The Inverse Copular Construction Revisited: Pragmatic Ambiguity and Dual Syntactic Positions

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Abstract:

In this article, we re-examine the issue of the landing site of fronted noun phrases in inverse copular constructions exemplified by *the best golfer is Tiger Woods*, which shares its base structure with *Tiger Woods is the best golfer*. What is at issue is whether *the best golfer* in the first sentence moves to Spec,CP or Spec,TP. Using an analysis of specificational nominals developed by Nishiyama (2003, 2000), we argue that English specificational sentences also have two readings, the D-reading and the R-reading, which account for past debates regarding the landing site of inverse nominals. We argue that both Spec,CP (and ultimately FocP) and Spec,TP are available to the inverted nominal, depending on the reading. We then extend this analysis to Japanese and consider apparent counterevidence from Mikkelsen's (2005) analysis of Danish. Finally, we draw important parallels between inverted copular sentences and the two types of specificational pseudoclefts discussed in Den Dikken, Meinunger, & Wilder (2000).

1. Introduction

Since the widely-cited work on inverse copular structures by Heggie (1988a), there has been

considerable controversy on the structure. Among the remarks in this debate, the most prominent critique is that the landing site of the inverse NP must be some location other than Spec,CP; in particular, see Moro (1997), Mikkelsen (2005) along with the cited literature therein. In reply, this paper attempts to reappraise the merits of the Spec,CP hypothesis. We will argue that certain ambiguities of specificational sentences influence the syntactic landing sites of inverse nominals.

The often-made criticism toward Heggie's (1988a) analysis is concerned with the following data in (1) below. The problem is that if *the best man* were in Spec,CP in (1), both sentences should be ungrammatical due to the requisite syntactic positions of *is* and *that* .

(1) (a) Is [the best man] John?[1]

(b) I know that [the best man] is John.

As we will see in section 2, *the best man* is in fact semantically ambiguous, having two possible readings and, accordingly, may occupy either Spec,CP or Spec,TP in (2) below.

(2) The best man is John.

In this paper, we argue that the sentences in (1) are the result of the case where *the best man* is in Spec,TP. Below, we will consider the readings of the sentence in (2) that influence the syntactic positions of *the best man*: either Spec,CP or Spec,TP, relying upon an original insight by Nishiyama (2003; 2009), whose analysis is for counterpart sentences in Japanese.

2. The Two Readings of Nishiyama (2003)

Nishiyama (2003: 354-355) explains that inverse copular structures in Japanese, in general,

are designated by the form '[$_{Clause}$ …] na no wa [$_{NP}$ …] da', exemplified by the following.[2]

(3) Shyopan konkuuru de yuushoo-shi-ta no wa ano otoko da
Chopin concours at win-do-PAST COMP/Formal NP TOP that man COP
'The winner of the Chopin concours is that man.'[3]

Putting aside the possible predicational reading of "[$_{Clause}$ …] na no wa [$_{NP}$ …] da" (Nishiyama Ibid: 181, fn. 13), we will concentrate our discussion on the specificational interpretation attributed to these inverse structures, which can be classified into two readings.

The first is the concealed question reading, "who won the Chopin concours? Answer: X did". This reading would correspond to den Dikken et al.'s (2000) question-answer pair list reading for specificational pseudoclefts (SPC), Type A in their terminology.[4] Nishiyama (ibid: p. 354-355) suggests that, on this reading, *no* is a complementiser and that there is a subject-predicate relation between *yuushoo-suru* and *ano otoko* (i.e. across *no*).[5]

The second reading identified by Nishiyama is when *no* is identified as a formal nominal. This reading is paraphrased as follows, following a suggestion of Nishiyama.

(4) Shyopan konkuuru de yuushoo-shi-ta mono/yatsu/hito wa ano otoko da
Chopin concour at win-do-PAST person/bloke/person TOP that man COP

Thus, as Nishiyama suggests, in (4) above, the subject-predicate relation this time is not between *yuushoo-suru* and *ano otoko* but between *yuushoo-suru* and *mono/yatsu/hito*. Given the exchangeability of *mono/yatsu/hito* with *no* here, we surmise that Nishiyama posits the same predication relation in (3) as well. On our understanding, there is a ban on the subject-predicate relation across a formal noun, in contrast to the complementiser.[6]

Nishiyama observes that although the specificational reading of "[$_{Clause}$ …] na no wa [$_{NP}$ …] da" is ambiguous between the two readings above, there is little substantial difference in meaning between them and they "seem to be equivalent at least in terms of truth conditions" (Nishiyama 2003: 355). This point captures the well-known fact that utterances may be propositionally equivalent but informationally or pragmatically distinct. Consider the clear contrast below.

(5) (a) Claudia baked Andrew an apple pie.

(b) For Andrew, Claudia baked an apple pie.

The two sentences share the same truth conditions but (5a) does not necessarily entail the meaning that Claudia baked an apple pie especially for Andrew, whereas (5b) does.

With Nishiyama's two interpretations in mind, the first reading of the sentence in (3) is the one that results in the exploitation of the Spec,CP position for the inverted NP. This reading accesses the concealed question reading of Nishiyama, "who is the best man?—the best man is…". In this approach, *the best man* indicates the interpretation [for x: the best man (x)] whose variable X is to be satisfied by *John* (cf. Nishiyama 2003). In this case, the pre-copular and post-copular constituents are in a very close relation and are not the result of entirely separated parts incidentally combined by the copula (cf. Nishiyama 2003). For current purposes, we will call this reading the "Discourse reading", or "D-reading", since it includes discourse factors in its heuristics; i.e., the D-reading suggests a discourse topic that corresponds to the question-answer[7]. We will return to this issue in a later section.

The second reading of (3) is the one that results in the inverted NP landing in the Spec,TP position. This reading is specificational like the D-reading, but the difference lies in the meaning of the precopular NP, which is "the person who is the best man is X", following

Nishiyama's (2003; 2009) suggestion based on Japanese specificational sentences. Since "the person who is the best man is X" contains a relative clause, we will call this reading the "Relative reading", or "R-reading".

Adopting Nishiyama's (2003) framework, we argue that in both D- and R- readings, *the best man* is non-referential by the definition of NP Involving Variables (NPIV) (Nishiyama 2003), and that *the best man* in both D- and R-readings has a variable (e.g. [for X: the best man (X)]) whose variables are to be satisfied by referential NPs in post-copular positions (i.e. *John*).[8] This definition requires then, that, whereas *the thing* is indeed referential, the NPIV *the thing that is X*, is not referential by definition of the NPIV. Parallel to the treatment of Japanese counterpart sentences in Nishiyama (2003), the D- and R-readings share the same truth conditions, but are nevertheless sufficiently different to create ambiguity in the interpretation of the sentences in (2).

In the present paper, we argue that this particular ambiguity results in two possible landing sites, Spec,CP and Spec,TP. By definition then, the sentences in (1) must both represent R-readings, such that the inverted NPs are in Spec,TP, allowing Subject-Auxiliary Inversion and sentential embedding.

The question of whether the Japanese structure and the English counterpart above are genuine syntactic counterparts remains, but the point we wish to make here is that the ambiguity that Nishiyama (ibid.) raises is real for native speakers of Japanese, and that this kind of ambiguity is worth exploring in English inverse copular structures. Thus, if the tentative proposal regarding the syntactic correspondence between Japanese and English should turn out to be incorrect, there would be still an interesting argument to be made. The syntactic correspondence between the two languages is a tentative working hypothesis, as the focus here is on the semantic/pragmatic ambiguity of the sentence.

3. Uniform Analysis of the Specificational Pseudocleft and Inverse Copular Structure

Interestingly, the structures for specificational pseudoclefts and inverse copular sentences developed in den Dikken, Meinunger & Wilder (2000) and den Dikken (2006) seem to be compatible with Nishiyama's two readings, what we are calling the D- and R- readings.

Den Dikken (2006: section 4.2.2.1 and chapter 4 appendix, in particular, p. 158) concludes that common specificational pseudoclefts, what they calls "Type B", have an inverted free relative clause in the pre-copular position. We would like to create a parallel of this free relative, *what John ate*, with the R-reading *the thing that he ate*, as in the following specificational sentence in (6b).

(6) (a) That apple is what John ate .

(b) What John ate is that apple.

As den Dikken (2006: 158) acknowledges, this inversion analysis of common specificational pseudoclefts above is based on Heggie (1988a), who argued that the wh-phrase that is a free relative clause base-generates in the predicate of a small clause and then subsequently moves to the pre-copular position. Notice that Heggie's (ibid.) original proposal is that the landing site of the free relative clause is Spec,CP whereas den Dikken, Meinunger & Wilder (2000) places this constituent in Spec,TP. Despite the landing site issue, the spirit of Heggie (1988a) concerning the inversion of the predicate of the small clause remains visible in den Dikken et al.'s (ibid.) analysis.[9]

"Type B" pseudoclefts are thus made up of the free relative clause plus the other components. The free relative clause, as they correctly argue, is different from a question; it comprises *The thing that….*, for instance. Thus, den Dikken et al.'s "Type B" seems to correspond to our R-reading, which is based on Nishiyama's (2003) free relative reading.

Here we have a uniform comprehension of the two constructions' (i.e. the inverse copular structure and the specificational speudocleft) two readings (our D-reading, which corresponds to den Dikken et al.'s "Type A", and our R-reading, which corresponds to their "Type B". Notice, however, that our position departs from den Dikken et al. in that we posit two readings over each and every sentence whereas den Dikken et al. treat some sentences as "Type A" and others, "Type B".

Next, let us consider the consistency between what den Dikken et al. (2000) calls "Type A" specificational pseudoclefts, illustrated in (7a) below, and the inverse copular structure, which den Dikken (2006: chapter 4) discusses as in (7b) below.

(7) (a) [What Brian is] is (Brian/he is) an excellent doctor.

(b) An excellent doctor is Brian. (den Dikken 2006: 153)

As den Dikken et al. (2000) argues convincingly, the question and answer pair reading of specificational pseudoclefts allows the reduplication of the subject and the verb in the zone of the post-copular position, i.e., *Brian/he is*, although as they acknowledge the acceptability of such sentences are subject to speakers' variations. Den Dikken et al. (ibid.) argues that this question and answer pair is projected into a Topic-Comment structure, namely, Topic Phrase. In a similar vein, den Dikken (2006) suggests that the inverse copular structure in (7b) also has a question and answer (i.e. Topic-Comment) information structure and that the fronted nominal is consequently also projected into Topic Phrase. More precisely, the fronted nominal is base-generated in Spec,TopP in the analysis of den Dikken (2006).

To sum up the argument so far, within the framework of den Dikken et al. (2000) and den Dikken (2006), specificational pseudoclefts such as in (8) below are ambiguous between two readings, "Type A" and "Type B", whereas the inverse copular structure is not: the fronted

nominal in sentences like (9a) have a reduced free relative clause (wh-phrase) interpretation but sentences like (9b) have a concealed question reading (wh-phrase).

(8) What the best doctor is is Brian.

(9) (a) The best doctor is Brian.

(b) An excellent doctor is Brian (den Dikken 2006: 153)

This state of affairs is summarised in the Table 1 below.

(10) Table 1: (Classification by den Dikken et al. (2000) and den Dikken (2006)

Pre-copular Constituent	**Free Relative**	**Question**
Inverse Copular Structure	*The culprit is John*.	*An excellent doctor is Brian*. (den Dikken 2006: 153)
Specificational Pseudoclefts	*What John ate is an apple*.	*What John ate is an apple*.

Here the question remains, however, as to whether the common inverse copular structure in (9a) may also be ambiguous in precisely the same way as the specificational pseudocleft in (8). This theoretical inquiry is exactly what we attempt to elucidate in the present article. Recall that we argue that (9a) has two pragmatic readings: the D-reading (the pre-copular phrase parallels a question) and the R-reading (the pre-copular phrase contains a free relative clause meaning *the thing/person/… is*). If we follow this classification, the table 1 can now be updated as follows.

(11) Table 2: (Classification by our R- and D-Readings)

Pre-copular Constituent	**Free Relative (=R-reading)**	**Question(=D-reading)**
Inverse Copular Structure	*The culprit is John.*	***The culprit is John*** *An excellent doctor is Brian.*
Specificational Pseudoclefts	*What John ate is an apple.*	*What John ate is an apple.*

In the present article we argue that just as the specificational pseudocleft structure is ambiguous between the two readings "Type A" and "Type B", so is the inverse copular structure ambiguous between two readings, the D-reading and the R-reading.

Turning now to more specific data, we will explore the repercussions of this hypothesis.

4. *Wh*-Questions and D-Readings

Hatakeyama's (1997) proposal captures inverse copular constructions in the following manner, *the culprit* being the "predicate nominal" and *John*, the "subject nominal".

(12) (a) John is the culprit.

(b) The culprit is John.

(13) $[_{CP}$ The culprit$_i$ $[_{C'}$ is$_j$ $[_{TP}$ John$_k$ $[_{T'}$ t_j $[_{VP}$ t_k $[_{V'}$ t_j $t_i]]]]]]$

On his hypothesis, the predicate nominal moves from a VP-internal position to Spec,CP, the copula moves to C^0 and the subject nominal moves to Spec,IP (Spec,TP above), an analysis parallel to Heggie (1988a) in the landing sites for inverse and subject NPs, although Hatakeyama (ibid.) does not cite Heggie (ibid.). One particularly useful piece of data in Hatakeyama (1997: 45), ascribed to an anonymous reviewer, is in (14).

(15) (a) How often is John the problem?

(b) *How often is the problem John? [(a), (b): from Hatakeyama (1997)]

(c) *How often is the problem the man with a mustache? [(c): our sentence]

These data can be given a straightforward account if the predicate nominal *the problem* is located in Spec,CP, the syntactic location for the D-reading. In the context of (15b, c), it is reasonable to suppose that, due to the temporal adverb, *the problem* here refers to a discourse topic encompassing several recurrent problems in differing circumstances, as in *what is the problem?*, and not *the thing/person that is the problem*. Thus, if only the D-reading is available for this sentence, we can posit further support for this analysis.

Further syntactic evidence can be found in the following contrast, discussed in Moro (1994) and Hatakeyama (1997).

(16) (a) Which picture do you think is the cause of the problem?

(b) *Which picture do you think the cause of the problem is?

If we assume that the information pattern of *wh*-questions creates question-answer pairs, that is, a D-reading, then the ungrammaticality of (16b) has a straightforward account: the source of the problem is in Spec,CP functioning as an island. While "the cause" is an abstract entity, not a physical one, note that the question remains whether *the cause of XP* in *the cause of XP is YP* can be read as "the thing/person/…that is the cause of XP". Supposing that such a reading is available, it should then be possible for *the cause of the problem* in (16b) to be in Spec,TP because of the R-reading. Even if this scenario is possible, the ungrammaticality of (16b) is accounted for in the following way: recall that the pre-copular phrase is a reduced free relative (cf. den Dikken 2006) when the R-reading occurs. In this situation, den Dikken's (ibid.) observation obtains that "in specificational pseudoclefts in which the free relative is in pre-copular position, A'-extraction of the post-copular constituent fails" (p. 74).

5. The Nature of Tag Questions and D-Readings

As has become apparent, there needs to be stronger methods for separating the D-reading from the R-reading. In this section, we argue that ambiguous inverse copular structures can be disambiguated by looking at facts involving tag questions.

Recall that, as Nishiyama (2003) correctly emphasizes, an NPIV is by definition non-referential; any NP (or constituent) that includes a variable is *a priori* non-referential. Our hypothesis is that the pre-copular NPs in both D- and R-readings are NPIVs. If this is indeed the case, it follows that they are non-referential. Supporting evidence can be found in sentences such as in (17) below.

(17) (a) [The person who is the best doctor]$_i$ is John, isn't it$_i$ /??he$_i$ /??she$_i$?

(b) [The girl who caused trouble]$_i$ wasn't Mary. {It$_i$/*she$_i$} was Jane.[10]

(c) [The girl who caused trouble] is angry, isn't she/*it?

In (17a), the tag must be associated with *it*, not with an animate pronoun. In (17b), the pronoun that is co-indexed with *the girl who causes the trouble* is again *it*, not an animate pronoun. Thus, whether we have a D-reading or an R-reading, the facts for anaphora with inverted copular sentences support the argument that the pre-copular nominal is a non-referential NPIV. Note that in (17c), a canonical predication structure, a subject NP identical to the NPIV in (17b) triggers anaphora with an animate pronoun as expected.

Now consider the following data where the pronoun of the tag question is used to help disambiguate the various readings.

(18) (a) Mary$_i$ is [the cause of the problem]$_j$, isn't she$_i$/*isn't it$_j$?

(b) [The cause of the problem]$_i$ is Mary$_j$, isn't it$_i$/*isn't she$_j$?

Whereas (18a) shows that the animate pronoun is associated with a referential NP, in (18b), *The cause of the problem* tests as non-referential and thus corresponds to *it*, presumably because of its status as an NPIV. In (18b), we thus have a specificational sentence with potential D- or R-readings, asking *what is the cause of the problem?* or *the person/thing that is the cause.*

Turning more specifically to the nature of tag questions in this context, we focus upon defending the Spec,CP-landing-site hypothesis by raising some additional pieces of empirical evidence to Heggie (1988a) and Hatakeyama (1997). It is generally accepted that, although tag questions most often target the matrix verb and its subject, they may at times reflect a verb that is syntactically embedded (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 893). For example, it is possible to interpret *isn't he* in (19b) below as reflecting the verb *is* within the embedded clause.

(19) (a) We all know that John is a criminal, don't we?

(b) We all know that John is a criminal, isn't he?

With this in mind, let us consider the contrast in (20) below and the subsequent data in (21).[11]

(20) (a) John$_i$ is [the culprit]$_j$, {isn't he$_i$/*isn't it$_j$}?

(b) [The culprit]$_j$ is John$_i$, {*isn't he$_i$/isn't it$_j$}?

Note that in (20a), *John* is referential and requires a referential tag with *he.* When the reading of *the culprit* is non-referential and an NPIV, the sentence in (20b) is grammatical only with *isn't it*, and not with *isn't he*. By way of contrast, the following data provides an interesting

implication.

(21) (a) We$_k$ all know that [John$_j$ is [the culprit]$_i$, **{***isn't it$_i$/isn't he$_j$/don't we$_k$}]?

(b) We$_k$ all know that [[the culprit]$_i$ is John$_j$, **{*?**isn't it$_i$/*isn't he$_j$/don't we$_k$}]?

In non-embedded circumstances, *isn't it*, as in (20b), is possible, but in (21b), when the tag is associated with an embedded, specificational subject, it is not. Also, the predicational-reading does not seem possible because of the ungrammaticality of *isn't he* in (21b). In contrast, the sentence in (21a) is grammatical with *isn't he*, associated with *John*, and the tag *isn't it* in (21b) is ungrammatical, or at best marginal, in this embedded context. One of the many possibilities of accounting for this last fact in (21b) — although not entirely conclusive — is that *the culprit* is in Spec,CP and therefore clashes with the ordering of the complementiser *that.* If this analysis is correct, the D-reading seems to not be available in embedded contexts.

One potential counterargument against the hypothesis that D-readings are impossible due to the unavailability of the Spec,CP for *the culpit* is found in embedded contexts where, assuming the existence of CP-Recursion (cf. Watanabe 1992) or the Split-CP analysis (cf. Rizzi 1997), Spec,CP should indeed be available for the D-reading.[12] For instance, the following sentence is grammatical with focalisation in the embedded sentence.

(22) I think that at no time would she have considered doing anything like that.

(Anonymous reviewer in Abeille & Borsley 2008: 1143, fn.4)

The problem is that, on the assumption that *the culprit* in (21b) is in Spec,CP, the marginality of (21b) with *isn't it* (i.e. *?*We all know that the culprit is John, isn't it*) indicates that CP-recursion cannot save the sentence.[13] If CP-recursion were a viable structure, this sentence

should be (to some extent or fully) grammatical, just like its non-embedded counterpart in (20b).[14] The same logic holds for the Split-CP hypothesis.

A similar situation holds for R-readings: if the R-reading (*the culprit* in Spec,TP) were possible in (21b), the sentence should be grammatical insofar as this sentence is concerned. Note first, however, that we are not claiming a general ban on tag questions with R-readings. It is possible to make a tag question where the R-reading is available.

(23) (a) [The man who reviewed this paper]$_i$ was John, wasn't it$_i$?

(b) [The thing that is in the box] is an apple, isn't it?

These sentences are unambiguous, only allowing the R-reading, presumably because the syntactic structure of *the thing/man… is…* forces the sentences to have only R-readings. In contrast, regarding the earlier sentence in (20b), the D-reading seems to take priority because (20b) is an ambiguous sentence with the possibilities of a D-reading and an R-reading, with the tag question creating a self-confirmation, i.e. question-answer information structure. In (23a,b), which are not ambiguous by virtue of the R-reading structure of *the person who/the thing that* …., the D-reading cannot take priority. In sum, a question-answer information structure favours the creation of the D-reading only when a sentence in ambiguous; a structurally disambiguated sentence like (23) only has one of the two readings. That is, information structure helps one reading take priority over the other only in ambiguous sentences, without changing the truth conditions being held for the two readings.

Returning to the question of (21b), notice that the tag question seems to give priority to the D-reading over the R-reading in this context. A possible explanation is the following. We could hypothesize that, because of the information structure introduced by the tag question, the D-reading takes priority over the R-reading before *the culprit is John, isn't it* is embedded.

The D-reading is then barred due to the syntactic implausibility of the embedding, i.e., *the culprit* in Spec,CP, and *that* in C^0.

The possibility that *the culprit* in (21b) with *isn't it?* is in Spec,CP is enhanced by the parallelism with other structures. As suggested in section 2, our D-reading specificational sentence seems to be parallel to den Dikken et al.'s (2000) "Type A" specificational pseudocleft, if we assume that the inverse copular structure is a reduced specificational sentence with a *wh*-phrase phonologically deleted (cf. den Dikken 2006). Den Dikken (2006: 158) also suggests that "sentences such as *a big problem is the fascist propaganda* are like 'Type A' SPCs'", which we will discuss subsequently. The embedded "Type A" specificational pseudocleft, of den Dikken et al. (2000) is argued to be marginal "in non-bridge contexts" (see den Dikken's 2006: 157). The marginality of (21b) with *isn't it* suggests a parallelism among (A) our D-reading specificational sentence, (B) den Dikken et al's "Type A" specificational pseudocleft, and (C) sentences like *A big problem is the fascist propaganda*. Two independent questions regarding (i) why (A), (B), and (C), are marginal and (ii) why they are marginal only in "non-bridge contexts" will remain open questions. Den Dikken et al. (2000) and den Dikken (2006) offer no immediate solution but the parallelism across (A)-(C) is robust. The parallelism of (C) with (A) and (B) raises the plausibility that *the culprit* in (14b) with *isn't it* is in Spec,CP, or perhaps even Spec,TopP. We will return to this issue subsequently.

In this section, we have remained suggestive about two points: in a main clause like (20b), a tag question associated with the D-reading of the NPIV is possible, but it is not available in an embedded clause, such as in (21b). If this suggestion can be upheld, the presence of a tag question (by virtue of the information structure that it creates) appears to collapse the ambiguous readings into one reading: the D-reading, in this case.

6. The NPIV and Reference

As we confirmed, in general, the NPIV is non-referential by definition (Nishiyama 2003), even in the R-reading. However, there are cases where the NPIV can be interpreted as referential (Nishiyama 2000).[15] Nishiyama (2000) argues that there are two mental spaces in this kind of NPIV, and in one mental space the NPIV is referential whereas in the other mental space it is non-referential. His example is as follows: if a witness already knows the appearance of the culprit, then *the culprit* is referential in the witness' mental space, but in the mental space of the several photos from which the witness has to choose one culprit's photo, *the culprit* is not referential. In this case, *the culprit* is referential in one mental space but non-referential in the other.

This type of reading by Nishiyama (2000) is only applicable to the R-reading of this paper. The D-reading cannot refer to anything in any mental space because a question is not a physical entity; in contrast, the *thing/person/…* can refer to something at least in one mental space.

As we confirmed in (17a, b), the tag *it* indicates that it is co-indexed with a non-referential NPIV. An animate pronoun can only be associated with a referential NP.

(24) (a) [The culprit$_j$ who did this]$_i$ was John, wasn't it$_i$/*wasn't he$_j$?

(b) [The culprit$_j$ ~~who did this~~]$_i$ was John, wasn't it$_i$/??wasn't he$_j$?

The sentence above shows that *the culprit* can be interpreted as minimally referential, and *the culprit who did this* is non-referential. If we adopt Nishiyama's (2000) second specificational reading, *the man* is referential in one mental space, and the man who did this is non-referential. Consider the example of Nishiyama (ibid.) we referred to earlier: suppose that an eyewitness already knows the physical appearance of a culprit and is given several photos and

asked which photograph shows the culprit. In this example, in the eyewitness's mind (mental space), *the culprit* is referential in that s/he may know that the culprit is male with a certain appearance but in the mental space provided by the several photos before the witness, *the culprit* is non-referential and an NPIV until a choice is made among the photos.

Turning to another example, there is a difference between *the best man* (in the context of a wedding) and *the best man for the job* in terms of potential referentiality. Whereas *the best man for the job* cannot be referential in any mental space, *the best man* might be referential in one mental space (but also be non-referential in another mental space). This state of affairs can be given empirical support in the following way.

(25) (a) I think that the best man/the best man for the job/*?an excellent doctor is John Smith.

(b) I wonder whether the best man/?the best man for the job/*an excellent doctor is John Smith.

(c) How often is the problem the best man/*the best man for the job/*an excellent doctor?

(d) The problem is the best man/*the best man for the job/*an excellent doctor.

The awkwardness or ungrammaticality of *the best man for the job* shows that it may be in Spec,CP, the whole sentence resulting in being ungrammatical or awkward. However, the grammaticality of *the best man* indicates that it is in Spec,TP, making the sentences grammatical. The fact that *the best man for the job* is grammatical in (25a) suggests that the R-reading is available with bridge verbs. Also, the awkwardness or ungrammaticality of *an excellent doctor* in (25) suggests that it is in Spec, CP. We will return to this issue later.

The assumption that *the best man* is in Spec,TP is compatible with our argument that *the*

best man can be referential in one mental and non-referential in another. We may conjecture that an NP that is referential in at least one mental space is attracted to Spec,TP, not Spec,CP in order to gain Case and be minimally visible. We thus have a situation where a non-referential, predicative nominal may become visible in Spec,TP with the assignment of Case. We will return to this issue later.

The implication of the discussion thus far can be captured in the following way. A pre-copular NP that is referential in at least one mental space should posited in Spec,TP. Only a pre-copular NP that is non-referential in any and all possible mental spaces can be posited in Spec,CP.

6.1. Japanese Inverse Copular Structures[16]

6.1.1. Referential NP with *Ga* in Spec,TP

While the pragmatic ambiguity between R-readings and D-readings in English inverse copular sentences offers a great deal of opacity in terms of syntactic positions, Japanese contains explicit morpho-syntactic markers that are helpful in the disambiguation of readings: NP-*ga* in Spec,TP and NP-*wa* in Spec,CP (cf. Hatakeyama 2004). In this section, we argue that NP-*ga* in Spec,TP corresponds to the R-reading, which has a free relative clause in Spec,TP, whereas NP-*wa* in Spe,CP corresponds to the D-reading, which has a *wh*-question clause in Spec,CP.

Amano (1995a: 7) succinctly summarises that (26a) below is semantically equivalent to (26b) below. Following customary terminology, Amano (ibid.) tentatively calls (26a) a Specificational Sentence, and (26b), an Inverse Specificational Sentence.[17]

(26) (a) A ga B da

NOM COP

(b) B wa A da

TOP COP

Amano (ibid.) considers the meaning of the two sentences above to be “Which/What is B? –It is A .” In previous sections, we have treated B in (26b) as an NPIV, following Nishiyama (2003). Therefore, in (26a) B is an NPIV, given the semantic equivalence between (26a) and (26b), as Amano (ibid.) also argues.

Amano (ibid., p. 8) also successfully argues that A is a “Presupposition NP”, because B stands for a proposition that “X is B”, where X’s value is specified by (the referent of) A. She also calls A a “Focus NP”, because A serves as an answer to the question that is indicated by the proposition “X is B”. If we borrow the terminology of Nishiayama (2003), B is an NPIV as we noted earlier.[18]

However, Amano argues that, as opposed to the generally accepted position immediately above, it is possible to posit that in “A ga B da”, B is an “Presupposition NP” and A is a “Focus NP”. In this case, A is an NPIV (Amano ibid., p. 11). Amano (ibid.) carefully argues that even the same sentence can be interpreted differently, and that it is the whole context that determines how the semantics of the sentence in terms of the information structure will pattern following the above. Consider her example below (Amano ibid., p. 14) with the glosses and the translations added.

(27) Speaker A: Dare ga Heean-jidai no kajin desu ka?

Who NOM Heean-Peiod POSS poet COP Q

‘Who is a poet of the Heean Period?’

Speaker B: Tato-eba Murasakishikibu ga, Heean-jidai no kajin desu.

For-example, Murasakishibu NOM, Heean-Period POSS poet COP

‘For example, Musakishikibu is a poet of the Heean Period.’

In her example above, the implication of her explanation would be that B (*Heean-jidai no kajin*) is an NPIV, whose value X is specified by the referent of A (Murasakishibu, a famous poet in the Heean Period). As she correctly explains, the marker indicating “for example” in front of B (*Murasakishikibu*) shows that the referent of B specifies the value X of [X ga A da].

In addition to Amano’s deep insight, in the present article we argue as follows. In (27), *Murasakishikibu* is a referential NP (a proper NP) in one mental space (i.e. our world knowledge, specifically the knowledge of the Japanese literature and history), but it should also be non-referential in another mental space (i.e., the domain of the specific question in the context of (27)). In other words, in this circumstance specifically, B (i.e. *Murasakishikibu* in (27)) in “B ga A da” is a referential NP. Thus, given that NP-ga is generally in Spec,TP, this B is in Spec,TP. Now we have reached the conclusion that, in Japanese (Inverse) Specificational Sentences, there is a referential NPIV in Spec,TP. This would correspond to the R-reading in English inverse copula sentences.

6.1.2. Non-Referential NP with *Wa* in Spec,CP

In other cases, the general position is that NP-*wa* sits in Spec,CP. Given the present analysis, it seems plausible to posit that a non-referential NPIV be located with -*wa* in Spec,CP. Since -*wa* generally denotes a Topic, and NP with -*wa* is in Spec,TopP or Spec, CP, this would correspond to the D-reading in the English inverse copular structure. We will revisit this issue subsequently.

An alternate analysis has been suggested by Kishimoto (2012), who claims that -*wa* in the Specificational Sentence is attached to the NP in Spec,TP. Kishimoto (ibid, p. 56, fn. 10) himself admits, however, that Topic is above TP, referring to Kishimoto (2009), but he also

claims that, because an NP that functions as a subject appears in Spec,TP, an NP that is marked by *-wa* also appears in Spec,TP. In other words, he merely stipulates that the subject NP with *-wa* appears in Spec,TP, ignoring the topic property of *-wa* by prioritizing Spec,TP as the position for subjects. Were this stipulation correct, it would falsely predict that *-ga* and *-wa* are complementary as far as their distribution in the subject position, namely, Spec,TP, is concerned. However, this is implausible as the facts do not bear this out.

Assuming that NP-*wa* is in Spec,CP, consider an alternative proposal by Hasegawa (1996; 1997), who attempts to move the inverted nominal to Spec,TopP on the basis of the insight of Heggie's (1988a) analysis of English sentences. More specifically, Hasegawa (1996; 1997) argues that the sentence in (28a) below derives the sentence in (28b).

(28) (a) Yuusyoosya-wa Hanako da
winner -Top Hanako Cop
'The winner is Hanako,'
(b) Hanako-ga yuusyoosya da.
(Hasegawa 1996: 10)

In the present article we support this Topicalisation analysis by Hasegawa (ibid) and attempt to further refine it with the utilisation of FinP (cf. Haegemen 1996; Rizzi 1997; Branigan 2005; Cardinaletti 2009; Haegeman 2012; Radford & Iwasaki 2013) and the Relator Phrase of den Dikken (2006).[19] Before presenting such an elaborated analysis, let us review Nishiyama's (2003) remarks on Hasegawa (ibid).

The main thrust of Nishiyama's (2003) argument is that the specificational sentence's *-wa* is not the realisation of a Topic, because the nominal that is attached to *-wa* in the specificational pseudocleft is an NPIV, and hence is *a priori* non-referential. Thus, Nishiyama

(2003) critiques Hasegawa's (1996; 1997) derivation of the specificational sentence (28a)

Hasegawa's derivation is that, in (28b), *yuusyoosya* moves to Spec,TopP with *-wa* attached to the nominal there. The following is (Nishiyama's summary of) Hasegawa's (1997: 2) derivation, with some notational modification.

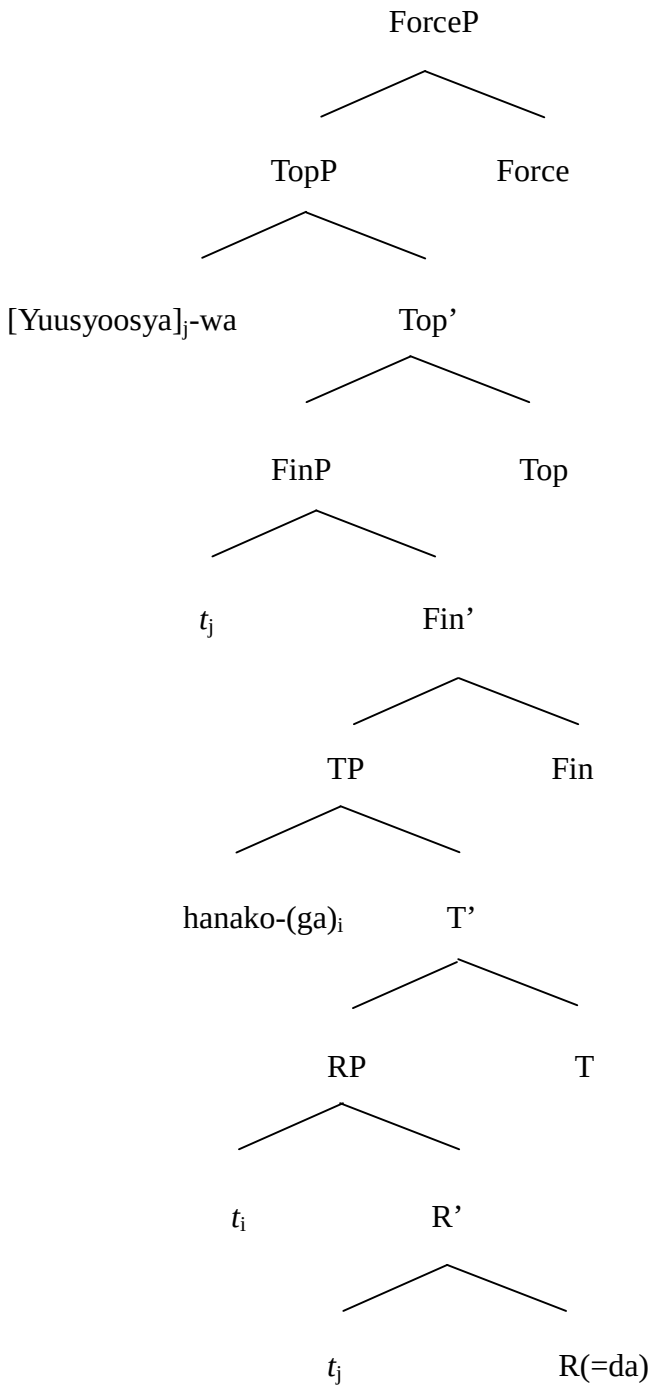
(29) $[_{TopP}$ [Yuusyoosya]$_j$-wa Top^0 $[_{TP}$ hanako-(ga)$_i$ $[_{SC}$ t_i $t_j]$ da T$^0]$ Top$^0]$

Nishiyama (2003) critiques Hasegawa's derivation above on the grounds that the topicalised nominal is an NPIV and is by definition (i.e. because of the nature of the proposition function) non-referential, and that, *a priori,* such a non-referential NP cannot be a topic, i.e. cannot move to Spec,TopP in this instance.[20]

Nishiyama further criticizes Hasegawa's derivation on the grounds that *Hanako-ga da* has *da* attached to the edge of the clause (i.e. the right periphery in Japanese). If such an operation is necessary, it results in a situation where *da* in a Specificational Sentence like (29) is attached in a 'very ad hoc' manner (ibid., p. 385). We would like to respond to these two remarks by Nishiyama (ibid).

By utilising a FinP analysis and den Dikken's Relator Phrase, we can now refine Hasegawa's derivation of the inverse copular structure in Japanese. It seems possible to revise Hasegawa's movement analysis, while maintaining her main argument. The proposed structure results from the following movements: *Hanako* raises from the small clause (specifically. Spec,RP) to Spec,TP. *Yuusyoosya* then moves from the small clause (specifically, the complement of RP) through Spec,FinP to Spec,TopP. Notice that this small clause is made up of den Dikken's (2006) Relator Phrase, which distinguishes our analysis from Hasegawa's (1997; 1998). The resulting structure is given in (30) below.

(30)



The derivation in (30) represents the Japanese counterpart to the English D-reading. If we assume that *-wa* represents the concepts of a “Cleft” and “Linking” (Nishiyama 2003 [his original uses the terminology ‘nibun ketsugo’]), the TopP above might be replaced with a FocP, with the rest of the structure remaining untouched.

If we assume that the Relator Phrase is a Copula Phrase here, because the Relator Phrase

represents a subject-predicate relation, then it may be possible to hypothesise that *da* is the lexicalisation of R^0. This provides a response to Nishiyama's critique that the attachment of the clause-final *da* in the process of Hasegawa's (1997; 1998) derivation is 'very ad hoc'; the lexicalisation of the head of the projection that is relevant to the subject-predicate relation is, on the other hand, not ad hoc (see den Dikken (2006) other instances of such lexicalisations.)

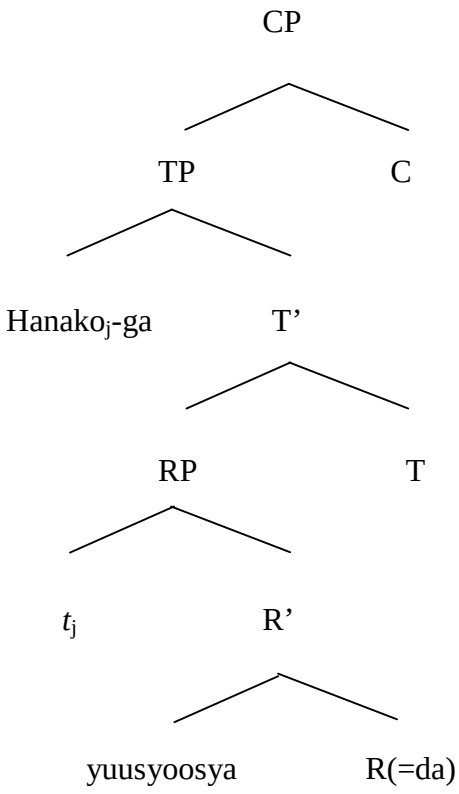
Notice that the base-generation of a small clause can be identified by the following test. Kishimoto (2012: 50) argues that the grammaticality of the "tested sentence + ni kiko-eru" indicates a small clause. Adopting this test, we can show that the relevant constituent is a small clause.

(31) (Sonna koto wo iuto) Hanako-ga yuusyoosya ni kiko-eru
That thing ACC say Hanako-NOM winner DAT sound
'If you say such a thing, it sounds as if Hanako is a winner.'

The grammaticality of (31) above supports the small clause analysis posited in (30).

In contrast, the derivation of "B ga A(=NPIV) da" would result in the following, with B-ga sitting in Spec,TP and A sitting in RP; the rest of the derivational process is the same as the derivation of "B(=NPIV) wa A da".

(32)



To summarize our discussion to this point, based on the understanding that predicate nominals are indeed NPIVs, following Nishiyama (2000), we have offered an analysis of copular sentences in Japanese that negotiates past analyses into unique structures, based on the utilisation of FinP (cf. Haegemen 1996; Rizzi 1997; Branigan 2005; Cardinaletti 2009; Haegeman 2012; Radford & Iwasaki 2013) and the Relator Phrase of den Dikken (2006).

7. Mikkelsen (2005) and R-Readings

We turn our attention now to copular sentences in Danish and their potential readings. Mikkelsen (2005) distinguishes two types of inverse copular sentences: specificational, where the pre-copular noun is in Spec,TP, and predicate topicalisation, where the inverted noun phrase is in Spec,CP. She claims that Heggie's (1988b) analysis of inverse copular sentences is appropriate only to the latter sentence-type. Mikkelsen's claim is based on her assumption

that the following in (33) has only one reading, specificational.

(33) Den hØjeste spiller på holdet er Minna
the tallest player on team-DEF is Minna
'The tallest player on the team is Minna.' (Mikklesen 2005: 10-11)

Mikkelsen's claim is that *Den hØjeste spiller* is in Spec,TP (Spec,IP), *er* in T^0 (I^0), and *Minna* is within the VP.

However, if specificational sentences in fact have two readings, the D-reading and the R-reading, then Mikkelsen's syntactic analysis of (33) above as a specificational sentence may only represent the R-reading.

Our remark above is supported by the following negated sentence that Mikkelsen provides (Ibid: p. 23):

(34) Den hØjeste spiller på holdet er ikke {hun/*hende}.
the tallest player on team-DEF is not she/her
'The tallest player on team-DEF isn't her.'

As den Dikken et al. (2000) argue, SPC Type A sentences, with their Topic-Comment type structure, contain concealed questions, and therefore, the matrix copula cannot be negated, or in general modified by an adverb: cf. their (35) as below.

(35) (a) What John isn't is angry with himself.
(b) *What John is isn't angry with himself.

The fact that Mikkelsen's sentence allows negation suggests that her sentence is different from den Dikken et al.'s concealed question type, which parallels the D-reading.

In addition, Mikkelsen's (p. 37) matrix question data below also reveals that her terminology for specificational sentences seems to essentially refer to something different from the D-reading in which the pre-copular nominal embodies the question of a question-answer pair.

(36) Er den hØjeste spiller på holdet ikke Minna
is the tallest player on team-DEF not Minna
'Isn't it the tallest player on the team Minna?'

That is, a question-answer pair should not be able to be embedded in the matrix question because it would trigger a contradiction in information structure. This state of affairs would result in [Question [Question and Answer]] where the sentence is informationally contradictory because the question-answer pair is embedded in the question.[21] It seems then that Mikkelsen's specificational sentences must be targeting the R-reading.

8. Distinguishing D-Readings from R-Readings

So far, we have argued that the inverted NP in copular sentences has two specificational readings: either a D-reading or an R-reading. As long as we limit ourselves to a discussion of the definite NP, we cannot generally avoid this ambiguity. However, there are cases where only one reading is transparently possible.

Let us look at another case where the ambiguity of D- and R-readings does not arise. Den Dikken (2006: Chapter 4 Appendix) suggests that certain specificational sentences have indefinite pre-copular nominals like the following.[22]

(37) (a) An excellent doctor is Brian.

(b) Examples of this are the Vietnam War and the Gulf War. (den Dikken, 2006:91)

Den Dikken (ibid) places the pre-copular indefinite nominal in (37) in Spec,TopP, while in definite-inverted-NP copular structures, he places the inverted NP in Spec,TP (cf. fn.3). Den Dikken (ibid) suggests that the sentences in (37) are parallel to SPC "Type A" sentences in their syntactic behaviour regarding the impossibility of negation and Subject-Aux Inversion. The sentences in (37) are thus unambiguous, allowing only the D-reading; the R-reading is not possible because it is contradictory to posit an indefinite value for the variable of x in 'the thing which is x', given the semantic requirements of the definite descriptor. This state of affairs would result in the ungrammatical '*<u>the</u> thing which is {<u>a</u> cause of .../<u>a</u> best ...}.'

The hypothesized parallelism predicts that the sentences in (37) cannot be embedded, and according to den Dikken (2006: 155-157), these sentences are indeed "marginal" except in the context of bridge verbs (e.g. *?Imogen wonders whether a fine candidate would be Brian* (ibid, p.155)). Den Dikken (ibid) does not clarify why only bridge verbs allow embedding in spite of his Spec,TopP structure. Moreover, for us (the first author's native judgement), even under bridge contexts, embedding is marginal (e.g., *?*I think that an excellent doctor is John Smith*.) This result is compatible with the ungrammaticality/marginality of the D-readings discussed above.

9. Discussion: On the Nature of Focus

Thus far, we have assumed that the NPIV moves to Spec,TopP in the D-reading inverse copular structure in parallelism to the Type A specificational pseudocleft of den Dikken et al. (2000). However, the question remains as to whether the NPIV is actually eligible to move to

Spec,TopP, given the point raised by Nishiyama (2000) against Hasegawa's (1996; 1997) derivation of the Japanese inverse copular structure that a non-referential element cannot be topicalised. This question engenders a much deeper discussion than we have space for but empirically, there has not yet been found any topicalised NPIV, to our knowledge. For instance, the following NP with a variable, while topicalised, makes the relevant interpretation implausible; of course, the sentence is perfectly grammatical if we treat *the culprit* as a referential NP, which is its natural interpretation as an argument of the verb *saw*.

(38) The culprit, John saw (him).

To develop this idea further, in (38), the sentence with *him* is an instance of topicalisation whereas the sentence without a pronoun expresses contrastive focus, or focalisation. The grammaticality of the sentence with *him* indicates the reading where *the culprit* is co-referential, i.e., co-indexed, with *him*, which means that *the culprit* in (38) cannot be an NPIV, because an NPIV cannot co-refer (or be co-indexed) with an animate pronoun; only the pronoun *it* can refer back to an NPIV, as presented earlier. Thus, the sentence in (38) demonstrates the difficulty of creating a topicalisation interpretation for an NPIV. On the basis of the discussion thus far, it thus seems plausible to assume that the NPIV is unable to be in Spec,TopP. Consequently, we now have to consider to which landing site the D-reading of an NPIV in inverse copular structure moves.

One possibility among other candidates in the clause edge is Spec,FocP. Amano (1995b: 4-5) suggests that the NP that specifies the value of the variable is "focus" alongside her observation that the notions of "old information" and "new information" are not precisely determined. This suggestion is compatible with Radford's (2009) explanation that phrases that can move to Spec,FocP are operator expressions that allow negative polarity items.

(39)(a) What sympathy did *any* of the protestors get?

(b) Not a grain of sympathy did *any* of the protestors get.

(Radford 2009) [italics and underline in the original]

Since both operator phrases and NPIVs have variables, and it is the variable (i.e., the element that encompasses a range of possibilities within an appropriate phrase) that makes it possible for the negative polarity item that it c-commands to arise, we should be able to find instances of inverse copular sentences that contain negative polarity items, such as those in (40).

(40) (a) The culprit is any Tom, Dick, or Harry you want to name.

(b) The winner is any person sitting in the front row.

If the argument above is correct, it is hypothesized that the inverted NP of the inverse copular structure lands in Spec,FocP through Spec,FinP as follows, a movement reminiscent of Heggie's (1988) analysis, where focus was the primary motivation for movement.

(41) $[_{FocP}$ [The culprit]$_j$ Foc^0 $[_{FinP}$ $[_{Fin}$ is] $[_{TP}$ John $[_T$ $t_i]$ t_j]]

One frequent critique would be that this is implausible in terms of information structure because "John" is an answer that presents new information. However, the above in (41) is completely parallel to a common main-clause question such as the following.

(42) What/who is John?

Who, as a *wh*-operator, moves to Spec,FocP, creating a structure entirely parallel to (41). A canonical matrix *wh*-question phrase moves a *wh*-constituent to Spec,FocP (cf. Radford 2009). Thus, from this perspective, the structure in (41) is an interesting and viable option.

The hypothesis that an inverted NP in the D-reading of the inverse copular structure moves to Spec,FocP seems to be incompatible, however, with den Dikken et al.'s (2000) argument that the *wh*-constituent of the "Type A" specificational pseudocleft is base-generated in Spec,TopP. One possible way to capture the parallelism between our D-reading analysis of inverse copular structures and den Dikken et al.'s "Type A" specificational pseudocleft would be to enlist a suggestion in Endo & Iwasaki (2013), who argue that there is a null operator that moves to Spec,FocP in den Dikken et al.'s (ibid.) "Type A" specificational pseudocleft. We leave more specific details to future research.

Returning to the question of the plausibility of a focus landing site for NPs with a D-reading, Nishiyama (2003) argues in depth, that *-wa* in Japanese does not represent "focus" but "cleft" and "linking". If this observation is correct, then the movement to Spec,FocP, in lieu of Spec,TopP, is further corroborated on the grounds that the semantics of clefts, *-wa,* is tied to focus phenomena, and not to topics.

This analysis allows us to return to sentences such as **How often is the problem the man with a mustache?* (cf. 15), to confirm that *the problem* in (15) is indeed non-referential. *The problem* in this situation is never referential in any mental space, following the behaviour of other "abstract objects" with "no spatial, temporal, or casual properties" (Katz & Postal 1991). We have argued that a non-referential NPIV with a D-reading moves to Spec,FocP. Thus, the sentence in (15c), given above, is ungrammatical precisely because *the problem* competes for the position of Spec,FocP with *how often*.

One more advantage of the movement to Spec,FocP instead of Spec,TopP is that Foc^0 is a strong head whose feature attracts an auxiliary/copula verb (Radford 2009). To be more

precise, the copula verb moves to Fin^0 when the projection immediately above FinP is FocP. In other words, Fin^0 is, insofar as this case is concerned, *de facto* syncretised with Foc^0 (cf. Rizzi 1997; Radford ibid.). This is compatible with the copula's head-movement in (41). Notice that topicalisation does not induce such an auxiliary/copula inversion.

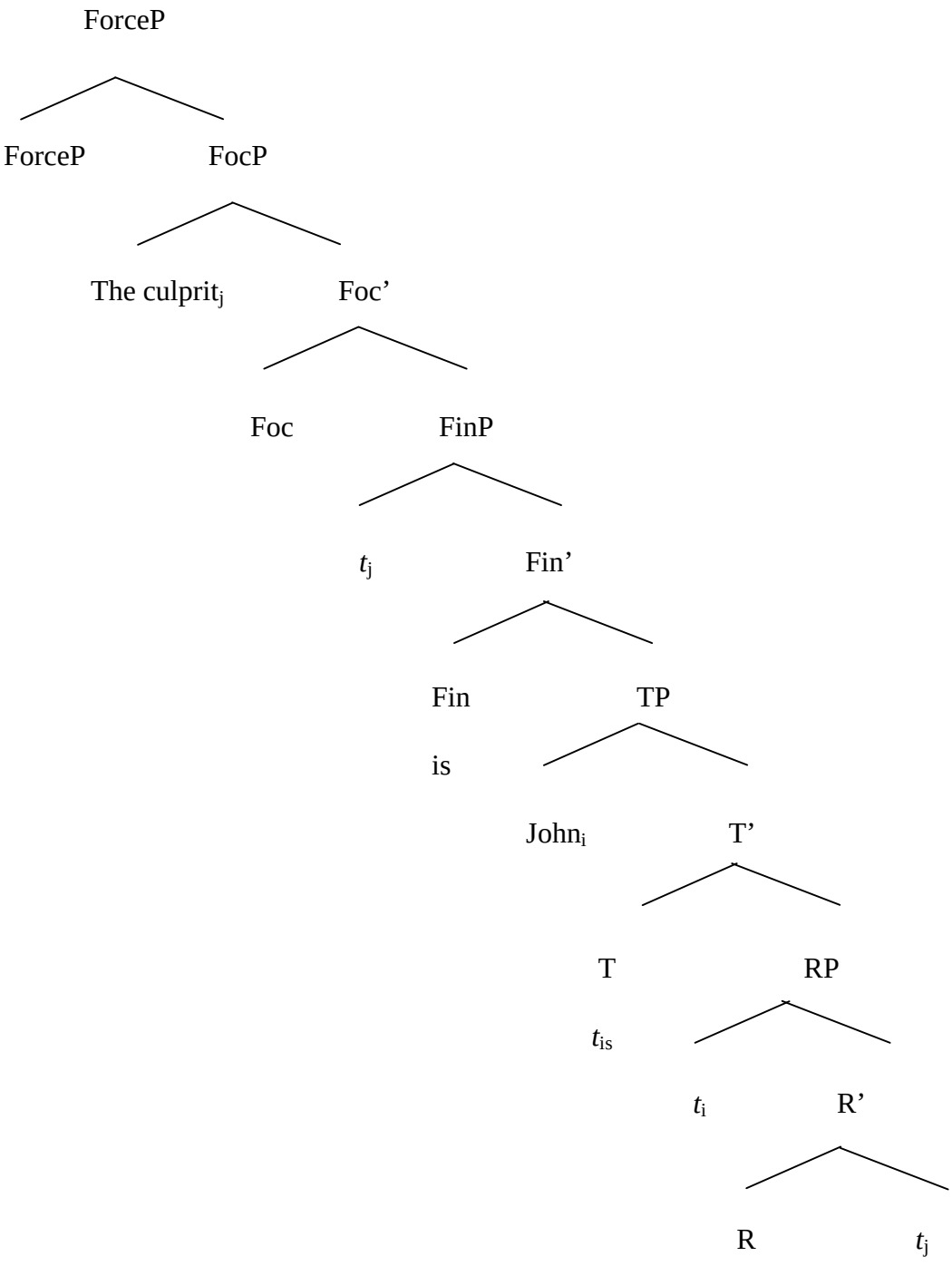
In this section, we have argued that the NPIV's landing site in the D-reading (but not the R-reading) of inverse copular structures is not Spec,TopP but Spec,FocP. This gives a felicitous answer to the question that we left earlier; that is, how could an NP that is non-referential be found in Spec,TopP. The answer is that an NPIV, which contains an operator/variable constituent, is eligible to move to Spec,FocP. In sum, the analysis proposed here again renders support to Heggie's (1988a) analysis of the inverse copular structure.

10. Concluding Remarks

We have elucidated two possible readings for specificational sentences, following Nishiyama (2003). These readings trigger ambiguities in inverse copular sentences, and hence in the corresponding landing site of inverse nominals: either Spec,CP or Spec,TP. We have demonstrated that any *prima facie* counter-evidence against the Spec-CP hypothesis seems to derive from this tacit ambiguity that influences the syntactic position of the inverse nominal. If this approach can be upheld, Heggie's (1988a) analysis that an inverted nominal may land in Spec,CP will remain plausible.

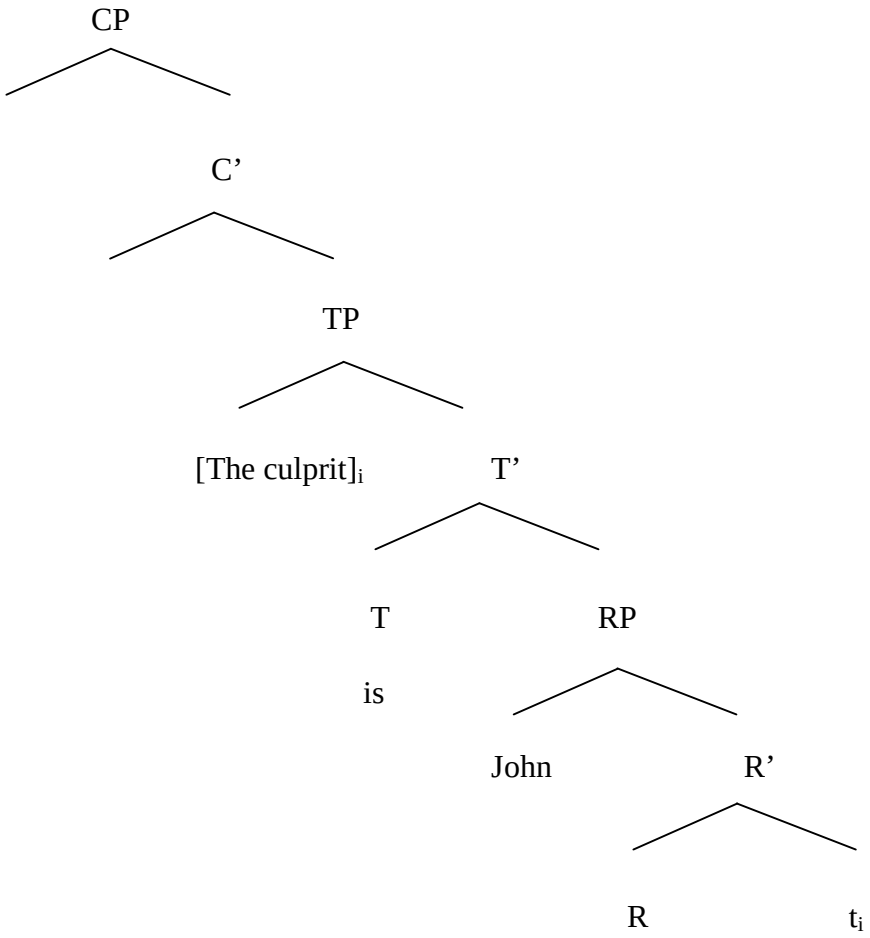
The full derivation of the English inverse copular structure with D-reading is as follows. This is based on our argument thus far regarding the syntactic position of the inverted NP and also the derivation of the Japanese counterpart.

(44)



In contrast, the full derivation of the English inverse copular structure with the R-reading would result in the following tree.

(45)



The analysis is based upon and skeletally the same as den Dikken (2006). For a more elaborated version of analysis, see den Dikken (ibid. in particular, p. 73).

The analysis of the present article is summed up in Table 3 below. Our analysis of the inverse copular structure closely parallels den Dikken et al.’s (2000) Topic analysis of specificational pseudoclefts, with the only difference being the availability of FocP in the case of the definite inverted NP.

(46) Table 3

Pre-copular Constituent	**Free Relative (=R-reading)**	**Question(=D-reading)**
Inverse Copular Structure	*The culprit is John*.	(i) *The culprit is John* (ii) *An excellent doctor is Brian*.
Specificational Pseudoclefts	*What John ate is an apple*.	*What John ate is an apple*.
Inverted NP's Position	Spec,TP	**Spec,CP** (i) Spec,FocP (ii) Spec,TopP
Japanese Inverse Copular Structure	A ga B da	A wa B da

The outcome here applies uniformly to the nature of the syntax and pragmatics of inverse copular structures in both English and Japanese, alongside the English specificational pseudocleft.

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* The authors are alphabetically ordered. The present article is dedicated to Andrew Radford on the occasion of his retirement in December 2013 in recognition of his outstanding contribution to the field of formal syntax. This is an extended version of "lingbuzz/001970".

[1] Hatakeyama (1997) attempts to defend his hypothesis by splitting the CP. On our understanding, Hatakeyama's theory would predict that *the best man* and *is* both are located in the zone that is in and above C^0. However, such an attempt does not work as auxiliary and copular verbs only move to the lowest C^0 position, i.e., Fin^0 (cf.Haegemen 1996, 2012; Branigan 2005; Cardinaletti 2009; Radford & Iwasaki 2013) and this means that *the best man* in (1a) must be located below C^0; this analysis is incompatible with Hatakeyama's (ibid.) Spec,CP claim.

[2] cf. Nishiyama, (2003, p. 181, fn. 13) for discussion of some exceptions as well as discussion on the properties of *-wa*, where he provides strong arguments for a cleft analysis for *-wa*.

[3] All glosses and translations for Nishiyama are provided by the authors of this paper.

[4] Below is their proposed structure for Type A SPC's (Den Dikken et al., 2000).

(i) [$_{TopP}$ [What John is] [$_{Top'}$ [$_{Top}$ is] important to himself]].

[5] Cf. Romero (2005) for further discussion of the concealed question reading and intensional objects.

[6] Nishiyama (2009: 84-86) discusses similar verb-object relations in specificational pseudoclefts in English.

[7] Nishiyama (2003) opposes the position that the NPIV is a Topic, and thus, we are only adopting his two readings. We are in debt to den Dikken et al. (2000) for the parallelism between the question-answer pair and TopP.

[8] cf. Nishiyama (2003: 140-141) for relevant discussion of non-referential NPs.

[9] Caroline Heycock independently developed a very similar analysis of pseudoclefts.

[10] This sentence is from: [http://oyukio.blogspot.jp/2012/10/502.html#!/2012/10/502.html] (with some editorial modification)

[11] cf. Mikkelsen (2002: 16) for a similar analysis for tag questions in Dutch and Nishiyama (2003: 133) for the relevant discussion in Japanese. See also the site that we cite in the footnote 10.

[12] Cf. Hatakeyama (2004: 206) and Culicover (1991) for arguments against CP-recursion.

[13] It might be possible for marginality or awkwardness to arise under CP-recursion or the split CP hypothesis. However, ungrammaticality would not arise if they were operative.

[14] If CP-recursion or the split CP is possible and therefore *the culprit* can be located in Spec,CP, then some other factor might trigger the sentence's ungrammaticality/marginality. One suggestion would be that tag questions associated with an inverted NP are banned in an embedded clause, regardless of the D- and R-readings. This claim seems unlikely given the fact that a tag question is possible in an embedded context (cf. (12b)) and a tag question with

a specificational reading is possible in the main clause (cf. (10b)).

[15] Cf. Heycock & Kroch (1997) and Heycock (2012) for an equative analysis of these sentences.

[16] Part of this section builds on Iwasaki (2013).

[17] However, Amano (1995b) raises some problems with these terms and proposes alternative names.

[18] See Kamamoto (2000) and Nishiyama (2003) for a critique of Amano's (1995) position.

[19] Thanks to Andrew Radford for his helpful suggestions.

[20] Nishiyama's observation on this rejects Kishimoto's (2012: 62) assumption that the NPIV is [+ref].

[21] cf. den Dikken et al. (2000) for the general impossibility of Subject-Aux Inversion in SPC Type A sentences.

[22] Iwasaki (2013) argues that there is a parallelism between the two readings of Japanese copular structures described in Nishiyama (2000), (but not Nishiyama (2003)) and the English specificational copular structures in den Dikken (2006) with respect to syntactic positions.

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