That's a Curious Copular Construction You Have There!

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Abstract: Sentences like *That's a beautiful dress you're wearing* are commonly heard in colloquial English. These sentences have a surface form that resembles identificational copular sentences with relative clause modifiers (e.g., *This is the house I mentioned*) and cleft sentences with demonstrative subjects (e.g., *That was John that I saw*). Ever since Higgins's (1973) seminal work, English copular sentences have received much attention, but sentences like *That's a beautiful dress you're wearing* have not been part of that discussion. In this squib, I show how these sentences are both similar and dissimilar to identificationals and clefts, and suggest a formal analysis that captures their characteristic properties.

Keywords: copular sentences, clefts, identificationals, demonstratives, focus, relative clauses

1 Introduction

Sentences like (1a-d) are frequently attested in colloquial English.

(1) a. That's a beautiful dress you're wearing. (*The Sight of the Stars*, 2004)

I thank the anonymous *LI* reviewers, the Squibs and Discussion editors, Marcel den Dikken, and the audience at GLOW-in-Asia XII for helpful comments. I am also grateful to Jake Arstein, Anastasia Coles, Stephan French, Sage Maliepaard, Mary Moroney, Keir Moulton, Georgianna Ravenna, and Anne-Michelle Tessier for discussions about some of the data presented here.

b. That's a lovely accent you have there…New Jersey? (*Dumb and Dumber*, 1994)

c. That's a fine young man you have here. (*Ella Enchanted*, 2004)

d. Well, Susan, this is a fine mess you are in. (*The Elements of Style*, 1959)

These sentences have a surface form that can be schematically represented as in (2), where XP represents a nominal and YP represents a gapped relative clause (RC). And they resemble identificational copular sentences (identificationals) with an RC modifier and cleft sentences (clefts) with a demonstrative (DEM) subject, as one can see from comparing them with (3-4).

(2) [DEM *be* XP YP]

(3) English identificationals

a. That is a tiger.

b. This is the house I mentioned.

(Higgins 1973:221, (56d, b))

(4) English clefts with a DEM subject

a. This/that was John that I saw.

b. That was the platoon sergeant that said that.

(Hedberg 2000:892, (3c); 900, (18))

Ever since Higgins's (1973) seminal work, English copular sentences have received much attention in the literature (see, e.g., Hedberg 2000, Mikkelsen 2011, Reeve 2011, Moltmann 2013, and the references cited in them), but sentences like (1a-d) have not been part of that discussion. In this squib, I show how sentences like (1a-d) are both similar and dissimilar to identificationals and clefts, and suggest a formal analysis that

captures their characteristic properties. The upshot of the analysis will be that these sentences are *affective* identificationals whose DEM subject denotes the object of direct perception that YP *appositively* modifies, and whose XP indicates what is *noteworthy* about that object. In terms of syntax, I propose that DEM and YP in (2) initially occur inside the same nominal projection but, because DEM and XP later move to higher positions, XP and YP end up forming what I call a Focus Phrase (FocP), and this yields an ostensibly extraposed structure.

My proposal will turn out to be reminiscent of what is called the discontinuous constituent approach to clefts (see, e.g., Akmajian 1970, Percus 1997, Hedberg 2000, Reeve 2011); however, it will differ from that approach in that I do not resort to extraposition, though I will treat DEMs in (1) as disguised definite descriptions (DDs). The proposed analysis will also be similar in spirit to that of Han and Hedberg (2008), which attempts to capture the insights of both discontinuous constituent analyses of clefts (e.g., Jespersen 1927, Percus 1997, Hedberg 2000) and expletive analyses thereof (e.g., Jespersen 1937, Chomsky 1977, Delahunty 1982, Heggie 1988, É. Kiss 1998), but again, details will differ, as I will show in section 3.

Before we move on, a terminological remark is in order. Since sentences like (1a-d) have not been much studied—particularly, in comparison with typical identificationals or clefts—for ease of reference, from here on I will call them *that*-presentational sentences (*that*-PSs);[1] this is because they typically have *that* as their matrix subject and are

[1] Hedberg (2000:901) briefly discusses the datum given in (i), but she treats it as a *th*-cleft in the sense of Bolinger (1972) and does not compare it with typical cleft sentences in any great detail.

commonly heard in out-of-the-blue contexts in a manner analogous to presentational *there*-sentences such as *There are children playing outside*.

2 Characteristic Properties of *that*-PSs

That-PSs have five notable properties. First, their matrix subjects can only be a DEM *pronoun* whereas identificationals and clefts can in addition have a DEM + N or *it* subject.[2]

(5) a. **That (animal)** is a tiger. (identificational)

b. **That (fly)** is the biggest fly I have ever seen. (identificational)

(6) {**That/it}** was {a thief/John} that I saw. (cleft)

(7) a. That's a beautiful dress you're wearing. (*that*-PS)

b.***That {outfit/dress}** is a beautiful dress you're wearing.

c.***It**'s a beautiful dress you're wearing.

Second, unlike identificationals or clefts, *that*-PSs cannot occur in answer to *wh*-questions, as shown in (8)-(10).

(8) A: What's this?

B: **That**'s {a tiger/the house I mentioned the other day}. (identificational)

(9) A: Who did you see?

(i) **That's** the French flag **you see flying over there**, Pierre Dufour, a former legionnaire, pointed out.

[2] The (un)grammaticality of data presented in this squib has been verified by 10 native speakers of English.

B: **That** was {a thief/John} that I saw. (cleft)

(10) a. A: What's this?

B: #**That**'s a beautiful dress you're wearing. (*that*-PS)

b. A: Who's this?

B: #**That**'s a fine young man you have there. (*that*-PS)

Third, the syntactic category of XP of a *that*-PS must match that of the gap position inside YP. This property is worth noting because there is a sense in which what I call *that*-PSs are semantically related to pseudo-clefts; however, while pseudo-clefts with a nominal gap may have an adjective phrase (AP) occurring in postcopular position, their "corresponding" *that*-PSs cannot.

(11) a. [What you have __ there] is [$_{NP}$ a **beautiful dress**]. (pseudo-cleft)

b. [What you have __ there] is [$_{AP}$ **beautiful**]. (pseudo-cleft)

(12) a. That's [$_{NP}$ **a beautiful dress**] [you have __ there]. (*that*-PS)

b. *That's [$_{AP}$ **beautiful**] [you have __ there].

Fourth, XP of a *that*-PS controls the number marking on the sentential predicate of YP. This is shown by the fact that when XP's number feature changes, the form of the embedded predicate must change accordingly. Notably, in the "corresponding" pseudo-clefts, the predicate of the RC in subject position does not change its form according to the number feature of the nominal in postcopular position.

(13) a. That's **a beautiful dress** that**'s/*are** hanging in your closet. (*that*-PS)

b. Those are **beautiful dresses** that **are/*is** hanging in your closet. (*that*-PS)

(14) a. What**'s/*are** hanging in your closet is **a beautiful dress**. (pseudo-cleft)

b. What**'s/*are** hanging in your closet are **beautiful dresses**. (pseudo-cleft)

The facts in (11)-(14) strongly suggest that there is some connectedness between what occurs as XP of a *that*-PS and the gap inside YP. Yet, the XP + YP string of a *that*-PS cannot be analyzed as forming a nominal constituent, because it may not occur in object or subject position, as exemplified in (15b-c).

(15) a. That's **a beautiful dress you're wearing**. (*that*-PS)

b. ??I bought [a beautiful dress you're wearing].

c. ??[A beautiful dress you're wearing] was expensive.

I should note at this juncture that, in identificationals, the postcopular material corresponding to an XP + YP string may occur in argument positions, but the corresponding material of a cleft may not (Jespersen 1927, Delahunty 1981, Rochemont 1986, Heggie 1988, Han and Hedberg 2008); this suggests a syntactic affinity between *that*-PSs and clefts.

(16) a. That's **a book written by Chomsky**. (identificational)

b. I bought [a book written by Chomsky].

c. [A book written by Chomsky] was found in my office.

(17) a. It was **John that I saw**. (cleft)

b. *Mary ran into [John that I saw].

c. *[John that I saw] is a Canadian.

A fifth property of *that*-PSs is that their XP can in principle be any type of nominal, but it must bear focal stress (more on this in section 3). This is exemplified in (18), where the XPs are all definite DPs. Note also that the transcription of the sentence *That's a*

beautiful dress you have there uttered by an English speaker has the prosodic properties depicted in figure 1.[3] (Here and below, capitalization indicates stress.)

(18) a. Context: Talking to a mother whose daughter just won a chess tournament.

That's **the EIGHTH wonder of the world** you have over there!

b. Context: Talking to a twin sister who stole my dress.

That's **MY dress** you're wearing!

c. Context: I'm at Mary's wedding. And to my knowledge, she was getting married to Bill.

That's **GEORGE** standing next to her! Is she by any chance marrying HIM?

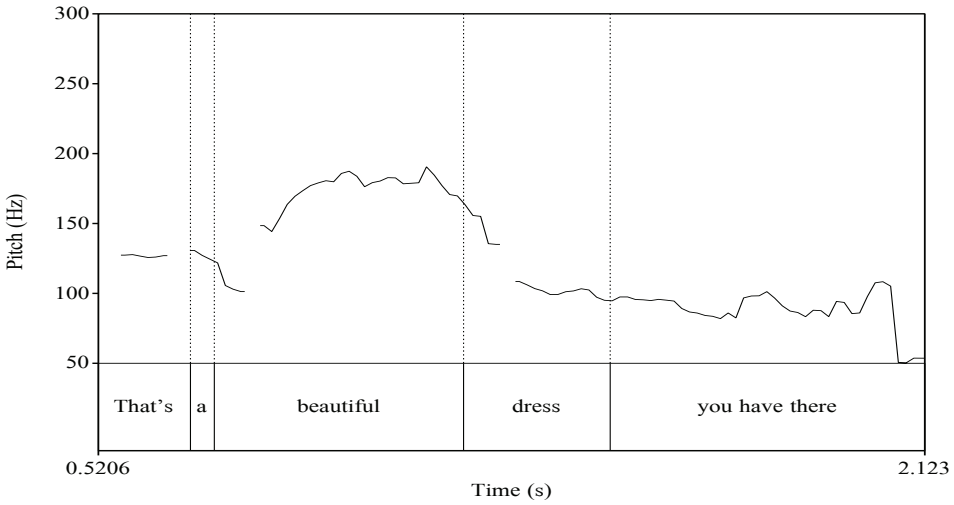


Figure 1. Praat annotation of *That's a beautiful dress you have there*:

Since clefts have prosodic contours similar to that shown in figure 1, it may seem that the clefted constituents of sentences like (4a-b) and XPs of *that*-PSs carry the same

[3] I thank Aaron Braver for helping me with the recording and the Praat annotation shown in figure 1.

type of focus. But while a clefted constituent carries what can be notated as *exhaustive focus* (Halvorsen 1978, Szabolcsi 1981, É. Kiss 1998), XP of a *that*-PS does not; see the contrast between (19) and (20).

(19) It was JOHN that I saw. #And I saw MARY **too**.

(20) That's a BEAUTIFUL dress you're wearing. And you're wearing a LOVELY SCARF **too**.

In the literature, the exhaustive semantics of clefts is often discussed in conjunction with their existential and uniqueness presuppositions (e.g., Percus 1997, Hedberg 2000, Han and Hedberg 2008). To illustrate, just as sentences containing DDs come with existential and uniqueness presuppositions, (21a) comes with the presuppositions given in (21b) (Hedberg 2000:904, (24)).

(22) a. It was Clinton who won.

b. $\exists x[\text{won}(x) \,\&\, \forall y[\text{won}(y) \rightarrow y = x] \,\&\, x = \text{Clinton}]$

When we look at *that*-PSs in comparison to clefts like (21a), it is already obvious that they do not carry uniqueness presuppositions; if they did, (20) would be judged incoherent. When it comes to their existential meaning, however, things are not so cut-and-dried. On the one hand, they seem to carry an existential presupposition triggered by their DEM subject. For example, (1a) seems to presuppose that some entity exists in the discourse context. Yet, whether such a meaning should be characterized as a presupposition or not is not easy to decide. One reason is that we cannot apply the relevant projection tests to *that*-PSs; for instance, (1a) cannot be negated, be converted into a question, or occur in the antecedent of an *if*-conditional, as shown in (22a-c).

(22) a. #That's not a beautiful dress you're wearing.

b. #Is that a beautiful dress you're wearing?

c. #If that's a beautiful dress you're wearing, then your sister will get very jealous.

Furthermore, while the existential presupposition of a cleft can be uttered along with the cleft *if* it occurs as the *first* conjunct of a sentence, the alleged presupposition of a *that*-PS cannot be.

(23) a. It was a thief that I saw. (cleft)

b. There was someone that I saw. (Presupposition of (23a))

c. **There was someone that I saw**, and it was a thief that I saw.

d. #It was a thief that I saw, and **there was someone that I saw**.

(24) a. That's a fine young man you have there. (*that*-PS)

b. There is someone you have there. (Presupposition(?) of (24a))

c. #**There is someone you have there**, and that's a fine young man you have there.

d. #That's a fine young man you have there, and **there is someone you have there**.

Taken together, these facts show that whatever its true nature may turn out to be, the existential inference of *that*-PSs may arise from a different source than that of clefts.[4]

3 Capturing the Properties of *That*-PSs

I suggest that the discourse function of *that*-PSs is to identify what is noteworthy about some *discourse-new* situation that is being perceived by the *speaker* at *speech time*. More

[4] It may in fact come about as a result of processing the at-issue content of the sentence at hand in a manner similar to what is known as *post-supposition* in the literature (e.g., Brasoveanu 2013).

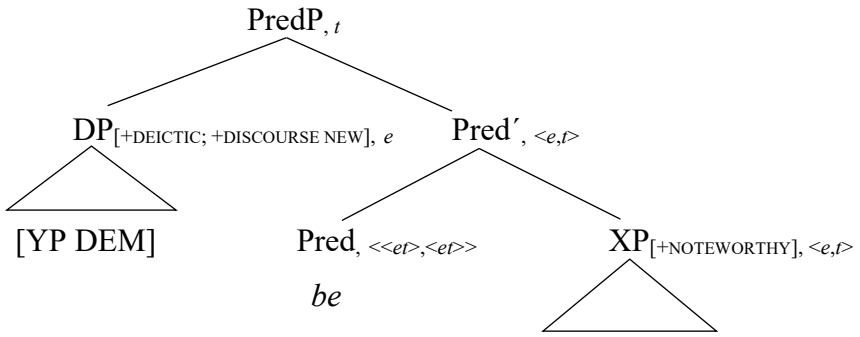
concretely, I submit that (a) the DEM subject of a *that*-PS (henceforth DEM_{PS}) denotes the object of direct perception in the sense of Moltmann (2013); (b) YP appositively modifies the referent of DEM_{PS}; and (c) XP, by combining with *be*, predicates something of DEM_{PS}'s denotation. In addition, I posit that what I mean by "noteworthy" is conceptually similar to what Ionin (2006) characterizes as a licensing condition for the referential but indefinite use of *this* in sentences like (25).

(25) There is **this man** who lives upstairs from me who is driving me mad because he jumps rope at 2 a.m. every night. (Maclaran 1982:85)

Under the present analysis, then, *that*-PSs are a way of encoding *speaker affect*. That is, they are uttered when the speaker has the *intent* to refer to some contextually salient individual that has a noteworthy property (although DEM_{PS} is a pronoun and can be either proximal or distal, as shown in (1), whereas the DEM occurring in sentences like (25) is a determiner and is almost always proximal, and its occurrence does not require focal stress on any of the syntactic constituents).

To more formally implement these ideas, I propose that *that*-PSs have the predication structure sketched in (26), which serves as the input for semantic computation, but the surface syntax in (27). The latter results when DEM_{PS} and XP move to Spec,TP and Spec,FocP to value [CASE] and [+NOTEWORTHY] features, respectively, and *be* moves to V^0 and then to T^0 to pronounce tense/agreement features. (In (27), overstriking indicates feature valuation.)

(26) Predication structure of *that*-PSs and the semantic type of each node



(27) Surface structure of *that*-PSs

[TP [DP [~~CASE~~] DEM]$_k$ [T′ [T [~~NOMINATIVE CASE~~] *be*$_j$] [VP t_k′ [V′ [V t_j′′] [FocP [[+~~NOTEWORTHY~~] XP]$_m$ [Foc′ [Foc [+~~NOTEWORTHY~~] t_j′] [PredP [DP [YP] t_k] [Pred′ [Pred t_j] t_m]]]]]]]]

To justify (26) and (27), I would like to first propose that DEM$_{PS}$ is a deictic pronoun of type *e* with lexical entry (28), ignoring the distal or proximal semantics of DEMs for simplicity (compare Kim 2019a for a slightly different semantics for DEM$_{PS}$).

(28) [[DEM$_{PS}$]] = $\iota x \in C$ such that object.of.perception(x), where C is a contextually salient subset of D_e

According to this lexical entry, DEM$_{PS}$ has a semantics partly similar to that of *the* under a Fregean analysis of the definite article such as Heim and Kratzer's (1998); however, whereas *the* is presuppositional, DEM$_{PS}$ is not, for the reasons given in section 2.[5] In addition, even though it is an indexical expression, its descriptive content is assumed to be fixed to "object of direct perception."

[5] For example, Heim and Kratzer (1998:81, (5′)) suggest the following lexical entry for *the*:

(i) [[**the**]] := $\lambda f \in D_{<e,t>}$ and there is exactly one $x \in C$ such that $f(x) = 1$.the unique $y \in C$ such that $f(y)$

Turning now to YP, I treat it as bearing a semantic relation to DEM_{PS} because English speakers intuit that it modifies the subject pronoun in some way. I analyze it as an *integrated* but *non-restrictive* N modifier, however, because DEM_{PS} (a) is already individual-denoting and (b) does not take any NP complement, as we saw in (7b), so there is no syntactic room for a restrictive N modifier. Moreover, YP helps identify the referent of DEM_{PS} in ways comparable to what pointing does when a deictic pronoun is used in a discourse. To illustrate, in (1a) DEM_{PS} refers to the unique, contextually salient dress that YP's content helps point to, and this shows that YP *appositively* modifies DEM_{PS}, the same way a pointing gesture would in a face-to-face conversation.

To capture this intuition, I assume that an RC-shaped YP of a *that*-PS consists of a CP whose specifier is occupied by an operator (Op) that is co-indexed with the gap position inside it. But since this RC is appositive in meaning, following my treatment of such N modifiers in English in Kim 2019b, I hypothesize that it merges in the specifier of a DP layer that is generated atop the DP that is headed by DEM_{PS}. On this analysis, then, YP and DEM_{PS} of (1a) start out inside the same extended DP, as depicted in (29).

(29) [**DP** [CP Op_i [C′ [C] [TP *you're wearing* e_i]]] [**DP** *that*]]

Why do YP and DEM_{PS} surface without forming a nominal constituent in the end, then? My answer is that they become *discontinuous* because, for reasons as yet not fully understood, instead of raising to the specifier of an extended DP created above the CP, thereby yielding DEM > RC order as in *that which you're wearing*—an assumption commonly made in cartographic syntactic analyses (e.g., Svenonius 2008, Cinque 2010, Kim 2019b)—the inner DP headed by DEM_{PS} raises to Spec,TP for [CASE]. As a result of

the raising of DEM$_{PS}$, the CP is stranded inside the DP shell and instantiates a *gapped* but *headless* RC. On the surface level, however, it does not seem headless because XP moves to Spec,FocP to value its interpretable focus feature (which I label [+NOTEWORTHY] for convenience), and due to the c-command configuration that obtains and the absence of any intervening nominal, XP functions as the apparent "head" of the RC.

To summarize thus far, then, even though YP and DEM$_{PS}$ begin life inside the same nominal projection, before that DP is fully formed, DEM$_{PS}$ moves to Spec,TP for [CASE] and XP to Spec,FocP for [+NOTEWORTHY]. Consequently, a seemingly extraposed RC structure obtains in which XP and YP form a FocP.

To compositionally derive the truth conditions of *that*-PSs, first of all, adopting an extensional semantic framework, I posit that the *be* that occurs in *that*-PSs is an identity function of type <<*et*>,<*et*>>. That is, it takes a property-denoting expression and yields another property-denoting expression that has the same meaning, as shown in (30) (see Partee 1986, 1987).

(30) [[**be**]] = $\lambda P.\lambda x[P(x)]$

Second, I treat indefinite nominals as property-denoting (i.e., of type <*e,t*>) and definite nominals as individual-denoting (i.e., of type *e*), but I assume that, to resolve the type mismatch with *be*, definite XPs undergo type-shifting by what Partee (1987) calls IDENT, thereby becoming property-denoting expressions (e.g., IDENT(**George**) = $\lambda x[x =$ George]).

Next, I treat all YPs as predicates of type <*e*,*t*>. However, given their appositive semantics, I posit that they combine with DEM$_{PS}$'s denotation via the semantic operation

that I propose in (31) by minimally amending Heim and Kratzer's (1998) Predicate Modification.

(31) Appositive Modification (AM)

If α is a branching node, {β, γ} is the set of α's daughters, and ⟦β⟧ is in $D_{<e,t>}$, yet ⟦γ⟧ is in D_e, then ⟦α⟧ = ⟦γ⟧ = $\iota x \in D_e$.⟦β⟧(x) = 1.

Finally, I propose that what I call [+NOTEWORTHY] makes the semantic contribution spelled out in (32).

(32) Noteworthiness-Focus(F)-Marking (NFM) rule

When a nominal constituent XP of type <*e*,*t*> is F-marked with [+NOTEWORTHY], the F marking on it is interpreted as that function *f* such that *f* takes XP's denotation as its input and returns that function *g* of type <*e*,*t*> such that *g*'s value description contains the predicate *P* in XP's denotation and the predicate 'noteworthy' such that both *P* and 'noteworthy' hold true of the individual *x* in *g*'s value description.

When we interpret (1a) and (18c) based on the predication structure in (26), AM, and the NFM rule, as well as the lexical entries proposed thus far, we obtain (33) and (34) as their truth conditions.

(33) [[(1a)]] = 1 iff beautiful.dress($\iota x \in C$.object.of.perception(x) = ιy.wearing(y)(you))
& noteworthy(beautiful.dress(ιx.object.of.perception(x) =
ιy.wearing(y)(you)))

(34) [[(18c)]] = 1 iff [$\iota x \in C$.object.of.perception(x) = ιy.standing.next.to.Mary(y)] =
George & noteworthy([$\iota x \in C$.object.of.perception(x) =
ιy.standing.next.to.Mary(y)] = George)

Turning now to the consequences: As mentioned in section 1, the proposed analysis is reminiscent of the discontinuous constituent approach to clefts (e.g., Akmajian 1970, Percus 1997, Hedberg 2000, Reeve 2011), since it also posits that a pronoun and an RC that are part of the same nominal projection in the underlying syntax become discontinuous in the surface syntax as a result of movement. But there are several non-trivial differences between what is proposed here and what has been proposed.

First of all, while the existing discontinuous constituent analyses simply assume *extraposing* of the YP component of a cleft via rightward movement or right-adjunction, I argue for *raising* of the DP headed by DEM_{PS} to Spec,TP for an independently motivated reason, namely, [CASE].

Second, unlike in Percus's (1997) or Hedberg's (2000) analysis of clefts, under the present analysis neither the pronominal matrix subject nor any component of it ever functions as the true syntactic head of the RC constituting YP, and this lets us explain why the agreement behavior of *that*-PSs may differ from that of pseudo-clefts. To illustrate: In sentences like (35), the matrix subject is *that*, yet the sentential predicate of YP has the plural form *are*. If *that* were the spell-out of *the* plus the null head of the RC constituting YP, as Percus (1997) would assume, or if it were the binder of the Op inside the RC by virtue of c-commanding and being co-indexed with it, as Hedberg (2000) would assume, then the embedded verb should be *is*, contrary to fact.

(35) That's **John and Mary** who **are/*is** standing over there!

Third, under Hedberg's (2000) and Reeve's (2011) analyses of clefts, XP and YP form a DP, and this incorrectly predicts that *all* XP + YP strings will occur in argument

positions, unlike what we observed in (17). By contrast, the present analysis does not posit that XP and YP form a nominal constituent, so it may even be extended to clefts, thereby capturing data like (17a-c) as well as data like (15a-c).

Having said that, on the proposed analysis, even though XP and YP do not form a nominal constituent, they do form a FocP. Besides, XP ends up c-commanding the Op inside the RC constituting YP. Collectively, these outcomes let us explain (a) why XP and the gap inside YP match in terms of syntactic category and (b) why XP and the sentential predicate of YP agree in number, as in (12) and (13), unlike the way the pseudo-clefts in (11) and (14) behave. I should note that Han and Hedberg (2008) also posit that XP and YP of clefts form a FocP (which they notate as FP). But under their analysis, YP c-commands XP rather than the other way around, as shown in (36). So when applied to what I call *that*-PSs, their analysis cannot account for the data in (12)-(13) as my analysis does.

(36) $[_{TP}\ [_{DP}\ it]_i\ [_{T'}\ [_{T}\ was_k]\ [_{CopP}\ [_{Cop}\ t_k]\ [_{FP}\ [_{FP}\ [_{DP}\ t_i]\ [_{F'}\ [_{F}]\ [_{DP}\ Ohno]]]\ [_{CP}\ who_l\ [_{C'}\ [_{TP}\ t_l$ won]]]]]]]

(Han and Hedberg 2008:359, fig. 9)

Finally, what I have put forward lets us capture the connections among identificationals, clefts, and *that*-PSs in ways existing analyses of copular sentences do not. In light of the proposed analysis, all three types of copular sentences exemplified in (1), (3), and (4) can be considered subtypes of identificationals, as they are all concerned with predicating something of the referent of a pronominal subject by identifying some property *in focus* (cf. Moltmann 2013). They do not behave identically in all aspects of

their syntax or semantics, however, because their subjects do not have the same semantics. More specifically, while the subject of an identificational can be discourse-old/familiar or discourse-new/non-familiar, the subject of a cleft is typically discourse-old/familiar, and the subject of a *that*-PS is discourse-new/non-familiar. In addition, unlike the subject of an identificational, the subject of a cleft always refers to something like "the answer to the question under discussion" (see Chomsky 1977), whereas the subject of a *that*-PS invariably refers to a contextually salient, unique object of direct perception that has a noteworthy property. Importantly, such semantic differences manifested by their subjects go hand in hand with what kinds of focus meaning they can express: for example, clefts can express *exhaustivity*, which *that*-PSs do not, and *that*-PSs can express *mirativity* that clefts do not. Correlatively, while identificationals and clefts instantiate *categorical* judgments (i.e., "topic-comment" information structure), *that*-PSs instantiate *thetic* judgments (i.e., "all-focus" information structure), so they are subject to different licensing or felicity conditions.[6]

In short, then, the analysis proposed here lets us explain both similarities and differences between *that*-PSs and other types of copular sentences without running into the problems that face existing analyses of clefts. Before closing, though, I would like to point out two remaining issues. First, the agreement patterns exhibited by (13) and (35) merit an explanation, as they show that while DEMP_{PS} does not agree with a plural definite XP, it does agree with a plural *indefinite* XP. Second, (37) shows that strong QPs

[6] For categorical vs. thetic judgments, see Sasse 1987 among others.

may occur as XPs of *that*-PSs *if* they contain certain APs. Under the present analysis, this is puzzling because even if the XP of (37) contains the AP *conceivable*, it will still be of type <<*et*>,*t*>, so it cannot combine with *be*'s denotation without incurring a type mismatch.

(37) Wow, that's really **every *(CONCEIVABLE) solution** you have there!

4 Conclusion

In this squib, I have looked at a subclass of English copular sentences that escaped attention in the extant literature. These sentences resemble both identificationals and clefts, yet they exhibit several distinctive properties. I have argued that their characteristic properties arise because (a) DEM_{PS} does not form a full-fledged DP with its appositive N modifier (for some reason) and (b) the sentences' affective meaning necessitates [+NOTEWORTHY] borne by XP. Since what I claim to be responsible for the surface syntax of *that*-PSs is raising of a discourse-new DEM pronoun to Spec,TP, stranding its N modifier, the present analysis makes the interesting prediction that languages without discourse-new DEM *pronouns* will not have constructions comparable to what I call *that*-PSs. From what I have found, languages like Korean and Turkish, which lack discourse-new DEM pronouns, do not have copular constructions corresponding to *that*-PSs, although they do have what is comparable to clefts. While further verification must be left to future research, this finding may have significant implications for the study of crosslinguistic variation in copular sentences.

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