# An RCS Approach to the *It*-Cleft Construction\*

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#### 1. Introductory Remarks

The purpose of this paper is twofold: (i) to examine previous analyses of the *it*-cleft construction, and then point out problems and limitations, and (ii) to advance an alternative analysis within the framework of Recursive Categorical Syntax (henceforth RCS)<sup>1</sup> initiated by Michael K. Brame. It is shown that the alternative analysis not only accounts for the syntactic and semantic properties unique to the construction, but it also unites syntax and semantics at the onset of producing *it*-cleft sentences.

There are three fundamental characteristics peculiar to *it*-cleft sentences: (i) the construction invariably contains the nonanaphoric *It*, stative verbs such as *be, seem*, etc., a focused constituent, and *that*-clause of presupposition (see (1)); (ii) the focus allows an NP or a PP, but not a verb, adverb or adjective (see (2)); and (iii) indirect objects and predicate complements do not occur in the focus position (see (3)) (cf. Araki and Yasui, 1992: 244ff).

(1) It BE  $\underline{X}$  that  $\underline{Y}$ 

focus presupposition

- (2) a. It was John that wore his best suit to the dance last night.
  - b. It was to the dance that John wore his best suit last night.
  - c. \*It is very unhappy that Bill is.
  - d. \*It was answer the question that Mary did.
  - e. \*It was happily that he spoke.
- (3) a. \*It is Mary that John gave the book.

- b. \*It is a football coach that John is.
  - c. \*It was an interesting lecturer that John remained.

It has been thought that only a single constituent may occupy the focus position of the *it*-cleft construction (see Akmajian (1970); McCawley (1988); Akmajian, R. Demers, A. Farmer, and R. Harnish (1990), among others). Kamio and Thomas (1994), and Nakajima (1994), however, claim that the *it*-cleft construction allows more than one focused constituents. In the following sections, we examine Kamio and Thomas' pragmatic analysis and Nakajima's generative approach, and then point out their problems and limitations.

### 2. Kamio and Thomas' analysis and limitations

Kamio and Thomas (1994) propose the Unitary Concept Principle-(UCP) and the List-head Attribute Constraint (LAC) to account for *it*-clefts with multiple foci. The former is defined as:

(4) The Unitary Concept Principle (UCP).

MCF (Clefts in Multiple Constituents in Focus) are acceptable if the focus as a whole expresses a unitary concept in the sense below.

The Definition of a Unitary Concept

A sequence of constituents expresses a unitary concept if it expresses two or more of the following three concepts.

(i) time or place

(ii) a concept which implies exclusiveness

(iii) a concept pragmatically associated with the time/place concept

Kamio and Thomas assume that (4i) covers examples such as in (5), whereas (4ii) explains the asterisked examples and unasterisked examples in (6).

- (5) a. It was at Knock a century ago that the Virgin appeared to local peasants.
  - b. It was in 1674 in London that Milton died.
- (6) a. \*It was when he was a child into the river that my brother fell

from the bank.

- b. It was when he was a child into the deepest part of the river that my brother fell from the bank.
- c. \*It was beautiful ladies in the morning that I met.
- d. It was two first year students in the morning that I met.

However, my colleagues and informants do not confirm the above grammaticality judgment: All of the examples in (6) are considered inadmissible. (6a-b) are unacceptable due to the fact that the source (*from the bank*) is superfluous. (6c-d) are inappropriate since the focused constituents are not semantically a single unit.

(4iii) accounts for examples such as:

- (7) a. thirty in the first day, two diamonds in the second day
  - b. two from Tokyo, four from Nagoya
  - c. a girl in Los Angeles, a policeman in New York
  - On the other hand, the List-head Attribute Constraint is defined as:
- (8) The List-head Attribute Constraint (LAC).

Some MCF clefts have the information structure called Listhead Attribute (Kuno 1987). The presupposed part, i.e. *that*-clause, represents a list-head and the focus represents its attributes. This type of MCF clefts must have constituents in focus that are natural to the list-head.

Kamio and Thomas assume that the LAC explains the naturalness of (9) and (10).

(9) It was last August in a hospital in Tokyo that my wife was hospitalized.

The list-head: "My wife's hospitalization"

Attributes: Time: "August"

Place: "a hospital in Tokyo"

- (10) a. It was last year because of a broken heart that my brother killed himself.
  - b. It was around this morning craftily that the prisoner escaped from jail.

Nevertheless, the above examples are unacceptable according to my

colleagues and informants, thereby casting doubt to Kamio and Thomas' LAC analysis.

Kamio and Thomas' analysis is inappropriate for the purpose intended. First, their grammaticality judgment on the relevant examples is dubious. Second, the "exclusiveness" criterion in (4ii) is extraneous. Third, the key term "natural" in the LAC is insufficient to explicate the nature of *it*-clefts with multiple foci.

#### 3. Nakajima's analysis and limitations

Nakajima's (1994) analysis deals with three issues: (i) the derivation of *it*-clefts with multiple foci, (ii) the subject constraint on multiple foci, and (iii) the object constraint on multiple foci.

Nakajima employs "copying" and "deletion" transformations to derive *it*-cleft sentences: the former copies a constituent of a *that*-clause and moves it into the focus position, whereas the latter erases the original constituent. Consider the following.

(11) It is [CP XP [CP that XP copy delete

The above process is in effect a two-stage procedure with four suboperations as shown in (12) and (13): First, a V<sub>3</sub> is transformed into V by V' Reanalysis, and then the V is raised to become V<sub>1</sub> (see (12)). Second, the VP<sub>2</sub> under the lowest IP is copied and then inserted under the VP<sub>2</sub> node which is immediately dominated by the highest CP. The original VP<sub>2</sub> is eliminated at PF (see 13)).



(12)



Consider now the following examples of Nakajima (1994).

- (14) a. \*It was John a curry and rice, Bill a Chinese noodle, Tom a spaghetti that ordered for lunch. (S+O)
  - b. \*It was John, to his fiancee that gave an engagement ring last night. (S+PP)
  - c. \*It was Oswald, in Dallas that assassinated J. F. Kennedy. (S+Adv)
  - d. \*It was a curry and rice John, a Chinese noodle Bill, a spaghetti Tom that ordered for lunch. (O+S)
  - e. \*It was to his fiancee John that gave an engagement ring last night. (PP+S)
  - f. \*It was Oswald, in Dallas that assassinated J. F. Kennedy. (Adv+S)
- (15) a. \*It is his wife a golden ring that John has presented thus far. (O+O)
  - b. \*It was to his daughter a doll, to his son a computer game, and to his wife a necklace that John gave for Christmas. (PP+O)
  - c. \*It was in Dallas, J. F. Kennedy that Oswald assassinated in 1963. (Adv+O)

Nakajima proposes two constraints to block (14) and (15): the subject

constraint (SC), and the object constraint (OC), respectively. The former employs the VP-shell structure in (16), where all constituents under  $VP_1$ make up a single unit. Therefore, any constituent comprising the unit cannot be extracted separately and moved into the focus position. Consequently, the examples of (14) are ruled out.



The OC is constructed upon the minimal link condition (MLC) of Chomsky (1994). The MLC prohibits the movement of the object in (17a) since the XP gets in the way, whereas in (17b) nothing intervenes therefore the object can be moved to the Agro-P. Thus, the OC bars the examples of (15).



Nakajima's analysis raises at least three problems. First, there is a possibility where the whole IP in (16) can be moved into the focus position. This gives rise to an ungrammatical sentence such as: *It was John gave an engagement ring to his fiancee that yesterday*. One might argue that the IP movement is blocked by the ECP of Chomsky (1981: 250) since the trace of the IP is not properly governed. What this means is that *that* is not a proper governor of the IP's trace. Granting this, the

ECP creates a problem since it rules out acceptable examples such as *It* was  $John_i [_{comp} that [ t_i gave an engagement ring to his fiancee yesterday]]. Second, Nakajima thinks that the examples in (18) do not violate the MLC and hence are acceptable. The examples, however, sound ungrammatical to native speakers (my colleagues and informants), thereby undermining the credibility of his MLC analysis.$ 

(18) a. It was a doll to his daughter, a computer game to his son, and a necklace to his wife that John gave for Christmas.

b. It was J. F. Kennedy, in Dallas that Oswald assassinated in 1963.

Third, the agreement does not extend to the object phrase in English though it does in languages such as French. This fact also weakens the force of Nakajima's MLC analysis since it makes crucial use of the Agro-P involving the object.

As we have seen, the previous analyses raise a number of problems. Moreover, they are confined to either a syntax-oriented analysis or pragmatics-oriented analysis. I believe that the syntax and semantics of the *it*-cleft construction can be united in a principled way. In this vein, let us consider an RCS analysis in the following section.

## 4. An RCS analysis

I discuss two rudimentary claims and two assumptions. The first claim is that the *it*-cleft construction allows multiple foci of time and/or locative arguments which must be semantically one unit. The second claim is that the multiple foci prohibits any obligatory V-complements. The two assumptions are: (i) Indirect objects and predicate complements are unfocusable; (ii) Adjectives, verbs, and non-time-reference adverbs do not occur in the focus position. In the following discussion, semantic and syntactic characteristics are accounted for in a unified fashion.

Let us begin with syntactic induction by taking an example *It was Susie that I met in the morning*. Consider first lexical specifications of relevant words.

(19) a.  $|It, \Gamma$ \$D3|VT<sup>y</sup>3,<sub>x</sub>D, $\Sigma$ DX<sub>x</sub>D>  $\begin{bmatrix} ID \\ PC \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} ID \\ PC \end{bmatrix}$ 

- b. was, VT-
- c. |Susie,D|
- d.  $|that, \Sigma D|$   $D_n, VT_n^y >$
- e. **[***I*,\$DI]
- f.  $|met, VT^{-}I_{x}D|P >$
- g. |*in*,P|D>
- h. |the,D|N>
- i. [morning, N]

There are four crucial points in the above lexical specifications: First, *It* is the focus initiator<sup>2</sup> and the subject of the sentence. Therefore, its intrinsic category is signified by  $\Gamma$ \$D3, focus with third person subject type. *It* selects three arguments: a verb with third person, predicate complement and *that*-clause. Second, the focused element *Susie* and the object of *met* are coreferential. The coindexation in terms of <sub>x</sub>D accounts for this fact. Third, indirect objects and predicate complements are not qualified as focused elements. The features -ID, and -PC under the two instances of <sub>x</sub>D account for the constraint. Fourth, there is no restriction on the linear distance with respect to the unbounded dependency. The variable X of (19a) is designed to handle the phenomenon: The variable X will be substituted with relevant typed categories by the Variable Continuation.

Given the above development, the sentence at issue can be induced by Word Induction.

(20) It was Susie that I met in the morning.

a.  $|It, \Gamma \D3| VT^{y}3, xD, \Sigma DX, xD > (|was, VT^{-}3|) = |It \cdot was, \Gamma \D3VT^{-}3|xD, \Sigma$  $[:P_C] [:P_C] [$ 

 $\begin{bmatrix} \cdot ID \\ \cdot PC \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} \cdot ID \\ \cdot PC \end{bmatrix}$ 

c.  $|that, \Sigma D|$   $D_n, VT_n^y > (|I, DI|) = |that - I, \Sigma D DI| VT_I^y >$ 

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- d. |met,VT<sup>-</sup>I<sub>x</sub>D|P>(|in-the-morning, PDN|)=|met-in-the-morning, VT<sup>-</sup>I<sub>x</sub>DPDN|
- e. |that-I, ΣD\$DI[VT<sup>y</sup>I>(|met-in-the-morning, VT<sup>-</sup>I<sub>x</sub>DPDN])=|that-Imet-in-the-morning, ΣD\$DIVT<sup>-</sup>I<sub>x</sub>DPDN|
- f. |It-was-Susie,  $\Gamma$ \$D3VT-3<sub>x</sub>D| $\Sigma$ DX<sub>x</sub>D>(|that-I-met-in-the-morning,  $\Sigma$ [ $\stackrel{\text{ID}}{\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}{\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}{\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}{\stackrel{\text{ID}}{\stackrel{\text{ID}}{\stackrel{\text{ID}}{\stackrel{\text{ID}}{\stackrel{\text{ID}}{\stackrel{\text{ID}}{\stackrel{\text{ID}}{\stackrel{\text{ID}}{\stackrel{\text{ID}}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}{\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}{\stackrel{\text{ID}}}{\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}{\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}{\stackrel{\text{ID}}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}{\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}{\stackrel{\text{ID}}{\stackrel{\text{ID}}{\stackrel{\text{ID}}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}{\stackrel{\text{ID}}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}{\stackrel{\text{ID}}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}{\stackrel{\text{ID}}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}{\stackrel{\text{ID}}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}{\stackrel{\text{ID}}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}{\stackrel{\text{ID}}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}\stackrel{\text{ID}}$

 $D$DIVT^{I}_{x}DPDN = |It-was-Susie-that-I-met-in-the-morning, \Gamma$D3$ VT^3\_xDDD\$DIVT^{I}\_{x}DPDN |  $\begin{bmatrix} ID \\ IPC \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} ID \\ IPC \end{bmatrix}$ 

Notice that the variable X is now replaced with \$DIVT-I by the Variable Continuation as pictured in (20f).

In order to make semantic induction possible, RCS requires a theoretical modification. First, semantic entities and roles are collected together in one finite set  $SEMCAT_0$ .

(21) SEMCAT<sub>o</sub>:={AGENT, PATIENT, IT, THERE, VFORM, BASE, PRES, PAST, GERUND, PRES-PART, FINITE, AUX, PREP, ADJ, ADV,...,Λ}

SEMCAT<sub>o</sub> includes  $\Lambda$ , an identity element which is required for analyzing elliptical constructions and unbounded dependency.

The definition of SEMCAT $_{o}$  leads to the definition of SEMFUNC $_{o}$  and Induced Semantic Functors.

(22) SEMFUNC<sub>0</sub>:= {  $\langle \varphi, \psi \rangle$ ,  $\langle \sigma, \theta \rangle$ ,...,  $\langle \delta, \tau \rangle$  }, where  $\varphi, \psi, \sigma, \theta$ ,...,  $\delta, \tau \in$  SEMCAT<sub>0</sub>

(23) Induced Semantic Functors

- (i) If  $\langle \varphi, \psi \rangle \in \text{SEMFUNC}_{o}$ , then  $\langle \varphi, \psi \rangle \in \text{SEMFUNC}$ .
- (ii) If  $\langle \varphi, \psi \rangle$ ,  $\langle \psi, \sigma \rangle \in$  SEMFUNC, then  $\langle \varphi, \psi \rangle \circ \langle \psi, \sigma \rangle \in$  SEMFUNC.

(iii) Nothing else is in SEMFUNC.

What is in SEMFUNC is a function of what is in SEMFUNC<sub>o</sub>. (24) demonstrates one manifestation of the combine operator for natural language in a generalized formula.

(24) Particularization of the Circle Product for Natural Language

 $<\!\!\varphi,\!\psi\!\!>\circ<\!\!\psi,\!\sigma\!\!>=<\!\!\varphi\psi,\!\sigma\!\!>$ 

In Brame (1987) the Circle Product for Natural Language is formalized as the universal Word Induction which consists of three induction mechanisms: l-Induction, d-Induction and dl-Induction. Semantic induction requires an extra dl-Induction. Therefore, I propose the following special case of dl-Induction.

(25) dl-Induction:

If  $L_i = \langle \alpha_i, ..., \alpha_1 | x, \gamma_1 \sigma | \psi_1, ..., \psi_n \rangle \in LEX$  and  $L_j = \langle \delta_1, ..., \delta_1 | y, \psi_1 \pi | \beta_1, ..., \beta_j \rangle \in LEX$  and  $L_k = \langle \epsilon_m, ..., \epsilon_1 | z, \theta | \gamma_1, ..., \gamma_k \rangle \in LEX$ , then  $(L_k) L_i(L_j) = \langle \delta_1, ..., \delta_1, \alpha_i, ..., \alpha_1, \epsilon_m, ..., \epsilon_1 | z \cdot x \cdot y, \theta \gamma_1 \sigma \psi_1 \pi | \beta_1, ..., \beta_j, \psi_2, ..., \psi_n, ..., \gamma_2, ..., \gamma_k \rangle \in LEX.$ 

Given the finite (static) collection of SEMCAT<sub>o</sub> and the infinite set of (dynamic) SEMFUNC, we can define the infinite set of (static) SEMCAT.

(26) Induced Semantic Categories SEMCAT

(i) If  $\varphi \in SEMCAT_o$ , then  $\psi \in SEMCAT$ .

(ii) If  $\langle \varphi, \psi \rangle \in \text{SEMFUNC}$ , then  $\varphi, \psi \in \text{SEMFUNC}$ .

(iii) Nothing else is in SEMCAT.

Let us now demonstrate semantic induction at work by taking a simple sentence *John kissed Mary*. As in the case of syntactic induction, the lexical specification of words is of fundamental importance. In this spirit, consider the following.

(27) a. *John*, AGENT

## b. <AGENT|kissed,VFORM PAST|PATIENT>

c. [Mary, PATIENT]

Given the above lexical specifications and the dl-Induction in (25), we obtain the desired result as depicted below.

(28) (John, AGENT) < AGENT|kissed, VFORM PAST|PATIENT> (Mary, PATIENT) = John-kissed-Mary, AGENT VFORM PAST PATIENT|

We are now in a position to consider the semantic induction of the target sentence *It was Susie that I met in the morning*. Consider first the following lexical specifications.

(29) a.  $|It, FOCUSER|VFORM, FOCUS_x, THAT X \{ \}_x >$ 

- b. |was, VFORM PAST|
- c. |Susie, FOCUS|
- d. |*that*, THAT|AGENT>
- e. [*I*,AGENT]
- f. <AGENT|met, VFORM PAST|PATIENT,LOC>
- g. |*1*,{ }x|
- h.  $|\Lambda, PATIENT_x|$
- i. [in-the-morning,LOC]

Of importance here are three points: First, notice that the arguments, FOCUS<sub>x</sub> and { }<sub>x</sub>, are coindexed in (29a). The coindexation guarantees the coreference relation between the focused argument and the elided argument. Next, the empty category { }<sub>x</sub> is fillable with the argument of *met*, i.e. PATIENT<sub>x</sub> in terms of the { }<sub>x</sub> Identification defined below.

(30) The  $\{ \}_x$  Identification:

If  $< ... | x, \varphi | \psi ... \{ \}_x > \in LEX$  and  $< ... | y, \psi ... \theta_x | ... > \in LEX$ , then

 $< ... | \mathbf{x}, \varphi | \psi ... \{ \theta \}_{\mathbf{x}} > \in \text{LEX}.$ 

Third, the value of X of the argument category THAT X { }, is determined by the Variable Continuation.

Given the above development, the semantic induction of the sentence at issue is obtained as desired.

- (31) a.  $|It,FOCUSER|VFORM,FOCUS_x,THAT X { }_x>(|was,VFORM PAST|) = |It-was, FOCUSER VFORM PAST|FOCUS_x, THAT X { }_x>$ 
  - b. [*It-was*, FOCUSER VFORM PAST|FOCUS<sub>x</sub>, THAT X { }<sub>x</sub>> (|Susie, FOCUS|)=|*It-was-Susie*, FOCUSER VFORM PAST FOCUS<sub>x</sub>|THAT X { }<sub>x</sub>>
  - c. (|I, AGENT|) < AGENT|met, VFORM PAST|PATIENT, LOC> (|A, PATIENT<sub>x</sub>]) = |I-met, AGENT VFORM PAST PATIENT<sub>x</sub> |LOC>
  - d. |I-met,AGENT VFORM PAST PATIENT<sub>x</sub>|LOC>(|in-the-morning, LOC|)=|I-met-in-the-morning,AGENT VFORM PAST PA-TIENT<sub>x</sub> LOC|

- e. |*that*, THAT|AGENT>(|*I-met-in-the-morning*, AGENT VFORM PAST PATIENT<sub>x</sub> LOC|)=|*that-I-met-in-the-morning*, THAT AGENT VFORM PAST PATIENT<sub>x</sub> LOC|
- f. |It-was-Susie, FOCUSER VFORM PAST FOCUS<sub>x</sub>|THAT X { }<sub>x</sub> > (|that-I-met-in-the-morning, THAT AGENT VFORM PAST PA-TIENT<sub>x</sub> LOC|) = |It-was-Susie-that-I-met-in-the-morning, FOCUSER VFORM PAST FOCUS<sub>x</sub> THAT AGENT VFORM PAST {PATIENT<sub>x</sub> LOC|

Two issues remain to be considered: the creation of multiple foci and the unification of syntax and semantics. With respect to the former issue, three observations are relevant: (i) an *it*-cleft with multiple foci is possible if the focus consists of locative and/or time arguments (see (32a-b)); and (ii) the focused constituents are semantically a single unit (see (32c-d)); and (iii) the multiple foci does not permit any obligatory V-complements as exemplified in (32e-g). Notice that the focused constituents of (32a-d) are optional V-complements.

- (32) a. It was in London in 1674 that Milton died. (cf. (5b))
  - b. It was at Knock a century ago that the Virgin appeared to local peasants. (= (5a))
  - c. Where and when did Milton die?
  - d. Where and when did the Virgin appear to local peasants?
  - e. \*It was the man with the telescope that I saw.

('I used the telescope to see the man.')

- f. \*What and when did you find?
- g. \*What and who did you give?

How does the present RCS analysis create the *it*-cleft with multiple foci? The empty element { }<sub>x</sub> offers a solution: The { }<sub>x</sub> can include any number of elided arguments as one semantic unit. This naturally leads to the next question: How does the RCS induce acceptable *it*-clefts and at the same time exclude unacceptable ones? This motivates the following constraint.

(33) The *it*-cleft Constraint:

- i) The focus prohibits a D , V, or Adv.  $\begin{bmatrix} ID \\ PC \end{bmatrix}$  (Time)
- ii) The multiple foci prohibits any obligatory V-complements, and it does not allow a set of semantically disconnected arguments.

(33i) is already realized at the beginning of section 4. (33ii) not only clarifies the nebulous term "natural" in Kamio and Thomas' LAC but it also handles both the syntactic and semantic idiosyncrasies of *it*-clefts with multiple foci.

The unification of syntax and semantics can be achieved in terms of the SYN-SEM representation (34) where the bracket "[" unites the two components.

(34)  $\lceil \text{SYN: } |\alpha|$ 

– SEM: |*β*|

 $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  in the two vertical lines represent induced categories. Consider below.

(35)

- SYN: |*It-was-Susie*,  $\Gamma$ \$D3VT-3<sub>x</sub>D|*D*DX<sub>x</sub>D>(|*that-I-met-in-the-morning*,  $\begin{bmatrix} :D\\ PC \end{bmatrix}$ 

 $\Sigma$ D\$DIVT-I<sub>x</sub>DPDN|)=|It-was-Susie-that-I-met-in-the-morning,

 $\begin{array}{c} \varGamma & P_{sD3VT}^{*} D_{sD} D_{sD1VT}^{*} I_{sD} D_{sD1} \\ & \left[ \begin{array}{c} P_{c} \\ P_{c} \end{array} \right] \\ & \left[ \begin{array}{c} P_{c} \\ P_{c} \end{array} \right] \end{array}$ 

- SEM: [*It-was-Susie*, FOCUSER VFORM PAST FOCUS<sub>x</sub>|THAT X { }<sub>x</sub> >(*Ithat-I-met-in-the-morning*, THAT AGENT VFORM PAST PA-TIENT<sub>x</sub>LOC)=[*It-was-Susie-that-I-met-inthemorning*, FOCUSER VFORM PAST FOCUS<sub>x</sub> THAT AGENT VFORM PAST {PATIENT<sub>x</sub>LOC]

The above SYN-SEM representation codifies three fundamental points: (i) the thematic relations of the constituents, (ii) the coreference relation between the focused constituent and the elided argument, and (iii) the competent speakers' grammaticality judgment on the *it*-cleft construction.

By taking (32a) as a representative, I shall now demonstrate how an

*it*-cleft sentence with multiple foci can be induced. Given the lexical specifications in (36) and (37), the SYN-SEM representation of the example is obtained as illustrated in (38).

(36) a.  $[It, \Gamma D3]VT^{y}_{3,x}P^{Loc}_{x}P^{Time}, \Sigma DX_{x}P^{Loc}_{x}P^{Time} >$ 

- b.  $|in, P^{Loc}|D>$
- c. |London,D|
- d.  $|in, P^{\text{Time}}|D>$
- e. |1674,D|
- f. |*Milton*,\$D3|VT-3>
- g. died, VT-3<sub>x</sub>P<sup>Loc</sup><sub>x</sub>P<sup>Time</sup>

(37) a.  $\mu$ , FOCUSER VFORM, FOCUS<sub>x</sub>, THAT X { }<sub>x</sub>>

b. |in-London-in-1674, FOCUS|

- c. |that, THAT|AGENT>
- d. *Milton*, AGENT
- e. < AGENT|died, VFORM PAST|LOC TIME>
- f.  $|\Lambda, \{ \}_x|$
- g. |A,LOC TIME<sub>x</sub>|

- SEM: [It-was-in-London-in-1674, FOCUSER VFORM PAST FO-CUS<sub>x</sub>[THAT X { }<sub>x</sub>>([that-Milton-died, THAT AGENT VFORM PAST LOC<sub>x</sub> TIME<sub>x</sub>])=[It-was-in-London-in-1674that-Milton-died, FOCUSER VFORM PAST FOCUS<sub>x</sub> THAT AGENT VFORM PAST {LOC TIME}<sub>x</sub>]

### 5. Concluding Remarks

Several previous analyses of the *it*-cleft construction were examined and dismissed on the basis of three grounds: (i) the data are problematic, (ii) Kamio and Thomas' UCP and LAC lack refinement, and (iii) Nakajima's VP-shell and MLC analyses are insufficient since they do not agree with the observations and raise new problems. On the other hand, the RCS analysis not only offers a principled solution to the observed fact unique to the *it*-cleft construction but it also unifies the syntactic and semantic characteristics of the construction at the onset of creating *it*-cleft sentences.

#### FOOTNOTES

\*I would like to thank Peter Skaer for judgments, helpful comments and suggestions. I am also indebted to two anonymous *Gengo Bunka Kenkyu* reviewers for valuable suggestions. All errors and shortcomings are of course my own.

1. See Brame (1984; 1985; 1987; 1988) for detailed discussions of the theory of RCS.

2. The focus initiator should not be confused with a so-called expletive *It* which can be lexically specified as  $|It,D3|VT^{y}3,\SigmaD>$ 

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