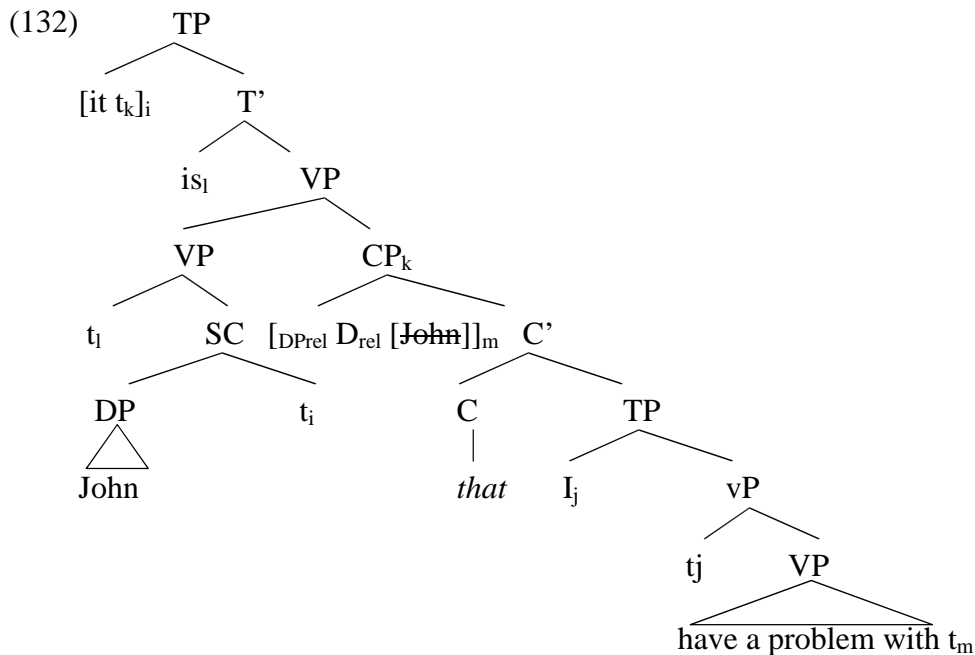
Summarizing, I tentatively conclude that preposition pied-piping in the derivation of the cleft clause in *it*-clefts is not allowed because of selectional restrictions between the external determiner and its sister: determiners cannot select for PPs but they can select for CPs.

-
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|---|----|---|------------------------|------------|------------------|------------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| | | | <i>ganharam</i> | | <i>uma</i> | | <i>bolsa de estudo</i> | | |
| | | | won | | a | | scholarship | | |
| | | | ‘Ana and Maria, the people who won a scholarship’ | | | | | | |
| (ii) | a | A | <i>Ana</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>Maria, as</i> | | <i>quais</i> | <i>ganharam</i> |
| | | | the | Ana | and | the | Maria det.fem.pl | which | won |
| | | | <i>uma</i> | <i>bolsa de estudo</i> | | | | | |
| | | | a | scholarship | | | | | |
| | | | ‘Ana and Maria, the ones which won a scholarship’ | | | | | | |
| | b | *A | <i>Ana</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>Maria, as</i> | | <i>pessoas</i> | |
| | | | the | Ana | and | the | Maria det.fem.pl | people | |
| | | | <i>quais</i> | <i>ganharam</i> | | <i>uma</i> | <i>bolsa de estudo</i> | | |
| | | | which | won | | a | scholarship | | |
| | | | ‘Ana and Maria, the people which won a scholarship’ | | | | | | |

I refer to Brito (1989) and to Alexandre (2000) for more details and additional evidence.

4.3.3.4 Summary

The syntax of *it*-clefts assumed throughout is illustrated below:



4.3.4 Specificational semantics and its implications for clefts

In section 4.3.1 I have illustrated that both *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts are specificational copular sentences. It has been argued by several authors that the typical interpretation of these clefts is precisely due to the fact that they are specificational sentences (Percus 1997; Heycock & Kroch 1999; Hartmann 2011; Reeve 2012; Frascarelli & Ramaglia 2013). In what follows, I will argue that this view is correct. The base structure of *it*-clefts consists of the cleft constituent and a restrictive relative clause selected by a determiner. The latter is interpreted as a definite description. In pseudoclefts, the copula selects a free relative. It has been noted that free relatives denote maximal individuals (see Jacobson 1995, Caponigro 2004). Crucially, this is the same denotation as the one of definite descriptions (Link 1983). As is well known, definite descriptions are inherently existentially presupposed. They also

introduce a uniqueness interpretation, hence the exhaustivity claim associated with *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts.

First, I will illustrate the interpretive similarities of clefts with non-cleft specificational sentences and show that specificational sentences have the same strong existential presupposition and exhaustivity claim as *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts. These interpretations are due to the definite semantics of the constituent introducing the variable. Then, I will show that the cleft clause in both types of clefts are also definite descriptions, hence existential presupposition and exhaustivity follow.

4.3.4.1 Interpretative similarities with non-cleft specificational sentences

In general, specificational sentences are copular sentences in which one of the arguments of the copula specifies a value for the variable introduced by the other argument, as exemplified in (133).⁶² The postcopular DP *John* does not predicate anything about the captain of the team, it rather specifies who the captain of the team is.

- (133) The captain of the team is John.
Variable: the x who is the captain of the team
Value: John

Predicational copular sentences do not have this interpretation. In these structures, the postcopular XP predicates something about the subject. In (134), *John* is the subject of the sentence, and the postcopular constituent predicates about John that he is tall.

- (134) John is tall.
Subject: John
Predicate: tall

⁶² ‘Variable’ here is to be understood as an element whose reference is determined by another constituent, in this case the value. This terminology is adopted from Declerck (1988) and Den Dikken (2005).

Canonical clefts and pseudoclefts have the same interpretation as specificational copular sentences: the cleft constituent identifies a value for the variable introduced by the cleft clause (see (135) and (136)). The cleft constituent does not predicate anything about the cleft clause or vice versa, as would be the case if they were predicational copular sentences.

(135) *Foi o Superhomem que comeu o bolo.*

‘It was Superman who ate the cake.’

Variable: the x who ate the cake

Value: Superman

(136) *Quem comeu o bolo foi o Superhomem.*

‘The one who ate the cake was Superman.’

Variable: the x who ate the cake

Value: Superman

As a consequence, non-cleft specificational sentences such as (133) can be paraphrased by a cleft, while predicational copular sentences such as (134) cannot, as is illustrated in (137):

(137) a It is John who is the captain of the team.

b *It is tall that John is.

c What John is is the captain of the team.

d *What John is is tall.

Additionally, specificational sentences are associated with an exhaustivity claim and an existential presupposition. Thus in (138), the non-cleft specificational sentence presupposes that there is a culprit. A similar presupposition arises in *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts, as was discussed in the previous chapter and as is exemplified in (139) below.

(138) The culprit isn't John
presupposition: there is a culprit

- (139) a *Não foi o Superhomem que organizou a festa.*
'It wasn't Superman who organized the party.'
Presupposition: someone organized the party.
- b *Quem organizou a festa não foi o Superhomem.*
'The one who organized the party wasn't Superman.'
Presupposition: someone organized the party

As can be seen in the examples below, the existential presupposition of non-cleft specificational sentences is as strong as the one of *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts: on a par with clefts, no bare negative or existential quantifier can be used as the value of specificational sentences:

- (140) a *The captain of this team is no-one.
b ??The captain of this team is someone.

(Andrew Weir, p.c.)

- (141) a **Não foi ninguém que se apaixonou pelo Batman.*
'It was nobody that fell in love with Batman.'
b **Foi alguém que se apaixonou pelo Batman.*
'It was somebody that fell in love with Batman.'
- (142) a ??*Quem se apaixonou pelo Batman não foi ninguém.*
'Who fell in love with Batman was nobody.'
b ??*Quem se apaixonou pelo Batman foi alguém.*
'Who fell in love with Batman was somebody.'

Additionally, non-cleft specificational sentences are not compatible with *even* or *also*-phrases, indicating that the postcopular constituent exhaustively identifies the variable instantiated by the precopular constituent. As was discussed in the previous chapter, the cleft

constituent of *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts cannot contain these phrases either. The relevant examples are repeated in (144) below. In other words, the cleft constituent exhaustively identifies the variable instantiated by the cleft clause.

(143) The thing that John drank was **also/*even* the sherry.

- (144) a **Foi também o Superhomem que organizou a festa.*
 ‘It was also Superman who organized the party.’
 b **Quem organizou a festa foi também o Superhomem.*
 ‘The one who organized the party was also Superman.’

A further property that indicates that clefts semantically are specificational sentences is the fact that they have a fixed information structure: only the value can be focalized (Reeve 2012, Heycock 1994, 2012, Den Dikken 2008, a.o), i.e., only the postcopular DP of non-cleft specificational sentences can constitute the answer to a question. For clefts, only the cleft constituent can be focalized. As can be seen in (146), the precopular DP in non-cleft specificational sentences, the value, cannot be focalized, on a par with the cleft clause of *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts.

- (145) Who was the culprit?
 a The culprit was JOHN.
 b *É o JOHN que é o culpado.*
 ‘It’s JOHN who is the culprit.’
 c *Quem é o culpado é o JOHN.*
 ‘The one who is the culprit is JOHN.’

- (146) Was John the culprit or the victim?
 a **THE CULPRIT* was John.
 b **É o John que é o CULPADO.*
 ‘It’s John who is the CULPRIT.’
 c **Quem é o CULPADO é o John.*

‘The one who is the CULPRIT is John.’

Finally, there are restrictions on what type of XP can surface as the value. For instance, the value of a specificational sentence cannot contain bare universal quantifiers (Heggie 1988), and neither can the cleft constituent in *it*-clefts or pseudoclefts:

- (147) a *The captains of the team are everyone.
 b **Foi toda a gente que viu o Superhomem.*
 ‘It was everyone who saw Superman.’
 c **Quem viu o Superhomem foi toda a gente.*
 ‘The one who saw Superman was everyone.’

All of these interpretative properties are compatible with the view that *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts are specificational copular sentences, at least from a semantic point of view.

However, care must be taken in particular in relation to the status of pseudoclefts. In the literature it has in fact been argued that pseudoclefts may be either specificational or predicational (Declerck 1988; Den Dikken 2005, 2013), but, the relevant structures differ in a number of respects. On a par with Declerck (1988) a.o., I will not consider what has been called predicational pseudoclefts to be clefts. Instead I will treat them as regular predicational copular sentences, in which the subject happens to be a free relative. Notice that predicational ‘pseudoclefts’ do not have non-cleft counterparts, unlike specificational pseudoclefts:

- (148) a What I found is green.
 *I found green.
 b What I found is a frog.
 I found a frog.

In what follows, I will discuss in more detail where the existential presupposition and exhaustivity claim associated with specificational sentences comes from. I will however not discuss the details of specificational semantics, as this is a matter of much debate and outside of the scope of this thesis. Specificational sentences have been argued to be inverted

predicational sentences (Moro 1997, Mikkelsen 2004), equatives (Heycock 1994; Heycock & Kroch 1999) or a special case of predicational sentences with Partee's (1987) additional type-shifting rule IDENT. Other authors assume that several analyses are compatible with each other (Heller 2005). Some authors have argued that specificational sentences differ both from predicational sentences and from equative sentences (Moltmann 2009), although they might have the same predicational basic type (Geist 2007). Yet another account for specificational sentences is the one in which they are treated as containing a concealed question, i.e., sentences that semantically consist of a question and an answer (Schlenker 2003, Romero 2005). I refer to these authors for more details concerning each type of analysis for specificational sentences.

4.3.4.2 The cleft clause as a definite description

In this section, I will argue, on a par with Heycock & Kroch (1999) for pseudoclefts and Reeve (2012) for *it*-clefts, that the cleft clause semantically is a definite description. I will argue that this is the origin of the strong existential presupposition associated with pseudoclefts and *it*-clefts. Additionally, the exhaustivity claim associated with clefts is a result of the identificational relation between the cleft constituent and the definite description in the cleft clause.⁶³

As was noted by Den Dikken (2005), specificational sentences only have an exhaustive interpretation if the precopular DP is specific. In the sentence below, it is clear that *the war on crime in Sin City* is not the only example of a nasty war:

(149) An example of a nasty war is the war on crime in Sin City.

The existential presupposition of specificational sentences however also arises when the value is indefinite:

⁶³ See also Delin & Klein (1990), who argue that the exhaustivity does not come from the cleft constituent, but derives from the referential properties of the cleft clause.

(150) *A thing that he drank was nothing.

This is because indefinites that move out of the VP are always specific, hence existentially presupposed (Diesing 1992 a.o.). As a consequence, indefinites in preverbal position are always existentially presupposed. In summary, in order to ascribe the exhaustivity and the existential presupposition to the specificational nature of the cleft constructions, it is necessary to show that the variable is a definite description.

For *it*-clefts, several authors have argued that the cleft pronoun *it* together with the cleft clause, despite being a discontinuous syntactic constituent in the surface structure, semantically forms a definite description (Percus 1997, Hedberg 2000, Han & Hedberg 2008, Reeve 2012). In section 4.3.3.3, I argued that in the base structure, the cleft clause is a relative clause selected by a determiner. There are good reasons to assume that it consistently is a definite determiner: in Dutch, the determiner is *het*, which is the neutral definite determiner. In French, it is *ce*, a demonstrative determiner. In English, although the determiner is generally spelled out as *it*, it can alternate with demonstratives, as was discussed in section 4.3.3.3.1. Since demonstratives are definite (Roberts 2002) the constituent introducing the variable in *it*-clefts will consistently be definite, hence we expect a strong exhaustivity claim and a strong existential presupposition.⁶⁴ The interpretation of definite descriptions is usually accounted for by means of the ι -operator, which is defined and illustrated below:

(151) $\iota y[f(y)]$ denotes a iff $f(a) \wedge \forall z (f(z) \rightarrow z \leq a)$

(152) a $\llbracket \text{the } P \rrbracket = \iota x[P(x)]$
b $\llbracket \text{the cats} \rrbracket = \iota x[\text{cats}(x)]$

Paraphrasing, ‘the cats’ denotes the largest entity x which is such that all x ’s parts are cats and all cats are a part of x = the sum of all cats.

⁶⁴ Note that the structure for *it*-clefts argued for here is compatible with the idea that semantics is compositional: the denotation of the cleft clause will be composed before it is extraposed, in the regular manner. As such, it is clear where the definite description interpretation comes from. The structure argued for by Reeve (2012) on the other hand, in which the cleft clause does not form a syntactic constituent with the cleft pronoun at any level of the derivation, is not compatible with a compositional semantics.

Additionally, definite descriptions, unlike (non-specific) indefinites, are existentially presupposed (see Beaver & Geurts 2014 a.o.). As such, in the example below, “speaker B legitimately complains that A presupposed that someone proved the conjecture, when it was not in fact established prior to A’s utterance. Hearer B’ illegitimately makes a parallel complaint about an asserted, non-presuppositional component of A’s statement” (von Fintel 2004b:3).

- (153) A The mathematician who proved Goldbach’s Conjecture is a woman.
 B Hey, wait a minute. I had no idea that someone proved Goldbach’s
 Conjecture.
 B’ #Hey, wait a minute. I had no idea that that was a woman.

(von Fintel 2004b:3)

It is thus clear that the existential presupposition and the exhaustivity claim derive from definite semantics.

The semantics for *it*-clefts are illustrated below (based on Heycock & Kroch 1999). Recall that an identificational relation holds between the cleft clause and the cleft constituents.

- (154) *Foi uma maçã e uma laranja que o Batman comprou.*
 ‘It was an apple and an orange that Batman bought.’
 $\exists x$ [Batman bought x] = ‘an apple and an orange’

Informally paraphrased, the cleft in (154) is true if and only if there is an x such that Batman bought x, and this x denotes an apple and an orange; and for each z such that Batman bought z, z has to be a part of ‘an apple and an orange’. As is clear, the second part of the truth conditions introduces the exhaustivity claim.

Extending the same reasoning to pseudoclefts is trickier, since it is far from obvious that the cleft clause, a free relative, is in any sense a definite description. However, it has been argued that free relative clauses denote maximal plural individuals (Jacobson 1995,

Caponigro 2004) rather than properties or sets of alternatives. As such, the free relative in (155)a below has the semantic representation in (155)b.

- (155) a What Batman bought
 b $\iota x [\text{bought}(x)(b) \wedge \forall y (\text{bought}(y)(b) \rightarrow y \leq x)]$

Applying this to pseudoclefts, we get the following interpretation:

- (156) a What Batman bought was an apple and an orange.
 b $\iota x [\text{Batman bought } x] = \text{an apple and an orange}$

Paraphrasing, '*what Batman bought is an apple and an orange*' is true if and only if there is an x such that Batman bought x , and x denotes 'an apple and an orange'; and if 'Batman bought z ' is true of z , then z is a part of 'an apple and an orange'; and for everything z which is a part of 'an apple and an orange', such as 'an apple', it is also true that Batman bought it; so if it is true that Batman bought an orange, then 'an orange' is a part of 'an apple and an orange'.

Note that an exhaustivity claim does not arise when there is no identification relation. Consider for instance the pseudocleft below, which does not have the interpretation that the only things that Batman bought are an apple and an orange, but rather that the maximal thing that Batman bought was not an apple and an orange. As such, this sentence says nothing about what the maximal thing that Batman bought actually is, so there cannot be any exhaustivity claim:

- (157) What Batman bought wasn't an apple and an orange.

This is a property of clefts that has also been noted by Büring (2011), who argues that the exhaustivity claim of *it*-clefts is a conditional presupposition. First of all, Halvorsen (1978), Büring (2011) or Büring & Križ (2013) argue that the exhaustivity claim of *it*-clefts is presupposed. This view is supported by the fact that, unlike other structures with an

exhaustivity claim, such as structures with the adverb *only*, the exhaustivity claim of clefts is not a part of the asserted content, which is one of the main properties of presuppositions. As a consequence, the exhaustivity in *it*-clefts cannot be negated (all examples are from Büring 2011:1-2), unlike the exhaustivity claim introduced by the lexical semantics of *only*:

- (158) a She only invited Fred.
 b She didn't only invite Fred. She also invited Gord.
 c She didn't only invite Fred. She invited Fred and Gord
- (159) a It was Fred she invited.
 b #It wasn't Fred she invited. She also invited Gord.
 c #It wasn't Fred she invited. She invited Fred and Gord.

If the exhaustivity was a part of the assertion, we would expect it to be affected by negation. The problem with the view that the exhaustivity claim is a presupposition is that, when an *it*-cleft is negated, the exhaustivity presupposition disappears: the cleft constructions in (159) b and c do not presuppose that the subject invited Fred and no-one else, as we would expect if the exhaustivity claim was a regular presupposition or even an implicature, as argued by Byram-Washburn (2010) and Horn (1981). In order to provide a solution, Büring (2011) suggests that the exhaustivity claim of *it*-clefts is itself a conditional presupposition, as in (160):

- (160) It was Fred she invited.
 assertion: she invited Fred
 presupposition: if she invited Fred, she didn't invite anyone else.

(Büring 2011: 3)

With the semantics for clefts discussed here, there is no need to posit special types of presupposition, such as conditional presupposition. It follows naturally that exhaustivity is only present in case there is identification, when there is no identification, no exhaustivity arises.

Summarizing, given that the cleft clause of both pseudoclefts and *it*-clefts has the semantics of definite descriptions, it is expected that they uniformly introduce an existential presupposition and an exhaustivity claim which cannot be suspended, as it is a part of their lexical semantics. Additionally, no exhaustivity claim is expected to arise in case there is no identification, as in negated clefts.

A possible problem for ascribing the exhaustivity and presupposition entirely to the semantics of the precopular constituent, is the observation that, even in *it*-clefts, both exhaustivity and existential presupposition are focus-sensitive. As Velleman et al. (2012) discuss, in the *it*-cleft in (161) below we do not get the interpretation in which only John's eldest daughter attended the party, and nobody else. The felicitous continuation in (161)a indicates that we do not get this interpretation. Instead, as is clear from the continuation in (b), it is only *eldest* that exhaustifies an open proposition, namely *John's P daughter attended the party*. Note that the same objections against the analysis proposed above apply to pseudoclefts (162).

- (161) It was John's ELDEST daughter who attended the party
- a ...and 200 of her closest friends were there.
 - b #... and John's YOUNGEST daughter was ALSO there.
 - c ... and MARY's eldest daughter was ALSO there.

(Velleman et al. 2012: 447)

- (162) Who attended the party was John's ELDEST daughter.
- a ...and 200 of her closest friends were there.
 - b #... and John's YOUNGEST daughter was ALSO there.
 - c ... and MARY's eldest daughter was ALSO there.

In order to account for this, the authors argue that exhaustivity is focus sensitive: the presence of focus signals the description of the set from which the exhaustive element is taken. This description does not necessarily coincide with the cleft clause, as is clear from the examples above. Velleman et al. (2012) propose an analysis in terms of the Current Question, similar to the account proposed for monoclausal clefts in section 4.2.3. However, in order to

account for the fact that the exhaustivity claim in *it*-clefts is stronger than the one associated with non-cleft intonational focus, the authors need to stipulate a specialized cleft operator which semanticises the strong exhaustive interpretation. In what follows I will argue that the account for presuppositionality and exhaustivity outlined above is not incompatible with the observation that exhaustivity (and presuppositionality) are focus sensitive.

In the sentences in (161) and (162) there are two layers of exhaustivity and existential presupposition. First, we have the specificational layer: the definiteness of the cleft clause gives rise to the interpretation that (i) there is an *x* such that *x* attended the party, and (ii) there is a unique *x* (*x* can denote a plural entity) such that *x* attended the party. Because of the presence of focus on *eldest* in the cleft constituent, we also get the interpretation that (i) there is a *P* such that John's *P* daughter attended the party, and (ii) there is a unique *P* such that John's *P* daughter attended the party.⁶⁵

The problem here is thus that, by virtue of having specificational semantics, we should get the interpretation that there is a unique *x* such that *x* attended the party. However, as is clear from the felicitous continuations in the (a) and (c) examples, this is not the case. Instead, we only get the reading in which there is a unique *x* such that John's *x* daughter attended the party.

This problem can easily be accounted for by making reference to the context-sensitivity of focus. A sentence such as (161) or (162), with heavy stress on a sub-part of the cleft constituent, cannot occur in any context. It is only natural in a context in which *eldest* is contrasted with an alternative, such as *youngest*. In other contexts, such as question-answer

⁶⁵ Andrew Weir (p.c.) points out that it might be problematic to word the interpretation of (161) and (162) as involving a unique property of John's daughter, as there certainly are other properties that can felicitously fill the gap in *John's P daughter*. For instance, if John has a blond, a redhead and a brunette daughter, and the latter, who also happens to be the eldest, attended the party, it would be truth-conditionally felicitous to utter *It was John's brunette daughter who attended the party*. There thus seems to be more than one *P* such that John's *P* daughter attended the party. However, the possible focus alternatives are contextually restricted. Although I will not enter into details of how focus alternatives are restricted (see Wagner 2005 and Fox & Katzir 2011 a.o.), I wish to note that clefts with focus on a sub-part of the cleft constituent are only felicitous in contrastive contexts, they cannot be used to answer questions (see examples (163) and (164)). As was noted by Wagner (2005), contrastive focus has a very limited set of felicitous alternatives. For instance, in the context below, *red* cannot be used as an alternative to *expensive*, unexpected if the set of alternatives is not restricted:

- (i) John makes expensive convertibles. He is coming to Mary's wedding.
 - a. He brought a CHEAP convertible.
 - b. #He brought a RED convertible.

Something similar is going on with the cleft above. It has the interpretation that there is a unique *P* in {eldest, middle, youngest} such that John's *P* daughter attended the party, the set of alternatives cannot be something like {eldest, blond, tall}. I refer to Wagner (2005, 2012) and Katzir (2012) for an account of these patterns.

pairs asking for the identification of the variable introduced by the cleft clause, these clefts are not appropriate:

- (163) A John's youngest daughter attended the party.
 B No, it was John's ELDEST daughter who attended the party.
 B' No, who attended the party was John's ELDEST daughter.
- (164) A Who attended the party?
 B # It was John's ELDEST daughter who attended the party.
 B' # Who attended the party was John's ELDEST daughter.

As is clear from these contexts, the set of alternatives from which the cleft constituent is drawn, needs to be adequately restricted by the context, in the sense that the general question under discussion (daughters of John who attended the party in (163) and people who attended the party in (164)) has to coincide with the question under discussion determined by focus on the cleft constituent. If we allow the general question under discussion to restrict the denotation of the cleft clause, the denotation of the cleft clause coincides with the denotation of the set of alternatives generated by focus.

Summarizing, we can ascribe the exhaustive interpretation and the existential presupposition of the cleft clause of *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts entirely to the fact that in these clefts, the cleft constituent is equated with a definite description. The potential problem of focus-sensitivity can be overcome if we allow the denotation of the cleft clause to be restricted by its discourse antecedent.

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, a parallel was drawn between syntactic properties of clefts and their interpretation: the clefts with a weak existential presupposition and exhaustivity claim are monoclausal, while the clefts with a strong existential presupposition and exhaustivity claim are specificational sentences. This difference in syntactic structure lays at the basis of the different interpretation of these clefts. I have established that *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts are

biclausal sentences in which the copular verb SER heads the matrix VP. *É que*-clefts and SER-clefts on the other hand are monoclausal sentences.

In *é que*-clefts, the cleft constituent undergoes movement to the left periphery of the clause. *É que* is a non-segmentable unit that lexicalizes a left-peripheral head. In SER-clefts, the copular verb lexicalizes a TP-internal position, and the cleft constituent sits relatively low in the structure. It was argued that the presence of focus uniformly gives rise to two implicatures, due to the semantics of focus. The set of alternatives contributed by focus is interpreted as the question under discussion, and since questions are assumed to have an answer, focus is often associated with an existential presupposition. Additionally, since questions require exhaustive answers, focus is often associated with an exhaustivity claim. However, both interpretations arise as implicatures, and can easily be suspended.

Since focus uniformly gives rise to weak presuppositions and weak exhaustivity claims, another explanation was provided for the interpretation of *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts. It was argued that both types of clefts are specificational sentences. For the biclausal clefts, I argued that *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts have a different underlying structure. In *it*-clefts, the copula selects the cleft constituent and a DP consisting of a definite determiner that takes a headed relative clause with a deleted head as its complement. In pseudoclefts, the copula selects the cleft constituent and a free relative. The surface structure of *it*-clefts is derived by extraposition of the restrictive relative to a VP-adjoined position, the determiner ends up in SpecTP. In pseudoclefts, it is the cleft clause that occupies SpecTP.

In both types of biclausal clefts, there is an identificational relation between the cleft constituent and a definite description. Since definite descriptions are inherently existentially presupposed, specificational clefts have a strong existential presupposition. Additionally, definite descriptions introduce maximality. The identification relation between the cleft constituent and the definite description will thus give rise to the interpretation in which the cleft constituent is the maximal element corresponding to the variable introduced by the cleft clause. This is the exhaustivity claim. When no such identificational relation exists, no exhaustivity arises.

5 Focus and movement

This chapter deals with the relevance of focus for the syntactic computation, more particularly, the question of whether a focus feature triggers movement to a FocP is examined. As was discussed in chapter 3, the cleft constituent of the four types of clefts is focalized: it can constitute an information focus or a contrastive focus. Nevertheless, there are some additional restrictions on the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts, not present for the other cleft constructions: the cleft constituent can only be information focus if it can be related to an element in the common ground.

Several authors have argued that cleft constituents lexicalize the specifier of a FocP. See for instance É. Kiss (1998), Meinunger (1997, 1998), Belletti (2005, 2008, 2015), Frascarelli & Ramaglia (2013) and Lahousse, Laenzlinger & Soare (2014) for *it*-clefts and their counterparts in other languages; Resenes (2009) and Frascarelli & Ramaglia (2013) for pseudoclefts, Ambar (2005) for *é que*-clefts and Kato & Mito (2012) for SER-clefts. Bosque (1999) and Méndez-Vallejo (2009a, b, 2012) argue that SER-clefts involve a FocP, although it is not occupied by the cleft constituent but by the copula. Although the details differ among authors, all of these analysis predict that the cleft constituent is consistently focalized. This prediction was evaluated in section 3.1.2 and was shown to be correct. Another aspect of the cartographic approaches to focus to be discussed in this chapter relates to the position of the FocP. Some authors argue for a vP-peripheral FocP hosting the cleft constituent, while others assume that only the left periphery of the clause has a FocP. In both cases, constituents with a focus feature undergo movement in order to reach a FocP. It is standardly assumed that the presence of a focus feature on a constituent triggers movement to a FocP.

In section 5.1 I will argue that assuming that all focalized constituents undergo movement to a left peripheral A'-position is problematic, since not all focalized constituents exhibit the same syntactic properties typical for left-peripheral focus. Also assuming that *in situ* focus targets a vP-peripheral FocP is problematic, as will be discussed in section 5.2, since it is not clear how to implement the choice of FocP a focalized constituent moves to. Some authors assume that different FocPs give rise to different interpretations (Belletti 2005, 2008, 2014; Frascarelli & Ramaglia 2009, 2013): there is a FocP dedicated to informational focus and another FocP dedicated to contrastive foci. This hypothesis will be shown to make

wrong empirical predictions, since there does not seem to be a strict correlation between pragmatic type of focus and syntactic position.

Based on the analysis of the four cleft constructions in section 5.3, I conclude that it seems to be the case that focalized constituents sometimes move to an A'-position but that they also can remain *in situ*. Since it is not clear how to implement such optional focus movement, I will assume that, in some languages at least, focus features do not trigger movement. If a focalized constituent moves, it does so for focus-independent reasons. Based on the observation that very similar discourse restrictions apply to the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts, a fronted focalized constituent, in section 5.4 I will advance the hypothesis that fronted foci actually are topics that happen to have a focus feature. This implies that fronted foci move to the left periphery of the clause for the same reasons topics do. This is not that straightforward: in several theoretical frameworks it is (tacitly) assumed that a topic and a focus interpretation are mutually exclusive on one constituent (for instance Rizzi 1997 and a lot of work based hereupon, with some exceptions such as Bocci (2004) or Authier & Haegeman (2015), or even orthogonal concepts (Sgall, Hajičová & Panevová 1986 and von Stechow 1981 for instance). However, there are several reasons to assume that, at least in some languages, fronted foci are topics with a focus feature.

The chapter is organized as follows: in section 5.1, I will discuss some problems with assuming that focalized constituents uniformly move to a left-peripheral FocP, in overt or covert syntax. The data discussed concern WCO, islands and contexts blocking focus fronting. Then, in section 5.2, I discuss the hypothesis that some foci move to a vP-peripheral FocP, since this type of movement is not expected to exhibit the same properties as focus fronting. However, even though the idea that some foci move to a low FocP is attractive, it is not clear how to provide a principled account for focus movement if there is more than one FocP in the clausal spine where foci can move to. Based on the observation that there does not seem to be a strict correlation between the pragmatic type of focus and particular syntactic positions, I will argue that it is better to assume that some foci really are *in situ*. This hypothesis will be examined in light of the cleft data in section 5.3. based on several diagnostics, I conclude that the cleft constituent of *it*-clefts, pseudoclefts and SER-clefts effectively is *in situ*, while the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts moves to an A'-position. Finally, in order to account for the fact that only some foci move to an A'-position, I argue that some foci move to the left periphery of the clause because they are sentence topics. I will show that this idea accounts naturally for the discourse restrictions on both sentence topics

and fronted foci. More precisely, it brings out the commonality between topics and fronted foci in that both have to be referentially controlled, a property that does not follow from postulating that topics and fronted foci target independent and distinct projections.

5.1 Problems with obligatory focus movement to the left periphery

In this section, I will argue that, although focalized constituents have a focus feature (see section 3.1.2.1), this feature does not trigger movement to a left peripheral FocP, at least not in languages such as European Portuguese.¹ Several authors assume that the presence of a focus feature on a constituent triggers movement to a specialized focus projection (Rizzi 1997, Belletti 2004, É. Kiss 1998, Szabolcsi 1994, Brody 1990, Aboh 2004). There are however several problems with the idea that focus features uniformly trigger movement, both in overt and in covert syntax.² First, unlike fronted focus, *in situ* focus does not give rise to WCO. Second, focus can occur in syntactic islands, which is unexpected if it undergoes covert movement. Third, focus can occur in contexts banning focus fronting. Each of these properties will be discussed separately. Note that the objections against focus movement of *in situ* focus only apply to movement to the left periphery. I will discuss the hypothesis that *in situ* focus moves to a low vP-peripheral FocP in section 5.2. I will argue that also assuming that *in situ* focus always moves to such a FocP is problematic.

¹ In languages in which focus always has to surface in a particular position, it might be the case that a focus feature triggers movement. See for instance Jayaseelan (2001) for Malayalan, Aboh (2007) for Bantu and Kwa languages, and the extensive literature on focus in Hungarian (Szabolcsi 1994; É. Kiss 1998, 2007; Wedgwood et al. 2006; Brody 1990; Onea 2008; Horvath 2000, 2009 a.o.). I refer to chapter 8 for a discussion of these cross-linguistic differences concerning focus.

² In the semantic literature, it is assumed that focus is interpreted in its surface position. See Beck (2006) and Eckhardt (2007) for instance.

5.1.1 WCO

Data exhibiting WCO effects, as in (165)b, have led to assume that *in situ* focus covertly moves to a left peripheral A'-position (Chomsky 1977), presumably a FocP:

- (165) a *After he_i came home, JOHN_i went to bed.
b John [after he_i came home, t_i went to bed].

(Krifka 1992: 37)

However, Krifka (1992) notes that focalized constituents cannot refer to something in the immediate context, unless it is contrasted:

- (166) a *John and Mary came in. JOHN kissed Mary.
b John kissed Mary, and then MARY kissed JOHN.

(Krifka 1992: 37)

The apparent WCO effects in (165) could thus be simply due to the fact that there is nothing apart from the pronoun *he* with what *John* can be contrasted, giving rise to a pragmatically inadequate sentence, as we cannot contrast something with itself. This is confirmed by the following context, in which there should be WCO if it is true that focus undergoes covert movement to the left periphery. As is clear, the so-called WCO effects of *in situ* focus are context-dependent, hence they are not WCO effects at all.

- (167) A I heard that John's sister got sick when she and John returned from their trip.
B That's not true. When he_i and his sister came home, JOHN_i got sick. His sister is just fine.

Given this, there seems to be no reason to assume that *in situ* focus undergoes covert movement.

5.1.2 Islands

Jackendoff (1972) and Rooth (1985) note that *in situ* focus does not observe island constraints, which would be expected if there is covert movement:³

(168) Sam even saw the man who was wearing the RED hat.

(Krifka 1992: 23)

We could explain the lack of island-sensitivity of *in situ*-focus by arguing that the whole island is pied-piped by focus movement in LF (as in Horvath 2007; Endo 2012; Danckaert 2012), hence we do not expect any island effects. However, a constituent can be focalized *in situ* even when the left periphery is not accessible for fronting operations, as discussed in the following section.

5.1.3 Contexts blocking focus fronting

Haegeman et al. (2014: 97) point out that *in situ* focalization is compatible with contexts blocking focus fronting, which provides clear evidence that *in situ* focus does not undergo covert movement, at least not to the same position as the one targeted by overt focus fronting.

(169) a. Whenever we needed INFORMATION, Bill could not be reached.

b. *Whenever INFORMATION we needed, Bill could not be reached.

(Haegeman et al. 2014: 97)

³ The validity of this argument against covert focus movement depends on our assumptions concerning these movement operations: several authors, such as Huang (1982), have argued that covert movement, unlike overt movement, is not island sensitive. I assume that covert movement has the same properties as overt movement.

Note that the fact that focus can occur in contexts with an inaccessible left periphery also constitutes an argument against the idea that focus uniformly moves to the left periphery, followed by remnant movement of the non-focalized portion of the sentence to a TopP, as in Frascarelli & Ramaglia (2013) for instance.

5.2 Low FocPs

All of the above objections against focus movement only apply to movement to the left periphery of the clause. They can be answered if we assume that there is a lower, TP-internal FocP where focus can move to, as has been argued by Szabolcsi (1994), Jayaseelan (2001) and Belletti (2004) a.o. Again, assuming that all *in situ* focus moves to such a FocP faces some problems. In the following section, I will argue that there is no strict correlation between syntactic position and pragmatic type of focus, and hence, that it is hard to provide a principled account for focus movement if there is more than one FocP in the clausal spine.

First of all, although left-peripheral focus is not recursive (but see Benincà & Poletto 2004, Brunetti 2004: 91-92), it is not the case that focus is not recursive:

(170) Superman didn't kiss Batman, BATMAN kissed SUPERMAN.

This is unexpected if we assume that all focalized constituents have to move to a unique left-peripheral FocP, in overt or covert syntax. However, it does follow if *in situ* focus does not move, or if we assume that there are two FocPs present in the hierarchy of the clause, in the line of Belletti (2004). However, if Belletti (2004) is on the right track, we run into trouble again if more than two constituents are focalized, as in the following context:

(171) A Who gave what to whom?
 B SUPERMAN gave a BOTTLE OF CHAMPAGNE to the HULK and
 BATMAN gave CHOCOLATE MICE to CATWOMAN.

In order to account for these sentences in terms of movement to a FocP, we need several FocPs and a principled account for the choice of FocP: how does syntax decide which FocP the focalized constituent has to move to? Belletti (2004) proposes that each FocP is associated with a particular interpretation: the left peripheral FocP hosts contrastive foci, while the vP-peripheral one hosts new information focus. Effectively, several authors have argued that there are at least two different types of focus, based on the observation that contrastive and informational focus differ in terms of interpretation and discourse use (É. Kiss 1998 a.o.), prosody (Zubizarreta 1998 a.o.) and syntactic position (Belletti 2004). I have argued in chapter 3 that, from a semantic point of view, a theory of focus in which it is assumed that focus has a uniform import is more adequate to account for the data. It could however be the case that pragmatically different types of focus occupy syntactically distinct positions, as was argued by Belletti (2004 a.o.).

Although it is true that, in languages such as Italian, Spanish and European Portuguese, fronted foci only with difficulty constitute answers to *wh*-interrogatives, I have shown in section 3.1.2.2 that this is not entirely impossible. I repeat the relevant data below, and add data from Italian, in which it is clear that also in this language, fronted foci can constitute the answer to a question in the appropriate discourse context (see Brunetti 2009 or Delfitto & Fiorin 2015:167 for more data):

(172) (talking about alternative forms of energy)

- A *E neste momento, qual é que é mais bem visto pela população?*
 ‘And at this moment, which one is the most accepted by the population?’
- B *Não posso dizer com certeza, mas a energia solar é que me parece mais bem vista.*
 ‘I cannot say with certainty, but solar energy (is that) seems to be the most accepted.’

(173) A *Oh, Mauro, quanti tavoli c’hai ancora da fare?*

‘Oh, Mauro, how many tables do you still have to take care of?’

- B *TRE DI SOPRA me ne sono rimasti.*
 three upstairs me.CL.DAT ne.CL are left.

‘There are THREE left UPSTAIRS.’

(Ciro Greco, p.c.)

Also the cleft constituent of the other types of clefts under discussion can both be informational focus (174) and contrastive focus (175). Hence, at first sight it does not seem necessary to postulate two different types of FocP, since the same syntactic position apparently can be associated both with contrastive and informational focus.⁴

- (174) a *Há já pouco coelho (...) e não é por causa dos caçadores. Foi o raio (...)* **das zorras** (...) *que arreventaram com isso.* (AJT14)
 ‘There aren’t that many rabbits left and it’s not because **of the hunters**.
 It were **those damn foxes** that destroyed everything.’
- b *Só o que se vê é barulho e dizer mal uns dos outros, mas não se vê nada* **feito.** (AAL32)
 ‘What we see is **a lot of noise and speaking behind each other’s back**, but we don’t see **anything being done**.
- c INQ *Mas não se ata assim com uma, uns arames?...*
 ‘But don’t you attach it with a, **some wires?**’
 INF *Ata-se. Não, ata-se é com uma corda.* (ALC18)
 ‘Yes. No, we attach it with **a rope.**’
- (175) a INQ *E como é que se chama isto?*
 ‘And **how** is this called?’
 INF *Isto aqui era o (...) Ai!*
 ‘This was the (...) Ai!’
 INQ *Chambaril?*
 ‘Cambrel?’

⁴ Belletti (2008, 2015) argues that cleft constituents can lexicalize a left peripheral contrastive FocP, but only when the cleft constituent is a subject, a vP-peripheral new info FocP. This captures the fact that in French, the default answering strategy for subject questions is a reduced cleft. However, as is clear from example (3b, c), also non-subject clefts can be used to answer questions. As such, it seems more adequate to assume that the focus feature on the cleft constituent is not as specialized as Belletti argues.

- INF *Hum... Ele isso aqui a gente chamava um (...) Não era gancho, era... Parece que era **o pernil** que a gente chamava a isto. Pois.* (ALC30)
 ‘Hm... This here we used to call a (...) it wasn’t hook, it was... It seems that it was **the gammon** that we used to call it. Exactly.’
- b INQ ***O que** é que entra pela janela e que nos pica toda a noite?*
 ‘**What** enters through the window and bites us all night long?’
- INF *Se tem a janela aberta, o que entra é **um morcego**.* (ALC 39)
 ‘If the window is open, what enters is **a bat**.’
- c INQ *Olhe, e **como** é que chama àquilo que põe no buraco que é para não entrar água?*
 ‘Look, and **how** do you call the thing that you put in the hole through where the water comes in?’
- INF *A gente trata-lhe aqui (...) é de **boeira**.* (GRC06)
 ‘We call it here “**boeira**”.’

Also non-cleft *in situ* focus can be both contrastive and new information. If the low FocP is restricted to new information focus, it is not clear how sentences with a low contrastive focus are derived:⁵

- (176) A Who ate the cake?
 B *Comeu o SUPERHOMEM.*
 ate the Superman
- (177) A Superman ate the cake.
 B No, Superman ate the CANDY.

⁵ One could assume that the focus moves to the left periphery, while the remnant IP moves to a higher projection (see for instance Kayne & Pollock 2001 for stylistic inversion in French, Szendrői 2003 for partial answers in Hungarian). There are however several arguments against such an analysis (see Belletti 2004, Lahousse 2006, Cable 2008 and the previous sections).

If we assume, as I have so far, that focus does nothing more than providing a set of alternatives, there is no need to distinguish between two types of foci, and hence no need for two interpretatively distinct projections for foci. I have shown that Rooth's (1992, 1999) theory of focus makes correct predictions concerning existential presupposition and exhaustivity, unlike theories in which these interpretations are included in the semantics of focus. Exhaustivity and presupposition arise as an implicature based on the semantics of focus, and both interpretations can be suspended. In those structures in which exhaustivity and presupposition cannot be suspended, such as *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts, there are focus-independent factors that give rise to these interpretations. In *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts, strong exhaustivity and existential presupposition are due to the identificational relation between the cleft constituent and a definite description. Hence, it seems more adequate to assume that if there are FocPs in the clausal hierarchy, they should all be associated with the same basic focus interpretation. In section 5.4.2 I will provide an explanation of why fronted foci in languages such as Italian and European Portuguese are often contrastive, while other foci are not, based on the fact that fronted foci, argued to be topics here, cannot easily have a *wh*-constituent as their discourse antecedent and thus cannot easily be a plain new information focus.

The data discussed here indicate that postulating two FocPs where focalized constituents can move to, as in Belletti (2004, 2008, 2015), is not enough to cover the data, since there can be more than two foci in one clause. Additionally, if there are several FocP, it is hard to establish how syntax decides which FocP a given focalized constituent moves to, as there does not seem to be a strict correlation between position and interpretation. An alternative would be to assume that not all focalized constituents move to a FocP. The cleft data discussed in the next section corroborate this idea: the cleft constituent of *it*-clefts, pseudoclefts and SER-clefts seems to occupy its base position within the vP.

5.3 Some foci are *in situ*

In this section, I will argue that the cleft constituent of all clefts under discussion except *é que*-clefts does not undergo movement to any A'-position. In order to determine

whether the cleft constituent occupies its base position or has moved to some A'-position, intervention effects will be used as a diagnostics. In section 2.2.3, I introduced the basic notions concerning Relativized Minimality. Recall that the relevant factors for Relativized Minimality are hierarchical relations, structural type and features. Since here we are concerned with constituents undergoing A'-movement, I will concentrate on the intervention that A'-constituents can give rise to. It will be tested whether the cleft constituents of the cleft constructions, arguably marked by a focus feature since they are uniformly focalized, intervene for movement of constituents with a feature of the same class. Given the taxonomy of features proposed by Rizzi (2004), I will test whether the cleft constituent intervenes for movement of constituents with a quantificational feature. If the cleft constituent occupies an A'-position and assuming that it is itself quantificational, we expect it to restrict movement of quantificational constituents across it. I will show that the predicted intervention effects only arise for *é que*-clefts, which indicates that the cleft constituents of the other cleft constructions do not occupy the same position as the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts. Based on additional evidence, I will argue that the cleft constituent of *it*-clefts, pseudoclefts and SER-clefts is *in situ*. In what follows, I will first discuss *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts (section 5.3.1), then *é que*-clefts (section 5.3.2) and finally SER-clefts (section 5.3.3).

5.3.1 It-clefts and pseudoclefts

Several authors argue that the cleft constituent of *it*-clefts occupies the specifier of a FocP (É. Kiss 1998; Belletti 2004, 2008, 2009, 2011, 2014; Lahousse et al. 2014; Meinunger 1997, 1998; Frascaralli & Ramaglia 2009, 2013 and Sleeman 2011). There are several implementations of this approach (see Haegeman et al. 2014a, b, 2015 for a detailed discussion), but what all of these analyses have in common is the fact that the cleft constituent occupies an A'-position, and hence it occupies a potentially intervening position for A'-movement of quantificational constituents. Also for pseudoclefts it has been argued that the cleft constituent occupies the specifier of a FocP (Resenes 2009 and Frascarelli & Ramaglia 2009, 2013 a.o.). In this section, I will examine whether there effectively are indications that the cleft constituent of these cleft constructions undergoes A'-movement to a FocP, and, given the lack of evidence, I will conclude that the cleft constituent remains *in situ*.

Haegeman et al. (2014a, b, 2015) illustrated extensively that, when it comes to intervention, English *it*-clefts pattern with sentences with *in situ* focus, and not with sentences with fronted focus. The patterns concerning English are illustrated below. In (178), it is shown that argument fronting is ungrammatical in central adverbial clauses (a), factive complements (b), clausal subjects (c), clausal complements to nouns (d) and subjunctive clauses (e).⁶ Haegeman (2010a, b, 2012) and Haegeman & Ürögdi (2010) account for the ungrammaticality of argument fronting in these contexts by arguing that the contexts blocking argument fronting involve operator movement from a TP internal position to the left periphery of the clause. This operator movement is blocked by a quantificational constituent in the left periphery of the clause. As can be seen in (179), *it*-clefts are grammatical in these contexts. Haegeman et al. (2014a, b, 2015) conclude that the cleft constituent of *it*-clefts does not occupy a matrix left peripheral FocP, and argue that an analysis according to which the cleft constituent occupies a lower FocP, be it in the embedded CP or in the periphery of vP, is more adequate.

- (178) a *When this song I heard, I remembered my first love.
 b *Mary realizes [that this book, John read]. (Hegarty 1991: 52, n. 19)
 c *That this book, Mary read thoroughly is true. (Authier 1992: 332)
 d *John raised the possibility that Mary, your antics would upset.
 (Alrenga 2005: 179)
 e *It's important that the book he study carefully. (Hooper and Thompson 1973: 485)
- (Haegeman et al. 2015: 86)

- (179) a Whenever it was money we needed, George was nowhere to be seen.
 b John regrets that it was Mary who was put in charge of the conference.
 c That in the end it was Bill who invited Mary surprised everyone.
 d The news that it was Mary that they had invited surprised everyone.

⁶ Recall that argument fronting in English has the same syntactic properties when the fronted constituent is interpreted as a plain topic and when it has a focus interpretation.

e But if this is the force of the quantifier in (7), then that force requires that it be Orcutt who is the value of the variable x.

(Haegeman et al. 2015: 86-87)

European Portuguese *it*-clefts also do not exhibit the embedding restrictions which arise for structures containing a left peripheral focus, which indicates that effectively, the cleft constituent of *it*-clefts does not occupy the position occupied by the left peripheral focalized constituent. An instance of focus fronting in European Portuguese is illustrated below. One of the main characteristics is subject-verb inversion (see Costa & Martins 2011):

(180) *SEISCENTOS* *EUROS* *recebo* *eu* *por* *mês*.
 six hundred euros receive.1S I per month
 ‘Sixhundred euros I receive per month.’

(Costa & Martins 2011: 221)

The sentences in (182) illustrate the contexts in which focus fronting is unavailable in European Portuguese.⁷ Note that the fronted constituents are non-specific, hence they cannot be fronted without having a focus interpretation (see section 5.4.3). Furthermore, these constituents cannot be doubled by a clitic, as illustrated in (181), hence we can exclude the possibility that they are doubled by a null clitic, a strategy that presumably is available in European Portuguese, as was discussed in section 6.1. Additionally, all sentences exhibit subject-verb inversion, a property of focus fronting in European Portuguese (see Costa & Martins 2011). (182)a illustrates a central adverbial clause, (182)b contains a factive complement, (182)c a relative clause and (182)d a clausal complement of a noun.

(181) **Um inédito,* *leiloaram-no* *em* *Londres* *por* *uma*
 a unedited auction.3PL.PRF- CL in London for a
fortuna.

⁷ The term *focus fronting* is intended to be a neutral term to refer to movement of a focalized constituent to the left periphery of the clause, independently of the triggers of this movement or the exact position of left peripheral focus.

- (182) a **Quando muitos livros andava a ler o João, a sua mãe estava satisfeita.*
 When a lot of books was reading João his mother was satisfied
- b **O João lamenta que muitos livros ainda não tenha lido a sua irmã.*
 João regrets that a lot of books still not has read his sister
- c **O homem que muitos livros costuma ler está a ficar cego.*
 the man that a lot of books is accustomed to read is getting blind
- d **Fiquei com a ideia de que muitos livros já leu o meu avô.*
 I got the idea that a lot of books already read my grandfather

As can be seen in the examples below, *it*-clefts can occur in these contexts, hence as was argued in Haegeman et al (2014a, b, 2015) for English, for European Portuguese, we can also exclude the hypothesis that the cleft constituent occupies the same position as fronted foci, on a par with what Haegeman et al. (2014a, b, 2015) found for English:

- (183) a *Quando era para a praia que queríamos ir, a mãe levava-nos.*
 ‘When it was to the beach that we wanted to go, mother used to bring us.’
- b *O João lamenta que tenha sido o Cavaco que foi eleito presidente.*
 ‘João regrets that it was Cavaco who was elected president.’
- c *O ano em que foi o Cavaco que foi eleito foi um ano triste.*
 ‘The year that it was Cavaco that was elected was a sad year.’
- d *Fiquei com a ideia que era para a praia que queríamos ir.*
 I got the idea that it was to the beach that we wanted to go.

Given that *it*-clefts do not exhibit the same embedding restrictions as structures with a left peripheral focus, it is probably the case that the cleft constituent of these clefts does not occupy any A’-position in the matrix CP. However, it could still be the case that the cleft

constituent does occupy an A'-position, but not one that intervenes for the quantificational movement involved in the derivation of the structures in (183). This would for example be the case if the cleft constituent occupied a position in the left periphery of the cleft clause, as was argued for instance by Belletti (2008, 2015), Lobo (2006) and Soares (2006), or a lower A'-position, such as for instance Belletti's (2008, 2014) vP-peripheral FocP associated with cleft subjects. In the remainder of this section, I will show that it is hard to provide empirical support for movement of the cleft constituent of *it*-clefts, which leads me to assume that it occupies its VP-internal base position, and not an A'-position.

It has been observed that displaced constituents often become islands for extraction, a phenomenon known as freezing. Although it is not entirely clear what the reason for these freezing effects are (see Corver 2006 for a discussion), there is a clear correlation between opacity for extraction and A'-movement. As such, and following Hartmann (2013), I will use the opacity of the cleft constituent as a diagnostics for its position: if the cleft constituent is opaque for extraction, it probably occupies an A'-position, while if it is transparent for extraction, it more likely does not occupy an A'-position. Hartmann (2013) argues that the cleft constituent of English *it*-clefts does not occupy an A'-position, based on the observation that subextraction from the cleft constituent of *it*-clefts is grammatical, while extraction from for instance a shifted DP is not:⁸

- (184) a ??Who_i did he donate t_j to a museum [a vase of t_i]_j?
 b What was it a manipulation of [-] that the committee criticized?

(Hartmann 2013: 490)

As was illustrated in section 4.3.1, in European Portuguese subextraction from the cleft constituent is grammatical, which indicates that it does not occupy an A'-position but rather remains *in situ*. The relevant example is repeated below:⁹

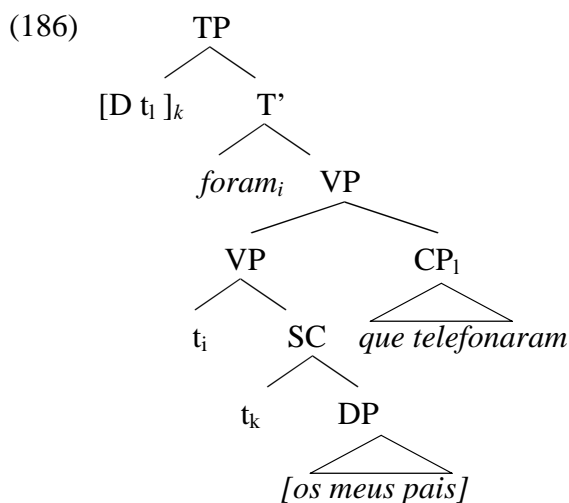
⁸ Haegeman, Jimenez & Radford (2014) provide data that indicate that extraction from subjects in an A'-position is considerably better than extraction from subjects in an A-position. A formal experiment testing their claims indicated that there is no significant difference between extraction from subjects in A and A'-positions (see Greco, Haegeman & Marelli *forthcoming*).

⁹ The fact, mentioned in chapter 4, that subextraction from the cleft constituent in Italian *it*-clefts is ungrammatical, might indicate that the syntax of clefts differs cross-linguistically. It might be possible that in

- (185) *?De quem achas que era o pai [-] que estava a falar com o Pedro?*
 ‘Of whom do you think that it was the father that was talking to Pedro?’

As for the hypothesis that the cleft constituent occupies a position in the left periphery of the cleft clause, it is not compatible with the base structure for *it*-clefts assumed here. In chapter 4, I argued that the cleft constituent and the cleft clause start out as different constituents: the copula selects a small clause consisting of the cleft constituent and a restrictive relative clause headed by a demonstrative pronoun. I summarize some of my arguments here. First, assuming that the cleft constituent heads the cleft clause makes wrong predictions concerning the relative pronoun that heads the cleft clause: if it were the cleft constituent which heads the cleft clause, we would expect a variety of relative pronouns in *it*-clefts, contrary to fact. In addition, assuming that the cleft constituent is one of the arguments of the small clause also correctly predicts that *it*-clefts behave like specificational sentences, not only when it comes to binding patterns, but also when it comes to interpretation.

Now, given the structure for *it*-clefts argued for in chapter 4, and repeated here below, it is not clear how the cleft constituent can move to the left periphery of the cleft clause, to occupy a FocP or any other A’-position, since in this case it would undergo movement to a position that does not c-command its base position.



Italian, unlike in European Portuguese, English and Dutch, the cleft constituent does occupy an A’-position, as has been argued by Belletti (2008, 2015).

As for the last hypothesis, namely that the cleft constituent occupies a vP-peripheral A'-position, it is hard to provide evidence for movement of the cleft constituent. In order to provide evidence for the claim that the cleft constituent occupies an A'-position and not its base position, we could show that the cleft constituent intervenes for quantificational movement from a position c-commanded by it. However, there is no such position. It is also not possible to test whether the cleft constituent reconstructs for scope, as it would if it were A'-moved, or whether the short movement of the cleft constituent to a vP-peripheral position has any influence on binding, such as for example giving rise to WCO effects, on a par with foci moved to the left periphery of the clause.

Based on these considerations, I will assume that the cleft constituent does not move to an A'-position and occupies its base position within the VP.

On a par with *it*-clefts, pseudoclefts do not exhibit embedding restrictions. They can occur in central adverbial clauses (187)a, in factive complements (187)b, in relative clauses (187)c and in complement clauses to nouns (187)d.

- (187) a *Quando quem chegava atrasado era o presidente, a reunião começava mais tarde.*
 ‘When the one who arrived late was the president, the meeting would start later.’
- b *Nasci no ano em que quem liderava o partido era o Cavaco*
 ‘I was born in the year in which the one who lead the party was Cavaco.’
- c *Que quem chegou atrasado foi o João é óbvio.*
 ‘That who was elected was Cavaco doesn’t surprise me.’
- d *Fiquei com a ideia de que o que precisávamos era de dinheiro.*
 ‘I got the idea that what we needed was money.’

It is thus clear that the cleft constituent does not occupy a matrix left-peripheral A'-position, contra Frascarelli & Ramaglia (2013) for instance. This also follows if the cleft clause is the subject of the sentence, and occupies SpecTP, as was argued in section 4.3.1. According to this analysis, there would be no left peripheral position available to the right of the cleft clause. However, it could still be the case that the cleft constituent occupies a vP-

peripheral A'-position. Again, it is hard to provide evidence for such a short movement operation of the cleft constituent, for the same reasons as the ones referred to in the discussion concerning *it*-clefts. The example below illustrates that sub-extraction from the cleft constituent is grammatical, which indicates that it occupies its base position:

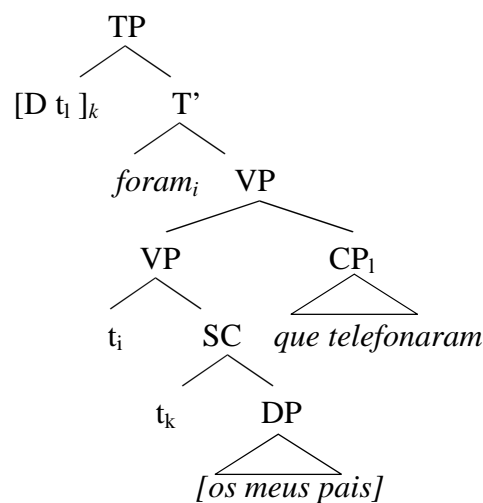
(188) *De quem achas que quem estava a falar com o Pedro seja o pai [-]?*

‘Of whom do you think that the one who was talking to Pedro was the father?’

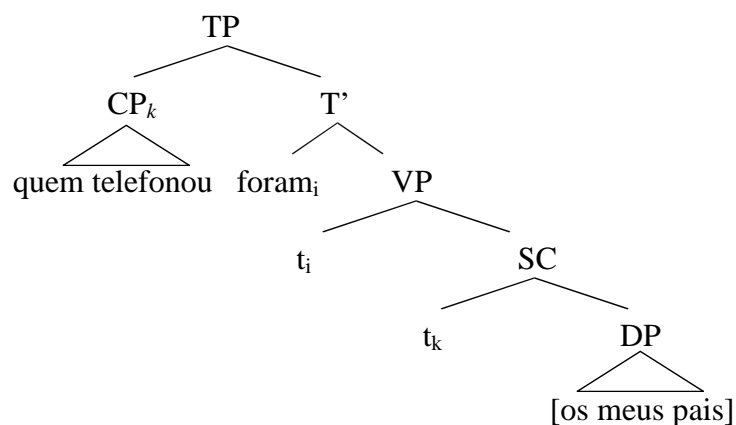
(Costa & Duarte 2005: 2)

Given these arguments, I will assume that the cleft constituent of pseudoclefts occupies its VP-internal base position, on a par with the cleft constituent of *it*-clefts. The structure that I proposed for these clefts in chapter 4 can thus be maintained. I repeat the structures below:

(27)



(28)



5.3.2 É que-clefts

In chapter 4, I provided some evidence that the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts undergoes movement. The relevant properties were island sensitivity, parasitic gap licensing and ban on doubling. The relevant data are repeated below:

(189) **Esta sopa é que conheço homem que cozinhou [-].*
this soup is that know.1SG man that cooked

(190) *A sopa é que a Maria fez [-] sem provar [-].*
the soup is that the Maria made [-] without taste
'Maria made the soup without tasting it.'

(191) a *O queijo é que o corvo comeu(*-o).*
The cheese is that the raven ate-CL
b *O que é que o corvo comeu(*-o)?*
What is that the raven ate-CL

Another property of *é que*-clefts that indicates that the cleft constituent occupies an A'-position is the fact that these structures are restricted in contexts in which quantificational constituents undergo movement. For instance, *é que*-clefts cannot be embedded in temporal adverbial clauses (192), event conditionals (193), *wh*-interrogatives (194) and relative clauses (195):

(192) **Quando o João é que chegou, a Maria ficou muito contente.*
when the João is that arrived the Maria stayed very
happy

(193) **Se a relva é que estiver seca, os meninos podem*

If the grass is that is dry the boys may
brincar no jardim.
 play in.the garden

(194) **O Pedro perguntou quando o João é que chegou.*
 the Pedro asked when the João is that arrived

(195) **O homem que ontem é que vimos no Rossio é*
 the man that yesterday is that saw on.the Rossio is
o meu irmão.
 the my brother

Summing up, there are several reasons to assume that the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts does move to an A'-position, unlike the cleft constituent of *it*-clefts or pseudoclefts.

5.3.3 SER-clefts

If the cleft constituent in SER-clefts moved to an A'-position, we expect it to be a potential intervener for quantificational movement. Although SER-clefts typically occur in root contexts, which might at first be taken as evidence for such a view, these clefts can actually be embedded. Example (196) illustrates a SER-cleft embedded in relative clauses, both restrictive (a) and free relative clauses (b). Example (197) illustrates a SER-cleft in central adverbial clauses, (198) in a factive complement, (199) a complement of a noun. SER-clefts can be embedded in all of these contexts.

- (196) a *Havia umas que tinha era ele uma verga.* (MIG52)
 had some that had was EXPL a lintel
 'There were some that had (was) a lintel.'
- b *O governo quer castigar quem foge é dos impostos.*
 the government wants punish who escape is of.the taxes
 'The government wants to punish who runs (is) from taxes.'

- (197) a ?Quando a gente quer é ver bem as pinturas, usamos uma lupa.
when the people wants is see well the paintings use a magnifying glass
‘When we want (is) to see the paintings well, we use a magnifying glass.’
- b Se o João quer é acabar o curso, vai ter de estudar mais.
If the João wants is finish the course will have of study more
‘If João wants (is) to finish the course, he will have to study more.’
- (198) *Descobri que o João gosta é da Maria.*¹⁰
discovered that the João likes is of.the Maria
‘I discovered that João likes (is) Maria.’
- (199) *Não gosto nada da ideia de que o João venha é de carro.*
not like nothing of.the idea of that the João comes is of car
‘I don’t like the idea that João comes (is) by car at all.’

Additionally, SER-clefts may occur in the cleft clause of *é que*-clefts. The resulting structure is a monoclausal sentence, with two cleft constituents, one in the left periphery and one inside of TP:

- (200) *Eu é que o vi foi de noite.* (CPT14)
I is that CL saw was of night
‘I (is that) saw it (was) at night.’

As is clear, unlike the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts, the cleft constituent of SER-cleft does not intervene for quantificational movement, which might indicate that it does not

¹⁰ SER-clefts seem to be worse in subjunctive clauses. For instance, in the example below, a SER-cleft is embedded in a subjunctive factive clause. This will not be further discussed here.

- (i) ??O João lamenta que tenha ganho é a Maria.
The João regrets that have.SUBJ won is the Maria

occupy an A'-position. However, some care is needed here: it might also be the case that the cleft constituent does occupy an A'-position, but not an intervening one. For instance, for central adverbial clauses and factive complements, it has been argued that operator movement originates in TP (Haegeman 2012, Haegeman & Ürögdi 2010). The operator thus might originate in a position higher than the cleft constituent, in which case no intervention is expected. The fact that the only occurrences of SER-clefts in the cleft clause of *é que*-clefts involve a subject or adjunct cleft constituent in the left periphery, indicates that this could effectively be the case. The configuration is schematized below:



In order to test whether the cleft constituent in SER-clefts intervenes for quantificational movement, we thus need to extract a constituent originating in a position lower than the cleft constituent. For instance, we can test whether the quantificational movement of an object across a subject cleft constituent gives rise to intervention. However, subject cleft constituents, although grammatical and attested in the corpus, are generally more marked than object cleft constituents, which makes it difficult to determine the potential role of intervention.

Quantificational movement of an object across an adjunct cleft constituent on the other hand seems to be grammatical. If VP adverbs are merged in a position adjoined to VP, or in any case a position c-commanding the merge position of direct objects (see Frey 2003), then the following context indicates that the cleft constituent of SER-clefts does not intervene for quantificational movement:

- (202) A *A sopa que a gente fez hoje teve imenso sucesso!*
 ‘The soup that we made today had a lot of success!’
- B *Não, teve imenso sucesso a sopa que a gente fez foi ontem.*
 no had immense success the soup that the people made was yesterday
 ‘No, the soup that we made (was) yesterday had a lot of success.’
 A sopa de hoje ainda está toda na cozinha.
 ‘All today’s soup is still in the kitchen.’

The intervention configurations thus do not provide strong evidence for the position of the cleft constituent, but it seems to be the case that the cleft constituent does not occupy an A'-position. Some properties of the cleft constituent of SER-clefts indicate that it occupies its base position, and that it has not moved at all. For instance, subextraction from the cleft constituent is possible. This is indicated by the fact that clitics can climb from a position inside of the cleft constituent to the verb preceding the copula, as illustrated in (203)a, or by the fact that the direct object of the verb can be topicalized in a SER-cleft with a VP cleft constituent. In general, it is assumed that subextraction from a constituent in an A'-position is ungrammatical (see Hartmann 2013 or Corver 2006):

- (203) a *Eu não me_i posso é perder [-]_i.* (MLD25)
 I not me can is lose
 'I can't (is) lose myself (i.e., get lost)'
- b *Este livro, eu queria era que lesse_s [-] com muita atenção.*
 this book I wanted was that read [-] with much attention
 'This book, I wish (was) that you would read it carefully.'

A second piece of evidence is the fact that the cleft constituent can correspond to a constituent that cannot be regularly moved, for instance to the left periphery. Compare (204) with (205): the infinitive VP can be the cleft constituent in SER-clefts, but it cannot be fronted. The same contrast exists between 7.2.1 a and b: the direct object of *quero* 'want' and the secondary predicate *na mesa* 'on the table' can be the cleft constituent in SER-clefts, but they cannot be topicalized as a whole.

- (204) A *A Maria estava na praia e viu os meninos jogarem à apanhada.*
 'Maria was on the beach and she saw the boys playing tag.'
- B *Não foi nada. A Maria viu os meninos foi ganharem a corrida.*¹¹

¹¹ Mioto (2012: 291) considers this example to be ungrammatical in Brazilian Portuguese. My informants accept this sentence in an appropriate context.

No she didn't. Maria saw the boys (was) win the race.

(205) **Ganharem a corrida, a Maria viu os meninos*
win the race the Maria saw the boys

(206) a *Quero é as flores na mesa e os vasos no chão.*
want is the flowers on.the table and the vases on.the floor
'I want (is) the flowers on the table and the vases on the floor.
b **As flores na mesa, quero (-as) (-ali)*
the flowers on.the table want CL.ACC there

The fact that vP-shells can be the cleft constituent in SER-clefts, while they cannot regularly move away from their base position, indicates that the cleft constituent of SER-clefts does not move:

(207) *Pus foi o livro na prateleira.*
Put was the book on.the shelve
'I put (was) the book on the shelve.'

I will thus assume that the cleft constituent is *in situ*, following what most authors propose for these structures in Brazilian Portuguese and Spanish varieties. In the next section, I will turn to the position of the copula in these structures.

5.3.4 Conclusion

In this section, I examined whether there are indications that the cleft constituent of the cleft constructions under discussion undergo A'-movement. If focalized constituents move to a FocP, we expect cleft constituents to have some properties of A'-moved constituents. I showed that this is not the case for the cleft constituent of *it*-clefts, pseudoclefts and SER-clefts. The cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts on the other hand does undergo A'-movement.

From the data discussed here, I conclude that a focus feature does not necessarily trigger movement to a specialized FocP, be it a vP-peripheral one or a left peripheral one: some foci genuinely occupy their base position.

5.4 An alternative account for focus fronting: Topics with a focus feature

In the previous sections I argued that we cannot assume that all foci move to a left-peripheral FocP, in overt or covert syntax. Assuming that some foci move to a low FocP solves several of the problems of generalized focus movement to the left periphery, but it raises the question of how one can implement focus movement in a theory with several FocPs in a principled manner: it is not clear how syntax can choose which FocP a focalized constituent moves to, since there does not seem to be a strict correlation between types of foci and syntactic position. Additionally, the data discussed in section 5.3 indicate that focalized constituents can remain *in situ*. It thus seems to be the case that some foci undergo movement to an A'-position, and some foci do not. Since it is not clear how to implement such optional focus movement, I will explore an alternative to the hypothesis that the presence of a focus feature triggers movement to a specialized FocP: if a focalized constituent moves, it does so because of focus-independent reasons. The fact that the 'cleft constituent' in *é que*-clefts can be an NP pied-piped by relativization provides additional evidence for the idea that focus features do not trigger movement in European Portuguese, but that 'focus' movement is parasitic on other movement operations. It is standardly assumed that relativization is not triggered by focus features.

- (208) *O menino cujo pai é que está no hospital está*
 the boy whose father is that is.3S in.the hospital is.3S
para ali todo triste.
 to there all sad

'The boy whose father (is that) is in the hospital is over there, terribly sad.'

Several authors have suggested an analysis of focus fronting along these lines. Brunetti (2009) for instance argues that focus moves to the left periphery in order to

disambiguate the structure: it is well known that focus can project to the left, but not to the right.¹² If a focus is moved to the left edge of the sentence, it has nowhere to project to, and hence the focalized constituent can be identified unambiguously. Although this idea is attractive, it makes too strong predictions, since focus fronting can also occur when it is clear what the antecedent of focus is, and hence what constituent is focalized, as in the following context:

- (209) A *Foi o Superhomem que disse esta asneira?*
 ‘Was it Superman who said this stupidity?’
 B *Não, o Batman é que disse.*
 No the Batman is that said
 ‘No, Batman did.’

Zubizarreta (2014), based on Spanish, and Cable (2008), based on Hungarian, have also argued that focalized constituents do not move because of focus, but these authors do not elaborate any detailed alternative.

My hypothesis is that fronted foci should be seen as topics with a focus feature, I will hence assume that foci move to the left periphery for the same reasons as topics do in general. I will argue that fronted foci are topics from a discursive point of view, in support of the hypothesis advanced in the previous section. First of all, I will clarify what I mean by *topic*, as this term has been used to designate a variety of concepts (see Reinhart 1981, Vallduví 1993 and Roberts 2011 for an overview). I will only discuss the uses of the term that are relevant for current purposes, and I refer to the above cited authors for more details on related concepts. After clarifying terminology, I will introduce the concept of *referential control* (Reinhart 1980) in order to characterize the givenness restrictions on topics in a precise way. Finally, I will illustrate that, effectively, both topics and fronted foci are subject to the same givenness restrictions, an observation that supports the hypothesis that fronted foci are

¹² This generalization does not seem to be entirely adequate. Subject *é que*-clefts can be used to contrast the whole event:

- (i) A *Chegaste atrasado por causa do trânsito?*
 ‘Did you arrive late because of the traffic?’
 B *Não, o meu carro é que teve uma avaria.*
 ‘No, my car (is that) broke down.’

actually topics. The exact mechanisms of this movement operation will be discussed in chapter 6. In the following section, I provide evidence from discourse restrictions on topics and foci that support the hypothesis that fronted foci are topics.

5.4.1 About topics

Roughly speaking, a topic¹³ is that what the sentence is about, and is opposed to the *rheme* or the *comment*, which designates the informative portion of a sentence, or that what is said about the topic.¹⁴ However, there is no full agreement on what counts as a topic. Several criteria have been proposed, including linear order (the topic is the first constituent of a sentence, Halliday 1967), destressing (Jackendoff 1972), the centre of speaker's attention (Schachter 1973), constituent with the least communicative dynamism (Firbas 1975) and the givenness status. Reinhart (1981) shows that all of these criteria fall short of covering the empirical data, but there seems to be a general agreement that the topic of a sentence is that element which the sentence is about and that it needs to denote a "given" entity. However, the concept of Aboutness is problematic, since there is no formal definition for it. Also the givenness criterium is problematic, since topics can denote entities that are discourse-new. In order to deal with these problems, Reinhart (1981) proposes an intuitive and rather general conception of topic, based on its two main properties. On the one hand, topics link the sentence they surface in to the previous discourse, hence there is a strong tendency for them to denote given entities. However, as Reinhart shows, there are other ways of establishing a link with the previous discourse than by repeating given information. I will discuss this in more detail below. On the other hand, topics are what the sentence is about. Reinhart underlines that this is an intuitive notion and that there are no formal tests to determine what a given sentence is about, if it is about anything at all. She proposes some tests, such as embedding

¹³ The relevant notion of topic is called theme in the Prague School of functional Linguistics. See Reinhart (1981) for references.

¹⁴ Note that the discussion is restricted to **sentence** topics, and excludes discourse topics. The latter has also been called Question Under Discussion, and refers to that what the conversation is about. Although it is true that sentence topics often refer to the discourse topic, and can be used to introduce a new discourse topic or return to a previous discourse topic, both concepts are not interchangeable. See Reinhart (1981) and Roberts (2011) for a discussion.

under *as for...*, and simultaneously shows that the tests she proposes do not cover all the empirical data. The two functions of topics will be discussed separately in what follows.

The most important function of topics is to link the sentence they introduce to the previous discourse. According to Reinhart (1980), a sentence can be linked to the discourse in two ways, namely through referential linking and by means of semantic connectors. It is the former notion that is relevant for topics. The definition of referential linking below is a slightly modified version of the one that was proposed by Reinhart (1980) based on Paduceva (1974), since she only considers linking between sentences in a written text. However, in discourse, not only the information in the discourse record, i.e. that what has been said, is relevant, also the speaker's assumptions about what is on the hearer's mind are an appropriate anchor for sentences, as will become clear from the discussion of the data. Vallduví (1993) discusses the claim that topics need to be given or shared information. It is well known that this claim is too strong (see Reinhart 1981:71, Roberts 2011 a.o.), especially because it is not always clear what is meant by "given" information. He defends that Prince's (1985) definition of shared information, as "what the speaker assumes about the hearer's beliefs" is the most accurate when it comes to describing the "sharedness" status of topics. Shared information thus clearly includes that what has been said in the previous discourse, as it can be assumed to be a part of the hearer's beliefs, but it also includes what the speaker assumes to be considered true by the hearer, even though it has not been mentioned in the discourse. This view is integrated here in my conception of the common ground. In what follows, the term *common ground* refers to both the discourse record and the speaker's assumptions about the hearer's knowledge. The definition of referential linking I propose, based on Reinhart (1980), is the following:

- (210) A sentence *S* is referentially linked to the common ground if the topic of *S* is referentially controlled by an expression in the common ground.

There are several types of referential control (definitions based on Reinhart 1980: 175). Note that the link is between the referents of expressions, not between the expressions themselves:

- (211) a An expression is directly controlled by another expression when two expressions co-refer.
- b An expression is indirectly controlled when an expression contains a direct mention of a previously mentioned referent
- c An expression is implicitly controlled when an expression contains a membership relation to a class previously mentioned.

Note that the “membership relation” in (c) needs to be interpreted in a sense broader than set-membership. This relation also includes inferrables in the sense of Prince (1981):¹⁵

- (212) An inferrable is a linguistic expression for which the hearer can infer the referent based on other discourse entities through logical and plausible deduction.

(Prince 1981:236)

For instance, *roof* can be linked to *house* by virtue of the general knowledge that houses have roofs. Also note that since topics need to be referentially controlled by elements in the common ground, they will often contain given information, a fact that has repeatedly been noted.

The second main property of topics is that they have an aboutness-interpretation. As was referred above, there is no clear delimitation of the concept of ‘aboutness’, and there are also no tests that can be applied to all types of constituents that have an aboutness-interpretation. In order to deal with the aboutness problem identified by Reinhart (1981), Vallduví (1993) argues that it is logical to assume that only sentence-initial constituents can be topics. The reason for this assumption is the following: intuitively, topics direct the hearer to some element about which *subsequently* something will be said (Vallduví 1993: 41). In other words, it is intuitively illogic to first say something and only afterwards specify what you were talking about. Of course, this does not mean that all sentence-initial elements are topics. In fact, a sentence can have no topic at all, as was noted by Kuroda (1972), Gundel

¹⁵ Inferrables have also been called bridging inferences, see for instance Haviland & Clark (1974) or Gundel et al. (1993).

(1985) and Sasse (1987). In this case, all the information contained in the sentence is new, and the sentence is a *thetic* judgment. However, in case a sentence does have a topic, it will be sentence-initial. According to Vallduví (1993), topics can be seen as some sort of address under which the subsequent new info has to be stored, or a pointer to a file card in the knowledge store of the hearer (also see Reinhart 1982 and Krifka 2007: 31).¹⁶ This is parallel to what Reinhart (1981) identified to be the function of topics: they link a sentence to the common ground. The aboutness interpretation is a by-product of the function of the topic: if the information is retrieved and stored under a particular address, we get the feeling it is about this address. This view solves the vagueness problem of the concept of aboutness that Reinhart (1981) tried to deal with. The topic can be absent and there can be more than one topic. In the latter case, the information is stored under several “addresses” in the knowledge store of the hearer.

Let us see how this works by looking at a concrete example:

- (213) a What does John drink?
 b John drinks beer.

In the (b) sentence, it is asserted about John that he drinks beer. *John* is thus the topic of the sentence, and *drinks beer* is the comment.

Note that several authors, such as Reinhart (1981), would argue that not *John* but *John drinks* is the topic of the (b) sentence. This is because for them, topics are all elements that refer to the Question Under Discussion. In the little dialogue above, the Question Under Discussion is beverages that John drinks. As Roberts (2011) points out, this difference between authors is due to the fact that some authors, such as Vallduví (1993), distinguish between topics and topicality. As such, topics are always topical, but topical elements are not necessarily topics. For authors such as Reinhart (1981), on the other hand, all topical elements are topics, i.e., all elements that refer to the Question Under Discussion are topics. As such, *the book* in the second sentence of the example below will be classified as a topic by Reinhart (1981), since it refers to the Question Under Discussion:

¹⁶ Vallduví (1993) uses the less common term link instead of topic.

(214) Kracauer's book is probably the most famous ever written on the subject of the cinema. Of course, many more people are familiar with **the book's** catchy title than are acquainted with its turgid text.

(Reinhart 1981: 62)

Here, it is Vallduví's more restrictive notion of topics that will be adapted: topics are sentence-initial constituents that direct the attention of the hearer to some element about which subsequently something will be said. This explains why they often have an aboutness-flavor. Considering the topic of a sentence to be primordially a linking element, with the aboutness interpretation as a by-product, allows us to deal more easily with those topic-like elements that do not denote entities, such as adverbial phrases or adjectival phrases, which cannot be described in terms of aboutness that easily, since they do not always indicate "where" the information in the comment has to be stored, but rather how it has to be stored in relation to the previously present knowledge.

A last aspect related to topics that I wish to discuss is their relation with focus. A common assumption is that topics cannot be focalized, see for instance Rizzi (1997) and a lot of work based hereupon, or Sgall, Hajičová & Panevová (1986), von Stechow (1981) and Vallduví (1993) for instance. Other authors, such as Dahl (1974) and Krifka (1992, 2007) argue that both topics and comments can have a focus-background structure. Dahl (1974) argues that a sentence can have two distinct articulations, namely focus-presupposition and topic-comment (also see Huber 2006). The first dichotomy refers to the semantics of a sentence, while the second refers to the pragmatic meaning of a sentence. Both articulations are not entirely independent from each other but can be combined freely.¹⁷ A topic can thus be both focalized or presuppositional (or neither) and a comment can be or contain a focus and/or a presupposition. The presupposition of a sentence can also cover both the topic and a part of the comment. The interaction between the two articulations will be exemplified in the following section.

¹⁷ The articulation topic-comment articulation has an influence on the focus-presupposition articulation, in the sense that topical presuppositions cannot be accommodated, while presuppositions in the comment can. As such, topical presuppositions have to contain given information. I refer to Beaver (1994) and von Stechow (2004a, b) for a discussion.

Concluding, sentences can be headed by a topic, of which the primary function is to link the sentence to the common ground. Linking in case of topics is established through referential control. Often, and especially when the topic denotes an entity, the information introduced subsequently will be interpreted as being about the link. Finally, nothing precludes a topic from being focalized, as topic is a pragmatic notion while focus is a semantic one.

5.4.2 The cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts is a topic

As was discussed in the previous section, topic and focus are often considered to be mutually exclusive on the same constituent. However, some authors have argued that the notions of topic and focus refer to two different aspects of language, namely pragmatics and semantics respectively. As such, nothing precludes a topic from being focalized (see for instance Krifka 1992:47, 2007:34). In this section I will provide evidence for this claim: the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts is consistently referentially controlled, which unifies it with topics in the sense that it links the sentence to an element in the common ground.

Data from question-answer pairs provide evidence for the hypothesis that the cleft constituent in *é que*-clefts has to be linked to an element in the common ground: unlike the other cleft constructions, *é que*-clefts cannot easily constitute the answer to a *wh*-interrogative (Soares 2006, Vercauteren 2010a, b):

- (215) *Quem cortou a árvore?*
Who cut the tree?
a #**O João** *é que cortou a árvore.*
 The João is that cut the tree
b **Foi o João** *que cortou a árvore.*
 It was **João** that cut the tree.

If focus does nothing more than generate a set of alternatives, this pattern is unexpected: why can *é que*-cleft focus not constitute an answer to a question while *it*-cleft focus can? The answer is that the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts functions as the topic of the

sentence. By virtue of this function it needs to be related to an element that is already present in the common ground. This is evidenced by the fact that *é que*-clefts are felicitous to answer so called d-linked interrogatives, in which it is asked to identify one (or more) members from a set of previously identified alternatives. In this case, the cleft constituent is appropriately controlled by an element in the common ground, both by set-membership and co-reference:

(216) (talking about alternative forms of energy)

A *E neste momento, qual é que é mais bem visto pela população?*

‘And at this moment, which one is the most accepted by the population?’

B *Não posso dizer com certeza, mas a energia solar é que me parece mais bem vista.*

‘I cannot say with certainty, but **solar energy (is that) seems to be the most accepted.**’

É que-clefts can also answer non d-linked interrogatives if the cleft constituent is properly controlled. In the following example, a set of time intervals is identified in the discourse preceding the cleft construction. This makes the cleft constituent implicitly referentially controlled:

(217) A *Quando é que vamos visitar a avó?*

‘When are we going to visit grandmother?’

B *Vamos ver... primeiro tenho de ir ao médico buscar uma prescrição. Depois acho que é melhor irmos ao supermercado antes que feche. **E só depois é que podemos ir visitar a avó.***

‘Let’s see, first I have to go to the doctor to pick up a prescription. Then I think it is better that we go to the supermarket before it closes. **And only after that (is that) can we visit grandmother.**’

The other types of relation with the common ground are also all attested in the corpus. As such, the cleft constituent can be directly controlled by an element in the common ground.

In the next example, the cleft constituent *assim uns odres* ‘something like a water skin’ refers to an element that has been introduced in the previous sentence:

- (218) INQ1 *Mas os almocreves vinham com quê? Com machos?*
‘But the muleteers came with what? With mules?’
INF1 *Vinha com machos.*
‘They came with mules.’
INQ1 *Não vinha com carros?*
‘Didn’t they come with chariots?’
INF1 *Era com machos. Os carros não vinham cá na altura!*
‘It was with mules. Chariots didn’t come here back then!’
INF2 *Eram homens, os donos, com os odres. Ele assim uns odres é (...) que eles levavam (...) a transportar o azeite lá (...) para donde o queriam vender.* (PVC27)
‘It were men, the owners, with the water skins. **Something like a water skin (is that) they used to transport the olive oil to the place where they wanted to sell it.**’

It can also be indirectly controlled, i.e., *é que*-clefts are appropriate if the cleft constituent contains a previously mentioned expression. The speaker in the following example talks about the milk of the animals, and what they do in order to prevent the offspring to drink it all. As such, the referent for *milk* has been introduced, before the cleft constituent refers to *what is left of the milk*:

- (219) *(as crias) Andam com as mães a comer. Comer, come, com o pau, mas mamar, não mama. Agora, as ovelhas não põem isso. Deixam lá as crias à parte, à noite vêm, tiram o leite à ovelha, e depois (...) o que resta de leite é que vai para lá ele (...) escorropichar.* (ALC22)
‘(the offspring) walks with their mother to eat. It does eat, with the stick, but suckle, it does not. Now, they do not put this on the sheep. They set the offspring apart, by night they come, they milk the sheep, and then (...) **what is left of the milk (is that)(the offspring) goes there to drink up.**’

The data discussed in this section provide evidence for the claim that sentences have a two-fold articulation, as was proposed by Dahl (1974) and here. The cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts is a focalized constituent, but it also is the topic of the sentence, since it needs to be controlled by an element in the common ground.

5.4.3 The role of the focus feature for referential control

In the previous section, it became clear that the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts obeys some discourse restrictions which also apply to sentence topics, namely they have to be referentially controlled. Additionally, especially in those *é que*-clefts in which the cleft clause itself introduces new information and hence functions as the comment of the sentence, the parallels with topic-structures are clear: the cleft constituent functions as an aboutness-topic to which the cleft clause adds information. The example below illustrates this:

- (220) INQ1 *E como é que se chama isto?*
 ‘And how is this called?’
- INF *Isto aqui era o (...) Ai!*
 ‘This here was the (...) Ai!’
- INQ2 *Chambaril?*
 ‘Cambrel?’
- INF *Hum... Ele isso aqui a gente chamava um (...) Não era gancho, era... Parece que era o pernil que a gente chamava a isto. Pois.*
 ‘Hum... this here we called (...) It wasn’t hook, it was... It looks like it was the gammon that we called this. Exactly.’
- INQ1 *Chambaril não?*
 ‘Not Cambrel?’
- INF *Chambaril? Não era chamberil.*
 ‘Cambrel? It wasn’t Cambrel.’
- INQ1 *Não.*
 ‘No.’

- INF *"Traz lá o pau do pernil"! Era este pau.*
 “‘Bring the gammon stick!’ It was this stick.’
- INQ2 *O pau de pernil?*
 ‘The gammon stick?’
- INF *Rhum. Porque este pau é que era de entalar dentro dos 'pernils' das pernas do porco.* (ALC30)
 ‘Rhum. Because this stick (is that) was used to stick inside of the gammons, of the legs of the pig.’

In the example above, it is clear that the cleft clause introduces information about the cleft constituent *este pau* ‘this stick’, justifying why it is called *pau de pernil* ‘the gammon stick’. The cleft constituent refers to a stick which is the object the whole conversation is about, it is thus clearly topical.

Also for Italian Brunetti (2004) argues that fronted focus has to be d-linked, a property typical for topics. In her 2009 paper, she shows that Spanish focus fronting has the same properties as Italian focus fronting. The discourse uses she discusses for both languages are very similar to the ones we find for European Portuguese *é que*-clefts, and I will assume that they are the same.¹⁸ Similar facts have been noted for English argument preposing (see Birner and Ward 1998 and Lahousse et al. 2014: 40-43): fronting is only possible if the argument can be linked to some element in the previous discourse, independently of whether it functions as a sentence topic or a focus. Additionally, it has been noted that, in several languages, including Italian and European Portuguese (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007, Frota 2000), contrastive topics and fronted foci have the same intonation contour. This can easily be accounted for if in both patterns the same focus feature gives rise to a focus intonation at PF. Also in the semantics literature, it has repeatedly been argued that contrastive topics have the

¹⁸ Italian focus fronting differs from European Portuguese *é que*-clefting in one possible interpretation. Fronted foci in Italian can express what Bianchi (2015) calls ‘mirative focus’. *É que*-clefts cannot be used for this type of focus.

(i) *(Non posso crederci!) UN ANELLO DI DIAMANTI le ha regalato!*
 ‘(I can’t believe it!) A diamond ring he gave her!’

(Bianchi 2015: 62)

(ii) *Não acredito! #Um anel de diamante é que ele deu à sua namorada!*
 ‘I can’t believe it! #A diamond ring (is that) he gave to his girlfriend!’

same alternative semantics as focus (Büring 1997, 2003; Krifka 2007; Steedman 2008; Constant 2012).

If we add these observations to the facts discussed in the previous section, we can hypothesise that focus fronting is actually an instance of topicalization of a constituent with a focus feature.

A first piece of evidence supporting the claim that fronted foci are topics with a focus feature is the fact that, on a par with topics, fronted foci generally do not contain new information. Both types of constituents need to be referentially controlled, so they often co-refer with an element in the Common Ground. This also explains why fronted foci are often overtly contrastive: as Krifka (1992) points out, foci that co-refer with an element in the immediate context have to be contrastive:

- (221) a *John and Mary came in. JOHN kissed Mary.
 b John kissed Mary, and then MARY kissed JOHN.

(Krifka 1992: 37)

This is predicted by the semantics for focus assumed here: recall that the interpretation of focus is determined by its discourse antecedent: if it is a *wh*-constituent, it will be interpreted as information focus, if it is a referential constituent, it will be interpreted contrastively. Since the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts has to be referentially controlled, it will have a contrastive interpretation.

The cleft constituent of *it*-clefts, pseudoclefts and SER-clefts on the other hand is not necessarily referentially controlled, it can be entirely new in the discourse context. It can thus easily be a focus that does not co-refer with anything, and hence get a non-contrastive new information focus interpretation. I leave the exact interaction between types of referential control and contrast for future research.

In spite of its initial attractiveness, data as the following suggest that the hypothesis that focus fronting is an instance of topicalization is incorrect. As is well known, topics cannot be negative constituents, nor bare quantifiers or *only*, *even* or *also*-phrases. When these constituents are fronted, focus is obligatory:

- (222) a *Nothing worrying, Superman said to Catwoman.
 b *Someone/everyone, Superman kissed.
 c *Only/even/also the cake, Superman shared with Catwoman.

The inadequacy of fronting these constituents without focus intonation can be easily accounted for, considering that topics link sentences to the previous discourse (Reinhart 1981, Vallduví 1993), and that linking is established through referential control (Reinhart 1980). Since negative constituents do not refer to anything (von Heusinger 2011: 1031), the only way of making them appropriate topics is by focalizing them.¹⁹ In this case, they gain a contrastive interpretation, and are interpreted as a member of a set of alternatives (Rooth 1992). Set-membership, as was defined in ((211)c), is a felicitous way of establishing referential control and licensing a topic.

The idea that focus has an influence on the specificity/referentiality of DPs has also been discussed by Szabolcsi (1981), Wedgwood (2005) and É. Kiss (2010) a.o. It is standardly assumed that numerical modifiers do not mean ‘exactly *n*’ but rather ‘at least *n*’.²⁰ For instance, the sentence below is also true if John brought up three or four children:

- (223) John brought up two children.

When these numerals modify an NP, the NP is non-specific. However, when NPs modified by a numeral are focalized, the only possible interpretation is at its face value. The sentence below is only true if John brought up exactly two children, not if he brought up 3 or more children. Hence, focus forces a more ‘specific’ reading.

¹⁹ Also see Molnár & Winkler (2010) for the role of contrast for discourse cohesion. Based on Szabolcsi’s (1983) observation that contrast is a means of individuation, É. Kiss (2007: 73) argues that non-specific constituents can be made referential by means of contrast, and since referentiality is a prerequisite for topicalization, contrast on non-specific topics is obligatory. Leonetti (2010) also notes the relation between contrast and non-referentiality: he shows that topicalized constituents that cannot easily receive an aboutness-interpretation, such as non-specific indefinites, quantifiers, bare nominals, adjectival predicates etc., must have a contrastive reading. See also Gécseg & Kiefer (2009) for Hungarian topics, Kuno (1972) for Japanese topics and Arregi (2003) for Spanish topics.

²⁰ Note that this is the same meaning as the meaning of indefinite DPs in Heim (2011).

(224) TWO CHILDREN John brought up.

As for the *only/even/also*-phrases, another explanation is needed. As is well known, these adverbs are focus operators,²¹ which means that they need a focalized constituent in their c-command domain (Tancredi's 1990 Principle of Lexical Association). This makes that focalization on the XP they modify is obligatory when they are fronted.²²

In conclusion, there seem to be no reasons to assume that focalization and topicalization are mutually exclusive. Rather, it seems to be the case that fronted foci can be treated as topics with a focus feature. That topics can be focalized has also been claimed by Dahl (1974) and Krifka (1992, 2007). Authier & Haegeman (2015) claim that French topicalized PPs are endowed with a morphosyntactic focus feature.

An extra advantage of this account is that we can explain some of the non-standard properties of European Portuguese *é que*-clefts. Recall that for some speakers, the cleft constituent can be null.²³ Crucially, topics have the same property: they do not need to be present, in case it is clear where the new information in the comment needs to be stored, or when the sentence is not 'about' anything, as is the case forthetic sentences (Vallduví 1993). Indeed, for *é que*-clefts, in case the cleft constituent is null, the comment is consistently about a salient entity. In the example below, the topic *morcela* 'black pudding' is introduced, subsequently all the steps needed for their confection are described in chronological order. The cleft clause of the *é que*-cleft describes the last step in the confection, and the null cleft constituent clearly has a temporal interpretation.

²¹ Beck (2006) does not treat these adverbs as focus operators but argues that they have to stay in the scope of a focus operator. Additionally, the focus operator consistently sits in a left-peripheral position. This is tangential to our discussion.

²² The focus operator *even* is able to associate with a focus that is not in its scope, contrary to *only*:

(i) JOHN even gave his daughter a new bicycle.

(Jackendoff, 1972, p. 248)

According to Erlewine (2014), this is because *even* is able to associate with a lower copy of the moved focus constituent, while *only* cannot do this. I refer to the paper for details.

²³ This phenomenon is quite widespread: there are 73 occurrences in the corpus examined (on a total of 1409), from 26 localities (out of 42).

- (225) *E a morcela, a gente vem para dentro, vão amarrando as morcelinhas à maneira que querem, assim em ponto pequeno, e Ø é que são cozidas.* (PIC29)
 ‘And the black pudding_i, we come inside, we tie the black pudding together the way they want it, to make small ones, and Ø_i (is that) are cooked.’

Second, topics can be recursive, in case the comment concerns more than one entity. Some speakers accept a recursive cleft constituent in *é que*-clefts, with each cleft constituent followed by *é que*:

- (226) *A gente é que lá é que fazia as*
 the people is that there is that made the
cangas para a gente. (FLF68)
 yokes for the people
 ‘Those people, there, they made the yokes for us.’

If fronted foci can indeed be viewed as topics with a focus feature, then the reason why topics and foci move to the left periphery is uniformly because of their topic-status, and never because of a focus feature they may carry. This hypothesis also explains why sometimes foci move and sometimes they do not. Recall that it was argued that *in situ* focus does not move, neither overtly nor covertly, and that, as such, the presence of a focus feature cannot be regarded as the trigger for movement of focalized constituents.

5.5 Summary

In this chapter, I evaluated the hypothesis that focalized constituents occupy a dedicated FocP. I argued that assuming that all focalized constituents move to a FocP makes wrong predictions. More specifically, *in situ* focus does not exhibit the same WCO effects and island sensitivity as fronted focus, and it can occur in contexts blocking focus fronting. As such, it is very unlikely that *in situ* focus covertly moves to the same position as fronted focus. We could assume that *in situ* focus moves to a low FocP, but in this case we need a principled

account for the choice of FocP a focalized constituent moves to. Providing such an account is problematic given that both *in situ* and fronted foci can be contrastive or new information focus. As an alternative, we could assume that focus features do not trigger movement, at least not in European Portuguese. Based on this assumption, I advanced the hypothesis that fronted foci are topics with a focus feature.

On a par with Reinhart (1981), I assume that the primordial function of topics is to link the sentence they introduce to the previous discourse. As such, they need to be referentially controlled by an element in the common ground. Their aboutness interpretation is a by-product of this function (Vallduví 1993). I showed that the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts has to be referentially controlled by an element in the common ground, on a par with plain topics. Additionally, the fact that the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts is consistently focalized indicates that topics can be focalized, as was argued by Dahl (1974) and Krifka (1992, 2007) a.o. Finally, I showed that the well-known differences between non-focalized topics and fronted foci can be accounted for given that the presence of focus permits non-referential constituents to be referentially controlled. As such, I will maintain the hypothesis that focus does not move because of a focus feature. If a focalized constituent moves, it will do so for focus-independent reasons. As such, fronted foci move to the left periphery of the clause because they are topics and thus undergo movement to the left periphery of the clause for the same reasons plain topics do. In the next chapter, I will turn to the implications of this alternative account for focus movement, and show that several of the properties of left peripheral foci can be accounted for in terms of intervention.

6 The role of intervention for ‘focus movement’

In the previous chapter I argued that focalized constituents do not move because of a focus feature (also see Costa & Figueiredo da Silva 2006, Wagner 2009 a.o.). As such, it does not make much sense to assume that focalized constituents move to a FocP, since it is generally assumed that the feature triggering movement and the feature determining the landing place are the same. Arguing that movement triggered by a topic feature targets a FocP even goes against the foundations of criterial cartography: movement is triggered by the need to check certain features in a Spec-Head relation. Especially if we assume that the probe of movement provides the label of a syntactic projection (see Cecchetto & Donati 2015, Citko 2008)¹, we cannot maintain that fronted foci target a FocP. Hence, I will follow standard theory, and assume that the landing place of movement is determined by the feature triggering it. In case of fronted foci, a topic feature triggers movement to a TopP.²

Since I am arguing that fronted foci target a TopP, several aspects of the traditional account for focus fronting are lost. Based on the syntactic and interpretative differences between topics and fronted foci in Italian, Rizzi (1997) argued that both types of constituents target different positions in the left periphery of the clause, TopP and FocP respectively. Each projection encodes a particular interpretation. Based on ordering restrictions, Rizzi (2001b) arrives upon the following articulated left periphery:³

- (1) ForceP >TopP* >IntP >TopP* >FocP >TopP* >FinP >TP

(Rizzi 2001b: 297)

¹ This corresponds to Chomsky’s (2012) labelling by a ‘common prominent feature’. For a discussion of potential problems of this implementation of labelling, see Vercauteren (*submitted*).

² This is not intended to be a cross-linguistically valid claim. I only argue that focus fronting in the languages under discussion does not target a FocP. On the cross-linguistic variation concerning focus movement, see chapter 8.

³ The * indicates that the TopP is recursive. Based on work by Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007) and Bianchi & Frascarelli (2010), Rizzi (2012) suggests that topics are not freely recursive, and that the final ordering of topics is determined by Relativized Minimality.

The template for the left periphery straightforwardly accounts for the fact that left-peripheral focus is not recursive, unlike topicalization.⁴ Given the hypothesis that fronted foci are topics with a focus feature, the prediction gets lost: if fronted foci are topics and topics are recursive, why can't there be more than one fronted focus in the left periphery of the clause? Additionally, the template accounts for well-known ordering restrictions in the left periphery. If fronted foci target a TopP, they are expected to be able to surface in several positions, while this is not the case.

The solution to these issues lies in the role of Relativized Minimality. Abels (2012) argues that the unicity of left peripheral focus can be accounted for by making reference to intervention effects only, it is not necessary to postulate a unique landing site for fronted foci (see section 6.2). The same goes for the observed ordering restrictions: they can be accounted for by making reference to Relativized Minimality. Also Haegeman (2012) argues and illustrates extensively that movement operations of constituents with quantificational features, such as focus features (Rizzi 2004), are restricted by Relativized Minimality. An intervention account can thus explain why focus fronting is not recursive, even if the landing site of focus fronting is recursive, and it can also explain why there are ordering restrictions in the left periphery.

Under the present hypothesis, a topic feature will trigger movement of a focalized constituent to a left peripheral TopP. However, other features can be pied-piped by movement operations (Starke 2001, Cable 2008, 2010, Erlewine & Kotek 2014), and cause or alleviate intervention effects. For present purposes, a focus feature pied-piped by topicalization can cause intervention effects. A similar account has been proposed for *wh*-movement: *wh*-constituents move to the left periphery because they need to check a *wh*-feature, which causes intervention with, among others, other *wh*-constituents. This is the well-known weak island effect:

- (2) *What_{wh} do you wonder how_{wh} to solve t_{wh}?

⁴ According to Frascarelli & Ramaglia (2009, 2013) there are two left peripheral FocPs, one for contrastive focus and one for information focus.

The weak-island effect can be alleviated if the *wh*-constituent extracted from the island has an additional feature that is pied-piped by the *wh*-feature. This is the case for d-linked *wh*-constituents, which have been argued to have a d-linking feature δ (in the sense of Haegeman 2012) or a specificity feature (Starke 2001):

- (3) [Which problem]_{wh+ δ} do you wonder how_{wh} to solve t_{wh+ δ} ?

In section 6.2, I will spell out how the focus feature pied-piped by topicalization gives rise to intervention with other quantificational constituents.

Note that the account outlined here straightforwardly captures the observation that there does not seem to be a strict correlation between interpretation and syntactic properties. For instance, Benincà & Polletto (2004) have argued in favour of analyzing fronting in terms of syntactic topicalization versus syntactic focalization. These fronting operations are not necessarily distinguished by the interpretational properties of the fronted constituent, but rather by their syntactic properties: unlike topicalization, syntactic focalization has quantificational properties such as WCO, non-recursivity and incompatibility with *wh*-movement. Also work by Haegeman (2006, 2010, 2012) indicates that what is really relevant for the syntax of left peripheral constituents is not necessarily the interpretation of left-peripheral constituent, but rather the presence of quantificational properties. For instance, English argument fronting uniformly gives rise to intervention with other quantificational elements, independently of their topic or focus interpretation. This idea is also present in Rizzi's (1997) seminal work, which is at the basis of the articulated left periphery. Based on several properties of clitic left dislocation and focus fronting, Rizzi concludes that focus fronting is quantificational, while clitic left dislocation is not.

In what follows I will explore the idea that not the interpretation of fronted constituents but their quantificational properties are crucial for the derivation of the left periphery: constituents with quantificational features give rise to intervention effects,

restraining movement operations (Starke 2001, Rizzi 2004, Haegeman 2012).⁵ Additionally, specificity features can alleviate these intervention effects (Starke 2001).

This section is organized as follows: first I will discuss the role of quantification, and show that several fronting operations exhibit the same quantificational properties, independently of their topic or focus interpretation. Then I turn to the syntactic intervention account for the derivation of the left peripheral hierarchy. I will adapt and elaborate Haegeman's (2012) system of featural Relativized Minimality to derive the patterns, see also Abels (2012) who independently developed a similar approach. Finally, two different aspects of focus fronting related to intervention will be discussed: the lack of recursivity and intervention with other (non-focal) movement operations. Additionally, I will briefly discuss the role of what has been called semantic intervention (Beck 2006), and argue that this interface requirement rules out some of the ungrammatical patterns concerning left peripheral focus.

6.1 Doubling and quantification

Based on the following properties of clitic left dislocation (CLLD) and focus fronting in Italian, Rizzi (1997) concluded that focus fronting is quantificational, while CLLD is not: (i) topics are clitic doubled while foci are not (4); (ii) topics are recursive while fronted foci are not (5); (iii) fronted focus gives rise to WCO while topics do not (6); (iv) bare quantificational elements can be focus fronted but not topicalized (7) and (v) *wh*-operators in main questions are only compatible with topics (in the fixed order topic-*wh*), not with fronted foci (8). These properties are illustrated below (all examples are from Rizzi 1997: 290-291). Based on these observations, and on his earlier work on the role of quantification in determining A'-dependencies (Rizzi 1992, see also Lasnik & Stowell 1991), Rizzi (1997) proposes that focus is quantificational while topics are not. Focus binds a variable in its base position, while topics bind a clitic or, in languages lacking clitics, such as English, a null

⁵ In what follows, 'quantification' is not to be interpreted as a separate feature, but as an abstraction of a series of features. Possibly, all of the features that have been included in the class of quantificational features (Rizzi 2004) can actually be broken into even smaller features, one of which will be the relevant feature causing intervention.

constant. The type of element bound by the fronted constituent seems thus to be crucial when it comes to these quantificational properties.

- (4) A *Il tuo libro, lo ho comprato.*
 B **IL TUO LIBRO lo ho comprato.*
 the your book CL have bought
- (5) A *Il libro, a Gianni, domani, glielo darò senz'altro.*
 'The book, to Gianni, tomorrow, I'll give it to him for sure.'
 B **A GIANNI IL LIBRO darò (non a Piero, l'articolo)*
 TO GIANNI THE BOOK will give (not to Piero the article)
- (6) A *Gianni_i, sua_i madre lo_i ha sempre apprezzato.*
 'Gianni_i, his_i mother CL_i has always appreciated'
 B *?? GIANNI_i, sua_i madre ha sempre apprezzato.*
 GIANNI_i, his_i mother has always appreciated
- (7) A **Nessuno, lo ho visto.*
 Noone CL have seen
 B *NESSUNO ho visto.*
 NOONE have seen
- (8) A *A Gianni, che cosa gli hai detto?*
 'To Gianni, what did you tell him?'
 B **A GIANNI che cosa hai detto?*
 to Gianni waht have said

As mentioned above, Benincà & Polletto (2004) and Haegeman (2012) a.o. observed that the quantificational properties of Italian fronted foci are not limited to foci, but characterize several fronting operations, independently of interpretation. Additionally, as was described in great detail by Haegeman (2012), all fronting operations involving quantification exhibit similar intervention effects: they are restricted in some embedded contexts, they are

not recursive (although there is speaker variation, see below) and often mutually exclusive. Quantification seems thus to play a crucial role when it comes to movement to the left periphery. Putting this together with Rizzi's (1997) insight, we expect quantificational properties to arise in those constructions in which the fronted constituent does not bind a clitic.

In the rest of this section, I will show that effectively, many of the syntactic differences between topics and fronted foci described by Rizzi (1997) for Italian are amenable to the fact that in this language, topics need to be clitic doubled (when a corresponding clitic is available) while foci do not need such a doubling element. The presence of a doubling element apparently cancels quantificational properties. Other fronting operations without doubling pattern like focus fronting, independently of their interpretation. The properties to be discussed are recursivity, WCO and compatibility with *wh*-constituents. Additionally, I will discuss embedding restrictions.

First of all, it has to be noted that, in general, topics are not obligatorily clitic doubled, neither are fronted foci obligatorily related to an empty position, not even in Italian. Cardinaletti (2009) describes in great detail a structure first identified by Cinque (1990), called Resumptive Preposing.⁶ Crucially, it shares the syntactic properties with fronted foci (incompatibility with *wh*-movement, non-recursivity, no doubling etc.), but it lacks the typical contrastive focus interpretation and is only licensed in very particular contexts: it needs an overt discourse antecedent with which it co-refers, or with which it can be inferentially linked. Based on the observation that similar discourse restrictions exist on clitic left dislocation (topicalization in Rizzi 1997), Cardinaletti (2009) argues that Resumptive Preposing is an instance of topicalization, and that the main difference with CLLD is one of register: Resumptive Preposing belongs to a more formal, written register than CLLD. An example is given below:

- (9) *Fece loro la proposta di assumere un
made.3s to.them the proposal of taking.on a
nuovo usciere. Tale proposta discusse poi [-] con*

⁶ This term is taken from Cardinaletti (2009). It is not clear to me why the fronting strategy is called resumptive preposing, as there is no resumptive pronoun.

new porter this proposal discussed.3s then [-] with
lo stesso direttore.

the director himself.

‘He made the proposal to them of taking on a new porter. This proposal he discussed then with the director himself.’

(Cardinaletti 2009: 3)

Also in European Portuguese, topics do not need to be clitic doubled (although they can be). When they are not, they share several properties with Italian fronted foci and with Resumptive Preposing, such as parasitic gap-licensing. I refer to Duarte (1987, 2013) for a detailed discussion of all the properties of this type of topics. An example is given below:

- (10) *A essa conferência, confesso que não assisti [-].*
to this conference confess.1s that not assisted.1s
‘That conference, I confess I didn’t attend.’

(Duarte 2013: 416)

Finally, in English, topics and fronted foci have very similar formal properties, and used to be referred to by the general term ‘argument fronting’: independently of the presence of a focus prosody and interpretation, English argument fronting gives rise to intervention effects in contexts with *wh*-movement (11); fronted arguments are related to an empty position, and they are not recursive (12) (see Haegeman 2010, 2012 and related work):⁷

⁷ Recursivity improves if only the second fronted argument is focalized:

- (i) This book TO ROBIN I gave. (Culicover 1991a: 36, (117a))
(ii) *TO ROBIN this book I gave.

It might be the case that this pattern is not due to any syntactic properties, but rather to a pragmatic requirement on topicalization. As É. Kiss (2005: 1) points out, ‘[a constituent] can only be topicalized if another constituent assumes the role of information focus.’ In other words, a constituent can only be topicalized if a constituent to its right makes the comment ‘heavy’ enough. This is the case in (i), but not in (ii). Also in the following sentence, a recursive topic is perfectly acceptable. Note that it has a focalized subject and a negative element in the comment, which makes it ‘heavy’ enough:

- (iii) To Mary, such a book even JOHN would never give.

(Van der Wurff 2007: 35)

I refer to É. Kiss (2005) and Frota & Vigário (1996) for evidence that topicalization is effectively restricted in such a manner.

- (11) a *I asked what, to Lee, Robin gave.
 b *Lee forgot which dishes, on the table, you are going to put.
 (Haegeman 2012: 57, taken from Culicover 1991)

- (12) a *This book_i, to Robin_j, I gave t_i t_j. (Culicover 1991a: 36, (117a))
 b *Bill_i, that house_j, she took t_i to t_j for the weekend. (Emonds 2004: 95
 (27b))
 (Haegeman 2012:54)

As is clear from the data discussed here, topicalization is not necessarily indicated by doubling.

On the other hand, although fronted focus often is not accompanied by a doubling element, it sometimes is found to be doubled by an element in TP. First of all, Bocci (2004) discusses some cases in which left-dislocated elements doubled by a clitic have the same specific prosodic and intonational properties as fronted foci:

- (13) A *Ha detto che il tappeto l'ha comprato l'anno scorso.*
 '[S/he] has said that the carpet [s/he] it-has bought last year'
 B *No, ti sbagli. Ha detto che LA POLTRONA l'ha comprata l'anno scorso*
(non il tappeto)!
 'No, you are wrong. [S/he] has said that THE ARMCHAIR [s/he] it-has
 bought last year (, not the carpet)!'
 (Bocci 2004: 1)

Also, if we are correct in assuming that cleft constituents always have a focus feature, it is clear that foci can be doubled by a (clitic) pronoun as shown in (14) and (15) below. It

follows that the presence or absence of a doubling element says nothing about the presence or absence of focalization.⁸

- (14) *É esse que a gente lhe*
 be.1SG.PRES this that the people CL.3SG.DAT
chama o galego de Borba (...) (SRP24)
 call.3SG.PRES the Galician of Borba
 ‘It’s this one that we call the Borba Galician.’

- (15) *À minha mãe é que ninguém a*
 to.the my mother be.3SG.PRES that nobody CL.3SG.ACC
apanhava a fazer carvão. (UNS42)
 catch.3SG.IMPERF to make charcoal
 ‘My mother (is that) nobody used to catch (her) making charcoal.’

Given that non-doubled topics often have the same syntactic properties as fronted foci, as is the case for English topicalization and Italian Resumptive Preposing, we need to ask ourselves exactly which properties are due to the presence of focus and which ones can be reduced to the presence of a doubling element. In what follows, I will argue that recursivity, WCO, compatibility with *wh*-constituents and embedding restrictions are not necessarily related to a topic or focus interpretation, but rather to the presence or absence of a doubling element, which cancels quantificational properties. In the remaining of this section I will not deal with left-peripheral adjuncts. These constituents will be dealt with in the next section.

⁸ Doubling seems to be related to the specificity of dislocated constituents, since non-specific constituents cannot be clitic doubled:

- (i) **Alguém, o Superhomem ajudou-o.*
 someone the Superman helped-CL

This is corroborated by the fact that my informants of standard European Portuguese find doubling of the cleft constituent much more acceptable if the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts is extracted from a weak island. As will be discussed below, specificity mitigates intervention effects with weak islands.

6.1.1 Recursivity

As noted above, topicalization is not recursive in English (although there is a lot of variation, see Haegeman 2012: 11-12), which provides evidence that the ban on recursivity is not necessarily related to the interpretation of the fronted constituent, but could be due to the lack of doubling.

(16) *This book_i, to Robin_j, I gave t_i t_j. (Culicover 1991a: 36, (177a)).

However, in European Portuguese, non-doubled topicalization is recursive:

(17) *Ao João, sobre esse assunto, ainda não desisti de falar [-] [-].*

‘To John, about this issue, I still didn’t give up talking.’

(Duarte 2013: 418)

Note however that things might be obscured by the fact that, unlike English, European Portuguese allows for null objects:

(18) *Tirei os óculos da gaveta e pus [] no bolso.*

‘I took the glasses out of the drawer and put [-] in my pocket.’

(Costa & Lobo 2006: 286)

It could be the case that the sentence with a recursive non-doubled topic is actually an instance of CLLD with omission of a doubling clitic in object position.⁹ The idea that (some) non-doubled topics are actually CLLD topics with a null clitic, is corroborated by the fact that they can occur in contexts with *wh*-movement and that they do not show WCO, on a par with CLLD:

⁹ See Raposo (1998) for similar claims concerning topicalization and null objects in Portuguese.

(19) *Esse artigo, quem é que ainda não leu [-]?*

‘This article, who hasn’t read [-] yet?’

(Duarte 2013: 418)

(20) *O João_i, a sua_i mãe ama do fundo do coração.*

‘John_i, his_i mother loves from the bottom of her hart.’

It has also been noted that null objects are licensed in contexts very similar to those where topicalization occurs, which has even led some authors to propose that null objects are elided topics (Raposo 1986). Given the additional complication that the existence of null objects in European Portuguese poses on determining the exact role of doubling elements, I will not consider these data to be a counterexample to the claim that the possibility of recursivity does not necessarily correlate with the interpretation of the fronted constituents, but rather with the presence of a doubling element.¹⁰

In summary, recursivity does not correlate entirely with the topic-focus distinction. The data seem to indicate that left peripheral focus is not recursive (see (5)) and that the recursivity of topicalization is related to the presence of a doubling element, with the additional complication of European Portuguese, a language in which non-doubled fronting is recursive, but that also allows null objects, which obscures the facts.

6.1.2 WCO

A second property that distinguishes CLLD from fronted foci but that can be reduced to doubling is WCO. As Rizzi (1997) observed, WCO is not present with Italian CLLD:

¹⁰ Concerning the recursivity of focus, I have mentioned that the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts can be recursive in some non-standard varieties of European Portuguese, without any doubling elements in the base position of the cleft constituents. Nevertheless, since it is not clear if both cleft constituents are foci or rather a focus and a topic, I will not consider these structures as absolute counterevidence for the idea that left-peripheral focus is not recursive. Given that the unicity of left-peripheral focus also has been reported for typologically unrelated languages, such as Gungbe (Aboh 2004), I will assume that left peripheral focus is not recursive.

(21) *Gianni_i, sua_i madre lo_i ha sempre apprezzato.*
Gianni_i, his_i mother CL_i has always appreciated

(22) ?? *GIANNI_i sua_i madre ha sempre apprezzato.*
GIANNI_i his_i mother has always appreciated

In section 5.1.1 it became clear that the WCO effects associated with *in situ* focus are not WCO effects but rather illustrate that focus is context sensitive. We thus need to check whether the difference in acceptability between the two following examples are really because focus fronting gives rise to WCO or because focus is context-sensitive:

(23) a John_i, I believe his_i mother really loves.
b ??JOHN_i I believe his_i mother really loves.

When we insert the (b) example in a context in which we can exclude that the sentence is inappropriate because of the lack of a proper discourse antecedent for focus, it continues to be marginal, hence we can be sure that there is effectively a WCO effect when focus is fronted:

(24) A John's and Bill's mother really love their children.
B I don't think so. I saw Bill's mother yelling at him the other day. ?? Only JOHN_i do I believe his_i mother loves.

(Andrew Weir, p.c.)

Several generalizations concerning WCO have been formulated (see Falco 2007 for an overview). Based on different types of *wh*-elements in WCO configurations, Falco (2007) convincingly argues that WCO only arises with non-specific *wh*-elements. In order to account for this dichotomy, he adopts Rizzi's (2001) analysis of weak island extraction, based on reconstruction. Rizzi (2001b) shows that the crucial difference between specific and non-specific *wh*-elements is that the restriction of the former does not reconstruct (see also

Pesetsky 1987, Heim 1987, Beck 2006 and Eckhardt 2007).¹¹ A sentence such as (25)a, taken from Falco (2007: 6), has the (simplified) LF representation in (25)b. The restriction of non-specific *wh*-elements does reconstruct, as in (26)b (see also Cinque 1990). *Wh*-elements without a restriction are interpreted in the left periphery of the clause (also see Pesetsky 2000).

- (25) a [Which stories about Diana_i]_j did she_i most object to t_j?
 b LF: which stories about Diana did she most object to

- (26) a *[How many stories about Diana_i]_j is she_i likely to invent t_j?
 b LF: how many is she likely to invent stories about Diana

(25)a is felicitous because in LF, there is an element with adequate grammatical features (arguably the relevant features for binding are ϕ -features) c-commanding the pronoun, hence binding is possible. In (26)a on the other hand, the restriction has reconstructed to its base position, hence no element with the necessary grammatical features c-commands the pronoun and binding fails. Also, the configuration in LF is a violation of Principle C, since the pronoun binds the R-expression *Diana*. *Wh*-elements without a restriction lack the necessary features to bind the pronoun, hence, even though they occupy a position from which binding is possible, they cannot bind anything. What seems to be crucial here is thus the position in LF of the element containing ϕ -features (see Cecchetto 2000 and Bocci 2004 for similar insights).

I will not discuss WCO in detail here, since that would lead us too far. My main point is that whether there is WCO or not depends on where the dislocated phrase is interpreted in LF (also see Fox 1999 on condition C). It is generally known that topics reconstruct differently from fronted foci. It has been argued that fronted foci reconstruct to their first

¹¹ The data discussed by Fox (1999) show that things are more complicated. Even specific *wh*-constituents can reconstruct, and sometimes must reconstruct. For example, in the sentence below, there is reconstruction for scope reasons: *usually* needs to bind a variable. As is clear, this obligatory reconstruction has effects on principle C:

- (i) *Which language spoken in a country a linguist_i comes from did you say that he_i usually knows?

(Fox 1999: 178)

merge position while topics reconstruct to the vP edge (Zubizarreta 1998, Cecchetto 2000, Heycock & Kroch 2002, López 2009).¹² This is clear from the fact that even a postverbal subject can bind a fronted focus, while it cannot bind a clitic left dislocated topic:

- (27) **El seu_i fill haurà d'acompanyar-lo cada mare_i*
 the her child must.FUT.3SG of accompany-CL every mother
el primer dia d'escola.
 the first day of-school

(López 2009 :116)

- (28) *El seu_i FILL haurà d'acompanyar cada mare_i el*
 the her child must.FUT.3SG of accompany every mother the
primer dia d'escola.
 first day of-school

‘Each mother must accompany her child to the first day of school.’

(López 2009:118)

¹² Cecchetto (2000) argues that clitic left dislocated constituents reconstruct to an intermediate position, located between the position for preverbal and postverbal subjects, based on the following contrast (see also Zubizarreta 1998 for Spanish):

- (i) *L'opera prima di [uno scrittore]_i la scrive sempre lui_i*
 the first work of a writer it writes always he
 ‘The first work of a writer is always written by the writer himself’
 (ii) *??L'opera prima di uno scrittore_v, lui_i la scrive sempre volentieri.*
 ‘The first work of a writer, he writes it always with pleasure.’

However, if CLLD always reconstructs to this position, it is not clear why the sentence in (iii) is perfectly grammatical: there should be a principle-C violation:

- (iii) *Mario_v, i suoi_i genitori non lo vedono mai.*
 Mario the his parents not CL see more
 LF: his parents not see more Mario

It might be the case that only a part of the CLLD topic reconstructs, on a par with wh-elements. Data such as the following indicate that this might effectively be the case. Only in the second sentence is the topicalized NPI licensed, and crucially the NPI is a part of the ‘restriction’ of the topic:

- (iv) *I bought lots of text books, but any novels, I didn’t buy.
 (v) We found various doctors, but a doctor who knew anything about acupuncture, we couldn’t find.

However, the difference in reconstruction patterns might be due to the presence of the doubling clitic, and not because of the topic-focus dichotomy. For instance, contrastively focalized left dislocated constituents do not show any WCO effects (Bocci 2004), indicating that the presence of a doubling clitic correlates with the lack of complete reconstruction, independently of focus.

- (29) A *Mario_i, i suoi_i genitori non lo vedono mai.*
 ‘Mario_i, his_i parents do not ever see him.’
- B *Sbagli, GIANNI_i i suoi_i genitori non **lo** vedono mai (, non Mario!).*
 ‘You’re wrong, Gianni_i his_i parents never see him anymore (not Mario)!’

(Bocci 2004: 6)

The following minimal pair indicates clearly that WCO depends on the doubling clitic, since both continuations have exactly the same interpretation (Ciro Greco, p.c.):

- (30) *Dopo l’incendio, portarono un bambino all’accampamento.*
 ‘After the fire, they brought a child to the camp.’
- a *?Lo stesso bambino_i sua_i madre lo potè abbracciare e assicurarsi che stesse bene.*
 the same child_i his_i mother CL could hug and ascertain that he was ok.
- b **Lo stesso bambino_i sua_i madre potè abbracciare e assicurarsi che stesse bene.*
 the same child_i his_i mother could hug and ascertain that he was ok

It thus seems to be the case that WCO correlates with whether there is clitic doubling or not rather than with the topic-focus distinction. However, this does not explain the pattern observed in English, a language for which a difference between topicalization and focus fronting is reported. Note that not all English speakers accept a bound reading with

topicalization, as in (23).¹³ Further research is needed in order to understand the apparent cross-linguistic differences concerning WCO. This is not relevant for current purposes, what is relevant is that the presence of WCO does not correlate with the presence of focus. What seems to be the relevant factor is the LF position of the constituents in a binding configuration. However, it is far from clear how reconstruction works. It seems that doubled elements do not reconstruct to their base position (also see Li 2000), while non-doubled elements (at least if we look at cross-linguistic data) sometimes reconstruct to their base position and sometimes not (as would be the case for English).

6.1.3 Compatibility with *wh*-operators

Another difference between CLLD and fronted foci that lies at the basis of the idea that topicalization and focus fronting are mutually exclusive is the fact that only the former can co-occur with a *wh*-operator in main questions, in a fixed order. The relevant data are repeated below:

(31) *A Gianni, che cosa gli hai detto?*
 ‘To Gianni, what did you tell him?’

(32) **A GIANNI che cosa hai detto?*
 TO GIANNI what has said

Haegeman (2012 and related work) notes that this generalization does not apply to English. In general, argument fronting is not compatible with a *wh*-operator in the left periphery, independently of the interpretation:

¹³ The European Portuguese equivalent of (60) is grammatical under the bound reading:

(i) *O João_i, a sua_i mãe realmente ama.*
 the João_i the his_i mother really loves

However, as pointed out above, it could be the case that there is a null clitic doubling the topic, and as such we expect the same pattern as in CLLD constructions.

- (33) a *The book to whom did you give? (Baltin 1982)
 b *Robin knows where, the birdseed, you are going to put. (Culicover 1991)

(Haegeman 2012: 134-135)

It has to be noted that there is a lot of variation in the judgments concerning these structures, arguably related to the degree of d-linkedness of the *wh*-constituent. I refer to Haegeman (2012: 134-135) for a discussion.

Haegeman (2012) argues that this asymmetry between Romance and English is due to the doubling element: only clitic doubled topics can co-occur with a *wh*-constituent. This generalization is corroborated by additional data. Italian Resumptive Preposing, a topicalization strategy (Cardinaletti 2009), is also not compatible with *wh*-movement:

- (34) a ... *e questo disse anche il Sottosegretario.*
 ‘... and this said also the Vice Minister’
 b *... *e la stessa cosa a chi disse suo figlio?*
 ... and the same thing to whom said his son

(Cardinaletti 2009)

I will thus follow Haegeman (2012) and assume that the incompatibility of fronting with *wh*-movement in interrogatives depends mainly on whether there is a doubling element.

6.1.4 Embedding restrictions

A last difference between CLLD and fronted foci that can be explained by making reference to the doubling element, are some embedding restrictions. This issue has been discussed in great detail by Haegeman (2003, 2006, 2012 and related work), Haegeman & Ürögdi (2010), Authier & Haegeman (2015), and as such I will only briefly review the pattern here, while I refer the reader to the relevant papers for more details.

When it comes to embedded contexts resisting Main Clause Phenomena (MCP), Haegeman (2012 and related work) notes an asymmetry between English argument fronting and Romance clitic left dislocation, illustrated in the relative clauses below:

- (35) a *This is the student to whom your book I have recommended.
 b *Voici l' étudiant à qui ton livre je l' ai recommandé.*
 this.is the student to who your book I CL
 have recommended
 'This is the student to whom I recommended your book.'

Crucial for current purposes, Haegeman (2003, 2012 and related work) notes that in English, all argument fronting is ungrammatical in contexts such as central adverbial clauses, contexts with *wh*-movement, factive complements and subject clauses. There is no difference between topicalization and focus fronting. Clitic doubled constituents on the other hand are grammatical in the same contexts. In order to account for the differences, she argues that clitic left dislocated elements are base-generated in the left periphery (Cinque 1990), while fronted arguments are moved there. This movement operation can give rise to intervention in case another constituent with similar features undergoes movement.

The exact source of the observed asymmetry will be discussed in more detail in section 6.2. What is relevant for now is that embedding restrictions do not correlate with the topic-focus dichotomy, but rather depend on whether there is a doubling element in the base position of the fronted constituent.

6.1.5 Summary

In this section I have discussed some of the properties that were at the basis of the idea that topicalization and focus fronting target different positions, namely the presence or absence of quantificational properties. The observation that there is no direct relation between the presence of a doubling element and the interpretation of a fronted constituent led me to examine whether some of the observed asymmetries are due to the presence of doubling.

Concerning recursivity, I tentatively concluded that left peripheral focus is not recursive, while the recursivity of topicalization depends on the presence of a doubling element in the base position. When there is doubling, topicalization is recursive. When there is none, only one constituent can be fronted. European Portuguese constitutes an apparent exception to this generalization, but since this language allows for null objects, it is not clear whether instances of multiple topics involve a null doubling element or not.

Also WCO does not correlate with the topic-focus dichotomy, but rather with doubling. The core observation is that doubled constituents reconstruct differently from non-doubled constituents: only the latter reconstruct to their base position, while doubled elements reconstruct to an intermediate position, arguably the vP-edge. The reconstruction patterns are independent of the topic vs. focus interpretation.

The last pattern I discussed are embedding restrictions. Haegeman (2003, 2012 and related work) described in great detail that, independently of the interpretation, non-doubled argument fronting is restricted in a number of contexts that allow CLLD. Again, it is the presence of a doubling element that plays a crucial role.

In sum, there seem to be no objections of a syntactic nature to assume that topics can be focalized. Thus, I will maintain the hypothesis put forward in the previous chapter and assume that fronted foci are topics with a focus feature. Since this implies that focus fronting does not target a FocP, but rather a TopP, the cartography of left periphery of the clause needs to be re-examined. Recall that Rizzi's (2001) hierarchy can account for the observed ordering restrictions and the lack of recursivity of left-peripheral focus. In what follows I turn to the role of Relativized Minimality in the derivation of the hierarchy of the left periphery, and, following recent proposals (Abels 2012, Haegeman 2012), demonstrate how this principle can account for several left-peripheral patterns.

6.2 Intervention

In order to account for the observed ordering restrictions and incompatibilities concerning fronted foci, I will adapt and elaborate Haegeman's (2012) system of featural Relativized Minimality based on Starke (2001) and Rizzi (2004). In chapter 2 I introduced the basic notions concerning Relativized Minimality. Recall that the relevant factors are

hierarchical relations, structural type and features. Since here we are concerned with constituents undergoing A'-movement, I will concentrate on the intervention that A'-constituents can give rise to.

6.2.1 Haegeman (2012)

In order to account for a number of Main Clause Phenomena, Haegeman (2012 and related work), based on Starke (2001), Rizzi (2004) and Endo (2007), proposes a featural Relativized Minimality account. Recall from chapter 2 that a constituent can only move across an intervener if the intervener has a subset of the relevant features of the constituent moving across. The expected patterns are schematized below:

(36)	a	$*\alpha_i \dots \alpha \dots \alpha_i$	(identity)
	b	$*\alpha_i \dots \alpha\beta \dots \alpha_i$	(subset)
	c	$\alpha\beta_i \dots \alpha \dots \alpha\beta_i$	(superset)
	d	$*\alpha\beta_i \dots \alpha\beta \dots \alpha\beta_i$	(double identity)

Haegeman proposes a taxonomy of features characterizing left-peripheral constituents that exhibit embedding restrictions. She compares these MCP with other left-peripheral constituents that are not subject to the same restrictions. For instance, English argument fronting, VP preposing, negative inversion, locative preposing and French non-clitic doubled PP topicalization (Authier & Haegeman 2015) cannot surface in contexts blocking MCP, such as central adverbial clauses, factive complement clauses and subject clauses. Additionally, all of these phenomena are not recursive and are incompatible with *wh*-movement in the same CP, and create islands for (non-specific) *wh*-movement. CLLD and circumstantial adjuncts on the other hand can occur in the relevant embedded contexts, can co-occur with *wh*-movement, are recursive and do not create islands. Based on this first dichotomy, she proposes that fronting operations that are MCP involve movement of a constituent with a quantificational feature (OP-feature in Haegeman 2012). This feature can cause intervention in contexts where there is another constituent with the same feature. CLLD and circumstantial adjuncts on the

other hand are not quantificational, hence they do not give rise to intervention effects with quantificational constituents.

A comment on the ‘quantificational’ feature is in place. Haegeman (2012) follows Rizzi (2004) and assumes that the quantificational feature is some sort of ‘superfeature’, a class of features that includes focus, *wh*, neg etc.¹⁴ As such, quantificational features such as Neg, Foc or *wh* cause intervention between each other, but do not interact with constituents with a non-quantificational Top or Mod(ifier) feature. That assuming that features belong to classes and that the class is relevant for intervention is indicated by several phenomena discussed in great detail by Haegeman (2000, 2006, 2010, 2012), Authier & Haegeman (2015) and Lahousse et al. (2014). The basic observation is that a variety of syntactic operations, at first sight triggered by distinct features, create weak islands for *wh*-movement and each other and are mutually exclusive in certain domains (although there is variation in the judgments concerning this second property). These operations include English argument fronting (a), negative inversion (b) (Haegeman 2012: 36-52). Also locative inversion (c) (Rizzi & Shlonsky 2006), VP-preposing (d) (Haegeman 2012: 144-147) and Resumptive preposing (e) (Cardinaletti 2009) exhibit similar properties.

- (37) a *Who did you say that to Sue Bill introduced? (Haegeman 2012: 61)
b *How did you say that on no account would they travel to France [-]?
(Haegeman 2012: 45)
c *I have no idea how often they said that among the guests sat John
and his family. (Haegeman 2012: 96)
d *Who do you expect speaking at today’s luncheon will be? (Haegeman
2012:96)
e **Chi credi che la stessa proposta abbia fatto all’ultimo congresso?*

¹⁴ Also Cable’s (2010) suggestions concerning relativization, *wh*-movement and focus fronting go along these lines, although based on different considerations. All of these movement operations allow for pied-piping: something bigger than the head bearing the feature targeted by movement can undergo movement. Cable suggests that these movement operations involve movement of a QP, with the moved constituent in the complement position of the head Q. The feature targeted by movement would be Q, and not *wh/foc/rel*. These features would be merely ‘pied-piped’ by QP movement. Although several questions remain unanswered concerning these ideas (see Cable 2010 chapter 6), I wish to note that this analysis straightforwardly captures the *superfeature* idea put forward by Rizzi (2004).

Who do you think that the same proposal has made at the last congress?

Several of these phenomena are not compatible with each other. I refer to Haegeman (2012) for more data:

- (38) argument preposing-locative inversion
- a *That big toy into the pool jumped Mary with.
 - b *Into the pool that big toy jumped Mary with.

(Haegeman 2012: 94)

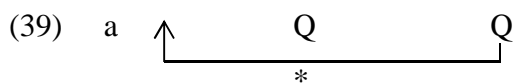
Additionally, several of these movement operations trigger subject-V (or Aux) inversion in several languages. This is the case for *wh*-movement in main interrogatives (Ambar 1992, Soares 2006),¹⁵ focus fronting (Costa & Martins 2011) and Resumptive Preposing (Duarte 1997) in European Portuguese; for *wh*-movement and Resumptive Preposing in Italian (Cardinaletti 2009), and for *wh*-movement, negative inversion and locative inversion in English (Haegeman 2012 a.o.). Additionally, *wh*-movement and focus fronting (Costa & Martins 2011) trigger proclisis in European Portuguese. It is standardly assumed that proclisis is triggered by quantificational elements. As such, I will follow Haegeman's (2012) proposals concerning these phenomena and assume that they all involve movement of a constituent with a quantificational feature. In what follows, Q will represent the quantificational feature, abstracting away from its precise nature.

In addition to the Q-feature, Haegeman assumes that a d-linking feature, represented as δ , which encodes discourse-related properties, can alleviate intervention effects.¹⁶ A

¹⁵ S-V inversion is only obligatory when no *é que* is inserted in the left-periphery. Also, *wh*-constituents with a lexical restriction do not require inversion as strongly as bare *wh*-constituents. See Soares (2006) for more details.

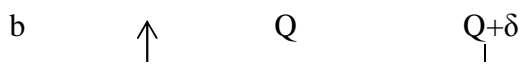
¹⁶ Haegeman (2012:130) notes that it might be necessary to refine this δ -feature, such as for instance in Starke (2001), who argues that there are at least two distinct features involved in intervention-mitigation: a specificity feature and a range feature (range is to be understood in the sense of Diesing 1992). Starke (2001) shows that extraction of a (familiar) specific constituent from a *how* or *why* island is better than extraction of a constituent with a range, i.e. that is a member of a set of salient alternatives, from the same island. The degree of specificity or referentiality seems thus to be relevant for intervention.

constituent with both a δ -feature and an Q-feature can cross a constituent with only a Q-feature, but not vice versa, as was explained in chapter 2. This featural characterization can account for instance for the fact that a fronted argument can move across an intervening *wh*-constituent (if the argument targets a different CP than the *wh*-constituent), but not the other way around. The same δ -feature also characterizes CLLD, since in this pattern, the left-peripheral constituent is clearly d-linked. The relevant configurations are summarized below, each with an illustrative example. I refer to Haegeman (2012 and related work) for more details.



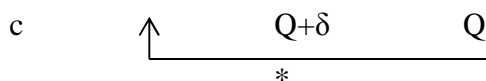
*How_Q do you wonder whether_Q John will solve the problem?

(Haegeman 2012:129)



?[This problem]_{Q+δ}, I wonder whether_{OP} John will be able to solve.

(Haegeman 2012: 132)



*Who_Q do you say that [to Sue]_{Q+δ} Bill introduced?

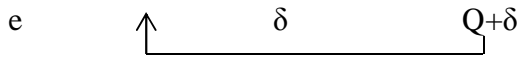
(Boeckx and Jeong 2004: 84, (3))



?*Non so come_Q pensi che, [a Gianni]_δ, gli*
 not know how think.2S that to Gianni CL.GEN
dovremmo parlare [-].
 should.3PL speak

‘I don’t know how you think that we should speak to Gianni.’

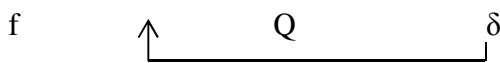
(Rizzi 2004)



[Quali di miei studenti]_{Q+δ} pensi che [questo
 which of my students think.2S that this
libro]_δ, potrebbero averlo già letto?
 book could.3PL have.CL.ACC already read

‘Which one of my students do you think that this book, could already have read it?’

(Ciro Greco, p.c.)



?*Mi domando [a chi]_Q, [il premio Nobel]_δ, lo*
 me ask.1SG to who the Nobel Prize CL.ACC
potrebbero dare.
 could.3PL give

‘I wonder to whom, the Nobel Prize, they could give it.’

(Rizzi 1997: 330)

In order to account for the fact that CLLD can be ‘extracted’ across a d-linked *wh*-constituent, characterized by both a Q and a δ -feature, Haegeman (2012) follows Cinque (1990) and assumes that CLLD does not involve movement. If it did involve movement, we would expect the *wh*-constituent, which has a superset of the features of CLLD, to be an intervener, contrary to fact:

(40) *[Questo testo qui]_δ, mi domando [quali dei miei studenti]_{Q+δ} potrebbero averlo già letto.*

‘This text, I wonder which of my students might already have read it.’

(Haegeman 2012: 137)

Haegeman (2012) assumes that also (non-*wh*) circumstantial adjuncts can be merged directly in the left periphery, since they do not give rise to intervention, not even with other left peripheral circumstantial adjuncts.

Although some problems remain (see Haegeman 2012:138-144), Haegeman's (2012) account makes quite accurate predictions concerning compatibilities of fronting operations, and I will adopt it with some minor revisions, which will be discussed in the next section.

6.2.2 Only quantification counts

First of all, Haegeman (2012) follows Cinque (1990) in assuming that CLLD does not involve movement (also see Zubizarreta 1994). However, if this is true, it is not clear why CLLD is sensitive to strong islands, as Cinque (1990) himself notes.¹⁷ If the relation between the left-dislocated constituent and the clitic in its base position is established through binding, islands should not pose a problem (also see Rizzi 2004: 4):

- (41) *A Carlo, ti parleró solo delle persone che
to Carlo CL.DATspeak.FUT.1SG only of.the people that
gli piacciono [-].
CL.DAT please

(Cinque 1990: 59)

Also, in order to account for some binding patterns, we need to assume that CLLD can reconstruct to the vP edge (Cecchetto & Chierchia 1999, Cecchetto 2000). For instance, it is not clear why the following binding configuration is degraded, if the left-dislocated constituent occupies a left-peripheral position in LF:

¹⁷ Cinque (1990: 96) notes that this is a problem for his non-movement account and suggests that strong-island sensitivity might not be intrinsically related to movement. However, note that Cinque (1990) argues against a *wh*-movement account of CLLD. I do agree that CLLD does not undergo *wh*-movement, since it has different properties, as was discussed by Cinque (1990). Nevertheless, recent accounts of weak islands have shown that movement is not uniform, and that there exists a variety of A'-movements that are minimally distinct. The idea that CLLD involves movement is thus perfectly compatible with Cinque's (1990) claim that no *wh*-movement is involved.

- (42) ??*L'opera prima di uno scrittore_i, lui_i la scrive sempre (volentieri)*
 the first work of a writer he it writes always with pleasure

(Cecchetto 2000: 6)

It is not clear how CLLD can reconstruct if there is no movement involved. As such, I will follow Cinque (1977), Dobrovie-Sorin (1990), Kayne (1994) and Cecchetto (2000), and assume that CLLD does involve movement. I will maintain Rizzi's (1997) basic insight and assume that CLLD does not involve any quantification, hence we do not expect intervention with quantificational elements, which is borne out.¹⁸

This revision does however pose a problem for the adopted account: recall that CLLD is assumed to have a δ -feature. If CLLD does involve movement, we expect intervention with other constituents with a δ -feature, such as other CLLD constituents and d-linked *wh*-constituents. This is however not the case: CLLD is recursive, and a CLLD constituent can move across a d-linked *wh*-constituent, as illustrated in (40). Note however that CLLD does not involve quantification. It could be the case that δ -features (and the like) are only relevant for intervention when they are combined with quantificational features, in the sense that only quantification gives rise to intervention, but an additional δ -feature can alleviate intervention effects. A δ -feature on its own however, does not count for intervention.

Note that if it is correct that only quantification gives rise to intervention, we also do not need to stipulate that circumstantial adjuncts can be base generated in at least two

¹⁸ Authier & Haegeman (2015) convincingly argue that in French CLLD of a PP does not involve movement. A major argument in favour of this claim is that, unlike CLLD of a DP, CLLD of a PP is not (consistently) sensitive to strong islands:

- (i) *Tous les politiciens parlent du mariage gay, mais de*
 all the politicians talk of the marriage gay but of
la situation économique, il y en a pas beaucoup
 the situation economic EXPL LOC PART have not much
[qui en parlent].
 who PART talk
 'Every politician talks about gay marriage, but there aren't a lot of them that talk about the state of the economy.'

(Authier & Haegeman 2015: 5)

A possible explanation for the difference between DPs and PPs is possibly related to the preposition: PPs can be merged in more places because they carry their case assigner with them. DPs on the other hand receive it from vP-internal heads, hence they need to be merged inside of vP. See Rizzi (1997) for a first account of this difference and also Garzonio (2008) on Italian PPs.

positions, namely a TP-internal position and in the left periphery. This assumption is necessary to account for the fact that left peripheral non *wh*-adjuncts are recursive. If they were to undergo movement, we would expect intervention since it is highly probable that both movement operations involve the same features. Also the fact that left-peripheral adjuncts do not create weak islands indicates that they are not quantificational. Note however that if we assume that only quantification gives rise to intervention, we do not need to stipulate several merge positions for circumstantial adjuncts: we can simply assume that all of them are merged in a TP-internal position (Cinque 1999, Kayne 1994, Nilsen 2000, Lobo 2002¹⁹, Baltin 2007), and can undergo movement to the left periphery.

When a circumstantial adjunct is quantificational, for instance when it is a *wh*-constituent, there are intervention effects (43)a. Also non-*wh* quantificational adjuncts give rise to intervention if they sit in an intervening position, as has been noted by Obenauer (1984), illustrated in (43)b. Non-quantificational adjuncts on the other hand do not cause any intervention effects (43)c.

- (43) a *How do you wonder when to fix the car [-]?
 b *Combien as-tu (*beaucoup) consulté [-] de livres?*
 how many have you (*a lot) consulted [-] of books
 c How do you think that tomorrow, you will fix the car [-]?

Another instance of quantificational adjuncts are long-moved adjuncts, i.e., adjuncts that semantically modify a CP different from the one they surface in. This was discussed at length by Haegeman (2012: 98-102). The fact that long moved adjuncts create islands for, for instance, argument preposing, indicates that long moved adjuncts are quantificational, unlike ‘local’ adjuncts. The sentence below only is grammatical with a reading in which the adjunct modifies the closest TP, it cannot modify the most embedded TP:

- (44) To these patients I suggest that in the present circumstances you announce that we will only give the cooked vegetables.

¹⁹ Lobo (2002) argues that central adverbial clauses can be merged either in a TP-internal position or in the left periphery.

It is not entirely clear why only long-moved adjuncts are quantificational. Note however that long-moved adjuncts have a slightly different interpretation than local adjuncts. Only the former have a topic-like aboutness interpretation:

- (45) a Tomorrow he says that he cannot come.
b ‘About tomorrow, he says that he cannot come.’

(Haegeman 2012: 101)

Additionally, in Dutch, only long-moved adjuncts need to be stressed, local adjuncts can be stressed or not, as was noted by Cardinaletti (1992):

- (46) a *Morgen ga ik naar Gent.*
tomorrow go I to Ghent
‘Tomorrow I go to Ghent.’
b *MORGEN zegt ze dat ze naar Gent gaat.*
tomorrow says she that she to Ghent goes

(Haegeman 2012: 102)

Since long-moved circumstantial adjuncts have a different interpretation and prosodic contour in some languages, it seems reasonable to assume that they have a feature that local circumstantial adjuncts need not have, presumably a Q-feature.

Adding the additional assumption that only quantificational elements give rise to intervention, permits us to account for the patterns that we observe with CLLD and circumstantial adjuncts, without having to postulate that they are or can be base generated in the left periphery. I will thus maintain this assumption. Why only quantification gives rise to intervention is however not clear to me. A more basic question is what makes a constituent quantificational. It is quite clear that a diversity of fronting operations give rise to very similar intervention effects, so the idea that all of these operations share a common property is not as

such implausible. The common property has been called ‘quantification’, although, as far as I am aware, there is no precise definition of quantification and quantification is not a uniform phenomenon (see Szabolcsi 2010, chapters 5, 6, p. 87 in particular). In chapter 8, I will briefly discuss this matter.

6.2.3 The role of specificity

The second minor revision of Haegeman’s (2012) account concerns the d-linking feature. She posited this feature in order to account for the fact that d-linked *wh*-constituents a.o. can move out of weak islands. However, she does not exclude that this notion has to be refined. I will assume that the relevant feature is specificity, following Rizzi (2001a), Starke (2001) and several other authors. It might be necessary to distinguish different degrees of specificity in the sense of Starke (2001).

Related to the island issue, there is an abundant literature and a variety of approaches, some of which are discussed by Szabolcsi (2005). There is no consensus on exactly what factors contribute to weak island immunity. Several proposals have been made. Rizzi (1990) for instance, based on the argument-adjunct distinction, argues that only constituents with an event-participant role can escape from weak islands. Cinque (1990) adds the additional requirement that these constituents be d-linked. Obenauer (1992) on the other hand argues it is not d-linking, but specificity that is at stake. This is confirmed by data from Romanian, discussed in Dobrovie-Sorin (1994). In this language, d-linked *wh*-constituents are clitic doubled. However, also non-clitic doubled *wh*-constituents can escape weak islands, provided they are specific.²⁰ Also Szabolcsi & Zwarts (1990, 1993) pursue an analysis along the same lines: it is the existence of discrete individuals that is relevant. In later work, Rizzi (2001a) pursues an analysis of weak island extraction in which specificity plays a crucial role, in the sense that the restriction of specific *wh*-constituents does not reconstruct, while the one of non-specific *wh*-constituents does. Given that this line of research has been quite successful, I will assume that it is specificity that increases immunity to weak islands.

²⁰ Note that d-linked *wh*-constituents are specific in the sense of Enç (1991): they ask for the identification of a subset of a familiar referent.

In the next two sections I discuss the relevant data and explain how the account presented here can account for the observed patterns, without having to assume that focus fronting targets a FocP with a fixed position in the left periphery. This permits us to maintain that focus fronting is an instance of topicalization of a constituent with a focus feature, and that the target of movement is a TopP.

6.3 Why doubling and (some) prepositions cancel quantificational effects

In section 6.1 it was argued that doubling of a fronted element, such as in CLLD, cancels quantificational properties.²¹ It has also been noted that not all PPs give rise to intervention effects when they are fronted (see Haegeman (2012) on negative preposing and Greco (2014) on *wh*-movement for instance). In what follows, I will briefly discuss these observations and make some suggestions on why doubling and prepositions have this effect.

It has been noted that fronted PPs behave differently from DPs when it comes to intervention. This is particularly clear from Haegeman's (2012) discussion of negative preposing. She distinguishes between negative preposing triggering subject-auxiliary inversion (negative inversion, NEG1 from now on) and negative preposing that does not trigger inversion (NEG2). Only the first type has quantificational properties, the second behaves like a local adjunct or a CLLD topic. Crucially, negative DPs are always instances of NEG1: they trigger inversion (compare (47)a and (47)b) and always give rise to intervention, as illustrated in (49)a. PPs on the other hand can be both NEG1 and NEG2. In the latter case there is no inversion (48) and no intervention effects (49)b. In (49)a, the *wh*-adjunct cannot be construed with the lower clause, while this interpretation is available in (49)b. I refer to Haegeman (2000, 2012) for more details and data.²²

²¹ Rizzi (1997) argues that the quantificational differences between CLLD and focus fronting is due to the type of element that is bound in base position. It is however not clear where the crucial distinction between null constants and variables comes from. In a framework such as the one in Heim & Kratzer (1998), binding a variable and binding a pronoun (a null constant in Rizzi 1997) is semantically the same.

²² Note that the two examples in (48) have a different interpretation. The examples can be paraphrased as follows:

- (i) There is no job such that it would make Mary happy.
- (ii) Mary would be happy if she did not have a job.

- (47) a No job would Mary be happy with.
 b *No job, Mary would be happy with.

- (48) a With no job would Mary be happy.
 b With no job, Mary would be happy.

(Haegeman 2012: 37)

- (49) a *How did you say that with no money would they travel to France
 [-]?
 b How did you say that with no money, they would travel to France
 [-]?

It thus seems to be the case that a preposition can ‘hide’ the quantificational features of the DPs in their complement. This is however not always the case: argument PPs do give rise to intervention, as has been discussed by Authier & Haegeman (2015):

- (50) *Achète-moi ce qu’à Marie, tu allais *(lui) acheter.*
 buy-me that which-to Marie you were-going her to-buy
 ‘Buy me what you were going to buy Marie.’

(Authier & Haegeman 2015: 9)

The difference between argument and adjunct PPs could be due to an underlying difference between the prepositions that introduce them. It has been argued that the prepositions of argument PPs are not real prepositions, but mere case-assigners (see Demonte 1987, Ott 2015, Baker and Kramer to appear, Caha 2009). This could lie at the basis of the

This difference in interpretation is due to the fact that only in (48)a, the negation in the preposed constituent has scope over the whole sentence. In (48)b, negation scopes over the preposed constituent only (Haegeman 2012: 42-43).

difference between argument PPs and adjunct PPs, and the reason why only the first give rise to intervention: only real prepositions are able to ‘smuggle’ the quantificational features of the DP in their complement past possible interveners. Greco (2014) applied the same idea to other cases of intervention. A possible implementation of the distinction between real prepositions and mere case-assigners could be along the lines of Demonte’s (1987) proposals concerning prepositions, based on entirely independent considerations:²³ she argues that real prepositions project a PP, while mere case assigners do not. From a syntactic point of view, argumental prepositional phrases would thus be DPs, and not PPs. If this is correct, we expect argumental PPs to give rise to the same intervention effects as DPs, which seems to effectively be the case. However, more research concerning the exact intervention patterns observed with different types of PP-fronting is needed in order to determine whether these suggestions are on the right track. I leave this for future research.

Concerning the lack of intervention effects with doubled constituents, we could assume that CLLD is an instance of partial copying: only some of the features of the CLLDed constituent are copied to a TopP, some of them stay behind, possibly to check other features (see for instance Poletto 2006). If it is the quantificational features that stay behind, no intervention is expected. A potential problem for an account along these lines is that it is not clear why partial copying is only allowed in case of CLLD, but not in case of subextraction from a complex DP for instance. In both cases, only a subpart of a DP would be copied. Nevertheless, only for CLLD does this give a grammatical result.²⁴

As an alternative to a partial-copying account, we could assume that, Relativized Minimality being a restriction on dependencies in LF (Rizzi 2000), doubled constituents do not give rise to intervention because they do not reconstruct the same way as non-doubled constituents, as was illustrated in section 6.1.2. The relevant examples are repeated below:

- (51) *Dopo l’incendio, portarono un bambino all’accampamento.*
‘After the fire, they brought a child to the camp.’

²³ Demonte (1987) proposes the distinction between real PPs and argumental PPs based on the observation that only the latter can take secondary predicates in Spanish. As is well known, PPs cannot take secondary predicates, while DPs can.

²⁴ Ott (2015) argues against partial copying in split-topic construction based on the same arguments.

- a ?Lo stesso bambino_i sua_i madre lo potè abbracciare e assicurarsi che stesse bene.
 the same child his mother CL could hug and ascertain that he was ok.
- b *Lo stesso bambino_i sua_i madre potè abbracciare e assicurarsi che stesse bene.
 the same child his mother could hug and ascertain that he was ok

If the reconstruction patterns were the same for both sentences, we would expect them to exhibit the same binding patterns. Nevertheless, only in (51)a can *sua madre* be bound by *lo stesso bambino*. This indicates that doubled elements do not reconstruct. If Rizzi (2001a) is correct in arguing that Relativized Minimality is an LF phenomenon, and hence restricts reconstruction of movement chains, we have a straightforward account for the lack of intervention effects with doubled elements. However, it is not correct that doubled constituents do not reconstruct at all. Cecchetto (2000) argues that clitic left dislocated constituents reconstruct to an intermediate position, located between the position for preverbal and postverbal subjects, based on the following contrast (see also Zubizarreta 1998 for Spanish):

- (52) a *L'opera prima di [uno scrittore]_i la scrive sempre lui_i*
 the first work of a writer it writes always he
 ‘The first work of a writer is always written by the writer himself’
- b ??*L'opera prima di uno scrittore_i, lui_i la scrive sempre volentieri.*
 ‘The first work of a writer, he writes it always with pleasure.’

Given these patterns, it is not clear whether the lack of intervention with CLLD can be reduced to reconstruction patterns. More research is needed in order to provide a definitive answer.

In this section I discussed why some PPs and doubled constituents do not give rise to the same intervention effects as non-doubled DPs. I suggested that some prepositions can ‘smuggle’ the quantificational features across a potential intervener. Concerning CLLD, I suggested that we might be looking at an instance of partial copying or that the contrast with

non-doubled DPs is due to a difference in reconstruction. However, more research is needed in order to fully evaluate these hypotheses. The question of why CLLD and not all PPs give rise to intervention is related to the question of what the source for intervention is. This issue will be briefly discussed in chapter 8.

6.4 Application to focus fronting

In the remainder of this chapter, I will apply the proposed intervention account to focus fronting. Focus fronting is to be understood as movement of a focalized constituent to a left peripheral position, not necessarily triggered by a focus feature. The movement operation undergone by the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts, triggered by a topic feature, is thus an instance of focus fronting. Two main properties of focus fronting that lay at the basis of Rizzi's (1997) proposal for the split CP with a separate FocP and TopP will be discussed: the lack of recursivity and the incompatibility with *wh*-movement. Given that I am assuming that focus fronting targets a TopP, and not a FocP, it is not clear why focus fronting is not recursive, since TopP is a recursive projection. It also is not immediately clear why focus fronting is incompatible with *wh*-movement if both movement operations target different projections. I will illustrate that an intervention account straightforwardly accounts for these properties of focus fronting.

6.4.1 Recursivity

It has been noted repeatedly for a variety of languages that left-peripheral focus is not recursive. As Abels (2012) argues, the lack of recursivity could be due to the fact that there is only one focus position in the left periphery, or to intervention, in that one focussed constituent will block a second one from moving past it. In order to determine which of the two hypotheses is correct, we need to look at the effect of focus fronting to different CPs: if the incompatibility of multiple foci is only due to the fact that there is just one landing site, we expect multiple foci to be possible as long as they land in different positions, if RM is also at

stake, we expect intervention to play a role both in local and non-local contexts and hence, moving two focussed constituents out of one clause, one to a lower CP and one to a higher CP, should be illicit, regardless of the availability of two landing sites.

Given that focus fronting is seen not to be recursive when different CPs are targeted, we can assume with certainty that RM rules out multiple focus movement, because of intervention caused by the focus feature, a quantificational feature.^{25,26} This means that multiple focus need not be ruled out by appealing to the unicity of FocP.

- (53) a *TO JOHN_F THE BOOK_F I gave [-] [-] (not to Peter, the cd).
 b *AO SUPERHOMEM é que a menina disse
 to.the Superman is that the girl said
 que A MULHER GATA é que deu [-] um
 that the Catwoman is that gave [-] a
 beijo [-].
 kiss [-]

²⁵ According to Rizzi (1997), the focus projection has to be unique because of the interpretative properties of focus: the complement of Foc^o is a presupposition, and according to Rizzi (1997), presuppositions are inconsistent with focalization. This assumption is however not correct, since presupposed constituents can contain a focus, as in the following context in which a because-clause contains the focus of the sentence, indicating that the unicity of left-peripheral focus has to be ascribed to other factors. The felicity of the ‘hey, wait a minute’-continuation indicates that because-clauses are presupposed:

- (i) A: You went to Tanglewood because Mary did.
 B: That’s not true. I went to Tanglewood because JOHN went to Tanglewood.
 A: Wait a minute! I didn’t know John went to Tanglewood.

Also the fact that definite DPs, which are inherently presupposed, can be focalized, indicates that presupposition and focus are compatible on the same constituent.

²⁶ Note that even when the two focalized constituents originate in two different CPs, the structure is severely degraded:

- (i) ??O JOÃO é que disse [-] que A MARIA é que fez [-]
 the João is that said.3S that the Maria is that did.3S
 uma asneira.
 a stupidity
 (ii) *GIANNI pensa [-] che IL LIBRO abbiamo letto [-].
 Gianni thinks that the book have.3PL read

I have no explanation for this. Note that *it*-clefts do not exhibit this pattern, hence we cannot ascribe the ungrammaticality of (i) and (ii) to a semantic interface requirement for focus, since there clearly is no problem with having two focalized constituents in two different CPs:

- (iii) It was John who said that it was Maria who wrote the letter.

Also the templatic approach cannot account for the ungrammaticality of this example. I believe that the degraded status of these sentences is due to pragmatic factors.

An additional piece of evidence for the idea that the focus feature gives rise to intervention is the fact that contrastive clitic left dislocated topics never co-occur with fronted foci, which can be accounted for if we assume that both have a focus feature:²⁷

(54) ***A LUCA I COLLEGHI** *Maria li ha presentati alla festa (, non a Franco i compagni di classe).*

To Luca the colleagues Maria CL has presented at the party (, not to Franco the classmates)

(Bocci 2004: 14)

The fact that the sentence is bad even when the fronted focus and the contrastive left dislocated topic target different CPs, confirms that there is intervention:

(55) A *Ho sentito che il professore ha consigliato a Giorgio il libro di Tomasello e quello di Chomsky.*

‘I heard that the professor recommended to Giorgio the book of Tomasello and that of Chomsky.’

B *?? Non so, ma A FRANCESCO credo che **IL LIBRO DI CHOMSKY** l'abbia consigliato e quello di Tomasello l'abbia fortemente sconsigliato.*

‘I don’t know, but TO FRANCESCO I think that CHOMSKY’S BOOK he advised it and that of Tomasello he advised against it.’

(Lahousse et al. 2014: 38)

Additionally, Torregrossa (2014) notes that there can only be one contrastive CLLD in the left periphery of the sentence. This is expected if contrastive CLLD has a focus feature and CLLD involves movement.

²⁷ Torregrossa (2014) accepts the order contrastive CLLD-focus (unlike Bocci 2004) but not focus-contrastive CLLD.

- (56) ?? *Non lo so, ma AI SUOI FRATELLI, LA SCACCHIERA gliel'ha lasciata.*
I don't know, but TO HIS BROTHERS THE CHESS TABLE he bequeathed it
to them.

(Torregrossa 2014:3)

It thus seems to be the case that, independently of whether a constituent is interpreted as an aboutness topic or is clitic doubled or not, the sole presence of emphasis, or contrast, on a constituent gives rise to intervention. A last piece of evidence supporting this generalization is the fact that clitic doubled left-peripheral focus behaves exactly like the non-doubled focalized counterparts in embedded contexts, i.e., the clitic doubled focus is restricted in embedded contexts:

- (57) ?/?? *Gli sembra LE SEDIE di aver(le) venduto Venerdì (, non il tappeto)!*
to.him it.seems THE CHAIRS to have sold Friday not the carpet

(Bocci 2013: 103-104)

Based on these observations, I will conclude that the non-recursivity of left peripheral focus can be accounted for in terms of intervention of a focus feature.

6.4.2 Incompatibility with *wh*-movement

Based on observed ordering restrictions and incompatibilities between left peripheral constituents, Rizzi (2001b) concludes that there are (at least) two positions available for *wh*-constituents in the left periphery of the clause: IntP and FocP. The specifier of the first is occupied by *se* 'if', *perché* 'why' and *come mai* 'how come', phrases that are base generated in the left periphery, while FocP is targeted by the other *wh*-constituents in main interrogatives, such as *who*, *when*, *where* etc. TP-internal *wh*-phrases cannot be directly merged in IntP, probably because of selectional reasons (see Rizzi 2001b, Greco 2014). In embedded interrogatives, the IP-internal *wh*-constituents target a position lower than FocP (Rizzi 2001b:

7), since they can follow but not precede (some) left-peripheral focalized constituents.²⁸ Apparently, there are two or more projections *wh*-constituents can occupy, and it is not clear why this should be so. A conceptually superior account would be to derive these differences between *wh*-phrases based on independent principles.

Abels (2012) shows that many of the ordering restrictions of *wh*-phrases can be accounted for in terms of Relativized Minimality. First of all, we have to distinguish between *wh*-phrases that are moved to the left periphery (IP-internal ones) and those that can be base generated there. This difference between *wh*-phrases can account for several observed ordering restrictions. Recall that base-generated *wh*-phrases can precede foci, while moved *wh*-phrases are incompatible with them:

- (58) a **A chi IL PREMIO NOBEL dovrebbero dare?*
 ‘To whom THE NOBEL PRIZE should they give?’
 b **IL PREMIO NOBEL a chi dovrebbero dare?*
 ‘THE NOBEL PRIZE to whom should they give?’

(Rizzi 1997: 298)

- (59) a *Mi domando se QUESTO gli volessero dire (non qualcos’altro)*
 ‘I wonder if THIS they wanted to say to him, not something else’
 B **Mi domando QUESTO se gli volessero dire (non qualcos’altro)*
 ‘I wonder THIS if they wanted to say to him, not something else’

(Rizzi 2001b ex. 7a-b)

Given that the first are base generated in a position c-commanding the fronted focus, we do not expect any intervention to arise. Moved *wh*-phrases on the other hand do cause intervention. There is thus no need to assume that both types of *wh*-constituents target different projections and it is thus possible to assume that all *wh*-constituents move to or are merged in the same position to check the same features. I refer to Abels (2012) for more details.

²⁸ Rizzi (1997) argues that in English, embedded *wh* targets SpecForceP, since topics can only follow *wh*-constituents in these contexts. There thus seem to be cross-linguistic differences.

If Abel's (2012) reasoning is correct and all *wh*-constituents target the same position, an explanation for the incompatibility of some *wh*-constituents with fronted foci has to be sought in other properties of syntax. I will illustrate that Relativized Minimality can account for some of the observed patterns. As pointed out above, we have to look at non-local contexts in order to determine if RM excludes a certain pattern. The example below indicates that fronted foci and *wh*-constituents can co-occur in a non-local context, if focus is extracted across *wh* (Ciro Greco p.c., same pattern in EP, Maria Lobo p.c.)

- (60) a ??*A chi pensi che IL PREMIO NOBEL daranno [-][-]?*
 'To whom do you think that they will give THE NOBEL PRIZE?'
 b ?*IL PREMIO NOBEL non so a chi daranno [-] [-].*²⁹
 'THE NOBEL PRIZE I don't know to whom they will give.'
- (61) a **Quem é que dizes que a Maria é que beijou?*
 who is that say that Maria is that kissed
 b *O Rui é que não me lembro quando chegou à Bélgica.*
 'RUI I don't remember when (he) arrived in Belgium.'

Following the RM reasoning, the pattern indicates that fronted foci have a superset of the features characterizing *wh*-constituents. Given this, it is not clear why focus cannot always precede *wh*-constituents in a local context:

- (62) a **QUESTO a chi abbiamo detto?*
 THIS to whom have said
 b **Mi domando QUESTO a chi abbiamo detto (non qualcos'altro)*
 I wonder THAT to whom they said (not something else)
 c *Mi domando A GIANNI che cosa abbiamo detto (non a Piero)*
 'I wonder TO GIANNI what they have said (not to Piero)

²⁹ This sentence is only acceptable in a context in which prizes are compared according to the degree of knowledge the speaker has about who is going to win them (Ciro Greco, p.c.). I have no explanation for why this degree interpretation is obligatory.

A first remark concerns the example in (62)c. Samek-Lodovici (2005: 857 ff.) points out that fronted foci can precede *wh*-elements only if the question is given in the previous discourse. These configurations are grammatical if the interrogative portion does not receive the regular rising intonation, but rather a flat intonation typical for right-dislocated constituents. Samek-Lodovici (2005) argues that that is exactly what is going on in these contexts: the *wh*-constituent and the focus are not in the same CP since the interrogative portion of the sentence is extraposed. I will assume that this also applies to (62)c, since Rizzi (2001b) does not provide details on the contexts in which this example can occur, and given that similar structures with interrogative interpretation are ungrammatical in European Portuguese. I will thus assume that focus cannot precede *wh*-constituents in a local context.

A possible explanation for the ungrammaticality of this configuration can be sought in interface requirements. Both Beck (2006) and Eckhardt (2007) have noticed that a *wh*-constituent cannot occur in the scope of a focalized constituent in the same domain (i.e. CP), not even when the *wh*-constituent does not undergo movement (neither does the focus):

(63) *Only JOHN saw who?

This is due to the fact that these configurations give rise to propositions without a truth value. The details of the account of both authors differ, and I will not discuss them here. I refer to the papers for the exact account. What is relevant for current purposes is that a *wh*-operator in the scope of a focalized constituent is invariably ungrammatical, *independently of movement*. This clearly indicates that these sentences are not inappropriate because of syntactic operations, but rather because of independent interface requirements. I will thus assume that the sentences in (62) are out precisely because of this reason, and not because fronted foci and *wh*-constituents target the same position. That both types of constituents do not target the same position has also been argued by Aboh (2007), Cable (2008), and Lee (2001). The sentences in (60)b and (61)b on the other hand are not problematic since the focalized constituent and the *wh*-constituent are in different CPs.

Summarizing the discussion so far, a focalized constituent generally can move across a *wh*-constituent, but not the other way around. Assuming that RM determines this difference, we would have to postulate that fronted foci have a superset of the features of *wh*-constituents. The question is what the featural make-up of *wh*-constituents and fronted foci is.

It is generally assumed that *wh*-constituents are inherently focalized (see Heim 1994, Beck 2006 a.o., Eckhardt 2007 for an overview), hence, we could assume that they have a focus feature, and that this feature gives rise to intervention in the contexts we have discussed so far.³⁰ Another possibility is to adopt the superfeatures system, as in Starke (2001) and Rizzi (2004). In this system, features belonging to the same class give rise to intervention. I will adopt this system and assume that focus and *wh* give rise to intervention because both are quantificational features.

The next question is what permits focalized constituents to move across *wh*-constituents, but not vice versa. In other words, focus fronting does not seem to be island sensitive. In section 6.2, I have briefly discussed some of the literature concerning island-sensitivity. It seems to be the case that specificity increases immunity to weak islands. Also when it comes to fronting of a focalized constituent, we can see that specificity is a crucial factor. For instance, bare negative or existential quantifiers, which are not specific under any possible definition of specificity, cannot be fronted across a *wh*-constituent:

- (64) a *NOONE did John ask who [-] kissed [-].
 b *NESSUNO mi domando chi abbia baciato [-][-].
 no one myself ask who has kissed
 c *SOMEONE John asked who [-] kissed [-].
 d *QUALCUNO mi domando chi abbia baciato [-][-].

³⁰ Eckhardt (2007) convincingly argues that the focus feature of *wh*-constituents and the one on focalized constituents are different from a semantic point of view. First, focalization is context sensitive in the sense that its appropriateness depends on the context, while *wh*-question formation is not. Second, *wh*-elements can be focalized in the context-sensitive sense, and it is not clear how, if *wh*-elements have a focus feature of themselves, the presence of two focus features on one constituent would be dealt with both in syntax and in the semantic compound (see Eckhardt 2007 for more arguments against the unification of focus and *wh*-elements):

- (i) Otto only wanted to know **when** you'll arrive (not **how**, or **where**).

(Eckhardt 2007: 4)

However, if we adopt the view that what matters for intervention is that both *wh* and focus are quantificational, Eckhardt's objections do not have to pose any problem.

someone myself ask who has kissed

Also the fact that movement of a d-linked *wh*-constituent across a fronted focus is better than movement of a non-d-linked *wh*-constituent, indicates that specificity plays a role for intervention:

- (65) a ?*A quale scienziato pensi che IL PREMIO NOBEL abbiano dato?*
‘To what scientist do you think THE NOBEL PRIZE they gave?’
(Ciro Greco, p.c.)
- b ??*A chi pensi che IL PREMIO NOBEL abbiano dato?*
‘To whom do you think THE NOBEL PRIZE they gave?’
- (66) a Which books did Lee say that only to Robin will she give? (Culicover 1991a: 7, (12a))
- b ??What did Lee say that only to Robin will she give? (Will Harwood, p.c.)
- (67) a ?*Qual destes assunto dizes que o Rui é que resolveu?*
‘Which one of these issues do you say that Rui (is that) solved?’
- b **O que dizes que o Rui é que resolveu?*
‘What do you say that Rui (is that) solved?’

The data in (64) to (67) indicate that, assuming that both *wh*-features and focus features are quantificational, we correctly predict that there is intervention, but the resulting intervention effect is predicted to be mitigated if the constituent moving across is specific.

The discussion of the data here has shown that we can account for the incompatibility of focus fronting with *wh*-movement in terms of intervention and interface requirements. As such, we do not need to assume that both types of movement target the same position, and hence we can maintain our hypothesis that focus fronting targets a TopP. It also became clear that specificity plays a role for intervention. However, since specificity is highly context-dependent, it is hard to determine how exactly it influences the appropriateness of several

potential intervention contexts. Additionally, as argued by Starke (2001), the degree of specificity seems to be relevant. The more specific the moved constituent, the more easily it will move across potential interveners.³¹

I wish to add some comments on the role of specificity. First of all, specificity is not always able to save intervention. For instance, multiple focus movement continues to be ungrammatical even when the constituent moved across the intervener is more specific, unlike what happens with *wh*-constituents:

(68) **O segundo problema é que o João acredita que um superherói é que vai resolver.*

the second problem is that the João believes that **a superhero** is that will solve

Second, fronted focus is not recursive, independently of specificity. This is unexpected if specificity is all you need to circumvent intervention:

(69) **QUESTO LIBRO A NESSUNO Gianni ha dato.*

THIS BOOK TO NOONE Gianni has given

Note that the other phenomena that arguably involve a quantificational feature, such as *wh*-movement, English argument fronting, negative inversion, locative inversion, Resumptive Preposing etc. exhibit the same pattern: they are not recursive in the same CP, and specificity does not seem to be relevant at all.

In summary, the incompatibility of focus fronting with *wh*-movement can be accounted for without having to assume that both movement operations target the same position. On the basis of the restrictions observed, and assuming RM is at the basis of the restrictions, I assume that fronted foci have a superset of the features of *wh*-constituents, since

³¹ There seem to be good reasons to assume there are different degrees of ‘specificity’, in the sense that definite descriptions are more specific/referential than indefinite specific constituents, and it has been repeatedly argued that we have to distinguish at least between two types of indefinite specificity (see Starke 2001, Diesing 1992, Enç 1991).

the first can (often) move across the latter, but not vice versa.³² Presumably, both types of constituents have a quantificational feature. The presence of a specificity feature can alleviate the intervention effect. However, *wh*-constituents cannot surface in the scope of focalized constituents within the same domain, because this gives rise to a proposition without a truth value.

6.5 Summary

Summarizing, I have argued that several of the differences between Italian topicalization and focus fronting can be reduced to the fact that topicalization is often clitic doubled, while focus fronting can (but does not need to) license an empty position. This is compatible with the hypothesis put forward in chapter 5 that fronted foci are topics with a focus feature.

Given my assumption that focus fronting is not triggered by a focus feature, but rather by a topic feature, I proposed that the operation does not target a FocP, but rather a TopP. However, the focus feature is pied-piped by this movement operation and gives rise to intervention effects with other quantificational elements. This intervention effect can be alleviated by the presence of a specificity feature.

The non-recursivity of left peripheral focus and the incompatibility of focus fronting and *wh*-movement can thus be reduced to an intervention effect, which permits me to maintain that focus fronting targets a TopP. Additionally, the intervention account also explains why similar patterns hold when two different CPs are targeted.

Several questions still remain unanswered: (i) what makes an element quantificational? (ii) why do only quantificational elements give rise to intervention in the A'-system? (iii) why does specificity not mitigate the intervention effect when two focalized constituents are fronted? (iv) why does specificity only mitigate the intervention effect (in some cases) when two different CPs are targeted? These questions will be returned to in chapter 8.

³² I do not exclude the possibility that there are several specificity features, each corresponding to a degree of specificity.

In what follows, I will assume that focus features are quantificational features, on a par with Rizzi (2004). Focalized constituents can thus be an intervener for quantificational A'-movement. Additionally, specific constituents are less sensitive to interveners, presumably because they have more features than non-specific constituents.

7 The syntax of monoclausal clefts

In chapter 5 I argued that focus features do not trigger movement, at least in European Portuguese, and that when focalized constituents move, they do so for focus-independent reasons. This hypothesis is in line with the observation that fronted foci in European Portuguese exhibit the same discourse restrictions as sentence topics: they need to be linked to an element in the common ground. In section 5.4, I put forward the hypothesis that what is referred to as focus fronting is actually an instance of the topicalization of a constituent which happens to have a focus feature. In chapter 6, I discussed the alternative account for focus fronting in more detail, and argued that Relativized Minimality can account for the classical properties of fronted focus, such as non-recursivity and incompatibility with *wh*-movement. This permitted me to maintain the hypothesis concerning focalized constituents, namely that they do not undergo movement because of a focus feature, and hence, do not occupy a FocP. As such, the structure proposed in chapter 4 for *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts was maintained.

In chapter 5, I argued that the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts moves to a TopP, while the cleft constituent of SER-clefts remains *in situ*. In this chapter, I work out the details concerning the syntax of *é que*-clefts and SER-clefts, two structures that are not as well studied as *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts.

For *é que*-clefts, I argued that while the cleft constituent is itself associated with a focus feature, it is an additional topic feature which triggers movement of the cleft constituent to the left periphery of the clause. Pied-piped by this movement operation, the focus feature causes intervention effects in contexts with quantificational movement. The intervention effects that *é que*-clefts give rise to will be discussed in more detail in section 7.1.1. I discuss the interaction of the cleft constituent with *wh*-movement, operators in central adverbial clauses and relativization. Concerning the position of the sequence *é que*, argued to be a grammaticalized non-separable unit (see chapter 4), I suggest it occupies the lowest head position in the left periphery of the clause, FinP, based on the observation that no left-peripheral material may occur to the right of *é que*, while adjuncts can occur in between the cleft constituent and *é que* (section 7.1.2).

The analysis of SER-clefts proposed in section 7.2 is heavily inspired by Cable's (2010) account for Q-particles. I will argue that the copula, semantically vacuous, takes the

cleft constituent as its complement and projects its own vP. This vP has the same semantic properties as the cleft constituent alone but has some syntactic properties of verbal projections. Following Cable (2010), I will assume that lexical heads only select for semantic properties and that the syntactic category of a constituent is relevant only in case of selection by a functional head. As such, the vP consisting of the copula and the cleft constituent cannot surface as the complement of a functional head that does not select for verbal constituents, but it will be able to be selected by either a lexical head or by a functional head which selects for verbal constituents. This account will be shown to make the right predictions concerning the distribution of the copula, and will be shown to be superior to several of the analyses that have been proposed in the literature for these structures

7.1 *É que*-clefts

As was discussed in chapter 5, unlike *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts, *é que*-clefts do exhibit embedding restrictions. In this section I will argue that these embedding restrictions are due to an intervention effect between the cleft constituent occupying a TopP and other quantificational constituents. Concerning the position of *é que*, I will argue that it occupies the lowest head position in the left periphery, namely Fin.

7.1.1 Intervention effects

As already discussed in the previous chapter, the presence of intervention effects can serve as a diagnostic to determine the position of focalized constituents. In what follows, I will demonstrate that the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts does cause intervention effects, leading me to the conclusion that it occupies an A'-position. This is in line with the hypothesis put forward in chapter 5 that the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts is a topic, and occupies the specifier of a left-peripheral TopP. The contexts to be discussed are interrogatives, relative clauses and central adverbial clauses. From the discussion of the data, it will become clear that the definition of featural Relativized Minimality, repeated here below, is not entirely adequate.

- (1) A local relation (e.g., movement) cannot hold between X and Y if Z intervenes and Z fully matches the specification of X in the relevant morphosyntactic features.

This definition predicts that the following patterns hold:

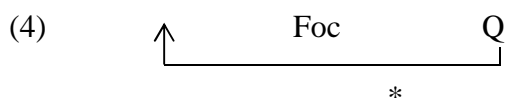
- | | | | |
|-----|---|---|-------------------|
| (2) | a | * $\alpha_i \dots \alpha \dots \alpha_i$ | (identity) |
| | b | * $\alpha_i \dots \alpha\beta \dots \alpha_i$ | (subset) |
| | c | $\alpha\beta_i \dots \alpha \dots \alpha\beta_i$ | (superset) |
| | d | * $\alpha\beta_i \dots \alpha\beta \dots \alpha\beta_i$ | (double identity) |

The last line of the predicted patterns is, however, not borne out: a specific quantificational constituent does not seem to be any more of an intervener for movement of a specific quantificational constituent than a non-specific quantificational constituent. A similar pattern has been noticed in an experiment carried out by Villata et al. (2013) and by Atkinson et al. (2015) concerning *wh*-islands.

Let us start with the best known case of intervention: intervention with interrogative *wh*-movement. As was discussed in section 6.4.2, *wh*-movement cannot target the CP hosting the cleft constituent, as illustrated in (3)a: both the *wh*-constituent *quando* ‘when’ and the cleft constituent *o João* occupy the same CP. A *wh*-constituent can also not move across the cleft constituent of the *é que*-cleft in a lower domain, as shown in (3)b: the *wh*-constituent *quem* ‘who’ originating in the lower CP moves across the cleft constituent *a Maria* to a position in the higher CP, giving rise to an ungrammatical result.

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| (3) | a | * <i>O Pedro perguntou [quando]_Q [o João]_{loc} é que chegou.</i> |
| | | the Pedro asked when the João is that arrived |
| | b | ?? <i>[Quem]_Q é que dizes que [a Maria]_{loc} é que beijou [-]?</i> |
| | | who is that say that Maria is that kissed |

The incompatibility of *é que*-clefts with *wh*-movement in questions can straightforwardly be captured with an intervention account. The cleft constituent has a focus feature, i.e. a quantificational feature, which blocks movement of the *wh*-constituent across it. Following Starke (2001) and Rizzi (2013b, 2015), I will assume that *wh*-constituents in questions have a Q-feature. This Q-feature, like the focus feature, belongs to the class of quantificational features, hence it gives rise to intervention. The locality violation in (3) is schematized below:



* *[Quem]_Q dizes que [a Maria]_{Foc} é que beijou [-]_Q.*

As discussed in section 6.2, specificity also plays a role for intervention effects. If the *wh*-constituent moving across the cleft constituent is specific, the intervention effect is much less strong. Additionally, given the version of featural Relativized Minimality adopted here, we expect a specific cleft constituent to intervene both for specific and non-specific *wh*-constituents, but a non-specific one to intervene only for non-specific *wh*-constituents. This is not borne out: specificity only seems relevant for the constituent moving across, not for the intervener, in the sense that a specific cleft constituent itself does not block movement of a specific *wh*-constituent, contrary to what would be expected given the version of featural Relativized Minimality schematized in (2)d. As is illustrated in (5)a, a specific *wh*-constituent can move across an intervening cleft constituent. Note that a specific *wh*-constituent can only cross the cleft constituent if it targets a different CP, as indicated by the ungrammaticality of (5)b.

- (5) a ?*[Qual desses assuntos]_{Q, spec} dizes que [o Rui]_{Foc, spec} é que resolveu?*
 ‘Which of these problems do you say that Rui (is that) solved?’
 b **[Qual assunto]_{Q, spec} [o Rui]_{Foc, spec} é que resolveu?*
 which problem Rui (is that) solved

(6) ↑ Foc+spec Q+spec

A sentence in which a non-specific *wh*-constituent moves across a non-specific cleft constituent, continues to be very degraded, as is indeed predicted by the version of featural Relativized Minimality adopted here. The intervention effect is mitigated if a the *wh*-constituent is specific.

- (7) a **[O que]_Q achas que [algum ministro]_{foc} é que devia ter dito [-] ao Presidente?*
 what do you think that some minister is that should have said [-] to the president
- b **[Qual destes assuntos]_{Q, spec} achas que [algum ministro]_{foc} é que devia ter resolvido?*
 ‘Which of these problems do you think that some minister (is that) should have solved?’

Summarizing the data illustrated in (3)-(7), we arrive at the following patterns:

- (8) a *Q ... foc (spec) ... Q
 b Q, spec ... foc (spec) ... Q, spec

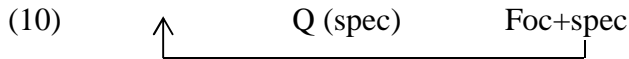
A very similar pattern is found when a *wh*-constituent is an intervener for movement of the cleft constituent. Again, the cleft constituent and the *wh*-constituent have to target two different CPs, and the specificity of the intervening *wh*-constituent plays no role. Only specific cleft constituents can move across a *wh*-constituent: compare (9)b with (9)c.

- (9) a **[O Rui]_{foc, spec} é que [quando]_Q chegou à Bélgica?*
 the RUI is that when he arrived in Belgium.
- b *[O Rui]_{foc, spec} é que não me lembro [quando]_Q chegou à Bélgica.*

‘RUI (is that) I don’t remember when arrived in Belgium.’

c *??[Uma amiga minha]_{foc} é que não sei [quando]_Q chegou à Bélgica.*
 a friend of mine is that I don’t know when arrived in Belgium

d *[O Rui]_{foc, spec} é que não me lembro [que livro]_{Q, spec} leu.*
 ‘Rui (is that) I don’t remember which book (he) read.



Concerning the intervention effects between *wh*-movement and the movement undergone by the cleft constituent in *é que*-clefts, we can make the following generalizations: (i) an interrogative *wh*-constituent cannot occupy a position in the same CP as the cleft constituent;¹ (ii) a specific *wh*-constituent can move across the cleft constituent, independently of whether the latter is specific or not; (iii) a specific cleft constituent can move across a *wh*-constituent, independently of whether the *wh*-constituent is specific or not. Summarizing, the presence of quantificational features gives rise to intervention, but specificity of the constituent that moves across an intervener alleviates intervention effects. Specificity of the intervener does not seem to play a role. This is unexpected given featural Relativized Minimality: the specificity of the intervener should count for intervention, blocking movement of specific constituents. The expected pattern is however not found in the data discussed above. A similar lack of intervention effects was found in an experiment carried out by Villata et al. (2013), in which it was established that *wh*-extraction of a d-linked constituent across a d-linked *wh*-constituent was found to be as acceptable as across a non-d-linked constituent. Additionally, when both constituents involved in the intervention configuration were d-linked, the sentences were judged better than when both constituents were not d-linked, even though the involved constituents had the same featural make-up in both cases. In this experiment, it was thus also found that some features only seem to be relevant for intervention when they characterize the extracted constituent, but not when they mark the intervener. I will return to this matter in the next chapter.

¹ The ungrammaticality of a *wh*-constituent to the left of the cleft constituent within the same CP also follows if *é que* occupies the lowest left peripheral head. Nevertheless, the ungrammaticality of the opposite order cannot be accounted for in these terms.

A second context in which the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts might cause intervention, are central adverbial clauses, such as temporal adverbial clauses (11) and event conditionals (12):²

(11) **Quando o João é que chegou, a Maria ficou muito contente.*
when the João is that arrived, the Maria became very happy

(12) **Se a relva é que estiver seca, os meninos podem brincar no jardim.*
if the grass is that is dry, the children may play in the garden

Building on a long tradition starting with Geis (1970), Haegeman (2010, 2012) argues for the existence of operator movement in temporal and event conditional adverbial clauses, in order to explain why these contexts do not allow for Main Clause Phenomena. For temporal adverbial clauses, not only Haegeman (2012) has argued that they involve movement, but a free relative clause-like analysis has been argued for by a series of authors, such as Larson (1987), Enç (1987), Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2004), Bhatt & Pancheva (2006), Hall & Caponigro (2010) and Mória (2000) for Portuguese. The main piece of evidence for the free-relative clause analysis of temporal adverbial clauses comes from data such as the following, which are ambiguous between a reading in which *when* modifies the predicate of the higher CP and a reading in which *when* modifies the predicate in the lower CP:

(13) I ate dinner [_{CP} when Mary thought [_{CP} that I should eat dinner]].
a I ate dinner [_{CP} when₁ Mary thought t₁ [_{CP} that I should eat dinner]].

² The terminology adopted here is the one also used by Haegeman (2012). Central adverbial clauses modify the event expressed by the predicate of the clause. They are to be distinguished from peripheral adverbial clauses, which modify the whole proposition, and Speech Act adverbials, which modify the enunciation. See Lobo (2003), Haegeman (2003, 2004, 2012 and related work), Haegeman & Hill (2013) and references cited for a more detailed discussion of adverbial clauses. *É que*-clefts can be embedded in peripheral adverbial clauses, on a par with English Main Clause Phenomena:

(i) *Até parece que a mulher é fria e cruel ao abandoná-lo quando ele é que a traiu.*
'It even seems that the woman is cold and cruel abandoning him when he (is that) cheated on her.'

I refer to Vercauteren (*forthcoming a*) for more details.

Paraphrase: I ate dinner at a certain time and at that very same time Mary had the thought that I should eat dinner (at some later time).

- b I ate dinner [_{CP} when₁ Mary thought [_{CP} that I should eat dinner t₁]].

Paraphrase: I ate dinner at a certain time and Mary had previously had the thought that I should eat dinner exactly at the time I did.

(Hall & Caponigro 2010: 552)

This ambiguity receives a straightforward explanation under the assumption that temporal *when*-clauses are derived through operator movement, in the same manner free relative clauses are.³ An additional piece of evidence for this analysis is the fact that no ambiguity arises in case the lower CP is an island for extraction. In the following example, the lower CP is a relative clause, known to be a strong island. As a consequence, the sentence can only receive the interpretation in which *when* modifies the higher CP.

- (14) I ate dinner [_{CP} when Mary made the suggestion [_{CP} that I should eat dinner]].

- a I ate dinner [_{CP} when₁ Mary made t₁ [_{DP} the suggestion [_{CP} that I should eat dinner]]].

Paraphrase: I ate dinner at a certain time and at that very same time Mary made the suggestion that I should eat dinner (at some later time).

- b *I ate dinner [_{CP} when₁ Mary made [_{DP} the suggestion [_{CP} that I should eat dinner t₁]]].

Cannot mean: I ate dinner at a certain time and Mary had previously made the suggestion that I should eat dinner exactly at the time I did.

(Hall & Caponigro 2010:552)

Continuing a tradition originating with Lycan (2001), Bhatt & Pancheva (2006) a.o. have argued that temporal adverbial clauses and conditionals should have a similar derivation,

³ As for temporal adverbial clauses introduced by words other than *when*, such as *until*, *before*, *after* etc., these clearly are relative clauses in European Portuguese, as all of these adverbial clauses involve the relative operator *que*. See Lobo (2003) for an overview of adverbial clause connectors.

and they propose that conditional clauses are derived through movement of a world operator. A fact clearly illustrating the similarity between temporal and conditional adverbial clauses is that, in some languages, both temporal clauses and conditionals are introduced by the same operator. German is a case at point. In this language, both types of adverbial clause are introduced by *wenn*:

- (15) a *Wenn Steffi kommt, fangen wir an zu spielen.*
when Steffi arrives begin we prt to play.inf
'When Steffi arrives, we begin to play.'
b *Wenn Steffi gewinnt, wird gefeiert.*
if Steffi wins is celebrated
'If Steffi wins, there is a celebration.'

(Bhatt & Pancheva 2006: 642)

Also in English can *when*-clauses receive a conditional interpretation:

- (16) a When a natural number is divisible by 2, then the number is even.
b If a natural number is divisible by 2, then the number is even.

(Hall & Caponigro 2010: 545)

Based on the observation that event conditionals pattern with temporal adverbial clauses when it comes to left peripheral constituents, Haegeman (2010, 2012) further develops the movement analysis of conditional adverbial clauses, and argues that the operator originates in Cinque's (1999) MoodP_{irrealis}. One possible objection to this analysis of conditionals, discussed by Haegeman (2010) is that, unlike temporal clauses, conditionals do not have an ambiguous reading: *if* cannot be interpreted as modifying the lower CP:

- (17) I will leave [_{CP} if you say [_{CP} you will]].

However, the lack of a long-distance reading in conditional clauses does not necessarily imply that no movement is involved, it might just as well indicate that movement must be local, a line of reasoning followed by Bhatt & Pancheva (2006). Haegeman (2010) provides additional arguments for the locality of movement of the conditional operator. For instance, also modal adverbs originating in MoodP_{irrealis} cannot undergo long distance movement, unlike temporal adverbs: the adverbs in the examples below can only be construed with the matrix clause:

- (18) a Frankly, I do not understand that he wants to leave.
 b Probably he thinks that Mary will come.

(Haegeman 2010: 607)

I refer to the relevant literature, especially Haegeman (2010, 2012), for a more detailed discussion and further evidence of the movement account of conditional clauses, adopted here.

Returning to intervention effects, assuming that the derivation of central adverbial clauses involves movement, the ungrammaticality of *é que*-clefts in these contexts receives a straightforward explanation: the temporal/conditional operator, a quantificational element, cannot cross the cleft constituent. The fact that the long construal, normally available in temporal clauses, is not available when the lower CP is an *é que*-cleft, confirms the relative-clause like analysis for adverbial clauses. As will be discussed in more detail below, relative clauses pattern exactly like adverbial clauses in this respect.

- (19) **Jantarei* [_{CP} *quando*₁ *a* *Maria disse* [*que* *o* *João*
 lunch.1S.FUT when₁ the Maria say.3S.PRF that the João
é que vai jantar t₁]].
 is that will dine t₁

The opposite pattern, namely the cleft constituent preceding the temporal or conditional operator in central adverbial clauses, is ungrammatical, since adverbial clauses, being adjuncts, are strong islands for extraction.

Let us now turn to relative clauses: *é que*-clefts cannot be embedded in relative clauses, neither in *wh*-relative clauses (20) nor in *que*-relative clauses (21). This incompatibility with relative clauses can be explained in terms of intervention, since also long-extraction of the relativized constituent across the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts is ungrammatical, as illustrated in (20)B' and (21)b:

- (20) A *Isto não é o lugar onde o Pedro beijou a Inês pela primeira vez?*
 'Isn't this the place where Pedro kissed Inês for the first time?'
 B *Não é nada. *Isto é o lugar onde_{rel} [o Rui]_{foc} é que a beijou pela primeira vez.*
 'No it isn't. This is the place where_{rel} Rui_{foc} (is that) kissed her for the first time.'
 B' *Não é nada. *Isto é o lugar onde_{rel} a Inês disse que [o Rui]_{foc} é que a beijou pela primeira vez.*
 'No it isn't. This is the place where_{rel} Inês said that Rui_{foc} (is that) kissed her for the first time.'
- (21) a **Estamos a falar do livro que_{rel} [a professora de linguística]_{foc} é que recomendou.*
 we are talking about the book that the professor of linguistics is that recommended
 b **Estamos a falar do livro que_{rel} disseste que [a professora de linguística]_{foc} é que recomendou.*
 we are talking about the book that said.2s that the professor of linguistics is that recommended

In free relative clauses *é que*-clefts are also ungrammatical, both in short-extraction and in long-extraction contexts:⁴

⁴ Since relative clauses are strong islands for extraction, the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts cannot be extracted from a relative clause. As such, these data will not be discussed here.

(i) *A gente é que o homem que [-] viu no Rossio, é o meu

- (22) a **Fiz [o que]_{rel} [o professor de linguística]_{foc} é que me mandou fazer.*
 did.1S what the professor of linguistics is that me made do
- b **Fiz [o que]_{rel} a Maria disse que [o professor de linguística]_{foc} é que nos mandou fazer.*
 did.1S what Maria said that the professor of linguistics is that us made.3S do

The fact that the only occurrences of *é que*-clefts embedded in relative clauses found in the corpus involve doubling of the head of the relative clause, a relativization strategy not available in standard European Portuguese, provides additional evidence for an intervention account. As was discussed in section 6.3, doubling cancels quantificational effects.

- (23) *Tinha uma roda que a força da água é que
 have.IMP.3SG a wheel that the force of.the water is that
 fazia andar a roda e com os baldes porque
 make.IMP.3SG go the wheel and with the buckets because
 tem essas 'tales' baldes, como era o
 have.PRES.3SG these 'suches' buckets since be.3S.IMP the
 estanca-rio e regava aquele campo grande (...) que
 river.stagnator and irrigated that field big that
 está além. (MIN31)
 be.PRES.3SG there*

'There was a wheel that the force of the water put [the wheel] into motion, with the buckets, because it has these buckets since it stanches the river and irrigates that big field over there.'

We is that the man that [-] saw.1PL at.the Rossio, is the my
irmão.
 brother.

It is generally assumed that relative clauses are derived by movement of some element, be it a (null) relative operator (the head external analysis, see for instance Chomsky 1977, 1981), or the head of the relative clause itself along with an operator (the raising or promotion analysis, see Kayne 1994, Bianchi 1999, Bhatt 2002 a.o.). Under a third type of analysis of relative clauses, the matching analysis, it is assumed that there are two instances of the head of the relative clause that are not connected by a movement chain: a clause internal and a clause external one. The internal head is (optionally) phonologically erased under identity with the external head (see for instance Sauerland 1998, Cinque 2008). Although movement is not always required under a matching derivation of relative clauses, one of the heads can undergo movement, which gives rise to a number of properties such as reconstruction of the head and island sensitivity (see Cinque 2008 for a discussion).

A matching analysis of relative clauses can straightforwardly account for the non-standard data such as in (23). The head of the relative clause has an overt realization inside the relative clause. It could be the case that these relative clauses, called resumptive relative clauses, with an overt realisation of the head in a clause internal position, are derived through movement-free matching, without erasing of the clause-internal head. If this account is correct, we have a straightforward explanation for the lack of intervention effects with *é que*-clefts in resumptive relative clauses: there is no movement, hence no intervention is expected. As was discussed in detail by Alexandre (2000), there is indeed support for the claim that, contrary to canonical relative clauses, resumptive relative clauses in European Portuguese do not involve movement.⁵ As is well known, movement cannot occur out of strong islands. As such, the head of a canonical relative clause cannot be connected with a gap inside of a strong island, as illustrated in (24)a. The resumptive strategy on the other hand, does allow the head to be connected to an element within a strong island, as illustrated in (24)b.⁶ The difference in island sensitivity receives a straightforward explanation if we assume that resumptive relativization does not involve movement of any kind, differently from the canonical relativization strategy.

⁵ Also see Chomsky (1977); Suñer (1998); McClosky (1990) for similar claims concerning other languages.

⁶ See Müller (2014) for similar data from German. Also in other languages it has been observed that resumptive relative clauses are not as island sensitive as canonical relative clauses (see for instance Shlonsky 1992; McClosky 2002; Boeckx 2003).

- (24) a **A pessoa_i [com quem_i tu encontraste [alguém que falaria t_i]] está doente.*
 the person_i with who_i you met someone who would talk t_i is sick
- b *A pessoa_i [que tu encontraste [alguém que falaria com ela_i]] está doente.*
 the person_i that you met someone who would talk with her_i is sick

(Alexandre 2000: 77)

In standard European Portuguese, relative clauses cannot involve resumption, hence, it is plausible that they are derived through movement, which would account for the fact that *é que*-clefts are consistently restricted in these contexts. There is indeed evidence for a movement-account for canonical relative clauses. First of all, there is the fact that relativization cannot extract an element from a strong island. Note that this is not only the case for *wh*-relative clauses, as illustrated in (24)a above, but also for relative clauses introduced by *que* ‘that’:

- (25) **a livraria_i [que conheci a pessoa [que abriu t_i]]*
 the bookshop_i that met.1S.PRF the person that opened t_i

The fact that relativization from within a weak island is severely degraded, indicates that relativization involves movement of a constituent with a quantificational feature:⁷

⁷ Judgements concerning relativization dependencies and weak island sensitivity are not categorical. The following sentence for instance is judged to be grammatical:

- (i) *?O teu irmão, a quem não sei que história contaram, tinha um ar muito preocupado.*
 Your brother, to whom I don’t know which story they told, was looking concerned.

Note that this cannot be ascribed to the fact that the sentence in (i) contains an appositive relative clause and not a restrictive relative clause, as the ones above, since the following sentence with an appositive relative clause is ungrammatical:

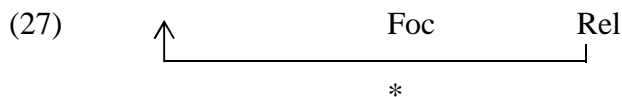
- (ii) **Este quadro, que te perguntas onde já viste, é muito bonito.*
 This painting, that you wonder where you already saw, is very beautiful

It seems to be the case that PP extraction is more acceptable than DP extraction, at least when the extracted element is an argument; compare the following sentence with (i):

- (iii) **Fechou a loja [[em que]_i o professor perguntou [quem comprou os livros raros t_i]].*
 closed the shop in that the professor asked who bought the books rare

- (26) a **Fechou a loja_i [onde_i o professor perguntou*
 closed the shop_i where_i the professor asked
[quem comprou os livros raros t_i]].
 who bought the books rare t_i
- (Alexandre 2000:79)
- b *?*O João leu o livro_i [que o professor*
 the João read the book_i that the professor
perguntou [quem escreveu t_i]]
 asked who wrote t_i

We can thus ascribe the incompatibility between relativization and *é que*-clefts to an intervention effect: the movement of a quantificational constituent, be it the (null) operator alone or the operator together with the head of the relative clause, is blocked by the cleft constituent. Following standard assumptions, I will assume that relativization involves movement to the left periphery of a constituent with a quantificational feature (see Grillo 2008 for instance), which I will call [Rel]. The configuration is schematized below:



One could wonder whether features of the head of the relative clause might have any influence for intervention, as one would expect if the head undergoes movement, as in the

Also in English, PP extraction is better than DP extraction (Andrew Weir, p.c.). This is particularly clear when comparing sentences with and without preposition stranding:

- (iv) ??I met the man to whom I don't know what they explained.
- (v) ?I met the man to whom I don't know which problem they explained.
- (vi) *I met the man who I don't know what they explained to.
- (vii) ?*I met the man who I don't know which problem they explained to.

A DP-PP distinction has also been reported for other intervention contexts, see section 6.1.5.

raising account for relative clauses. This does not seem to be the case: relativization patterns with bare *wh*-constituents when it comes to weak island extraction. This can be accounted for by assuming that the head of the relative clause does not undergo movement, as in the head-external account, or if the head of relative clauses consistently is non-specific, as was argued by Cinque (2008), based on data such as the following:⁸

- (28) a The men that there were [-] in the garden
 b *there were the men in the garden
 c there were some/three men in the garden

Also in European Portuguese, a relative operator can be extracted from an existential construction, indicating that it consistently is non-specific:

- (29) a *os homens que há [-] por aí*
 the men that have [-] around
 ‘the men that there are around’
 b **há os homens por aí*
 have the men around
 c *há alguns homens por aí*
 have some men around
 ‘there are some men around’

As is well known, only non-specific indefinite DPs can surface in existential constructions. Since the gap in a restrictive relative clause can be inside a *there*-construction,

⁸ The validity of the suggestion that the head of restrictive relative clauses is irrelevant for intervention depends to a great extent on where Relativized Minimality applies. If it is a restriction on the movement operation itself, we do not expect that the head of the relative clause is relevant for intervention if it does not move. If, on the other hand, Relativized Minimality is a representational principle, applying at LF, as is generally assumed (see Rizzi 2013), the head should be relevant whether it moves or not, since it does enter the dependency. Of course, it could also be the case that featural Relativized Minimality does not work the way it is assumed here, which is also indicated by the fact that the specificity of the intervener does not seem to play any role for intervention. I refer to chapter 8 for a further discussion.

we have to assume that it is indefinite, at least in its base position. I refer to Cinque (2008) for more evidence for his claims.⁹

The fact that also in combination with *é que*-clefts, relativization patterns with bare *wh*-constituents, confirms the idea that relativization involves movement of a constituent with a quantificational feature only. The examples below provide some additional evidence that the specificity of the head of the relative clause is not relevant at all:

(30) **Estou a ler o/um livro que o João disse que a professora de linguística é que recomendou.*

I am reading the/a book that João said that the professor of linguistics is that recommended

In summary: the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts blocks relativization in all contexts discussed so far, specificity of the head of the relative clause does not seem to play any role. As such, relativization patterns with bare *wh*-movement.¹⁰

⁹ It has been argued that relativization involves more features than *wh*-movement, see Abels (2012) or Danckaert (2012) for instance, who argue that relativization involves movement of a quantificational feature and a d-linking feature. I do not exclude the possibility that relativization involves movement of a featurally richer element than *wh*-movement, but based on the intervention patterns with *é que*-clefts, I have to conclude that these extra features in relativization do not count for intervention with *é que*-clefts. It might be the case that there is a cross-linguistic difference here, as focus fronting in Italian is grammatical in relative clauses:

- (i) *?Tuo Fratello, a cui crediamo che MARIA abbiano presentato (non Francesca).*
 ‘Your brother, to whom we believe that MARIA they presented (not Francesca).’

(Abels 2012: 9)

¹⁰ Notice that the relativization patterns clearly illustrate the relevance of Relativized Minimality. Relative pronouns are argued to target a different position than both topics and fronted foci (see Rizzi 1997), since both topics (CLLD) and fronted foci can occur inside of relative clauses in Italian:

- (i) *Un uomo a cui, il premio nobel, lo daranno senz’altro [-].* (Rizzi 1997:289)
 a man to who the prize nobel CL give without other
 ‘A man to whom the Nobel Prize, they would certainly give it.’
- (ii) *Ecco un uomo a cui il PREMIO NOBEL dovrebbero dare (non il premio X).* (Rizzi 1997: 298)
 there a man to who the PRIZE NOBEL should give not the prize X
 ‘This is a man to whom the NOBEL PRIZE they should give (not prize X).’

We could explain the incompatibility of *é que*-clefts and relativization by arguing that the cleft constituent and relative pronouns target the same position, although it would not be clear what the nature of this position would be. Also, it would not explain why both movement operations are also incompatible when different CPs are targeted. Additionally, pied-piping relative clauses, to be discussed in what follows, are compatible with *é que*-clefting. An intervention account thus seems to be more adequate to account for the data.

There is one exception to the generalization, namely *cujo*-relative clauses. These are genitive relative clauses, in which an NP is obligatorily pied-piped by the possessive genitive relative pronoun:

- (31) *A revista_i [[cujo editorial t_i]_j copiaste t_j] é muito má.*
 the magazine_i [[whose editorial t_i]_j copied.2S.PRF t_j] is very bad

Unlike what happens in relative clauses without pied-piping, in *cujo*-relative clauses relativization does not seem to be sensitive to *wh*-islands. As such, the relative clauses in (a) and (b), in which the relative operator moves across a *wh*-constituent leaving the possessee *in situ*, are judged considerably worse than the *cujo* relative clause in (c), in which the possessee is pied-piped:¹¹

- (32) a **A revista [[da qual] ignoras [quando copiaste o editorial]]*
 the magazine of which ignore when copied the editorial
 b **A revista [[de que] ignoras [quando copiaste o editorial]]*
 the magazine of that ignore when copied the editorial
 c *A revista [[cujo editorial] ignoras [quando copiaste]]*
 the magazine whose editorial ignore when copied

Also in intervention contexts with *é que*-clefts, *cujo*-relative clauses exhibit a different pattern. *Cujo*-relativization across the cleft constituent is considerably better than other types of relativization, both in local and in non-local contexts. The fact that the relative pronoun can co-occur with the cleft constituent in the same CP, confirms Rizzi's (1997) proposal that relativization targets a different position than focalized constituents, and thus provides extra evidence for the intervention account.

¹¹ The patterns concerning genitive relative clauses in (32) can be interpreted as evidence against the raising analysis of relative clauses, since only pied-piped material seems to be relevant for intervention effects. This receives a straightforward explanation if the head of relative clauses does not move, unlike the pied-piped material. However, this is not the place to discuss the syntax of relative clauses in great detail.

- (33) a ?*O menino cujo pai ontem é que foi hospitalizado, está ali todo triste.*
the boy whose father yesterday is that was hospitalized is there all sad
‘The boy whose father yesterday was hospitalized, is being sad over there.’
- b ?*O menino cujo pai acho que ontem é que foi hospitalizado, está ali todo triste.*
the boy whose father I think that yesterday is that was hospitalized is there all sad
‘The boy whose father I think that yesterday was hospitalized is being sad over there.’

Additionally, the pied-piped NP itself can be focalized and followed by *é que*, a fact that, as far as I know, has not been noticed before:

- (34) *O menino cujo pai é que está no hospital está ali todo triste.*
the boy whose father is that is in the hospital is there all sad
‘The boy whose father (is that) is in the hospital is being sad over there.’

In standard European Portuguese, a relative pronoun can only be followed by *é que* if there is NP pied-piping.¹² In the absence of an NP, the result is ungrammatical, even though the head of the relative clause can be focalized. For instance in (35), the relative pronoun *que* cannot be followed by *é que*, although the head *o menino* ‘the boy’ may be contrastively focalized. Note however that relative pronouns can be followed by *é que* in some non-standard varieties of European Portuguese (see Vercauteren 2010 and Cardoso & Alexandre 2013). This microvariation concerning *é que* will be returned to below.

- (35) **O menino que é que está no hospital*
the boy that is that is in.the hospital

¹² That is if my informants can be considered to be speakers of standard European Portuguese.

The question raises how we can explain the difference between relative clauses with and without pied-piping, when it comes to intervention with cleft constituents in *é que*-clefts. It has been argued that the sole presence of a lexical restriction in the moved constituent plays a role for intervention, at least in child grammar (see for instance Friedmann et al. 2009; Belletti & Rizzi 2012). Although the presence of lexical material might be relevant, what seems really crucial for adult speakers of European Portuguese is specificity. Compare the following two sentences, both with a complex *wh*-constituent containing a noun. The difference between the two *wh*-constituents, is that *que carro* can have two interpretations, while *qual carro* only has one: *que carro* can be used both to ask for the identification of a specific car, member of a set of cars that is given in the context, but it can also be used to ask for the identification of a kind of car, in which case it is not specific. *Qual carro* on the other hand can only be used to ask for the identification of a specific car. In intervention contexts, the non-specific interpretation for *que carro* is unavailable, indicated by the * in the example below. With the specific interpretation, the sentence is acceptable, although slightly degraded. *Qual carro*, always specific, can be extracted across interveners.

- (36) a **Que carro achas que o Rui é que consertou?*
 what car think that the Rui is that repaired
- b ?*Qual carro achas que o Rui é que consertou?*
 which car think that the Rui is that repaired
 ‘Which car do you think that Rui (is that) fixed?’

Given this, it does not seem adequate to argue that *cujo* relatives are insensitive to quantificational interveners because they involve pied-piping of lexical material, unlike other relative clauses. Additionally, if relativization involves raising of the head of the relative clause, as was argued by Kayne (1994) or Bianchi (1999), all restrictive relative clauses involve movement of quantificational and lexical material. Hence, we would expect a contrast between restrictive relative clauses, with lexical material, and free relative clauses, without lexical material. This is not the case: free relative clauses pattern with restrictive relative clauses in intervention contexts. The relevant contrast is between relative clauses with and without pied-piping.

I suggest that the difference between the two types of relativization in relation to intervention effects also might be due to a difference in specificity, on a par with what was observed for *wh*-movement. Above, it was established that the specificity of the head of the relative clause is irrelevant for intervention. This follows if the head does not enter the movement operation or if it is non-specific in its base position. In *cujo*-relative clauses, another element enters the dependency relation: the pied-piped NP. There is some evidence that relativization with pied-piping differs from regular relativization when it comes to specificity. For instance, unlike with regular relativization, the gap associated with *cujo*-relatives may not be inside an existential construction, which indicates that the element that is moved consistently is specific:

- (37) a *Os livros que há [-] na biblioteca são todos usados.*
 the books that have are all used
 ‘The books there are [-] are all used.’
- b *??o autor cujos livros há na biblioteca*
 the author whose books are in.the library
 ‘the author whose books there are [-] in the library

Although the evidence is scarce, the contrast above indicates that we may maintain that specificity does cause an amelioration effect in intervention contexts, in line with what we found for *wh*-movement.

The data discussed here illustrates that the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts has a quantificational feature that gives rise to intervention effects with other quantificational constituents, such as *wh*-constituents in interrogatives, adverbial clauses and relative clauses. The interrogative contexts provide evidence that specificity of the constituent moving across an intervener ameliorates intervention effects. Although the evidence is not that clear-cut, also relative clauses provide evidence for the role of specificity.

Given that the distribution of *é que*-clefts can be captured referring to intervention, I will maintain the hypothesis put forward in the previous chapters: focus does not trigger movement, and in case a focalized constituent does move, it does so for focus-independent reasons. In the case of *é que*-clefts, the cleft constituent moves to the left periphery of the clause to become the topic of the sentence.

7.1.2 The position and nature of *é que*

In section 4.2.1, I argued that *é que* is a non-separable unit lexicalizing one single node in the left periphery of the clause. So far, nothing has been said concerning which node that is. The most straightforward analysis would be to posit that *é que* lexicalizes the head of the TopP that hosts the cleft constituent in its specifier. However, since the same sequence *é que* also surfaces in other structures, such as interrogatives, it might be the case that it lexicalizes some other head, not immediately associated with the cleft constituent. In this section, I will argue that *é que* lexicalizes the lowest head of the left periphery. Additionally, for standard European Portuguese, I will suggest that *é que* is a focus operator, given the requirement of a focalized constituent to its left. In some non-standard varieties of European Portuguese, *é que* seems to have grammaticalized to an entirely vacuous element.

Considering that *é que* can surface with a variety of types of constituents to its right, such as cleft constituents, *wh*-constituents and relative pronouns with a pied-piped NP, we could assume that *é que* can lexicalize any left peripheral head. An alternative is to assume that *é que* lexicalizes the same head in all structures it surfaces in.¹³ Each analysis has some advantages, but I will argue that an account according to which *é que* uniformly lexicalizes Fin is more adequate, based on three observations: (i) *é que* does not (always) need to be strictly adjacent to the constituent it accompanies; (ii) at least in standard European Portuguese, there may only be one instance of *é que* in the CP of the clause and (iii) no left-peripheral material may occur to the right of *é que*. Although the evidence is not conclusive and allows for alternative analyses, I will assume that *é que* lexicalizes Fin.

In previous work (Vercauteren 2010a, b), I argued, following Soares (2006), that the cleft constituent in *é que*-clefts does not occupy the specifier of the head lexicalized by *é que*, based on the observation that adjuncts and parentheticals may intervene between the cleft constituent and *é que*:

¹³ Under a classical cartographic account, in which both *wh*-constituents and the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts occupy the specifier of a FocP, one might argue that *é que* realizes the Foc head. However, it is not clear how *cujo*-relatives might fit into such an analysis, since relativization does not target a FocP.

- (38) a *E eu, como sendo o mais velho, é que fui sempre o mais escravo.*
 (AAL35)
 ‘And I, being the oldest, (is that) was always the most hard-working.’
- b *A outra parte que se deita depois na canja, é claro, é que é depois migada e tudo.* (MTV57)
 ‘The other part that is added then to the chicken broth, as is clear, (is that) is crumbled and everything afterwards.’

If adjuncts occupy the specifier of a specialized ModP, as is argued by Rizzi (2004), we cannot assume that the cleft constituent and *é que* occupy the specifier and the head of the same projection. On the other hand, if we assume an adjunction analysis of left-peripheral adjuncts and parentheticals, the cleft constituent and *é que* might occupy the same projection, as long as adjunction to intermediate levels is allowed. Both analyses can thus account for the lack of strict adjacency between the cleft constituent and *é que*, depending on one’s assumptions concerning left-peripheral adjuncts.

In interrogatives on the other hand, in general nothing may intervene between the *wh*-constituent and *é que*, which might indicate that *é que* and the *wh*-constituent are in a Spec-Head relation. However, when the *wh*-constituent is complex, parentheticals are more acceptable:

- (39) a **O que, ontem, é que a Maria leu?*
 what yesterday is that the Maria read
- b *Que livro, diz-me tu, é que a Maria leu?*
 what book say me you is that the Maria read
 ‘What book, tell me, (is that) did Maria read?’

Arguably, this distinction between bare *wh* and complex *wh*-constituents is due to the less strict requirement of the latter to be adjacent to a verb. In European Portuguese, I-to-C movement is obligatory in *wh*-interrogatives, unless *é que* is inserted. However, with complex *wh*-constituents, the verb does not have to raise to the left periphery (see Ambar 1992). Soares (2006) argues that *é que* insertion has the same function as I-to-C movement, as the same strict adjacency between the *wh*-constituent and *é que* is observed as between a *wh*-constituent

and the verb in C. Presumably, the verb in C or *é que* do not occupy the head position adjacent to the *wh*-constituent. Rather, the strict adjacency between the *wh*-constituent and the verb/*é que* in bare *wh*-questions is due to an Agree relation between the *wh*-constituent and the verb/*é que*. An analysis along these lines permits us to maintain a uniform derivation for interrogatives.¹⁴

The discussion concerning the adjacency between the cleft constituent/the *wh*-constituent and *é que* does not provide conclusive evidence concerning the position of *é que*. The data are compatible both with an analysis in which *é que* occupies the head of the specifier occupied by the constituent preceding it, and thus presumably is able to lexicalize a variety of head positions within the CP, and an analysis in which *é que* consistently occupies the same head position. A second aspect of the distribution of *é que* that provides a stronger argument is that there may only be one occurrence of *é que* in the CP of the clause, at least in standard European Portuguese:

- (40) **O bolo é que o João é que comeu.*
the cake is that the João is that ate

(Costa & Lobo 2009: 3802)

If *é que* can occupy a variety of head positions, it is not clear how to rule out that it occurs more than once. If, on the other hand, we assume that it can only lexicalize one head position, the unicity of *é que* follows. However, I wish to note that the structure in (40) is ruled out on independent grounds: as will be illustrated below, *é que* in standard European Portuguese is consistently associated with a focalized constituent. As was discussed in great detail in the previous chapter, multiple left-peripheral foci are ungrammatical because of intervention effects.

¹⁴ See Abels (2012) for similar suggestions concerning the strict adjacency between the *wh*-constituent and the verb in C: it is not entirely clear whether this strict adjacency is the consequence of a Spec-Head relation between both or of some other requirement of *wh*-constituents in root interrogatives. I do not exclude the possibility that the verb/*é que* is first merged in Fin and subsequently moves to a higher head position in bare *wh*-interrogatives, as such ending up in a Spec-Head configuration with the *wh*-constituent, along the lines of what Rizzi & Shlonsky (2006) argue for the raising verb in interrogatives. However, if one assumes that adjunction (to intermediate projections) should not be allowed, it cannot be the case that this CP-internal head-to-head movement also takes place in questions with a complex *wh*-constituent. As such, it seems reasonable to assume that *é que* occupies Fin in at least a sub-set of *wh*-interrogatives.

For those varieties that allow for a recursive cleft constituent, each accompanied by an instance of *é que*, as illustrated in (41), it might be the case that *é que* can lexicalize more than one node, or that these structures have to be analysed as some kind of recomplementation structure (see Costa & Lobo 2009 and Vercauteren 2010a). The latter hypothesis would explain why the number of *é que*'s is restricted to two. In order to make any definitive conclusions regarding these structures, more data are needed, especially negative data.

- (41) *Tanto que quando se rompe é que eles é que vêem ele.* VPC25
 that.much that when SE break is that they is that see it
 'That much that when it breaks (is that) they (is that) see it.'

One last piece of data that might give us indications on the position of *é que*, is the fact that no left-peripheral material, such as (clitic left dislocated) topics may occur to the right of *é que*:¹⁵

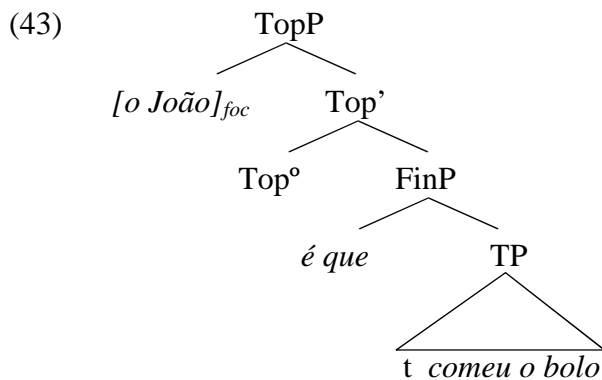
- (42) a **Eu é que o bolo, comi-o.*
 I is that the cake ate CL
 b **Com quem é que o bolo, comeste-o?*
 with who is that the cake ate-CL

Given this last property of the distribution of *é que*, I tentatively conclude that it occupies Fin in all structures it surfaces in. Assuming this has the additional advantage of explaining why *é que* can only surface in finite structures, as was illustrated in section 4.2.1. If it is true that the Fin head is related to finiteness, as was initially argued by Rizzi (1997), we do expect there to be finiteness restrictions on the structures *é que* can surface in.

The proposed structure for *é que*-clefts is illustrated below:¹⁶

¹⁵ This seems to be the case for non-standard European Portuguese as well. In the corpus, only one occurrence of an adjunct to the right of *é que* was found:

(i) *Pois, mais ou menos, pessoal da minha idade é que, mais ou menos, faz isto.* (MLD03)
 'Well, more or less, people of my age (is that), more or less, do this.'



Let us now turn to the nature of *é que*. Recall that *é que*, with the same properties as in *é que*-clefts, also surfaces in other structures. In standard European Portuguese, it can occur in *wh*-interrogatives, as was discussed in great detail by Soares (2006), but apparently also in *cujo*-relative clauses, a fact that, as far as I know, has not been noted so far. Concerning *cujo*-relatives, the pied-piped NP receives a focus interpretation. The three contexts in which *é que* can occur are illustrated below:

- (44) a *O macaco é que me deu um beijo.*
 the monkey is that me gave a kiss
 ‘The monkey (is that) gave me a kiss.’
- b *Quando é que chegas?*
 when is that arrive
 ‘When do you arrive?’
- c *O menino cujo pai é que está no hospital está triste.*
 the boy whose father is that is in.the hospital is sad
 ‘The boy whose father (is that) is in the hospital is sad.’

For the standard language, it thus seems to be the case that *é que* can occur in any structure that involves left-peripheral focus, independently of the position that the focalized

¹⁶ If the ‘cleft constituent’ is the pied-piped NP of genitive relative clauses, the position it occupies is not a TopP but rather a RelP.

constituent occupies. The fact that *é que* may only surface in *cujo*-relatives but not in restrictive relatives with a focalized head, indicates that the focalized constituent effectively has to occupy a position in the CP of the clause:¹⁷

- (45) **Vi o MENINO que é que está triste.*
 saw the BOY that is that is sad

We could thus say that *é que* functions as some sort of focus sensitive operator that requires the relatively local presence of a focalized constituent. Unlike focus sensitive operators such as *only* or *even*, the focalized constituent does not surface in its c-command domain.

In non-standard European Portuguese, *é que* can occur in some additional structures, including complement clauses (a), all types of relative clauses (b) and adverbial clauses (c) (see Vercauteren 2010a for a detailed description):

- (46) a *E de maneira que ela (...) criava bois e*
 and of manner that she reared oxen and
acho que é que lavrava. (CLH35)
 think that is that worked
 ‘So that she reared the oxen and I think that (is that) she worked
- b *Quando tirava a coalhada dalém, é*
 when removed the curd from.there is
claro, (...) depois no fundo, aonde é que tinha
 clear after on.the bottom where is that had
a coalhada, ficava também líquido. (CBV55)
 the curd stayed also liquid

¹⁷ Under any analysis of relative clauses, the head of the relative clause ends up in a position outside of the CP. Under the head-external analysis, the CP relative clause is simply adjoined to the head NP. Under the raising analysis, although the head does move through a CP-position, it subsequently undergoes movement to a higher position (see for instance Bianchi 1999 or de Vries 2006). Also under a matching analysis does the head N never occupy a position in the CP of the relative clause.

‘When we took the curd from there, it’s clear, then at the bottom, where (is that) the curd was, there was also liquid.’

c *Ele que pegue o pão e ponha em cima*
 he that take the bread and put in top
da pá que eu vou à lenha quando é
 of.the peel that I go to.the wood when is
que fizer falta. (PAL31)
 that do shortage

‘Let him take the bread and put it on the peel since I get firewood whenever (is that) it is necessary.’

In the non-standard language, *é que* seems to have grammaticalized to an underspecified C-particle. Also recall the data discussed in section 5.4.3, in which it was illustrated that in some varieties of non-standard European Portuguese, the cleft constituent can be null or recursive, indicating that it is not focalized but rather functions as a plain topic. It might be the case that in these varieties, *é que* ceased to be a focus operator and became an empty lexicalizer of a left-peripheral head. This possible grammaticalization process will be discussed in more detail in chapter 8, where the close relation between copulas, focus particles and other particles will be discussed.

7.1.3 Summary

Summarizing, the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts occupies a left-peripheral A’-position, as it causes intervention effects with movement of other quantificational constituents. More specifically, the cleft constituent moves to the specifier of a TopP in order to become a sentence topic. The presence of a focus feature, a quantificational feature, gives rise to intervention with *wh*-movement and relativization. This intervention effect is mitigated if the constituent moving across the intervener is specific. Additional features of the intervener, such as specificity, do not seem to be relevant, contrary to what is predicted by the standard definition of featural Relativized Minimality.

É que is argued to occupy the lowest head of the left periphery, namely Fin. In the standard language, there needs to be a focalized constituent to its left, be it an interrogative *wh*-constituent, a cleft constituent or a focalized NP pied-piped by relativization. In some non-standard varieties, *é que* does not impose any requirements on the material to its left. It seems to be a mere lexicalizer of a left peripheral head.

7.2 SER-clefts

In chapter 4 it was argued that SER-clefts are monoclausal sentences in which the copula does not head the matrix VP because it lacks the properties of a regular copular verb. Several authors have proposed a monoclausal analysis of SER-clefts in Brazilian Portuguese (Kato & Miotto 2012, Miotto 2012, Resenes & Den Dikken 2012) or a variety of Spanish (Bosque 1999, Méndez-Vallejo 2009a, b, 2012, Curnow & Travis 2003, Camacho 2006, Zubizarreta 2014). Although most authors assume that the cleft constituent is *in situ*, Kato & Miotto (2012) assume that the cleft constituent undergoes movement to a left peripheral FocP. In chapter 5 I argued, in accordance with the majority view, that the cleft constituent effectively is *in situ*, because there is no evidence for movement. As for the position of the copula SER ‘to be’, I will propose a novel analysis, based to a great extent on Cable’s (2010) account for Q-particles, because an analysis along these lines can more easily account for the rather free distribution of the copula, which is discussed in section 7.2.1. The details and predictions of the analysis are discussed in section 7.2.2.

7.2.1 The position of the copula

Concerning the position of the copula, several proposals have been made. For instance, Bosque (1999) and Méndez-Vallejo (2009a,b, 2012) argue that it sits in a FocP in the VP or the TP edge. The most detailed analysis is provided by Méndez-Vallejo (2009b), who argues that the copula occupies a FocP in the right edge of TP, based on the observation that constituents bigger than vP can be the cleft constituent. Additionally, she assumes that the

copula occupies the specifier of this FocP, and not the head, because otherwise we expect the copula to block verb movement. Her analysis is illustrated below:

(47) [TP [TopP [FocP ser [Foc° [PerfP [ProgP [vP [VP V°]

(Méndez-Vallejo 2012)

Analyses of this type, assuming a fixed position for the copula have one major weakness: the copula seems to be subject to relatively few distributional restrictions. For instance, it can occur in between the verb in T and an auxiliary or lexical verb, as in (48)a, but it can also be preceded by several auxiliaries and followed by an auxiliary or lexical verb as in (48)b and c. If the copula does occupy a fixed position, we have to assume that auxiliaries and verbs can freely move across the copula, and that there are several positions available for auxiliaries to the left of the copula.

- (48) a *Pode é ter estado durante oito meses com*
 can is have been during eight months with
*alguns dias com falhas de água.*¹⁸
 some days with problems of water
 ‘During eight months, he could (is) have had a few days with water problems.’
- b *Não me parece que seja muscular, deve ter é*
 not me seem that is muscular must have is
ficado com uma concussão do caraças devido à
 stayed with a concussion of.the shit due to.the
*pancada que levou.*¹⁹
 blow that received

¹⁸ <http://www.cm-ferreiradozere.pt/NR/rdonlyres/0001dff1/brsjsgoapshjsjwxtrdpofgyxfioxvad/Acta20100924AM.pdf> (11 april 2014)

¹⁹ <http://serbenfiquista.com/forum/geral/miralem-sulejmani/4680/> (11 april 2014)

‘It doesn’t seem to me to be muscular, he must have (is) gotten a huge concussion due to the blow that he received.’

c *Eles estão e têm estado é a servir-se do*
 they are and have been is to serve-SE of.the
povo, para se governarem.
 people for SE maintain
 ‘they are and have been (is) serving themselves of the people to maintain themselves.’

Assuming free verb movement is not necessarily problematic. For instance, if it is true that adverbs occupy the specifier of a specialized functional head (Cinque 1999), we have to assume that auxiliaries can optionally move across certain adverbs (also see Cinque 2005 and Harwood 2014 for optional auxiliary movement). In European Portuguese, some adverbs can occur both to the left and to the right of particular auxiliaries. For instance, *provavelmente* ‘probably’ can occur both to the left and to the right of *ter* ‘have’:

(49) *A Maria (provavelmente) tem (provavelmente) estado*
 the Maria (probably) has (probably) been
*(*provavelmente) doente.*
 (*probably) sick

This can be accounted for by assuming that *ter* optionally moves to a higher position preceding the adverb. However, optional auxiliary movement is not unrestricted. *Estado* ‘been’ in the example above, for instance, cannot move to the left of the adverb. Nevertheless, the copula in SER-clefts can occupy all of the positions in the TP-field, as long as it occurs to the right of the verb in T:

(50) *Ele pode (é) ter (é) estado (é) doente.*
 he may (is) have (is) been (is) sick

It thus seems to be preferable to assume that the copula does not occupy a fixed position, but that it can be freely merged within the TP field, as will be argued below.

Apart from the flexible position of the copula in the TP-field, also within the VP the copula has a rather free distribution: the cleft constituent can correspond to smaller or bigger portions of the VP. For instance, it can correspond to one complement, two complements, as in below(51), or to complements of the verb and the non-finite verb, as in (48)b and c.

- (51) *Quero é dar o bolo ao macaco*
 want.1S is give the cake to.the monkey

If SER occupies a fixed position, this variability could be accounted for if we assume that constituents can freely move out of the complement of the projection lexicalized by the copula, for instance to a recursive TopP, along the lines of the representation below:

- (52) $[_{TP} \textit{Quero dar} [_{TopP} [o \textit{bolo}]_i [_{XP} \acute{e} [_{VP} t_i \textit{ao macaco}]]]]$

An alternative to assuming a lot of optional movement in order to arrive upon the correct distribution of SER, is to assume that the copula does not have a fixed position. Also the fact that SER can occur inside of DPs and APs, although with some restrictions (see below), indicates that SER does not occupy a fixed position in the clausal spine.²⁰

²⁰ The fact that DP (i) and AP-internal (ii) constituents can be the cleft constituent in SER-clefts puts it apart from the other cleft constructions discussed here. The (a) examples illustrate *it*-clefts, the (b) example pseudoclefts and the (c) examples *é que*-clefts.

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| (i) | a | <i>*Foi de terra que vi uma casa.</i> |
| | | was of eart that saw a house |
| | b | <i>*De que vi uma casa foi de terra.</i> |
| | | of what saw a house was of earth |
| | c | <i>*De terra é que vi uma casa.</i> |
| | | of earth is that saw a house |
| (ii) | a | <i>*É de esperar que estou cansada.</i> |
| | | is of waiting that am tired |
| | b | <i>??De que estou cansada é de esperar.</i> |
| | | of what am tired is of waiting |
| | c | <i>*De esperar é que estou cansada.</i> |
| | | of waiting is that am tired |

- (53) a *Vi uma casa foi de terra.*
 saw a house was of earth
- b *Estou cansada é de esperar.*
 am tired is of waiting

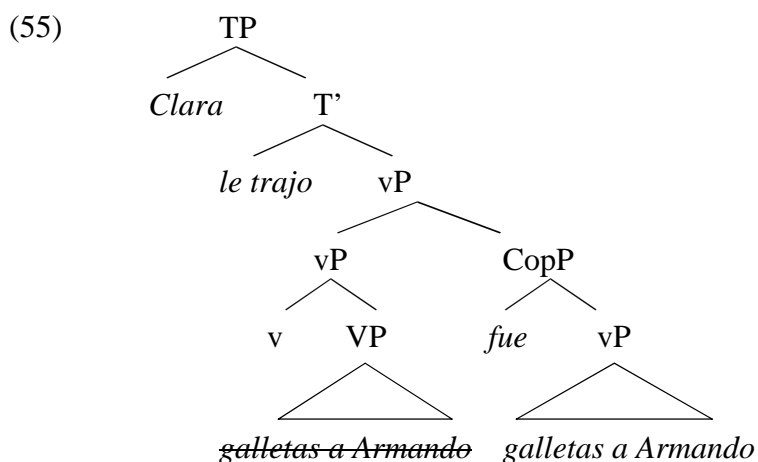
This was suggested by Mito (2012) and Curnow & Travis (2003) for instance, who propose that the copula is a focus particle, adjoined to or occupying the specifier of the cleft constituent. The problem with analyses along these lines, mentioned by Mito (2012), is that it overgenerates: it is not clear how one can restrict the positions where SER can surface. Recall for instance that the copula has to occur obligatorily to the right of the inflected verb:

- (54) a **A Maria foi dançou.*
 the Maria was danced
- b **Foi a Maria dançou.*
 was the Maria danced
- c *Dançou foi a Maria*
 danced was the Maria

Camacho (2006) and Zubizarreta (2014) also provide an analysis that captures the distributional freedom of SER more easily. They assume an adjunction analysis: the copula is base generated in a projection adjoined to VP and takes the cleft constituent as its complement.²¹ According to Zubizarreta (2014), the material corresponding to the cleft constituent inside of VP is elided under identity. The analysis is illustrated below:

In addition to DP internal and AP internal constituents, SER-clefts can be used to focalize a variety of constituents that can not be the cleft constituent of the other clefts, such as AspPs, vP-shells and entire small clauses.

²¹ For Camacho (2006), the adjoined structure is a copulative equative sentence with a null subject and a focalized predicate. The null subject is coindexed with an empty category in the main clause. Camacho (2006) does not provide any details concerning the empty category and its licensing.



This analysis has the advantage that it can more easily account for the flexible position of the copula, and it also provides an explanation for why the cleft constituent cannot be extracted, as it occupies a position inside an adjunct and adjuncts are strong islands for extraction:

- (56) **O que* *comeu o* *Superhomem foi [-]?*
 what ate the Superman was

It also accounts for the fact that the copula cannot occur between P and its DP complement or between D and its NP complement, since P and D do not license ellipsis/cannot be stranded in Portuguese.

However, the drawback of this analysis is that it has an *ad hoc* flavour. For instance, it is not clear how ellipsis of the material corresponding to the cleft constituent is licensed. A special type of ellipsis has to be involved, since the cleft constituent in SER-clefts can correspond to constituents that cannot readily be elided. This is illustrated by the fact that elision of the second verb in complex predicates is ungrammatical, while they can be the cleft constituent in SER-clefts. According to Camacho's (2006) and Zubizarreta's (2014) analysis,

in the example below, the second verb of the complex predicate can be elided without its direct object *te* ‘you’, while this is in general impossible:

- (57) a *Não te queremos é ver.*
 not CL want.3PL is see
 ‘We don’t want (is) to see you.’
- b *Não te quero ver, nem a Maria (*te) quer.*
 not CL want.1S see neither the Maria CL want

Also complements of nouns can be the cleft constituent in SER-clefts, but cannot be elided:

- (58) a *Li um livro foi de linguística.*
 read.1S.PRF a book be.3S.PRF of linguistics
 ‘I read a book (was) of linguistics.’
- b *Li um livro de linguística, mas os alunos
 não leram um livro (*de linguística)*
 not read.3PL.PRF a book (*of linguistics)

As an alternative to these analyses, I will develop an account for SER-clefts based on Cable’s (2010) analysis for Q-particles, in which the copula is a focus particle, as was suggested by Curnow & Travis (2003) for Spanish and Mito (2012) for Brazilian Portuguese. The distribution of the copula will be determined by selectional restrictions.

7.2.2 Proposal: SER as a verbal focus particle

In this section, I work out the concrete proposal for the syntax of SER-clefts. The section is organized as follows: section 7.2.2.1 introduces Cables’ (2010) account for the syntax of Q-particles. In section 7.2.2.2, this account is adapted to SER-clefts. Section 7.2.2.3

discusses the predictions of the proposed account. Selected constituents, predicates and adjuncts will be discussed separately.

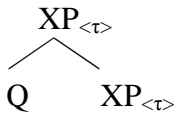
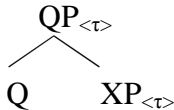
7.2.2.1 Cable's (2010) syntax of Q-particles

Cable (2010) proposes an account for the syntax of Q-particles in *wh*-interrogatives, such as Tlingit *sá* illustrated in the example below:

- (59) *Wáa sá sh tudinookw i éesh?*
 how Q he.feels your father
 'How is your father feeling?' (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 2000: 138)

(Cable 2010: 3)

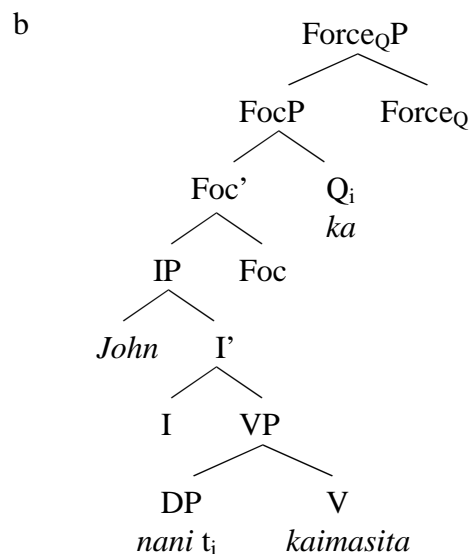
Based on the distribution of this type of Q-particles in three languages, namely Tlingit, Japanese and Linhala, Cable (2010) argues that Q-particles can be both adjoined to the *wh*-constituent or take the *wh*-constituent as their complement. This is the source of cross-linguistic variation, giving rise to two types of languages: Q-adjunction languages and Q-projection languages. In the first type, the node dominating Q-XP will have the same label as XP, while in the second, it will be a QP. In both types of languages, the Q-particle does not change the semantic type of its sister. This is schematized below in (a) and (b) respectively, with τ representing any semantic type:

- (60) a 
- b 

The configurational difference has an impact on movement. Taking a label to be a set of features of one of the merged objects (see for instance Chomsky 1994, Citko 2008, Chomsky 2014), if some movement operation is triggered by Q-features, a different constituent will move in both types of languages. In the Q-adjunction languages, the Q-particle can move separately from its sister, as is the case in Japanese interrogatives, in which the Q-particle *ka* moves to CP leaving the *wh*-constituent behind. The structure of Japanese *wh*-interrogatives is schematized in (b):

- (61) a *John-ga* *nani-o* *kaimasita* *ka?*
 John-NOM what-ACC bought.polite Q
 ‘What did John buy?’

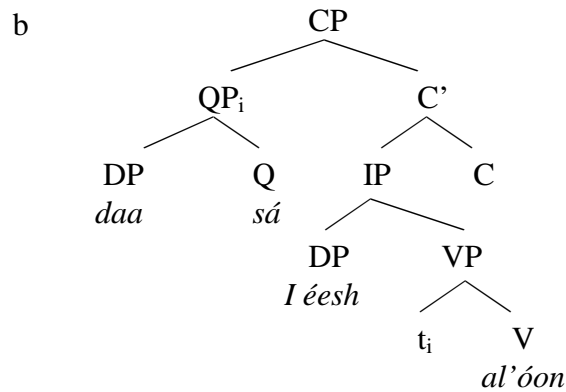
(Cable 2010: 89)



(Cable 2010: 95)

Due to locality, in Q-projection languages, Q-XP will always move as a whole, since the Q-features triggering movement are visible on the label of the whole QP. This is the case for Tlingit *wh*-movement, in which the *wh*-constituent always moves together with the Q-particle, as schematized below.

- (62) a *Daa sá i éesh al'óon?*
 what Q your father he.hunts.it
 ‘What is your father hunting?’



(Cable 2010: 13)

The second aspect of Cable’s account for Q-particles is selection: in Q-projection languages, the distribution of QPs is restricted by selectional principles. Based on the observation that Q-particles in Tlingit, a Q-projection language, cannot occur between P and its NP complement (64), between D and its NP complement (65), nor between a possessor and a possessed NP (66), Cable (2010) proposes the following generalization (note that intervention here is not to be understood in the same manner as in the Relativized Minimality literature: QP intervenes if it dominates XP but not F):

- (63) **The QP-intervention condition:** a QP cannot intervene between a functional head F and a phrase selected by F.

(Cable 2010: 57)

- (64) a *Goo déi sá yeegoot?*
 where.to Q you.went
 ‘Where did you go?’
 b **Goo sá déi yeegoot?*

where Q.to you.went

- (65) a *X'oon* *keitl* *sá* *ysiteen?*
how.many dog Q you.saw.them
'How many dogs did you see?'
- b **X'oon* *sá* *keitl* *ysiteen?*
how.many Q dog you.saw.them
- (66) a *Aadóo x 'asheeyí* *sá* *iya.aa x ?*
who song Q you.heard.it
'Whose song did you hear?'
- b **Aadóo* *sá* *x 'asheeyí* *iya.aa x ?*
who Q song you.heard.it

(Cable 2010: 45-46)

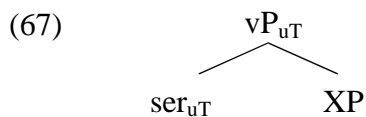
The reason why QP intervenes is because it blocks the selectional relation between the functional head and the lower phrase. Cable argues that the reason why QP only intervenes for selection by functional heads, such as P and D, but not for selection by lexical heads, such as V, is because of the fact that functional and lexical heads select for different things: functional heads select for syntactic category, while lexical heads select for semantic type (see for instance Pesetsky 1982 for selection by verbs). This distinction is standardly known as c(ategory)-selection and s(emantic)-selection.²² Since Q-particles in Tlingit only change the category of their sister but not the semantic type, we expect that they are invisible in s-selection contexts, but not in c-selection contexts. Additionally, Cable (2010) suggests that in case a functional head does select for a Q-category, QPs can intervene between a functional head and the phrase it selects. However, there do not seem to be functional heads selecting QPs in Tlingit, but, as will be discussed below, SER-clefts do provide evidence for this

²² Several authors have argued to eliminate c-selection from the theory, and reduce all types of selection to semantic selection (see for instance Pesetsky 1982). It effectively does seem to be the case that several functional heads, such as aspectual heads, are sensitive to the semantics of their complement. However, it does seem reasonable to assume that functional heads are sensitive to the syntactic category of their complement, even though semantics might also play a role: D's cannot select anything else than NPs and P's cannot select anything else than DPs for instance.

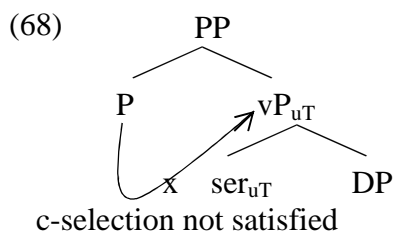
analysis. I refer to Cable (2010) for a more detailed discussion and several examples to illustrate his claims.

7.2.2.2 Implementation: the nature of the copula

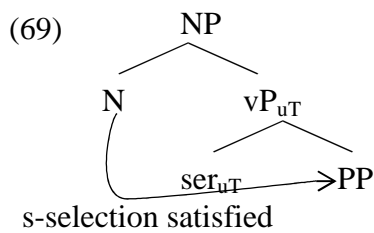
The analysis for SER-clefts to be developed here has a lot in common with Cable's proposals concerning Q-particles, especially Q-particles in Tlingit. I argue that the copula takes the cleft constituent as its sister and projects a vP, possibly with uninterpretable tense features visible on the label, as schematized below.



The fact that it is the copula that projects the label, and thus that the cleft constituent is embedded in a vP, has consequences for selection, in the sense that functional heads that do not select for verbal constituents, such as P for instance, cannot select the vP:



On a par with Cable's claims for Q-particles, I will assume that the copula is semantically vacuous, as such, the vP consisting of the copula and the cleft constituent will have the same semantic properties as the cleft constituent. Hence, the vP is invisible for semantic selection of the cleft constituent by lexical heads, such as N.



First of all, I wish to spell out the details concerning the verbal properties of the copula, since I argued in chapter 4 that the copula lacks several verbal properties, based on the observation that it cannot be negated, nor be modified by adverbs or aspectual or modal auxiliaries. The relevant examples are repeated below:

- (70) a **O Batman organizou não foi a festa.*
 the Batman organized not was the party
- b **O Batman organizou foi definitivamente a festa.*
 the Batman organized was definitely the party
- c **O Batman tem organizado pode ter sido festas.*
 the Batman has organized could have been parties

Additionally, the tense and aspect of the copula has to match that of the finite matrix verb.²³ Recall that the copula in general does not inflect for person or number, although some speakers seem to accept agreement with a subject cleft constituent. Given these properties of the copula in SER-clefts, I will assume (i) that it does not have any semantic content and (ii) that it has uninterpretable tense features. Assuming that the copula is semantically vacuous predicts that it cannot be modified by negation, since negation selects propositions, nor by adverbs or aspectual/modal auxiliaries, because these select for events. For instance, in the sentence in (70)a, [*foi a festa*] has the same semantics as the plain DP [*a festa*], and it thus

²³ Also the tense of the copular verb in specificational sentences, such as *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts, is dependent upon the finite verb in the cleft clause:

- (i) *Foi/*É o João que comeu o bolo.*
 was/*is the João that ate the cake
- (ii) *Quem comeu o bolo foi/*é o João*
 who ate the cake was/*is the João

Note that in non-standard European Portuguese, the copula can surface in the default present of the indicative if the matrix verb is in another tense.

denotes an entity.²⁴ Since entities cannot be selected by negation, adverbs, or aspectual auxiliaries and modal verbs, we expect [*foi a festa*] to have a similar behaviour, which is borne out. The lack of semantic content also predicts that the copula can take any semantic type as its complement, since it does not impose any selectional restrictions. This seems to be borne out, as I have not found any restrictions on what can surface as the cleft constituent. The cleft constituent can denote any semantic type (entities, properties, propositions, quantifiers etc.) and can be of any syntactic category:

- (71) a *E só prejudica é [DP as searas].* (ALC40)
 and only prejudices is the harvests
 ‘It only prejudices (is) the harvests.’
- b *Não era era [NP dores desensofridas].* (STJ51)
 not was was pains insufferable
 ‘It weren’t (was) insufferable pains.’
- c *Este bote é tripulado é [PP por sete homens].* (PIC15)
 this boat is manned is by seven men
 ‘This boat is manned (is) by seven men.’
- d *E é bom é [CP que as duas aguentem].* (PIC09)
 and is good is that the two hang.on
 ‘And it’s good (is) that the two hang on.’
- e *Pois eu ia era [VP fugir].* GRC27
 well I went was escape
 ‘Well, I was going to (was) escape.’
- f *E se for aí para dentro duma horta, essa coisa só faz lá é [AdvP bem].*
 (AJT25)
 and if went there to inside of.a garden this thing only does there is well
 ‘And if it would go into a garden, this thing would only do (is) well there.’
- e *É mais conveniente porque é mesmo é [AP menos perigoso].* (PIC09)
 is more convenient because is really is less dangerous
 ‘It’s more convenient because it’s really (is) less dangerous.’

²⁴ I am abstracting away from focus semantics here.

Second, assuming that the copula has uninterpretable tense features explains why it has to match the tense of the inflected verb, and why the tense of the copula is not interpreted at LF. As is standardly assumed, I will assume that the uT features need to be checked by T before spell out. As such, the copula will have the same tense and aspect as the finite verb, with features also checked by T. As will become clear below, the presence of uninterpretable tense features will also be relevant for the second part of the argument, namely that the label $vP_{[uT]}$ determines the distribution of the copula. In short, I assume that the copula syntactically is a verb, but not semantically.

7.2.2.3 Discussion

In this section I discuss the predictions of the proposed account. In section 7.2.2.3.1, I will illustrate that the vP projected by the copula can be selected by lexical heads and by functional heads that select for verbal constituents. Functional heads that do not select for verbal constituents cannot select for the vP . Then I turn to predicates and adjuncts, which are not necessarily selected by any head, but which can surface as the cleft constituent in SER-clefts, *modulo* some restrictions. Since all types of predicates can surface as the cleft constituent in SER-clefts, I follow Bowers (1993) and Svenonius (1996) and assume that all predication relations involve a functional head *Pred*. This head can select for verbal constituents, hence, it can take the vP as its complement. This is discussed in section 7.2.2.3.2. Section 7.2.2.3.3 deals with adjuncts. Since the syntax of adjuncts is controversial, it is not entirely clear whether the proposed account makes the correct predictions. Nevertheless, those adjuncts that have been argued to occupy a functional specifier cannot be the cleft constituent in SER-clefts. This follows if these adjuncts are selected by a functional head that cannot select verbal constituents. Other adjuncts can surface as the cleft constituent in SER-clefts, which indicates that they have a different syntax, a claim that has repeatedly been made in the literature.

7.2.2.3.1 *Selection by lexical and functional heads*

The fact that the copula takes the cleft constituent as a complement and projects a vP has consequences for selection. Following Cable (2010), I will assume that the category of a constituent is not relevant for s-selection, as such, the vP consisting of the copula and the cleft constituent can surface as the sister of arguments of lexical heads. Functional heads on the other hand c-select their complements, as such, the vP will not be able to be selected by a functional head that does not select for verbs. We thus expect that the vP can surface as an argument of lexical heads, and as a complement of only those functional heads that can select for verbal constituents. These predictions are borne out. First of all, the copula can surface to the left of complements of verbs (72)a, nouns (72)b and adjectives (72)c, all lexical heads.

- (72) a *Não temos [vP [vP é [DP solução nenhuma]]].* (ALV37)
 not have is solution none
 ‘We don’t have (is) any solution.’
- b *Vi a [NP destruição [vP foi [PP da cidade]]].*
 saw the destruction was of.the city
 ‘I saw the destruction (was) of the city.’
- c *Estou [AP contente [vP é [PP com o desfecho]]].*
 am happy is with the outcome
 ‘I am happy (is) with the outcome.’

Second, the vP can surface as the complement of T (73)a and Asp (73)b, functional heads that can select verbal constituents, but it cannot surface as the complement of D’s (74)a, P’s (74)b or C’s (74)c, functional heads that do not select verbs. Note that the fact that the vP can be selected by T and Asp, functional heads which supposedly are sensitive to syntactic categories, provides evidence for Cable’s account for Q-particles.

- (73) a *[TP Está [vP é [AspP prejudicando]]].* (SRP33)
 is is harming
 ‘He is (is) doing harm.’
- b *Não me parece que seja muscular, [TP deve [AspP ter
 not me seem that is muscular should have
 [vP é [AspP ficado com uma concussão do caraças*

is stayed with a concussion of the shit
devido à pancada que levou]]]].²⁵
 due to the blow that received
 ‘It doesn’t seem to me to be muscular, he must have (is) gotten a huge
 concussion due to the blow that he received.’

- (74) a **O João queria* [_{DP} *um* [_{vP} *era* [_{NP} *bolo*]].
 the João wanted a was cake
 b **O João está* [_{PP} *em* [_{vP} *é* [_{NP} *sarilhos*]].
 the João is in is trouble
 c **O João disse* [_{CP} *que* [_{vP} *foi* [_{TP} *ama a Maria*]].
 The João said that was loves the Maria

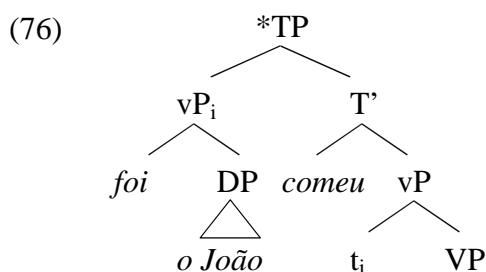
Note that some non-finite verbs can be sisters to D, as illustrated below, which might indicate that D’s can take verbal constituents as their complement. No matter what the analysis of these DPs, the analysis put forward here for SER-clefts rules out every instance of D selecting the vP projected by the copula, since the copula has tense features, visible on the label, and D can only combine with non-finite verbs.

- (75) *o estares cansado não me surpreende*
 the be.INF.2S tired not me surprises
 ‘Your being tired does not surprise me.’

This account also predicts that the copula can only mark postverbal subjects, and not preverbal ones. For postverbal subjects, the same reasoning applies as to complements: since subjects are s-selected by the verb, the vP projected by the copula does not intervene. This whole vP cannot move to SpecTP however: the features that trigger subject movement to SpecTP are certainly not verbal features or tense features but rather nominal features or case

²⁵ <http://serbenfiquista.com/forum/geral/miralem-sulejmani/4680/> (11 april 2014)

features on the DP selected by the copula, hence, we do not expect the copula ever to move along with the subject. The ungrammatical configuration is illustrated below:



So far we have seen instances of arguments of lexical heads and complements of functional heads. The first can surface as the cleft constituent in SER-clefts, because the copula is invisible for s-selection: lexical heads select for semantic properties of their arguments. Functional heads select for categories. Since the copula projects its own label, it may intervene for categorial selection. Hence, the vP may only be selected by functional heads that can select verbal constituents.

Predicates and adjuncts need some more discussion, as these constituents are not semantically selected by any lexical head, and since it is not obvious what kind of functional head they are selected by, if any. However, as will become clear in the discussion, the restrictions on adjuncts and predicates as a cleft constituent in SER-clefts potentially provide additional evidence for the analysis of SER-clefts proposed here, although the validity of the argumentation below depends a great deal on one's assumptions concerning the syntax of predicates and adjuncts. I will first discuss predicates, and then adjuncts.

7.2.2.3.2 *Predicates*

Following Bowers (1993) and Svenonius (1996, 2008), I will consider a predicate to be any constituent that predicates about a subject, i.e., one-place predicates. Predicates can be of several syntactic categories, namely DPs, APs, PPs and VPs:

- (77) a The ferry ride made Anna [_{DP} a very sick woman].

- b The party left Hubert [_{AP} depressed].
- c I want those animals [_{PP} out of my house].
- d We saw the zookeeper [_{VP} arrive].

(Svenonius 1996: 494)

Predicates can surface in a number of syntactic structures. A first distinction can be made between predicates that stand on their own and have their own arguments, which I will call independent predicates, and predicates that enter complex predicates and predicate over the argument of another predicate. Independent predicates can be found in predicational copular sentences, in Small Clause complements to raising verbs, control verbs and ECM verbs. All of these predicates can be the cleft constituent in SER-clefts. The sentence in (78)a illustrates a copular sentence, the example in (78)b a raising structure, (78)c a control context and (78)d an ECM context.²⁶

- (78) a *Ele vem, o que é (...) a minha ideia_i está [_{VP} é*
 it comes what is the my idea is is
[_{AP} já fraquita_i]. (TRC59)
 already weak
 ‘It’s coming, what happens is that my thought is (is) weak already.’
- b *O João_i parece estar [_{VP} é [preocupado_i]]*
 the João seems be is worried
 ‘John seems to be (is) worried.’
- c *Queremos [_{VP} é [ver-te]]*
 want is see-CL
 ‘We want (is) to see you.’
- d *A Maria viu-os_i [_{VP} foi [vencer]_i].*

²⁶ Predicates in small clause complements of epistemic verbs seem to resist SER-clefting, although there is speaker variation:

- (i) ??*O João considera a Maria é culpada.*
 the João considers the Maria is guilty

Note that the sentence above is considered grammatical in Brazilian Portuguese by Resenes & Den Dikken (2012).

the Maria saw-CL was win
 ‘Maria saw them (was) win.’

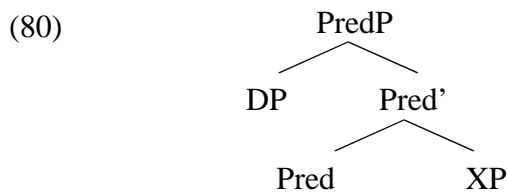
For complex predicates, I will distinguish between complements of restructuring predicates and secondary predicates. Restructuring predicates select a predicate and form a complex predicate, which in European Portuguese is characterized by the fact that clitics can climb from the lower predicate onto the higher one. Secondary predicates are adjunct predicates that predicate over an argument of the higher predicate. Again, both types of predicates can surface as the cleft constituent in SER-clefts. (79)a illustrates a restructuring context, (79)b a secondary predicate predicating over the direct object of the higher verb and (79)c a secondary predicate predicating over the subject of the higher verb.

- (79) a *Não te queremos* [_{VP} *é* [_{ver}]]
 not CL want is see
 ‘We don’t want (is) to see you.’
- b *Nós aqui usamos a castanha*_i [_{VP} *é* [_{AP cozida}]_i].
 we here use the chestnut is cooked
 ‘We use the chestnut_i (is) cooked_i here.’ (CDR52)
- c *Ela*_i *chegou à meta* [_{VP} *foi* [_{sem fôlego}]_i].
 she arrived at.the finish was without breath
 ‘She_i arrived at the finish (was) [out of breath]_i.’

From these examples, it is clear that predicates can be the cleft constituent in SER-clefts, independently of the structure they are inserted in.²⁷ In order to account for this, I will follow Bowers (1993) and Svenonius (1996), who have argued for different reasons that all predication involves a functional head Pred, that takes a subject DP in its specifier and a

²⁷ Some adnominal adjectives have also been analysed as predicates, inserted in a (reduced) clausal structure. See below in the discussion concerning adjuncts.

property-denoting XP in its complement position and establishes a predicational relation between both:²⁸



As is clear from these proposals, the head Pred selects for any property-denoting XP. Since the vP has the same semantics as the cleft constituent alone, i.e., if the complement of the copula denotes a property, the vP will denote a property as well, and since vPs can be predicates, we do not expect to encounter any restrictions on clefting predicates with a SER-cleft, which is borne out, as is illustrated in the examples in (78) and (79) above.

An additional comment concerning secondary predicates is needed, as it has been argued that these predicates do not enter a predication structure with a PRO subject (as in Stowell 1983, Simpson 1983, Legendre 1997 or Bowers 1993), but are rather immediately adjoined to some projection of V (Williams 1983; Rothstein 1983, 2001; Roberts 1988; Speas 1990; Neeleman 1994), see Rothstein (2005) for an overview. In other words, the structure of a secondary predicate cleft constituent would be as in (82), rather than as in (81), the structure I am assuming here:²⁹

²⁸ Bowers (1993) draws the parallel between his Pred and Larson's (1988) v: both functional heads introduce the external argument of the verb. Contrary to Larson's v however, Pred can select any predicate as its complement, not only VPs.

²⁹ There is discussion on how secondary predicates are integrated in the clausal spine. As far as I am aware of, it is assumed that they are adjoined to a projection of the V. There are reasons to assume that secondary predicates are inside of the VP. For instance, a secondary predicate moves along in VP-fronting structures:

- (i) John said he would drive the car drunk and drive the car drunk he did.

(Rothstein 2005: 1880)

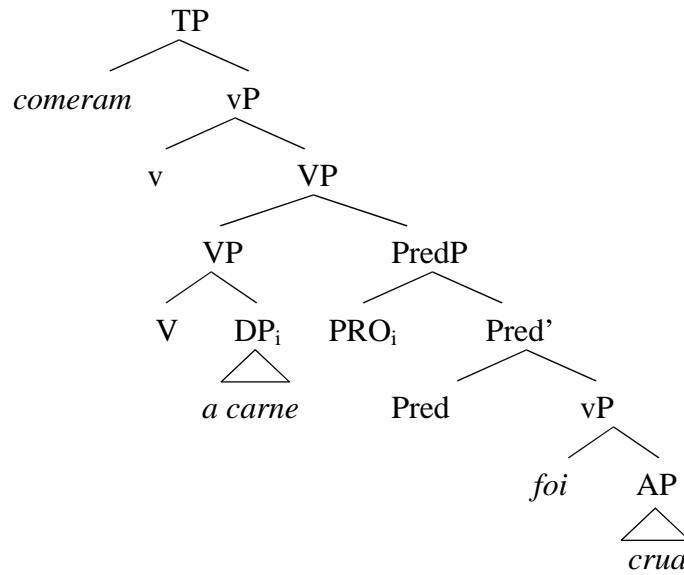
However, *do so*-replacement indicates that the secondary predicate occupies a VP-external position:

- (ii) The smith beat the metal cold, and the apprentice did so hot.

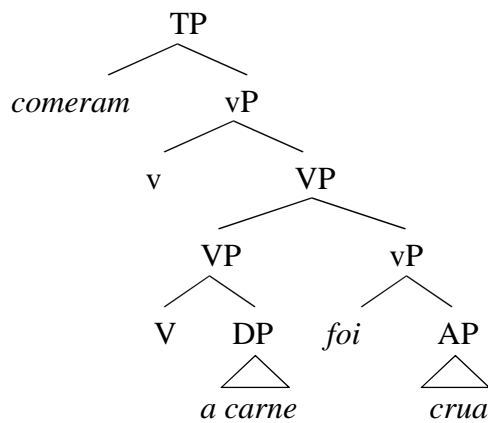
(Svenonius 2008: 59)

The height of attachment of the secondary predicate is not immediately relevant for current purposes, and will be abstracted away from.

(81)



(82)



If the second analysis for secondary predicates reveals to be more adequate, secondary predicates would have a syntax very similar to what has been proposed for VP-adverbials. Effectively, Plank (1985) and Steube (1994) have argued that secondary predicates and VP-adverbials have the same syntax. Since VP-adverbials also can be the cleft constituent in SER-clefts, to be discussed in what follows, this alternative analysis for secondary predicates should not be problematic.

7.2.2.3.3 Adjuncts

Evaluating the current proposal for the syntax of SER-clefts in light of the possibility of clefting adjuncts is not an easy task, since there is no consensus concerning the (external) syntax of adjuncts, and adjuncts are quite poorly studied, with the exception of adverbs (see for instance Cinque 1999, Ernst 2002, Frey 2003), adnominal adjectives (Valois 2005; Cinque 1994, 2003; Laenzlinger 2000; Alexiadou 2003; Alexiadou et al. 2007 a.o.), PP modifiers in the mid-position (Schweikert 2005) and relative clauses (Bianchi 1999; Bhatt 2002 a.o.). In the early days of generative grammar, adjuncts were assumed to have a uniform syntax: they were considered to be sister and daughter to bar-levels. In more recent theories, at least some adjuncts have been argued to lexicalize specifiers of functional categories. This is the case for instance for AdvPs (Alexiadou 1997, Cinque 1999, 2004 a.o.) and adjectives in the DP (Cinque 1994, 2005).³⁰ It is however not clear whether other types of adjuncts have the same syntax as DP-adjectives or AdvPs. For instance, PP or CP adjuncts to the noun are postnominal while DP-adjectives are in general prenominal in English:³¹

- (83) a A red book / *a book red
 b *a with a shiny cover book / a book with a shiny cover
 c *a that John hates book / a book that John hates

Also concerning clausal adjuncts, it has repeatedly been observed that AdvPs have different syntactic properties than adverbials, i.e., XPs that have an adverb-like interpretation but that are of another syntactic category, such as DP, PP or CP (see Alexiadou 1997, Cinque 1999, Haegeman 2012: 229-231).³² For instance, a well-known observation is that adverbials in head-initial languages can only surface sentence initially or finally, not sentence internally, unlike AdvPs (Jackendoff 1972, Ernst 2002), although there are exceptions (see Haegeman 2002, De Clercq et al. 2012 and references cited). This led Cinque (1999: 28-30) to suggest that, unlike AdvPs, adverbials do not occupy functional specifier positions. The most common

³⁰ DP-internal adjectives have also been called *attributives*. Given that this term is often used to refer to those adjectives that cannot surface in copular constructions, such as *alleged*, and opposed to predicational adjectives, I will not use this term here. Instead, I will simply speak of DP-internal adjectives to refer to all those adjectives that modify DPs. The term *attributive* will be reserved for the more restrictive class of adjectives.

³¹ Postnominal adjectives are possible in English, as long as they are not attributive. See Alexiadou et al. (2007, part II) or Cinque (2003). Also adjectives with a complement are always postnominal.

³² The term *adverbials* is taken from Cinque (1999, 2004: 683, footnote 1)

account for these adverbials, when they surface sentence-finally, is to assume that they are right-adjoined to some projection of V (see for instance Neeleman 1994, Ernst 2002, Frey 2003 or Lobo 2003), although some authors have suggested a functional specifier account for these adjuncts as well (Cinque 2004, Schweikert 2005).

Concerning adjunct cleft constituents in SER-clefts, the following generalization seems to hold: only those adjuncts that can be analysed as syntactically adjoined, instead of functional specifiers, can surface as the cleft constituent in SER-clefts. This observation is compatible with the analysis for SER-clefts proposed here: we do not expect the vP projected by the copula to intervene for adjunction, since no selection is involved, while it does intervene for selection by functional heads. In what follows I will discuss DP-adjuncts and clausal adjuncts separately.

It has been noted in the literature that DP-internal adjectives cannot surface as the cleft constituent in SER-clefts (Miotto 2012 for Brazilian Portuguese, Méndez-Vallejo 2009a, b, 2012 for Columbian Spanish):

- (84) **Vi o cão foi dalmata.*
 saw the dog was dalmatian

Méndez-Vallejo (2009b, 2012) ascribes the ungrammaticality of (84) to the fact that the adjunct is an individual level predicate, based on the observation that examples such as the following, with a stage level predicate, are grammatical:

- (85) *Trouxe o cão foi acorrentado.*
 Brought.1s the dog was enchained
 ‘I brought the dog (was) in chains.’

However, the examples in (84) and in (85) should not be compared: in (84), the adjective is used adnominally, while in (85) it is a secondary predicate, which are adjuncts to the VP, as was discussed above. As is well known, individual level predicates more difficultly surface as secondary predicates (McNally 1994, Rech 2007 a.o.), but they can. The fact that individual level predicates that are used as secondary predicates can surface as the cleft

constituent in SER-clefts confirms the claim that the relevant distinction is between DP internal and DP external adjectives, and not between stage level and individual level predicates:

- (86) *O Bush nasceu foi democrata.*
 the Bush was.born was democrat
 ‘Bush was born (was) a democrat.’

Another piece of evidence that confirms this idea is the following contrast: in the absence of SER, the sentence in (87)a has two readings: one in which I ate raw meat, the adnominal reading, and one in which I ate the meat while it was raw, the predicative reading. Both readings have a different word order in English: adnominal adjectives in general precede the noun while secondary predicates always follow the noun. In Portuguese on the other hand, both adnominal adjectives and secondary predicates are postnominal, which gives rise to ambiguities.³³ When SER is introduced to the left of *crua* ‘raw’, the ambiguity disappears and only the predicative reading remains:

- (87) a *Comi a carne crua.*
 ‘I ate the raw meat/I ate the meat raw.’
 b *Comi a carne foi crua.*
 ate the meat was raw
 ‘I ate the meat (was) raw.’

Based on these contrasts, it seems to be the case that DP-internal adjectives cannot be the cleft constituent in SER-clefts.³⁴ What about other types of adjuncts, such as PPs or relative clauses? These adjuncts can surface as the cleft constituent in SER-clefts, although

³³ Prenominal adjectives are possible in Portuguese, and in Romance in general, but only attributive ones. In postnominal position, some adjectives are ambiguous between a predicative and an attributive use.

³⁴ Several taxonomies of DP-adjectives have been proposed (see Alexiadou et al. 2007 for some examples). There does not seem to be any difference between these adjective-classes when it comes to SER-clefts.

there is a restriction: it seems to be the case that only those adjuncts that can be extraposed can surface as the cleft constituent in SER-clefts. Compare the two following examples:

- (88) a *O Bruno viu o cão no quintal.*
 ‘Bruno saw the dog in the garden.’
 b *O Bruno viu o cão no outro dia no quintal.*
 ‘Bruno saw the dog the other day in the garden.’
- (89) a *Vi uma casa de terra.*
 ‘I saw an earthen house.’
 b *Vi uma casa no outro dia de terra.*
 ‘I saw a house the other day of earth.’

The sentence in (88)a is ambiguous: it has a reading in which the dog is in the garden at the moment of speaking, the DP-modifying reading, and one in which the dog was in the garden when Bruno saw it, the VP-adverbial reading. When the PP is extraposed however, only the second reading remains. The sentence in (89) on the other hand only has one reading, namely a reading in which the house is made of earth. This reading is maintained when the PP is extraposed. There thus seem to be two types of DP-adjunct PPs: those that can be extraposed, such as in (89), and those that cannot, as in (90). Crucially, only PPs that can be extraposed can surface as the cleft constituent in SER-clefts. As such, the adjunct in (90)a cannot receive a DP-internal reading but only a VP-adverbial reading, indicating that the PP is not an adjunct of the DP but of the VP. The reading of the adjunct in (90)b on the other hand is maintained:

- (90) a *O Bruno viu o cão foi no quintal.*
 the Bruno saw the dog was in.the garden
 ‘Bruno saw the dog (was) while it was in the garden.’
 b *Havia muita casa era de terra. (MIG05)*
 had much house was of earth

‘There were many houses (was) of earth.’

Also the fact that restrictive relative clauses can surface as the cleft constituent in SER-clefts indicates that adjuncts that can be extraposed can surface as the cleft constituent.³⁵ As is well-known, relative clauses can be extraposed:

- (91) *Há muita gente é que tem essa mania que uma cobra e que isto e que aquilo.*
(AJT25)
have much people is that has this mania that a snake and that this and that that
‘There’s a lot of people (is) that has this mania that a snake and that this and that.’

The data concerning DP-adjuncts thus seem to indicate that only those adjuncts that can be extraposed can surface as the cleft constituent in SER-clefts. DP-internal adjectives cannot be extraposed, some PPs can and relative clauses can as well. We could take the different mobility of DP-adjuncts to reflect their underlying syntax.

Concerning DP-internal adjectives, several proposals have been made, both proposals of a unified syntax for DP-adjectives and for a mixed syntax for DP-adjectives. In general, a distinction is made between predicational and attributive adjectives (see for instance Lamarche 1991, Demonte 1999, Cinque 1994, 2005 Larson 2000). For instance, Lamarche (1991) argues that attributive (prenominal) adjectives are heads, while predicational adjectives are APs. Cinque (1994, 2005) and Demonte (1999) on the other hand argue that predicational adjectives originate in a (reduced) clausal structure, while attributives do not.³⁶ Larson (2000)

³⁵ There seems to be speaker variation concerning relative clauses as the cleft constituent in SER-clefts.

³⁶ Note that if predicational adjectives effectively originate in (reduced) clausal structures, as has been argued by several authors, such as Cinque (1994, 2005, 2010), Demonte (1999), Larson (1998) or Kayne (1994), this might invalidate the argumentation concerning predicates above, as it is not clear how this reduced clausal structure differs from other predicational structures. Note however that the semantic relation between the predicates above and the adjectives in the current discussion with their ‘subject’ is different: in the predicational structures above, there really is a predication relation, while in the reduced clauses in DP-modification, there is ‘predicate conjunction’ (Alexiadou et al. 2007: 292). It is thus possible that in the reduced clauses involved in DP-modification, no Pred head is present, hence we do not expect the copula to be able to surface inside of this reduced clause, as is borne out.

proposes that attributive adjectives are modifiers of the N, while predicational ones are complements of Ds. I refer to Alexiadou et al. (2007) for a discussion of several proposals.

Since all DP-internal adjectives seem to have the same behaviour in SER-clefts, namely they cannot be the cleft constituent, there has to be some underlying syntactic property unifying all DP-internal adjectives. This is argued for instance by Cinque (1994, 2005, 2010): although he argued that there are two types of adjectives, ones originating in reduced relative clauses and ones that are merged without embedding clausal structure, all adjectives are ultimately merged in a functional specifier, as illustrated below:

(92) $[_{DP} [_{FP} (\text{Red}) RC [F [_{FP} AP [F [_{FP} AP [_{NP} N]]]]]]]]]$

(Cinque 2005)

If adjectives are merged in functional specifiers, this could provide a possible explanation why DP-internal adjectives cannot be the cleft constituent in SER-clefts. Presumably, the head of the functional projection where the adjective is merged is sensitive to categorial restrictions, in the sense that only APs and reduced clausal structures can be merged there, but no verbal constituents. If this proposal is on the right track, we do not expect the vP projected by the copula to be able to surface in these functional specifiers, as is borne out.

Although Cinque does not discuss PP-adjuncts, it could be the case that some of these adjuncts occupy the same position as APs. I will assume that those PPs that cannot be extraposed are merged in a functional specifier. PPs that can be extraposed on the other hand are not. Presumably, these are syntactically adjoined. Given the distinction between functional specifier adjuncts and real adjuncts, the difference between DP-adjuncts when it comes to SER-clefts can easily be accounted for: since syntactic category is not relevant for adjunction, the copula can occur to the left of adjoined adjuncts. For adjuncts merged in specifiers however, category does matter, since they are selected by a functional head. As such, the vP comprising the copula and the cleft constituent cannot surface in these positions. It goes without saying that if the suggested analysis of DP-adjuncts reveals inappropriate, the proposed account for DP-adjunct cleft constituents has to be reviewed.

Concerning adjuncts of the clause, only circumstantial adjuncts, which express location, manner, time, cause, reason, purpose etc., can be the cleft constituent in SER-clefts. Those adverbs that Cinque (1999: 28) calls AdvPs proper are banned from the cleft constituent position:

- (93) a *A touperia só vive é debaixo da terra.* (ALC40)
 the mole only lives is underneath of.the earth
 ‘The mole only lives (is) underneath the earth.’
 b **O João falou com a sua mãe foi provavelmente.*
 the João spoke to the his mother was probably

Several properties distinguish circumstantial adjuncts from AdvPs proper. For instance, the ordering of the first seems to be completely free, while AdvPs are more or less strictly ordered, as was discussed at length by Cinque (1999). Additionally, circumstantial adjuncts are often PPs, DPs or CPs (adverbials), and not AdvPs. As such, Cinque (1999) argues that circumstantials have a different syntax than AdvPs proper: AdvPs occupy functional specifiers, while circumstantials do not. However, Cinque (1999) does not make any definitive proposals concerning the syntax of circumstantial adverbials. In later work, Cinque (2004) suggests that PP modifiers are merged in VP-internal specifiers of Larsonian shells, and that PPs that have an AdvP counterpart are merged in the same functional specifiers as the AdvPs.³⁷ Also Schweikert (2005) argues that PP modifiers occupy functional specifiers. Nevertheless, given the freer distribution of circumstantials in comparison with AdvPs, and in order to maintain a parallel analysis with DP-adjuncts, I will assume that, unlike AdvPs proper, circumstantials are syntactically adjoined (also see Ernst 2002, Frey

³⁷ The argument for the suggestion that PPs can be merged in the same position as AdvPs comes from the observation that AdvPs and a corresponding PP cannot co-occur in the same clause:

- (i) *He has (*ever*) *since* stopped smoking *since he was thirteen*.

(Cinque 2004: 700)

I do not believe that these type of sentences should be ruled out for grammatical reasons, but should be considered pragmatically unadequate, since the second modifier is entirely redundant. The fact that some instances of an AdvP with the corresponding PP in the same clause are grammatical, also noted by Cinque (2004: 700, fn. 33), is more easily accounted for if what matters for the infelicity of (i) above are pragmatic principles, and not grammatical reasons.

- (ii) *Gianni ha rapidamente alzato il braccio con (grande) rapidità*
 ‘Gianni has rapidly raised his hand with (great) rapidity’

2003 a.o.). As such, the difference between AdvPs and circumstantials in SER-clefts receives a straightforward explanation: AdvPs that are merged in functional specifiers cannot be SER-clefted, because the vP projected by the copula cannot be selected by functional heads due to a category mismatch. Adjoined circumstantials on the other hand are not selected, hence the copula can occur to its left without any problems.

Given that I am assuming that syntactic category does not matter for adjunction, one could wonder why Speech Act adverbials or other clause-initial adjuncts such as the ones occupying ModP in Rizzi (2004) cannot surface as the cleft constituent in SER-clefts:

- (94) **Porque não fazes tudo sozinho é se és tão espertinho?*
why not do everything alone is if are so smart

The ungrammaticality of sentences as the one above has a straightforward explanation. Recall that the copula has uninterpretable tense features, that have to be checked by T before spell out. Speech act adverbials occupy a position higher than T, adjoined to or in CP (see Lobo 2003 or Haegeman & Hill 2013). If the copula takes a Speech Act adverbial as its complement, the uninterpretable tense features cannot be checked, and the derivation crashes.

7.2.2.3.4 Summary

The copula in SER-clefts takes the cleft constituent as its complement and projects a vP. As such, it changes the syntactic category of the cleft constituent. The semantics remain unaltered. As a consequence, the vP consisting of the copula and the cleft constituent can only surface in contexts that allow for vPs or where syntactic category is irrelevant. The vP can thus surface as a complement of functional heads selecting for verbal constituents, such as T, Asp and Pred, in the argument position of lexical heads, and in adjunct position. It cannot surface in specifier position or complement position of heads that do not select vPs, such as D, P, C and functional projections hosting adverbs and attributive adjectives.

7.2.3 Conclusion

In this section, an account for the syntax of SER-clefts was proposed. It was argued that the copula does not occupy a fixed position, and that an analysis in which the copula can be merged in a variety of positions is more adequate to account for its distribution. As an alternative to the existing analyses of SER-clefts for other linguistic varieties, I developed an account, much along the lines of Cable's (2010) grammar of Q-particles. As such, I proposed that the copula takes the cleft constituent as its complement and projects a vP. The fact that the copula projects a category will have consequences for selection: lexical heads can select for the vP consisting of the copula and the cleft constituent: lexical heads select for semantic properties, syntactic category is irrelevant. Functional heads on the other hand can only select the vP if they select for verbal categories. Arguably, the presence of the copula is irrelevant for adjunction.

7.3 Summary

In this chapter I worked out the details concerning the syntax of the monoclausal cleft constructions, namely *é que*-clefts and SER-clefts.

For *é que*-clefts, following what was argued in chapters 5 and 6, I argued that the cleft constituent occupies the specifier of a TopP. The focus feature, pied-piped by topicalization, gives rise to intervention effects. Specificity of the constituent that moves across an intervener may mitigate intervention effects. Unlike what is predicted by featural Relativized Minimality, additional features on the intervener do not seem to be relevant. This point will be returned to briefly in the next chapter. Concerning *é que*, I tentatively concluded that it occupies Fin, the lowest left-peripheral head. Additionally, in the standard language, *é que* seems to function as a focus operator. This issue will also be returned to in the following chapter in the discussion concerning focus particles.

For SER-clefts, an analysis along the lines of Cable's (2010) analysis for Q-particles was developed. The cleft constituent being *in situ*, we need to assume that the copula can occupy a multitude of positions in the clause. I argue that the copula takes the cleft constituent as its complement and projects a vP. This vP intervenes for selection by functional heads

only. In case there is no selection, such as for syntactic adjuncts, vP also does not intervene. The vP is invisible for semantic selection by lexical heads.

8 Open issues and theoretical implications

In this final chapter of the thesis, I will briefly discuss some of the issues that were left unanswered throughout the thesis, and some possible theoretical implications of the proposals put forward. The issues to be discussed are related to the relation between copular verbs and focus-sensitive operators (section 8.1), cross-linguistic variation in the syntax of focus (section 8.2) and Relativized Minimality (section 8.2).

8.1 On the relation between copulas and focus particles

In chapter 4, I noted that the four types of cleft constructions discussed in this thesis have a fixed information structure: the cleft constituent has to be focalized. So far I have said nothing about why this should be so. Although I will not provide a definitive account for this issue, I will discuss a possible line of investigation, that bears on the close relation between copular verbs and focus particles.

In order to account for the fixed information structure of *it*-clefts and specificational sentences in general, Reeve (2012) proposes that the syntax of specificational sentences involves an Eq(uative) functional head, where the copula moves to, which functions as a focus-sensitive operator similar to *only* and *even*, that associates with focus and thus needs the presence of a focalized constituent. As has been discussed by several authors (see Beaver & Clark 2008, Erlewine 2014 for an overview), focus-sensitive operators have weaker or stronger requirements on where the focalized constituent they associate with surfaces.¹ Some focus operators, such as *only*, require the focalized constituent to surface in their c-command domain, other operators, such as *even* and Dutch *maar* ‘only’ are more liberal in that they

¹ It is not clear why focus-sensitive operators differ in this aspect. I refer to Beaver & Clark (2008) and to Erlewine (2014) for a discussion and an analysis.

allow (limited) backwards association, and hence only require underlying c-command. The English examples below are taken from Reeve (2012: 186), the Dutch examples are mine:²

- (1) a John only saw MARY. (i.e. Mary is the only person that John saw)
b *JOHN only saw Mary. (i.e., John is the only person that saw Mary)
c *Who did John only see? (i.e., Who is the person x such that John saw only x ?)
- (2) a John even saw MARY.
b JOHN even saw Mary.
c *Who did John even see?
- (3) a *Jan heeft maar DRIE boeken.*
Jan has only THREE books
b *DRIE boeken heeft Jan maar.*
THREE books has Jan only
c *Hoeveel boeken heeft Jan maar?*
How many books has Jan only

In order to account for the fact that the cleft constituent of *it*-clefts is uniformly focalized, Reeve (2012) argues that their syntax involves a focus-sensitive operator of the *maar*-type, that requires the presence of a focalized constituent in its c-command domain underlyingly. This hypothesis predicts correctly that the cleft constituent of *it*-clefts can move away from its base position, provided it is focalized: cleft constituents of *it*-clefts can be *wh*-moved and focus fronted:³

- (4) a *E quem foi [-] que semeou esta semente?* (PAL01)

² A similar pattern was noted by Barbiers (1995) for Dutch *pas*. Apparently there are differences between Dutch *pas* and Flemish *pas*, as I do not accept the readings that he argues *pas* has.

³ *It*-clefts with focus fronting of the cleft constituent are not to be confused with *é que*-clefts. The difference between both is that in *é que*-clefts the copula is invariable, as such it never exhibits tense agreement. In *it*-clefts with focus fronting, there is tense agreement on copula. Not all speakers of European Portuguese accept these structures, they seem to be more acceptable in Brazilian Portuguese (Miotto 2004).

‘And who was it that sowed this seed?’

b *A freguesia foi [-] que pagou.* (FIS31)

‘The parish it was that paid.’

Backwards association of the copula with a cleft constituent that has moved away from its base position for relativization is apparently ungrammatical, independently of whether the head of the relative clause is focalized or not.⁴

(5) **O homem que foi que encontrei na esplanada*

the man that was that met.1SG on.the terrace

This can be accounted for if relativization does not involve raising of the head of the relative clause, because in this case the copula does not have a focalized constituent in its c-command domain at any point of the derivation.⁵ On the other hand, if restrictive relative clauses are derived through raising in European Portuguese, we have to ascribe the ungrammaticality of these structures to some other factor. For instance, it might be the case that the cleft constituent, i.e., the head of the relative clause, ends up in a position not available for backwards association. However, since it is not entirely clear how backwards association of focus-sensitive operators works, it is hard to evaluate this hypothesis. Note however that the data concerning genitive relative clauses and *é que*-clefts, discussed in the previous chapter, exhibit a similar pattern: the head of a restrictive relative clause cannot serve as a cleft constituent, only pied piped material can.

⁴ Also clitic left dislocation of cleft constituents is impossible. This is accounted for by the fact that clitics cannot be focalized, while cleft constituents consistently are.

⁵ If Caponigro & Pearl (2009) and Hall & Caponigro (2010) are correct in arguing that temporal adverbial clauses introduced by *when* are relative clauses, then the following examples can be analysed as *it*-clefts with relativization of the cleft constituent:

- (i) *Lá começamos a ir, lá andávamos quando foi que o meu filhinho morreu.*
there we started to go, there we walked when it was that my baby died

However, in these sentences, the copula has a different interpretation than it has in *it*-clefts, it is synonymous to *acontecer* ‘happen’.

Analysing the copula in clefts as a focus-sensitive operator thus makes some interesting predictions concerning restrictions on moving the cleft constituent away from its base position, and straightforwardly accounts for the fixed information structure of *it*-clefts.

Concerning the other cleft constructions, the movement patterns are slightly different than for *it*-clefts. In English, *wh*-movement of the cleft constituent of pseudoclefts seems not to be possible:

(6) *Which of these pictures do you think what caused the riot was [-]?

(Reeve 2012: 197)

For European Portuguese, it is not clear whether *wh*-movement of the cleft constituent in pseudoclefts is grammatical, as the example in (a) with inversion could derive from inverted pseudoclefts. However, since long extraction of the cleft constituent, as in (b), is grammatical, it seems to be the case that pseudoclefts pattern with *it*-clefts when it comes to movement of the cleft constituent:

(7) a *O que é que o que o Pedro queria pode ter sido?*⁶
 What is that what the Pedro wanted could have been
 ‘What could what Pedro wanted have been?’

⁶ In order to be sure that interrogative pseudoclefts are derived from pseudoclefts and not from inverted pseudoclefts, we could look at examples with the subject in the middle field, with an auxiliary preceding the subject and the other verbs following it, as in the English example above. However, such structures are very marked in European Portuguese, independently of pseudoclefts, as can be seen in (ii):

- (i) ??*O que pode o que o Pedro queria ter sido?*
 what could what Pedro wanted have been
- (ii) ??*O que pode o Pedro ter sido?*
 what could Pedro have been

Additionally, as was discussed in detail in Reeve (2012), extraction of the postcopular XP in specificational sentences is degraded, especially if the precopular XP is heavy and the functional material following the precopular XP, i.e. the auxiliaries, is light. As such, (iv), with several auxiliaries following the precopular XP, is considerably better than (iii).

- (iii) ??Which of these pictures do you think the cause of the riot was?
- (iv) ?Which of these pictures do you think the cause of the riot might have been?

- b ?*O que achas que o que o Pedro queria*
 what think.2SG that what the Pedro wanted
pode ter sido?
 could have been
 ‘What do you think that what Pedro wanted could have been?’

It is hard to determine whether pseudoclefts allow for focus fronting of the cleft constituent, since focus fronting requires inversion in European Portuguese (Costa & Martins 2011), and the resulting structure looks like an inverted pseudocleft. However, it has been argued that inverted pseudoclefts involve fronting (Blom & Daalder 1977, Declerck 1988, Den Dikken 1995, Heggie 1988, Heycock 1994 a.o.). If this is correct, then it is clear that the cleft constituent of pseudoclefts can be focus fronted.

On a par with *it*-clefts, the cleft constituent in pseudoclefts cannot be relativized:

- (8) **o livro que o que o Pedro queria era*
 the book that what the Pedro wanted was

These patterns are compatible with considering the copula to be a focus sensitive operator that requires a focalized constituent in its c-command domain underlyingly, along the lines of what Reeve (2012) argued for specificational sentences.⁷

A focus-operator analysis of the copula in cleft constructions is also compatible with the observation that very often focus particles go back to the copula of cleft constructions (Campbell & Harris 1995). As such, biclausal clefts are reanalysed as monoclausal focus constructions, with focus particles instead of real copular verbs. Additionally, it has repeatedly been noted that focus particles often historically derive from copular verbs, or that

⁷ Rizzi (2010) analyses the ban on relativization of the cleft constituent as an instance of criterial freezing: he follows Belletti (2008 a.o.) in assuming that the cleft constituent occupies the specifier of a FocP. Since this is a criterial position, the cleft constituent is frozen in place. *Wh*-movement arguably involves movement of a constituent larger than the cleft constituent. It is not clear however why this type of movement is ruled out in relativization contexts. In any case, a Criterial analysis for the partial freezing of the cleft constituent is not compatible with the analysis for cleft constructions argued for here, since I assume that the cleft constituent does not occupy a FocP.

focus particles also have a copular use in a given language (Harris & Campbell 1995, Heine & Kuteva 2002). Examples of such focus particles are Tlingit *áwé*, *áyá*, *áyú* and *áhé* (Cable 2010), Chinese *shì* (Li & Thompson 1981) Kitharaka *n* and *i* (Muriungi 2005), Vietnamese *là* (Duffield 2013), Jamaican Creole *a* (Durrleman & Shlonsky 2015), Kikuyu *ne* (Schwarz 2003) and many others. The copula in SER-clefts could be another instance of a copular verb that has a double life as a focus particle.

It could thus be the case that the variety of cleft constructions in European Portuguese reflects different grammaticalization paths of biclausal cleft constructions and/or copular verbs.⁸ For instance, it has been argued that *é que*-clefts derive from inverted pseudoclefts (Kato & Ribeiro 2007). If this is correct, *é que*-clefts would be one of those monoclausal focus constructions that have developed from biclausal clefts, following a common path of grammaticalization: the copula, together with the C-element *que*, is reanalysed as a focus particle, as was suggested in chapter 7 based on the observation that *é que* can only surface with focalized constituents in the standard language. However, more research and comparison with other languages in which a similar grammaticalization process has taken place is needed in order to fully evaluate the feasibility of this hypothesis. For instance, as was noted in chapter 7, in the non-standard language, *é que* seems to be a plain lexicalizer of a left peripheral head, not associated with any particular type of left-peripheral constituent, which apparently consists of a further step in the grammaticalization process.⁹ I leave the relation between cleft constructions, focus particles and other left-peripheral particles for future research.

Although the origin of SER-clefts is far from clear, also these structures could be considered to reflect a stage in the grammaticalization process of copular verbs to focus particles.¹⁰ Unlike the copula in *it*-clefts and in pseudoclefts, the copula in SER-clefts has stronger requirements on where the focalized constituent may surface, and thus patterns with focus sensitive operators such as *only*. The focalized constituent has to surface in the c-

⁸ There are more types of cleft constructions in European Portuguese than the four discussed in this thesis. I refer to Brito & Duarte (2004) and Vercauteren (2010) for a description.

⁹ Cable (2010) refers that Tlingit and Haidan seem to have a topic-focus particle, which simply indicates the left periphery. This particle also has a copular use. It might be interesting to examine whether there are other parallelisms between this particle and Portuguese *é que*. I leave this matter for future research.

¹⁰ SER-clefts seem to have developed in very recent stages of Portuguese. Longhin (1999) refers that the first attestation of this structure is from the 20th century.

command domain of the copula, which is indicated by the fact that the cleft constituent cannot move:

- (9) **O que é que o Pedro queria era* [-]?
what is that the Pedro wanted was [-]

In any case, on a par with *é que*-clefts, these structures are monoclausal structures with a copular verb that does not exhibit all verbal properties, an observation that is compatible with the idea that the copula is grammaticalizing in these structures and becoming a focus particle. Note that the idea that the copula in European Portuguese is a focus operator in cleft constructions, grammaticalized to a lesser or greater degree, is not compatible with the idea that there is only one copula that receives its meaning from the structure it surfaces in or the head it lexicalizes (Moro 1997, Mikkelsen 2005, Reeve 2012) and presupposes a variety of homophonous instances of the copula (also see Romero 2005, Han & Hedberg 2008).

The study of cleft constructions in European Portuguese, comparing them with focus-structures in other languages, might shed light on the origin of focus particles and their syntax. For instance, there might be a correlation between the presence of a C-element in *é que* and its left peripheral syntax, and the absence of such an element and the more verb-like syntax of the copula in SER-clefts. However, more cross-linguistic and diachronic research is needed to fully understand the relation between copular verbs and focus particles. I leave this issue for future research.

8.2 Cross-linguistic variation concerning focus movement

In this thesis I argued that, at least in European Portuguese, focalized constituents do not have to move to a FocP. If focalized constituents do move, they do so for focus independent reasons. One instance of ‘focus-movement’ discussed in the thesis is movement of the cleft constituent in *é que*-clefts to a left-peripheral TopP. It was shown that distributional restrictions on *é que*-clefts can be accounted for in terms of intervention,

permitting me to maintain the hypothesis that the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts does not move to a FocP.

In view of this discussion, one might wonder whether FocPs do exist at all in the clausal spine. For European Portuguese, it does not seem necessary to assume the existence of one or more FocPs, since focalized constituents can surface about anywhere in the clause. There are languages however in which focalized constituents consistently surface in the same position, such as Hungarian for instance, which might indicate that focus effectively is encoded in a particular syntactic position (see Brody 1990, Kiss 1998 a.o.). Additionally, there are languages, such as Gungbe (Aboh 2004), in which focus particles mark the presence of focus, and very often, these particles can only surface in certain syntactic positions. The standard analysis for these languages is that the focus particle lexicalizes a focus head. Hence, the existence of languages such as Hungarian and Gungbe provides strong evidence for the existence of FocPs that attract focalized constituents to their specifier. In the remaining of this section, I will argue that the problem with variation in the syntax of focus is not necessarily a question on whether clausal FocPs exist, but rather a question concerning A'-movement and its triggers, if any.

In order to account for cross-linguistic variation concerning focus, there are several possibilities. We can assume for instance that FocPs are not universally present in the clausal spine of all languages, but this would go against standard assumptions concerning the universal character of the clausal hierarchy. Another possibility is to assume that FocPs do exist in all languages, but that languages differ in terms of the strength of the requirement of focus movement.¹¹ Compare with *wh*-movement: it is well known that *wh*-constituents do not move to the CP in all languages. In Chinese for instance, *wh*-constituents remain *in situ* (Cheng 1991 a.o.), in colloquial French, some *wh*-constituents remain *in situ* while others have to move to CP (Starke 2001, Baunaz *accepted*), and in English, *wh*-movement is obligatory, except in echo-questions and quiz-questions. The cross-linguistic differences concerning *wh*-movement have been explained in terms of overt vs. covert movement (Huang 1982, Watanabe 1992), feature strength (Chomsky 1995), presence vs. absence of an EPP-feature on the head the *wh*-constituent agrees with (Chomsky 2002, 2004) or movement of a separate Q-feature/morpheme vs. pied-piping of the *wh*-constituent by the Q-feature (Cable 2010, Starke 2011). We could propose a similar account for differences in focus-movement,

¹¹ I thank Luigi Rizzi for discussing this issue with me.

stipulating that European Portuguese has a weak focus feature that does not trigger (overt) movement while languages such as Hungarian have a strong focus feature, or that only in languages such as Hungarian the Foc head has an EPP feature. Nevertheless, as was discussed by Horvath (2007), explaining all A'-movement in terms of uninterpretable features, originally implemented for A-movement related to case and phi-features, risks turning the notion of uninterpretable feature empirically vacuous, as there is no clear morphological marking that might correspond to these features for several instances of A'-movement.¹² Alternatively, we could assume that in languages without focus movement, a null focus feature can move separately to the Foc head, without pied-piping the focalized constituent, while pied-piping is obligatory in languages with focus movement, in a way parallel to what was argued for *wh*-movement.¹³ However, unlike *wh*-constituents, focalized constituents do not seem to involve any form of covert movement, as was discussed in chapter 5, and hence focus needs a different account than *wh*-movement.

Although I will not solve the issue of variation in the syntax of focus, I would like to suggest some lines of investigation that could lead to alternative analyses for the syntax of focus (and other instances of A'-movement) that does not necessarily rely on the existence of a Foc head triggering movement to its specifier. Two possibilities will be discussed: (i) what looks like focus movement is actually movement triggered for focus-independent reasons and (ii) whether focalized constituents move or not depends on what is merged at the foot of the movement chain, not on the clausal Foc head.

First of all, it does seem possible to apply the same line of reasoning as was applied here for European Portuguese focus fronting to focus movement in other languages. For instance, it has repeatedly been argued that Hungarian 'focus-movement' is not triggered by focus features but happens for focus-independent reasons (Horvath 2007, 2010, Onea 2008, Kiss 2004 a.o.), based on the observation that only exhaustively identifying focus moves to

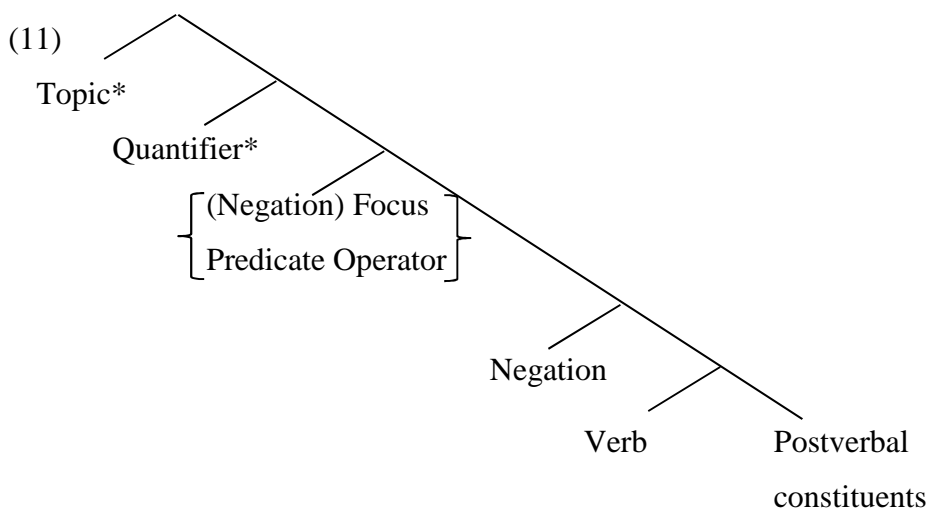
¹² See Aboh (2010) for an opposing view. As he correctly points out, there also is not always morphological evidence for uninterpretable features in A-movement, and some languages do have specialized focus and topic particles. Nevertheless, feature-checking driven movement in the A-movement system is not as controversial as it is in the A'-system.

¹³ But see Horvath (2007) for conceptual arguments against a pied-piping analysis of focus movement. She observes that, in general, only features on the head or on the specifier of an XP can trigger movement with pied-piping. This is the case for *wh*-movement and relativization (in Hungarian). Nevertheless, in Hungarian, focus movement takes place irrespective of the structural position of the focus carrying constituent. She suggests that focus movement is not triggered by a focus feature, or, alternatively, is not feature driven.

the preverbal position, other foci, such as partial answers, surface in other positions (Szendrői 2003, Horvath 2010, Brody & Szendrői 2010):

- (10) *Mit adott Mari Jeremiásnak?*
 What did Mary give to Jeremiah?
Mari adott Jeremiásnak (például) [egy tollat és egy burítékot]_F.
 ‘Mari gave Jeremiah (for instance) a pen and an envelope.

As such, it has been proposed that focus movement occurs in order for a constituent to gain an exhaustive interpretation (Horvath 2000, 2010, but see Kiss 2007, 2010, Onea 2008 or Brody & Szendrői 2010 for an alternative derivation of exhaustivity). Wedgwood et al. (2006), on the other hand, argue that the ‘focus’ position is semantically underspecified, it is thus not clear what interpretation the Hungarian preverbal FocP gives rise to, and what triggers movement to this position. Another line of investigation is followed by Szabolcsi (1994) who notes striking similarities between the syntax of focus and types of Quantifier Phrases. She proposes a cartography for QPs, very similar to the one argued for independently by Beghelli (1995). Szabolcsi’s hierarchy is illustrated below:



Szabolcsi (1994) provides a generalization on what type of constituents can move to the FocP. Crucially, only Group Quantifier phrases and contrastive Count Quantifiers can target this position.¹⁴ Other types of QPs have to surface in another QP position, even when they are focalized. This has also been noted by Onea (2008). It seems to be the case that the Hungarian FocP is actually a position dedicated to a specific type of quantifier (see Szabolcsi 1994, Beghelli 1995, Beghelli & Stowell 1998 and Szabolcsi 2010), and that movement is triggered not because of focus, but because of a certain type of quantificational feature.

As the careful analysis of focus in some languages has indicated, apparent optionality of focus movement often turns out not to be entirely optional, and reflects focus-independent factors. As such, it might be the case that several instances of focus movement can be analysed in different terms, potentially leading to a theory of syntax that does not involve Foc heads in any language,¹⁴ and as such solving the cross-linguistic variation problem.

Nevertheless, even though several instances of ‘focus-movement’ can be analysed in different terms, and hence do not need a Foc head that triggers movement to its specifier, the existence of languages with focus particles is strong evidence for the existence of FocPs in the clausal spine. Languages with focus particles are a.o. Kitharaka (Muriungi 2005), Kikuyu (Schwarz 2003), Hausa (Green 2007) and Gungbe (Aboh 2004, 2007, 2010). Since focus particles in these languages usually have a fixed position, i.e., they can only surface in the left periphery of the clause for instance, the most straightforward account for these particles is to assume that they lexicalize Foc heads in the clausal spine, and that the focalized constituent is attracted to their specifier.

An observation weakening the idea that focus particles lexicalize a focus head that triggers movement to their specifier is that in some languages, focus particles can lexicalize several positions. This is the case a.o. for Kitharaka (Muriungi 2005). In this language, a preverbal focus marker indicates sentential focus or VP focus, but *wh*-constituents that have moved to the left periphery are also marked by a focus marker. In this case the focus particle indicates narrow focus:¹⁵

¹⁴ Group Quantifier Phrases contribute a singular or plural individual. This type of quantifier includes definite DPs, specific indefinite DPs and specific bare numerals. There is discussion of whether proper names and demonstratives are included in the class of GQPs. Count quantifiers do not introduce referents, they are generalized quantifiers. They include non-specific indefinites and cardinality expressions.

¹⁵ In the examples above, there are two different focus markers, namely **n** and **i**. These are allomorphs of the same morpheme (Muriungi 2005: 50).

- (12) a *Maria n-a-ra-k-ir-e nyomba*
 Maria FOC-SM-PN-build-PRF-FV house
 ‘Maria built a house.’
- b *I-mbi i-ri na thiina*
 FOC-what SM-be with problem
 ‘What’s the problem?’

(Muriungi 2005: 44)

Of course, these data can be accounted for by assuming that there are different FocPs in the clausal spine with a head that is lexicalized by the focus particle.

An alternative view would be to assume that these particles do not lexicalize heads in the clausal spine, but rather spell out the focus feature of the focalized constituent. This was suggested for instance by Holm & Machado (2010), who note that several of the languages that have focus particles are tone languages. As such, they cannot use a pitch accent to indicate focus because this would disrupt the tone patterns. The focus particle could thus simply be an equivalent to pitch accents. An analysis along these lines can account for the variable distribution of focus particles in some languages. Although such an analysis is potentially interesting, it is problematic especially for those languages in which only *ex situ* focus surfaces with a focus particle. There is thus no strict correlation between focus particles and focus, which makes it harder to argue that focus particles spell out focus features. For instance, both in Kitharaka and in Gungbe (and other Kwa languages), postverbal focalized constituents cannot be marked with a focus particle, the insertion of a focus particle often seems dependent on movement of the focalized constituent. Compare the *in situ* strategy (a) with the *ex situ* strategy (b):

- (13) Gungbe (Aboh 2007: 85)
- a *Ùn yrɔ̀ Kɔ̀fí*
 1SG call Kofi
 ‘I called KOFI’
- b *KÒFÍ wè ùn yrɔ̀*
 Kofi FOC 2SG call

'I called KOFI'

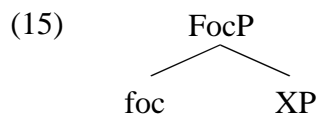
- (14) Kitharaka (Muriungi 2005: 45)
- a *Maria a-k-ir-e* *NYOMBA*
 Maria SM-build-PERF-FV house
 'Maria built A HOUSE'
- b *I-NYOMBA Maria a-k-ir-e*
 FOC-house Maria SM-build-PERF-FV
 'Maria built A HOUSE'

This type of dependent insertion is in fact problematic for an approach to focus particles that treats them as a simple spell-out of focus features, and can more easily be accounted for with a functional head approach. Nevertheless, if these focus particles do lexicalize functional heads in the clausal spine, we run into the focus-movement problem again: why do focalized constituents not always move to this FocP? The fact that focalized subjects in Kitharaka and Gungbe always surface with a focus particle,¹⁶ while adjuncts and objects only surface with focus particles if they are moved to a sentence-initial position, is particularly problematic for the Foc head view. More particularly, it is not clear why focalized subjects always move to the specifier of the FocP while adjuncts and objects do not. A more adequate account for these patterns would be to consider that the presence of a focus particle is dependent on movement, rather than the other way around: it would not be a Foc head, lexicalized by a focus particle, that triggers movement to its specifier, but it would rather be a focus particle that indicates that a focalized constituent has moved.

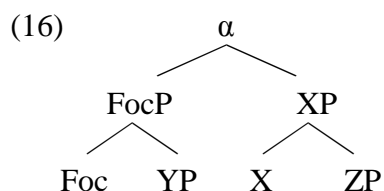
One possible way to implement this type of dependent insertion is to assume that these focus particles are merged together with the focalized constituent, similar to what Cable (2010) proposed for Q-particles and to what I proposed for SER-clefts, and that merging them makes focus movement obligatory. It could be the case that focus particles are some sort of focus-sensitive operator, depending on the presence of focus, but never obligatory, along the

¹⁶ Both Kitharaka and Gungbe are SVO languages. Muriungi (2005) refers that in the few contexts in which subjects can surface postverbally, such as in locative inversion contexts, focalized subjects do not surface with focus particles.

lines of what was argued for the copula in SER-clefts.¹⁷ We can assume that the particle projects, i.e., it provides the label for the syntactic object formed by the particle and the focalized constituent, as schematized below. In what follows, I use XP as a notational device to refer to elements that are not heads in order to distinguish heads from syntactic objects that inherited their label from a head. A label of an XP is a subset of the features of (one of) its daughters, and there is thus no difference between Foc and FocP in terms of label.



The fact that the focus particle provides a label for the whole FocP can lie at the basis of the obligatory movement of the FocP. In recent papers, Chomsky (2013, 2015) proposes a Labeling Algorithm that abandons endocentricity (also see Citko 2008). Under this view, XPs receive their label (i) through Minimal Search from the closest head that has all of its occurrences inside of XP or (ii) by some prominent feature shared by the daughters of XP. Relevant for the current discussion is that labeling conflicts force movement. For instance, if the FocP consisting of the focus particle and the focalized constituent is merged with an XP, resulting in a node α that cannot be labeled, because there are two heads Foc and X equidistant to the node to be labeled and there are no common prominent features to provide a label, either the XP or the FocP is forced to move to break the symmetry.¹⁸ The relevant configuration is schematized below:



¹⁷ An account in which focus particles spell out focus features only makes sense if these particles surface with all focalized constituents. If focus particles are not obligatory, analysing them as focus-sensitive operators is more adequate, since these operators are never obligatory.

¹⁸ The one-feature-one-head view is assumed here, in which a focus feature and a focus head are basically the same.

In the absence of the focus particle, the focalized constituent has its regular label and remains *in situ*. An analysis along these lines can predict that foci will only move if a focus particle is present, and hence correctly captures the observation that focus particles only surface with *ex situ* focus.

In this approach, movement is not triggered by the head of the chain, but by the foot of the chain.¹⁹ The FocP consisting of the focus particle and the focalized constituent will continue moving until it reaches a position where the structure can be labeled. Presumably, this would be in the ‘specifier’ position of the clausal FocP, since in this position, the resulting node can be labeled by a shared prominent feature, namely Foc.²⁰ This straightforwardly captures the observation that focus particles only surface in the left periphery of the clause, because that is the only position where the structure can be labeled.

Under this approach to movement, we can assume a FocP to be universally present in the clausal spine with the exact same properties in all languages. Whether or not a focalized constituent moves to this FocP depends on what is merged lower in the structure: if it is a FocP, movement to the clausal FocP is obligatory because of a labeling conflict. As such, focus movement (and other instances of movement) can be made ‘optional’ within one language and parameterized across languages, possibly even reducing the focus movement parameter to lexical differences across languages, instead of stipulating functional differences such as weak versus strong features.

However, the movement-through-labeling-conflicts is problematic for a number of reasons, some of which are discussed in Vercauteren (*forthcoming b*), and a proposal along the lines sketched here can only be properly evaluated once these issues are addressed. For instance, if the FocP is merged with a head, for example a verb, we do not expect movement of the FocP to be forced, since no labeling conflict arises. Nevertheless, in languages such as Kitharaka and Gungbe, postverbal focus particles are not allowed.

Although the discussion in this section is rather stipulative and is restricted to suggesting some possible lines of investigation concerning cross-linguistic variation in focus-movement, it is clear that there are alternatives to the account in which a clausal Foc head

¹⁹ See Ott (2015) for an implementation of this type of analysis for split topics in German.

²⁰ Chomsky’s (2014) proposal concerning labeling of syntactic objects does not imply endocentricity. As such, heads do not necessarily project. A consequence is that specifiers in X’-theoretical terms do not exist. The FocP consisting of the focus particle and the focalized constituent merges with a syntactic object consisting of a focus head and the rest of the clause.

triggers movement to its specifier. As was discussed in chapter 5, assuming obligatory focus movement is problematic for a number of reasons. As a consequence, it is better to assume that focalized constituents sometimes move and sometimes not, but it is not entirely clear how to implement this optionality. I suggested that several instances of ‘focus-movement’ can be analysed in different terms, i.e., as movement not triggered by a focus feature but by other features. For languages with focus particles that systematically are associated with moved foci, I suggested an analysis with movement triggered by the foot of the chain. Both suggestions permit a theory of syntax without movement triggering FocPs in the clausal spine, and can potentially explain cross-linguistic differences in the syntax of focus, without having to stipulate strong vs. weak focus features or similar mechanisms.

8.3 Problems with (featural) Relativized Minimality

In this section I will briefly discuss some of the issues related to Relativized Minimality raised throughout the thesis. Some of the issues are specific to the proposed account, others concern the particular implementation of featural Relativized Minimality in general. First, I will address the issue of what quantification is exactly. Then I will discuss the unexpected amelioration in double identity contexts. Finally, I will conclude that, although featural Relativized Minimality has its problems, the approach does seem to be on the right track for a number of reasons.

Throughout the thesis, and following Rizzi (2004) and Haegeman (2012), intervention effects were ascribed to the presence of quantificational features, but it is not clear what quantification is exactly (see Szabolcsi 2010 for a discussion). I will briefly discuss three hypotheses: (i) quantification has a semantic source, (ii) quantification is related to the type of syntactic element bound in the base position of moved constituents and (iii) quantification is a general property of A'-movement that can be cancelled.

We could assume that *quantificational* means ‘quantification over alternatives’, and quantification would thus have a semantic origin.²¹ Such an idea is easy to apply to focus fronting, *wh*-movement or negative inversion, all of which involve alternatives from a

²¹ This was suggested to me by Liliane Haegeman.

semantic point of view. However, the presence of alternatives is not that clear in English-type topicalization structures without doubling, long moved adjuncts, or structures with Resumptive Preposing or VP-preposing. Nevertheless, all of these structures exhibit the properties that have led us to assume that they involve quantification (see section 6.2). The observation that also fronting operations that do not involve computation of alternatives have quantificational properties indicates that intervention cannot uniformly be analysed in terms of semantic intervention along the lines of Beck (2006) or Erlewine & Kotek (2014).²² Semantic intervention arises when alternative computation goes wrong, and gives rise to a proposition without a truth value. Although several instances of intervention might be a consequence of alternative computation gone wrong, not all configurations allow for such an analysis.

An alternative to a semantic approach to intervention could be to assume that the source of quantification is syntactic. Cinque (1990) and Rizzi (1997, 2002) explain the presence versus absence of a doubling element in fronting operations in terms of variable binding: syntactic variables need to be bound by an operator. Since topics in Italian are not quantificational, i.e. they are not operators, no syntactic variable is allowed in the base position and a clitic needs to be introduced. English topicalization on the other hand, which is not doubled by any element, arguably involves some operator. As a consequence, English topicalization has more or less the same syntactic properties as Italian focus fronting, which also involves operator movement and can thus bind a syntactic variable in the base position. Although this characterization can account for the differences between CLLD and non-doubled fronting, it does not explain why topics are quantificational in English but not in Italian, it only predicts that there is a correlation between absence of doubling elements and presence of quantificational properties. Additionally, Resumptive Preposing in Italian, also a topicalization strategy (Cardinaletti 2009), is quantificational. It thus seems to be the case that Italian topics can be quantificational or not.²³ An analysis under which the doubling clitic cancels the consequences of quantification for syntax rather than indicating an *a priori* lack of quantificational properties, as suggested in section 6.3, thus seems to be more adequate.

²² Also see Szabolcsi & Zwarts (1993) and Abrusán (2007).

²³ As Liliane Haegeman (p.c.) points out, the term *topic* does not yet have a syntactic definition and covers a range of varying patterns. These syntactic differences among topicalization patterns could be due to minimal featural differences.

If it is correct to assume that doubling cancels quantificational properties of A'-moved constituents, we could hypothesise that A'-movement uniformly is quantificational. In order for such a reasoning to go through, it is necessary to assume that adjuncts can be base-generated in the left periphery, on a par with Haegeman (2012) and *contra* what was argued in chapter 6 for conceptual reasons, since locally construed left-peripheral adjuncts do not have quantificational properties. The fact that they do have these properties in long-construal contexts, which do very likely involve movement, corroborates the hypothesis that quantification is a consequence of movement dependencies. Nevertheless, if it is true that all non-doubled A'-movement is quantificational, it is not clear why some PPs do not give rise to the same intervention effects as DPs. Additionally, not only A'-moved constituents are quantificational: base-generated *wh*-constituents for instance are also quantificational, since they give rise to the same weak island effects as moved *wh*-constituents.

Summarizing, it is not clear what 'quantification' is exactly, or what causes a constituent to have quantificational properties. There is a correlation between intervention and alternative computation in the semantic representation, and between intervention and A'-movement leaving a gap. Neither of these correlations are perfect. It seems to be the case that quantification in the sense used here does not have a uniform origin, even though it gives rise to very similar intervention effects.

Even though it is not clear what quantification in the sense used in this thesis is, this does not invalidate the Relativized Minimality account proposed here. Unlike accounts for locality effects in terms of variable binding or a similar mechanism, featural Relativized Minimality can capture the non-uniformity of the intervention effects that quantificational constituents give rise to, as it permits fine-grained distinctions between constituents. Nevertheless, also featural Relativized Minimality in its current shape is not without problems. Recall that the double identity configuration is not ungrammatical, contrary to what is predicted by the superset-subset approach to featural Relativized Minimality argued for by Starke (2001) and adopted a.o. by Rizzi (2004), Haegeman (2012) and in this thesis. For instance, as was discussed in chapter 7, there does not seem to be much difference between a specific *wh*-intervener and a non-specific one. A similar pattern was found by Villata et al. (2013) and Atkinson et al. (2015).

(17) a *wh*+spec *wh* (spec) *wh*+spec

b foc+spec wh (spec) foc+spec

Additionally, some features are only relevant for Relativized Minimality in combination with other features: specificity only plays a role when quantificational movement is involved, as is indicated by the fact that a CLLDed constituent can move across a specific *wh*-constituent or even another CLLDed constituent without any trouble:²⁴

(18) a spec wh (spec) spec
 b spec spec spec

These patterns indicate that something more complex than the subset-superset relation is at stake. A possible solution lies in Rizzi's (2000) account of weak island extraction in terms of specificity, that has also been proven successful to account for binding patterns, as was discussed by Falco (2007) and in chapter 6. The general observation is that specific *wh*-constituents reconstruct differently from non-specific *wh*-constituents, in the sense that non-specific *wh*-constituents obligatorily reconstruct, while specific ones can reconstruct or not. Now, if Relativized Minimality is a representational principle (Rizzi 2002, 2013b), i.e., if it depends on chain formation in LF and thus on reconstruction, the patterns above are not that unexpected. More precisely, we could assume that intervention is due to the fact that a constituent blocks reconstruction of another constituent. If specific constituents do not have to reconstruct, we expect that a potential intervener does not cause any trouble, independently of whether it is specific or not. Non-specific constituents on the other hand have to reconstruct, and we could assume that reconstruction is blocked by an intervener. Nevertheless, in some cases specific constituents do reconstruct, yet no stronger intervention effect seems to arise in these cases. Consider the following example, in which the specific *wh*-constituent reconstructs, otherwise the bound reading would not be available:

(19) [What image of himself_i] do you wonder whether John_i has?

²⁴ This was noted by Haegeman (2012). Instead of a specificity feature, she assumes that intervention effects ameliorate because of a d-linking feature. In order to explain this unexpected pattern, she assumes that CLLD does not involve movement. See chapter 6.

The amelioration of intervention effects with specific quantificational constituents can thus not be ascribed to the fact that specific constituents seem to reconstruct differently from non-specific constituents. Additionally, if intervention effects were reducible to reconstruction, we would expect specific *wh*-constituents to pattern with specific CLLD. This is not the case. CLLD has repeatedly been argued to reconstruct to a vP-peripheral position (see Cecchetto 2000 and chapter 6), nevertheless, CLLD does not give rise to locality effects. Furthermore, specific focalized constituents have different properties than specific *wh*-constituents. Although a specific focalized constituent can move across a *wh*-constituent, it cannot move across a focalized constituent. This is not expected if specific constituents uniformly do not have to reconstruct. Note that this pattern is also not expected under the standard featural Relativized Minimality account, according to which inclusion configurations should be grammatical.

(20)	a	wh+spec	wh	wh+spec
	b	*foc+spec	foc	foc+spec
	c	foc+spec	wh	foc+spec

Differences in locality effects can thus not be ascribed to differences in reconstruction only, although reconstruction might be relevant for some instances of locality effects.²⁵ Recall for instance that only long-moved adjuncts are quantificational, and only long-moved adjuncts need to reconstruct to a lower CP in order to be interpreted correctly. I leave the relation between reconstruction and intervention for future research.

Apart from featural Relativized Minimality based on subset and superset relations between features, amelioration of intervention effects have been explained in terms of semantic distinctness, see for instance Villata et al. (2013) and Atkinson et al. (2015), who provide an account for the double identity pattern. Nevertheless, also these psycholinguistic

²⁵ I wish to note that it is far from clear how reconstruction works exactly. For instance, there is a discussion on whether different types of reconstruction have to be distinguished, namely semantic and syntactic reconstruction, and what the relation between the different types of reconstruction is. I refer to Lechner (1998) or Fox (1999) a.o. for a discussion.

accounts do not provide a straightforward explanation for all of the intervention patterns. The reasoning of these accounts is as follows: in order to process long distance dependencies, constituents need to be retrieved from the memory, in order to interpret the several instances of a chain as one. Presumably, semantic distinctness, represented by different sets of features in the theory, makes the retrieval process easier and hence ameliorates intervention effects. Although this analysis can account for several patterns concerning argumental *wh*-movement out of *wh*-islands, in the sense that complex *wh*-constituents are expected to be less problematic than bare *wh*-constituents, independently of whether the intervener also has a lexical restriction (the double identity configuration), it cannot straightforwardly be extended to adjunct *wh*-movement out of *wh*-islands. One of the first observations concerning *wh*-islands was that adjunct *wh*-constituents cannot move out of them while argument *wh*-constituents can, albeit marginally in most of the cases. However, I think it is quite obvious that the set of possible answers for adjunct *wh*-phrases is semantically very distinct from the set of possible answers to argument *wh*-phrases. The observed intervention patterns with adjunct *wh*-constituents are thus contrary to what is predicted by the semantic distinctness approach. Also an experiment carried out by Sprouse, Wagers & Phillips (2012) indicates that there is no correlation between working memory capacities and island effects, which makes a memory-based account more unlikely to be correct. The authors argue that a grammatical account for intervention is more adequate.

Although the standard and psycholinguistic featural Relativized Minimality account are problematic, for the reasons discussed above, it does not mean that it is not a useful approach to data analysis, as it requires a detailed characterization of the features involved in an intervention context. Additionally, the idea that features group together in classes that are characterized by a number of distinctive properties does seem to be on the right track, as the work by Haegeman (2012) and the discussion of *é que*-clefts in chapter 7 indicates. Several different movement operations effectively exhibit a series of uniform properties, which can easily be captured by postulating that these movement operations involve the same feature, which has been called quantification. Nevertheless, within the class of quantificational features, different types of quantification need to be distinguished, as they are all minimally distinct.²⁶ Even within focus-fronting constructions, intervention effects are not uniform. For

²⁶ Also Sprouse et al. (2015) observe that island sensitivities are different across dependency types. They tested relative clause and interrogative dependencies in English and in Italian.

instance, *é que*-clefts can be embedded in more contexts than focus fronting in European Portuguese. The examples in (21) illustrate that focus fronting is ungrammatical in factive complements (a), clausal subjects (b) and complements to nouns (c), on a par with argument fronting in English. *É que*-clefts are grammatical in these contexts, as can be seen in (22). There are thus clearly differences between types of focus fronting that cannot be captured by a Q-intervention approach, or even by a foc-intervention approach. The data below indicate that a fine-grained featural characterization is necessary in order to describe the facts accurately.

- (21) a **O João lamenta que muitos livros ainda não tenha lido a sua irmã.*
 the João regrets that much books still not has read the his sister
- b **Que muitos livros queira ler o João não me surpreende nada.*
 that much books wants read the João not me surprises nothing
- c **Fiquei com a ideia de que muitos livros já já leu o meu avô.*
 stayed with the idea pf that much books already read the my grandfather

- (22) a *O João lamenta que só com cunhas é que se consiga arranjar emprego.*
 John regrets that **only with connections is that SE manages to.find job**
 ‘John regrets that it is only possible to find a job if you have connections.’
- b *Que o João é que tenha ganho o prémio não me surpreende nada.*
 that **the João is that has won the price** not me surprise nothing
 ‘That John won the price does not surprise me at all.’

c *Platão mudou alguns aspectos deste modelo*
 Plato changed some aspects of this model
político mas manteve sempre a ideia que a
 politic but maintained always the idea that
razão é que devia governar, sendo a única que podia
 reason is that should govern being the only that could
proporcionar aos cidadãos a justiça e a felicidade.
 provide to the citizens the justice and the happiness
 ‘Plato changed some aspects of this political model, but he maintained
 always the idea that reason should govern, being the only thing that
 could provide the citizens with justice and happiness.’

Of course, it might be the case that the wrong features were looked at in the analysis of the data, and that it is not focus features or quantificational features that give rise to intervention, but some other, unknown feature. It is however far from clear what this feature might be. It might also be the case that superficially similar intervention effects are underlyingly due to entirely different factors, or that an interplay of a variety of factors ultimately determines what locality effects look like, and hence that it is impossible to reduce locality effects to one single source (see for instance Haegeman, Jiménez-Fernández & Radford 2014 for such an account for subextraction from subjects). For instance, it might be the case that only quantificational features are relevant for intervention, and that the gradient in acceptability in locality violations is due to a series of independent factors, such as for example salience in the discourse. Summarizing, it is not clear how and why differences in featural make-up are relevant for locality effects, although it is clear that they are relevant.

Apart from requiring careful analysis of minimal differences which increase our knowledge of syntactic dependencies, and permitting one to capture similarities across different types of dependencies,²⁷ featural Relativized Minimality has other advantages. For instance, there seem to be cross-linguistic differences when it comes to intervention, as was indicated by the results of a formal experiment carried out by Sprouse et al. (2015) comparing

²⁷ Roberts (2000, 2010) argued for a featural approach to head movement, based on the observation that long head movement is allowed in some contexts, in an apparent violation of the Head Movement Constraint. He proposes to distinguish at least between functional and lexical heads, and among the functional heads, between operator and non-operator heads.

locality violations in English and in Italian. There also seem to be differences between Italian and European Portuguese. Italian restrictive relative clauses pattern with complex *wh*-constituents when it comes to weak island extraction (Ciro Greco, p.c.), while in European Portuguese, it seems to be the case that relativization patterns with bare *wh*-constituents:

- (23) a *?Uomo, quale macchina volevi sapere come*
 man which car wanted.2SG know.INF how
va sistemata?
 goes fixed
 'Hey man, which car did you want to know how to fix?'
- b **Uomo, cosa volevi sapere come va sistemato?*
 man what wanted.2SG know.INF how goes fixed
 'Hey man, what did you want to know how to fix?'
- c *?Quella è la macchina che volevi*
 that.FEM is the car that wanted.2SG
sapere come va sistemata
 know how goes fixed
 'That's the car that you wanted to know how to fix.'
- (24) a *?Qual destes carros querias saber como se*
 which of.these cars wanted.2SG know how SE
arranja?
 fix
 'Which car did you want to know how to fix?'
- b *??O que querias saber como se arranja?*
 what wanted.2SG know how SE fix
 'What did you want to know how to fix?'
- c *??O João leu o livro que o professor*
 the João read the book that the professor
perguntou quem escreveu
 asked who wrote
 'João read a book that the professor asked who wrote.'

The fact that intervention effects are not uniform crosslinguistically indicates that, even though there might be a unique underlying cognitive basis that causes intervention effects, we need something like featural or lexical differences between the constituents entering locality configurations, which can be parametrized across languages. A featural Relativized Minimality account permits just that.

In conclusion, there are several fundamental problems concerning Relativized Minimality, and it is not immediately clear how to solve them. Nevertheless, featural Relativized Minimality does not cease to be a very useful tool to accurately describe minimal differences in intervention contexts and to capture cross-linguistic and cross-dependency generalizations, permitting us to reach a deeper understanding of syntactic dependencies.

9 Conclusion

In this thesis, it was investigated whether there is a consistent correlation between the main interpretative and syntactic aspects of four European Portuguese cleft constructions, and how these possible correlations should be accounted for theoretically. Some authors have argued that the syntactic computation is blind to discourse considerations, while others argue that at least some discourse properties are relevant for syntax. The interpretative aspects of clefts taken into consideration were existential presupposition, exhaustive identification and focus. From the data discussed in this thesis, I concluded that existential presupposition and exhaustive identification arise through pragmatic and semantic processes, that are not immediately related to or relevant for any syntactic computations. Focus on the other hand does seem to be relevant for the syntactic computation, in the sense that focus features, although they do not trigger movement in European Portuguese, can give rise to intervention effects with other constituents.

In chapter 3, I argued that the alternative semantics for focus as in Rooth (1992) makes correct predictions concerning the relation between focus and existential presupposition and exhaustivity. According to Rooth, focus uniformly gives rise to a set of alternatives in LF, which can be used by semantic and/or pragmatic rules. Existential presupposition and exhaustivity are derived through pragmatic rules operating on the set of alternatives contributed by intonational focus: sets of alternatives are interpreted as the question under discussion, and since questions are supposed to have answers, an existential presupposition arises as an implicature. Also the exhaustivity claim very often associated with structures with focus arises through this mechanism: answers to questions are assumed to be exhaustive in order to comply with the conversational maxims. Both the existential presupposition and exhaustivity claim associated with sentences with intonational focus thus arise as an implicature, which also explains their suspensibility.

The proposed account for existential presupposition and exhaustivity correctly captures the interpretation of *é que*-clefts and SER-clefts, two monoclausal focus constructions. In this aspect, both clefts have the same properties as non-cleft sentences with intonational focus. Their particular syntactic structure does not contribute anything to these interpretations. Biclausal clefts on the other hand have a slightly different interpretation: both *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts have a strong, not suspendable existential presupposition and

exhaustivity claim. Hence, their interpretation is not the same as the one simple intonational focus gives rise to: the existential presupposition and exhaustivity claim are semanticised. The reason for this is that the cleft clause of these clefts is interpreted as a definite description. Definite descriptions are inherently presupposed, and this interpretation cannot be suspended. Additionally, the semantics for definite descriptions adopted in chapter 4 predicts that when there is an identification relation between a constituent and a definite description, this identification relation will be interpreted as exhaustive. Given that biclausal clefts are specificational sentences, extensively argued for in sections 4.3.3 and 4.3.4, in which a value identifies a variable, we expect there to be a strong exhaustivity claim associated with these structures. Additionally, the syntactic structure of *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts argued for in chapter 4 permits to derive the correct interpretation compositionally. In *it*-clefts, the cleft cleft clause is a headed relative clause, that at an early stage of the derivation occupies the complement position of a definite determiner, spelled out as the cleft pronoun. The cleft clause is thus interpreted as a definite description. The cleft clause of pseudoclefts is a free relative and free relatives are semantically definite descriptions.

From the discussion of existential presupposition and exhaustivity it is clear that these interpretations are not relevant for the syntactic computation, although some syntactic constituents, such as free relatives and restrictive relative clauses headed by a definite element are inherently existentially presupposed. Putting these constituents in particular syntactic structures, in this case a specificational copular sentence, gives rise to an exhaustive identification interpretation. For focus things are different: unlike existential presupposition and exhaustivity, focus does seem to be relevant for the syntactic computation, in the sense that it can give rise to intervention effects and hence restrict movement operations of other constituents.

First, in chapter 5, I argued that focus features do not trigger movement in languages such as European Portuguese. I showed that assuming that all focalized constituents move to a left peripheral FocP makes wrong predictions, since *in situ* focus does not exhibit the same syntactic properties as fronted focus. As an alternative, we could assume that there are also low FocPs, but in this case we need a principled account for the choice of FocP that focalized constituents move to. Since there is no strict correlation between syntactic position and pragmatic type of focus, i.e., contrastive vs. informational focus, I advanced the hypothesis that some focalized constituents really are *in situ*, in an A-position. This was corroborated by the fact that the cleft constituents of *it*-clefts, pseudoclefts and SER-clefts does not give rise to

intervention effects. If these constituents did occupy the specifier of a FocP, they should count as interveners for quantificational A'-movement, contrary to fact. Given the lack of evidence for movement of the cleft constituent in *it*-clefts and pseudoclefts, I concluded that these cleft constituents effectively occupy their base position. The same conclusion was reached for SER-clefts, since the cleft constituent of these structures can correspond to constituents that cannot readily be moved. The cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts on the other hand does give rise to intervention effects and has several properties of A'-moved constituents. In European Portuguese, it thus seems to be the case that some focalized constituents move, but others do not.

In order to solve the issue of apparent optionality in focus movement, I explored the hypothesis that focalized constituents move for focus-independent reasons, and is thus 'parasitic' on other movement operations. This is corroborated by the fact that also NPs pied piped by relativization can be the cleft constituent in *é que*-clefts. I proposed that the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts moves to a TopP to become the topic of the sentence. This proposal straightforwardly captures the very similar discourse restrictions that exist for sentence topics and the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts.

If the cleft constituent of *é que*-clefts targets a (recursive) TopP, we have to explain why it is not recursive and why it cannot co-occur with other left peripheral constituents, such as *wh*-constituents, that target other positions. I argued that the (quantificational) focus feature pied-piped by the movement operation gives rise to intervention with other quantificational constituents. Specificity can ameliorate intervention effects. The proposed account does not only predict the non-recursivity of fronted foci and its incompatibility with *wh*-movement, it also accounts for the fact that very similar incompatibilities are observed when two different CPs are involved.

After having worked out the alternative syntax for focus fronting, I turned to the detailed analysis of the syntax of the monoclausal clefts. In *é que*-clefts, the cleft constituent moves to a TopP. The cleft constituent, with a focus feature, is an intervener for movement operations of other constituents with a quantificational feature, such as *wh*-constituents and relative pronouns in relative clauses and in central adverbial clauses. The quantificational focus feature on the cleft constituent also causes it to be sensitive to weak islands: extraction of the cleft constituent from a weak island is degraded, but ameliorates considerably if it is specific. Based on the observation that the sequence *é que* can surface in several structures

involving the left periphery of the clause and can be preceded but not followed by left peripheral adjuncts, I tentatively concluded that it lexicalizes the lowest head in the left periphery, namely Fin. In the standard language, *é que* requires the presence of focus, which presumably is due to its focus-sensitive character. In some non-standard varieties on the other hand, *é que* seems to have grammaticalized to a simple lexicalizer of a left peripheral head.

For SER-clefts I worked out an analysis very much along the lines of what Cable (2010) argued for Q-particles. I proposed that the copula is a semantically vacuous verbal constituent that takes the cleft constituent as its complement and projects a vP. Because of this, the vP consisting of the copula and the cleft constituent has the syntactic distribution of verbal constituents but has the semantic properties of the cleft constituent alone. This characterization makes accurate predictions concerning the positions the copula can surface in: the vP can be selected by lexical heads, which select for semantic properties, and by functional heads that select for verbal constituents. It cannot be selected by functional heads that do not select for verbal constituents.

In the final chapter I briefly discussed some open issues and theoretical implications of the proposed account for the cleft constructions under discussion. First, I addressed some issues related to featural Relativized Minimality. I argued that the origin of quantificational properties cannot uniformly be ascribed to semantic quantification, nor can it be seen as an inherent property of A'-dependencies. It seems to be the case that different properties of constituents can give rise to very similar intervention effects. Concerning the unexpected acceptability of the double identity configuration, I suggested that a solution might lie in differences in reconstruction between specific and non-specific quantificational constituents. I concluded that, although several issues related to featural Relativized Minimality remain, the general approach does seem to be on the right track. Not only does it permit us to discover fine-grained distinctions between syntactic dependencies and capture generalizations among different types of syntactic dependencies, the approach also permits to ascribe cross-linguistic differences in intervention patterns to lexical differences, a welcome result.

Concerning the relation between copular verbs and fully grammaticalized focus particles, I argued that the copula of the cleft constructions under discussion can be analysed as a focus sensitive operator, that requires the presence of a focalized constituent in its c-command domain, or at least somewhere in the same CP. Such an account captures the fixed information structure of cleft constructions. Additionally, assuming different

grammaticalization degrees of the copula in the different structures, the proposal explains why the cleft constituent cannot move away from its regular surface position, or at least is restricted in its movement options.

Finally, concerning cross-linguistic differences in focus movement, I suggested two lines of research. It could be the case that all focus movement is parasitic on other movement operations, along the lines that were suggested here for *é que*-clefts. However, the existence of specialized focus particles with a more or less fixed position in the clausal spine is problematic for such an approach. As an alternative, I suggested that focus movement should be triggered by labeling conflicts instead of by the need for feature-checking: if a focus feature/particle projects a FocP containing the focalized constituent, it cannot remain *in situ* because doing so would give rise to a labeling conflict. FocPs thus have to move until the structure can be labeled, presumably until they reach the clausal FocP. In the case a focus feature does not project, movement will not take place, since the focalized constituent can be labeled *in situ*.

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