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Abstract	本論はTonoike (2020) の指定文についての提案について残る問題点の主なものを二つ取り上げ、その解決の方向を示すものである。まず、決定詞句の主要部Dは、その内包 (intension) と外延 (extension、これをeiと表す) の両方を持つ場合 (これをD(ei)と表す) と、外延を欠く場合 (即ちD() の場合) があるとし、前者が値名詞句、後者が変項名詞句であるとし、指定文は、主語と述語の間でDの値が異なるものとして定義する。続いて、Moro (1997) が指摘する一致とwh摘出に関わる事実は、値名詞句の持つ特性より説明されること、また、長屋 (2014) が指摘する指定文が一つの語順しか許さないというタガログ語の事実はこの言語が持つ述語 - 主語の固定語順のためであることを示す。
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Some Notes on the Syntactic Basis of Specificational Sentences: Prolegomena to a Theory of Specificational Sentences*

Shigeo Tonoike

要旨

本論はTonoike (2020) の指定文についての提案について残る問題点の主なものを二つ取り上げ、その解決の方向を示すものである。まず、決定詞句の主要部Dは、その内包 (intension) と外延 (extension、これを e_i と表す) の両方を持つ場合 (これを $D(e_i)$ と表す) と、外延を欠く場合 (即ち $D()$ の場合) があるとし、前者が値名詞句、後者が変項名詞句であるとし、指定文は、主語と述語の間でDの値が異なるものとして定義する。続いて、Moro (1997) が指摘する一致とwh摘出に関わる事実は、値名詞句の持つ特性より説明されること、また、長屋 (2014) が指摘する指定文が一つの語順しか許さないというタガログ語の事実はこの言語が持つ述語 – 主語の固定語順のためであることを示す。

Introduction

In Tonoike (2020) I proposed that specificational sentences are those copular sentences where the surface subject and the surface predicate differ in their value of the

* This paper is the result of the first few weeks of my visiting researchership (visiting colleagueship) at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, Department of Linguistics as a first step of my research project titled “A theoretical and cross-linguistic research on the syntactic basis of specificational sentences.” I would like to express my gratitude to Kamil Deen, Shin Fukuda and other members of the linguistic community for their hospitality and encouragement. I would also like to thank Yuji Nishiyama for the numerous exchanges of emails discussing various aspects of my earlier proposal and later developments. Any remaining errors that this paper might have are all mine.

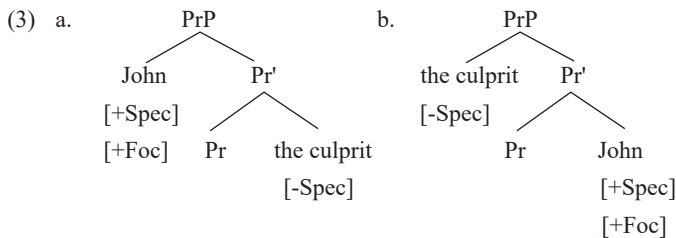
specificity feature, which is defined as given in (1). The [-Specific] DP corresponds to what Akmajian (1970) and Nishiyama (1985 et seq.) refer to as the variable NP, and the [+Specific] DP corresponds to what they refers to as the value NP.

(1) Specificity Feature (Tonoike (2020: (8)))

- a. D is [+Specific] if it is identified by the speaker and possibly by the hearer.
- b. D is [-Specific] otherwise (i.e., it fails to be identified by the speaker, as well as by the hearer.)

Furthermore, I proposed that the value DP in a specificational sentence always has a [+Focus] feature specification, which manifests itself in contrastive stress in English and makes it incompatible with the Topic marker *wa* in Japanese, and that the two DPs are mediated by Predication (Pr) from Bowers (1993). Thus, the two specificational sentences in (2a-b), where uppercase denotes contrastive stress, contain the PrPs given in (3a-b), respectively. (Spec and Foc stand for Specific and Focus, respectively.), and are derived from them by raising of the subject DP (higher DP) to SpecTP.

- (2) a. JOHN is the culprit
 b. The culprit is JOHN



The most important feature of the proposal is that the two word orders typically found in specificational sentences, namely that of the canonical order and the inverse order, result from the different positions that the variable and the value DP occupy as shown in (3). (3a) results in the canonical order in (2a), and (3b) in the inverse order in (2b), both by raising of the subject DP. This is in contrast to proposals that derive the two word orders from one common underlying structure by allowing the raising of the predicate as well as the subject, a la Moro (1997).

The proposal is couched in a wider set of assumptions from Tonoike (2019) about the referential nature of the so-called noun phrases and the key role that the

category D plays: more specifically it is assumed that every noun phrase is headed by D, whether it is overt or covert and that only D has the referential force.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 1 refines the definition of the specificity feature, in response to Nishiyama's (p.c.) criticism concerning its reference to the speaker's and the hearer's mental state. In Section 2, I would like to show that the revised theory of specificational sentences can deal with two of the facts from Italian that Moro (1979) uses to motivate his predicate-raising approach. In Section 3, I will consider what Nagaya (2014) reports on specificational sentences in Tagalog, and show that the unique property of Tagalog specificational sentences that only one word order is allowed can be accounted for by the fact that the subject/topic *ang*-marked DP is incompatible with [+Focus]. Section 4 shows how the revised analysis can be extended to cover concealed questions. Section 5 concludes the paper.

1. Refinement of the Definition of Specificity Feature

Nishiyama (p.c.) raises a question about the definition of specificity in (1). Assuming that specificational sentences fall within the range of narrow syntax as opposed to pragmatics for instance, it is questionable, he says, that there is room in narrow syntax for reference to the speaker's or the hearer's mental state. Furthermore, he quotes the following example from Fauconnier (1991) to show that the speaker need not know the exact temperature for it to qualify as a specificational sentence.

- (4) The most important geographical factor is the temperature. (Fuconnier (1991: 187))

Nishiyama's point is well taken. Although the definition of the value DP as an entity identified by the speaker works in most specificational sentences, reference to the speaker and hearer needs to be eliminated.

1.1. Elimination of Reference to the Speaker/Hearer's mental state

First of all, the reference to the speaker's mental state or to the hearer's mental state can be dropped in its entirety and the fact that under normal circumstances the value DP is identified by the speaker and not by the hearer can be made to follow from the relevance-theoretic principle of maximum effect on the cognitive environment of the hearer (Sperber and Wilson (1995)). However, the definition with "identified" does not make any sense if it is not specified by who. The definition, therefore, needs to be

revised more radically.

1.2. Extensional/Intensional Distinction

Two linguists have proposed to use the notion of intension to define the notion of value DP. One is Heycock (2012) and the other is Kinsui (2015). Building on the work by Romero (2005) on concealed questions, Heycock (2012:231) proposes that “specificational sentences are a kind of “inverted equative”, but crucially there is an asymmetry in the arguments that are equated, with the “more intensional” argument always being merged as the complement to F^1 and hence only being able to occur in precopular position as the result of movement”, as illustrated in (5).

(5) The winners_i are [_{FP} Laura and Jennifer [_{F'} Ø_F t_i]] (Heycock (2012: 231 (78)))

Notice that the assumption here is that DPs are both extensional and intensional but some DPs are more intensional than others, and in specificational sentences the more intensional DP must occupy the complement of F . This proposal is at odd with Tonoike’s (2020) proposal because the latter does not allow inversion. The notion of “intension”, however, can be used in the definition of variable DP. The idea that the variable DP is defined as the one that is more intensional than the value DP is difficult to execute because it is difficult to imagine that the computational system is equipped with a device that can measure the degree of extensionality. However, if it is reinterpreted in a somewhat different manner, namely if variable DPs are defined as DPs with intension but not extension, whereas value DPs as DPs with both intension and extension, then it can replace Tonoike’s (2020) definition by the notion “identified by the speaker.”

Kinsui (2015) proposes to define the variable and value NP/DPs as given below.

- (6) a. An NP/DP is a variable NP/DP if its extension is a variable.
b. An NP/DP is a value NP/DP if its extension is a constant.

This can be visualized as shown in (7), where I stands for Intension and the parentheses hold the extensions. In (7a) the extension is a variable, V , and in (7b) it is a constant,

1 F is “a functional category heading a small clause (similar to proposals stemming from Bowers 1993)”.

C.

- (7) a. I (V)
b. I (C)

This comes quite close to what was meant to be captured by the “identified by the speaker” definition of Tonoike (2020).

Within the general framework assumed in Tonoike (2020) where D plays the central referential role, a DP of the form in (8) can plausibly be analyzed as consisting of the intension denoted by NP and the extension denoted by D.

- (8) $[_{DP} D \text{ NP}]$

When D is a constant, it is a value DP corresponding to (7b). When D is a variable, it is a variable DP corresponding to (7a).

Suppose that the computational system has associated with it a set of individuals, $e_1, e_2, e_3, \dots e_n$ (possibly belonging to different sets) as part of the world view. When a given D denotes one such individual (or a set of individuals) e_i as shown in (9a) it is a constant DP (or a value DP), and when it lacks an individual that it denotes as shown in (9b), then it is a variable DP.

- (9) a. $[_{DP} D \text{ N}]$ value DP b. $[_{DP} D \text{ N}]$ variable DP
 $e_i \in \{e_1, e_2, e_3, \dots e_n\}$ $e_i \notin \{e_1, e_2, e_3, \dots e_n\}$

Alternatively, a D can be regarded as a value holder, and when it has a value, say e_i , it is a value DP; when it lacks a value, it is a variable DP, as shown in (10).

- (10) a. $[D (e_i) \text{ NP}]$ value DP/referential DP
b. $[D () \text{ NP}]$ variable DP

Notice that this revision simplifies Kinsui's version by eliminating reference to V and C. With this revision of the definition of [+Specific], it has become neutral between the speaker and the hearer. The semantics of specificational sentences can now be captured as Predication functioning as an equative, so that the examples in (1) now have the underlying structures in (11), where it is assumed that proper names like

John are also headed by a covert D, represented as {the}. Raising of the subject DP to SpecTP gives (12), and (13) are the LF representations. (Notice that it is assumed that the raising to SpecTP takes only the sounds of the subjects, represented as /John/ and /the culprit/ and their meanings, enclosed in curly brackets, are left in SpecPrP.) The LF representations in (13) are obtained from (12) by eliminating all the sounds.

- (11) a. [_T is [_{PrP} {the} (e_i) JOHN [_{Pr} Pr the () culprit]]]
 b. [_T is [_{PrP} the () culprit [_{Pr} Pr {the} (e_i) JOHN]]]
 (12) a. [_{TP} /JOHN/ [_T is [_{PrP} {the (e_i) JOHN} [_{Pr} Pr the () culprit]]]]
 b. [_{TP} /the culprit/ [_T is [{the () culprit} [Pr {the} (e_i) JOHN]]]]
 (13) a. {_{TP} is {_{PrP} {the (e_i) JOHN} {_{Pr} Pr {the () culprit}}}}}
 b. {_{TP} is {_{PrP} {the () culprit} {_{Pr} Pr {the (e_i) JOHN}}}}}

Since the equative Pr means that {the (e_i) JOHN}={the () culprit} and {the () culprit}={the (e_i) JOHN}, it follows that {the (e_i) culprit} obtains. This captures the meaning of the two specificational sentences. In both (13a-b) the value of the value DP *John*, i.e., e_i specifies the value of the variable DP *the culprit*, though the order of these two DPs differ.

Going back to the example in (4), consider its LF representation in (14a), which asserts (14b).

- (14) a. {_{TP} is {_{PrP} {the () most important geographical factor} {_{Pr} Pr {the (e_i) temperature}}}}}
 b. the (e_i) most important geographical factor

Notice that (14b) only means that there is a temperature for each relevant geological location, which does not require (knowledge of) an exact Fahrenheit/Centigrade degree.

2. Moro's problems

Moro (1997) cites a number of “anomalies” that can be accounted for by generating the value DP as the subject of a small clause and the variable DP as the predicate and allowing the raising of the predicate over the subject. Here I would like to take up two of them, one involving agreement and another involving wh-extraction and show that they can be dealt with under the proposed revision of Tonoike (2020) without invoking

raising of the predicate.

Raising of the predicate is an ingenious way to deal with the two word orders that specificational sentences generally exhibit.² However, it clearly violates minimality if it is correct to assume that small clauses have their own head Pr as Bowers (1993) claims. The subject of a small clause, then, asymmetrically commands the predicate, and, both being DPs, the subject will block A-movement of the predicate to SpecTP.

2.1. Agreement

Moro (1997:28 (33)) observes that Italian and English show the following different paradigms in agreement.

- (15) a. the pictures of the wall were/*was the cause of the riot
- b. the cause of the riot was/*were the pictures of the wall
- c. le foto del muro furono/*fu la causa della rivolta
 (the pictures of the wall were/was the cause of the riot)
- d. la causa della rivolta furono/*fu le foto del muro
 (the cause of the riot were/was the pictures of the wall)

In contrast to the fact that the copula verb always agrees with the surface subject in English, the copula verb always shows agreement with the value DP, i.e., *le foto del muro*, and agreement with the surface subject is ungrammatical in Italian. Moro uses this fact to argue that (15b-c) are both derived from a common underlying structure where the value DP is in the subject position and either the subject or the predicate can raise but the copula always agrees with the subject. That is certainly one way to deal with the fact, but there is a clear alternative. We can assume that in English a copula always agrees with the raised subject, but in Italian a copula can agree only with a value DP, that is a DP with D containing a value as in D (e), and a D without a value, namely D () cannot agree with a copula. This can be made to follow by assuming that a DP headed with a D with no value lacks a substantive ϕ features though it might have a grammatical ϕ feature, as attested by the fact that variable DPs can only be referred to by a neuter pronoun like *that* or *it*, and that in Italian a copula can only agree with a DP with a substantive ϕ features.³

2 Except in languages like Tagalog. See below.

3 How agreement between the copula and the value DP obtains is a matter of importance.

2.2. *Wh*-Extraction

Moro (1997:25 (24); 49 (69)) also observes the following contrast in *wh*-extraction in both in Italian (16a-b) and in English (16c-d).

Here I would like to give a brief outline of an account of agreement in specificational sentences in Italian under the approach put forth by Tonoike (2020). The approach has two key assumptions: One is that agreement takes place only between two adjacent elements. In other words, no long-distance agreement is allowed. The other is that lexical categories can form a lexical complex, and when one of them does not have a phonetic shape, it moves with the phonetic shape of other members of the complex, resulting in head movement. Subject-*aux* inversion in English provides a simple illustration. Suppose English interrogative element *Q* is an abstract interrogative *C*, and it forms a lexical complex with a tensed element, say *are*. Let us represent the complex as *Q-are*. Let us continue to assume that small clauses are headed by *Pr*. Then (ia) starts out its derivation from (ib). Here the sound of *X* is represented as */X/* and its meaning as *{X}*.

- (i) a. Are you alright?
 b. [Q-are [_{PrP} you [_{Pr} Pr alright]]] --Raising of /you/, leaving {you} behind→
 c. [/you/ Q-are [_{PrP} {you} [_{Pr} Pr alright]]] --Raising of Q-/are/, leaving {are} behind→
 d. [_{CP} Q-/are/ [_{TP} /you/ [_T {are} [_{Pr} Pr alright]]]]

Agreement between you and *are* takes place at the stage of (ic) where the two are adjacent to each other, determining the phonetic form of *are*. (Nominative Case assignment takes place at the same stage.) The last step is head movement, but it is actually the movement of Q=C using the sound of *are* /*are*/ as a vehicle. This system is dubbed Excorporation: Q excorporates from the complex Q=*are*, taking /*are*/.

Now, turning to Italian, we can use this system of lexical complex and excorporation to account for the paradigm, assuming that only the value DP with a substantive ϕ feature set can agree. Suppose that in Italian Pr forms a lexical complex with a copula. (15c-d) will then have the following underlying structures.

- (ii) a. [_{TP} [_{DP} **le** foto del muro] [_{T'/Pr} furono-Pr [_{DP} la causa della rivolta]]]
the pictures of the wall the cause of the riot
b. [_{TP} [_{DP} la causa della rivolta] [_{T'/Pr} furono-Pr [_{DP} **le** foto del muro]]]
the cause of the riot were the pictures of the wall)

Agreement takes place between the plural D *le* marked by bold and the copula *furono* at this stage because the two are adjacent to each other. Excorporation need not take place, because the two structures in (ii) are PrP internally and TP externally. (Nominative Case assignment takes place in these configurations, too.)

- (16) a. [di qual rivolta]_i pensi che una foto del muro fu [_{DP} la causa t_i]?
 (of which riot do you think that the picture of the wall was the cause)
 b. *[di quale muro]_i pensi che la causa della rivolta fu [_{DP} una foto t_i]?
 (of which wall do you think that the cause of the riot was a picture)
 c. [which riot]_i do you think [_{DP} a picture of the wall]_j was [_{SC} t_j [the cause of t_i]]?
 d. *[which wall]_i do you think [_{DP} the cause of the riot]_j was [_{SC} [_{DP} a picture of t_i] t_j]?

Moro offers an account of this paradigm by the Subadjacency Condition having to do with the fact that the DPs from which *di quale muro* and *which wall* have been extracted in (16b) and (16d), respectively are on the left branch of a small clause. The detailed discussion about why this is so does not concern us here, because there is a clear alternative. Notice that the *wh*-phrases are extracted from the variable DPs in (16a) and (16c), but the extraction in (16b) and (16d) is from the value DPs. We noted that Tonoike (2020) makes a crucial use of the focus feature, requiring that a value DP must be [+Focus]. The degraded status of (16b) and (16d) can be ascribed to a general ban on extraction from a focused element as the contrast between the following examples show.

- (17) a. [A picture of which wall]_i was it that John wants to buy t_i?
 b. *Which wall_i was it [a picture of t_i] that John wants to buy?

Whereas extraction of the whole focused element in (17a) is licit, extraction from the focused element in (17b) is not.⁴

4 I would like to leave the remaining two “anomalies” for (near) future research, namely of the following two paradigms (Moro 1979: 28 (31) and (35)). Examples in (i) involve extraction of the clitic *ne* “of it”. Those in (ii) involve pronominalization by *lo* “it” and its extraction.

- (i) a. una foto del muro ne_i fu [_{DP} la causa t_i]
 (a picture of the wall of-it was the cause)
 b. *la causa della rivolta ne_i fu [_{DP} una foto t_i]
 (the cause of the riot of-it was a picture)
 (ii) a. le foto del muro lo_i furono t_i
 (the picture of the wall lo were)
 ‘the pictures were such and such’ (e.g. the cause of the riot)
 b. *la causa della rivolta lo_i furono t_i
 (the cause of the riot lo were)

3. Tagalog

According to Nagaya (2014), Tagalog is unique in allowing only one word order in specificational sentences. This fact poses a challenge to both the predicate-raising approach as well as the approach of Tonoike (2020), where the variable DP and the value DP are allowed to occur either in the subject position or in the predicate position.

3.1. Lack of two word orders

The following examples from Nagaya (2014: 132 (9) (22)) show that specificational sentences in Tagalog allow only one word order.

(18) a. Magsasaka ang lalaki.

farmer NOM man

‘‘The man is a farmer’’

b. Ang lalaki ang magsasaka.

NOM man NOM farmer

‘‘The farmer is THE MAN’’ or ‘‘THE MAN is the farmer’’

(18a) is a predication sentence, ascribing the property of being a farmer to the man *ang lalaki*. Tagalog is a predicate-initial language, and (18a) is the only order possible. (18b) is a specificational sentence specifying the value of the variable DP *ang magsasaka* by the individual the man *ang lalaki*. If the two DPs are exchanged (*Ang magsasaka ang lalaki*), the result is a different specificational sentence with *ang magsasaka* functioning as the value DP and *ang lalaki* as the variable DP, corresponding to ‘‘The man is THE FARMER’’ or ‘‘THE FARMER is the man’’.⁵

3.2. Tagalog clausal structure

The fact that specificational sentences come out in one word order of the value DP followed by the variable DP can be made to follow from the unique clausal structure

However, it is worth noting at this point that extraction is from within or of the value DP: In (ib) *ne* is extracted from the value DP and in the deviant case (ib) the value DP is pronominalized and extracted. Details need to be worked out, but it seems that these two cases can be accounted for along the same lines as the *wh*-extraction case discussed above.

5 The gloss NOM on *ang* is a bit misleading. Though it is the Tagalog linguistics tradition to gloss it as NOM, *ang* is also known to be a marker of definite/specific DPs (Rackowski and Richards (2005). See Otsuka and Tonoike (2008) for a view that *ang* is a focused determiner.

of Tagalog. Consider the following list of various sentence types in Tagalog.

- (19) a. V [... [_{DP} ang NP] ...] (Verbal sentences)
 b. [NP [_{DP} ang NP]] (Predicational copular sentences with an NP predicate)
 c. [AP [_{DP} ang NP]] (Predicational copular sentences with an AP predicate)
 d. [[_{DP} ang NP] [_{DP} ang NP]] (Specificational sentences)⁶
- (20) a. Nagtiis ang baba ng karirapan. (Schachter (5a))⁷
 AT-endured T-woman G-hardship
 “The woman endured some hardship”.
 b. Abogado ang lalaki. (Schachter (10))
 lawyer T-man
 “The man is a lawyer”
 c. Matalino ang lalaki. (Schachter (11))
 intelligent T-man
 “The man is intelligent”
 d. Ang lalaki ang magsasaka. (Nagaya (33))
 NOM man NOM farmer
 “The farmer is THE MAN”
 e. *Ang magsasaka lalaki.
 NOM farmer man
 f. *Ang lalaki magsasaka.
 NOM man farmer

Verbal sentences, namely sentences introduced by a verbal showing agreement with an *ang* DP, have the schematic form in (19a). (20a) is a typical example. Copular sentences in Tagalog have one of the three schematic forms in (19b-d). Notice that Tagalog does not have a copula verb, so copulative clauses with a predicate NP/DP have the surface form in (19b-d), with the subject DP invariably marked with *ang* or its variant. (There is no agreement between the subject DP and the predicate DP.) Predicational copula clauses with an NP predicate have the surface form in (19b), where the *ang*-NP is the subject and the sentence-initial unmarked NP is the predicate.

6 As we will see below, this pattern can be ambiguous between a specificational reading and other readings, depending on whether the relevant D has a value or not.

7 Schachter uses T=Topic Marker to gloss *ang*, and G to gloss *ng* here used for Non-topic Goal. AT stands for Actor-Topic.

This is illustrated in (20b). A predication copula clauses with an AP predicate have the surface form in (19c), illustrated in (20c). Specificational sentences are of the form in (19d) with two *ang*-marked DPs. According to Nagaya (2014) there is no question about which is the variable DP and which is the value DP in Nishiyama's sense, though both are marked by *ang*. The one in the (sentence-initial) predicate position is the value DP and the following DP is the subject. The question is why this is the only word order.

Since copular sentences all consist of two constituents, one of them has to be the subject and the other the predicate. Therefore, it is safe to assume that *ang lalaki* is the subjects in (20b-c) and *ang magsasaka* is the subject in (20d). Recall that Tonoike (2020) proposes that the value DP is not only [+Specific] but it is [+Focus] also. Schachter (1976) observes that the *ang*-marked DPs in (20a-c) are topics. Schachter (1976: 496) observes that “the constituent identified as the topic ... does always have a “definite referent”” and quotes Diller’s (1970: 128) observation that it “expresses information assumed by the speaker to be shared by the hearer.”⁸ Suppose that [+Focus] is incompatible with this notion of topic and hence a [+Focus] DPs do not qualify to become the topic of a sentence, which means that they cannot be the subject in (20b-d). Since no such restriction applies to the predicate, it can be [+Focus] as in (20d). This gives the following combinations for the sequence in (20d).

- (21) a. Ang (e_i) lalaki ang () magsasaka. (Specificational Sentence)
 [+Foc] man farmer
 b. *Ang () magsasaka ang (e_i) lalaki
 ([+Foc]) farmer [+Foc] man
 c. Ang (e_i) lalaki ang (e_j) magsasaka. (Identificational Sentence)
 [+Foc] man farmer
 d. Ang () lalaki ang () magsasaka.
 [+Foc] man farmer

8 Sometimes the term “specific” is used to characterize the *ang*-marked DP (see Rackowski and Norvin Richards (2005), for instance), more or less in the same sense as “information assumed by the speaker and the hearer” mentioned above. This use of the term “specific” should not be confused with the use to define variable/value DPs above. Maybe, the term “specific” in the definition of specificational sentences should be avoided and be replaced by something like +/- valued.

(21a) is a specificational sentence with *ang magsasaka* functioning as the variable DP and *ang lalaki* as the value DP. (21b) would be a specificational sentence with the same meaning (i.e., *ang lalaki* as the value DP and *ang magsasaka* as the variable DP. However, it is ruled out due to the fact that [+Focus] DP is incompatible with the topical nature of the subject position. It does not matter whether the predicate DP has [+Focus] or not. This accounts for the peculiar fact about Tagalog specificational sentences that they allow only one word order. (21c) is an identificational sentence that says that the value of *ang lalaki* namely e_i , is the same as that of *an magsasaka*, namely e_j . Notice that the subject is not required to be valueless. On the contrary, under normal circumstances the referent of the subject is known to the speaker and the hearer.

(21d) might appear to make no sense, but the equation of two DPs whose values are not known obtains in such cases as (22a). (22b) is the famous example of Donnellan's (1966) illustrating referential and attributive uses of definite description. The two uses can be naturally differentiated under the proposal above that a definite determiner D can have a value as in (23a), or lack a value as in (23b),

- (22) a. Smith's murderer must be Johnson's murderer.
 b. Smith's murderer must be insane.
 (23) a. {the} (e_i) Smith's murderer must be insane (referential use)
 b. {the} () Smith's murderer must be insane (attributive use)

Under this proposal, (22a) can have the representations in (24), each of which is a specificational sentence.⁹

- (24) a. {the} (e_i) SMITH'S MURDERER must be {the} () Johnson's murderer
 [+Foc]

9 There are two more readings, namely those of identificational sentences.

- (i) {the} (e_i) Smith's murderer must be {the} (e_j) Johnson's murderer
 (ii) {the} () Smith's murderer must be {the} () Johnson's murderer

(i) is a simple identificational sentence: the two individuals must be the same. (ii) is also an identificational sentence, but two individuals are not identified: whoever murdered Smith is whoever murdered Johnson.

- b. {the} () Smith's murderer must be {the} (e_i) JOHNSON'S MURDERER
[+Foc]

Thus, the fact that Tagalog allows only one word order for a particular combination of a variable DP and a value DP falls out automatically from the restriction on the topic/subject of copular sentences that it cannot be [+Focus]. Nothing more need be said, given the definition of specificational sentences as copular sentences with two DPs that differ in the value of [+/-Specific] (as well as [+/-Focus]).¹⁰

4. Concealed Questions

Allowing Ds to have a value or to lack a value can deal with concealed questions in a very natural way. Compare the following examples.

- (25) a. The police are interested in the bank robber.
b. The police are interested in who the bank robber is.
c. The police are interested in the bank robber, namely Smith.

(25a) is ambiguous between the concealed question interpretation in (25b) and the regular referential DP interpretation. The two interpretations can be distinguished by the following representations. Recall that Ds can have a value or can be valueless.

- (26) a. The police are interested in the () bank robber.
b. The police are interested in the (e_i) bank robber. e_i=Smith
c. The bank robber () is {the} (e_i) Smith

10 Nagaya (2014) makes an interesting observation that in Tagalog self-introduction uses (i) rather than (ii), where 1SG.NOM and P.NOM stand for definite first person singular pronoun and definite proper name determiner, in our terms.

(i) Ako si Maria (Nagaya 2014:139 (67))
1SG.NOM P.NOM Maria

Nagaya observes that the word order in (i) is unexpected as self-introduction, because one would expect to hear I am Maria, rather than the one who is called Maria is me. However, that could depend on the assumption made in the culture. It could very well be that in Tagalog culture, there is a shared small list of names that people have in the community, especially a small community, and in self-introduction you specify the value of a name on the list by yourself.

The bank robber in (26a) whose D lacks a value is a concealed question. *The bank robber* in (26b) has a value, i.e., e_i . Therefore, it is a referential DP. (26c) is a specificational sentence and the DP *the bank robber* in (26c) is the same as the DP *the bank robber* in (26a).¹¹

5. Concluding Remarks

In this short paper it has been proposed to revised Tonoike's (2020) definition of specificational sentences as copular sentences of the form in (25a) or (25b). Furthermore, it has turned out that variable DPs and concealed questions have a unifying definition: DPs whose head Ds lack a value.

- (25) a. $[_{PrP} [_{DP} D (e_i) NP] [_{Pr} Pr [_{DP} D () NP]]$
 b. $[_{PrP} [_{DP} D () NP] [_{Pr} Pr [_{DP} D (e_i) NP]]$

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11 See Romero (2005) for a formal semantic account of concealed questions and specificational sentences based on the distinction between intensional and extensional objects, as well as Heycock's (2012: 231) account of agreement facts in specificational sentences based on a revised definition of "more intensional."

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