

Cleft constructions in Japanese: New Evidence for the Base-generation Analysis

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English has two types of cleft constructions, (it-)cleft and pseudocleft, as exemplified in (1a) and (1b), respectively. The analyses proposed in the literature are shown in (2). Japanese constructions as in (3) are referred to as the cleft constructions and have long been discussed in the literature. However, there is still no consensus about the proper syntactic analysis of the constructions. The analyses in the literature are divided into two types: One base-generates the focus phrase in its surface position with an operator movement inside the presuppositional clause, which is very similar to the analysis of the (it-)cleft in English in (2a). The other involves the movement of the focus phrase and the subsequent remnant movement of the presuppositional clause. I refer to the former type of analyses as "base-generation analysis" and the latter as "movement analysis." In this paper I argue for the base-generation analysis, basically in line with Hoji 1987, 1990, and provide further articulation of the structure on the basis of new data.

In the cleft constructions in Japanese as in (3) *no* is typically analyzed as a complementizer C, which takes TP as its complement, while *wa* is a topic marker. *Da/desu* is a copula verb. The CP headed by *no* functions as presupposition, while the phrase following the CP (*Hanako(-ni)* in (3)) functions as focus. The focus phrase can arise in the position with or without a case-marker. Many researchers assign different structures to the cleft constructions with and without a case-marker on the focus phrase. In this work, I deal with the cleft constructions with a case-marker on the focus phrase, referring to them as the C(ase-)M(arked)-Cleft.

The "movement analysis" is proposed in Hiraiwa & Ishihara 2002 and Takahashi 2006. In the course of the derivation, the focus phrase is A'-moved to [Spec,F(ocus)P], which is followed by the remnant movement of the presuppositional CP across the focus phrase as illustrated in (4). H&I (2002) present the island effects as shown in (5) and the fact that the focus phrase has a case-marker assigned by the predicate in the presuppositional CP as supporting facts for the movement analysis. They argue that the island effects are observed due to the syntactic movement of the focus phrase. The case-matching effect is argued to be a natural consequence of the movement analysis since the focus phrase is in fact an argument of the predicate.

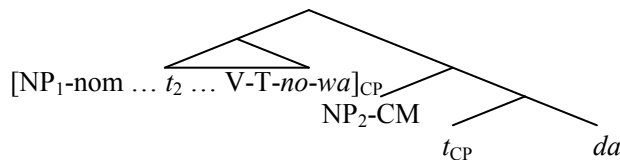
H&I's 2002 derivation, however, would induce the PBC violation since the remnant movement of the CP is an A'-movement to [Spec,Top(ic)P]. The derivation cannot be saved by Müller's (1993) generalization, according to which the PBC violation arises only when we have interaction of two movements of the same type, that is, either A- or A'-movement. Takahashi (2006) evades this problem by stipulating that the remnant movement of the CP is an A-movement to [Spec,TP], while that of the focus is an A'-movement. However, his analysis cannot account for the NPI facts in the CM-Cleft as in (6) given that NPIs must be c-commanded by a negative element NEG at LF. *Rokuna-N* 'decent N' is one of the NPIs in Japanese that must be c-commanded by NEG at LF. According to Takahashi 2006, *rokuna-N* in (6b) has been moved to the focus position by A'-movement. Thus, at LF it would be reconstructed to its base-generated position inside the CP. As a result, *rokuna-N* in (6b) would be c-commanded by NEG at LF, predicting that (6b) is acceptable, contrary to fact. Furthermore, the possibility of resumption in the CM-Cleft as in (7b) is problematic to the movement analysis since it is generally considered that an A-chain does not allow resumption (cf. Ueyama 1998: Ch.2, 113).

The "base-generation analysis" is proposed and pursued in Hoji 1987, 1990 and Kizu 2005. Under this analysis, the focus phrase is base-generated in its surface position, which forms a subject-predicate relation with the presuppositional CP through the operator movement inside the CP. The structure is illustrated in (8). The focus phrase c-commands the presuppositional CP so as to have the subject-predicate relation, and it can be c-commanded by the matrix NEG but not by the embedded NEG. The NPI facts in (6) thus raise no problem for the base-generation analysis. Moreover, the possibility of resumption in the CM-Cleft can be accounted for, along the lines of Ueyama 1998.

I propose that the focus phrase be merged with the presuppositional CP so that it c-commands the elements inside the CP and that the position of the focus phrase is an A'-position. This not only accounts for the NPI facts and the resumption facts noted above but also the BVA (bound variable anaphora) facts as shown in (9). The binding possibility in (9a) can be accounted for by means of some version of chain binding of Barss 1986, available for A'-chains. Binding is impossible in (9b) because the chain so formed does not c-command the dependent term *soko* 'it.'

Finally, the two arguments for the movement analysis noted above can be accounted for under the base-generation analysis. The operator movement inside the presuppositional CP accounts for the island effects in (5). Also, the subject-predicate relation formed between the focus phrase and the presuppositional CP through the operator movement provides a way to account for the "case-matching" under the base-generation analysis, in line with Ueyama's (1998) analysis of so-called A-scrambling.

- (1) a. It was the movie that Mary saw. **(it-)cleft**
 b. What Mary saw was the movie. **pseudocleft**
- (2) a. **(it-)cleft:** $[_{IP} \text{ it } [_{VP} \text{ be } [_{CP} \text{ XP}_i [_{CP} \text{ Op}_i \text{ that}_i [_{IP} \dots e_i \dots]]]]]]$ (cf. Chomsky 1977: 92-94)
 b. **pseudocleft:** $[_{CP} [_{CP} \text{ Op}_i \dots e_i \dots]_j [_{IP} \text{ be } [_{SC} \text{ XP}_1 \text{ t}_j]]]$ (cf. Heggie 1988: 290)
- (3) Taroo-ga atta no-wa Hanako(-ni) da/desu
 Taroo-Nom met that-Top Hanako-Dat is
 'It was Hanako that Taroo met.'
- (4) Movement analysis of the cleft construction:
 PF: NP₁-nom ... V-T-no-wa NP₂-CM da
 LF (before reconstruction):



- (5) * [John-ga [[e_i e_j kaita] hito_i]-o hihansita-no]-wa kono-ronbun-o_j da
 John-Nom wrote person-Acc criticized-C-TOP this paper-Acc be
 '(Lit.) It is this paper_j that John criticized the person who wrote e_j.'
- (6) a. Sono paatii-de Hanako-ga koeokaketa-no-wa rokuna otoko-ni ja-nak-katta.
 that party-at Hanako-Nom spoke:to-that-Top decent man-Dat be-Neg-Past
 '(Lit.) It wasn't decent men that Hanako spoke to at that party.'
 b. *Sono paatii-de Hanako-ga koeokake-na-katta-no-wa rokuna otoko-ni datta.
 that party-at Hanako-Nom spoke:to-Neg-Past-that-Top decent man-Dat be
 '(Lit.) It was decent men that Hanako didn't speak to at that party.'
- (7) a. Bee-gikai-ga san-syuu renzoku ec shookansita-no-wa Toyota-o-da.
 U.S.-Congress-Nom three-week consecutively summoned-that-Top Toyota-Acc-be
 'It was Toyota that the U.S. Congress summoned for three consecutive weeks.'
 b. Bee-gikai-ga san-syuu renzoku soko-o shookansita-no-wa Toyota-o-da.
 U.S.-Congress-Nom three-week consecutively it-Acc summoned-that-Top Toyota-Acc-be
 '(Lit.) It was Toyota that the U.S. Congress summoned it for three consecutive weeks.'
- (8) Base-generation analysis of the cleft construction:
 PF: NP₁-nom ... V-T-no-wa NP₂-CM da
 LF:
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graph TD
 Root --> Op2["[Op2 [NP1-nom ... t2 ... V-T-no]-wa]"]
 Root --> da["da"]
 Op2 --> Op2_node["Op2"]
 Op2 --> NP2CM["NP2-CM"]

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