

On Cleft in Japanese*

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1. Introduction

Two kinds of cleft constructions in Japanese, exemplified in (2), have been widely discussed in the literature on Japanese syntax (see among numerous others Hoji 1987, 1990, Koizumi 1995, Hiraiwa and Ishihara 2002, Hoji and Ueyama 2003, Kizu 2005, Miura 2011).¹

- (1) Ken-ga Mari-ni atta.
 Ken-NOM Mari-DAT met
 ‘Ken met Mari.’
- (2) a. [Ken-ga e atta no]-wa Mari-ni da. (case-marked cleft)
 Ken-NOM met C-TOP Mari-DAT COP
 ‘It was Mari that Ken met.’
- b. [Ken-ga e atta no]-wa Mari da. (non-case-marked cleft)
 Ken-NOM met C-TOP Mari COP
 ‘It was Mari that Ken met.’

(2a,b) are the cleft versions of (1). As the above English translations indicate, (2a,b) mean basically the same thing: *Mari* is the focus in both of the sentences and the very person that Ken met. The minimal difference between (2a) and (2b) has to do with the presence of the dative-marker *-ni* on the focused NP *Mari* in the former or the absence of it in the latter. Following Hoji and Ueyama (2003), let us call clefts like (2a) case-marked (CM) and those like (2b) non-case-marked (non-CM) (see also Hoji 1987).²

As Hoji (1987) points out, there is a significant difference between CM cleft and non-CM cleft in terms of locality. In particular, only the former exhibits subadjacency effects. Observe the following pair:

- (3) a. *[Ken-ga [[*e* atta] hito]-o sagasiteiru no]-wa Mari-ni da.
 Ken-NOM met person-ACC looking.for C-TOP Mari-DAT COP
 Lit. ‘It was Mari that Ken is looking for the person who met.’
- b. [Ken-ga [[*e* atta] hito]-o sagasiteiru no]-wa Mari da.
 Ken-NOM met person-ACC looking.for C-TOP Mari COP
 Lit. ‘It was Mari that Ken is looking for the person who met.’

In both (3a) and (3b), the clause in the topic position contains the complex NP headed by *hito* ‘person.’ The small difference between them, namely, the presence or absence of the dative-marker on the focus, yields the sharp contrast in grammaticality. Based on this observation, Hoji (1987) concludes that CM cleft involves syntactic movement (of a null operator, see below), whereas non-CM cleft does not.

The discussion here will center around CM cleft, because I am interested in the question of what kinds of movement are relevant in the derivation of cleft in Japanese. In what follows, I will consider non-CM cleft only sporadically in comparison to CM cleft in order to highlight the properties of the latter.

This paper critically evaluates competing analyses of Japanese CM cleft found in the literature. It turns out that each of them has its own virtues but none of them really explain all the intricate properties of CM cleft. I will attempt to synthesize the existent analyses and present an eclectic approach to CM cleft.

The organization of this paper is as follows. Section 2 offers a synopsis of the three kinds of previous analyses. Based mainly on data on nominative and accusative foci, Section 3 provides novel arguments in favor of the biclausal nature of CM cleft. It will be argued that CM cleft is a species of “amalgam cleft” (Declerck 1988, cf. Cho *et al.* 2008) involving (a) null operator movement within the presuppositional clause (Hoji 1987,

1990, Hoji and Ueyama 2003), (b) focus movement (Kim 1997, Hiraiwa and Ishihara 2002), and (c) clausal ellipsis of the kind found in stripping and sluicing (Hiraiwa and Ishihara 2002, Nakamura 2012). Section 4 wraps up the discussion.

2. Previous Analyses

As Miura (2011) points out, one can recognize two representative approaches to Japanese clefts, which he calls “the base-generation analysis” and “the movement analysis.” I will summarize these analyses and present alleged evidence for them below. In addition, I will give the gist the alternative proposal put forth by Cho *et al.* (2008), which they argue overcomes problems with the two conventional analyses.

2.1. The base-generation analysis

The base-generation analysis, advocated by Hoji (1987, 1990), Hoji and Ueyama (2003), Kizu (2005), Miura (2011) and others, maintains that the focus phrase in a cleft stays where it is generated. It posits the following schematic structure for the CM cleft in (2a):

(4) [_{CP} OP_i [_{TP} Ken-ga e_i atta] no]-wa [_{VP} Mari_i-ni da]

In (4) the focus phrase is assumed to stay within VP without undergoing any movement. The presuppositional clause headed by the (nominalizing) complementizer *no* is directly inserted into the topic position. The case-marked focus phrase is supposed to be licensed and identified by the null operator in the presuppositional clause, which undergoes syntactic movement from its base position to Spec of CP.

The null operator movement posited in (4) is motivated by the fact that CM clefts exhibit island effects (Ross 1967), as shown in (3a). However, one may well wonder if it is really the alleged null operator movement that is responsible for the island violation. More specifically, there is a possibility, which the movement approach to be reviewed below explores,

that it is the focused element rather than a null operator that undergoes movement. Hoji and Ueyama (2003) provide a reason for adopting null operator movement. It has to do with the impossibility of negative polarity items (NPIs) appearing in the focus position of CM clefts. Consider the following examples containing *sika* ‘only,’ which is a NPI in Japanese:

- (5) a. Ken-wa Mari-ni-sika awanakatta.
 Ken-TOP Mari-DAT-only met-NEG
 ‘Ken met only Mari.’
- b. *[Ken-ga awanakatta no]-wa Mari-ni-sika da.
 Ken-NOM met-NEG C-TOP Mari-DAT-only COP
 ‘It was only Mari that Ken met.’

There is a general condition on NPIs in Japanese that they must be within the scope of negation in the same clause (the clausemate condition). In monoclausal (5a), the *sika*-marked dative phrase is properly licensed by the negation on the verb. Movement operations such as scrambling are known to allow NPIs to be extracted directly out of their original clauses, as shown in (6).

- (6) Mari-ni-sika_i Ben-wa [Ken-ga e_i awanakatta to] omotteiru.
 Mari-DAT-only Ben-TOP Ken-NOM met-NEG C think
 ‘Only Mari, Ben thinks that Ken met.’

Then the ill-formedness of (5b) may be taken to indicate that no direct movement of the focused phrase is involved in (5b). If this line of argument is on the right track,³ island effects in CM cleft must be attributed to something else - null operator movement that is not audible.

2.2. *The movement analysis*

The movement analysis, put forth by Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2002) and Takahashi (2006), claims that the focus phrase undergoes syntactic movement. According to Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2002), the derivation of (2a)

proceeds in the following way:

- (7) a. [_{TopP} [_{FocP} [_{CP} [_{TP} Ken-ga Mari-ni atta] no] da] Top]
 b. [_{TopP} [_{FocP} Mari_i-ni [_{CP} [_{TP} Ken-ga e_i atta] no] da] Top]
 ↑ focus movement |
 c. [_{TopP} [_{CP} [_{TP} Ken-ga e_i atta] no]_j [_{FocP} Mari_i-ni e_j da] Top]
 ↑ remnant topicalization |

(7a) is the underlying ‘no da’ in-situ focus structure (Kuno 1973). Based on certain similarities between the in-situ focus construction and the CM cleft, Hiraiwa and Ishihara reason that they are transformationally related. Observe the following pairs of examples (adapted from Hiraiwa and Ishihara 2002):⁴

- (8) a. Taro-ga HANAKO-ni RINGO-o (3-TU) ageta no da.
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT apple-ACC 3-CL gave C COP
 Lit. ‘It is (three) apples to Hanako that Taro gave.’
 b. [Taro-ga ageta no]-wa Hanako-ni ringo-o (3-tu) da.
 Taro-NOM gave C-TOP Hanako-DAT apple-ACC 3-CL COP
 Lit. ‘It is (three) apples to Hanako that Taro gave.’
- (9) a. Taro-ga RINGO-o (3-TU) tabeta no/*mono/*kudamono da.
 Taro-NOM apple-ACC 3-CL ate C/thing/fruit COP
 ‘It is (three) apples that Taro ate.’
 b. [Taro-ga tabeta no/*mono/*kudamono]-wa ringo-o (3-tu) da.
 Taro-NOM ate C/thing/fruit-TOP apple-ACC 3-CL COP
 ‘The thing that Taro ate is (three) apples.’
- (10) a. Taro-ga/*no RINGO-o (3-TU) tabeta no da.
 Taro-NOM/GEN apple-ACC 3-CL ate C COP
 ‘It is (three) apples that Taro ate.’
 b. [Taro-ga/*no tabeta no]-wa ringo-o (3-tu) da.
 Taro-NOM/GEN ate C-TOP apple-ACC 3-CL COP
 ‘It is (three) apples that Taro ate.’

(8), (9), and (10) are examples of multiple foci, substitutions of the complementizer *no*, and so-called Nominative Genitive Conversion, respectively. (8a), where the focused phrases with phonological stress are capitalized, shows that the in-situ focus construction allows for multiple foci. (8b) shows that the same is true of CM cleft, which contrasts sharply with non-CM cleft incompatible with multiple foci ((11)).

- (11) *[Taro-ga ageta no]-wa Hanako ringo (3-tu) da.
 Taro-NOM gave C-TOP Hanako apple 3-CL COP
 Lit. 'It is (three) apples to Hanako that Taro gave.'

(9a,b) demonstrate that in both, the nominalizing complementizer *no* cannot be replaced by other nominal expressions. Non-CM cleft is markedly different in this respect, as shown in well-formed (12).

- (12) [Taro-ga tabeta no/mono/kudamono]-wa ringo (3-tu) da.
 Taro-NOM ate C/thing/fruit-TOP apple 3-CL COP
 'The thing that Taro ate is (three) apples.'

(10a,b) indicate that the two constructions in question do not tolerate Nominative Genitive Conversion, which is permitted in the case of non-CM cleft, for example:

- (13) [Taro-ga/no tabeta no]-wa ringo (3-tu) da.
 Taro-NOM/GEN ate C-TOP apple 3-CL COP
 'It is (three) apples that Taro ate.'

The parallels in (8)-(10) between the in-situ focus construction and the CM cleft, Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2002) argue, support the idea that they are derivationally related; to be more specific, the cleft construction derives from the in-situ focus construction.

Once we decide that the in-situ focus construction provides source

structure for the CM cleft, all we need to do is devise a way to derive the right surface word order of the cleft. Hiraiwa and Ishihara propose that two steps are involved. First, the dative-phrase *Mari-ni* moves to Spec of Foc(us)P (see Kim 1997, Rizzi 1997), as in (7b). Second, this focus movement is followed by syntactic topicalization of the remnant clause, out of which the focus phrase has moved, as in (7c).

The movement analysis accounts for the island effect observed in CM cleft precisely because it postulates focus movement. Furthermore, the fact that the focus-moved element must conform to the selectional properties of the predicate in the presuppositional clause follows naturally from the analysis.

2.3. The amalgam analysis

As an alternative to these analyses, Cho *et al.* (2008) propose that CM clefts are what they call “covert amalgam clefts,” inspired by Declerck’s (1988) work on the following kind of sentences in English dubbed “amalgam clefts”:

(14) [_{CP} What Yumi bought] is [_{CP} she bought a LEXUS].

The amalgam analysis would assign the following structure to (2a):

(15) [_{CP} [_{TP} Ken-ga e atta] no]-wa [_{CP} *pro* Mari_i-ni atta] da.

(15) is similar to (14) in that it has a biclausal structure. In both sentences, the two subjects refer to the same person, but in the Japanese example, the second subject is a *pro* with no phonetic content. In the English version, the same verb is repeated twice, whereas in the Japanese version, the second verb, according to Cho *et al.*, gets deleted. Cho *et al.* attribute this obligatory deletion to the general ban in Japanese on finite verbs appearing before the copula *da*.

Cho *et al.* retain one important aspect of the base-generation analysis, though: in order to account for island effects observed in CM clefts, they

posit movement within the presupposition. They mention that the movement in question need not be null operator movement. It may be (head) movement of the nominalizer/complementizer *no* from the variable position (Cho *et al.* 2008, footnote 1). However, they reject the idea, adopted by both the base-generation and movement analyses, that cleft structure in Japanese is monoclausal.

In arguing against the two previous approaches, Cho *et al.* say “it is easy to show that clefts in Korean and Japanese have a biclausal structure,” pointing out that NPIs in the presuppositional clause must be licensed by negation in the same clause, as shown in the following Japanese examples:

- (16) a. [Ken-ga 500en-sika agenakatta no]-wa Mari-ni da.
 Ken-TOP 500 yen-only gave-NEG C-TOP Mari-DAT COP
 ‘It was to Mari that Ken gave only 500 yen.’
- b. *[Ken-ga 500en-sika ageta no]-wa Mari-ni zyanai.
 Ken-NOM 500 yen-only gave C-TOP Mari-DAT COP-NEG
 ‘It was to Mari that Ken gave only 500 yen.’

Their assumption here seems to be that the negation associated with the copula *c*-commands the *sika*-marked NPI in (16b), satisfying one of the conditions on NPI licensing. Since (16b) is ill-formed, it must be then that a clause boundary lies between the negation and the NPI in violation of the clausemate condition.

This is a hasty conclusion, though, because the ungrammaticality of (16b) can probably be captured even under the base-generation and movement analyses. In both of the analyses, the negation would in fact not *c*-command the NPI (see the structures in (4) and (7c)). Data like (16b) thus do not justify the alleged biclausality of CM clefts.

The real support for the amalgam analysis, it appears, comes from the fact that CM clefts in Japanese share exactly the same information structural properties with amalgam clefts in English. Consider (17) and (18), taken from Cho *et al.* (2008).

- (17) A: What did Yumi buy where for whom?
 B: What Yumi bought is she bought a LEXUS in LA for HER BROTHER.
- (18) A: Yumi-wa nani-o doko-de dare-ni katte ageta no?
 Yumi-TOP what-ACC where-LOC who-DAT buy gave Q
 ‘What did Yumi buy where for whom?’
 B: Yumi-ga katte ageta no-wa Lexus-o LA-de
 Yumi-NOM buy gave C-TOP Lexus-ACC LA-LOC
 oniisan-ni da.
 elder.brother-DAT COP
 Lit. ‘What Yumi bought was Lexus in LA for her elder brother.’

(17) shows that amalgam clefts can provide appropriate answers to multiple questions and that the focused material may include items that are not found in the presupposition. (18) shows that the same holds in Japanese CM clefts, suggesting that the two kinds of clefts are different manifestations of the basically identical structure.⁵

In the next section, I will critically examine the above-mentioned three approaches, highlighting the difficulties they face. I will also attempt to modify the amalgam approach in such a way that it incorporates some features of the base-generation and movement approaches in order to overcome their problems.

3. Towards a Hybrid Analysis

Let us begin by tackling the following question: is the presupposition of a CM cleft merged into its position, as in the base-generation and amalgam analyses, or does it reach its surface position through remnant movement, as in the movement analysis?

As far as this question is concerned, it is the movement analysis, I argue, that must be abandoned. The reason has to do with the cross-linguistic generalization in (19) put forth by Nakamura (2009:321):

(19) The Ellipsis Movement Generalization:

If a certain category can undergo ellipsis, it cannot undergo movement except when it is phonologically null.

Nakamura (2009) defends the validity of (19) on the basis of relevant data from Irish, English, and Japanese and demonstrates that it is exactly what is expected under a revised notion of phase (see Chomsky 2001 and subsequent work). The main idea is that only the constituent targeted by Spell-Out is eligible for phonological deletion (see Chomsky and Lasnik 1993, Merchant 2001, Lasnik 2007 among others for the deletion theory of ellipsis) and the same constituent, in accord with the notion of local computation, becomes syntactically inert (see Nakamura 2009 for details).

Recall that Hiraiwa and Ishihara's (2002) derivation of CM clefts involves syntactic movement of CP headed by *no* into Spec of TopP. This proposed movement, however, is banned in light of (19), because the alleged target constituent can in fact undergo ellipsis. Observe the typical sluicing construction in Japanese in (20).

- (20) Taroo-ga nanika-o katta ga,
Taro-NOM something-ACC bought but
boku-wa [[_{FocP} nani-o [_{CP} ~~Taroo-ga e katta no~~] da] ka] sira-nai.
I-TOP what-ACC Taro-NOM bought C COP Q know-NEG
'Taro bought something, but I don't know what.'

In the sluiced sentence, the *wh*-phrase *nani-o* 'what' moves to Spec of FocP and the complement of the phase head Foc undergoes ellipsis (Hiraiwa and Ishihara 2002, 2012, cf. Takahashi 1994). Viewed from (19), this means that the nominalized CP headed by *no* corresponds to a Spell-Out domain in Japanese and hence can never undergo syntactic movement, leading to the conclusion that the topicalization posited in the movement analysis (see (7c)) is impossible. It must be then that the presupposition in CM clefts stays in situ (in Spec of TopP) throughout the derivation.

Having determined that the presupposition is merged into its surface

position, let us ask what kind of movement occurs inside it: is it null operator movement, as suggested by the base-generation analysis, or is it something else such as a kind of head movement, as suggested by the amalgam analysis?

Here I suggest that we take into account the well-known (but somewhat murky) facts about nominative-marked and accusative-marked foci in CM clefts: for many speakers, myself included, they are simply illegitimate, as shown below (see Cho *et al.* 2008 for similar facts in Korean):

- (21) Syachoo-ga kookyusya-o katta.
 president-NOM luxury.car-ACC bought
 ‘The President bought a luxury car.’
- (22) a. *[*e* Kookyusya-o katta no]-wa syachoo-ga da.
 luxury.car-ACC bought C-TOP president-NOM COP
 ‘It was the president that bought a luxury car.’
- b. *[Syachoo-ga *e* katta no]-wa kookyusya-o da.
 president-NOM bought C-TOP luxury.car-ACC COP
 ‘It was a luxury car that the president bought.’

(22a,b) are the cleft versions of (21). In (22a) the subject bearing the nominative case-marker is the focused element, whereas in (22b) the object with the accusative case-marker occupies the focus position.

To the best of my knowledge, the impossibility of clefting nominative and accusative elements has escaped a principled explanation. As a matter of fact, Cho *et al.* (2008), recognizing individual variations in acceptability of nominative and accusative focusing, dismiss the relevant facts as “a surface phenomenon.”

I argue that data such as (22a,b) can be explained in terms of null operator movement within the presupposition. As is well known, null operators behave differently from *wh*-phrases. Consider the following examples of “*tough*-movement” ((23b) is taken from Browning (1987:25)):

- (23) a. John was easy [OP to please *e*].
 b. ?*John was easy for us [OP to convince Bill [that we liked *e*]].

In (23a) the null operator is assumed to move to the edge of the infinitival clause, where it is identified with the subject *John*. Chomsky (1977) notes that null operator movement of this sort is subject to the “tensedness” condition. Thus, it cannot take place out of a tensed clause, as shown in (23b). This contrasts sharply with regular *wh*-extraction, which can originate from a tensed clause with no difficulty, as in (24).

- (24) Who did you convince Bill that we liked *e*?

The relevant observation is stated in (25).

- (25) Movement of a nominal null operator is blocked by finite T.⁶

Given (25), we can understand why (22b) is degraded. Suppose that it does involve null operator movement, as suggested by the base-generation analysis. Then (22b) is straightforwardly ruled out by (25) in the same way English (23b) is.

How about (22a)? Here another property of null operators is relevant. Consider the following examples:

- (26) a. *John is easy [OP to believe (that) *e* knows the news].
 b. *John is easy [OP to believe *e* to know the news].

(26a) shows that a null operator cannot originate from the (tensed) subject position or Spec of TP. Note that in this case, the embedded finite T does not interfere with the movement in question. (26b) demonstrates that a null operator is ruled out from the ECM subject position (Stowell 1986). Again, no violation of (25) is incurred in (26b).

The ungrammaticality of (26) leads to the following observation:

(27) Null operator movement cannot take place out of subject positions.⁷

Here “subject positions” are understood as either Spec of TP or the position occupied by ECM subject.

Turning to Japanese, Kishimoto (2010) and others argue that Japanese nominative subjects raise overtly to Spec of TP to satisfy the EPP just like their English counterparts. Given their argument for overt subject raising in Japanese, combined with (27), the ill-formedness of (22a) is explicable under the base-generation analysis: Spec of TP cannot be the launching site for null operator movement.

The postulation of null operator movement within the presupposition in CM clefts paves the way to capturing a curious fact concerning the cleftability of nominative and accusative elements: it has been observed (Koizumi 1995) that the addition of numeral quantifiers to their right ameliorates their acceptability in the focus position. Consider (28).

- (28) a. [*e* kookyuusya-o katta no]-wa syachoo-ga 3-nin da.
 luxury.car-ACC bought C-TOP president-NOM 3-CL COP
 ‘It was three presidents that bought luxury cars.’
- b. [Syachoo-ga *e* katta no]-wa kookyuusya-o 3-dai da.
 president-NOM bought C-TOP luxury.car-ACC 3-CL COP
 ‘It was three luxury cars that the president bought.’

(28a,b) differ minimally from (22a,b), respectively, in that the numeral quantifiers (*3-nin* ‘3 persons’ in (28a) and *3-dai* ‘3 sets’ in (28b)) have been added to the focused phrases.

What is ultimately responsible for the improved status of (28a,b)? A natural line of thinking to pursue is that (28) lacks what causes (22) to be illegitimate: (28a,b), unlike (22a,b), do not involve null operator movement. If that is true, the grammaticality of (28a,b) comes as no surprise.

I suggest that the presupposition in (28) does contain a null operator in Spec of CP but it does not move to the position. Rather, it is merged there and binds a (resumptive) *pro*.

Let us consider the syntactic structures of quantified nominals in Japanese, which Watanabe (2006) analyzes in detail. Observe the following underlying structure for the accusative object meaning ‘three books’:

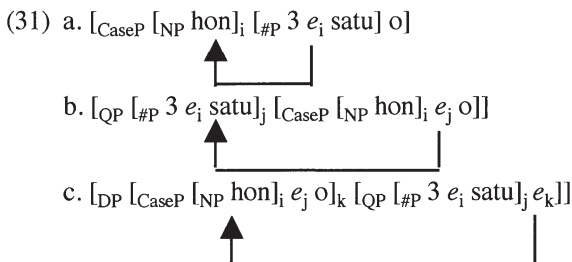
(29) [_{CaseP} [_{#P} 3 [_{NP} hon] satu] o]
 book CL ACC

The bare NP *hon* ‘book’ occupies the complement position of the classifier *satu* ‘volume,’ which projects #P whose Spec is filled with 3. #P is the sister of the accusative case-marker, which projects CaseP (Watanabe 2006).

(29) yields the three variations in (30).

- (30) a. Ken-ga hon 3 satu-o katta.
 Ken-NOM book 3 CL-ACC bought
 b. Ken-ga 3 satu-no hon-o katta.
 Ken-NOM 3 CL-GEN book-ACC bought
 c. Ken-ga hon-o 3-satu katta.
 Ken-NOM book-ACC 3-CL bought
 ‘Ken bought three books.’

The objects in (30a-c) involve the derivations in (31a-c), respectively.



In (31a) the NP raises to Spec of CaseP. If the #P in (31a) undergoes remnant movement to Spec of QP, we get (31b), where the genitive-marker *-no* is eventually inserted right before the noun as is required by a general

morphological rule in Japanese. If the CaseP in (31b) undergoes further remnant movement to Spec of DP, (31c) is derived.

Watanabe (2006) assumes that not only (31c) but also (31a,b) eventually expand to full DP structure. Suppose, however, that there exists an economy principle imposed on projection of syntactic structure (see Safir 1992, Speas 1994, Bošković 1997). For instance, Safir (1992) states the principle as follows:

(32) Structural Economy Principle (SEP)

At any point in a derivation, a structural description for a natural language string employs as few nodes as grammatical principles and lexical selection require.

(32) ensures that a given derivation contains no superfluous structure. Now there seems to be no principled reason for (31a,b) to be merged with D (and Q in the case of (31a)). This implies that only (31c) has the categorial status of DP.

It is well known that resumptive pronouns can be used in certain A'-dependencies (see Cinque 1990 among numerous others). Postal (1969) claims that pronouns (in English) are in fact a species of determiners. Then it is reasonable to posit (33).

(33) An A'-bound *pro* is of the category DP.

Given (33) in combination with Watanabe's (2006) analysis supplemented by (32), we can explain the intriguing contrast between (22) and (28). In (22) null operator movement is obligatory, because what is clefted there is CaseP and thus the resumptive *pro* strategy is not open.⁸ In (28), on the other hand, what is clefted is indeed DP, licensing the operator-variable relation via binding.

This analysis predicts that the nominal phrases of the forms (31a,b) cannot be clefted, because they are either CaseP or QP unable to license resumptive *pros* and thus must rely on null operator movement in CM clefts.

The prediction is indeed borne out. Compare (28) and (34).

- (34) a. *[*e* Kookyusya-o katta no]-wa syachoo 3-nin-ga /
luxury.car-ACC bought C-TOP president 3-CL-NOM
3-nin-no syachoo-ga da.
3-CL-GEN president-NOM COP
'It was three presidents that bought luxury cars.'
- b. *[Syachoo-ga *e* katta no]-wa kookyusya 3-dai-o /
president-NOM bought C-TOP luxury.car 3-CL-ACC
3-dai-no kookyusya-o da.
3-CL-GEN luxury.car-ACC COP
'It was three luxury cars that the president bought.'

In both (34a) and (34b) there must be null operator movement for the above-mentioned reason, but the former is blocked by (27) and the latter by (25).⁹

Having demonstrated the superiority of the base-generation analysis with respect to the presupposition, let us now shift our attention to the rest of the CM cleft, namely, the focused material and the copula. The central question to be addressed is: Does focusing involve syntactic movement, as the movement approach claims?

As we mentioned above, CM clefts exhibit subjacency effects, which both the base-generation approach and the movement approach can actually capture: the former does so by positing null operator movement within the presupposition, and the latter by positing movement of the focus phrase. Thus data like (3a) are not informative.

There is, however, a way to see if focus movement is involved in CM clefts. We saw that under certain conditions, the presuppositional clause can utilize a resumptive strategy to form an operator-variable relation without syntactic movement. The movement analysis predicts that even in such a case, the island effect should persist, because focus movement inevitably incurs a locality violation.¹⁰ The prediction is borne out, as shown below:

- (35) a. *Ken-ga [[syachoo-ga *e* katta toyuu] uwasa]-ni
 Ken-NOM president-NOM bought_C rumor-DAT
 odoroit_a no]-wa kookyuusya-o da.
 was.surprised_{C-TOP} luxury.car-ACC COP
 Lit. 'It was a luxury car that Ken was surprised at the rumor that
 the president bought.'
- b. *Ken-ga [[syachoo-ga *e* katta toyuu] uwasa]-ni kiita
 Ken-NOM president-NOM bought_C rumor-ACC heard
 odoroit_a no]-wa kookyuusya-o 3-dai da.
 was.surprised_{C-TOP} luxury.car-ACC 3-CL COP
 Lit. 'It was three luxury cars that Ken was surprised at the
 rumor that the president bought.'

(35a) is based on ill-formed (22b), whereas (35b) is based on well-formed (28b). They both contain a gap inside the complex NP headed by *uwasa* 'rumor.' The ungrammaticality of (35a), just like that of (3a), is expected but uninformative because it can be attributed to either null operator movement or focus movement (or both). However, (35b) is indeed instructive because the addition of the numeral quantifier licenses a resumptive *pro* in the presupposition, which in turn eliminates the need for null operator movement. As is well known, island effects are nullified by the use of resumption (Sells 1984, Erteschik-Shir 1992 among others). Observe the contrast in (36) (Erteschik-Shir 1992):

- (36) a. *I'd like to meet the linguist that Peter knows a psychologist that
 works for *e*.
 b. I'd like to meet the linguist that Peter knows a psychologist that
 works for her.

(36a) exemplifies the familiar case of violating the complex NP constraint. If one replaces the gap in (36a) with the resumptive pronoun *her*, the sentence becomes acceptable, as shown in (36b), indicating that no syntactic movement out of the island takes place.¹¹

This means that no movement takes place within the presupposition in

(35b). The ill-formedness of (35b) then must be due to another kind of movement, focus movement in particular.

As a matter of fact, one can construct a more straightforward argument for focus movement based on overt resumption in Japanese. Hoji and Ueyama (2003) note that CM clefts in Japanese tolerate overt resumptive pronouns, giving examples of the following sort:

- (37) [Kokuren-ga kibisiku so-re-o hihansita no]-wa
the.U.N.-NOM harshly that-thing-ACC criticized C-TOP
amerika-no booei-seisaku-o da.
USA-GEN defense-policy-ACC COP
Lit. 'It was the USA's defense policy that the United Nations harshly criticized it.'

In (37) the resumptive pronoun *so-re* 'it' appears in the object position of the presuppositional clause, which indicates that no null operator movement has taken place in the clause. This is why (37) is well-formed unlike (22b).

Interestingly enough, Hoji and Ueyama (2003) note that the resumptive strategy does not rescue CM clefts from island violations, as shown in (38).

- (38) *[Keizi-ga [[a-no ban so-re-o katta] otoko]-ni
detective-NOM that-GEN night that-thing-ACC bought man-DAT
aitagatteiru no]-wa nikukiriboocho-o da.
want.to.meet C-TOP carving.knife-ACC COP
Lit. 'It is a carving knife that the detective wants to meet the person who bought it that night.'

This clearly confirms that CM clefts involve movement other than null operator movement. More specifically, it is the accusative object *nikukiriboocho-o* 'a carving knife' that has been illegitimately extracted out of the island.

The discussion so far prompts us to propose the "hybrid" analysis,

schematized in (39), that incorporates the virtues of the previous analyses.

(39) The Hybrid Analysis

[_{CP} OP_i [_{TP} Ken-ga e_i atta]] no]-wa [_{FocP} Mari-j-_{CP} [_{TP} [_{VP} Ken-ga e_j ~~atta~~]]-no] da].

(39) illustrates the derivation of (2a). As argued by the base-generation analysis, the null operator moves to Spec of CP in the presupposition, which is directly merged in the topic position. In addition, the focus phrase undergoes movement to Spec of FocP, as suggested by the movement analysis. Following the lead of the amalgam analysis, (39) adopts a biclausal structure that mimics the structure of Declerck's (1988) amalgam cleft. Recall that Cho *et al.* (2008) fail to offer any convincing syntactic argument for the biclausality of CM clefts. The need to accommodate the two instances of movement to the clausal edges provides a powerful argument for their biclausal nature.

The proposed analysis accounts for all the intricate properties of Japanese CM clefts discussed here. The island effects are explained in terms of null operator movement and/or focus movement. The facts surrounding NPI licensing are captured by the clausemate condition. The similarities between the CM cleft and the in-situ focus construction are only natural because the latter is part of the former.¹² The amalgam cleft and the CM cleft share information structural properties because they are both based on basically the same syntactic configurations. Finally, the case matching effect observed in the CM cleft is captured by whatever accounts for the same effect observed in the amalgam cleft.

Notice that both the amalgam analysis and the present analysis maintain that ellipsis is involved, but they posit different kinds of ellipsis: the former assumes Gapping, whereas the latter assumes stripping (see Hankamer 1971, Hoji 1990, Hoji and Fukaya 1999). In this respect, it is worth pointing out that Cho *et al.* (2008) discuss the possibility of deriving CM clefts via stripping but explicitly reject it, based on data of the following sort:

- (40) A: Yumi-ga sono-sensei-o hihansita.
 Yumi-NOM the-teacher-ACC criticized
 ‘Yumi criticized the teacher.’
 B: Iie. Mina-ga da.
 No Mina-NOM COP
 ‘No, Mina.’

As shown in (40), stripping differs from CM clefting in that it accepts case-marked arguments as foci with no problem (compare (40) with (22a)).¹³

This difference, however, does not count as an argument against the present proposal. This is because what goes wrong with nominative and accusative foci in CM clefts is the null operator movement in the presupposition that identifies them. Since stripping does not involve null operator movement, nothing rules out the stripping example in (40), whose representation is given in (41).

- (41) [_{FocP} Mina-ga_i [_{CP} [_{TP} ~~e_i sono-sensei-o hihansita~~]_j] no_j da]

Above, the nominative subject moves to Spec of FocP, which is followed by ellipsis of the CP complement of the Foc head *da* (see Hiraiwa and Ishihara 2002, 2012, Nakamura 2009).

It needs to be pointed out that the proposed analysis making use of stripping does not affect the above argument based on (35b) and (38). This is because unlike sluicing in English, stripping (as well as sluicing) in Japanese does not repair island violations incurred by (case-marked) arguments, as shown below ((42) is taken from Lasnik 2001).

- (42) Every linguist_i met a philosopher who criticized some of his_i work,
 but I’m not sure [_{CP} how much of his_i work [_{TP} ~~every linguist_i met
 a philosopher who criticized e_i~~]].

- (43) A: [Keizi-ga [[a-no ban nokogiri-o katta] otoko]-ni
 detective-NOM that-GEN night saw-ACC bought man-DAT
 aitagatteiru rasii.
 want.to.meet seem
 ‘It seems that the detective wants to meet the person who bought
 a saw that night.’
- B: *Boku-wa [_{FocP} nikukiriboocho-o [_{CP} keizi-ga ———— [[a-no
 I-TOP carving.knife-ACC detective-NOM that-GEN
 ban-e katta] ———— otoko]-ni aitagatteiru ———— no] da] to omotteita.
 night bought man-DAT want.to.meetC COP C thought
 Lit. ‘I thought (it was) a carving knife.’

Therefore, (35b) and (38) are excluded because of the island violations caused by focus movement, which cannot be fixed by ellipsis.¹⁴

4. Conclusion

In this paper, I have put under scrutiny the three kinds of analyses of Japanese CM cleft proposed in the literature. It has been shown that each of them has something to commend it, but none of them handle the relevant data in a unified way. Synthesizing the previous approaches, I have presented an eclectic approach to CM cleft which overcomes their problems. To be more specific, it has been argued that CM cleft has the basic biclausal structure of amalgam cleft (Declerck 1988) (cf. Cho *et al.* 2008) involving two instances of syntactic movement: one is null operator movement within the presupposition, and the other is focus movement in the rest of CM cleft, which triggers ellipsis of the complement of the copula.

As always, many questions remain. One notable question has to do with individual variations with respect to acceptability of nominative and accusative foci in CM clefts. In this paper, we have mainly been concerned with the most conservative speakers that rule them out altogether. For those speakers who are more liberal,¹⁵ it can be hypothesized, under the present account, that they make more use of resumptive *pros* and/or that they are

not subject to (25)/(27). More work is needed to determine exactly what factors are relevant to idiolectal discrepancies.

Furthermore, it would be of great interest to see if the proposal defended here extends to languages other than Japanese. It may just be that amalgam cleft structure is available in all languages and some, including English, take advantage of it in an obvious way, whereas others, including Japanese, use it in a more disguised way (via movement plus ellipsis). This is again another topic for future work.

Notes

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1. The abbreviations used in the glosses are as follows:

ACC-accusative; C-complementizer; CL-classifier; COP-copula;
DAT-dative; GEN-genitive; LOC-locative; NEG-negative;
NOM-nominative; Q-question marker; TOP-topic

In some of the cited examples, I took the liberty of changing the original glosses so that they would conform to the present ones.

For reasons that will become clear, I defer discussion of clefting nominative-marked and accusative-marked NPs. The dative-marker *-ni* is used in (2a), instead. See note 6.

2. In Hiraiwa and Ishihara's (2002) terminology, CM cleft corresponds to "cleft" and non-CM cleft to "pseudo-cleft."

3. Cho *et al.* (2008) argue that this argument is flawed. See section 2.3. below.

4. For a number of speakers, accusative-marked NPs alone cannot be clefted, but they become eligible for focus in clefting if numeral quantifiers attach to their right (cf. Koizumi 1995). This is why the quantificational

expression *3-tu* ‘three pieces’ appear (in parentheses) in (8)-(10). See below for an account.

5. As mentioned in the previous note, accusative-marked NPs, when used alone, do not qualify as good foci in clefts. I tentatively assume that the presence of the linguistic antecedent *nani-o* ‘what’ in (18) somehow helps to license a resumptive *pro* in the presupposition associated with *Lexus-o* (see section 3).

6. See Nakamura 2011 for a possible account of (25) and its extension to so-called *wh*-agreement in Austronesian languages. At this point, a question arises as to why (25) does not block (2a), where the dative-marked argument is clefted. It has been argued that the dative-marker *-ni* is categorially ambiguous between a case-marker and a postposition (Sadakane and Koizumi 1995). I assume that *Mari-ni* in (2a) is a PP. If so, the grammaticality of (2a) is expected, because (25) is irrelevant to a null operator of the category PP.

7. Working within the framework of feature movement, Takahashi (1997) attempts to treat (27) as a subcase of the Subject Condition, subsumed under the CED.

8. I make the natural assumption that the syntactic category of a gap must match with that of its antecedent (and that of the identifier of the antecedent). I assume that nominal null operators can be of the categories CaseP, QP, and DP. It has been pointed out that null operators come in quite a few varieties with respect to their categorial status. See Contreras (1993) for relevant discussion. See also Potts (2002) for VP and CP null operators.

9. A skeptic might suggest that the ungrammaticality of (22) and (34) has nothing to do with null operator movement: rather, they are ruled out by a surface constraint that prohibits the sequence of a case-maker and the copula. There is, however, no such constraint, as shown in (37) and (40) below.

10. Even if the relevant island is phonologically eliminated by ellipsis. See below.

11. In languages like Irish, the morphological forms of the complementizer whose Spec hosts an operator vary depending on the presence or absence of

movement (McCloskey 1990).

12. A question remains as to how exactly multiple foci, exemplified in (8b) and (18), are possible in Japanese. It does not concern multiple instances of focus movement because multiple stripping (as well as sluicing) is acceptable (see Hiraiwa and Ishihara 2001). Rather, it concerns the presupposition -- how it accommodates multiple operator-variable relations. I leave the exploration of this question for future work.

13. The same is true of accusative-marked arguments. Compare (i) below with (22b).

- (i) A: Yumi-ga sono-sensei-o hihansita.
Yumi-NOM the-teacher-ACC criticized
'Yumi criticized the teacher.'
B: Iie. tigau sensei-o da.
No different teacher-ACC COP
'No, a different teacher.'

14. See Nakamura 2012 for an attempt to capture the cross-linguistic difference between English and Japanese in terms of island (non)-repair.

15. There seems to be an implicational relation between nominative foci and accusative foci: if one allows for the former, then s/he allows for the latter too, but not vice versa (cf. Cho *et al.* 2008).

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