

# On the Cleft Construction: Is it Simplex or Complex?\*

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The Cleft Construction, as its name indicates, involves two parts, a focused part and a presupposition, each of which involves a separate predicate. In the framework of GB and previous to it, each predicate necessarily constitutes a sentence; hence, a Cleft is to be of complex clause structure. Recently, however, the clause structure has been reconsidered and the C system may involve several sub-heads, each of which may represent a certain discursual function (cf. Rizzi (1997)). With such a C system, it is possible to analyze a Cleft to have a simple clause, involving a copulative predicate inside CP and the main predicate in IP, as proposed in Honda (2009) for English and Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2002) for Japanese. Referring to these works, I will present an analysis that is uniformly applicable to Clefts of both languages, paying respect to differences of these languages, as well.

## 1. Introduction

Typical examples of the Cleft Construction (Cleft) in English and Japanese are given in (1) and (2), respectively. Their indicative counterparts are given in (3).<sup>1</sup>

- (1) a. It was Mary that John invited to the party.  
b. It is to the party that John will invite Mary.

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<sup>1</sup> In the gloss of Japanese examples, the following are used for abbreviation: Nom. for nominative case, Acc for accusative case, Top for a topic marker, past for the past tense marker, pres. for the present tense marker, NM for a nominalizer or a complement marker for a nominal clause, and Cop for the copula. What is of particular importance in the following discussion is the status of *no* 'NM' and *da* 'Copula' in the Cleft construction of Japanese, which will be discussed in relation to the status of *that* and *be* in that of English.

- (2) a. Taro-ga sono paatii-ni syootai=si-ta no wa Hanako da.  
 T.-Nom the party-to invite-past NM Top H. Cop.  
 'It was Hanako that Toro invited to the party.'
- b. Taro-ga Hanako-o syootai=si-ta no wa sono paatii(-ni) da.  
 T.-Nom H.-Acc invite-past NM Top the party (to) Cop.  
 'It was to the party that Toro invited Hanako.'
- (3) a. John invited Mary to the party.
- b. Taro-ga Hanako-o sono paatii-ni syootai=si-ta.  
 T.-Nom H.-Acc the party-to invite-past  
 'Toro invited Hanako to the party.'

Clefts differ from indicatives in structure as well as discourse-related functions. Details aside, the typical schematic configurations of Clefts of these languages that have been assumed are given in (4), where XP is a phrase that receives some sort of focus and  $\alpha$  is a clausal part that expresses a presupposition.

- (4) a. *for English*  
 [ it be XP<sub>i</sub> [ $\alpha$  that ... e<sub>i</sub> ... ] ]
- b. *for Japanese*  
 [ [ $\alpha$  ... e<sub>i</sub> ... no] -wa XP<sub>i</sub> da ] ]  
 NM-Top Cop

In the previous studies of this construction, the issues of the following sorts have been taken up.

- (5) a. How the connectivity between the focus XP and the null category (*e*) in the presuppositional clause is obtained? Is it due to movement or base-generation with some interpretive mechanism?
- b. With respect to (5a), if movement is involved, what type of movement is it and what moves? If base-generation, what mechanism ensures (5a)?
- c. What is the structure of the presuppositional clause  $\alpha$  (i.e., the *that* clause in English and the *no* 'NM' clause in Japanese)? Is

it the same as other occurrences of these types of clauses?

- d. How are the structures in (4) obtained? What is the role of the copulative *be* in English and *da* in Japanese?
- e. How does the structure (4) bring about the Focus-Presupposition meaning in addition to what the ordinary indicative counterpart has.

It is of course beyond the scope of this short paper to take up all the issues above and I would like to rely on some important findings and proposals of the previous studies on this construction, such as, Belletti (2008), Browning (1991), Chomsky (1977), Hasegawa (1997), Higgins (1973), Heggie (1988, 1993), Hoji (1987), Honda (2009, 2010), Koizumi (1995), Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2002). As for (5a and b), it has been pointed out that Cleft (of both English and Japanese) observes Subjacency, suggesting that A-bar Movement is involved<sup>2</sup>. Analyses differ as to what moves, the XP itself or an Operator, which is then to be associated with the XP. Regarding this question, I will follow what I presented in Hasegawa (1997), where the XP itself directly moves. In addition, adopting the C-system of Rizzi (1997), I will follow the recent proposals (Belletti (2008), Honda (2009, 2010), Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2002)), where the XP moves to the Focus position of the CP domain. As for (5c), I will refer to Honda's (2009, 2010) meticulous work, which clearly shows that the *that* clause of (4a) exhibits the syntactic properties of factive complements, and assume that the *that* clause of Cleft is not a full-fledged CP (see also Belletti (2008)). For the analysis of the *no*-clause and the derivation of Japanese Cleft, I basically maintain what I proposed in Hasegawa (1997), i.e., the *no*-clause of Japanese Cleft is the same clause as the *no-da* 'NM-Cop' modality construction, from which the Cleft structure (4b) is derived through the movement of the XP and Topicalization of the *no*-clause. The syntactic category of the *no*-clause, however, I will adopt Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2002), in view of the CP structure of Rizzi (1997).

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<sup>2</sup> In Japanese Cleft, it has been noted that if the XP in (4b) is an NP without a case marker, Subjacency can be violated, as shown in Hoji (1997) and Hasegawa (1997). To the extent that a Cleft with a PP observes Subjacency, however, the movement derivation is to be possible in Japanese and the following discussion is concerned with such cases.

What I would like to particularly draw attention to is (5d) and (5e), that is, (i) whether the copulative predicate *be* or *da* is an independent predicate, constituting a matrix clause above the presuppositional *that* or *no* clause, respectively; and (ii) whether the C system directly brings about the function of Focus-Presupposition of Cleft. I would like to claim that the copula *be* in English Cleft is not a full-fledged copula but a kind of Focus marker that mediates a propositional content and a given discourse, just like what the *da* in the *no-da* of Japanese does, which Hiraiwa and Ishihara claim. *Be* and *da* differ, however, in how the tense of the sentence is marked; it is marked both at the copula (at the head of the Force projection of the C system) and the I (T) of IP (TP) (proposition) in English, while it is marked only at the I (T) of IP (TP) in Japanese.

In Section 2, we will first consider how English Clefts have been analyzed up to the GB era. Then, referring to Honda (2009, 2010) (and Belletti (2008), as well), we will see that the presuppositional clause ( $\alpha$ ) of Cleft is like a factive clause and that it is possible to analyze the focus XP to move directly from inside  $\alpha$ , if the C system of Rizzi (1997) is assumed. In Section 3, Japanese Clefts are taken up, going over Hasegawa's (1997) and Hiraiwa and Ishihara's (2002) analyses. In view of the CP structure and the function of Clefts, a simplex clause analysis will be adopted. Finally in Section 4, getting back to English Clefts, I will propose a simple clause analysis that accounts for the facts of both English and Japanese and derive the differences from independent peculiarities of these languages; how the tense specification is morphologically realized, whether the expletive subject is available, i.e., the EPP feature in relation to a predicate.

## 2. English Clefts and the Split CP Structure

In the GB era and previous to it, the syntactic concern of Cleft had to do mainly with (5a) and (5b); how the gap (null category *e*) in  $\alpha$  is created and how it is connected to the focus phrase (XP) in (4). Due to the ungrammaticality of sentences that violate island conditions (Subjacency), such as those in (6), it has been assumed that Cleft involves A-bar movement.

- (6) a. \*It was Mary<sub>i</sub> that everyone believed the claim that John invited <sub>e<sub>i</sub></sub> to the party.
- b. \*[Hanako-ga [Taro-ga <sub>e<sub>i</sub></sub> hirot-ta] neko-ni namae-o  
H.-Nom T,-Nom find-past cat-to name-Acc  
tuke-ta]-no wa sono kooen-de<sub>i</sub> da.  
give-past-NM Top the park-in Cop  
‘(lit.) It was in the park that Hanako gave a name to the cat that  
Taro found <sub>e</sub>. (The park is the place where Taro found the cat).’

The framework then assumed the CP category to have a single headed projection and a presuppositional clause part of Cleft makes use of the same CP structure. Thus, in English Clefts, for example, the presuppositional *that* clause constitutes a CP that is selected by the Copula *be* along with a focus XP, and the expletive *it* is at the subject of *be*. Given this structure, the focus XP of (4a) is an independent phrase generated in relation to the Copula and its connection with the null category in the presuppositional clause  $\alpha$  is ensured by means of a phonologically empty binder (Operator) that moved from inside  $\alpha$  to the Spec of *that* clause. Japanese Clefts can be analyzed in a similar way, as proposed by Hoji (1987). The structure for Clefts in this type of approach is something like (7a) for English and (7b) for Japanese.

- (7) a. *for English*  
[ it be XP<sub>i</sub> [CP OP<sub>i</sub> that [IP ... <sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> ... ] ] ]
- b. *for Japanese*  
[CP OP<sub>i</sub> [IP ... <sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> ... no] -wa XP<sub>i</sub> da ] ]

## 2.1 The C-system of Rizzi (1997)

Recently, especially since Rizzi (1997), the structure of CP has been reconsidered and the C system has been assumed to be much more finely structured than a single layered CP of the GB era. The relevant facts are given in (8), which is due to Radford (2004: 327-336).

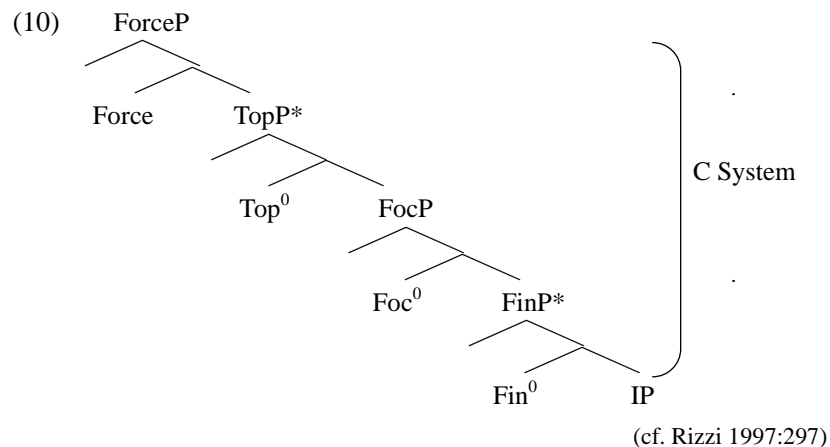
- (8) a. I am absolutely convinced [that no other colleague *would* he turn to].

- b. Syntax is the kind of subject [which only very rarely *will* students enjoy].
- c. A university is the kind of place [in which, *that kind of behavior*, we cannot tolerate].
- d. He prayed [*that atrocities like those*, never again *would* he witness.]

The examples in (8) show that a clause allows multiple positions to the left of the subject. The left periphery of the clause may involve a negative phrase as in (8a, b, and d), which is due to Negative Inversion, and a topic as in (8c and d) from Topicalization, as well as the complementizer *that* and an inverted auxiliary. As is clear from (8d), the order of these items in the periphery to the left of the subject is (9).

- (9) **Complementizer** (*that*, relative pronoun), *Topicalization*, Focus (Negative phrase), *Inverted Auxiliary* subject

Examining various data, including those similar to (8), in Italian, Rizzi (1997) proposes the C system (10)<sup>3</sup>.



<sup>3</sup> In Rizzi's original proposal, another Top projection is assumed between Foc(us) P and Fin(inite) P, which he motivates based on Italian data. It is not clear whether the second Top layer is necessary in Japanese and English. To the extent that the structure (10) will suffice for the following discussion on Cleft, the second Top layer is not presented here.

Given the facts that the order of the items at the left periphery is designated and that the items assume particular discursal functions such as Topic and Focus, it is reasonable to assume that the C system is not a mere structure that provides syntactic positions but is “the interface between a propositional content (expressed by the IP) and the superordinate structure (a higher clause or, possibly, the articulation of discourse, if we consider a root clause).” (Rizzi 1997: 283). Under this view, Force specifies clause types, with respect to structure as well as discursal function or speech-act, and dictates other subordinate sub-heads in terms of ‘finiteness’, which is marked at Fin, as well as which sub-heads, Topic and Focus, are allowed or required.

Given (10), what has been observed in (8) is expressed as follows: the complement of a non-factive predicate or a relative clause has a full-fledged C system, involving Force (*that* or relative pronoun), Topic, Focus, as well as Fin, i.e., the items in (9). The left periphery area where A-bar items take place is not a single position but proliferated according to the functions that a sentence exhibits, which then get marked by what is fronted. Rizzi’s proposal, thus, is a clear departure from the view that syntactic structure whose internal positions have not much to do with meanings or functions to the view that structure itself is responsible for or encoding of particular meanings and functions that a sentence assumes. Then, a natural extension of this view is that if particular discursal functions are observed, they may be syntactically represented or differentiated. One immediate piece of evidence obtains in the grammatical contrast between (11) and (8a and d)<sup>4</sup>.

- (11) a. \*John regretted that *Gone with the Wind*, we went to see.  
 b. \*John regretted that never **had** he seen *Gone with the Wind*.

Sentences (11) differ from (8a and d) in that the former do not allow Topicalization or Negative Inversion, though both involve *that* as a complementizer. It has long been noted that factive complements behave differently from non-factive ones (Kiparskey and Kiparskey

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<sup>4</sup> Sentences (11) are pointed out in Honda (2009, 2010), which are originally due to Watanabe (1993: 525).

(1970), Hooper and Thompson (1973), Melvold (1991), Watanabe (1993), to just mention a few); however, due to the fact that both types of complements involve the ‘same’ *that* as a complementizer and that the C system has been taken to be rather simple, the differences in (8) and (11) have been dismissed in most of the previous syntactic discussion in the GB era (Melvold and Watanabe being exceptional).

Given the structure (10), there is a clear and easy way to differentiate factive complements from non-factive ones. Honda (2009, 2010) in fact proposes that a non-factive complement has a ‘reduced’ or ‘truncated’ C-system, namely that a factive predicate requires a complement clause that has only FinP (the lowest sub-head in the C-system) and the complementizer *that* resides at Fin-head not at Force-head. Without Topic or Focus projections, neither Topicalization nor Negative Inversion is possible in (11)—a straightforward analysis of the contrast between (8) and (11)<sup>5</sup>.

## 2.2 Clefts and the C system

What is more interesting and has relevance to the following discussion that has been pointed out by Honda (2009, 2010) is that the presuppositional clause ( $\alpha$ ) of Clefts exhibits basically the same behavior as factive complements. Examples in (12) are due to Honda (2010: 43).

- (12) a. \*It was yesterday that *John*, Mary kissed.  
       b. \*It was John that seldom *did* drive the car.  
       c. ??It was the car that seldom *did* John drive.

If the structure of a sentence corresponds to its function or meaning, as has been suggested in the framework of Rizzi (1997), to the extent that a factive complement of the (11) type and the  $\alpha$  clause of Cleft both express a ‘presupposed fact’, it is not surprising that the *that* clause of both types has the same structure; namely, FinP without Topic or Focus.

There is one thing that has to be taken care of in Clefts, which is not

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<sup>5</sup> Honda (2008, 2010) examines more data that differentiate factive clauses from non-factive clauses, i.e., the availability of different types of adverbs, which are supposed to be related to Mood layers of a clause, and the concurrence with Locative Inversion. His analysis of Clefts, introduced below, is supported by these types of data as well.



particularly relevant to factive clauses, however. That is, if  $\alpha$  is FinP, how the presence of the XP (Focus) outside FinP (the presuppositional clause) can be accounted for. There are two ways to go about; (i) the XP is at the Spec of Foc P, assuming that the entire Cleft consists of a sort of single CP of the form (10), which is basically what is proposed in Honda (2009); (ii) the XP is at the Focus position introduced (or subcategorized) by a higher predicate, namely the copula *be*, and the movement is from inside  $\alpha$  (FinP) to this Focus position, which accords with Belletti (2008) and Honda (2010).<sup>6</sup> Details aside, these two approaches, (i) and (ii), give rise to the schematic structures (13a) and (13b), respectively.

- (13) a. [<sub>ForceP</sub> it be [<sub>FocP</sub> XP<sub>i</sub> [<sub>FinP</sub> that [<sub>IP</sub> ... t<sub>i</sub> ... ] ] ] ]  
 b. [<sub>TP</sub> it is<sub>i</sub> [<sub>FocP</sub> XP<sub>k</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> [<sub>ForceP</sub> that<sub>j</sub> ... [<sub>FinP</sub> t<sub>j</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> ... t<sub>k</sub> ... ] ] ] ] ] ] ]

In short, (13a) is a single clause analysis, which is possible only if the C system such as (10) is assumed, and (13b) is a complex clause analysis, which is basically the same as the analysis of the GB era, (7a), but differs from it in that the Focus XP directly moves. With (13a), the facts above, namely, the ungrammaticality of (12) and the Focus status of XP, are straightforwardly accounted for, though some discussion is called for as to what role the copula *be* plays, how a single CP involves two predicates, *be* and the verb inside IP, how is the existence of the expletive subject *it* is accounted for in addition to the subject inside  $\alpha$ , etc. Under the analysis (13b), where the position of XP is considered to be independent from the presuppositional clause ( $\alpha$ ), there is no clear explanation for the fact that Cleft has the form (4a) or for the ungrammaticality of (12) along with the ungrammaticality of (11). Honda (2010) resorts to a version of Relativized Minimality, for the ungrammaticality of (12). That is, if Topicalization (to Spec of TopP) or Negative Inversion (to Spec of FocP and Infl Movement to Fin-head) takes place inside  $\alpha$  in Clefts, no further movement (of XP) beyond TopicP or FocP is allowed, ruling out (12).

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<sup>6</sup> Belletti's (2008) proposal based on Italian data is somewhat a mixture of (i) and (ii). For a Cleft with a subject focus, the structure similar to (i) is assumed and for a Cleft with an object or a PP focus, the one close to (ii) is proposed, where the *be* predicate is considered to take a FocP

### 2.3 A Preliminary Proposal: a Simple Clause Analysis of Clefts

Either analysis schematized in (13) may be able to account for the facts presented so far, with appropriate assumptions and mechanisms. However, what has to be noted (which has not been taken into consideration extensively in English) is that the syntactic behavior of  $\alpha$  of a Cleft is basically the same as the *that* clause of ‘*it be that...*’ construction. As seen in (14), the *that* clause of this construction behaves like a factive clause, disallowing Negative Inversion and Topicalization inside the *that* clause.

- (14) a. \*It was that *John*, Mary kissed yesterday.  
b. \*?It was that seldom *did* John drive the car.

What is of particular interest is the tense concordance between the Copula and the predicate inside IP. The same tense concordance is observed in both Cleft and the ‘*it be that ...*’ construction. Observe (15) and (16).

- (15) a. It {was/\*is} Mary that John invited to the party.  
b. It {is/\*was} to the party that John will invite Mary.  
(16) a. It {was/?is} that John invited Mary to the party.  
b. It {is/\*was} that John will invite Mary to the party.

These facts seem to suggest that the approach (i), i.e., (13a), have some advantages. Both Clefts and ‘*it be that ...*’ have the same kind of  $\alpha$ , i.e., the same as factive clauses (most probably FinP), and they have the same Focus construction in terms of a discourse function of a sentence (i.e., Force specification), differences being what is focused, the entire proposition (as in ‘*it be that ...*’) or an XP raised from inside  $\alpha$ .

The tense concordance between the one on *be* and the one inside IP is due to the communication across the heads of the C system, Force, Focus, Fin (and onto the Infl of IP). Note that there is no other construction in English where the tense of the upstairs predicate and the one of the downstairs are necessarily coincide. This fact seems to indicate that the copulative *be* of these constructions is not an

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as its complement.

independent predicate from the presuppositional clause,  $\alpha$  or the *that* clause, but rather a focus marker of what is presupposed. This view in fact mirrors the situation that Japanese Clefts and the *no da* ‘NM-Copula’ construction exhibit, which will be examined immediately below. In addition, if discourse-functional properties of a sentence are to be syntactically represented, as indicated in the C system (10), it is expected that the same (or similar) structure is to be observed cross-linguistically (i.e. both in English and Japanese), provided that the basic functional properties of Clefts are the same across languages.

What makes the two languages crucially different is whether the expletive is available and/or mandatory and where the tense specification is syntactically represented. In English, the expletive *it* is available and the tense is marked both in CP (on the Copula *be*) and in Infl of IP; whereas, in Japanese, no expletive is available and the tense of the event is shown only inside IP, not on the Copulative *da*. Before presenting an analysis along these lines in Section 4, let us first examine Clefts in Japanese.

### 3. Clefts in Japanese

As briefly touched upon in Section 1, structure (7b), repeated here as (17), has often been assumed for Japanese Clefts (Hoji 1987).

(17) [CP OP<sub>i</sub> [IP ... *t<sub>i</sub>* ... no] -wa XP<sub>i</sub> da ] ]

This analysis accounts for the island sensitivity of this construction and the connectivity between XP and *t* is obtained via OP, which is then related to the XP by some sort of predication or chain formation.

Hasegawa (1997), on the other hand, proposes an analysis where the focus XP itself moves from inside the *no* clause. Details aside, this analysis involves the structure and derivations explained in (18). This is exemplified with a concrete example in (19).

- (18) a. The base structure for Cleft is the same as the *no da* construction, where the Copula *da* takes a clause (CP) headed by the nominalizer (NM) *no* as its sole argument.  
 b. The XP that is focused moves out of the CP.

- c. The remnant CP gets Topicalized, receiving the topic marker, *wa*.

(19) a. *Base Structure*

[<sub>IP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> Hanako-ga neko-o katte-i-ru -no] da]  
 H.-Nom cat-Acc keep-prog.-pres. NM Cop  
 'It is that Hanako owns a cat.'

b. *Movement of XP (neko-o)*

[<sub>IP</sub> neko-o<sub>i</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> Hanako-ga t<sub>i</sub> katte-i-ru -no] da]

c. *Topicalization of the remnant no-clause*

[<sub>CP</sub> Hanako-ga t<sub>i</sub> katte-i-ru -no]-wa [<sub>IP</sub> neko-(o)<sub>i</sub> da]  
 'It is a cat that Hanako owns.'

This analysis attempts to capture the structural and functional similarity between Cleft and the *no-da* sentence, where both involve the NM *no* and the copula *da*, and the *no*-clause represents a presupposition. This analysis accounts for the properties of Cleft that result from movement operations; i.e., the island sensitivity and the connectivity between the gap (trace) and the focused XP, with respect to the case marking and selectional restrictions, and why the topic-*wa* is involved.

This analysis, however, does not explain: (i) what role *da* plays; (ii) the nature of the XP movement, which is to outside the CP (*no*-clause), being different from Scrambling, which is assumed to be IP-adjoined; and (iii) why the structure and derivation presented in (18) and (19) give rise to the focus interpretation on the XP in these constructions. These limitations, however, are in a sense due to the framework back then; i.e., syntactic structure does not necessarily encode discourse functions such as focus.

Given the framework presented in 2.1, i.e., with the elaborated C-system (10) of Rizzi (1997), the above structure and derivations for Japanese Cleft can be restated as follows, encoding the discourse functions of Clefts: (i) Movement of an XP of (18b) is to the Spec of FocP, which necessarily gives rise to the focus interpretation; (ii) the *no*-phrase is not a full-fledged CP but a truncated or reduced sentence, being smaller than FocP but larger than IP; i.e., FinP; and (iii)

Topicalization of the remnant *no*-phrase (FinP) is above FocP, namely to the Spec of TopP.<sup>7</sup>

This in fact is exactly what Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2002) propose, within the framework of Rizzi (1997). They further assume that *da* is a head of Focus, not an independent predicate, presenting a simple clause analysis of Cleft<sup>8</sup>. This gives rise to the structure and derivations in (20), the output of which is given in (21).

(20) a. *Basic Structure*

[ForceP [FocP [FinP [IP Hanako-ga neko-o katte-i-ru]-no] da] ]

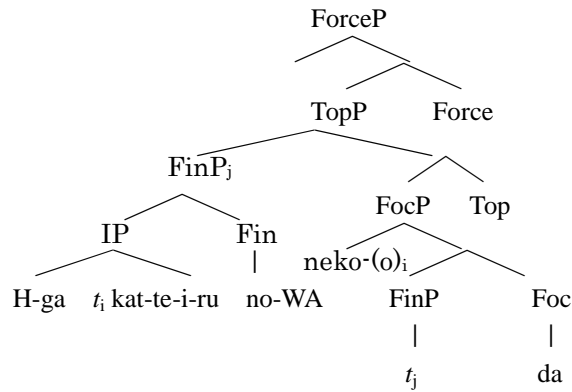
b. *Movement of XP (neko-o) to Spec of FocP*

[ForceP [FocP neko-o<sub>i</sub> [FinP [IP Hanako-ga t<sub>i</sub> katte-i-ru]-no] da] ]

c. *Topicalization of the remnant no-clause*

[ForceP [TopP [FinP Hanako-ga t<sub>i</sub> katte-i-ru -no]-wa]  
[FocP neko-(o)<sub>i</sub> da] ] ]

(21)



<sup>7</sup> Kuwabara (2010) also considers the nominalizer *no* as a Fin head, who discusses the difference between *no* and *ka* 'QM' at the sentence final position in questions of Japanese.

<sup>8</sup> Morikawa (2009) extensively discusses various functions of *da*, referring not only to generative studies but to its treatments in traditional Japanese studies. It is beyond this short paper to consider whether such varieties in functions and occurrences of *da* can be uniformly captured and/or whether the copulative predicate has the same or similar functions cross linguistically. In Section 4, I will present an analysis where *da* in Japanese and *be* in English assume a similar function in Cleft. It is worth noting that the copulative *shi* (是) takes place as a focus marker in Cleft in Chinese.

*Da* is analyzed as a Focus marker, Foc-head, both in Clefts and the *no-da* construction. Hiraiwa and Ishihara do not discuss whether *da* in these constructions is the same as the real copulative *da*, however. In Hasegawa (1997), on the other hand, I simply assumed that *da* in the *no-da* structure is the same as the copulative *da* without paying much attention to the focus property of *da* nor to the difference between the copulative *da* and the *da* of the *no-da* structure.

What is missing in the discussions of these analyses is whether the *da* of the real Copula and the *da* in Clefts and the *no-da* construction are the same or different. In this respect, observe (22), the real Copulative use of *da*, on the one hand, and (23) and (24), *da* in Clefts and the *no-da* construction, on the other.

- (22) a. Taro-wa gakusee-{da/dat-ta}.  
           T.-Top student-Cop(pres.)/Cop-past  
           ‘Taro {is/was} a student.’  
       b. Hanako-wa byooki-{da/dat-ta}.  
           H.-Top sick-Cop(pres.)/Cop-past  
           ‘Hanako {is/was} sick.’  
       c. Hanako-wa kinoo byooki-{\*da/dat-ta}.  
           H.-Top yesterday sick-Cop(pres.)/Cop-past  
           ‘Hanako {\*is/was} sick yesterday.’
- (23) a. Taro-ga hon-o kat-ta no-{da/dat-ta}.  
           T.-Nom book-Acc buy-past NM-Cop(pres.)/Cop-past  
           ‘(lit.) It {is/was} that Taro bought a book.’  
       b. Taro-ga hon-o kaw-u no-{da/dat-ta}.  
           T.-Nom book-Acc buy-pres. NM-Cop(pres.)/Cop-past  
           ‘(lit.) It {is/was} that Taro will buy a book.’
- (24) a. Taro-ga kat-ta no-wa hon-{da/dat-ta}.  
           T.-Nom buy-past NM-Top book-Cop(pres.)/Cop-past  
           ‘(lit.) It {is/was} a book that Taro bought.’  
       b. Taro-ga kaw-u no-wa hon-{da/dat-ta}.  
           T.-Nom buy-past NM-Top book-Cop(pres.)/Cop-past

As shown in (22), the *da* of the copulative structure specifies tense; the non-past form of *da*, i.e., NP-*da*, indicates the non-past tense and the past form of *da*, i.e., NP-*dat-ta*, specifies the past tense. The *da* of the *no-da* sentence and a Cleft, i.e., in (23) and (24), on the other hand, does not have to do with the actual tense and either the non-past or past form is possible for a past or non-past event that is expressed in the *no* clause. The past/non-past form of *da* of the *no-da* sentence and a Cleft has to do with the speaker's psychological realization of the proposition not with the actual tense of the proposition/eventuality. If it is in the past tense form, *dat-ta*, for example, it indicates that the speaker remembers or reaffirms what the speaker has previously acknowledged, which is the content of the *no*-clause that may be a past event or a present or future eventuality, marked by the predicate form. This function of *da* in the *no-da* construction and a Cleft suggests that it have nothing to do with the tense or finiteness (Fin) of the proposition/eventuality, which is marked inside IP. That is, this use of *da* is different from the real Copulative *da* in (22). Thus, I consider that Hiraiwa and Ishihara's (2002) treatment of *da*, which they claim to be the head of Foc, is essentially on the right track.

Adopting the above analysis of Japanese Clefts and assuming that Clefts have the same discourse functions in both English and Japanese, which are to be encoded in syntactic structure, let us consider again how English Clefts are to be analyzed. Recall that the Cleft structures we have considered in Section 2 are (13a), a simple clause analysis, and (13b), a complex clause analysis, which are repeated here as (25a) and (25b), respectively.

- Between these two analyses, the one that directly mirrors the analysis for Japanese Clefts is (25a). That is, the entire structure of a Cleft is a

ForceP, in which FocP and FinP take place, the former providing a position for a focus phrase (XP) and the latter expressing a presupposition. Structure (25b), on the other hand, requires more elaborate and intricate discussions in order for it to express the structural and functional characteristics that are parallel to the Japanese counterpart, (20) and (21), if it is ever possible. Therefore, (25a) is adopted here as the structure for English Clefts.

There remain several questions to answer, however; (i) if a Cleft in English is made up of a simplex clausal structure, as (25a) suggests, how the existence of two predicates, the Copulative *be* and the one inside IP is explained; (ii) as compared to *da* in Japanese, which behaves like a bound item, attaching to the focused XP, *be* in English Clefts is much more independent as a predicate, marking the tense and being able to be inverted in a question (i.e. Is it the cat that Mary owns, for example). How can such behavior be accounted for, given (25b); and (iii) linking to (i), how is the existence of two subjects, the expletive *it* and the one inside IP, accounted for, if a Cleft is in fact of a simplex structure. That is, the question here is how the simplex structure of (25a) can accord with the properties of English Clefts that seem to be the characteristics of the complex structure, namely, there seem to be two subjects and two predicates, one being in a matrix and the other in a presuppositional clause.

As for the Japanese counterparts, these questions do not arise, as discussed in Section 3. For Japanese does not have an expletive subject and the Copula *da* does not behave like a predicate, without marking the tense.

Thus, the question here with respect to English Clefts is whether it is possible to consider what appears to be two independent subjects and predicates to be a single occurrence of one subject and one predicate. As for subjects, to the extent that one is an expletive, we may say that only the other subject, the subject in the presuppositional IP, is what is needed and that the expletive one is required for the structural reason, such as the EPP feature. As for predicates, what is suggestive is the fact presented in (15) and (16), where it is clearly shown that the tense specification on *be* and the one in the presuppositional IP are identical.



That is, even though there seem to be two morphologically independent predicates in English Clefts, they are semantically uniform with respect to the tense specification and the real predicate that is needed is the one inside of the IP. With this kind of reasoning, it seems possible to reduce the two occurrences of the subject and the predicate to two morphological manifestations of a single entity. Let us pursue this within the C system of (10).

In the Split CP framework of (10), it is assumed that Force and Fin are mandatory sub-heads and they sort of ‘communicate’ each other specifying the rudimental tense or temporal properties, which is eventually transmitted to the Infl head of IP. Due to this ‘communication’, the correspondence between types of complementizers or Force and tense specifications on Infl obtains.<sup>9</sup> Given this, what I propose is (26).

- (26) a. The ‘temporal’ property on Fin is transmitted both to Infl and to Force.  
 b. In ordinary situation, the transmission of the temporal property of Fin to Force is realized in the form of the complementizer; however, in Clefts, it is done by the feature realizable only on a predicate.  
 c. *Be* is a Focus marker, just like *da* of Japanese.  
 d. *Be* requires a tense feature for it to be pronounced.  
 e. Due to (26d) and (26b), *be* moves to Force that has the temporal feature transmitted from Fin.  
 f. The temporal feature of English has the EPP feature, just as the one inside IP and requires an expletive, if no lexical subject satisfies the EPP feature on the temporal feature.

Given this and the analysis of Japanese Clefts in (20), we can maintain a simplex clause analysis with the same CP structure for both English and

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<sup>9</sup> For example, the complementizer *that* requires a finite clause, *for* is a complementizer for an infinitive clause, and an Imperative is to be ‘irrealis’, etc. Due to this ‘communication’ or ‘unification’ between Force and Fin, we have assumed, following Belletti (2008) and Honda (2009, 2010), that the complementizer *that* can be either at Fin or Force, depending on the factivity--*that* is at Fin of a factive clause, while *that* is taken to be a Force head in the non-factive clause (see in (9) and (13)). See also Hasegawa (2009) for relevant discussion.

Japanese. That is, the top most sub-head of the CP, Force, designates the clause type to be a Cleft, which in turn requires a Focus head marked by *be* in English and *da* in Japanese and a presuppositional FinP, headed by *that* in English and by *no* in Japanese. Ideally, whatever differences observed between English and Japanese are to be reduced to what these languages necessarily specify independently. The proposed analysis comes quite close to the ideal. In English, the expletive *it* is available, which is due to the EPP feature on the tense carrier, namely, *be*. The Cleft status is marked by the tense specification at Force, which is realized on *be*. In Japanese, on the other hand, the Force of a Cleft is not morphologically marked but the Cleft status is marked by the presence of *da*. In addition, the FinP marked by the nominalizer *no* is subject to Topicalization in Japanese, the option not available for a *that* clause in English.

Thus, a simplex clause analysis seems not only plausible for English Clefts but advantageous to the extent that it explains the tense concordance between *be* and the predicate inside IP and that it captures the differences and similarities observed between English Clefts and Japanese Clefts.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Honda (2009) cites the following example from Quirk et al. (1986).

(i) It is these very novels that Miss Williams enjoyed reading as a pastime.

(Quirk et al. 1986: 1386)

In this example, the tense concordance is not observed between the copulative *be* and the predicate inside IP, unlike typical Clefts. In such examples, *be* is of the present tense and the predicate inside IP is of the past tense and the present tense status of *be* seems to reflect the psychological status of the speaker—similar to the situation of *da* in Japanese Clefts. Honda notes that the grammatical status of this type of example is not clear in English. But if it is allowed at all, it can be taken as a piece of evidence for a single clause analysis of English Clefts, just as the behavior of *da* supports such an analysis.

Relevant to the fact in (i) is the tense marking of the *be* in the *it be that* construction: the present tense is allowed even if the presuppositional clause is of the past tense, especially in the contracted '*It's that...*' form, providing a reason for the preceding fact.

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