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SOME ASPECTS OF JAPANESE CLEFT SENTENCES

by

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Introduction

This paper discusses three aspects of Japanese cleft sentences: the deep structure, cleft noun phrases and particle deletions after cleft formation.

In part I the semantic analysis leads to a two-sentence deep structure for a cleft sentence in which both sentences have contrastive NP's, one of them affirmative and the other negative, occurring in either order. This deep structure is common to other semantically related sentences.

Based on the claim in part I that a cleft sentence is transformationally derived, part II argues for the conclusion that only a noun phrase which can be followed by a particle can be clefted. Some examples are also given showing which NP's including and within an embedded sentence can be clefted.

The claim in part II gives another conclusion for the fact that some particles are deleted after cleft formation. According to the data, there are three conditions for deleting particles: first, particles are obligatorily deleted, second they are optionally deleted, and third, they cannot be deleted. This classification is proved to be common to other transformations such as topicalization, contrastive wa insertion and the attachment of contrastive particles.

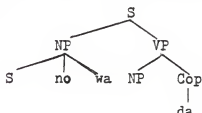
Part I. The Deep Structure Of A Cleft Sentence

I will deal with a special sentence called a cleft sentence in this paper. It has the following structure in Japanese.

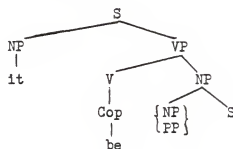
1. a. Kega o si-ta no wa Tom da
 wound Obj get-Pst Nom Top Cop-Pres
 "It { is } Tom who got hurt."
 { was }
- b. Mary ga tasuke-ta no wa John da
 Sub help-Pst Nom Top Cop-Pres
 "It { is } John that Mary helped."
 { was }
- c. Ken ga sun-de-i-ru no wa tookyoo da
 Sub live-Dur-Pres Nom Top Tokyo Cop-Pres
 "It is in Tokyo that Ken is living."

Presumably the surface structure of the Japanese cleft sentence is described as (2a) and that of the English cleft sentence as (2b).

2. a.



b.



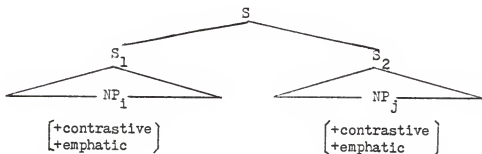
In English there is optional tense agreement between a main verb and the verb in the embedded S, while in Japanese it seems that the copula of the cleft sentence is always da. This is syntactically a present tense, but it does not mean that it is semantically a present tense.

Semantically analyzing a cleft sentence, I claim that it has a two-sentence deep structure. I support it by providing semantically related sentences. Then I will give one deep structure for all related sentences.

Two-Sentence Deep Structure

I claim that a cleft sentence has two-sentence deep structure with the following reasons. First, it implies another meaning beyond the sentence. Second, in some cases the sentence of another meaning appears on the surface structure. Third, the pair of sentences contain a contrastive noun phrase in each of them. Furthermore, semantically related sentences to a cleft sentence have the same features above as a cleft sentence. The deep structure of a cleft sentence and the other related sentences is roughly described as this.

3.

 $(i \neq j)$

Either S1 or S2 is affirmative, and the other is negative. S1 and S2 contain the same lexical items except the contrastive NP's and NEG.

First, a cleft sentence implies the meaning in parentheses beyond the sentence as the following examples show.

4. a. Kega o si-ta no wa Tom da (, hoka no dareka de wa nai)
 wound Obj get-Fst Nom Top Cop-Pres else someone Cop Cont NEG
 "It was Tom who got hurt (, not someone else)."
- b. Mary ga tasuke-ta no wa John da (, hoka no dareka de wa nai)
 Sub help-Fst Nom Top Cop-Pres else someone Cop Cont NEG
 "It was John that Mary helped (, not someone else)."
- c. Ken ga sun-de-i-ru no wa tookyoo da (, hoka no dokoka de wa nai)
 Sub live-Dur-Pres Nom Top Tokyo Cop-Pres else somewhere Cop Cont NEG
 "It is in Tokyo that Ken is living (, not somewhere else)."

When a speaker utters the cleft sentences above in discourse, he has some particular someone, something or somewhere which is contrastive to the cleft NP's. As far as we look at these cleft sentences apart from their discourse,

we get the meanings in parentheses. Likewise, negative cleft sentences imply the following meanings in parentheses.

4. a. Kega o si-ta no wa John de wa nai (, hoka no dareka da)
wound Obj get-Pst Nom Top Cop Cont NEG else someone Cop-Pres
"It was not John who got hurt (, but someone else)."
- b. Mary ga tasuke-ta no wa Tom de wa nai (, hoka no dareka da)
Sub help-Pst Nom Top Cop Cont NEG else someone Cop-Pres
"It was not Tom that Mary helped (, but someone else)."
- c. Ken ga sun-de-i-ru no wa oosaka de wa nai (, hoka no dokoka da)
Sub live-Dur-Pres Nom Top Osaka Cop Cont NEG else somewhere Cop-Pres
"It is not in Osaka that Ken is living (, but somewhere else)."

A speaker may mean some particular person, thing or place in discourse, but there is no way for us to know it from these cleft sentences.

Second, we actually have a cleft sentence consisting of two clauses, an affirmative cleft sentence and a negative cleft sentence.

6. a. Kega o si-ta no wa Tom da, John de wa nai
wound Obj get-Pst Nom Top Cop Cop Cont NEG
"It was Tom who got hurt, not John."
- b. Mary ga tasuke-ta no wa John da, Tom de wa nai
Sub help-Pst Nom Top Cop Cop Cont NEG
"It was John that Mary helped, not Tom."
- c. Ken ga sun-de-i-ru no wa tookyoo da, oosaka de wa nai
Sub live-Dur-Pres Nom Top Tokyo Cop Osaka Cop Cont NEG
"It is in Tokyo that Ken is living, not in Osaka."
7. a. Kega o si-ta no wa John de wa nai, Tom da
wound Obj get-Pst Nom Top Cop Cont NEG Cop-Pres
"It was not John who got hurt, but Tom."
- b. Mary ga tasuke-ta no wa Tom de wa nai, John da
Sub help-Pst Nom Top Cop Cont NEG Cop-Pres
"It was not Tom that Mary helped, but John."
- c. Ken ga sun-de-i-ru no wa oosaka de wa nai, tookyoo da
Sub live-Dur-Pres Nom Top Osaka Cop Cont NEG Tokyo Cop-Pres
"It is not in Osaka that Ken is living, but in Tokyo."

Third, semantically a cleft NP is contrastive. It is always contrasted with something else. Thus, when we are given a simple cleft sentence, we expect something contrasted to a cleft NP, which is not uttered. While, in a cleft sentence of two clauses, a pair of contrastive NP's appear in each

affirmative and negative sentence. A negative cleft sentence is required by an affirmative cleft sentence as its counterpart, and vice versa, because each sentence has one of two contrasted NP's.

These evidence suggest that a cleft sentence contains two clauses, an affirmative cleft sentence and a negative cleft sentence, occurring in either order.

Cleft Sentences In Discourse

To fully understand the nature of cleft sentences we need to pay attention to discourse structure since these sentences have a special pattern.

8. a. A : John ga kega o si-ta soo da
 Sub wound Obj get-Pst
 "I heard that John got hurt."

B : (iie) kega o si-ta no wa Tom da (, John de wa nai)
 no wound Obj get-Pst Nom Top Cop Cop Cont NEG
 "(No,) It was Tom who got hurt (, not John)."

b. A : Mary ga Tom o tasuke-ta rasii
 Sub Obj help-Pst
 "It seems that Mary helped Tom."

B : (iie) Mary ga tasuke-ta no wa John da (, Tom de wa nai)
 no Sub help-Pst Nom Top Cop Cop Cont NEG
 "(No,) It was John that Mary helped (, not Tom)."

c. A : Ken wa oosaka ni sun-de-i-ru no daro
 Top Osaka in live-Dur-Pres
 "Ken is living in Osaka, isn't he?" ..

B : (iie) Ken ga sun-de-i-ru no wa tookyoo da (, oosaka de wa nai)
 no Sub live-Dur-Pres Nom Top Cop Osaka Cop Cont NEG
 "(No,) It is in Tokyo that Ken is living (, not in Osaka)."

This pattern may be simply described as (9).

9. A : [X NPl Y]

B : [(NEG) [X Y no wa NP2 da] ([NPl de wa nai])]
 Nom Top Cop Cop Cont NEG

The sentences in parentheses are considered to be optionally omitted. Even if they are omitted, the affirmative cleft sentences keep the meaning of them.

Since the cleft NP's in second negative cleft sentences are old information

which are previously mentioned in the discourse, the second clause is predictable. From the above pattern it appears that in use a cleft sentence has a required context: the function of the cleft sentence is to negate an earlier noun phrase, NP1 in (9), which is supposed to express false information, and to give contrastive new information, NP2 in (9), which is supposed to be true.

The prerequisite context for a cleft sentence is the one that has a definite noun phrase or modified noun in a sentence, since it is contrasted with a noun phrase in a cleft sentence. For example, a cleft sentence is not a possible answer to the questions, "Who Mary helped?" or "Mary helped someone, didn't she?", but possible to the questions, "Did Mary help Tom?", "Which did Mary help, Tom or John?" or "Did Mary help someone from Chicago?". Contrastive NP's cannot be totally indefinite, that is, pro-forms which are not modified or interrogative pronouns or adverbs such as someone, something, anywhere, who, what, where, when, etc., but must be definite nouns or modified pro-forms such as Tom, watch, something red, some strange man, etc.. Thus the cleft sentences including unmodified pro-forms are ungrammatical.

10. a. *Boku ga mi-ta no wa nanika da

I-male Sub see-Pst Nom Top something Cop-Pres

"It was something that I saw."

b. Boku ga mi-ta no wa nanika akai mono da

I-male Sub see-Pst Nom Top some red thing Cop-Pres

"It was something red that I saw."

11. a. *Boku ga kinoo a-t-ta no wa dareka da

I-male Sub yesterday meet-Pst Nom Top someone Cop-Pres

"It was someone that I met yesterday."

b. Boku ga kinoo a-t-ta no wa dareka sir-a-nai hito da

I-male Sub yesterday meet-Pst Nom Top some know-not person Cop-Pres

"It was some strange man that I met yesterday."

When a negative cleft sentence comes first, it makes the difference in meaning after the deletion of the second affirmative clause.

12. a. A : John ga kega o si-ta soo da
 Sub wound Obj get-Pst
 "I heard that John got hurt."

B : (iie) Kega o si-ta no wa John de wa nai
 no wound Obj get-Pst Nom Top Cop Cont NEG

(, { (i) Tom da })
 { (ii) hoka no dareka da }
 else someone Cop-Pres)

"(No,) It was not John who got hurt (, but { Tom })"
 { someone else }

b. A : Mary ga Tom o tasuke-ta rasii
 Sub Obj help-Pst
 "It seems that Mary helped Tom."

B : (iie) Mary ga tasuke-ta no wa Tom de wa nai
 no Sub help-Pst Nom Top Cop Cont NEG

(, { (i) John da })
 { (ii) hoka no dareka da }
 else someone Cop-Pres)

"(No,) It was not Tom that Mary helped (, but { John })"
 { someone else }

c. A : Ken wa oosaka ni sun-de-i-ru no daro
 Top Osaka in live-Dur-Pres
 "Ken is living in Osaka, isn't he?"

B : (iie) Ken ga sun-de-i-ru no wa oosaka de wa nai
 no Sub live-Dur-Pres Nom Top Osaka Cop Cont NEG

(, { (i) tookyoo da })
 { (ii) hoka no dokoka da }
 else somewhere Cop-Pres)

"(No,) It is not in Osaka that Ken is living (, but { in Tokyo })"
 { somewhere else }

This pattern is also described like this.

13. A : [X NP1 Y]

B : [(NEG) [X Y no wa NP1 de wa nai] ([MP2 da])]
 Nom Top Cop Cont NEG Cop

As I stated the function of a cleft sentence, a negative cleft sentence contains a contrastive NP which is old information, and an affirmative

cleft sentence does one which is new information. When the second affirmative clauses in parentheses are deleted, then the negative cleft sentences do not hold the meanings of their deleted counterparts. Whether a speaker means (i) or (ii), the predictable meaning is (ii). Since a cleft sentence is always uttered in a particular discourse, however, the meaning of the second clause is hold by a speaker (, but not by a hearer or an interpreter) even if the second clause is deleted. The ambiguity comes from the side of a hearer or an interpreter because two different cleft sentences have the same surface structure when their second affirmative clauses are deleted. The deleted affirmative clauses have new information which are not mentioned previously in discourse, thus they are not predictable from their discourse unlike the case of pattern (9). For example, (14a) and (14b) will have the same surface structure (14c) after the deletion of their second clauses.

14. a. Mary ga tasuke-ta no wa Tom de wa nai, John da
 Sub help-Pst Nom Top Cop Cont NEG Cop-Pres
 "It was not Tom that Mary helped, but John."

b. Mary ga tasuke-ta no wa Tom de wa nai, hoka no dareka da
 Sub help-Pst Nom Top Cop Cont NEG else someone Cop-Pres
 "It was not Tom that Mary helped, but someone else."

c. Mary ga tasuke-ta no wa Tom de wa nai
 Sub help-Pst Nom Top Cop Cont NEG
 "It was not Tom that Mary helped."

There is no way for a hearer or an interpreter to know a particular person like 'John' meant by a speaker, but all we get from (14c) is an indefinite person, 'someone other than Tom'. Generally speaking, when a speaker does not have any particular person or place in his mind like example (14b), the second clauses are more often deleted, and when he knows the truth, it is more often stated except in the cases he does not want to let others know it, or he does not think it is important enough to state. (14c) is derived from (14a) in some discourse and also from (14b) in another discourse.

Therefore, a simple negative cleft sentence is considered to be derived from two-sentence underlying structure by the deletion of its second affirmative clause. A speaker keeps the same meaning in a simple negative cleft sentence as in two-clause cleft sentence in discourse.

The patterns (9) and (13) can be collapsed as (15).

15. A : [X NP1 Y]

B : (NEG) (i) [[X Y no wa NP2 da] [NP1 de wa nai]]
 Nom Top Cop Cop Cont NEG

(ii) [[X Y no wa NP1 de wa nai] [NP2 da]]
 Nom Top Cop Top NEG Cop

A simple affirmative cleft sentence is derived from (15i) and a negative cleft sentence from (15ii) by the deletion of their second clauses. The structural similarity of patterns (15i) and (15ii) is apparent. The difference is just the matter of the order of an affirmative and a negative, that is, semantically the matter of which sentence a speaker focuses on. When the second clauses are deleted, however, the function of an affirmative and a negative cleft sentence makes a difference in understanding the meaning of the second clauses. An affirmative cleft sentence keeps the meaning of a deleted negative cleft sentence from its discourse, while a negative cleft sentence does not keep that of its affirmative counterpart for a hearer or an interpreter. The deletion of the second clause seems optional, that is, it depends on a speaker's choice. In discourse deleting the second cleft sentence does not change the meaning of the whole cleft sentence for a speaker, even if the affirmative second clause with a new information is deleted.

Presumably the pattern (15i) and (15ii) come from the following underlying structure.

16. (i) [[X Y no wa NP2 da] [X Y no wa NP1 de wa nai]]
 Nom Top Cop Cop Nom Top Cop Cont NEG

(ii) [[X Y no wa NP1 de wa nai] [X Y no wa NP2 da]]
 Nom Top Cop Cont NEG Nom Top Cop

Since the same noun phrase X Y no wa in the second clauses are identical to the one in the first clauses, it is assumed to be deleted under identity condition.

Therefore, a full cleft sentence consists of two sentences: an affirmative cleft sentence which has new information a speaker believes to be true and a negative cleft sentence which has old information supposedly false, occurring in either order. A simple cleft sentence derives from two clauses in the underlying structure.

Semantically Related Sentences

To support this claim I present two different types of sentences which are semantically related to a cleft sentence. They have the same semantic features and some syntactic similarities.

17. a. Mary wa John wa tasuke-ta
 Top Cont help-Fst
 "Mary helped John (, not someone else)."
- b. Mary wa Tom wa tasuke-na-ka-t-ta
 Top Cont help-NEG-Fst
 "Mary did not help Tom (, but someone else)."
18. a. Mary ga John o tasuke-ta no da
 Sub Obj help-Fst Nom.Adj
 "It is the case that Mary helped John (, not the case that she helped someone else)."
- b. Mary ga Tom o tasuke-ta no de wa nai
 Sub Obj help-Fst Nom.Adj Cont NEG
 "It is not the case that Mary helped Tom (, but the case that she helped someone else)."

First, these sentences imply some meanings beyond the sentences like a cleft sentence.

- 17'. a. Mary wa John wa tasuke-ta (, ga hoka no dareka wa tasuke-na-ka-t-ta)
 Top Cont help-Fst but else someone Cont help-NEG-Fst
 "Mary helped John (, not someone else)."
- b. Mary wa Tom wa tasuke-na-ka-t-ta (, ga hoka no dareka wa tasuke-ta)
 Top Cont help-NEG-Fst but else someone Cont help-Fst
 "Mary did not help Tom (, but someone else)."

- 18'. a. Mary ga John o tasuke-ta no da(,hoka no dareka o tasuke-ta no de wa nai)
 Sub Obj help-Fst Nom.Adj else someone Obj help Nom.Adj Cont NEG
 "It is the case that Mary helped John (, not the case that she helped someone else)."
- b. Mary ga Tom o tasuke-ta no de wa nai(,hoka no dareka o tasuke-ta no da)
 Sub Obj help-Fst Nom.Adj Cont NEG else someone Obj help Nom.Adj
 "It is not the case that Mary helped Tom (, but the case that she helped someone else)."

Second, we also have full pattern of these sentences.

19. a. Mary wa John wa tasuke-ta ga, Tom wa tasuke-na-ka-t-ta
 Top Cont help-Fst but Cont help-NEG-Fst
 "Mary helped John, not Tom."
- b. Mary wa Tom wa tasuke-na-ka-t-ta ga, John wa tasuke-ta
 Top Cont help-NEG-Fst but Cont help-Fst
 "Mary did not help Tom, but John."
20. a. Mary ga John o tasuke-ta no da, Tom o tasuke-ta no de wa nai
 Sub Obj help-Fst Nom.Adj Obj help-Fst Nom.Adj Cont NEG
 "It is the case that Mary helped John, not the case that she helped Tom."
- b. Mary ga Tom o tasuke-ta no de wa nai, John o tasuke-ta no da
 Sub Obj help-Fst Nom.Adj Cont NEG Obj help-Fst Nom.Adj-Fres
 "It is not the case that Mary helped Tom, but the case that she helped John."

Third, they have the same meaning as a cleft sentence in the same discourse.

21. A : Mary ga Tom o tasuke-ta rasi i
 Sub Obj help-Fst
 "It seems that Mary helped Tom."
- B : (iie) a. (i) Mary ga tasuke-ta no wa John da, Tom de wa nai
 Sub help-Fst Nom Top Cop Cop Cont NEG
 "It was John that Mary helped, not Tom."
- (ii) Mary wa John wa tasuke-ta ga, Tom wa tasuke-na-ka-t-ta
 Top Cont help-Fst but Cont help-NEG-Fst
 "Mary helped John, not Tom."
- (iii) Mary ga John o tasuke-ta no da, Tom o tasuke-ta no de
 Sub Obj help-Fst Nom.Adj Obj help-Fst Nom.Adj
 "It is the case that Mary helped John, not the case
 wa nai
 Cont NEG
 that she helped Tom."

21. B : b. (i) Mary *ga* *tasuke-ta* *no wa* Tom *de wa nai*, John *da*
 Sub help-Pst Nom Top Cop Cont NEG Cop-Fres
 "It was not Tom that Mary helped, but John."
 (ii) Mary *wa* Tom *wa* *tasuke-na-ka-t-ta ga*, John *wa* *tasuke-ta*
 Top Cont help-NEG-Pst but Cont help-Pst
 "Mary did not help Tom, but John."
 (iii) Mary *ga* Tom *o* *tasuke-ta* *no de wa nai*, John *o* *tasuke-ta* *no da*
 Sub Obj help-Pst Nom.Adj Cont NEG Obj help-Pst Nom.Adj
 "It is not the case that Mary helped Tom, but the case
 that she helped John."

As its proof, these three types of sentences are in fact mixed in some cases, and it does not change the meaning of whole sentences.

22. Mary *ga* *tasuke-ta* *no wa* John *da*, Tom *wa* *tasuke-na-ka-t-ta*
 Sub help-Pst Nom Top Cop-Fres Cont help-NEG-Pst
 "It was John that Mary helped, Tom did not help."
 23. Mary *ga* *tasuke-ta* *no wa* John *da*, Tom *o* *tasuke-ta* *no de wa nai*
 Sub help-Pst Nom Top Cop-Fres Obj help-Pst Nom.Adj Cont NEG
 "It was John that Mary helped, it is not the case that she helped Tom."
 24. Mary *ga* *tasuke-ta* *no wa* Tom *de wa nai*, John *o* *tasuke-ta* *no da*
 Sub help-Pst Nom Top Cop Cont NEG Obj help-Pst Nom.Adj
 "It was not Tom that Mary helped, but the case that she helped John."
 25. Mary *ga* John *o* *tasuke-ta* *no da*, Tom *de wa nai*
 Sub Obj help-Pst Nom.Adj Cop Cont NEG
 "It is the case that Mary helped John, not Tom."
 26. Mary *ga* John *o* *tasuke-ta* *no da*, Tom *wa* *tasuke-na-ka-t-ta*
 Sub Obj help-Pst Nom.Adj Cont help-NEG-Pst
 "It is the case that Mary helped John, but Tom did not help."

It seems to be due to the fact that an affirmative sentence and a negative sentence of these three different types of sentences have the same function in discourse.

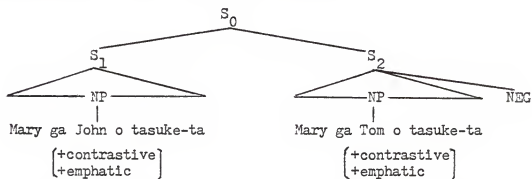
Fourth, they also contains contrastive NP's, one of a pair of them in each clause. In the type of sentence (19) contrastive NP's are marked with a contrastive marker wa and thus syntactically specified as they are placed before copula da in a cleft sentence. In the other type of sentence (20) contrastive NP's are not syntactically distinctive, but phonologically specified with a stress.

Fifth, their full pattern also consist of two clauses, a negative and an affirmative sentences. The function of each sentence in discourse is the same as that of a cleft sentence: a negative sentence has a contrastive NP expressing old information, which is supposed to be false, and an affirmative sentence has one expressing new information. Furthermore, both a negative sentence and an affirmative sentence have the same lexical items in full pattern except a pair of contrastive NP's and NEG.

The Deep Structure Of The Three Related Sentences

All these three sentences have the same meaning and the common semantic and syntactic features stated above. Therefore, this semantic analysis gives the following deep structure, for example, for all three different surface structures of (21ai), (21aii) and (21aiii).

27.

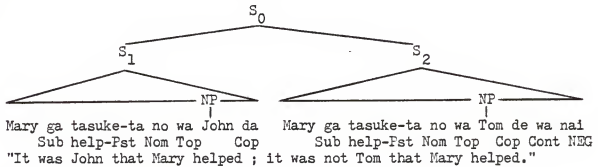


It is considered that a transformational rule, either cleft formation rule, contrastive wa insertion rule or nominal adjective no da insertion rule obligatorily applies to the deep structure which satisfies the following conditions: first, it consists of two clauses, one of them is affirmative, and the other is negative, second, each clause contains NP marked with the semantic features, [+contrastive] and [+emphatic], third, each clause has the same lexical items except contrastive NP's and NEG.

Presumably cleft formation includes the several rules, which order is not clear. By the rules, a contrastive NP is moved to the end of the

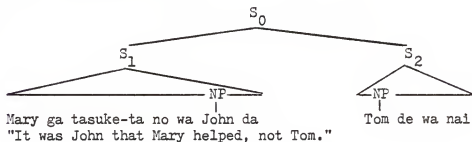
sentence, and copula da is inserted just after them. The rest of the sentence is marked with a topic marker wa since it expresses old information, and a nominalizer no is inserted before the topic wa. Then we will have the following underlying structure.

28.



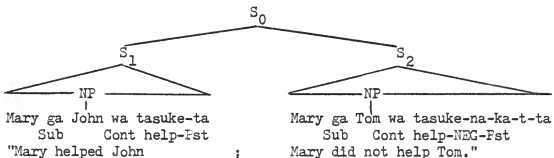
Note that a contrastive wa is inserted in a negative clause after NEG placement rule applies to the second clause. It shows that S1 and S2 are a pair of contrastive sentences. After the identical NP deletion rule applies to the second clause, deleting the identical NP Mary ga tasuke-ta no wa, we will have the following surface structure.

29.



If we choose contrastive wa insertion rule, we will have the following structure (30).

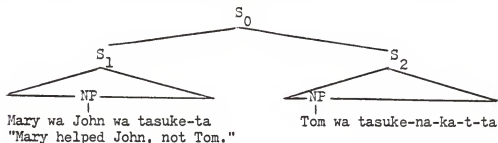
30.



The application of topicalization and the identical NP deletion omitting

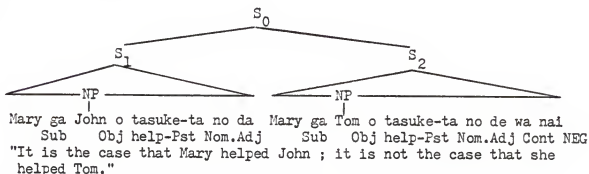
the same subject NP Mary ga (or wa) produces the following surface structure.

31.



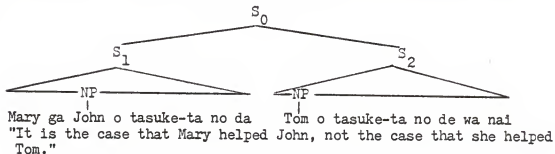
In the case the nominal adjective insertion rule is chosen, it will give the following structure.

32.



Like a cleft sentence, a contrastive marker wa is inserted before the negative nai. Identical NP deletion rule deletes the subject NP Mary ga in the second clause. Later phonological rule assigns stresses on the contrastive NP's, then we will get the surface structure like (33).

33.



Furthermore, the second clause can optionally be deleted, then we will get sentences of a simple clause such as (1a), (17a) and (18a).

Part II. What Kind Of NP Can Be Clefted?

Based on the claim in Part I that a cleft sentence is transformationally derived, I will discuss what kind of noun phrases can be clefted.

Some cleft NP's have particles with them, but others don't. However, the noun phrase which can be clefted is considered to be only the one which can be followed by a particle. I will give three pieces of evidence for this claim. This claim leads to another that some particles are deleted after the cleft formation, which will be discussed in Part III. Then I will show the examples of clefted NP's which include an embedded sentence and are in an embedded sentence.

Apparently constituents other than noun phrases are restricted from undergoing clefting. Among them are the following:

Constituents in Predicate: verb, adjective, passive 'rare', causative 'sase', negative 'nai', etc.

34.*Sue ga sono kotae o no wa si-t-te-i-ru da
 Sub the answer Obj Nom Top know-Dur-Pres Cop-Pres
 "It is know that Sue the answer."

35.*Mary no kodomo no wa kawaii da
 Pos child Nom Top cute Cop-Pres
 "It is cute that Mary's child."

Constituents which modify nouns: adjective and demonstrative pronoun

36.*Boku ga syatu ga suki-na no wa aoi da
 I-male Sub shirt Obj like Nom Top blue Cop-Pres
 "It is blue that I like shirt."

37.*Boku ga syatu ga suki-na no wa sono da
 I-male Sub shirt Obj like Nom Top the Cop-Pres
 "It is the that I like shirt."

Particles

38.*Tom ga tookyoo sun-de-i-ru no wa ni da
 Sub Tokyo live-Dur-Pres Nom Top in Cop-Pres
 "It is in that Tom is living Tokyo."

Sentential adverbs and numerals

39.*Gakusei ga benkyoosi-ta no wa sizukani da
 student Sub study-Pst Nom Top quietly Cop-Pres
 "It was quietly that the students studied."

- 40.*Boku ga ringo o ka-t-ta no wa mittu da
 I-male Sub apple Obj buy-Fst Nom Top three Cop-Pres
 "It was three that I bought apples."

A Noun Phrase Which Can Be Followed By A Particle Can Be Clefted.

First, I present three pieces of evidence for the claim that a noun phrase which can be followed by a particle can be clefted. Second, I will show two pieces of evidence for the claim that a noun phrase which cannot be followed by a particle cannot be clefted.

The three pieces of evidence for the first claim concern possessive noun phrases, adverbial clauses and sentences containing sae 'even' and sika 'only'.

(1) Possessive Noun Phrase

First, genitive in a possessive phrase can generally be clefted, but when the possessive phrase is an object and has an alienable head noun, then genitive cannot be clefted.

41. a. Boku ga kare no hon o nakusi-ta
 I-male Sub he Pos book Obj loose-Pst
 "I lost his book."
 b.*Boku ga hon o nakusi-ta no wa kare da
 I-male Sub book Obj loose-Pst Nom Top he Cop-Pres
 "It was he whose book I lost."
42. a. Boku wa Sue no syasin o mi-ta
 I-male Top Pos picture Obj see-Pst
 "I saw Sue's picture."
 b.*Boku ga syasin o mi-ta no wa Sue da
 I-male Sub picture Obj see-Pst Nom Top Cop-Pres
 "It was Sue whose picture I saw."
43. a. Boku ga kare no atama o nagu-t-ta
 I-male Sub he Pos head Obj beat-Pst
 "I beat his head."
 b. Boku ga atama o nagu-t-ta no wa kare da
 I-male Sub head Obj beat-Pst Nom Top he Cop-Pres
 "It was he whose head I beat."

44. a. Boku ga kono ie no to o syuurisi-ta
I-male Sub this house Pos door Obj fix-Pst
"I fixed the door of this house."
b. Boku ga to o syuurisi-ta no wa kono ie da
I-male Sub door Obj fix-Pst Nom Top this house Cop-Pres
"It was this house whose door I fixed."
45. a. Hisho ga Paul no keireki o kii-ta
secretary Sub Pos personal history Obj ask-Pst
"A secretary asked about Paul's personal history."
b. Hisho ga keireki o kii-ta no wa Paul da
secretary Sub personal history Obj ask-Pst Nom Top Cop-Pres
"It was Paul whose personal history a secretary asked about."
46. a. Watasi ga Mary no kodomo o sewasi-ta
I-female Sub Pos child Obj take care-Fst
"I took care of Mary's child."
b. Watasi ga kodomo o sewasi-ta no wa Mary da *1
I-female Sub child Obj take care-Pst Nom Top Cop-Pres
"It was Mary whose child I took care of."

hon 'book' and syasin 'picture' are alienable nouns, thus sentences (41b) and (42b) are ungrammatical, while atama 'head', to 'door' for ie 'house', keireki 'personal history' and kodomo 'child' are inalienable nouns, thus sentences (43b), (44b), (45b) and (46b) are grammatical.*2

On the other hand, when the possessive phrase is a subject of the sentence, there is no such a restriction.

47. a. Tom no saihi ga nusum-are-ta
Pos billfold Sub steal-Pass-Pst
"Tom's billfold was stolen."
b. Saihi ga nusum-are-ta no wa Tom da
billfold Sub steal-Pass-Pst Nom Top Cop-Pres
"It was Tom whose billfold was stolen."

1. 'child' in (46) patterns inalienable, which is natural, when it means Mary's own child. But (46b) would not work in a situation where you took care of the child Mary baby sat.

2. Harada(1976) says that alienable possession has a possessional relation arising a posteriori as a result of acquisition, and inalienable possession has an a priori possessional relation. I think the definition of inalienable possession may be extended to the relation that A belongs inherently to B or that A is a natural part of B, for example, door and house, handle and car, etc..

48. a. Mary no doresu ga Kirei-da
 Pos dress Sub pretty-Pres
 "Mary's dress is pretty."

b. Doresu ga kirei-na no wa Mary da
 dress Sub pretty Nom Top Cop-Pres
 "It is Mary whose dress is pretty."

Though the possessive phrases have the alienable head nouns saihu 'billfold' and doresu 'dress', the genitive can be clefted. The grammaticality of (48b) is explained by its synonymous sentence (48').

48'. Mary ga doresu ga kirei-da
 Sub dress Sub pretty-Pres
 "Mary's dress is pretty."

According to Kuno(1973) (48') is derived from (48a) by the application of the rule called Subjectivization, which changes the sentence initial NP-no to NP-ga, and makes it the new subject of the sentence. Since the sentence initial NP-no is equal to NP-ga, and NP-ga can be clefted, then NP-no can also be clefted. But the sentence initial NP-no in (47a) cannot be subjectivized. When it is subjectivized, it is ungrammatical.

47'.*Tom ga saihu ga nusum-are-ta
 Sub billfold Sub steal-Pass-Pst
 "Tom had his billfold stolen."

Thus the reason for the grammaticality of (48b) I gave above is not true for that of (47b). I have not found out why NP-no can be clefted even if it is not in a subject NP in the deep structure.*³

Second, it seems that the head noun of a possessive phrase cannot be clefted.

3. The example (47') suggests that Subjectivization is applicable only for the NP-no which is originally at the leftmost position, that is, the one which is in a subject NP in the deep structure. Therefore, there is no parallelism between Cleft formation and Subjectivization of the sentence initial NP-no. In other words, the application of Subjectivization is limited to the NP-no which is in the subject NP in the deep structure, but Cleft formation is applicable to the sentence initial NP-no in either deep or surface structure.

49. a. Zoo no hana ga nagai
elephant Pos trunk Sub long-Pres
"The trunk of an elephant is long."
b.?Zoo no nagai no wa hana da
elephant Pos long Nom Top trunk Cop-Pres
(Lit.)"It is the trunk that of an elephant is long."
50. a. Tom no saihi ga nusum-are-ta
Pos billfold Sub steal-Pass-Pst
"Tom's billfold was stolen."
b.?Tom no nusum-are-ta no wa saihi da
Pos steal-Pass-Pst Nom Top billfold Cop-Pres
(Lit.)"It was billfold that Tom's was stolen."
51. a. Boku wa kare no atama o nagu-t-ta
I-male Top he Pos head Obj beat-Pst
"I beat his head."
b.*Boku ga kare no nagu-t-ta no wa atama da
I-male Sub he Pos beat-Pst Nom Top head Cop-Pres
(Lit.)"It was head that I beat his."
52. a. Sue ga Mary no doresu o nu-t-ta
Sub Pos dress Obj sew-Pst
"Sue sewed Mary's dress."
b.*Sue ga Mary no nu-t-ta no wa doresu da
Sub Pos sew-Pst Nom Top dress Cop-Pres
(Lit.)"It was dress that Sue sewed Mary's."

When the possessive phrase is an object, there is no doubt about the ungrammaticality of the cleft sentence as examples (51b) and (52b) show. When the possessive phrase is a subject as in (49b) and (50b), the sentences sound good. But I doubt if these are really cleft sentences. It seems to me that no in both sentences is not a nominalizer but rather a pronoun. If this is right, we may substitute a pronoun mono 'thing'.

- 49'. Zoo no nagai mono wa hana da
elephant Pos long thing Top trunk Cop-Pres
"The long one of an elephant is (its) trunk."
59'. Tom no nusum-are-ta mono wa saihi da
Pos steal-Pass-Pst thing Top billfold Cop-Pres
"Tom's stolen one is (his) billfold."

51'. *Boku ga kare no nagu-t-ta mono wa atama da
 I-male Sub he Pos beat-Fst thing Top head Cop-Pres
 (Lit.) "His one I beat was head."

52'. *Sue ga Mary no nu-t-ta mono wa doresu da
 Sub Pos sew-Fst thing Top dress Cop-Pres
 (Lit.) "Mary's one Sue sewed was dress."

We can substitute the pronoun mono for no in sentences (49b) and (50b), but not in sentences (51b) and (52b). This suggests that sentences (49b) and (50b) are not cleft sentences but contain adjective phrases or relative clauses. In accepting that they are not cleft sentences, we must claim that the head noun in possessive noun phrases cannot be clefted.

There are different restrictions on clefting possessive NP's in English and Japanese.

53. a. Mary wanted Sue's handkerchief.

b. *It was Sue's that Mary wanted handkerchief.

c. *It was handkerchief that Mary wanted Sue's.

54. a. Mary wanted a handkerchief of Sue's.

b. *It was a handkerchief that Mary wanted of Sue's.

c. *It was of Sue's that Mary wanted a handkerchief.

55. It was Sue whose handkerchief Mary wanted.^{*4}

It seems that no constituents can be clefted from the possessive noun phrase in English. Only when a possessive pronoun 'whose' is used, can the genitive be clefted.

From the above discussion I would like to say that in English a possessive phrase constitutes one unit as whole, while in Japanese not only a possessive noun phrase but also a genitive itself are considered to be unit. This suggests that a Japanese genitive is a noun phrase. There is some evidence for this. First, Japanese genitives can be clefted, as I

 4. Some of the examples are taken from Stockwell et al. (1973). They say (54b) is grammatical, but it seems rather ungrammatical as far as I have studied.

already showed. Second, Japanese topicalizes only NP's, and genitives can be topicalized.

56. a. Zoo no hana ga nagai
elephant Pos trunk Sub long-Pres
"The trunk of an elephant is long."

b. Zoo wa hana ga nagai
elephant Top trunk Sub long-Pres
"As for an elephant, its trunk is long."

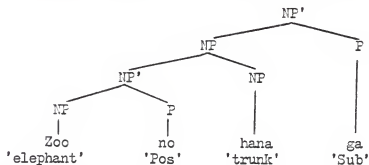
Third, a genitive can subjectivized, when the possessive noun phrase is a subject noun phrase as I already discussed. Fourth, there is evidence from the rule of Noun Phrase Deletion.⁵ Where there is at least one pair of identical noun phrases in the conjuncts of a contrastive sentence, the rule deletes the second and succeeding identical noun phrase(s).

57. a. Zoo no hana wa nagai ; Zoo no asi wa mizikai
elephant Pos trunk Top long elephant Pos leg Top short-Pres
"The trunk of an elephant is long ; the legs of an elephant are short."

b. Zoo no hana wa nagai ; ϕ asi wa mizikai
"The trunk of an elephant is long ; the legs are short."

These examples support the claim that the genitive in Japanese is a noun phrase. At the same time they show that those noun phrases are followed by particles. It seems that those which are applicable for the above transformational rules are the noun phrases which can be followed by particles. And the head noun of the possessive phrase seems a noun phrase rather than a noun, because it can be modified with an adjective and other constituents. But the point is this noun phrase itself is not followed by any particle. Hence, possessive phrases will have the following structure.

58.



5. See Nakau (1973) p77

Now I would conclude this: the genitive constituent of a possessive phrase is a noun phrase which can be followed by a particle, so it can be clefted; the head noun is also presumed to be a noun phrase, but it is not directly followed by any particle, and thus it cannot be clefted. It cannot be topicalized and subjectivized, either. Apparently then only a noun phrase which can be followed by a particle can be clefted in Japanese.

(ii) Adverbial Clause

Some adverbial clauses can be clefted, as the following examples show.

59. a. Boku ga ie ni tui-ta toki, ame ga huri-dasi-ta
 I-male Sub house arrive-Pst when rain Sub fall-start-Pst
 "When I arrived home, it started raining."
 b. Ame ga huri-dasi-ta no wa boku ga ie ni tui-ta toki da
 rain Sub fall-start-Pst Nom Top I-male Sub house arrive-Pst when Cop
 "It was when I arrived home that it started raining."
60. a. Kai ga owa-t-te kara Joe ga ki-ta
 meeting Sub finish-Pst after Sub come-Pst
 "Joe came after the meeting was over."
 b. Joe ga ki-ta no wa kai ga owa-t-te kara da
 Sub come-Pst Nom Top Sub finish-Pst after Cop-Pres
 "It was after the meeting was over that Joe came."
61. a. Tom wa ziken ga oko-ru mae, soko o too-t-ta
 Top accident Sub happen before there Obj pass-Pst
 "Before the accident happened, Tom passed by the place."
 b. Tom ga soko o too-t-ta no wa ziken ga oko-ru mae da
 Sub Obj pass-Pst Nom Top Sub happen-Pst before Cop-Pres
 "It was before the accident happened that Tom passed by the place."
62. a. Boku wa kare ga nihon ni kae-t-te-ku-ru ka dooka sir-i-taka-t-ta
 I-male Top he Sub Japan to return-Pres whether or not know-want-Pst
 "I wanted to know if he is coming back to Japan."
 b. Boku ga sir-i-taka-t-ta no wa kare ga nihon ni kae-t-te-ku-ru
 I-male Sub know-want-Pst Nom Top he Sub Japan to return-Pres
 "It was if he is coming back to Japan that I wanted to know."
 ka dooka da
 whether or not Cop-Pres

Though I call the above clauses adverbial, I suppose they are noun phrases

since they can be followed by particles.

- 59'. Boku ga ie ni tui-ta toki ni, ame ga huri-dasi-ta
I-male Sub home arrive-Fst when rain Sub fall-start-Pst
"When I arrived home, it started raining."
- 61'. Tom wa ziken ga oko-ru mae ni, soko o too-t-ta
Top accident Sub happen before there Obj pass-Pst
"Before the accident happened, Tom passed by the place."
- 62'. Boku wa kare ga nihon ni kae-t-te-ku-ru ka dooka o sir-i-taka-t-ta
I-male Top he Sub Japan return-Pres whether or not Obj know-want-Pst
"I wanted to know if he is coming back to Japan."
63. Kekkon-si-te kara ga taihen-da
get married after Sub hard-Pres
"You will have a hard time after you get married."

I assume that when any unit of words is followed by a particle, it is a noun phrase, and these noun phrases can be clefted in the normal way. Look at the examples of constituents other than NP's:

64. a. Boku wa siken ga a-t-ta node, isogasika-t-ta
I-male Top test Sub be-Pst busy-Pst
"As I had a test, I was busy."
b.*Boku ga isogasika-t-ta no wa siken ga a-t-ta node da
I-male Sub busy-Fst Nom Top test Sub be-Pst Cop-Pres
(Lit.)"It was as I had a test that I was busy."
65. a. John wa siken ga a-t-ta keredomo, benkyoo-si-naka-t-ta
Top test Sub be-Pst although study-NEG-Pst
"Although John had a test, he did not study for it."
b.*John ga benkyoo-si-naka-t-ta no wa siken ga a-t-ta keredomo da
Sub study-NEG-Pst Nom Top test Sub be-Pst although Cop-Pres
(Lit.)"It was although Joe had a test that he did not study for it."
66. a. Sora o miage-ru to, hosi ga mie-ta
sky Obj look up-Pres star see-Pst
"When I looked up at the sky, I saw stars."
b.*Hosi ga mie-ta no wa sora o miage-ru to da
star see-Fst Nom Top sky Obj look up-Pres Cop-Pres
(Lit.)"It was when I looked up at the sky that I saw stars."
67. a. Anata ga yuk-u naraba, watasi mo yuk-u
you Sub go-Pres if I-female too go-Pres
"If you go, I will go, too."
b.*Watasi mo yuk-u no wa anata ga yuk-u naraba da
I-female too go-Pres Nom Top you Sub go-Pres if Cop-Pres
(Lit.)"It is if you go that I will go, too."

When the clauses in the above examples are clefted, the results are ungrammatical, because these clauses are not noun phrases. They cannot be followed by particles in other examples.

- 64'. *Boku ga siken ga a-t-ta node ni isogasika-t-ta
 I-male Sub test Sub be-Pst busy-Pst
 "As I had a test, I was busy."
- 65'. *John ga siken ga a-t-ta keredomo ga benkyoo-si-naka-t-ta
 Sub test Sub be-Pst although study-NEG-Pst
 "Although John had a test, he did not study for it."
- 66'. *Sora o miage-ru to o, hosi ga mie-ta
 sky Obj look up-Pres star see-Pst
 "When I looked up at the sky, I saw stars."
- 67'. *Anata ga yuk-u naraba ga, watasi mo yuk-u
 you Sub go-Pres if I-female too go-Pres
 "If you go, I will go, too."

If it is right that only noun phrases can be followed by particles, it can be explained why these clauses can not be clefted while those of (59)-(62) can. But here is a counterexample to this claim.

68. a. Bill wa hutyuui da-t-ta kara kega-si-ta
 Top careless-Pst because get hurt-Pst
 "Because Bill was careless, he got hurt."
- b. Bill ga kega-si-ta no wa hutyuui da-t-ta kara da
 Sub get hurt-Pst Nom Top careless-Pst because Cop-Pres
 "It was because Bill was careless that he got hurt."

The result of clefting a kara clause is grammatical, but the clause cannot be followed by any particle.

- 68'. *Bill ga hutyuui da-t-ta kara ni kega-si-ta
 Sub careless-Pst because get hurt-Pst
 "Because Bill was careless, he got hurt."

I have not found any explanation for this. If we treat this example as an exception, the conclusion can be stated again that only a noun phrase followed by a particle can be clefted.

(iii) Sentences Containing Contrastive Particles, sae 'even' and sika 'only'

Stockwell et al.(1973) say the following:

(e) Sentences containing even, scarcely, only, etc. can not be clefted.

- 16) a.*It is even John who likes old cars.
 b.*It is John who even likes old cars.*⁶
 c.*It was even old cars that John sold.

It seems to be the case that the discourse function of these adverbs is mutually exclusive with the function of clefting.

Some of the Japanese sentences containing sae 'even' and sika 'only' are restricted from undergoing clefting, but others are not.

69. a.*Nihonryoori o tukur-u no wa Mary sae da
 Japanese dish Obj cook-Pres Nom Top even Cop-Pres
 "It is even Mary who cooks Japanese dishes."
 b.*Mary ga tukur-u no wa nihonryoori sae da
 Sub cook-Pres Nom Top Japanese dish even Cop-Pres
 "It is even Japanese dishes that Mary cooks."
 c.?Mary sae tukur-u no wa nihonryoori da
 even cook-Pres Nom Top Japanese dish Cop-Pres
 "It is Japanese dishes that even Mary cooks."
 d. Nihonryoori sae tukur-u no wa Mary da
 Japanese dish even cook-Pres Nom Top Cop-Pres
 "It is Mary that cooks even Japanese dishes."
 e. Nihonryoori o tukur-i-sae-sur-u no wa Mary da
 Japanese dish Obj cook-even-Pres Nom Top Cop-Pres
 "It is Mary who even cooks Japanese dishes."
 70. a.*Nihonryoori o tukur-a-na-i no wa Mary sika da
 Japanese dish Obj cook-NEG-Pres Nom Top only Cop-Pres
 "It is only Mary who cooks Japanese dishes."
 b.*Mary ga tukur-a-na-i no wa nihonryoori sika da
 Sub cook-NEG-Pres Nom Top Japanese dish only Cop-Pres
 "It is only Japanese dishes that Mary cooks."
 c.?Mary sika tukur-a-na-i no wa nihonryoori da
 only cook-NEG-Pres Nom Top Japanese dish Cop-Pres
 "It is Japanese dishes that only Mary cooks."
 d. Nihonryoori sika tukur-a-na-i no wa Mary da
 Japanese dish only cook-NEG-Pres Nom Top Cop-Pres
 "It is Mary who cooks only Japanese dishes."

 6. But the same type of sentence as (16b) in Stockwell's example is grammatical when the following discourse is given.

- A : John and Tom keep frogs.
 B : Tom even eats them.
 A : No, it is John who even eats them.

Note that sika 'only' is always used with negative nai, but that the meaning of the sentence is affirmative. From examples (69a,b) and (70a,b) we see that a noun phrase with sae 'even' or sika 'only' cannot be clefted, just as in English a noun phrase with even cannot be clefted. As for examples (69c) and (70c), here the context is considered relevant. For example, the false information "Only Sue cooks French dishes." is given before sentence (70c) is uttered. If both noun phrases Sue and French dishes are the new information, the sentence (70c) sounds grammatical. Otherwise, that is, in the case that French dishes is the old information and that Sue is the new information and the topic of the sentence, then sentence (70c) sounds awkward. This is because the topic of the sentence is suddenly changed from the people who cook to the dishes they cook. Sentences (69d,e) and (70d) seem grammatical because we can find suitable contexts for them. These are the sentences in which sae and sika appear in the verb phrase and at the same time in the topic noun phrase of a cleft sentence. Stockwell's example (16b) is the same case, since we can find a suitable context for it as in note (6). It is not so clear to me why some of these sentences are ungrammatical and some of them are grammatical.

In Japanese there are some sentences containing the words which mean 'only'. The cleft sentences containing them are apparently grammatical. Take a look at the following cleft sentences containing dake, nomi and bakari 'only'.

71. a. Watasi ga aisi-ta no wa John dake da
 I-female Sub love-Pst Nom Top only Cop-Pres
 "It was only John that I loved."
- b. John ga mezasi-ta no wa syoori nomi da
 Sub aim at-Pst Nom Top victory only Cop-Pres
 "It was only victory that John aimed at."
- c. Boku ga kinina-t-ta no wa kodomo no kenkoo bakari da
 I-male Sub worry-Pst Nom Top child Pos health only Cop-Pres
 "It was only about my child's health that I worried."

It appears that dake, nomi and bakari 'only' are within the noun phrase. Their meanings do not go beyond the noun phrase and they can be followed by particles, as the examples in (71') show.

- 71'. a. Watasi wa John dake o aisi-ta
I-female Top only Obj love-Pst
"I loved only John."
b. John wa syoori nomi o mezasi-ta
Top victory only Obj aim at-Pst
"John aimed only at victory."
c. Boku wa kodomo no kenkoo bakari ga kinina-t-ta
I-male Top child Pos health only Obj worry-Pst
"I worried only about my child's health."

On the other hand, the meanings of sae and sika go beyond the noun phrase into the verb. They are considered sentential adverbs. Thus they cannot be followed by particles.

- 69'. a. *Mary sae ga nihonryoori o tukur-u
even Sub Japanese dish Obj cook-Pres
"Even Mary cooks Japanese dishes."
70'. b. *Mary ga nihonryoori sika o tukur-ana-i
Sub Japanese dish only Obj cook-NEG-Pres
"Mary cooks only Japanese dishes."

If this analysis is right, it would also support my claim that only noun phrases that can be followed by particles can be clefted.

To support this claim I present some examples for the evidence that a noun phrase which cannot be followed by a particle cannot be clefted. First, as I discussed before, a head noun(phrase) of a possessive noun phrase cannot be clefted, since it is considered to be a noun phrase which is not followed by a particle. Second, predicate nominals cannot be clefted, as the following examples show.

72. a. Kare ga isya da
he Sub doctor Cop-Pres
"He is a doctor."
b. *Kare ga de-ar-u no wa isya da
he Sub Cop-Pres Nom Top doctor Cop-Pres
(Lit.) "It is a doctor that he is."

73. a. Gityoo wa tanaka san da
 chairman Top Mr. Cop-Pres
 "The chairman is Mr. Tanaka."

b.*Gityoo ga de-ar-u no wa tanaka san da
 chairman Sub Cop-Pres Nom Top Mr. Cop-Pres
 (Lit.) "It is Mr. Tanaka that the chairman is."

Since predicate nominals never take particles, they cannot be clefted.

Third, the noun phrase followed by a nominal adjective cannot be clefted.

Japanese has a class of words called 'Nominal Adjective': no-da 'it is the case that', hazu-(da) 'it is expected that/ ought to', beki-da 'should', yoo-(da) 'seem', mitai-(da) 'appear(look like)', etc.. It is considered that a nominal adjective takes a noun phrase as a subject, but that none of these nominal adjectives allow their noun phrases to be followed by a particle. Thus these noun phrases cannot be clefted.

74. a. Mary ga Tom o tasuke-ta no-da
 Sub Obj help-Pst Nom.Adj
 "It was the case that Mary helped Tom."

b.*No-da wa Mary ga Tom o tasuke-ta da
 Nom.Adj Top Sub Obj help-Pst Cop-Pres
 (Lit.) "It was (that) Mary helped Tom that it is the case."

75. a. Ken ga moo kur-u hazu-da
 Sub soon come-Pres Nom.Adj
 "It is expected that Ken is coming soon."

b.*Hazu-da no wa Ken ga moo kur-u da
 Nom.Adj Nom Top Sub soon come-Pres Cop-Pres
 (Lit.) "It is (that) Ken is coming soon that it is expected."

This evidence leads to the conclusion that only a noun phrase which can be followed by a particle can be clefted.

NF's Including And Within An Embedded Sentence

I present some examples of NF's which can and cannot be clefted concerning embedded sentences.

Some noun phrases including embedded sentences can be clefted, but others cannot, as in the following examples.

Restrictive and Nonrestrictive Relative Clause

76. a. Kasa o mo-t-te-i-ru otoko ga Bill no asi o hun-da
 umbrella Obj have-Dur-Pres man Sub Pos foot Obj step on-Fst
 "The man who has an umbrella with him stepped on Bill's foot."
- b. Bill no asi o hun-da no wa kasa o mo-t-te-i-ru otoko da
 Pos foot Obj step on Nom Top Obj have-Dur-Pres man Cop-Pres
 "It was the man who has an umbrella with him that stepped on
 Bill's foot."
77. a. Boku wa aisukuriimu o tabe-te-i-ru Mary o mi-ta
 I-male Top ice cream Obj eat-Dur-Pres Obj see-Fst
 "I saw Mary, who was eating an ice cream."
- b. Boku ga mi-ta no wa aisukuriimu o tabe-te-i-ru Mary da
 I-male Sub see-Fst Nom Top ice cream Obj eat-Dur-Pres Cop-Pres
 "It was Mary, who was eating an ice cream, that I saw."

Sentential Complementation

78. a. Boku wa Jim ga Mary o nagu-t-ta toyuu uwasa o kii-ta
 I-male Top Sub Obj beat-Fst Comp rumor Obj hear-Fst
 "I heard the rumor that Jim beat Mary."
- b. Boku ga kii-ta no wa Jim ga Mary o nagu-t-ta toyuu uwasa da
 I-male Sub hear-Fst Nom Top Sub Obj beat-Fst Comp rumor Cop-Pres
 "It was the rumor that Jim beat Mary that I heard."
79. a. Jim wa Mary o nagu-t-ta koto o kookai-si-ta
 Top Obj beat-Fst Obj regret-Fst
 "Jim regretted that he beat Mary."
- b. Jim ga kookai-si-ta no wa Mary o nagu-t-ta koto da
 Sub regret-Fst Nom Top Obj beat-Fst Cop-Pres
 (Lit.) "It was that he beat Mary that Jim regretted."
80. a. Boku wa Mary ga hasi-t-te-i-ru tokoro o mi-ta
 I-male Top Sub run-Dur-Pres Obj see-Fst
 'I saw Mary running."
- b. Boku ga mi-ta no wa Mary ga hasi-t-te-i-ru tokoro da
 I-male Sub see-Fst Nom Top Sub run-Dur-Pres Cop-Pres
 (Lit.) "It was Mary running that I saw."
81. a. Mary ga Bill ni oningaku o toru yoo ni susume-ta
 Sub ID phonology Obj take Comp advise-Fst
 "Mary advised Bill to take Phonology."
- b. ?Mary ga Bill ni susume-ta no wa oningaku o toru yoo ni da
 Sub ID advise-Fst Nom Top phonology Obj take Cop-Pres
 (Lit.) "It was to take Phonology that Mary advised Bill."

82. a. Sue wa Bob ni denwa-su-ru no o wasure-ta
 Top ID call-Pres Obj forget-Pst
 "Sue forgot to call Bob."

b.*Sue ga wasure-ta no wa Bob ni denwa-su-ru no da
 Sub forget-Pst Nom Top ID call-Pres Cop-Pres
 (Lit.) "It was to call Bob that Sue forgot."

83. a. Sue wa Bob ga gakusei da to sinzi-te-i-ru
 Top Sub student Cop Comp believe-Dur-Pres
 "Sue believes that Bob is a student."

b*Sue ga sinzi-te-i-ru no wa Bob ga gakusei da to da
 Sub believe-Dur-Pres Nom Top Sub student Cop Comp Cop-Pres
 (Lit.) "It is that Bob is a student that Sue believes."

In Japanese the noun phrases of relative clauses, noun complementation, S toyuu N and koto and tokoro complementation can be clefted, but not those of no and to complementation. When yooni complementation can be clefted, the sentence sounds a little bit awkward, but understandable.

There is a claim that yooni and to complementation are not a noun phrase.^{*7} If it is right, the awkwardness of (81b) and the ungrammaticality of (83b) can be explained. However, the ungrammaticality of (82b) is not clear. It is also against my claim; though no complementation can be followed by a particle, as o in (82a), it cannot be clefted. Perhaps it is considered that it can be clefted, but that the result is ungrammatical. Both no and koto complementation can be used in the sentences which are synonymous. Nevertheless, koto complementation can be clefted, but not no complementation.

84. a. Tom wa Mary ga kekkon-si-te-i-ru { no } o si-t-te-i-ru
 { koto }
 Top Sub be married-Dur-Pres Obj know-Dur-Pres
 "Tom knows that Mary is married."

b.*Tom ga si-t-te-i-ru no wa Mary ga kekkon-si-te-i-ru no da
 Sub know-Dur-Pres Nom Top Sub be married-Dur-Pres Cop-Pres
 (Lit.) "It is that Mary is married that Tom knows."

c. Tom ga si-t-te-i-ru no wa Mary ga kekkon-si-te-i-ru koto da
 Sub know-Dur-Pres Nom Top Sub be married-Dur-Pres Cop-Pres
 (Lit.) "It is that Mary is married that Tom knows."

This suggests that the ungrammaticality of clefted no complementation is not due to its meaning but rather a phonological reason. In the cleft sentence the nominalizer no and the following copula da make the homonym with the Nominal Adjective no-da 'it is the case that'. This seems to bother us to understand the sentence like (84b). Therefore, it is considered that no complementation can be clefted, but the result sounds awkward because of the homonym, Nominal Adjective no-da, which meaning does not fit in the cleft sentence.

The head noun of relative clause and S toyuu N noun complementation cannot be clefted. This may suggest that these head nouns are nouns in Japanese rather than noun phrases unlike English head noun.

76. c.*Kasa o mo-t-te-i-ru Bill no asi o hun-da no wa otoko da
 umbrella Obj have-Dur-Pres Nom foot Obj step on Nom Top man Cop-Pres
 (Lit.) "It was the man that stepped on Bill's foot who has an
 umbrella with him."
77. c.*Boku ga aisukuriimu o tabe-te-i-ru mi-ta no wa Mary da
 I-male Sub ice cream Obj eat-Dur-Pres see-Pst Nom Top Cop-Pres
 (Lit.) "It was Mary that I saw who was eating an ice cream."
78. c.*Boku ga Jim ga Mary o nagu-t-ta toyuu kii-ta no wa uwasa da
 I-male Sub Sub Obj beat-Pst Comp hear-Pst Nom Top rumor Cop-Pres
 (Lit.) "It was the rumor that I heard that Jim beat Mary."

Concerning NP's in the embedded sentences, no NP's in the relative clause, S toyuu N complementation and koto complementation can be clefted.

76. d.*Mot-t-e-i-ru otoko ga Bill no asi o hun-da no wa kasa da
 have-Dur-Pres man Sub Pos foot Obj step on Nom Top Cop-Pres
 (Lit.) "It was an umbrella that the man who has with him stepped
 on Bill's foot."
77. d.*Boku ga tabe-te-i-ru Mary o mi-ta no wa aisukuriimu da
 I-male Sub eat-Dur-Pres Obj see-Pst Nom Top ice cream Cop-Pres
 (Lit.) "It was an ice cream that I saw Mary, who was eating."
78. d.*Boku ga Mary o nagu-t-ta toyuu uwasa o kii-ta no wa Jim da
 I-male Sub Obj beat-Pst Comp rumor Obj hear-Pst Nom Top Cop-Pres
 (Lit.) "It was Jim that I heard the rumor that hit Mary."
79. d.*Jim ga nagu-t-ta koto o kookai-si-ta no wa Mary da
 Sub beat-Pst Obj regret-Pst Nom Top Cop-Pres
 (Lit.) "It was Mary that Jim regretted that he beat."

On the other hand, some NP's in the embedded sentences of tokoro, yooni, no and to complementation can be clefted.

80. c. Boku ga hasi-t-te-i-ru tokoro o mi-ta no wa Mary da
 I-male Sub run-Dur-Fres Obj see-Pst Nom Top Cop-Pres
 (Lit.) "It was Mary that I saw running."
81. c. Mary ga Bill ni toru yooni susume-ta no wa oningaku da
 Sub ID take Comp advise-Pst Nom Top phonology Cop-Pres
 (Lit.) "It was Phonology that Mary advised Bill to take."
82. c. Sue ga denwa-su-ru no o wasure-ta no wa Bob (ni) da
 Sub call-Pres Obj forget-Pst Nom Top ID Cop-Pres
 (Lit.) "It was Bob that Sue forgot to call."
83. c. Sue ga gakusei da to sinzi-te-i-ru no wa Bob da
 Sub student Cop Comp believe-Dur-Fres Nom Top Cop-Pres
 (Lit.) "It was Bob that Sue believes to be a student."

The reason is not so clear why some of the cleft sentences including and in the embedded sentences are grammatical and some of them are not. But this shows that not all noun phrases followed by a particle can be clefted, and that there are some more restrictions on cleft formation.

Part III. A Cleft NP And Its Particle

In cleft sentences we find that some cleft NP's have particle with them and others do not. According to my claim stated in Part II. only a noun phrase which can be followed by a particle can be clefted, the particles are considered to be deleted in the sentence which has a cleft NP without a particle. We can classify the particles into three groups according to how they appear in the cleft sentences.

84. (A) ga(Sub, DO), no(Pos), o(DO) : obligatorily deleted
 (B) ni(DC, ID, locative, time), to(DO) : optionally deleted
e(direction), de(locative)
 (C) de(instrumental), to(comitative) : cannot be deleted
made(until, up to), kara(from)
ni tuite(about), etc.

First I will show the examples of cleft sentences according to the classification above. Second, I will present some evidence that (84) is applicable not only for the cleft formation but also for topicalization, contrastive wa insertion and the attachment of such contrastive particles as mo 'also', sae 'even', sika 'only' and koso 'the very, just, indeed'.

Particle Deletion After Cleft Formation

The followings are the examples to support the classification of particle deletion for the cleft sentence.

- (A) Particles ga, whether it is a subject marker or an object marker, possessive no, and a direct object marker o never appear with a cleft NP. When they are stated in the cleft sentence, the sentences sound terribly awkward.

85. a. John ga Mary o si-t-te-i-ru
 Sub Obj know-Dur-Pres
 "John knows Mary."

- b. Mary o si-t-te-i-ru no wa John (*ga) da
 Obj know-Dur-Pres Nom Top Sub Cop-Pres
 "It is John who knows Mary."

86. a. Kare ga sikai da
he Sub dentist Cop-Pres
"He is a dentist."
- b. Sikai de-a-ru no wa kare (*ga) da
dentist Cop-Pres Nom Top he Sub Cop-Pres
"It is he who is a dentist."
87. a. Tom ga Sue ga suki da
Sub Obj like-Pres
"Tom likes Sue."
- b. Tom ga suki na no wa Sue (*ga) da
Sub like Nom Top Obj Cop-Pres
"It is Sue that Tom likes."
88. a. Tom ga Joe no atama o nagu-t-ta
Sub Pos head Obj beat-Pst
"Tom beat Joe's head."
- b. Tom ga atama o nagu-t-ta no wa Joe (*no) da
Sub head Obj beat-Pst Nom Top Pos Cop-Pres
"It was Joe whose head Tom beat."
89. a. John ga Mary o si-t-te-i-ru
Sub Obj know-Dur-Pres
"John knows Mary."
- b. John ga si-t-te-i-ru no wa Mary (*o) da
Sub know-Dur-Pres Nom Top Obj Cop-Pres
"It is Mary that John knows."
90. a. Boku ga hujisan o nobo-t-ta
I-male Sub Mt.Fuji Obj climb-Pst
"I climbed up Mt.Fuji."
- b. Boku ga nobo-t-ta no wa hujisan (*o) da
I-male Sub climb-Pst Nom Top Mt.Fuji Obj Cop-Pres
"It was Mt.Fuji that I climbed up."
91. a. Joe ga Mary o Sam ni syookai-si-ta
Sub Obj ID introduce-Pst
"Joe introduced Mary to Sam."
- b. Joe ga Sam ni syookai-si-ta no wa Mary (*o) da
Sub ID introduce-Pst Nom Top Obj Cop-Pres
"It was Mary that Joe introduced to Sam."

(B) Such particles as ni, to(DO), e and de(locative) can be deleted. Whether they are deleted or not, the sentences sound good. However, the cleft sentences are actually used more often without them.

92. a. Joe ga Mary ni a-t-ta
 Sub Obj meet-Pst
 "Joe met Mary."
 b. Joe ga a-t-ta no wa Mary (ni) da
 Sub meet-Pst Nom Top Obj Cop-Pres
 "It was Mary that Joe met."
93. a. Joe ga Mary o Sam ni syookai-si-ta
 Sub Obj ID introduce-Pst
 "Joe introduced Mary to Sam."
 b. Joe ga Mary o syookai-si-ta no wa Sam (ni) da
 Sub Obj introduce-Pst Nom Top ID Cop-Pres
 "It was to Sam that Joe introduced Mary."
94. a. Sue ga tookyoo ni i-t-ta
 Sub Tokyo to go-Pst
 "Sue went to Tokyo."
 b. Sue ga i-t-ta no wa tookyoo (ni) da
 Sub go-Pst Nom Top Tokyo to Cop-Pres
 "It was to Tokyo that Sue went."
95. a. Joe ga Lisa to kekkon-si-ta
 Sub Obj marry-Pst
 "Joe married Lisa."
 b. Joe ga kekkon-si-ta no wa Lisa (to) da
 Sub marry-Pst Nom Top Obj Cop-Pres
 "It was Lisa that Joe married."
96. a. Boku ga hujisan e nobo-t-ta
 I-male Sub Mt.Fuji toward climb-Pst
 "I climbed up toward Mt.Fuji."
 b. Boku ga nobo-t-ta no wa hujisan (e) da
 I-male Sub climb-Pst Nom Top Mt.Fuji toward Cop-Pres
 "It was toward Mt.Fuji that I climbed up."
97. a. Kathy ga kooen de Paul ni a-t-ta
 Sub park in Obj meet-Pst
 "Kathy met Paul in the park."
 b. Kathy ga Paul ni a-t-ta no wa kooen (de) da
 Sub Obj meet-Pst Nom Top park in Cop-Pres
 "It was in the park that Kathy met Paul."
98. a. Kare ga oosaka ni sun-de-i-ru
 he Sub Osaka in live-Dur-Pres
 "He is living in Osaka."
 b. Kare ga sun-de-i-ru no wa oosaka (?*ni) da
 he Sub live-Dur-Pres Nom Top Osaka in Cop-Pres
 "It is in Osaka that he is living."

99. a. Kathy ga kayoobi (ni) Paul ni a-t-ta
 Sub Tuesday on Obj meet-past
 "Kathy met Paul on Tuesday."
 b. Kathy ga Paul ni a-t-ta no wa kayoobi (?*ni) da
 Sub obj meet-Pst Nom Top Tuesday on Cop-Pres
 "It was on Tuesday that Kathy met Paul."

As examples (98b) and (99b) show, ni's which mark NF's of location and time are preferably deleted.

(c) to(comitative), de(instrumental), made(until, up to), kara(from), ni tuite(about), etc. cannot be deleted. These are the kinds of particles which meanings are not recoverable when they are deleted.

- 100.a. John ga Susan to sanpo-si-ta
 Sub with take a walk-Pst
 "John took a walk with Susan."
 b. John ga sanpo-si-ta no wa Susan to da
 Sub take a walk-Pst Nom Top with Cop-Pres
 "It was with Susan that John took a walk."
 101.a. John ga naihu de Mary o korosi-ta
 Sub knife with Obj kill-Pst
 "John killed Mary with a knife."
 b. John ga Mary o korosi-ta no wa naihu de da
 Sub Obj kill-Pst Nom Top knife with Cop-Pres
 "It was with a knife that John killed Mary."
 102.a. Susan ga l20 peeji kara sono hon o yon-da
 Sub page from the book Obj read-Pst
 "Susan read the book from page l20."
 b. Susan ga sono hon o yon-da no wa l20 peeji kara da
 Sub the book Obj read-Pst Nom Top page from Cop-Pres
 "It was from page l20 that Susan read the book."
 103.a. Joe ga yonaka made hatarak-i-tuzuke-ta
 Sub midnight until work-continue-Pst
 "Joe continued to work until midnight."
 b. Joe ga hatarak-i-tuzuke-ta no wa yonaka made da
 Sub work-continue-Pst Nom Top midnight until Cop-Pres
 "It was until midnight that Joe continued to work."

104.a. Sono kyoozyu ga syuukyoo ni tuite hanasi-ta
 the professor Sub religion about speak-Pst
 "The professor made a speech about religion."

b. Sono kyoozyu ga hanasi-ta no wa syuukyoo ni tuite da
 the professor Sub speak-Pst Nom Top religion about Cop-Pres
 "It was about religion that the professor made a speech."

Particle Deletion After Other Transformations

The classification of particle deletion given in (84) seems to be a common aspect in Japanese. For it is applicable not only for cleft formation but also for other transformations such as topicalization, contrastive wa insertion and the attachment of such contrastive particles as no 'also', sae 'even', sika 'only', koso 'the very, just, indeed'. The following examples will give the evidence for it.

(i) Topicalization

This rule adds wa to an NP + particle and prepose the NP + particle + wa to the beginning of the sentence. The particles are deleted in the same way as the classification in (84).

(A) Particles are obligatorily deleted.

35. c. John (*ga) wa Mary o si-t-te-i-ru
 Sub Top Obj know-Dur-Pres
 "John, he knows Mary."

87. c. Sue (*ga) wa Tom ga suki-da
 Sub Top Obj like-Pres
 "Sue, Tom likes her."

88. c. Joe (*no) wa Tom ga atama o nagu-t-ta
 Pos Top Sub head Obj beat-Pst
 (Lit.) "Joe, Tom beat his head."

(87c) is ambiguous like the case of (87b); it can also mean "Sue, she likes Tom."

89. c. Mary (*o) wa John ga si-t-te-i-ru
 Obj Top Sub know-Dur-Pres
 "Mary, John knows her."

91. c. Mary (*o) wa Joe ga Sam ni syookai-si-ta
 Obj Top Sub ID introduce-Pst
 "Mary, Joe introduced to Sam."

(B) Particles are optionally deleted.

92. c. Mary (ni) wa Joe ga a-t-ta
 Obj Top Sub meet-Pst
 "Mary, Joe met her."
93. c. Sam (ni) wa Joe ga Mary o syookai-si-ta
 ID Top Sub Obj introduce-Pst
 "Sam, Joe introduced Mary to him."
94. c. Tookyoo (ni) wa Sue ga i-t-ta
 Tokyo to Top Sub go-Pst
 "Tokyo, Sue went there."
95. c. Lisa (to) wa Joe ga kekkon-si-ta
 Top Sub marry-Pst
 "Lisa, Joe married her."
96. c. Hujisan (e) wa boku ga nobo-t-ta
 Mt.Fuji toward Top I-male Sub climb-Pst
 "Mt.Fuji, I climbed up.toward it."
97. c. Kooen (de) wa Kathy ga Paul ni a-t-ta
 Park in Top Sub Obj meet-Pst
 "In the park, Kathy met Paul."
98. c. Osaka (ni) wa kare ga sun-de-i-ru
 Osaka in Top he Sub live-Dur-Pres
 "In Osaka he lives."
99. c. Kayoobi (ni) wa Kathy ga Paul ni a-t-ta
 Tuesday on Top Sub Obj meet-Pst
 "On Tuesday Kathy met Paul."

Unlike the cleft sentences (98b) and (99b) the sentences (98c) and (99c) which have topic NP's with ni of location and time sound good.

(C) Particles cannot be deleted.

- 100.c. Susan to wa John ga sanpo-si-ta
 with Top Sub take a walk-Pst
 "With Susan, John took a walk."
- 101.c. Naisu de wa John ga Mary o korosi-ta
 knife with Top Sub Obj kill-Pst
 "With a knife, John killed Mary."
- 103.c. Yonaka made wa Joe ga hatarak-i-tuzuke-ta
 midnight until Top Sub work-continue-Pst
 "Until midnight Joe continued to work."
- 104.c. Syuukyoo ni tuite wa sono kyoozyu ga hanasi-ta
 religion about Top the professor Sub speak-Pst
 "About religion the professor made a speech."

(ii) Contrastive wa Insertion

Some of the particles in group (B) cannot be deleted unlike cleft formation and topicalization, but others are deleted in the same way.

(A)

85. d. John (*ga) wa Mary o si-t-te-i-ru
 Sub Cont Obj know-Dur-Pres
 "John knows Mary (, not someone else)."
87. d. Tom wa Sue (*ga) wa suki-da
 Top Obj Cont like-Pres
 "Tom, he likes Sue (, not someone else)."
88. d. *Tom wa Joe (*no) wa atama o nagu-t-ta
 Top Pos Cont head Obj beat-Pst
 "Tom, he beat Joe's head (, not someone else's)."
89. d. John wa Mary (*o) wa si-t-te-i-ru
 Top Obj Cont know-Dur-Pres
 "John, he knows Mary (, not someone else)."
91. d. Joe wa Mary (*o) wa Sam ni syookai-si-ta
 Top Obj Cont ID introduce-Pst
 "Joe, he introduced Mary to Sam (, not someone else)."

The ungrammaticality of (88d) shows that contrastive wa insertion rule cannot apply to NP-no unlike cleft formation and topicalization. But it can apply to NP-no in the subject NP in the deep structure, as the following example shows.

- 105.a. Tom no atama ga ookii
 Pos head Sub big-Pres
 "Tom's head is big."
- b. Tom wa atama ga ookii (, ga John wa tiisai)
 Cont head Sub big-Pres but Cont small-Pres
 "Tom, his head is big (, but John's is small)."

Thus contrastive wa insertion rule as well as subjectivization can apply to NP-no only in the subject noun phrase in the deep structure. On the other hand, cleft formation, topicalization and contrastive particle attachment do not limit their application to the NP-no in the original subject noun phrase.

(B)

92. d. Joe wa Mary ni wa a-t-ta
 Top Obj Cont meet-Pst
 "Joe, he met Mary (, not someone else)."
93. d. Joe wa Mary o Sam ni wa syookaisi-ta
 Top Obj ID Cont introduce-Pst
 "Joe, he introduced Mary to Sam (, not someone else)."
94. d. Sue wa tookyoo (ni) wa i-t-ta
 Top Tokyo to Cont go-Pst
 "Sue, she went to Tokyo (, not somewhere else)."
95. d. Joe wa Lisa to wa kekkon-si-ta
 Top Cont marry-Pst
 "Joe, he married Lisa (, not someone else)."
96. d. Boku wa hujisan (e) wa nobo-t-ta
 I-male Top Mt.Fuji toward Cont climb-Pst
 "I climbed up toward Mt.Fuji (, not somewhere else)."
97. d. Kathy wa kooen de wa Paul ni a-t-ta
 Top park in Cont Obj meet-Pst
 "Kathy, she met Paul in the park (, not somewhere else)."
98. d. Kare wa oosaka ni wa sun-de-i-ru
 he Top Osaka in Cont live-Dur-Pres
 "He is living in Osaka (, not somewhere else)."
99. d. Kathy wa kayoobi (ni) wa Paul ni a-t-ta
 Top Tuesday on Cont Obj meet-Pst
 "Kathy, she met Paul on Tuesday (, not some other day)."

Direct object marker, indirect object marker and locative ni, object marker to and locative de cannot be deleted after the insertion of contrastive wa unlike the case of cleft formation and topicalization.

(C)

- 100.d. John wa Susan to wa sanpo-si-ta
 Top with Cont take a walk-Pst
 "John, he took a walk with Susan (, not with someone else)."
- 101.d. John wa naitu de wa Mary o korosi-ta
 Top knife with Cont Obj kill-Pst
 "John, he killed Mary with a knife (, not with something else)."
- 103.d. Joe wa yonaka made wa hatarak-i-tuzuke-ta
 Top midnight until Cont work-continue-Pst
 "Joe, he continued to work until midnight (, not until some other time)."

- 104.d. Sono kyoozyu wa shuukyoo ni tuite wa hanasi-ta
 the professor Top religion about Cont speak-Fst
 "The professor, he made a speech about religion (, not about
 something else)."

(iii) The attachment of contrastive particles mo 'also', sae 'even',
sika 'only' and koso 'the very, just, indeed'

(A)

85. e. John (*ga) { mo } Mary o si-t-te-i-ru
 Sub { sae } Obj know-Dur-Pres
 { koso }
 "John also knows Mary."

 John (*ga) sika Mary o sir-a-na-i
 Sub only Obj know-NEG-Pres
 "Only John knows Mary."
87. e. Tom wa Sue (*ga) { mo } suki-da
 Top Obj { sae } like-Pres
 { koso }
 "Tom, he also likes Sue."

 Tom wa Sue (*ga) sika suki-de-wa-na-i
 Top Obj only like-Cont-NEG-Pres
 "Tom, he likes only Sue."
88. e. Tom wa Joe (*no) { mo } atama o nagu-t-ta
 Top Pos { sae } head Obj beat-Fst
 { koso }
 "Tom, he beat Joe's head also."

 Tom wa Joe (*no) sika atama o nagur-a-na-ka-t-ta
 Top Pos only head Obj beat-NEG-Fst
 "Tom, he beat Joe's head only."
89. e. John wa Mary (o) { mo } si-t-te-i-ru
 Top Obj { sae } know-Dur-Pres
 { koso }
 "John, he knows Mary also."

 John wa Mary (?*o) sika sir-a-na-i
 Top Obj only know-NEG-Pres
 "John, he knows only Mary."
91. e. Joe wa Mary (o) { mo } Sam ni syookai-si-ta
 Top Obj { sae } ID introduce-Fst
 (*o) { koso }
 "Joe, he introduced Mary to Sam also."

 Joe wa Mary (?*o) sika Sam ni syookai-si-na-ka-t-ta
 Top Obj only ID introduce-NEG-Fst
 "Joe, he introduced only Mary to Sam."

The object marker o before mo and sae is acceptable unlike the cases of the other three cases, cleft formation, contrastive wa insertion and topicalization.

(B)

92. e. Joe wa Mary ni { mo } a-t-ta
 Top Obj { sae } meet-Fst
 { koso }
 "Joe, he met Mary also."

 Joe wa Mary ni (?*ni) sika aw-a-na-ka-t-ta
 Top Obj only meet-NEG-Fst
 "Joe, he met only Mary."
93. e. Joe wa Mary o Sam ni { mo } syookai-si-ta
 Top Obj ID { sae } introduce-Fst
 { koso }
 "Joe, he introduced Mary to Sam also."
94. e. Sue wa tookyoo (ni) { mo } i-t-ta
 Top Tokyo to { sae } go-Fst
 { koso }
 "Sue, she went to Tokyo also."

 Sue wa tookyoo (ni) sika ik-a-na-ka-t-ta
 Top Tokyo to only go-NEG-Fst
 "Sue, she went to Tokyo only."
95. e. Joe wa Lisa to { mo } kekkon-si-ta
 Top { sae } marry-Fst
 { koso }
 "Joe, he married Lisa also."

 Joe wa Lisa to (?*to) sika kekkon-si-na-ka-t-ta
 Top only marry-NEG-Fst
 "Joe, he married only Mary."
96. e. Boku wa hujisan (e) { mo } nobo-t-ta
 I-male Top Mt.Fuji toward { sae } climb-Fst
 { koso }
 "I climbed up toward Mt.Fuji also."

 Boku wa hujisan (e) sika nobor-a-na-ka-t-ta
 I-male Top Mt.Fuji toward only climb-NEG-Fst
 "I climbed up toward Mt.Fuji only."

97. e. Kathy wa kooen de { mo } Faul ni a-t-ta
 Top park in { sae } Obj meet-Pst
 { koso }

"Kathy, she met Paul in the park also."

- Kathy wa kooen de sika Paul ni aw-a-na-ka-t-ta
 Top park in only Obj meet-NEG-Pst

"Kathy, she met Paul only in the park."

98. e. Kare wa oosaka ni { mo } sun-de-i-ru
 he Top Csaka in { sae } live-Dur-Pres
 { koso }

"He is living in Csaka also."

- Kare wa oosaka ni sika sun-de-i-na-i
 he Top Csaka in only live-Dur-NEG-Pres

"He is living in Csaka only."

99. e. Kathy wa kayoobi (ni) { mo } Faul ni a-t-ta
 Top Tuesday on { sae } Obj meet-Pst
 { koso }

"Kathy, she met Paul on Tuesday also."

- Kathy wa kayoobi (ni) sika Paul ni aw-a-na-ka-t-ta
 Top Tuesday on only Obj meet-NEG-Pst

"Kathy, she met Paul only on Tuesday."

Direct object, indirect object and locative ni, object to and locative de cannot be deleted before these contrastive particles, mo, sae and koso as well as before contrastive wa. While, the sentences are understandable without them before sika, but at the same time they give us uneasiness. Thus it rather can be said that the particles stated above cannot be deleted before all four contrastive particles.

(c)

- 100.e. John wa Susan to { mo } sanpo-si-ta
 Top { sae } take a walk-Pst
 { koso }

"John, he took a walk with Susan also."

- John wa Susan to sika sanpo-si-na-ka-t-ta
 Top only take a walk-NEG-Pst

"John, he took a walk only with Susan."

- 101.e. John wa naihu de { mo } Mary o korosi-ta
 Top knife with { sae } Obj kill-Pst
 { koso }

"John, he killed Mary with a knife also."

John wa naihu de sika Mary o koros-a-nak-a-t-ta
 Top knife with only Obj Kill-NEG-Pst

"John, he killed Mary only with a knife."

- 103.e. Joe wa yonaka made { mo } hatarak-i-tuzuke-ta
 Top midnight until { sae } work-continue-Pst
 { koso }

"Joe, he continued to work until midnight also."

Joe wa yonaka made sika hatarak-i-tuzuke-nak-a-t-ta
 Top midnight until only work-continue-NEG-Pst

"Joe, he continued to work until midnight only."

- 104.e. Sono kyoozyu wa syuukyoo ni tuite { mo } hanasi-ta
 the professor Top religion about { sae } speak-Pst
 { koso }

"The professor, he made a speech about religion also."

Sono kyoozyu wa syuukyoo ni tuite sika hanas-a-nak-a-t-ta
 the professor Top religion about only speak-NEG-Pst

"The professor, he made a speech only about religion."

To sum up, the manner of deletion stated in (84) is common to all four transformations except the acceptability of o(Obj.) before mo and sae and the requirement of ni(Obj., ID and locative), to(Cbj.) and de (locative) before contrastive wa and contrastive particles.

APPENDIX

Abbreviations

Cont	Contrastive
Cop	Copula
DO	Direct Object
Dur	Durative
IO	Indirect Object
NEG	Negative
Nom	Nominalizer
Nom.Adj	Nominal Adjective
NP	Noun Phrase
Obj	Object
Pass	Passive Voice
Pos	Possessive
Pres	Present Tense
Pst	Past Tense
S	Sentence
Sub	Subject
Top	Topic

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SOME ASPECTS OF JAPANESE CLEFT SENTENCES

by

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Abstract

The principal purpose of this paper is to analyze Japanese sentence structure, particularly of the cleft sentence. Though I mainly deal with cleft sentences, I discuss various features of Japanese : particles, possessive noun phrases, adverbial clauses, sentential adverbs, nominal adjectives, etc., and I also try to compare Japanese sentence structure with English sentence structure. Hopefully this linguistic analysis will provide useful material for my teaching of English as a foreign language to Japanese.

Part I discusses the deep structure of cleft sentences. Starting from their meanings and discourse structure and comparing cleft sentences with other semantically related sentences, I present the deep structure of cleft sentences and other related sentences based on the semantic analysis. Part II argues for the conclusion that only noun phrases which can be followed by particles can be clefted. Part III shows that the particle deletion which occurs after cleft formation also occurs after other transformations almost in the same way.

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