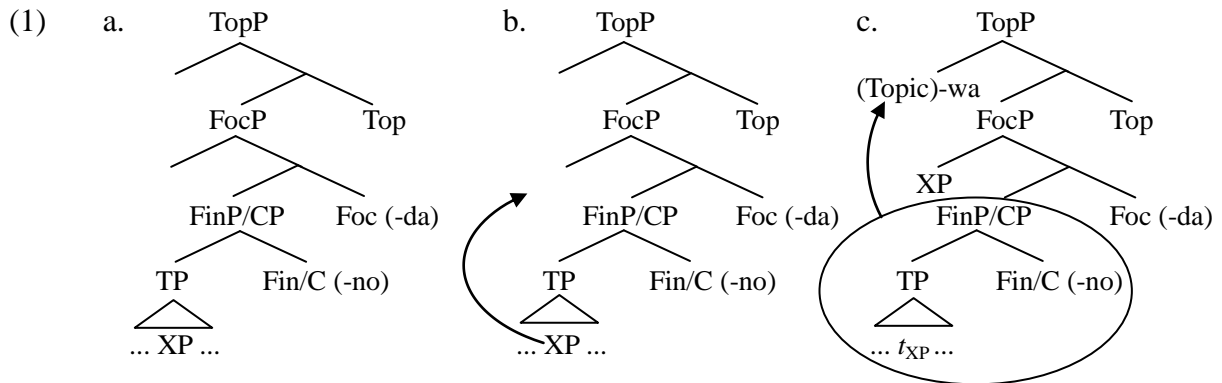


A Smuggling Approach to Japanese Cleft Construction

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Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2002) point out that there is a striking parallelism between Japanese cleft construction and the ‘No da’ in-situ focus construction. Based on the parallelism, they argue that Japanese cleft construction is derived from ‘No da’ in-situ focus construction via two syntactic operations; focus movement and remnant topicalization. The derivation is summarized in (1).



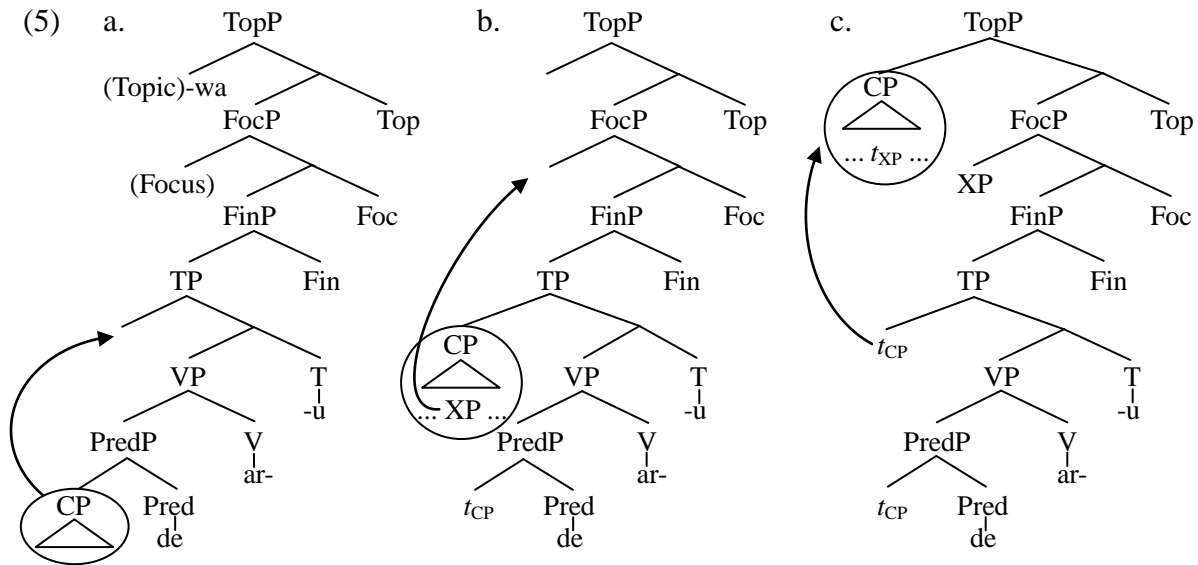
As shown in (1), they assume that *da* in Japanese cleft construction is a focus particle. However, *da* can be replaced by *de aru*, as shown in (2).

- (2) a. [Taro-ga tegami-o moratta] no-wa Hanako-kara da
Taro-NOM letter-ACC received C-TOP Hanako-from CPL
‘It’s from Hanako that Taro received a letter.’
- b. [Taro-ga tegami-o moratta] no-wa Hanako-kara de-arū
Taro-NOM letter-ACC received C-TOP Hanako-from de-be-PRES

Furthermore, there are contexts where *da* cannot be used. When a sentence appears with negation, the only possible expression is with *de*, not with *da*, as shown in (3). The same contrast is observed when the predicate is focused with the particle *mo*, as shown in (4).

- (3) a. *[Taro-ga tegami-o moratta] no-wa Hanako-kara da-nai
Taro-NOM letter-ACC received C-TOP Hanako-from CPL-NEG
‘It’s from Hanako that Taro received a letter.’
- b. [Taro-ga tegami-o moratta] no-wa Hanako-kara de(-wa)-nai
Taro-NOM letter-ACC received C-TOP Hanako-from de(-TOP)-NEG
- (4) a. *[Taro-ga tegami-o moratta] no-wa Hanako-kara da-mo (aru)
Taro-NOM letter-ACC received C-TOP Hanako-from CPL-even (be-PRES)
‘It’s from Hanako that Taro received a letter.’
- b. ?[Taro-ga tegami-o moratta] no-wa Hanako-kara de-mo-aru
Taro-NOM letter-ACC received C-TOP Hanako-from de-even-be-PRES

Since Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2002) assume that *da* in Japanese cleft construction is a head of FocP, it is difficult to extend their proposal to the cleft construction with *de* such as (3b) and (4b). Thus, in my presentation, I offer an alternative analysis of Japanese cleft construction. I assume, following Nishiyama (1999), that *da* is the contracted form of *de aru* and that *de* projects Predicate Phrase. The derivation is shown in (5).



First, CP which is the sister of Pred is moved to Spec,TP. Second, XP undergoes focus movement to Spec,FocP. Finally, the remnant CP is moved to Spec,TopP, and marked with a topic marker *wa*. Note that if we assume, following much work on locality, that a probe must enter an Agree relation with the closest available goal, it seems fair to say that Foc cannot Agree with XP before the movement of CP to Spec,TP takes place. Since *de* can be focused with the particle *mo*, as shown in (4b), *de* is the closest available goal. Thus, the movement of CP to Spec,TP in (5a) is a case of what Collins (2005) calls “smuggling.” In other words, CP movement smuggles XP over PredP, so that Foc can Agree with XP.

It is worth noting that I assume that *da* is located in CP-domain, as Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2002) argue, although it is derived from *de aru*. The contrast in (6) supports this claim.

- (6) a. *Taro-ga gakusei-da zizitu
 Taro-NOM student-CPL fact
 ‘The fact that Taro is a student’
 b. Taro-ga gakusei-de-aru zizitu
 Taro-NOM student-Pred-be-PRES fact

Murasugi (2000) argues that sentential modifiers in Japanese pure complex NPs must be IP. In my proposed derivation, *de aru* stays inside of IP, whereas *da* moves out of IP. Thus, the contrast in (6) can be accounted for in a straightforward way.

In conclusion, my proposal accounts for the alternation between *da* and *de aru* in Japanese cleft construction without any unnecessary stipulation.

References

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